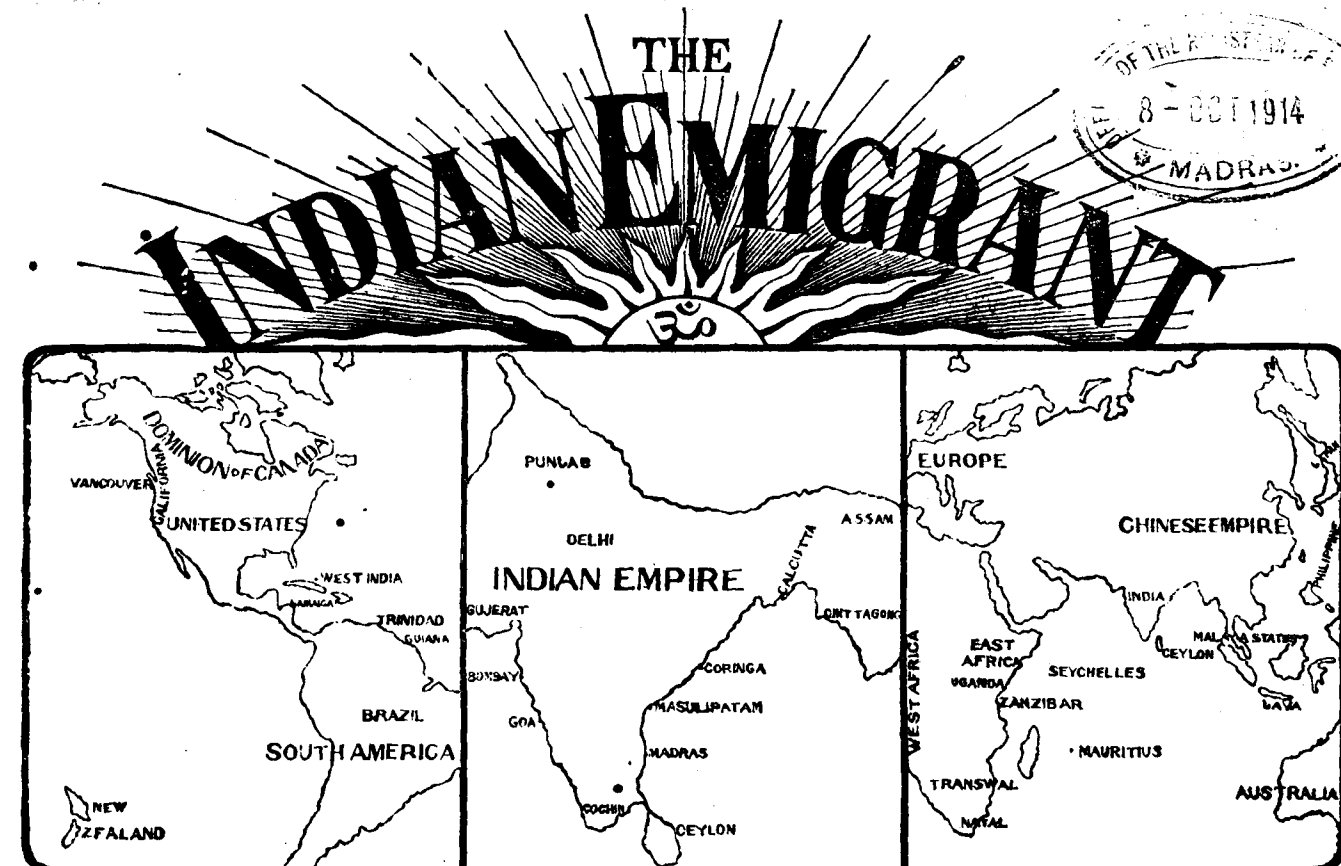




M. K. GANDHI

The Champion Passive Resister who Conquered Hate by Love.



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The "Indian Emigrant."

A Monthly Record of the Status and Doings of Indians in British Colonies and Foreign Countries and an Advocate of Equal Rights of British Citizenship within the Empire.

OUR AIMS AND OBJECTS.

The aims and objects we profess to set before ourselves throughout these columns will be, to put before the Indian public a succinct and clear account of the relations now existing between the Indians at home and abroad and to bring about a closer and more intimate acquaintance with each other, thus arousing feelings of sympathy of Indians for their countrymen outside India.

At the present day, the economic forces here at work drive out the Indian population, the labouring classes in particular, to various places beyond the seas, and these people, allured by the glowing descriptions of the comparative abundance they would enjoy in distant lands, leave their homes and sail to foreign countries

with the fond hope of winning a decent livelihood; but they, being mistaken in that hope, do themselves and the country to which they belong an economic injury through their weak, spasmodic or ignorant competition with the employing classes, especially with the planting communities of Ceylon, Federated Malay States, Fiji, Philippines and other places. Although labour is supposed to be free to these parts, the evils arising from the methods of its recruitment are too obvious and glaring to admit of any contradiction. We have personally come across with such cases and they will duly be reported in the columns of this journal. Our aims in such instances will be to bring to light such cases of gross cruelty, ill-treatment or injustice and by an organised work deal with them as they deserve and thus do away with such evils.

We do not believe that by mere journalistic work alone, any success or good result can be achieved except it be accompanied by organisations to take up practical work in that line. Steps have now been taken by the Government and the people, though late, to put a stop to the system of "Indentured Labour" and what splendid success might we not have expected if this had been undertaken some years earlier and would

not the whole South African question have been solved long ago? Our policy will therefore be to try, in the best manner possible, by efficient organisation and selfless work, to put a stop to the emigration of ignorant and uneducated labour to distant Colonies and States.

At this stage of our economic progress, we can ill-afford to send our raw labour to foreign countries.

On the other hand, it is our desire to encourage voluntary emigration of educated Indians with high qualifications to places where they are badly in need of and where they can occupy higher posts and occupations. It is very strange that few cultured Indians have ever attempted to leave their native soil to become teachers, religious and secular, professional men as lawyers, doctors and engineers, as merchants or manufacturers or as travellers and explorers; for each one of the above professions there is ample scope in this wide world. There are to-day several institutions established outside India, in England, Japan, America and other places where young men can go and study various arts and crafts but unfortunately information regarding them is very scarce and meagre. We will therefore collect all information, useful and reliable, on this subject and disseminate them among such classes as are desirous of entering on the careers above mentioned in foreign lands.

Lastly to provide work for the now outgoing unskilled labour, facilities will be found, if not created within India itself for the economic development of our country first and foremost.

This in brief, is our policy, our aim and object and it is with this pious hope we have launched upon this career of serving our countrymen for our national uplift and we expect every lover of India to realise that the national honour and self-respect of mother India are closely bound up together with the Indian at home and the Indian abroad.

THE LABOUR PROBLEM IN INDIA.

[The following appeared in the leader of the "Madras Mail," 23rd July 1914, just at the time when we contemplated starting our new "Indian Emigrant" and as we fully agree with all the statements made therein, we cannot help publishing the same in full.]

A good deal has been published in our columns in the immediate past regarding the drain of Indian labour to British and other Colonial possessions; and the subject has been brought once again to the front by a number of circumstances, not the least of which is the formation of a Labour Department in connection with the United Planters' Association of

Southern India. The case for the new organisation has also been thoroughly discussed and is familiar to all concerned, so there is no need at this juncture to say more than that if this Department can do something to check the very serious drain of labour that is taking place, from South India particularly, it will justify its existence, not only for the planters for whose benefit it has been primarily formed, but for agriculture and industry in Southern India generally, where the shortage of labour is felt even more severely than elsewhere. That it is common all over India is a matter of general knowledge, and the Government are feeling it almost as much as private individuals. Sir William Meyer, in his speech to the Indian Merchants Chamber of Commerce in Bombay, bore testimony to this fact. We have on more than one occasion pointed out that it is not only the planting industry alone that is affected. Many years ago, the Mirasidars of Tanjore, through the District Association, called upon the Government of Madras to take action in this matter. A Resolution to check wholesale emigration was more recently moved in the Madras Legislative Council. The Government are loth to move in the matter, being satisfied, apparently, that the conditions under which this labour is recruited and maintained is above reproach. The fact that it is likely in time to affect the economic condition of the country does not seem to weigh in the balance at present. Consequently, it remains for those interested to do what they can to work out their own salvation, and this is why we welcome the U.P.A.S.I. Labour Department as action necessary in this direction.

How some action is necessary is shown by the figures which have just been issued by the Director of Statistics of the number of Indians leaving India under conditions governed by the Native Passenger Ships Act. These prove conclusively that the Indian has lost his stay-at-home proclivities and his religious and sentimental objections to crossing the sea, and with the disappearance of these objections the numbers leaving the country are steadily increasing at a rate that calls for thought. All, possibly, are not labourers, but such a large proportion of them are that there is no need to force the argument in pointing out the gravity of the situation. Putting aside altogether the general figures, and confining ourselves entirely to those which have reference to South Indian Emigration, we find that, during the calendar year 1913 117,783 individuals went to the Straits Settlements, 190,059 to Ceylon, and 130,725 to Burma. These figures are not from the statistical returns referred to above, but

from the Report of the Protector of Emigrants, Madras, which are more up-to-date, as they refer to the calendar year 1913, and not the official year 1912-13. They also show an appreciable increase over the figures of the Director of Statistics. It is safe to assume that the great majority of these were labourers, so that the demand for labour from this Presidency can be adequately gauged. Compared with other Provinces in India, it shows that this Presidency supplies almost all the Indian agricultural labour in Ceylon and the Straits Settlements. It is cold comfort to know that our labourers are so much in demand elsewhere that it is getting increasingly difficult to get them ourselves. The position will become more acute if Assam can eventually break down the opposition of the Government of Madras, and is allowed to recruit for planting labour in this Presidency as well. However justifiable the reasons actuating the Madras Government in taking up this attitude may be, to the ordinary man it appears a little illogical to throw every obstacle in the way of Assam when emigration, regulated and unregulated, to British possessions beyond the sea is freely permitted. If, by any chance, however, Assam gains its point, one wonders what the condition will be in the labour fields of South India.

No one desires any step to be taken that will interfere with the freedom of the individual to sell his capacity for work in the best market, be it Assam or anywhere else, provided that proper precautions are taken regarding the treatment of coolies travelling to and fro and while on plantations; but all do not take the same complacent view as the Madras Government in this matter. Only recently we had occasion to call attention to the controversy raging last year regarding the condition of the Indian labourers in Fiji. As we have pointed out, the allegations of one side are strenuously denied by the other, but the fact remains that opinions on the subject are divided, and there are still independent enquirers who take by no means a favourable view of the situation. For instance, Dr. Charles W. Eliot, a distinguished American who recently undertook a tour in the Far East at the instance of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, has some very pertinent remarks to make on this very subject of the regulation of the migration of labourers. "The regulation of emigration and immigration," he says, "should be the object of anxious care with all the Oriental Governments, whether alien or native; and great pains should be taken to prevent emigrants from leaving their own country under conditions that will involve them in serious moral and physical deterioration and economic loss. Wherever large bodies of unmarried

men emigrate to a strange land in search of work under conditions imperfectly known to them, the chances are that they will live in barracks on isolated plantations, or near isolated mines or factories, and that family life will be impossible for them. Under such circumstances, labourers degenerate rapidly, both morally and physically, and out of their wretchedness come inter-colonial, international and inter-racial disputes."

It is practically certain that the Government of Madras will deny that the labour they allow to emigrate experiences conditions such as those quoted above. For instance, in the Report of the Protector of Emigrants, Madras, for last year, a point is made of the fact that particular care was taken to ensure that the proper proportion of married couples formed part of each shipment to Fiji. But the fact remains that by far the larger proportion of labourers are unmarried men, or men who have left wives behind, and it may be possible that their conditions of life are not far removed from those described above. Whether this is so or not, however, is beside the question as to whether the existing drain of labour from South India is or is not a serious and a growing loss to the country. We have merely mentioned it to show that all who have examined the question of labour emigration are not unanimous in the opinion that it is regulated under conditions that do not call for criticism. It may be, of course, that the balance of evidence is in favour of these Colonies being, if not a coolies' paradise, at least very satisfactory fields of labour, in which case it is impossible for the Government to interfere. As a matter of fact, however, we are not asking for any Government interference, unless it is justified. What seems absolutely necessary is that something should be done to make the coolies' prospects comparatively as attractive in his own country as they are elsewhere.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN PLANTING DISTRICTS.

The Hindu Organ of Jaffna writes:—

Under the heading "Is this Even-handed Justice?" we criticised recently the action of the Police Magistrate of Nuwara Eliya in sentencing an Indian Tamil cooly who complained of an assault on him by a European Planter to a fine of Rs. 50 in default to undergo one month's rigorous imprisonment, for alleged perjury which consisted in the complainant telling that he was beaten by a ruler. The accused who admitted the assault but denied the beating by

ruler, was fined Rs. 5 only. We were not then aware that the poor cooly had appealed to the Supreme Court against the atrocious fine imposed on him. It is, therefore, an agreeable surprise to us to find from our daily contemporaries that on appeal the fine on the complainant has been set aside by Mr. Justice Walter Pereira. The Judgment of his Lordship is as follows:—

" This is an appeal by a witness who has been fined under section 440 of the Criminal Procedure Code for giving false evidence. The witness referred to is the complainant himself in the case. Several judgments of this Court have been cited to me in which it was held that the procedure provided for in section 440 did not apply in cases of mere conflict of testimony. I must confess that I am not inclined to agree with these judgments because, there is no justification in the section itself that I am bound by them. Any way I should not consider that in a case like this it is safe or advisable to bring in the machinery of section 440 of the Code, because all the evidence is the evidence of the complainant on the one side and the accused on the other. This I think is a case in which the appellant if he has committed perjury at all should be dealt with in due course in a separate proceeding. I set aside the order appealed from."

If the cooly had no means of appealing to the Supreme Court he would have been obliged to undergo one month's rigorous imprisonment for having the hardihood to complain in a Court of Justice against a European Planter.

We speak in other column another case of a similar character in which a Kangany was sentenced by the Police Magistrate of Ratnapura to a month's rigorous imprisonment for being absent from work having gone in search of his wife who had left the estate in consequence of being beaten by the European Planter complainant. His Lordship the Chief Justice very rightly set aside the judgment and acquitted the accused holding that the accused did not neglect to work without reasonable cause. Surely this Planter who was the cause of the accused Kangany's troubles on account of the loss of the latter's wife, was dead to all sense of humanity when he prosecuted the Kangany on the charge of neglecting work ! And what shall we say of the Magistrate who, without any consideration of the circumstances under which the accused neglected to work, sentenced him to a month's rigorous imprisonment ?

Another planting Case is reported in which a cooly woman has been convicted and sentenced to three month's rigorous imprisonment by the Magistrate of

Nuwara Eliya. Mr. T. A. Hodson, the same gentleman who finl the complainant cooly Rs. 50 for alleged exaggeration of the charge of assault against a Planter above referred to by us. And this has been done in spite of a Resolution of the Planters' Association Committee expressing disapproval of the imprisonment of women and minors for bolting. Even the *Times of Ceylon* is obliged to comment on it as follows :—

“The Resolution of Planters Association Committee expressing strong disapproval of the imprisonment of women and minors for bolting does not appear to have had the desired effect. Shortly after it was passed, we commented on a case from the Nuwara Eliya Court, where the new Magistrate Mr. Hodson sentenced a woman to six week's rigorous imprisonment for the offence. From a case reported elsewhere it will be seen that Mr. Hodson has gone on better and on this occasion imposed a sentence of three months on a women. As the matter is one of importance from a labour point of view, apart from other considerations, the planting community will no doubt take steps to give effect to the resolution.

Surely these Magistrates not only bring administration of justice in planting Districts into disrepute by inhuman and arbitrary sentences against immigrant coolies in cases brought by European Planters, but are also unconsciously doing incalculable harm to the planting interests by creating a feeling of unrest and dissatisfaction among the cooly class having the effect of driving out much needed labour from the Island.

If Indian leaders, who are vigilant about the treatment accorded to their countrymen who go out as labourers to British Colonies, were to know of the persecutions to which Indian coolies are at times subjected with the sanction of the Local Magistrates, there would be agitation in that Continent to better safe-guard the interests of coolies in this Island, or to put a stop to emigration here. The Supreme Court has in the two cases above mentioned afforded relief to the appellants. But is it within the means of every cooly subjected to unjust treatment to appeal to the Supreme Court? It is the duty of the Government to see that experienced and tried Judicial officers alone are entrusted with Magisterial duties in planting districts, and they should also be prompt in censuring the conduct of Magistrates whenever they behave in the manner the Magistrates concerned in the above cases have done. Not only in justice to the coolies but also in the interest of Ceylon planting interests, the Government should be more vigilant in preventing the ill-treatment of coolies by Planters and miscarriages of justice taking place in cases between them.

1914.]

PASSENGERS BRANDED AND OVERCHARGED.

IMMIGRANT DIFFICULTIES AT MANDAPAM.

• FROM THE "CEYLON MORNING LEADER."

Thanks to the activity and public interest of Mr. Karumuththu Thiyagaraja, one of the partners of the local chetty firm of K. R. M.T.T., two fairly serious difficulties experienced by people coming over from India have been redressed quite recently. It transpires that among other difficulties placed in the way of immigrants of all classes, they were branded, and they were overcharged.

.This statement with regard to the branding sounds almost incredible, but it seems to be only too true. Mr. Thiyyagaraja had complaints made to him by various acquaintances of his who had come over from India, and he looked into the matter. The result was that he found that passengers of all classes were detained at Mandapam by the Ceylon Medical authority and had a stamp branded on their chest with a viscid, adhesive and corrosive liquid made out of the juice of the "Semicarpus anacardium," known in Tamil as "Seng Kottai." We are told that this is a coloured latex which, when stamped on the body, burns into the skin producing a permanent white mark wherever it has corroded the skin, and also producing a disfigurement, which not only is inconvenient but is also somewhat painful for a time. Considering that most people of the chetty class and, of course, all coolies are usually bare-bodied, a stamp on their chest of this lasting description is naturally very highly resented. The brand seems to have been inflicted by way of helping identification. When Mr. Thiyyagaraja satisfied himself that this statement was true, he at once approached the Hon. Mr. Ramanathan who promised to intervene and was sympathetic listening carefully to Mr. Thiyyagaraja's grievance and himself examining marks on two or three passengers whom Mr. Thiyyagaraja had taken up with him. But it is naturally difficult for Mr. Ramanathan, however anxious he may be, to set matters of this kind right at once. Shortly afterwards Mr. Thiyyagaraja reported the matter to Mr. C. Suntheram, the Chief Appraiser of the Customs, who has the confidence of the Hon. Mr. F. Bowes, Principal Collector of Customs, and head of the Ceylon Plague Committee, under whose instructions the Medical authorities at the various Indian cooly ports carry out their work. Subsequently Mr. Thiyyagaraja had an interview with Mr. Bowes himself, who very kindly listened to the complaint and

also satisfied himself of its accuracy from personal observation of the brand marks on the chest of four passengers whom Mr. Thiyagaraja produced before him.

THE PRACTICE STOPPED.

Mr. Bowes took so serious a view of the matter that he promised Mr. Thiyagaraja on the spot that the practice would be discontinued from that very day. Presumably, he sent out instructions to the Medical authorities at Mandapam to that effect, and Mr. Thiyagaraja's observation of persons who have come through subsequently has satisfied him that no more passengers are now branded in this way.

It seems extraordinary that such a thing should be done with the apparent authority of the Government. When Sir Ridgeway, in 1903, paid a visit to Tata-parai Cooly Camp at Tuticorin, he enquired into all the details of the precautions observed by the Ceylon Medical authorities there, and when he was told that third-class passengers had the Medical officer's rubber stamp affixed to their wrists in violet ink for the purpose of identification by the local Immigrant Officer, on arrival in Colombo, Sir West smiled and asked the Medical Officer.

"But is not that an assault in law?"

"Technically, it is, Sir, but—" said the Medical Officer with a smile!

Sir West Ridgeway nodded, and said that the thing might go on until somebody objected.

Nobody did object, because the violet ink was readily washable and it was only used on third-class passengers who made no complaint. But to carry the same practice to the extreme of branding people with viscid corrosive liquid which leaves permanent marks and gives pain, seems to be a high-handed development, and it would be interesting to know how it originated.

OVERCHARGING.

Mr. Thiagaraja also found out that people coming from Mandapam were required by the local agents of the Madura Company, Ltd., to deposit the sum of Rs. 52.62½ each, whereas they were handed a receipt of Rs. 50 only, a charge of Re. 1.00 being supposed to be for "stamp and duty." The additional sum of Rs. 1.62½ was not accounted for. Mr. Thiagaraja at once wrote to the Colombo Agents of the Madura Company asking for an explanation. They desired particulars. On the 8th instant, Mr. Thiagaraja sent up a list of five names with the numbers of their respective receipts. He was then told by the Madura Company that they had written to their Paumban agents making inquiries and that they would let him

know the result on hearing from Paumban. Mr. Thiagaraja left on Thursday for his home in India, in Ramnad, and had not, till 4 o'clock that day, heard any explanation from the Madura Company of this overcharge, but from enquiries made by him from passengers coming through he learnt on Thursday, that from the 9th instant the Paumban people were charging only Rs. 51-25. Evidently the charge above this sum was unauthorised, though why the money was collected, and what became of it is not yet clear. It would be interesting if the Madura Company would kindly favour the public with some explanation on this point.

We cannot speak too highly of Mr. Thiagaraja's interest in this matter and of the very methodical and systematic way in which he took up each grievance. The whole community owes a large measure of thanks to him.

LAJPAT RAI ON BRITISH CITIZENSHIP.

"A GREATER MEASURE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT."

Mr. Lajpat Rai writes to the *Daily News* :—

I wonder if Englishmen at home realize the full significance of the attempt of the Hindu aboard the Kamagata Maru to enter Western Columbia in exercise of their rights of British citizenship.

The first thing to note in connection therewith is that these Hindus are Sikhs, the descendants, compatriots and co-religionists of those who saved His Majesty's Eastern Empire in the time of England's greatest peril in India, *viz.*, in 1857.

But for the loyalty and the bravery of the Sikhs, one shudders to think what the fate of the Empire would have been. Possibly, nay, probably that Empire would have been lost. Then, the Sikhs have shed their blood for the Empire in Egypt, in the Soudan, in China, in Abyssinia, and in Burmah, and it is from their ranks that a considerable part of His Majesty's Indian Army is recruited. Some of your best Generals have called them the "flower" of the Indian Army. They have been and are believed to be above the taint of sedition, and any educated Indian supposed to be agitating among them receives the severest (sometimes the most summary) punishment which is in the power of the Government of India to inflict. The mere suspicion of such a thing as agitation among the Sikhs raises the direst anger of the British official in the Punjab, and justifies the

harsh measures of repression, such as were adopted in 1907. Yet here we are on the threshold of a great agitation among the Sikhs, the responsibility of which cannot be traced, even by a stretch of imagination, to any "agitator."

EQUAL RIGHTS.

The fact is, that the British Government in India is on the horns of a dilemma. They want the Indians to believe that they are the equal subjects of the King, but when the former claim their rights as such, they behave as if they have neither the power nor the desire to secure the same for them. Perhaps it is not so much the fault of the Government in India as of those Statesmen who have to reconcile their professions and principles of Liberalism with their policy of subjection. There is no halfway house between democracy and despotism. So long as India is governed from Whitehall and is not free to retaliate, the difficulty with which the Government is face to face in Canada will not be removed. The desire, the ambition, and the necessity of claiming the rights of British citizenship is no longer confined to educated Indians, but is permeating through the uneducated classes and even the masses.

The unlimited competition of the foreigner in the trade and service markets of India leaves them no other choice. The Indian labourer has so far been exploited for the benefit of the British Colonies under the most degrading and humiliating conditions. It has, however, done him one good: it has brought him the consciousness of his value as a worker. But just when he awakes to this consciousness he finds that there is no room for him in the world. At home his wages are despicable, and he can hardly live a decent life on those wages. Even the Government sweats him; when permanently employed in Government offices his wages ordinarily range from 2s. a week to 4s. or 5s. a week. When skilled and educated, he finds that most of the good places are held by the foreigner. Every riff-raff of a European, not to speak of British Colonials, has free admittance into India, and a large number of German, Italian, French, and American Mechanics and Engineers find employment in Government establishments and industrial concerns, while a great many skilled Indians, some of them educated in the best technical institutions in India, England, and America remain unemployed, or have to be contented with very inferior positions. He thus suffers doubly. His country is open to the competition of the whole world, while he is debarred from admittance even into parts of the British dominions. Is it a wonder that he has begun to complain that if

he had a Government of his own at his back, the world would not treat him thus? He feels helpless and friendless.

POWER OF EXCLUSION.

To my mind, the remedy lies in giving a greater measure of self-government to India, with full powers of excluding foreign labour to the same extent and in the same way as the other part of His Majesty's dominions do. Short of this, nothing is likely to avail much, and the trouble may continue to grow and embarrass both the Government and the Indian patriot, as it is no less embarrassing to the latter than to the former. It disturbs the Indian nation-builder in his work, and puts an unspeakable strain on his loyalty and on his patriotism. It reduces his influence with the younger generation of his countrymen, and disables him from enforcing discipline and self-restraint in public life.

The spectacle of 400 Sikhs taking to hunger strike in British Canadian waters is fraught with serious consequences, and is likely to have the most disastrous effect on Sikh loyalty. The telegrams from Canada show that some of them have already commenced talking bitterly. The retired Sikh soldiers already settled in Canada are also suffering under certain disabilities, the most important of which is imposed by the so-called "Continuation-journey Clause," which effectually debars their wives and children from entering Canada.

It is time, I think, for British Statesmen to apply their minds seriously to the solution of the problem, or else the trouble may grow in gravity and then it will be futile to blame the poor "agitator" for the consequences thereof.

INDIA AND THE EMPIRE.

[FROM THE "ASIATIC REVIEW," BY SIR ROLAND WILSON.]

"Free peoples have a right to say whom they will admit into their country, just as free men have a right to say whom they will admit into their house."—*Times*, June 4, 1914.

This pronouncement of the leading journal reproduces in epigrammatic form the pith of a letter addressed to the same paper some months earlier by Sir West Ridgeway, and as it seems likely in its turn to evoke many echoes, it is perhaps time to ask ourselves what it means.

First, what is meant by "free peoples" and "free men"? The same adjective, used twice in the same

sentence, ought to mean the same thing in both places. Does it?

No man living in society is absolutely free from constraint by other human wills; but we commonly call a man free who is subject to no greater constraint than the bulk of his fellow-men, and we include in the rights of an ordinary citizen the right to build, purchase, or otherwise acquire a dwelling-place, from which he may exclude at his pleasure every one except those whom he is bound by law to maintain, and duly authorised officers of justice.

THE MEANING OF FREE.

So far, all is plain sailing. The trouble begins when we attempt to assign anything like the same meaning to the epithet "free" when prefixed to "peoples," which must in this connection mean "governments." The essence of government being constraint, the only sense in which we can speak of a "free government" is that of a government which is not controlled, in the exercise of its powers of constraint, by any other government, or which is subject to less control of that kind than some other governments with which it is compared. For the freedom of governments, like the freedom of individuals, is a question of degree. The most powerful government in the world, (whichever that may be), is not entirely free from constraint on the part of other governments; whether we look to the material force that might be brought to bear on it in certain contingencies, or to the moral restraint of the recognized principles of International Law. We speak of a government as "independent," or "sovereign," when it habitually recognizes no other restraints than the last-mentioned; and if the term "free" is to be used at all in this connection (where it is rather unusual and not particularly apt), it is to government of this class that it is primarily applicable. When it is applied to such a government as that of Canada, professedly a member of a larger organization, in which it counts numerically for only about one-fiftieth of the whole, the proper equivalent of "free" translated from the language of poetry and rhetoric into that of Blue books, is not "independent," or "sovereign," but "autonomous"—a modern term of designedly vague signification, intended to negative independence, but to affirm some larger measure of freedom from external control than belongs to the component parts of a thoroughly unified State. Hence, the inclusion of Canada in the category of "free peoples" raises the question whether the autonomy conceded to that "Dominion" by the Imperial Parliament (which may be taken to be the same as that conceded to the Commonwealth of

Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand and the Union of South Africa) includes the right to impose whatever restrictions it thinks proper on immigration from other countries or from other parts of the British Empire, without reference to the wishes of the Imperial Government.

Formally the answer to this question is No, the right of veto on all colonial legislation being expressly reserved.

Practically, so far as practice has gone at present, the answer is Yes.

WEAK ENGLAND.

When the first trouble arose, some time before the Boer War, about the treatment of ex-indentured Indians in Natal, that Government was in a far weaker position than either Canada or South Africa is now; yet the reply of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, then at the head of the Colonial Office, to a deputation calling upon him to see the Indians righted, was, "What do you wish me to do? Do you expect me to send an army to coerce the Natal Government?" implying that his veto was useless unless it was to be so enforced, and that this was out of the question. And accordingly the grievances remain unredressed to this day, in defiance of both English and Indian public opinion.

We shall return to this subject presently, but, before doing so, something has to be said on a yet wider question, suggested by another ambiguity in the *Times* formula, as to the right of even fully sovereign States to pursue a policy of exclusion.

Supposing the Canadian Government to be "free" in the sense of being practically independent, or supposing, on the other hand, that it is *we*, as represented by the Imperial Government, who are the "free people" for this purpose, what ground is there either way for the assertion that "free peoples" or independent governments have the same right to say whom they will admit into their country that a private person has with respect to his house?

THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUN.

The so-called "possessive" pronoun is a particularly tricky part of speech, being used to denote the most various relations, of which some are, and some are not, possessive. For instance, it is a commonplace of demagogic oratory to denounce the rich Mr. So-and-so because *his* horses and *his* dogs are better cared for than his labourers, ignoring the fact that the animals are his property whereas the labourer is not. And here there are sound ethical reasons why the law should recognize, to the extent above defined, a man's exclusive possession of the house which he

has built, bought, or otherwise lawfully acquired, which reasons would by no means support the claim of any people however "free" to own what they call "their country" in the sense in which Smith owns his No. 5 John Street, or Paradise Villa. Just as no civilized legislature will again tolerate the pretensions of private landowners to enclose half a county and warn off trespassers, so international public opinion, which is slowly groping its way in a purblind, haphazard fashion towards assimilation of the mutual obligations of States to those already enforced between individuals by national law, looks already with just disfavour on attempts to restrict freedom of migration from the more to the less crowded portions of the globe. If this is not clearly recognized as a principle it is because strong and well ordered governments have not till lately been much tempted to offend in this way, and are difficult subjects to bring to justice when they do offend; while, on the other hand, the governments that are weak enough to be coerced, and yet possessed of large, sparsely-populated territory, are generally also bad governments, and their badness rather than their exclusiveness is made the pretext for foreign aggression and exploitation.

THE OLD POLICY.

Down to quite recent times it was generally the policy of the stronger and better-ordered States to welcome immigrants of all kinds, regardless whether they were superior, equal, or inferior to the average of the old inhabitants. If equal or superior, like the French Huguenots, to whom England owes so much, they would be welcomed as adding to the material and moral strength of the nation; if inferior, so long as the direction of affairs lay with the classes rather than with the masses, they would be welcomed by the captains of industry as augmenting the supply of cheap labour. But with the growth of democracy in politics and trade unionism in industry, a new complication was introduced, which affected England only to a slight extent, but the North American Continent and Australasia very seriously. The manual workers began to grasp the truth that one way of raising the wages of labour was to limit the supply, while insufficiently attending to the other truth, that scarcity of labour means diminished production, and therefore a diminished wage-fund; and when they found that their competitors were not of their own race, colour or religion, they were restrained by no sentiment of brotherhood from resenting to the utmost the intrusion of this new species of blackleg along the Pacific seaboard and in the cities and mining centres of Australia.

Other currents of sentiment have worked in the same direction; and the result is that we are now confronted in all our non-tropical oversea Dominions with a demand that every region in which men of European origin can live and work in comfort shall be preserved as a "white man's country."

THE IMPERIAL RESPONSIBILITY.

This would be a tremendous resolve if the peoples who make it were taking upon themselves the entire risk and preparing to defend it with their own forces. But when they do so as constituent members of an Empire which is Asiatic as to three-fourths of its population, and to which it is of the utmost importance to maintain amicable relations with the other Asiatic peoples against whom these measures are directed, it is the Imperial Government that has the greatest cause for anxiety. We of the Mother-country are being told in effect.

1. That we must hold ourselves in readiness to fight China or Japan, or both together, should those Powers take it into their heads to give practical expression to their resentment at the inhospitable treatment of their nationals in Canada or Australia. Even if the mere knowledge that our whole strength is pledged to the backing of these exclusionists should suffice to prevent actual fighting, that same knowledge cannot fail to impair our good name and influence in the Far East, and to place us at a disadvantage in European politics.

2. That we must confess to our Asiatic subjects our inability to secure for them freedom of settlement and equal treatment before the law in the more healthy and thinly populated parts of what we have thought them to call our Empire.

EVEN MORE UNJUST.

In the particular case of Canada there is this further aggravation, that His Majesty's Asiatic subjects are not even placed on a level with other Asiatics. They complain that, whereas there is a special arrangement with Japan that immigrants from that country are to be admitted up to the limit of 400 annually, and whereas Chinese are admitted without any other check than a poll-tax of 500 dollars, the avowed intention is, or was, to keep out Indian-British subjects altogether. This was evidently the object of the otherwise senseless regulation (now declared invalid) that no immigrant should be admitted at the ports who had not come by a continuous sea voyage from his place of domicile—a condition which it would be easy for Chinese and Japanese, but well-nigh impossible for Indians, to satisfy. Baffled at this

point by the judgment of the Supreme Court of the Province, the local authorities are for the moment taking their stand on a more recent Order in Council, absolutely prohibiting the entry of all artisans and labourers: which Order would in due course have expired before the arrival of the *Komagata Maru*, but which was renewed till the end of September, while the vessel was *en route*, expressly to meet this case, and to enable the Premier of the Dominion to assert with literal accuracy that there was no discrimination against Hindus. In practice the discrimination is complete, because European artisans and labourers do not want to come *via* the Pacific. At the time of writing it had not transpired how many of these Hindus—who had come with the avowed purpose of testing the efficacy of whatever barriers might be set up—would be excluded by the definition; but if this device proves inadequate some other will doubtless be invented.

THE HINDU LEADER.

Meanwhile the Hindus already in British Columbia have found an able and earnest spokesman of their own race. Dr. Sunder Singh, who has started at Victoria a paper called the *Sansar*—whether weekly or monthly does not appear from the single copy that has reached me. It is addressed alike to the Europeans of the Province and to the Indian public at home, who will doubtless have learnt by this time through many other channels, and in more inflammatory language than that of this simple-minded enthusiast, the story of yet one more of their masters' doors being "banged, barred and bolted" in the face of their countrymen.

Will this quarrel be patched up under friendly pressure from the Home Government, as that between India and South Africa seems now in fair way of being? Hardly, if the description given by the *Times* correspondent of the state of Canadian opinion is any where near the truth. But if not, what then?

It may be inferred from the sentence quoted at the head of this article that the *Times* would recommend simple acquiescence. The Canadians are a free people; the whole country from sea to sea, and from the United States frontier to the North Pole, is their country, and it is for them to say whom they will admit into it.

That is all very well; but, unfortunately, it is for the present our country in respect of international responsibility. It is our Foreign Office that has to defend the Canadian position in the field of diplomacy where foreign immigrants are concerned, and it is our India Office that has to satisfy the people of India

that they are, at all events, not worse treated than the foreigner. And if the Canadian arguments are such as we cannot employ without loss of self-respect, or without injury to the self-respect of those to whom we address them, what are we to do?

A PAINFUL ADMISSION.

For that is the actual situation. How, without condemning the very process by which we ourselves colonized America, can we maintain that occupation to the extent of two inhabitants to the square mile gives the occupants a right to keep for themselves, and for those whom for some reason they may choose to favour, all the profits that are capable of being made out of something like one-fifteenth of the land-surface of the globe? The only right that first occupancy really confers is that of framing any reasonable regulations for the government of the country and development of its resources, which regulations all new-comers are bound to respect until they are very sure that they can improve them, and of levying such taxes as will defray expenses and fairly remunerate them for their trouble. This will no doubt justify them in excluding *individuals* whose condition or record may render them intrinsically "undesirable," but cannot justify discrimination against *whole races and classes*—least of all on the ground that they are able and willing to do more work for less pay than the first-comers. That may be inconvenient for rivals in the same trade, but it is clear gain to the community as a whole—while it lasts; it is not, however, likely to last long after it is discovered that higher wages are obtainable and that a higher standard of living is expected. The objection set up in some quarters, that the climate and the work required are unsuited to Hindus, at once supplies an answer to the other objection, that they are likely to swarm over in inconvenient numbers. If the fact is so, it has only to be made known in order to stop the influx.

SEPARATION ESSENTIAL.

Are we to tell sturdy Sikhs from the Punjab, who have served with credit under British officers, tilled their own lands, and managed their local affairs under a legal system quite as advanced as that of England or Canada, that they are less assimilable, less fit for Canadian citizenship than Dukhobors from Russia or Ruthenians from Galicia? Canadians may take this line on their own responsibility; and on the strength of such information as they imagine themselves to possess but surely not the Imperial Government.

If such action supported by such arguments is persisted in by our autonomous kinsfolk on either side

of the globe, I must confess that I see but one way in which we British tax-payers and electors can honourably extricate ourselves from a very awkward and humiliating situation, and do justice to our own insular and Imperial interests, as well as to our democratic and humanitarian sentiments. It is that we should abdicate, without precipitancy but without undue delay, that nominal supremacy which renders us formally responsible in the eyes of our Asiatic subjects, and of other Asiatic Powers, for measures which we cannot approve, yet cannot effectually veto, and which is even more offensive to their self-respect than injurious to their economic interests. If I do not add South Africa to the list, it is only because the Union Government is at the present moment recommending to its Parliament what are, from its point of view, very considerable concessions, however inadequate from ours, and displaying a conciliatory disposition which it would be a pity to discourage. Should that Bill fail after all to become law, we shall be back where we were six months ago, and I for one shall be disposed to advocate amicable separation in that case also.

ULTIMATE GAIN.

My allotted space being exhausted, I can only indicate, without developing, my reasons for thinking that we stand to gain rather than to lose by severing the slender political bond which unites us with these vigorous young nations from the moment that it ceases to be based on a substantial unity of sentiment.

1. We should be a greater and more beneficent force in world-politics if unhampered by conflicting aims.

2. We should be better able to watch over the development of India and the Crown Colonies.

3. Our quondam dependencies would be more likely to come round in the end to our point of view after some experience in trying to maintain their exclusionist policy on their own resources as independent States.

4. There would be one sham less in the world to confuse and demoralize us.

A HINDU CAN BECOME AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

BRAHMANS ARE THE BEST REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INDO-GERMAN STOCK.

[Sakharam Ganesh Pandit left for America a few years ago with a view to popularise the ancient

Hindu teachings of which he is a keen student.* As a member of the Thosophical Society he did useful work in India and made his mark as a fluent speaker and an inspiring teacher. He has been trying for sometime past to establish his right to American citizenship and has at length fully succeeded. The full judgment which declares that "the petitioner has succeeded in establishing beyond all reasonable doubt, that he is a 'free white person' within the meaning of the Naturalization Act. He will, therefore, be admitted to citizenship."—Ed.—"*New India*."] Brief *In re* Application for Naturalization by Sakharam Ganesh Pandit filed in Department 10, Superior Court, Los Angeles County, California, in September, 1918.

NATURALIZATION.

1. My claim to become a citizen of the United States is based on U.S. Revised Statutes, Title XXX, Sec. 2169 (as amended 1875), which reads:

"The provisions of this title shall apply to aliens being free white persons and to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent."

Who are 'white persons'? According to (A) Judicial, (B) Lexicographical, (C) Anthropological, and (D) Philological interpretation, the Hindus are 'white persons.'

II. The organic and fundamental laws of the United States which are expressed in the U.S. Constitution and the principles which are advocated in the Declaration of independence are superior to all statutes. The Hindu's claim to naturalization is based on the organic laws of the United States.

III. I am not a polygamist, nor an anarchist; nor an undesirable according to the Naturalization Laws of June 1906.

INTERPRETATION OF REVISED UNITED STATES STATUTES, SECTION 2169.

Annotation on Sec. 2169: *Caucasian or white races and African races only* are entitled to naturalization, and all others are excluded. *In re* Kanaka Nian (1889) 6 Utah 261

A native of Mexico, whatever his status viewed solely from the standpoint of the ethnologist, is embraced within the spirit and intention of our laws upon naturalization, and his application should be granted if he is shown by the testimony to be a man attached to the principles of the constitution and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same. *In re* Rodriguez (1897) 81 Fed. 337.

A native of the Hawaiian Islands is not eligible for naturalization. *In re* Kanaka Nian (1889) 6 Utah 259; 21 Pac. 993; 4 L.R.A. 726.

An Indian, native of British Columbia, is not entitled to naturalization, Sec. 2103, R.S., and the Act of Feb. 8

1887, provide the only way by which Indians may become citizens of the United States. *In re* Burton (1900) 1 Alaska III.

A Person of half Indian blood, whose father was a white Canadian and his mother an Indian woman, is not a 'white person' within the meaning of the statute. *In re* Camille (1880) 6 Fed. 256.

Mongolians and persons belonging to the Chinese race are not included in this Act, and a certificate of naturalization obtained by such a person is void on its face. Fong Yue Ting v. U.S. (1893) 149 U.S. 711. *In re* Gee Hop (1895) 71 Fed. 274. See also *In re* Hong Yen Chang (1890) 84 Cal. 163.

One of the Japanese race is not eligible under the naturalization laws, to citizenship, and a judgment admitting such a person is void. *In re* Yamashita (1902) 30 Wash. 234. See also *In re* Saito (1894) 68 Fed. 126.

Vide Federal Statutes Annotated, Vol. 5 (1905).

JUDICIAL INTERPRETATION OF THE PHRASE "WHITE PERSON."

(1) U. S. v. Balsara (Circuit Court of Appeals, Second Circuit. July 1, 1910) 186. 180 Fed. 694.

Ward, Circuit Judge: "The expression 'free white persons' is found in all our Naturalization Acts since 1790 except for the brief period between 1873 and 1875, when they were omitted from the Revised Statutes. The Government contends that the words must be construed to mean what the Congress which passed the first Naturalization Act in 1790 understood them to mean, and, no immigration being then known except from England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Germany, Sweden, France and Holland. Congress must be taken to have intended aliens coming from those countries only. The consequence of this argument, viz., that Russians, Poles, Italians, Greeks, and others, who had not therefore immigrated, are to be excluded, is so absurd that the Government extends the intention of Congress to all Europeans."

"On the other hand, counsel for Balsara insists that Congress intended by free 'white persons' to confer the privilege of naturalization upon members of the Caucasian race only. This we think the right conclusion and the one supported by the great weight of authority:—

In re Ah Yup, 5 Sawy. 155, Fed. Cases, 164;

In re Saito (C.C.) 62 Fed. 126;

In re Camille (C.C.) 6 Fed. 256;

Matter of San C. Po, 7 Misc. 471, 28 N.Y. Supp. 883;

In re Buntaro Kumagai (D.C.) 163 Fed. 922;

In re Knight (D.C.) 171 Fed. 297;

In re Najour (C.C.) 174 Fed. 785;

In re Halladjian (C.C.) 174 Fed. 884.

"We think that the words ('white persons') refer to race and include all persons of the white race, as distinguished from the black, red, yellow, or brown races, which differ in so many respects from it. Whether there is any pure white race and what peoples belong to it may involve nice discrimination, but for practical purposes there is no difficulty in saying that the Chinese, Japanese and Malays and the American Indians do not belong to the white race. Difficult questions may arise and Congress may have to settle them by more specific legislation, but in our opinion the Parsees do belong to the white race and the circuit court properly admitted Balsara to Citizenship."

(2) In re Najour (Circuit Court, N. D. Georgia, December 1, 1909) 174. 735. A Syrian from Mt. Lebanon, near Beirut, is a free white person, within Revised Statutes Sec. 269 (U. S. comp. St. 1901, p. 1333), providing for the naturalization of free white persons of other countries as citizens of the United States; such term being construed to refer to race rather than to color, and to include all members of the Caucasian race.

Newman, District Judge: "In admitting to naturalization the petitioner Costa George Najour, I wish to say this. Although the term 'free white person' is used in the Statutes (Rev. St., Sec. 1299 U. S. Comp. St. 1901, 6 p. 1333.) This expression, I think, refers to race, rather than to color, and fair or dark complexion should not be allowed to control, provided the person seeking naturalization comes within the classification of the white or Caucasian race, and I consider the Syrians as belonging to what we recognise, and what the world recognises, as the white race. The applicant comes from Mt. Lebanon, near Beirut. He is not particularly dark, and has none of the characteristics or appearance of the Mongolian race, but so far as I can see and judge, has the appearance and characteristics of the Caucasian race.

"Quite a recent work, which I have before me now, 'The World's People,' by Dr. A. H. Keane, classifies, without question or qualification in any way, Syrians as a part of the Caucasian or white race, and this they are so far as my knowledge and information goes. Dr. Keane divides people into four classes, the "Negro or black, in the Soudan, South Africa and Oceania, Australasia; Mongol or yellow in Central, North, and East Asia; Americans (red or brown), in the New World; and Caucasians (white and also dark), in North America, Europe, Irania, India, Western Asia and Polynesia." Discussing the various nationalities and subdivisions of these four general divisions he unhesitatingly places the Syrians in the Caucasian or white division.

".....the applicant is clearly entitled to Naturalization."

(3) In re Halladjian et al (Circuit Court, D. Mass. Dec. 24, 1909) 174 Fed. 834.

A NATIVE OF ASIATIC TURKEY WAS NATURALISED ASIATIC IS NO EXCUSE.

Lowell, Circuit Judge: "Four petitioners presented themselves for naturalization. They were examined and except as stated below were shown to be duly qualified for citizenship. All testified that they were Armenians by races . . . three of them were born in Asiatic-Turkey. The fourth, Bayentz, was born in a suburb of Constantinople on the west side of the Bosphorus. "I find that all were white persons in appearance, not darker in complexion than some persons of North Europe descent traceable for generations. Their complexion was lighter than that of many South Italians and Portuguese. The United States opposed the naturalization of all these persons upon the ground that they were not 'free white persons,' within the purview of Rev. St. Sec. 2169, (U.S. Comp. St. 1901, p. 1333). The assistant district attorney submitted a brief in opposition to the petitions and referred the Court to certain letters written by the Chief of the Bureau of Naturalization, the argument contained in the letters being adopted by the United States as its own.

"Brief mention should be made here of a sentence found in one of the letters referred to, which was directed to an assistant district attorney of the United States:

"This office.....must request..... that you will oppose the granting of naturalization to Hindus or East Indians and that you will instruct the clerks of courts in your district to refuse to accept declaration of intention or to file petitions for naturalization upon behalf of such alien."

CLERKS SHOULD NOT REFUSE TO FILE PETITIONS.

"The second request was made without due consideration. The clerks of the Federal Court are not subject to instruction by district attorneys or by the United States itself, as a part to a judicial proceeding. That a clerk should refuse to file a petition for naturalization which contains all proper allegations because of his judgment of the color, race or other qualification of the petitioner, would violate clerk's official duty. The clerk may as an act of personal kindness call the statute of 1882 to the attention of one who appears plainly to be a Chinaman and may suggest that his petition will almost certainly be dismissed; but, if the petitioner persists, the petition must be filed. The Act of 1882 (Act May 6, 1882, c. 126, Sec. 14, 22 Stat. 61 U.S. Comp. St. 190, p. 1333) forbid the naturalization of Chinamen; it does not deny them access to a court.

LEGAL REFERENCE TO 'WHITE PERSON.'

"Rev. St. Sec. 2169 reads as follows:—

"The provisions of this title Naturalization shall apply to Aliens being 'free white persons,' and to aliens of African nativity, and to persons of African descent."

"The phrase 'free white persons' dates from the earliest federal statutes regulating naturalization Act March 26, 1790, c. 3, 1 Stat. 103, provided for the naturalization of "any alien being a free white person" By Act Feb. 18, 1875, c. 80, 18 Stat. 318, passed "to correct errors and supply omission in the Revised Statutes," Section, 169, was amended to take its present form, thus again limiting naturalization to (1) 'free white persons,' and (2) Africans within the Act of 1870.

These petitioners are neither Chinamen nor Africans of any sort and the court has to decide whether they are white or not.

"ABSURD ARGUMENTS OF U.S."

"The U.S. contends that the words "white persons" should be construed to mean Europeans and persons of European descent. Even this definition is ambiguous. Baynetz (one of the petitioners) is a European by birth and previous residence, yet the U.S. contends that his petition should be dismissed because he does not belong to a race which is "European or white." The U. S. contends that the proper distinction is not one of mere nativity or of 'personal color; that 'white' is equivalent of 'European,' and used to describe the variations of domicile or origin which are so closely associated with the mental development of a people." 'European,' or its analogous term, 'white man,' is intended, not merely to describe the local habitat of the person to whom applied, but as a brief and convenient designation descriptive of the prevailing ideals, standards, and aspirations of the people of Europe."

"REFUTATION OF THE ARGUMENTS" OF THE U. S.

"These phrases suggest that the education and intelligence of the petitioner furnish part of the test of his statutory color, but the U.S. does not thus interpret its own language above quoted. It insists that a petitioner, in order to be naturalised, must be European by race. As the argument is based upon consideration of race, the meaning of that word must be examined with care.

"Race is defined in the Century Dictionary primarily as. 'An ethnical stock; a great division of mankind having in common certain distinguishing physical peculiarities, and thus a comprehensive class appearing to be derived from a distinct primitive source.'

"A secondary definition is:

'A tribal or national stock; a division or sub-division of one of the great racial stocks of mankind, distinguished by minor, peculiarities; as the Celtic race; the Finnic race is a branch of the Mongolian; the English, French, and Spaniards are mixed races.'

".....The inhabitants of no considerable part of Europe belong to a race thus unmixed....."

"Even if we grant for the sake of argument it is proper to speak of the British race, the Hungarian and the Russian, even if these may be designated as European races, yet to classify them as belonging to a single race called 'European or white' is contrary to ordinary usage. When Linnaeus wrote of the European race he intended something different from the contention of the United States. He made the European race anciently inhabit Europe and the nearer parts of Asia and Africa. He was not writing of modern times nor of geographical limits.

"The U.S. contends, further, that there is an Asiatic or Yellow race, to which belong substantially all Asiatics, including these petitioners. No authority to support this theory is cited by reference to history, to ethnological theory, either ancient or modern, or to physical appearance..... The court cannot agree with the United States that "without being able to define a 'white person' the average man in the street understands distinctly what it means, and would find no difficulty in assigning to the yellow race a Turk or Syrian with as much ease as he would bestow that designation on a Chinaman or Korean."

"A Hindu, also referred to in the argument of the United States, differs in colour no less from a Chinaman than from an Anglo-Saxon, and in other obvious physical characteristics he much more resembles the latter."

HEBREWS ARE ASIATICS.

"To its classification by European and Asiatic races the U.S. makes an extraordinary exception, viz., the Hebrews. Their history is known for a long period Their origin is Asiatic. Yet the United States admits that they do not belong to the 'Asiatics or Yellow race,' and that they should be admitted to citizenship If the aboriginal peoples of Asia are excluded from naturalization as urged by the United States because many Englishmen treat them with contempt and call them "niggers," alike argument applies to those who have suffered most cruelly among all men on earth from European hatred and contempt. In the application of its classification, the United States thus contradicts the principles upon which the classification depends.

ARGUMENTS ARE MISLEADING.

"It is misleading, therefore, to speak of a European or white race, to which substantially all inhabitants of Europe belong, or of an Asitic race, of an

Asiatic or yellow race, which includes substantially all Asiatics.

The Armenians have always been classified in the white or Caucasian race, and not in the yellow or Mongolian-Figuer, Brace, Keane, Pickering, Brinton, Hutchinson, Jeffries, Pritchett, and Ratxel. authors taken at random, all reach the same conclusion.

"Cauvier expressly included Armenians, as well as Hindu, in the Caucasian race, as distinguished from the Mongolians."

The learned Judge then gave in detail a historical review of the naturalization law and the interpretation of the phrase 'free white person' as seen in different Census reports and Court decisions of various States. The Court conclusively proved that the exclusion of the Chinese and Japanese from the right of citizenship came about in the evolutionary process, and concluded with the following remarks:—

"The U.S. has laid emphasis upon an expression of this Court in the Saite case that Asiatics are excluded from naturalization, but the context shows that the Court used the word 'Asiatics' to mean members of the Mongolian or yellow race alone. To make the list complete, reference should be had to cases of Indians. In *re* Camille (C.C.) 6 Fed. 256; In *re* Burton, 1 Alaska 111. The City Court of Albany refused to naturalize a Burmese on the ground that he was a Malay or a Mongol (In *re* Po. 7 Mic. 471, 28 N.Y. Supp, 383), and the Supreme Court of Utah refused to naturalize a Hawaiian because he was not a Caucasian (In *re* Kanaka Nian, 6 Utah, 259, 21 Pacific 993, 4 L.R.A. 726.) A Mexican of aboriginal descent was naturalized, largely because of treaties with Mexico. In *re* Rodriguez (D.U.) 81 Fed., 337. Judge Lacombe, in the Circuit Court for the Southern District of N.Y., admitted a Parsee to naturalisation, though with considerable doubt. In *re* Balsara (C.C.) 171 Fed., 294. A Syrian was lately admitted against the opposition of the United States, in the Circuit Court for the District of Rhode Island and the newspapers report that a like decision has been reached in the federal court sitting in Georgia....."

"We find, then, that there is no European or white race as the U.S. contends, and no Asiatic or yellow race which includes substantially all the people of Asia; that the word 'white' as used in the statutes, publications and classifications above referred to, though its meaning has been narrowed so as to exclude Chinese and Japanese, yet still includes Armenians. Congress may amend the statutes in this respect. To provide more specifically what persons may be admitted to citizenship seems desirable. While the statutes are unchanged, without proof, if proof be admissible, that the meaning of the word 'white' has been still further narrowed, this court will not deny citizenship

by reason of their colour to aliens who, like the Armenians, have hitherto been granted it. The petitioners will be admitted to citizenship."

(4) In *re* Ah Yup. Sawy. 157. Fed. Cas. 104.

Sawyer, Circuit Judge, reviewing the history of the Naturalization legislation, said: "...while I find nothing in the history of the country, in common or scientific usage, or in legislative proceedings, to indicate that congress intended to include in the term *while persons* any other than an individual of the Caucasian race, I do find much in the proceedings of Congress to show that it was universally understood in that body, in its recent legislation that it excluded Mongolians. At the time of the amendment in 1870, extending the naturalization laws to the African race, Mr. Sumner made repeated and strenuous efforts to strike the word white from the naturalization laws, or to accomplish the same object by other language. It was opposed on the sole ground that the effect would be to authorize the admission of Chinese to citizenship. Every senator who spoke upon the subject assumed that they were then excluded by the term 'white person' and that the amendment was advocated on the one hand, and opposed on the other, upon that single idea."

(5) In *re* Camille (Circuit Court, D. Oregon, Nov. 2 1880), 6 Fed. 256.

The Circuit Judge quotes in full an argument used by Judge Sawyer (in 5 Sawt. 155, Fed. Cas. 104) that words in a statute, other than technical terms, should be taken in their ordinary sense, and that everywhere in the U.S. the words 'white person' are used as equivalent of a person of the Caucasian race.

(to be continued.)

WELCOME FOR INDIANS.

IN ENGLAND.

A note circulated by the Education Department states that an unofficial Committee has been formed in London of English people who desire to show hospitality to Indian students visiting the country. Lord Haldane has consented to act as President, and a number of ladies and gentlemen representing educational interests in England, the bar, the medical profession, and other aspects of English life have expressed a wish to join.

The statement continues as follows:—"It is felt that there are many English people in London who would like to have opportunities of meeting Indian visitors and of making them welcome, and that there are English homes and many residents at holiday centres who would willingly co-operate in offering to Indian students opportunities of joining in English society there. There are also many Indians who

would gladly avail themselves of opportunities of coming into more intimate touch with the better sides of English life, and it is especially on behalf of those who desire to reciprocate the friendliness that English people wish to show that the efforts of the Committee will be directed. It is hoped that entertainments given for larger or for smaller numbers may lead to personal acquaintanceships of a more enduring kind and to the forming of friendships valuable to Indians and to Englishmen alike."

The Honorary Secretary (Mr. B. Mount Jones), of the University Hall, residence, Cheyne Walk, S. W., will be glad to receive communications on the subject from Indians or from Englishmen interested in the proposals of the Committee.—*Madras Mail*.

NATIONAL INDIAN ASSOCIATION

ANNUAL MEETING.

A London correspondent writes as follows to the *Pioneer*:—

There was given to the National Indian Association, at its Annual Meeting at 21, Cromwell Road, London, on the 28th May, a word of advice which it would do well to heed. It was: "Sweet are the uses of advertisement," and it was Mr. Sachidananda Sinha, Editor of the *Hindustan Review*, who preferred it. The Association does excellent work in this country; the social gatherings, lectures, visits to places of interest organised by it really carry out in spirit and letter the aims of the Association—to promote friendliness between East and West and to encourage efforts for educational and social progress. Yet, considering the time it has been in existence, it is not well known even in India. Mr. Sinha considered that branches ought to be established as soon as possible in Patna, Allahabad and Agra—to mention but a few branchless places.

LORD LAMINGTON.

Lord Lamington, the President, called attention, from the Chair, to the fact that the Association was started by a lady and that ladies have ever since borne the brunt of the work. Miss Mary Carpenter, who founded the organisation, was succeeded by Miss Adelaide Manning, who for many years gave time, money and hospitality; after her death Miss E. J. Beck succeeded—with some reluctance—to the honorary secretaryship, and under her regime important developments have taken place. There has been the housing of the Association at 21, Cromwell Road; previously it had no local habitation. As Miss Beck lives at Cromwell Road she spreads the atmosphere

of home throughout the big house, and, without being grandmotherly, makes the young men who come as strangers feel that they are not friendless and forlorn.

The Association should play a very important part in the life of the Indian community here; it brings East and West together, but it has been criticised as "official" because some ex-officials—Sir Charles Lyall, Sir Stewart Bayley, Sir James Wilson, Mr. Coldstream, to name but a few—are associated with its work and now that it is housed under the same roof as the Students' Department, paying a nominal rent to the Secretary of State, it has, in the eyes of certain students, become more and more a channel whereby the India Office acquires information concerning young Indians in this country. This is certainly not the case. Mr. J. M. Mehta, who is one of the leaders of the protest against the Indian Students' Department of the India Office, made an urgent plea at the Annual Meeting that the Association to whose admirable work he paid warm tribute, should "not be compromised" by being overshadowed by officialdom. Sir Charles Lyall replied that, having finished his service, he was no longer an official, and the same applied to others associated with the organisation.

SIR THEODORE MORISON.

Sir Theodore Morison sympathised with Indian students who objected to being considered "a problem" and agreed that they should be treated as individuals. But he maintained that such an organisation was necessary to lend a helping hand, just as the *Entente Cordiale* brings together individual French and English people quite apart from politicians, and the Victoria League does similar service for Colonials who come "home" for the first time. He did not minimise the anxiety prevalent in educational establishments in the West as to how many students of another race and thought could be absorbed without affecting the standards already established. He mentioned that the Russian students in Paris, because of their numbers and their habit of living and "chumming together, were a "problem" to the principal of the Paris University and also to Swiss Universities, but declared that such an organisation as the National Indian Association did much to mitigate harshness. Sir Sankaran Nair mingled criticism with his praise of the Association; he insisted that the time was gone by for passing pious resolutions of sympathy with the education of Indian girls; there should be active co-operation. It was pointed out to him that with an income of £400 a year, the Association could hardly establish a system of education for girls in India, but

her people might not be seeking employment in India in any appreciable numbers, but such steps as he suggested would, at any rate, show that the Government was willing to stand by the people of India, and would also vindicate the self-respect of the King's Indian subject.

The Resolution was seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma and supported by Mr. Lajput Rai, Mr. Samarth, and Mr. Nand Sing Sihra (Canadian delegate) and carried unanimously. It was announced that it had Mr. Gokhale's approval.

The proceedings terminated at a late hour with a vote of thanks to the Chairman proposed by Colonel Warliker.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

DELEGATES IN LONDON.

[Sir William Wedderburn entertained on Thursday the 14th May to breakfast at the Westminster Palace Hotel a number of members of both Houses of Parliament and of the British Committee of the Congress to welcome the delegates appointed by the Indian National Congress to represent their views in England.

The full text of the proceedings will appear in our next issue and we take the following extract from the *Madras Mail*.]

The Chairman said that the object of the delegates in coming to England was to remove misunderstanding and to substitute for it an *entente cordiale* between India and this country. Lord Courtney of Penwith presided at a Conference which followed, at which delegates dealt with questions affecting the future of India. Mr. A. M. Jinnah, of Bombay, explained what the delegates wanted in the India Council were men who knew public feeling, public sentiment, and public opinion, and who, having been behind the scenes, would be in a position to put matters before the Secretary of State for India in a way that men connected with the Service could not possibly do. This could be brought about by the introduction of the principle of election, whereby the members would be responsible to the people of India. Mr. N. M. Samarth said that Lord Morley had given them two native members on the India Council, but they were selective and not elective. Mr. M. Haque declared that the Press Act passed in 1910 during a period of crime and violence had been misused by the officials, and he urged that the measure should be repealed. Mr. B. N. Sarma asked that a larger elective element should be introduced into the India Council. Sir George Birdwood considered that if the caste system in India were broken down it would be the ruin of the country. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Philip Morrell, M. P., commented on the moderation and reasonableness of the demands

of the Indian delegates. Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. McCallum Scott, M. P., and Dr. Pollen also spoke. Lord Courtney suggested that a compromise might be effected whereby, instead of India sending over some three elected members to serve on the Council, a considerable panel—of, say, forty persons—should be elected in India from whom the Secretary of State might have the privilege of selecting those whom he thought most serviceable to him.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE SETTLEMENT.

The following correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and General Smuts, in confirmation of a series of interviews, constitutes, (says the *Indian Opinion*), a perfect understanding between the Government and the Indian community in regard to those administrative matters which do not come under the Indians' Relief Bill :—

Department of the Interior,
Capetown, Cape of Good Hope,
30th June 1914.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,—Adverting to the discussions you have lately had with General Smuts on the subject of the position of the Indian community in the Union, at the first of which you expressed yourself as satisfied with the provisions of the Indians' Relief Bill and accepted it as a definite settlement of the points, which required legislative action, at issue between that community and the Government; and at the second of which you submitted for the consideration of the Government a list of other matters requiring administrative action, over and above those specifically dealt with in that Bill; I am desired by General Smuts to state with reference to those matters that :—

(1) He sees no difficulty in arranging that the Protector of Indian Immigrants in Natal will in future issue to every Indian, who is subject to the provisions of Natal Act 17 of 1895, on completion of his period of indenture, or re-indenture, a certificate of discharge, free of charge, similar in form to that issued, under the provisions of Section 106 of Natal Law No. 25 of 1891.

(2) On the question of allowing existing plural wives and the children of such wives to join their husbands (or fathers) in South Africa, no difficulty will be raised by the Government if, on enquiry, it is found, as you stated, that the number is a very limited one.

(3) In administering the provisions of Section (4) (1) (a) of the Union Immigrants' Regulation Act, No. 22

of 1913, the practice hitherto existing at the Cape will be continued in respect of South African-born Indians, who seek to enter the Cape Province, so long as the movement of such persons to that Province assumes no greater dimensions than has been the case in the past; the Government, however, reserve the right, as soon as the number of such entrants sensibly increase, to apply the provisions of the Immigration Act.

(4) In the case of "specially exempted educated entrants into the Union" (i.e., the limited number who will be allowed by the Government to enter the Union each year for some purpose connected with the general welfare of the Indian community), the declarations to be made by such persons will not be required at Provincial borders, as the general declarations which are made in terms of Section 19 of the Immigrants' Regulation Act at the port of entry are sufficient.

(5) Those Indians who have been admitted within the last three years, either to the Cape Province or Natal, after passing the education tests imposed by the Immigration Laws which were in force therein prior to the coming into effect of Act 22 of 1913, but who, by reason of the wording of Section 30 thereof, are not yet regarded as being "domiciled" in the sense in which that term is defined in the section in question, shall, in the event of their absents themselves temporarily from the Province in which they are lawfully resident, be treated, on their return, as if the term "domicile" as so defined did apply to them.

(6) He will submit to the Minister of Justice the cases of those persons who have been in the past convicted of "*bona fide* passive resistance offences" (a term which is mutually understood) and that he anticipates no objection on Mr. De Wet's part to the suggestion that convictions for such offences will not be used by the Government against such persons in the future.

(7) A document will be issued to every "specially exempted educated entrant" who is passed by the Immigration Officers under the instructions of the Minister issued under Section 25 of Act No. 22 of 1913.

(1) All the recommendations of the Indian Grievances Commission enumerated at the conclusion of their Report, which remain over and above the points dealt with in the Indians' Relief Bill will be adopted by the Government; and subject to the stipulation contained in the last paragraph of this letter the necessary further action in regard to those matters will be issued without delay.

With regard to the administration of existing laws, the Minister desires me to say that it always has been

and will continue to be the desire of the Government to see that they are administered in a just manner and with due regard to vested rights.

In conclusion, General Smuts desires me to say that it is, of course, understood, and he wishes no doubts on the subject to remain, that the placing of the Indians' Relief Bill on the Statute Book of the Union, coupled with the fulfilment of the assurances he is giving in this letter in regard to the other matters referred to herein, touched upon at the recent interviews, will constitute a complete and final settlement of the controversy which has unfortunately existed for so long, and will be unreservedly accepted as such by the Indian community.

I am, etc.,

(Sd.) E. M. GORGES.

M. K. GANDHI, ESQ.,
7, Buitencingel,
Cape Town.

7, Buitencingel,
Cape Town,
30th June 1914.

Dear Mr. Gorges,—I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of even date herewith setting forth the substance of the interview that General Smuts was pleased, notwithstanding many other pressing calls upon his time, to grant me on Saturday last. I feel deeply grateful for the patience and courtesy which the Minister showed during the discussion of the several points submitted by me.

The passing of the Indians' Relief Bill and this correspondence finally closed the Passive Resistance struggle which commenced in the September of 1906 and which caused the Indian community much physical suffering and pecuniary loss and to the Government much anxious thought and consideration.

As the Minister is aware, some of my countrymen have wished me to go further. They are dissatisfied that the trade licences laws of the different Provinces, the Transvaal Gold Law, the Transvaal Townships Act, the Transvaal Law 3 of 1885 have not been altered so as to give them full rights of residence, trade and ownership of land. Some of them are dissatisfied that full inter-provincial migration is not permitted, and some are dissatisfied that on the marriage question the Relief Bill goes no further than it does. They have asked me that all the above matters might be included in the Passive Resistance struggle. I have been unable to comply with their wishes. Whilst, therefore, they have not been included in the programme of Passive Resistance, it will

not be denied that some day or other these matters will require further and sympathetic consideration by the Government. Complete satisfaction cannot be expected until full civic rights have been conceded to the resident Indian population.

I have told my countryman that they will have to exercise patience and by all honourable means at their disposal educate public opinion so as to enable the Government of the day to go further than the present correspondence does. I shall hope that when the Europeans of South Africa fully appreciate the fact that now, as the importation of indentured labour from India is prohibited and as the Immigrants' Regulation Act of last year has in practice but stopped further all free Indian immigration and that my countrymen do not aspire to any political ambition, they, the Europeans will see the justice and indeed the necessity of my countrymen being granted the rights I have just referred to.

Meanwhile if the generous spirit that the Government have applied to the treatment of the problem during the past few months continues to be applied, as promised in your letter, in the administration of the existing laws, I am quite certain that the Indian community throughout the Union will be able to enjoy some measure of peace and never be a source of trouble to the Government.

I am,
Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

E. M. GORGES, ESQ.,
Department of the Interior,
Cape Town.

FAREWELL TO Mr. AND Mrs. GANDHI.

The spacious Town Hall of Durban has only once before—on the occasion of the reception to the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale—been the scene of such a large and enthusiastic Indian gathering as assembled there on Wednesday, July 8, to bid farewell to Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Kallenbach on their departure for England *en route* to India. The body of the hall, with the two galleries was quite full. There was also a fair number of Europeans present.

The Mayor (Mr. W. Holmes) presided, and was supported on the platform by a number of Europeans, as well as leading Indians. Among the former were the Rev. Hodson and A. A. Baillie, Messrs. C. S. Jameson, Karl Gundelfinger, Baumann, Otto Siedle,

F. A. Laughton, K. C. Engene Ranaud, and A. R. Michel.

Telegrams of apology for non-attendance were received from the Bishop of Natal, General Botha Mr. Sinuts, Mr. J. X. Merriman, Mr. Burton (Minister of Railways and Harbours), Sir Thomas Smartt, Mr. W. Hosken, Senator Marshall Campbell, and many Indians in different parts of the country.

The ceremony of garlanding and presenting bouquets to Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi took place amid applause.

A telegram was read from Mr. Kallenbach regretting his inability to attend asking Mr. Gandhi to thank the friends on his behalf for the addresses presented to him.

THE MAYOR'S SPEECH.

The Mayor said it gave him much pleasure to preside at the public reception to Mr. M. K. Gandhi on the occasion of his leaving their shores on his return to his native land. Mr. Gandhi had been personally known to a large number of the inhabitants of Durban for many years past. Speaking of him as a burgess of Durban, he (the Mayor) could state that throughout his residence amongst them Mr. Gandhi was always held in the highest esteem by all sections of the community. (Applause.) It was a matter for regret to the official section of the community when Mr. Gandhi left Durban in 1904, and relinquished the un-official position which he held as the representative of the Indian community in Durban. In that position he was glad to testify that Mr. Gandhi rendered invaluable service to the whole community—particularly on the occasion of the outbreak of bubonic plague, when his cordial co-operation with the Health Committee enabled the authorities to stamp out the disease very rapidly. As Mayor of Durban he was precluded from making any reference to Mr. Gandhi's political career, but he could state that he honoured him as a man, and appreciated the whole-heartedness of his efforts to alleviate the conditions of his fellow-Indians. During the course of that afternoon he (the Mayor) received a number of telegrams chiefly emanating from Johannesburg, protesting against that reception, and stating that the Indian community were not satisfied with the Relief Bill. With that matter he had no concern, but he was given to understand that, so far as the Indian community of Durban was concerned, that demonstration in honour of Mr. Gandhi was perfectly unanimous. (Applause.)

Mr. A. Christopher then read the address of the Reception Committee to Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi which was presented by the Mayor. The address was signed

by Mr. O. H. A. Jhaveri, Chairman; Messrs: G. H. Miankhan and V. Lawrence, Treasurers, and Messrs. Abdul Hack Kaji, Lazarus Gabriel and A. Christopher, Secretaries.

Mr. Joseph Royeppen read the speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee in which reference was made to Mr. Gandhi's various activities in Natal and the Transvaal and as leader of the Passive Resistance movement. In referring to some of the chief landmarks in Mr. Gandhi's career, he said: "The first and foremost of these is that our brother set out on his life's work to conquer hate by love. If any doubt this, he has but to turn to the pages of a small pamphlet issued by him on his first return to India now nearly 20 years ago. There our leader has set forth the teaching that envy, hatred and malice, emanating from whatever causes should be met and can only be wiped out by an abundant love. How he has won with his weapon of Peace is known to the world to-day in the pain and suffering of himself and his followers in the great Passive Resistance movement. The second beacon-light of his life has been a complete effacement of the self. Here we find our brother in all his life and thought and action laying aside self and considerations of self. With him, it has ever been his brother first and last, and himself not at all. The third feature of his life has been a calm fearlessness. An aspect of this characteristic is seen in his work during the Boer War and the outbreak of plague in Johannesburg. In the midst of pain and suffering, his own life counted with him for nothing, but the life of the meanest being a precious thing worthy the price of his own."

Further addresses were presented from the Indian Women's Association, Indian Women's Sabha, Colonialborn Indians, Anjuman Islam, Shri Hindi Jigyasa Sabha, District Indian Association Tamil Mahajana Sabha, Mahomedan Mastic Society, Zoroastrian Anjuman, Gujarati Community, Newcastle Indians, Dannhauser Indians and others.

Addresses were also presented to Mr. Kallenbach by the Natal Indian Association, Anjuman Islam and Zoroastrian Anjuman.

The Mayor then called upon Mr. F. A. Laughton, K. C., to address the meeting. Mr. Gandhi, he said, belonged to the same profession as himself and there had grown between them a bond of friendship which had grown stronger and stronger. Mr. Gandhi's courage had never been excelled—he doubted whether he had ever seen it equalled. Selfishness, Mr. Gandhi had none; he had sacrificed everything to his people whom he loved, and he left as poor a man

as when he came to the country. His principles were such that he could trust him among all the men he had known. He advised his Indian friends to be guided by the principles which had led Mr. Gandhi.

The Rev. Mr. Hodson congratulated the Indian community upon the success which had attended Mr. Gandhi's efforts on their behalf. It was a matter for thanks giving that the troubles had been settled for some time to come. He was impressed by Mr. Gandhi's fearlessness. He was not only ready to write and speak of sacrifices but he was prepared to suffer and, he believed, even to die. He (the speaker) would welcome the day when there would be, in the words of a great South African Statesman, "equal rights for every civilised man South of the Zambesi."

Mr. Fred Bell as one who had worked with the Indian community of Durban for over thirty-three years wished to add a word of appreciation. He referred to the marriage question as being one of the greatest of the grievances and he was glad that the matter had been satisfactorily settled.

Mr. Gandhi, in returning thanks, first explained why he appeared in the mourning costume which he had been wearing since the time of the strike. He hoped they would forgive him for appearing in the strange costume, which he had adopted on his premature discharge from prison, as a sign of mourning. That mourning had gone, yet he retained the costume and as the alternative was for him to wear evening dress, he felt that in the mental attitude which possessed him at that moment he could not render a greater respect for them than in appearing as he did. (Cheers.) Referring to the addresses which had been presented to him, he said that, while he valued them, he valued more the love and sympathy which the addresses had expressed. He did not know that he would be able to make adequate compensation. He did not deserve all the praise bestowed upon him. Nor did his wife claim to deserve all that had been said of her. Many an Indian woman had done greater service during the struggle than Mrs. Gandhi. He thanked the community on behalf of Mr. Kallenbach, who was another brother to him, for the addresses presented. The community had done well in recognising Mr. Kallenbach's worth, Mr. Kallenbach would tell them that he came to the struggle to gain. He considered that, by taking up their cause, he gained a great deal in the truest sense, Mr. Kallenbach had done splendid work during the strike at Newcastle and, when the time came, he cheerfully went to prison again thinking that he was the gainer and not the loser. Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi referred to the time

of his arrival in 1897 when his friend Mr. Laughton had stood by him against the mob. He also remembered with gratefulness the action of Mrs. Alexander, the wife of the late Superintendent of Police in Durban, who protected him with her umbrella from the missiles thrown by the excited crowd. Referring to Passive Resistance, he claimed that it was a weapon of the purest type. It was not the weapon of the weak. It needed, in his opinion, far greater courage to be a Passive Resister than a physical resister. It was the courage of Jesus, a Daniel, a Cranmer, a Latimer and a Ridley who could go calmly to suffering and death and the courage of a Tolstoy who dared to defy the Czars of Russia, that stood out as the greatest. Mr. Gandhi said he knew the Mayor had received some telegrams stating that the Indians' Relief Bill was not satisfactory. It would be a singular thing if in this world they would be able to get anything that satisfied everybody, but in the condition of things in South Africa at the present time he was certain they could not have had a better measure. "I do not claim the credit for it," Mr. Gandhi remarked. "It is rather due to the women and young people like Nagappan, Narayansamy and Valliamah who have died for the cause and to those who quickened the conscience of South Africa. Our thanks are due also to the Union Government. General Botha showed the greatest Statesmanship when he said his Government would stand or fall by this measure. I followed the whole of that historic debate—historic to me, historic to my countrymen and possibly historic to South Africa and the world. Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi said that it was well-known to them how the Government had done justice, and how the Opposition had come to their assistance. They had also received handsome help from both the Imperial and Indian Governments, backed by that generous Viceroy, Lord Hardinge. (Cheers.) The manner in which India, led by their great and distinguished countryman Mr. Gokhale, had responded to the cry which came from the hearts of thousands of their countrymen in South Africa, was one of the results of the Passive Resistance movement, and left, he hoped, no bitter traces or bitter memories. (Applause.) "This assurance," continued Mr. Gandhi. "I wish to give." I go away with no ill-will against a single European. I have received many hard knocks in my life, but here I admit that I have received those most precious gifts from Europeans—love and sympathy. (Cheers.) This settlement, he said, had been achieved after an eight years' struggle. The Indians in South Africa had never aspired to any political ambition, and as regards the social question, that

could never arise in connection with the Indians "I do not hold for one moment," Mr. Gandhi exclaimed, "that East and West cannot combine. I think the day is coming when East must meet West or West meet East but I think the social evolution of the West to-day lies in one channel, and that of the Indian in another channel. The Indians have no wish to-day to encroach on the social institutions of the European in South Africa. (Cheers.) Most Indians are natural traders. There are bound to be trade jealousies and those various things that come from competition. I have never been able to find a solution of the most difficult problem, which will require the broad-mindedness and spirit of justice of the Government of South Africa to hold the balance between conflicting interests." Referring to his stay in South Africa Mr. Gandhi said that he should retain the most sacred memories of this land. He had been fortunate in forming the happiest and most lasting friendships with both Europeans and Indians. He was now returning to India—a holy land, sanctified by the austerities of the ages. In conclusion, Mr. Gandhi hoped that the same love and sympathy which had been given to him in South Africa might be extended to him, no matter in what part of the world he might be. He hoped that the settlement embodied in the Indians' Relief Bill would be carried out in a spirit of broad-mindedness and justice in the administration of the laws lately passed in connection with the affairs of the Indian community. "Then," added Mr. Gandhi, "I think there will be no fear on the part of my countrymen in their social evolution. That is one of the lessons of the settlement."

The proceedings then terminated by a vote of thanks, proposed by Mr. R. K. Khan, to the Mayor and the singing of the National Anthem.—*The Indian Opinion*.

THE COLOUR BAR IN THE COLONIES.

In the course of a letter to the "*Westminster Gazette*" on the subject of the exclusion of Indians from the self-governing Dominions, Lala Lajpat Rai observes that the Imperial Government can no longer with impunity ignore the grievances of Indians, and if they cannot interfere with the self-governing Colonies in order to induce them to treat the Indians with justice and consideration, they must revise their Imperial relations both with India and the Colonies. But who is to move?

"On the one hand, the Imperial Parliament refuses independence of action and legislation to India, and on the other it confesses its inability and impotence to

safeguard its interests whenever they clash with those of the white people. The Tory Party does not want democratic institutions to grow in India, as in their opinion India is not fit for them, and the best interests of India require that it should continue to be under British trusteeship. The Liberal Party does not want to fulfil the trust in the only way the trust can be discharged when the interests of the ward clash with those of others, because it does not want to interfere with the Colonies. The Labour Party will not move as the question affects white labour."

In these conditions, what is India to do? If conditions in India were the same to-day as they were twenty years ago, Indians would have accepted their helplessness with philosophic calm, but things have altered and India is under the spell of a new spirit. The hypnotism of colour has been destroyed, and the Indians are determined to assert their rights and to persist in asserting and claiming them until they are conceded or won.

"The movement is no longer confined to the intellectuals. It has penetrated to the masses. From the Babus it has travelled to the military classes. If the rejection of the Council of India Bill and the refusal of the Imperial Parliament to give an effectual representation to Indians in the Secretary of State's Council will cause a certain amount of disappointment among the intellectual classes, the fate of the Sikhs on the 'Kamagatu Maru' will effectively stir up the military classes. Even the Mahomedans are not so docile as they used to be."

The question is neither solely political nor solely economic. It partakes of both elements, but mainly it is a question of race and colour. Economically nothing will be better for the Colonies, which are crying for colonists at the top of their voice, than to get the Indians to co-operate with them in the development of their Colonies.

"Physically or morally the Sikhs are inferior to no other race. They are a well-built, good-looking, strong and healthy race, who have given good proofs of their bravery, resourcefulness, character, stamina and loyalty on numerous occasions. To bang the doors against such people on the ground that they are an inferior race is arrogance amounting to criminal insolence. In the opinion of some competent observers, what the labour population of the Colonies may reasonably require is that after a certain period of apprenticeship and trial these Indians should conform to the ordinary conditions of white labour, or the next best thing they can do is to ask their Government to fix the number of immigrants that might enter in a year; or to fix the proportion of Indian immigrants in a certain ratio to white immigrants."—*India*.

WORLD'S HINDUSTHAN STUDENT FEDERATION.

MR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., Ph. D., Lecturer, State University of Iowa, writes under date Iowa City, Iowa, U.S.A., July 12:—

It has been roughly estimated that there are now about three hundred Hindu students in American Colleges and Universities. And one of the most significant things which this student body has done in recent years is the organization of the Hindusthan Association of America. The Association is a national society with chapters at nearly all important institutions of learning where there is a sufficient number of Indian students. At present, the strongest branches of the Association are to be found in New York, Chicago, and in the Universities of Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Iowa, Kansas, Washington, Oregon, and California.

The primary object of the Hindusthan Association is to further the educational interest of India. It furnishes the prospective students with information on educational conditions in America; it encourages the stay-at-homes to go abroad for education; the officers of the Association meet the newly-arrived student at the port of entrance, and direct them to proper Colleges. Last, and not the least, the Association is doing a vast deal to promote closer fellowship between India and America.

Desiring to leave nothing to chance, the society has organized a campaign to carry on its patriotic programme. As a practical step to that end, it is publishing an excellent educational magazine called, "The Hindusthan Student." The Association has already secured the support and co-operation of many of the leaders of this nation and of India. In its long list of distinguished honorary members figure the names of many a notable American University President, College Professor, author, journalist, and not a few Indian Nawabs, Maharajas, and Rajas.

The Hindusthan Association is now very anxious to extend its field of operation by internationalizing its organization. It has perfected a plan to unite all Indian student societies in every land under one general federation, to be known as the "World's Hindusthan Student Federation." The branch organizations, which will be the members of the Federation, will have for their basic purpose the promotion of Indian students' welfare. As far as possible, the chapters federated throughout the world will render one another neighbourly services, and look after the

interests of Indian students, just as the Hindusthan Association of America is trying to do at present through its various local organizations in the United States.

All the important business of the Federation should be conducted through a central office, the location of which is to be fixed annually by its chapter members. It may be one year in England, another in Europe next in America, and the following year in Japan or in India. The Central office, which will be under the direction of an International President and International General Secretary, will become the international clearing-house of information.

It should be well understood that the coming of a branch society within the circle of the World's Hindusthan Student Federation will in no way or manner interfere with the constitution of the local organization. Each individual society will retain its full freedom and autonomy, and will merely become a co-operating member of the Federation. Take a recent instance. The Woman's Auxiliary of the Hindusthan Association, started by that true and loyal friend of India, Sister Kamala Devi, has applied the other day for a membership in the Hindusthan Association of America. The Auxiliary is organized for the benefit of all Indians in the city of New York, and its active members are all American women. This rather new organization will be in no way competing with the old Hindusthan Association of New York: each has its own constitution and by-laws, each has its own peculiar work, and each will try to help the other as far as possible. The chief reason why the Auxiliary is seeking affiliation with the national organization is, that such a connection will give it a better standing and in some respects a wider field of activities.

As the national President of the Hindusthan Association of America, I take this opportunity to extend a cordial invitation through the medium of your valuable journal to all Indian student societies to co-operate with us and build what promises to be one of the greatest and most effective agencies for the welfare of Indian Students. We have been criticised, doubtless sometimes unjustly, for our inability to organize on a national and international basis. We can now show how untrue this is. There is a real demand for young men of constructive vision, and of aggressive personality to step forward, and lend us a helping hand. We need the World's Hindusthan Student Federation.—*The Hindu*.

COMMENTS AND CRITICISMS.

Indian Emigration.

Under the above heading *The Sussex Daily News* (June 16) writes the following in a leading article as a reply to Sir Harry Johnstone's suggestion that the promoters of Indian Emigration should first turn to India:—

"Without exception, critics of emigration have made similar suggestions in regard to all countries from which emigrants have set forth. Even in countries which are statistically the most crowded there are great spaces which could support a population, and even in our own country such areas have been pointed to again and again. In the particular case of India, it should be remembered that it is an immense country with very slight means of communication compared with its size; and it is only to be expected, therefore, that Sir Harry Johnston should be able to draw attention to an area of habitable but unpopulated India some two hundred thousand square miles in extent. This does not, however, touch the heart of the problem. It is at best only a superficial criticism. There is coming to be very visible in India and other Eastern lands a vast movement towards emigration similar to that which has many times swept over the world, and has so recently made a profound mark upon Western Europe, including these islands. If there exists a demand for labour in many parts of India it ought not to be difficult to attract population thither. But this will have no effect upon the natural desire that is becoming more manifest among the Indian people to spread their activities beyond the borders of their own country and to seek what opportunities lie on foreign shores. It is popularly supposed that the roving instinct is peculiar to the races of North-Western Europe. But history shows that this is not so; and it appears that nothing will prevent the races of the East from moving outward. Whether they shall be allowed to emigrate to other parts of the British Empire is a question to be settled by the Dominions themselves. But it is certain that the human desire to emigrate cannot be repressed."

A Stranded Madrasite.

We publish from the *World* the following particulars of a young man who went to England last year from Madras:—

"Many tragedies are to be laid to the charge of the Indian Government and the India Office by reason of the careless indifference in which they bring native gentlemen to England.

"It is the case of a Hindu, a bright, intelligent man of good family, a little over thirty years of age, who was uprooted from his home some months ago, and brought to this country on what may be described as a semi-official errand. He had never been outside his native Presidency of Madras before, and came here not knowing a soul, leaving his wife and family behind. A highly educated, volatile man, he was rather taken up by one or two good people, and after the inquiry which he had come to attend was over, he stayed on, evidently enjoying the life. His money was soon gone, and his work being ended, the allowance made by his Government stopped just at the very time when this Hindu gentleman, who all his days had lived in quiet obedience to the tenets of his caste, had acquired a taste for the 'pleasures' of civilisation.

"The result was obvious from the first. He has borrowed money, incurred liabilities which he cannot meet, stooping to practices for obtaining funds which very nearly transgress the law, and is now stranded, impoverished, and apparently unable to return to India. I have just heard that his family has learned of his behaviour in London, and that he may never be received again into his caste. It is a common enough story, but tragic, inasmuch as here is a man from whom much was hoped officially, but whose early promise can now never be redeemed.

"The India Office has no right to step into these men's lives and bring them here to their ruin and the damage of British prestige. Those familiar with the facts, both here and in India, are only too painfully aware how damaging to our prestige in the East is the downfall of men of his type through Western wine and women."

The Hindu commenting upon the above says,

"There will probably be little difficulty for the Indian community in Madras, as well as some Europeans whose acquaintance he had assiduously cultivated, to identify the individual referred to in the above. He was nominated to a position of importance by the Local Government without adequate enquiry into his antecedents, character and capacity. He is a man of no recognised standing in Indian Society, and it was a surprise to the Indian public, when his name was announced as having been selected by the Madras Government to a quasi representative position of considerable importance. The disappointment felt at his nomination was at once given expression to in these columns, and if he has turned out an abject specimen of an educated Indian in England, his fellow-Indians here do not wonder at it. If the incident shows anything at all, it is that the Local Government has no touch whatever with the opinion of the local educated Indian community, even in matters in which their interests are concerned."

Komagata Maru Test Case.

The Toronto correspondent of the *Times* writes under date July 8.—Naturally rival politicians are struggling to make capital out of the situation of the Hindus held up in British Columbia. One story circulated by Liberal newspapers was that the Borden Government had ordered the admission of the Hindus, and the effect of the story has been such as to show clearly the character of public sentiment in the Province.

The Vancouver *News Advertiser* says:—

The Imperial authorities have repeatedly declared that this is a question with which they will not interfere, and, as the Borden Ministry from first to last has maintained a policy of exclusion, it might have been assumed that the report of this sudden change of programme was untrue.

Referring to the meeting of Hindus in London, which passed a Resolution complaining that Canada was denying ordinary rights of citizenship to the King's Indian subjects, the *News Advertiser* adds:—

This doctrine is its own refutation. It claims for the people of Bengal and of the Punjab the same rights as the Canadian to live in Canada and control the country. It denies the Canadian self-Government. It usurps authority over this country by men who have never seen Canada and have never had anything to do with the country. Any person can convince himself of the utter absurdity and unconstitutionality of such a claim by carrying it towards its logical conclusion.

The Vancouver *Sun*, the chief Liberal newspaper on the coast, denounces Mr. Stevens, member for Vancouver in the Commons. One of Mr. Stevens's proposals was that the ship with its Hindu passengers be towed out of the harbour into neutral waters and handed over to the Japanese cruisers, while one of his other proposals provided for the forcible seizure of the Hindus in the Komagata Maru and their deportation back to Asia in the Canadian Pacific liner *Empress of India*.

The Vancouver *Province*, an independent Conservative organ and one of the most influential journals in the West, also takes issue with a statement by Mr. Stevens that the opponents of the admission of the Hindus are willing to go to the Courts if they could find a fair Court to go to. It also declares:—

According to reports from Ottawa, Mr. Stevens is keeping the wires hot with messages that there will be riots if the Hindus land. Frankly the citizens of Vancouver will hardly credit such reports. There is not the slightest danger of any riots or bloodshed if the Hindus land, unless the stage is purposely being set for such demonstrations. If there is any disturbance, the police will cope with it as usual, but Ottawa should not

be allowed to imagine that our civic authorities are unable to handle civic affairs.

It is absurd to imagine that Mr. Stevens is sending such messages. He is right to keep the Government fully informed as to sentiment here against the landing of Hindus and to urge on the Government the necessity of seeing the law enforced.

Furthermore it is his duty to impress on the Government the fact that if the present law is not a good law, other laws must be enacted which will serve the purpose of preventing a repetition of such incursions as that of the Komagata Maru.

South African Immigration Act.

MR. POLAK INTERVIEWED.

London, May 29.

JOHANNESBURG.—In an interview with Reuter's representative, Mr. Polak said that the Bill amending the South African Immigration Act dealt with two main causes of passive resistance, namely, the £3 tax and the marriage question. He had received a telegram from Mr. Gandhi stating that it appeared to be satisfactory. In order, however, to comply with the requirements of passive resisters, Mr. Polak said it would be necessary to get an assurance from Government that the Immigration Act would be more sympathetically administered, and that due regard would be paid to vested interests in the application of the Gold and Licensing Laws. Mr. Polak further pointed out that the acceptance of the present Bill with every measure of thankfulness did not mean the abrogation of the general claim for civil equality in South Africa. The remaining two points, namely, the right of South African born Indians to enter the Cape and the declaration on entrance in the Orange Free State, Mr. Polak described as small matters of administration.

The "Nation" on Citizenship.

The "Nation," commenting on "the spirited adventure of Gurdit Singh and his 375 Indian immigrants to force the closed doors of the Canadian ports," observes that want of money has prevented the immigrants from carrying their case to the Supreme Court of Canada, and eventually to the Privy Council. This omission (it declares) certainly ought to be repaired, for the British Columbia Judges have, in effect, decided that citizenship of the Empire confers no general right of travel or residence within it, and that a colony has sovereign powers to make what regulations it pleases (subject to the assent of the Crown) in regard to immigration.

"If it really is the case that a British subject as such possesses no rights whatever in the Empire, it would make for honesty and clear thinking that the position should be defined by some higher authority. Magna Charta

can hardly be upset by the Courts of a Colonial province. The effect of this decision appears to be to destroy the conception of any common citizenship of the Empire, and in that sense the "Times" frankly welcomes it. The effect of this decision, combined with the defeat of the Council Bill, may have a shattering effect in India. In the Colonies, as in the Lords, men who boast themselves above all Imperialists are uniting unconsciously to make the ideal of the Empire in India morally unmeaning."

Indian Immigrants.

LAJPAT RAI AND THE RIGHT OF ENTRY.

Mr. Lajpat Rai writes in the *Daily News* :—

I hope you will let me say a few words more in continuation of my letter published in your issue.

Firstly, my suggestion of retaliatory powers does not meet the case of those Indians that are already settled in the different parts of the British Empire. It is absolutely necessary that justice and equality of treatment should be secured to them and they, their wives and children should have an unfettered right of ingress and egress besides equality of treatment of British subjects in other respects in their adopted homes. A good many of them went to these Colonies for the benefit and on the invitation of the latter. Others went when there was no legal bar. Some of them own property in these dominions and have married there. Some are the descendants of those that originally settled, and do not perhaps know their own language. Their modes of life and habits and manners have entirely changed and if they were to return to their country they would feel very awkward.

As for further immigration they claim the right of free entry as British Citizens. If that right is not admitted they claim a right of retaliation. At present they are treated even more harshly than other Asiatics, who are not British subjects as, for example, the Japanese and the Chinese. The "Continuation Journey Clause" does not affect these latter, as they have direct steamer services between their countries and Canada and so on. You can well understand how much bad feeling the consciousness of this inferior treatment creates in India, which is neither good for the Government nor for the people.

Secondly, what I mean by a "greater measure of self-Government" is a sort of autonomous Government such as the Colonies enjoy, or in any case a form of Government with a substantial Indian element in it elected by popular vote. I am not at all in favour of the control of White Hall being removed or lessened so long as that condition is not fulfilled. That will be a remedy worse than the disease.

NOTES AND NEWS.

• Emigration to Chili.

Chili notifies elaborate rules for regulating emigration into Chilean territory and the Government of India in circulating the rules asks Local Governments to warn intending emigrants of the risks they run in proceeding to Chili without providing themselves with prescribed certificates of health.

• Asiatics and Canadian Fisheries.

VICTORIA (BRITISH COLUMBIA), 20th May.—Owing to the Japanese dominating the salmon fisheries in the Fraser River, a White Fishermen's Protective Association has been formed to endeavour to prevent the issuing of licences to Asiatics. The Japanese have been underselling the whites and making a profit of £200,000 per annum in the Fraser fisheries.

• Exclusion of Hindus in New Zealand.

PROHIBITORY LEGISLATION.

LONDON, July 1.—Mr. F. H. Fisher, the New Zealand Minister of Marine, has introduced in the House of Representatives at Wellington a Bill designed to prevent the right of entry to Hindus and other Asiatics from countries within the Empire. The Bill provides that an intending immigrant must fill in an application in form of any European language selected by the Customs officer, and also write not less than fifty words, the substance of which shall be dictated by the officer. There shall be a time allowance of twenty minutes.

Lord Gladstone on Colour Problem.

CAPETOWN, July 9.—A Civic reception was held at Capetown as a farewell to Lord Gladstone who was leaving for England next day.

In the course of a Valedictory speech he emphasised the importance of the colour question and expressed the conviction that if public opinion was apathetic and the colour question was left to political chances, the moral authority of the white would continue to decrease.

He, however, was full of hope. He had seen with intense satisfaction the fair and honourable settlement of the Indian question, and if the understanding spirit which had brought peace with honour to that question was applied with the same skill and sense of justice to other problems, all would go well.

Viceroy's Sympathetic Message.

SIMLA, July 10.—The following telegraphic communication which have passed between the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and His Excellency the Viceroy are published

for general information.—The Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale to Viceroy—Telegram—London, 8th July 1914—Indian Community of South Africa desire me to act as their spokesman and convey to Your Excellency their humble heartfelt thanks for your great help and courageous advocacy which facilitated settlement.

Viceroy to Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale—Telegram, 9th July 1914—I thank you cordially for your message from the Indian Community of South Africa. I did no more than my duty in giving expression to the deep feelings of India last November. The generous settlement secured through the wise and patriotic action of the Union Government is greatly appreciated in India and will I am confident conduce to the happiness and prosperity of our Indian fellow subjects in South Africa.

Mr. Gandhi's Speech at Banquet.

JOHANNESBURG, July 15.—Mr. Gandhi will shortly leave for England. He has been widely entertained in recognition of his efforts culminating in the settlement of the Indian question.

Speaking at a farewell banquet given in his honour, at which 400 guests attended including representative Europeans, Mr. Gandhi said that the recent settlement was honourable to both sides but was not final inasmuch as it did not give to Indians everything to which they were entitled.

Referring to the various disabilities which still existed, he said that he did not fear the future, with goodwill and mutual co-operation and the assistance of friendly Europeans.

An Emigrant's Experience.

Mr. Lajpat Rai says in the *Westminster Gazette* that "he had once an experience of travelling in an emigrant's steamer that sailed from Liverpool, and carried about 1,000 white emigrants from all parts of Europe. Never in his life will he forget the squalor, the want of decency, want of personal cleanliness, and the want of culture that he witnessed on board the ship. Physically or morally the Sikhs are inferior to no other race. They are a well-built, good-looking, strong and healthy race, who have given good proofs of their bravery, resourcefulness, character, stamina, and loyalty on numerous occasions. To bang the doors against such people on the ground that they are an inferior race is arrogance amounting to criminal insolence."

General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi.

Few conquests are so complete as that of Generals Smuts and Botha by the Passive Resisters. A complete change was visible in their mutual relationship after the last struggle, and if the change was not noted at the time, it was because the principal actors did not choose to reveal it. It was only in Mr. Gandhi's farewell

speeches to his countrymen that we find the clue to the seemingly strange stand which the Union Government took during the second reading of the Indians Relief Bill, by declaring that they would stand or fall by the Bill. Here is one more instance to demonstrate the completeness of that change in the attitude of the Ministers. "This time," General Smutts told Mr. Gandhi in their interview before the second reading of the Bill, "there must be no misunderstanding, no mental reservations on either side. Let us have all the cards on the table; and I want you to tell me *where you think a particular passage does not read according to your light, and it shall be amended.*"

Gifts to Motherland.

Mrs. Besant says in her *New India* that "one of the most interesting presents which Mr. Gandhi received, on the eve of his departure to England *en route* to India, was the gift of four boys by Mr. and Mrs. C.K.T. Naidoo. As Mr. Gandhi intends to join the Servants of India Society, the parents intend that the boys too may be brought up to serve their Motherland in the same capacity. It is noteworthy that Mr. and Mrs. Naidoo are both veteran Passive Resisters and have gone to gaol as often as it was necessary or possible for them to do; and that they should be parted from their four children for the sake of India shows the keen regard which our South African countrymen have for India. As Mr. Gandhi pointed out at the time, their gift was the most precious any person can give to a country, and we hope that under the guardianship of two such men as Messrs. Gokhale and Gandhi, the boys will walk in their masters' footsteps."

Mr. Kallambach.

New India writes Mr. Kallenbach's name is well-known in India in connection with the South African struggle, in which he was one of the most trusted followers of Mr. Gandhi, and with him, he bade farewell to the Union to spend the rest of his life in the service of India and to the company of his former leader. Mr. Kallenbach is doubly welcome to this country. As a friend and co-worker of Mr. Gandhi, he will be respected wherever our countrymen live, and his presence in this country will also serve to check the growing aloofness in India between the Europeans and the children of the soil. The batch of Englishmen who side with the Indians in their fight for Colonial Self-Government are painfully few, and any increase in their number is to the interests of this country as well as of the Empire.

Congress Delegates and Lord Crewe.

Lord Crewe received the Congress delegates at the India Office on Monday morning (May 11). The deputation consisted of Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. B. Narasimheswara Sarma, Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah, Mr. N. M. Samarth, Mr. Mazhar-ul Haque and Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha.

The interview, which lasted nearly two hours, was entirely informal, and no set speeches were made. The delegation is the result of Lord Crewe's announcement towards the end of last Session that he contemplates legislation to amend the constitution of the India Council, which was created in 1858, when the administration of India was transferred to the Crown. The Karachi session of the Indian National Congress passed a resolution favouring a Council of nine members (the present minimum limit is ten), three of them to be Indians elected by non-official Indian members of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils; three to be men of standing in English public life, unconnected with India; and only three to be retired Anglo-Indian officials. It was also held that the Council should continue to be advisory and should have no administrative function.

The delegates visited the House of Commons on Wednesday afternoon (May 18) and laid their views before an influential gathering of Members of Parliament. Among those present, in addition to Sir William Wedderburn, were Sir Charles Swann, who presided, Sir Herbert Roberts, Sir George Toulmin, Sir W. P. Beale, Sir Robert Price, Sir Edwin Cornwall, Sir John Jardine, Mr. Phillip Morrell, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. A. A. Allen, and Mr. MacCallum Scott. The speeches dealt with the changes demanded by the Congress in the constitution of the India Office Council and the general effects in working of the Morley reform. It is hoped that the delegates may again visit the House later in the session.

Indians in Natal.

TENDENCY TO RETURN.

The *Umkuzi* which sailed for Bombay, Colombo and Calcutta on the 18th May, took her full complement of passengers, all of whom were Indians, says the *Natal Mercury*. Only nine, however, were "free," the remainder being Indians who were returning at the end of their indenture period. There were 282 men, 162 women, 168 children between two and ten years of age, 48 children under two years, a total of 658. It would seem as though there has been an increase in the number of those who exercise their right under their indentures of being repatriated at the end of same. When the *Unfuli* left for India recently, she had some 50 returning indentured Indians, and there are now at the Indian Depot some 180 who could not be accommodated on

board the *Umkuzi*. These men will be sent back most likely by the *Umhloti* the next boat of the King and Son's Line to sail for India. It is expected before she leaves that the number of those wishing to leave will have been increased.

A gentleman with a close knowledge of the matter stated there was a greater tendency than used to be the case on the part of indentured Indians to return to India when their time of service was completed; and he added that there was no doubt a certain amount of dissatisfaction existed among them, which would account for the increased number of those going back.

India and Panama Exposition.

It is perhaps well-known that at the International Panama-Pacific Exposition which is to open on the 20th February 1915 almost all the civilised nations of the earth will be represented. Even Germany and England, which at first showed some unwillingness to participate in the movement, seem to have decided to send their representatives. But the Government of India has, in spite of the pressing requests of the Exposition Authorities, refused, perhaps rightly in view of the cost, to take part. This has always been their consistent policy, for, on the two previous occasions on which similar expositions were held at Chicago and St. Louis, it was not willing to be represented at them. But all the same, India is not likely to go unrepresented at the Exposition. Some patriotic Indians residing in the United States have formed themselves into a committee in order to organize the Indian section. We hope they will secure the necessary assistance from the people of this country.—*New India*.

Planters and Indian Labour.

At the annual meeting of the Indian Tea Association held in London on 16th July, Mr. H. S. Ashton, presiding, a resolution was passed expressing approval of the action of the committee in moving the Government of India to increase the facilities for providing labour, especially with regard to the necessity for opening up of recruitment of the whole of the Agency Tracts, and for passing a measure to penalise enticement of coolies with as little delay as possible. The coolie labour regulations are at present nothing short of a system of civilized slavery. After all, the coolie is entitled to all the rights and liberties of a subject of His Majesty King George V. It is wrong to have one law for the white man and another for the coloured, and we urge upon the English nation and the Government the fact that the strength of England lies in considering the cause of India as England's cause.—*New India*.

Indians for British Columbia.

THEIR LANDING TO BE PREVENTED.

A message to the *Times* from Toronto says that the *Komagata Maru* is expected to arrive at Victoria on Friday, 22nd May, and her arrival is awaited with anxiety in Ottawa. It is understood that the Indians have plenty of money and will vigorously endeavour to force the Government to allow British subjects from India to enter freely. Orders, however, have been sent to Victoria not to allow the Indians to land. Government believe that they are acting on sound legal and constitutional grounds and have consulted the Department of Justice.

If the Indians seek to evade the Order of Council prohibiting the entrance of artisans and labourers by claiming that they are not artisans and labourers, they will be denied admittance under the Regulation prohibiting the entrance of Orientals except by direct passage. This may mean a long legal contest, and the results will, perhaps, be of the deepest importance from the Provincial, National and Imperial points of view.

The British Columbia Members of Parliament are united in favour of absolute exclusion of Indians, Chinese and Japanese, and they believe that no Government will resist the unanimous demand of the Pacific Province.

Uneasiness in Japan.

ALLAHABAD, 20th May.—A special London telegram to the *Pioneer* says:—The *Mail's* Tokio correspondent states that Sir Ian Hamilton's speech has created uneasiness in Japan. The *Nichi* states that the Japanese must prepare to fight the races and must inform other Asiatics of the fearful consequence of the prejudice and unrighteous attitude of white men.—*Correspondent of Madras Mail*.

Indian Art in London.

A bronze statuette of a "Boy in Pain," by Mr. F. M. Bose, has attracted some attention in London in the sculpture department of the Royal Academy. India's path to the highest Art must lie along the lines of her own natural and national evolution, and along the lines traced out by the genius of Rabindranath Tagore and earlier artists and there is great satisfaction in seeing an Indian sculptor force his way into the very midst of English art.

NOTED INDIANS.

English Tribute to Indian Scientists.

MR. C. V. RAMAN.

A high appreciation of the Scientific Researches of Mr. C. V. Raman appears in a recent volume of the London, Edinburgh and Dublin Philosophical Magazine which is the leading English periodical of Mathematical and Experimental Physics. In a paper published in this Journal by Prof. E. H. Barton, D.Sc., of the University College, Nottingham, who is himself a noted specialist in Acoustics and the author of several excellent treatises in Physics, Mr. Raman's work is quoted in a list of selected authorities alongside of the celebrated researches of Helmholtz and others. A special section of the paper reviews Raman's work in the field and concludes with the following words:—"It is accordingly seen that the view insisted upon the present paper has its counterpart in the maintained oscillations treated by Raman. And further, that this feature, overlooked by most for the ordinary vibrations, has been recognised by the Calcutta Physicist with respect to these special ones." Mr. Raman's work has also attracted the attention of various other eminent men of Science abroad. It will be remembered that the Calcutta University recently nominated him on their own initiative to the Sir Taraknath Palit Chair of Research in Physics, and Calcuttaites may justly feel proud of having such a brilliant and promising young Physicist at work in their midst.

Prof. J. C. Bose.

The researches of Prof. J. C. Bose continue to evoke interest among the leaders of thought in England. After revisiting his private laboratory in Maidavale, the President of the Royal Society declared himself most impressed by the ingenious and novel self recording instruments which automatically record the responses made by the plants to automatic and other stimulations and also the movements of the plants when it is affected by no outside stimulus. He regards the physiological investigations thereby afforded as of great importance, and he therefore hopes that these investigations may be continued in an adequate manner. Prof. Starling, author of the Standard Work on Physiology, and Prof. Oliver, the well-known Plant-Physiologist, were likewise impressed by the delicacy and importance of Prof. Bose's work and methods. It has also evoked interest in other directions. Prof. Carveth Read, author of "Metaphysics of Nature," thinks there has not been any work so significant for many years. In his opinion it will profoundly influence philosophical thought by affecting our general way of regarding living things. Mr. Arthur Balfour has been impressed by Prof. Bose's theories,

and he had recently paid a long visit to Prof. Bose's laboratory where he watched the manifestations of plant-irritability with interest. Mr. Balfour is struck by the significance of these investigations to psychologists.

Mr. A. N. Tagore.

Mr. A. N. Tagore is now engaged in writing a book on the "Six Limbs of Indian Painting." It appears that Mr. Tagore has quite accidentally discovered the existence of six laws relating to Ancient Indian Painting which are said to be older than the six Chinese laws of the 5th century A. D. The discovery is an interesting one, and will, no doubt, cause a furor in the art world.

Two Madras I.M.S. Successes.

DR. S. B. VENUGOPAL.

We understand that Dr. S.B. Venugopaul, a graduate of Madras University, has come out successful in the recent I.M.S. Examination held in July last. Dr. Venugopaul was an Assistant-Surgeon in the General Hospital for two years where his work was highly appreciated and he won the golden opinion of all the officers with whom he was working. He left Madras last August, appeared for the second M.R.C.S. and passed in December 1918 and he appeared for the final M.R.C.S. and passed in all three branches, Medicine, Surgery and Midwifery, in the examination held in April. He has taken the earliest opportunity of appearing for the I.M.S. and his success therein will be hailed with joy by one and all.

DR. T. SANKARA SASTRI.

We are also informed that another Madras Graduate Dr. T. Sankara Sastri who, has been selected for the Indian Medical Service at the Competitive Examination held on the 27th ultimo. He is the eldest son of Mr. T. Purnayya Pantulu of Guntur. After a successful career at the Madras Medical College, he obtained the M.B. Degree and subsequently proceeded to London in August last with the help of a munificent scholarship of Rs. 5,000 granted to him by the enlightened Rajah of Pithapuram whose name will ever be remembered in this Presidency in connection with his extensive charities for the material advancement of his countrymen. Sastri worked for one year in the St. Bartholomew's and Middlesex Hospitals and then appeared for the Examination, finally securing a place out of the thirteen advertised for. He is the second Andhra to attain this distinction.

We heartily congratulate the two candidates and we also avail ourselves of this opportunity of expressing our deep admiration of the Rajah of Pithapuram for his munificent donations on various occasions subscribed

towards the encouragement of higher education. We hope other Rajahs and Zemindars will follow suit and will also evince the same keen interest in encouraging intelligent youngmen.

INDIANS IN JAPAN.

An Indian Barrister in Japan.

Mr. M. C. Mallik, Barrister-at-Law, who is now on a visit to Japan, lectured on "The Judicial System of Great Britain" before the Bar Association of Japan on June 20. Mr. Ozaki, the Minister of Justice, and Dr. Okudat a former holder of that office, were among those present. At the dinner which was subsequently held, Dr. Masujima called the Minister's attention to the custom in England of choosing judicial officials solely from members of the Bar as being largely responsible for the excellence and efficiency of the British judicial system.

It was quite applicable in Japan, and he commended it to the consideration of the Minister. The Tokyo Bar had more than 700 members, and the entire Japanese Bar is some 8,000 strong. Their support would be a tower of strength to any Government or party, and at the same time their official position in the Cabinet or on the Bench would steadily promote that cause of judicial reform which the best interests of the country demanded and which all his hearers had so deeply at heart.

The Indo-Japan Association.

So little is known of this institution in India, that it will surprise many to know that it was started as early as 1902, and received its present name in the following year. Among its original organisers are several influential Japanese who had been to India, and also a few Indians temporarily resident in Japan, and it has for its present President Count Okuma, the well-known ex-Foreign Secretary of that Empire. In consequence of several causes, the chief of which was the suspicion created in foreign countries as to its aims, it has been more or less a dormant institution, though it must be stated, in justice to its promoters, that it has worked very hard for the admission of Indian students into

Japanese Colleges and factories, and has been successful, though to a limited extent, in encouraging freer intercourse between the two great Nations of the East. It was at its invitation that persons of the standing of the Gaekwar of Baroda, the Yuvaraj of Mysore, and Mr. R. D. Tata visited Japan. The aims of the Association, as reorganised recently, are:—(1) to study commercial, industrial, scientific and religious topics relating to the eastern countries; (2) to afford facilities for traffic and communication between the respective countries, and for the investigation and study of things Indian and Japanese; and (3) to publish pamphlets and to hold lectures. The Association has received encouraging support, after its reorganisation, from a large body of influential Japanese, and from its journal, the ninth number of which has been just published, we see that the organisation bids fair to show a better record of work in the future.

If it should succeed in keeping itself free from suspicion, the Association has in it vast potentialities for doing good to the East. As is pointed out in a foreword to its journal: "When we consider the matter in the light of present economic conditions, it appears that there are many things, commercial, industrial, etc., in regard to which India and Japan need each other's help." Also, if the Association should succeed in carrying out its aims, "a contribution will have been made towards the peace of the world and the progress of mankind." Excellent as are all its objects, the Association seems to be interested more in commercial possibilities than in any other. That specially is the view which the occupation of most of the new members indicates. Subject to correction, we venture to point out that its main aim is "to open a great market of ample wealth and prosperity necessary for her economical development in future." It is not here contended that this aim is by itself unworthy of an Association promoted by the Ministers of the Mikado; such a policy, if successful, must bring with it a greater degree of intercourse between the two Nations; but all the same, the permanent results to the world's progress will be much less, than if the Association should place before itself the nobler aims which till now actuated its doings.—*New India*, 17th August.

that they are, at all events, not worse treated than the foreigner. And if the Canadian arguments are such as we cannot employ without loss of self-respect, or without injury to the self-respect of those to whom we address them, what are we to do?

A PAINFUL ADMISSION.

For that is the actual situation. How, without condemning the very process by which we ourselves colonized America, can we maintain that occupation to the extent of two inhabitants to the square mile gives the occupants a right to keep for themselves, and for those whom for some reason they may choose to favour, all the profits that are capable of being made out of something like one-fifteenth of the land-surface of the globe? The only right that first occupancy really confers is that of framing any reasonable regulations for the government of the country and development of its resources, which regulations all new-comers are bound to respect until they are very sure that they can improve them, and of levying such taxes as will defray expenses and fairly remunerate them for their trouble. This will no doubt justify them in excluding *individuals* whose condition or record may render them intrinsically "undesirable," but cannot justify discrimination against *whole races and classes*—least of all on the ground that they are able and willing to do more work for less pay than the first-comers. That may be inconvenient for rivals in the same trade, but it is clear gain to the community as a whole—while it lasts; it is not, however, likely to last long after it is discovered that higher wages are obtainable and that a higher standard of living is expected. The objection set up in some quarters, that the climate and the work required are unsuited to Hindus, at once supplies an answer to the other objection, that they are likely to swarm over in inconvenient numbers. If the fact is so, it has only to be made known in order to stop the influx.

SEPARATION ESSENTIAL.

Are we to tell sturdy Sikhs from the Punjab, who have served with credit under British officers, tilled their own lands, and managed their local affairs under a legal system quite as advanced as that of England or Canada, that they are less assimilable, less fit for Canadian citizenship than Dukhobors from Russia or Ruthenians from Galicia? Canadians may take this line on their own responsibility; and on the strength of such information as they imagine themselves to possess but surely not the Imperial Government.

If such action supported by such arguments is persisted in by our autonomous kinsfolk on either side

of the globe, I must confess that I see but one way in which we British tax-payers and electors can honourably extricate ourselves from a very awkward and humiliating situation, and do justice to our own insular and Imperial interests, as well as to our democratic and humanitarian sentiments. It is that we should abdicate, without precipitancy but without undue delay, that nominal supremacy which renders us formally responsible in the eyes of our Asiatic subjects, and of other Asiatic Powers, for measures which we cannot approve, yet cannot effectually veto, and which is even more offensive to their self-respect than injurious to their economic interests. If I do not add South Africa to the list, it is only because the Union Government is at the present moment recommending to its Parliament what are, from its point of view, very considerable concessions, however inadequate from ours, and displaying a conciliatory disposition which it would be a pity to discourage. Should that Bill fail after all to become law, we shall be back where we were six months ago, and I for one shall be disposed to advocate amicable separation in that case also.

ULTIMATE GAIN.

My allotted space being exhausted, I can only indicate, without developing, my reasons for thinking that we stand to gain rather than to lose by severing the slender political bond which unites us with these vigorous young nations from the moment that it ceases to be based on a substantial unity of sentiment.

1. We should be a greater and more beneficent force in world-politics if unhampered by conflicting aims.

2. We should be better able to watch over the development of India and the Crown Colonies.

3. Our quondam dependencies would be more likely to come round in the end to our point of view after some experience in trying to maintain their exclusionist policy on their own resources as independent States.

4. There would be one sham less in the world to confuse and demoralize us.

A HINDU CAN BECOME AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

BRAHMANS ARE THE BEST REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INDO-GERMAN STOCK.

[Sakharam Ganesh Pandit left for America a few years ago with a view to popularise the ancient

Hindu teachings of which he is a keen student.* As a member of the Thosophical Society he did useful work in India and made his mark as a fluent speaker and an inspiring teacher. He has been trying for sometime past to establish his right to American citizenship and has at length fully succeeded. The full judgment which declares that "the petitioner has succeeded in establishing beyond all reasonable doubt, that he is a 'free white person' within the meaning of the Naturalization Act. He will, therefore, be admitted to citizenship."—Ed.—"*New India*."] Brief *In re* Application for Naturalization by Sakharām Ganesh Pandit filed in Department 10, Superior Court, Los Angeles County, California, in September, 1913.

NATURALIZATION.

1. My claim to become a citizen of the United States is based on U.S. Revised Statutes, Title XXX, Sec. 2169 (as amended 1875), which reads:

"The provisions of this title shall apply to aliens being free white persons and to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent."

Who are 'white persons'? According to (A) Judicial, (B) Lexicographical, (C) Anthropological, and (D) Philological interpretation, the Hindus are 'white persons.'

II. The organic and fundamental laws of the United States which are expressed in the U.S. Constitution and the principles which are advocated in the Declaration of independence are superior to all statutes. The Hindu's claim to naturalization is based on the organic laws of the United States.

III. I am not a polygamist, nor an anarchist; nor an undesirable according to the Naturalization Laws of June 1906.

INTERPRETATION OF REVISED UNITED STATES STATUTES, SECTION 2169.

Annotation on Sec. 2169: *Caucasian or white races and African races only* are entitled to naturalization, and all others are excluded. *In re* Kanaka Nian (1889) 6 Utah 261

A native of Mexico, whatever his status viewed solely from the standpoint of the ethnologist, is embraced within the spirit and intention of our laws upon naturalization, and his application should be granted if he is shown by the testimony to be a man attached to the principles of the constitution and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same. *In re* Rodriguez (1897) 81 Fed. 337.

A native of the Hawaiian Islands is not eligible for naturalization. *In re* Kanaka Nian (1889) 6 Utah 259; 21 Pac. 993; 4 L.R.A. 726.

An Indian, native of British Columbia, is not entitled to naturalization, Sec. 2103, R.S., and the Act of Feb. 8

1887, provide the only way by which Indians may become citizens of the United States. *In re* Burton (1900) 1 Alaska 111.

A Person of half Indian blood, whose father was a white Canadian and his mother an Indian woman, is not a 'white person' within the meaning of the statute. *In re* Camille (1880) 6 Fed. 256.

Mongolians and persons belonging to the Chinese race are not included in this Act, and a certificate of naturalization obtained by such a person is void on its face. *Fong Yue Ting v. U.S.* (1893) 149 U.S. 711. *In re* Gee Hop (1895) 71 Fed. 274. See also *In re* Hong Yen Chang (1890) 84 Cal. 163.

One of the Japanese race is not eligible under the naturalization laws, to citizenship, and a judgment admitting such a person is void. *In re* Yamashita (1902) 90 Wash. 234. See also *In re* Saito (1894) 68 Fed. 126.

See Federal Statutes Annotated, Vol. 5 (1905).

JUDICIAL INTERPRETATION OF THE PHRASE "WHITE PERSON."

(1) U. S. v. Balsara (Circuit Court of Appeals, Second Circuit. July 1, 1910) 186. 180 Fed. 694.

Ward, Circuit Judge: "The expression 'free white persons' is found in all our Naturalization Acts since 1790 except for the brief period between 1873 and 1875, when they were omitted from the Revised Statutes. The Government contends that the words must be construed to mean what the Congress which passed the first Naturalization Act in 1790 understood them to mean, and, no immigration being then known except from England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Germany, Sweden, France and Holland. Congress must be taken to have intended aliens coming from those countries only. The consequence of this argument, viz., that Russians, Poles, Italians, Greeks, and others, who had not therefore immigrated, are to be excluded, is so absurd that the Government extends the intention of Congress to all Europeans."

"On the other hand, counsel for Balsara insists that Congress intended by free 'white persons' to confer the privilege of naturalization upon members of the Caucasian race only. This we think the right conclusion and the one supported by the great weight of authority:—

In re Ah Yup, 5 Sawy. 155, Fed. Cases, 164;

In re Saito (C.C.) 62 Fed. 126;

In re Camille (C.C.) 6 Fed. 256;

Matter of San C. Po, 7 Misc. 471, 28 N.Y. Supp. 383;

In re Buntaro Kumagai (D.C.) 163 Fed. 922;

In re Knight (D.C.) 171 Fed. 297;

In re Najour (C.C.) 174 Fed. 785;

In re Halladjian (C.C.) 174 Fed. 834.

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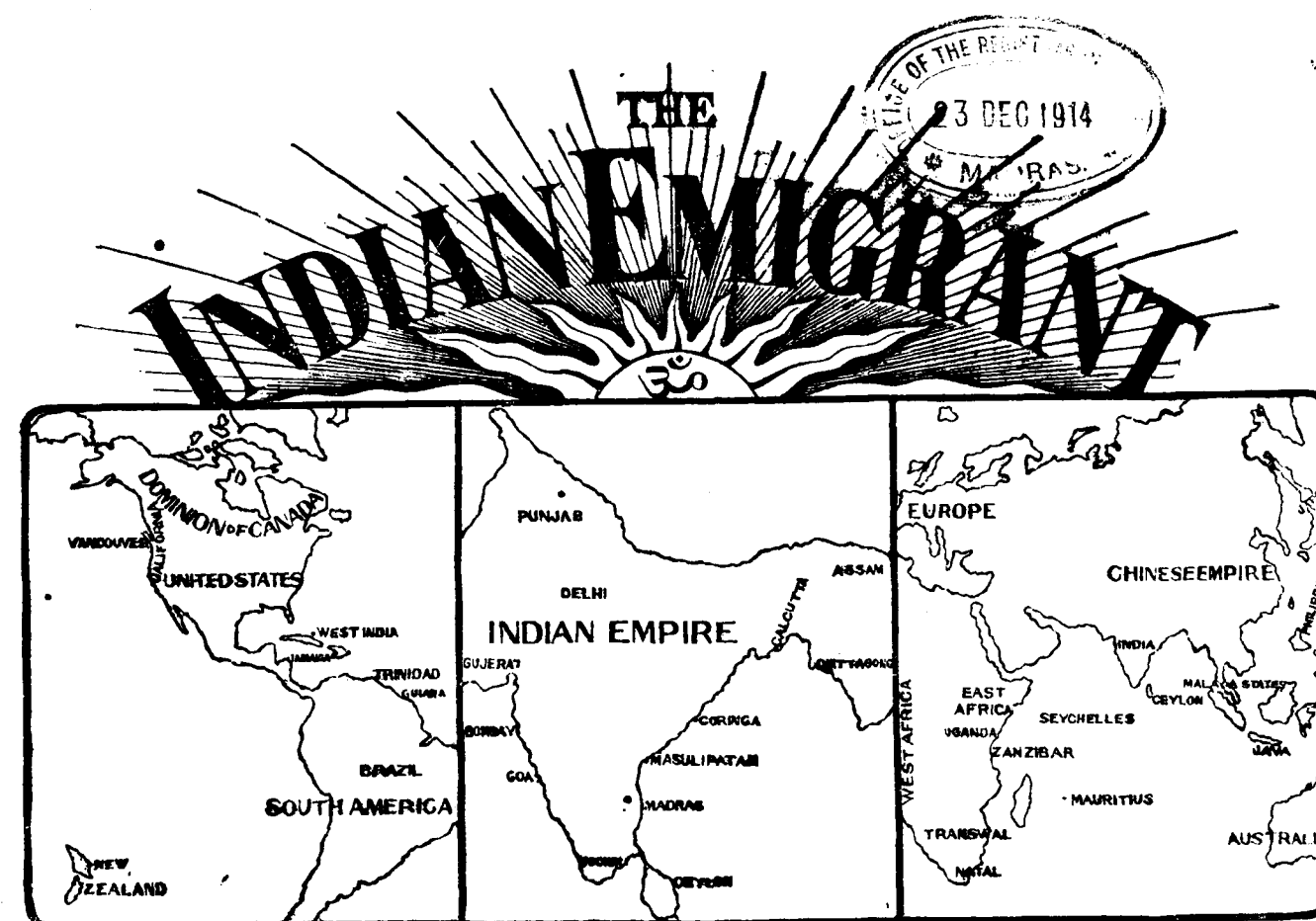
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His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Lord Hardinge of Penshurst.
[Viceroy and Governor-General of India].



Vol. I.

SEPTEMBER 30th, 1914.

No. 2.

The "Indian Emigrant."

A Monthly Record of the Status and Doings of Indians in
British Colonies and Foreign Countries and an
Advocate of Equal Rights of British
Citizenship within the Empire.

OUR THANKFULNESS TO H. E. LORD HARDINGE.

All friends and well-wishers of Indians living abroad have reason to be thankful for the fact that the Viceroy of India at the present moment is Lord Hardinge. More than any other Governor-General in India has His Excellency identified himself with the cause of Indian patriotism. It has been said that the secret of true statesmanship is to feel yourself within the skin of the people whom you are called upon to deal with. This gift of statesmanship Lord Hardinge possesses in a pre-eminent degree. No Governor-General has had a livelier appreciation of the stand-point of Indian patriots, and none has on his own initiative done more to satisfy the legitimate

and noble aspirations of the Indian people. This, not only in reference to questions of internal administration but also in regard to the position of Indians who have emigrated abroad. It is said of Oliver Cromwell that for the first time in English History did the ruler of England regard himself and was regarded by his people as the guardian not only of Englishmen at home, but also of every Englishman abroad. Something like this may be said with reference to India about Lord Hardinge. The share he has had in securing a fair and tolerable settlement of the South African question is well known. It was the bold position he took up before all the world as the Champion and Tribune of the Indian people which brought home to the parties concerned the seriousness of the problem from the Imperial stand-point. And no sooner was the South African question nearing a fairly satisfactory settlement than the question of the status of Indians in Canada assumed an acute form. Neither in this matter was His Excellency indifferent or inactive. The speech which His Excellency made at the last meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council shows how awake his mind is to the treatment which Indians receive in the Colonies. Who ever thought, when everybody's mind

tion of the condition that the immigrants should arrive by continuous voyage from their place of origin. It is unfortunate and to be regretted that such restrictions should exist, but when they do exist they cannot be ignored without causing suffering and distress. We must all regret the discomfort suffered by the 400 Indians on board the *Komagata Maru* for which the organisers of the expedition were, in my opinion, culpably responsible. They must have known perfectly well that entry would be refused and the sending of the ship could only be regarded as most unwise. The promoters should have remembered that they who fail to consider the rights of the Colonies can in return claim little consideration for their own. The Canadian Immigration Act gives the Government of Canada very wide powers and anybody with any knowledge of its contents would realise how futile it would be to contest them.

A TEST CASE.

The case was taken as a test case before the Canadian Law Courts and was lost as was inevitable, the result being that with very few exceptions all those on board the *Komagata Maru* were deported. There were unfortunately some breaches of the peace committed by some of the Indian passengers on board, but in the end they left peaceful. In this connection I would like to mention the fact that the Canadian Government very generously gave £800 worth of supplies to the Indians on board for the return journey. This point should not be forgotten. I may add that the developments of this incident were watched by the Government of India with the closest attention, but as the question at issue was of a purely legal character there was no cause for intervention.

When however there was an apparent likelihood of the compulsion of the Indian passengers by armed force, I addressed a communication to the Secretary of State deprecating the use of force on our fellow-countrymen, and as you are aware no force was used. Within the last few days I have learnt that these unfortunate people have been left stranded in Japan. I have, therefore, requested His Majesty's Consul-General at Kobe to repatriate them to India, and at the expense of Government in the case of those without means.

THE POSSIBLE SOLUTION.

Having now cleared the ground of possible misunderstandings, I will revert to the alternative policy to which I referred a few minutes ago as a possible solution. I think I have shown clearly that we have

drifted into a position of isolation, and it is evident that if we are to secure for our Indian fellow subjects any of the advantages that are now denied, we must substitute for this a policy of co-operation. • This can, in my opinion, be achieved only by negotiation with the Colonies on a basis of complete reciprocity. Taking Canada, for instance, we know that a certain number of Japanese are admitted annually on a passport system.

Surely India may claim at least most-favoured-nation treatment in any negotiations that are opened and secure equally favourable terms for Indians. It should not be difficult to limit by agreement the number of passports to be issued, which, while providing very fully for temporary residence as in the case of students, tourists, and the like, would, at the same time, strictly limit the right to settle permanently in the country. Those attempting to secure admission without such permits or passports would be rejected at the port of entry after ample warning in the country of origin that such rejection would be inevitable.

A SCHEME OF RECIPROCITY.

Clearly, no reciprocal arrangement for controlling emigration at both ends can be outlined, or considered in detail without full discussion with the Colonial Governments concerned, and it would obviously be undesirable to commence negotiations with the Colonies unless there was a reasonable prospect of some practical outcome of the discussions. If this alternative policy commends itself to the people of India, it would be futile to consider any other line of action until it has been tried and has failed, but with the knowledge in our possession that the Colonies have on various occasions shown themselves alive to the necessity of giving such consideration as is possible to the wishes of the Government of India, I am full of confidence that they would be willing to go to some length in giving facilities to a moderate number of Indian immigrants while obtaining through such a compromise certain restrictions in India on free emigration to the Colonies. This is the policy which the Government of India would advocate at the present time, policy based on a scheme of complete reciprocity, and it is for the consideration of the Hon'ble Members and of the Indian public that I have developed our views here to-day. If these views meet with general approval, the Government of India are ready to recommend them to the Secretary of State with a view to opening negotiations with the Colonies concerned.

CONCLUSION.

I appeal to the Indian public to view this question in no narrow light. India has her rights, but equally have the Colonies. Should it be decided to negotiate with the Colonial Governments, I am confident that they, with their strong Imperial instincts, will meet us in no mean or niggardly a spirit, provided that we on our side show our readiness to meet them half-way. The fact that in a few weeks' time our splendid Indian soldiers may be fighting side by side and shoulder to shoulder with our Colonial fellow-subjects against the common enemy, is a guarantee of fair and generous treatment on both sides in a controversy of this nature.

RECIPROCITY IN EMIGRATION

BY

MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

The speech of H. E. the Viceroy to the Supreme Legislative Council, on the general question of the migration of Indians within the Empire, opens up an entirely new aspect of the matter, and it is one that demands full consideration and discussion. The South African question is, for the time, arranged, and need not recur, save as part of the larger question. On this the Viceroy invites the full expression of public opinion, and it will be a breach of duty on the part of the Indian public if this invitation be not met with a complete response.

It is clear that complete freedom of movement between the inhabitants of all countries is desirable. In a civilised world all persons, who are healthy and who are not criminals or paupers, should have complete freedom of movement and of settling. Still more should this be the case within the limits of an Empire. This is the ideal, as Lord Hardinge has pointed out.

With the rise of Democracy, however, and the growing power of the handworkers, this freedom has been much restricted. The reason is not far to seek. The producers in the more civilised States are endeavouring to secure for themselves a larger share in the results of their labours; by combination they are able to make a collective bargain with the capitalist who employs them, and thus to secure this share. But in making this collective bargain they have two difficulties: first, the labourers in their own country who do not join the combination, and who, driven by starvation, seek to obtain employment individually from the capitalist at any wage he is willing to give; these are the so-called "black-legs," and the capitalist

seeks to destroy the labour-combinations with their aid, so that he may keep wages down, and gain larger profits for himself. The second difficulty is the inrush of cheap labour from Foreign States, where handworkers, with a lower standard of comfort, swamp the labour-market, and thus enable the capitalist to drive down wages. The more advanced and educated handworkers, in all democratic states, are therefore endeavouring to bar out the immigration from abroad, or to reduce it within very narrow limits, as they see that all attempts to better their own condition break down under this rush of cheap labour to any country in which the handworkers have raised the standard of comfort by combination among themselves.

This condition has nothing to do with Colour, as such. The chief stand has been made by the United States; if one wants to visit America, one has to answer some thirty questions as to one's health, parentage, opinion, moral character, financial condition, before one can buy a ticket to the "free" Republic. These restrictions are due to the mischief done by the former permission of free ingress. The rush of Russian and Polish Jews into London brought about legislation against "undesirable aliens". The Colonies have followed suit.

Now it is true that there is a general attempt to shut out Asiatics, but it is based on the general question of excluding all whose standard of comfort is lower than that of the workers of the countries concerned. They pick and choose among white immigrants; they exclude all coloured. But it is well that we should understand the nature of the root objection. As long as the Colonies are self-governing and are practically ruled by the Labour Vote, so long this objection will hold good. This is only one aspect of a many-sided question, but it is one which ought to be understood, the more so, that is not very familiar here. The Viceroy understands it well, and it is one of the reasons for his suggestion of reciprocity in emigration, "controlling emigration at both ends"—Indian and Colonial—as he says.

INDIAN EMIGRATION.

.A HISTORICAL RETROSPECT.

Emigration may be defined as a constant and orderly movement of human society, i.e., of men, families and tribes leaving the place of their birth with a view to settle in some other place. This impulse in men has been in existence from the very earliest times and

Sarma, Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, and Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha), the following had accepted Sir William's invitation:—Lord Courtney of Penwith, Lord Kinnaird, Lord Reay, Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, C.S.I.; Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E.; Sir M. M. Bhownagree, K.C.I.E.; Sir Edward Boyle, *Bart.*; Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Herbert Burrows, Sir Henry Cotton, K.C.S.I.; Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, L.C.C.; Mr. A. L. Cotton, Mr. E. Dalgade, Mr. Samuel Digby, C.I.E.; Bhagwandin Dube, Mr. G. P. Gooch, Mr. J. Fred. Green, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Sir Krishna Gupta, K.C.S.I.; Mr. W. Douglas Hall, Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P.; Sir John Jardine, K.C.I.E., M.P.; Mr. Leif Jones, M.P.; Mr. Joseph King, M.P.; Mr. C. E. Maurice, Hon. E. S. Montagu, M.P., Mr. A. C. Morton, M.P.; Mr. Philip Morell, M.P.; Dr. A. F. Murison, Mr. H. W. Nevinsion, Mr. Harry Nuttall, M.P.; Mr. C. J. O'Donnell, Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E.; Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. J. M. Parikh, Mr. Mark Philips Price, Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, Sir Herbert Roberts, *Bart.*, M.P., Dr. V. H. Rutherford, Sir George Scott Robertson, K.C.S.I., M.P.; Hon. Mr. Krishna Sahai, Major N. P. Sinha, I.M.S. (retired), Mr. Harold Spender, Right Hon. Sir Charles Swann, *Bart.*, M.P.; Mr. S. H. Swinny, Mr. A. MacCollum Scott, M.P., Mr. Theodore Taylor, M.P.; Col. Warliker, I.M.S. (retired); Mr. Sidney Webb and Mr. J. C. Wedgwood, M.P.

Letters expressing regret were received from the Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Channing, Lord Weardale, Dr. C. Addison, M.P.; Mr. Percy Alden, M.P.; the Right Hon. Amir Ali, Mr. Edwyn Beyan, Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, Mr. Annan Bryce, M.P.; Right Hon. Thomas Burt, M.P.; Sir William Byles, M.P.; Mr. H. G. Chancellor, M.P.; Dr. John Clifford, Mr. G. G. Greenwood, M.P.; Mr. T. Hart-Davies, Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P.; Mr. Gordon Hewart, K.C., M.P.; Mr. Frederic Harrison, Mr. J. A. Hobson, Mr. Bernard Houghton, Sir Robert Laidlaw; the Right Hon. Thos. Lough, M.P.; Mr. F. C. Mackarness, Sir Theodore Morrison, K.C.I.E.; Mr. P. A. Molteno, M.P.; Mr. Vaughan Nash, C.B.; Mr. Ernest Parke, Mr. Arthur Ponsonby, M.P.; Right Hon. G. W. E. Russell, Mr. C. P. Scott, Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P.; Mr. Fisher Unwin, Mr. John Ward, M.P.; the Right Hon. Eugene Wason, M.P.; and Mr. A. J. Wilson.

LETTERS OF REGRET.

Dr. Clifford wrote that he regarded the meeting of "manifest importance to our Empire in India and at Home, and certain to promote the best interests of our people there and here."

Mr. A. J. Wilson wrote: "Circumstances have compelled me of late years to give less space to Indian affairs in the 'Investors' Review,' but I have lost none of my interest in the Indian peoples or in their advancement in the paths of freedom. These many years past I have held and preached the doctrine that if the British Em-

pire is to endure, to outlast other empires which have come and gone, it can only do so by emancipating the nations over whose destinies it holds sway, by guiding and educating them until they can take control of their own affairs. The process is long, the progress often slow, but I think we are now on the right path in India. Patience and a wise restraint will bring India to the goal. Pray convey my regrets and most hearty greetings to Sir William Wedderburn, the faithful, consistent and life-long champion of the peoples of India."

Mr. H. G. Chancellor, M.P., wrote: "I have no personal acquaintance with Indian questions, but I read 'India,' and try to keep in touch with Congress aims and ideals, which seem to me altogether moderate, progressive, and of such a character that, as a Liberal, I cannot help sympathising with them. It seems to me that if we are to retain the loyalty and affection of India we must apply the same principles there as have proved so successful elsewhere, and by due extension (cautious and gradual, of course), of local autonomy on representative lines, put responsibility upon the people, and open up to them an avenue for self-help and self-improvement, along the lines of their own development which need not be identical with English ideas, though they will need English sympathy, help, and, to some extent, direction."

Mr. E. S. Montagu, M.P., who had been expected, wrote subsequently to say that on arrival at the Treasury that morning he had discovered that he had mistaken the day on which he was looking forward to meet the Congress delegates. He could only plead that it was essential during the passage of the Finance Bill through the House of Commons for him to make at the shortest notice unavoidable engagements of a business kind. He trusted that Sir William Wedderburn would accept his apologies, and hoped to find some other opportunity of meeting the delegates, for he was deeply sensible of the many kindnesses shown to him by members of the Congress when he was in India, and he still retained undiminished his interest in Indian affairs.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN'S SPEECH.

Sir William Wedderburn, rising immediately after breakfast, said: "The object of our meeting to-day is to promote an *Entente Cordiale*. We have been hearing much lately of the *Entente Cordiale* with France and Germany. That is all excellent. But I say that it is still more important that we should have an *Entente Cordiale* with India. Rightly understood, the interests of India and of this country are identical. If there has been unrest in India, it has proceeded from misunderstanding, and the object of the delegates is to remove that misunderstanding, and to substitute a good understanding—in every sense of the word. Our desire is to establish an atmosphere of sympathy and brotherly

kindness between the two great branches of the Aryan race. The delegates have come duly accredited by the Indian National Congress, which for the last thirty years has voiced the needs and aspirations of the Indian people. They are all gentlemen of recognised position in the public life of India. Three of them are barristers of your Inns of Court, and have had the honour of sitting in the Legislative Council of the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, to whom India owes so much. The fourth is a member of the Madras Legislative Council, and the fifth is a Vakil of the High Court of Bombay and Hon. Secretary of the Bombay Presidency Association. Three are Hindus, and two are Moslems. Our time to-day is short, and I am not going to take it up with a speech. What is wanted is that you should hear about India at first hand from Indians themselves. For this purpose I propose that we should resolve ourselves into a Conference. Over this Conference Lord Courtney has most kindly consented to preside. In this we are very fortunate, for he is the best chairman in England. I will now ask him to be so good as to take the chair.

LORD COURTNEY OF PENWITH.

Lord Courtney then took the chair. They were assembled (he said) to listen to delegates who had come over from India, mainly, as he understood, in response to an invitation sent by Lord Crewe in view of the intention he had arrived at of revising and amending the constitution of his Council. Lord Crewe had asked that those who were interested in the matter should communicate their ideas to him. That was a very unusual step on the part of the head of a great Department, and he thought they ought to congratulate Lord Crewe upon his audacity. He hoped they would later on be able to congratulate him on his success. In India the invitation had been taken up very cordially, and they had present that day five gentlemen who would convey to them the opinions of the great mass of educated people in India.

MR. MOHOMED ALI JINNAH.

Mr. Jinnah said that Lord Crewe had in contemplation a Bill which was intended to reform the India Council—which was really the head of the Government of India and the highest tribunal in all matters executive. It had created a most satisfactory impression in India that an opportunity for stating their views should be given to them by the Government before the Bill was introduced into the British Parliament. At the present moment the India Council was composed of ten members. Two were financial experts, and the rest, who were nominated by the Secretary of State, were connected with the administration of India. Although Lord Morley very recently recognised that anybody who could give first-hand information on Indian matters to his Council would prove very desirable members of that

body, and although he gave effect to that view by appointing two Indian members, those two gentlemen were nominated members only, and while they had done excellent work, and had tried, to the best of their ability and judgment, to place the views of the Indian people before the Council, yet something more was desired. It was necessary that the Secretary of State should be kept in intimate touch with the trend of public opinion in India. Men who were connected with the administration, and were brought up in the Service, were debarred by virtue of the rules of that very Service from attending political meetings, and thereby obtaining the clear insight which was necessary for them to adequately represent Indian opinion. Representatives were required who had been, so to speak, behind the scenes, and men who had been brought up solely in the administrative groove. They wanted on the Council men in touch with public feeling and acquainted with public sentiment and public opinion, and therefore in a position to put before the Secretary of State views which men connected with the Service could not possibly do. How were they to secure representatives of that character? Their suggestion was that the only possible way was to introduce the principle of election. Once they got elected members on the Council, they would have representatives who would be responsible for the people of India, and who would not secure re-election if their work had not proved satisfactory. The proposal he had first to submit was that the Council should consist of a minimum number of nine members—one-third of whom should be elected Indians. The principle of election had already been recognised over and over again in regard to this Council. More than one attempt had been made to reform it, and on every occasion the principle of election had been recognised; but the difficulty was to form the electorate. He quite agreed that that presented great difficulty in times gone by, but to-day they had already got an electorate in India which had been working for a number of years. He could best illustrate it by describing what occurred in the Presidencies of Bombay, Madras, or Bengal—which sent their representatives to the Imperial Council. In Bombay they had got non-official members of the local Legislative Council, and they were entitled to send three representatives to the Imperial Council. In the last two elections that had taken place under the new Council Act, and even before, they had chosen their representatives in Bombay to the Imperial Council in this way. The non-official members of the local Council elected those whom they sent to the Imperial Council. Thus they had a ready-made electorate in the elected members of the Provincial Councils. Those elected members could choose the members to represent them on the Imperial Council. He thought that would prove a most satisfactory electorate. It would secure the choice of really representative men. The system had already

for absence. After the expiry of the term of the indenture, immigrants were expected to re-indenture as in the case of Mauritius. If they did not so, and worked for wages, they came under an ordinance applicable to native African labour, under which a servant was liable to whipping for neglect of work. The commission recommended the rectification of these and other abuses and the appointment of a Protector of Emigrants.

(5) Lastly owing to the complete emancipation of slaves in 1848; the French Colonies such as Re-union and others began to draw labour from India and this gave rise to kidnapping and decoying British subjects. The Act XLVI of 1860 set this matter right by basing emigration to French Colonies on the same basis as that of the British Colonies. In 1863 emigration was sanctioned to the Danish Colony of St. Croix and to the Dutch Colony of Surinam. This brings us down to measures passed in recent times which will be discussed later.—*Ed.*

INDIANS AND BRITISH CITIZENSHIP.

Some years ago, when addressing a Convocation of the Calcutta University, Lord Curzon exhorted the Indians to cultivate that greater patriotism, "patriotism towards the Empire," which had conferred upon them the rights of British citizenship and which had placed them on an equal footing with the freest subjects of the British Crown. A few years later Lord Morley called Indians the equal subjects of his Majesty, and since then the expression "our fellow-subjects" has been rather often used in political speeches and writings in connection with Indians. I will not accuse Lords Curzon and Morley of hypocrisy, nor do I say that those who describe Indians as their fellow-subjects necessarily mean anything more than that, as subjects of the King, Indians are their fellow-subjects. Some credulous people for whom to feel that they are living in paradise, though it may only be a fool's paradise, is almost a necessity of life may have the satisfaction of thinking that what Lords Curzon and Morley said was true and that they are British citizens; but those of us who have the intelligence and the courage of looking the facts in the face cannot shut our eyes to the sad and disillusioning realities of the situation. Lord Curzon's speech never deceived any thoughtful Indian, but for the enlightenment of those who are liable to be carried away by rhetoric and to be misled by language of statecraft the present writer had to point out even then that patriotism and empire were two inconsistent terms; that Empire carried with

it the idea of subject peoples, and that subject people could never be "patriotic" towards an Empire which meant to them only political subordination.

Shortly after, the *Times* made the point clear by drawing a distinction between the self-governing parts of the Empire and those that were only "dependent." In article headed "The Two Empires," published in its issue of May 24th, 1909, it said that "one of the greatest difficulties which beset any discussion of Imperial problems was the vagueness of the terms used to describe their most important aspects," and that "no terms suffered more from this uncertainty and confusion than Empire and Imperialism." Then followed a discussion of the different senses in which the expressions were used, with the conclusion that the real main division in the Empire was that between the self-governing Empire, including the United Kingdom, and the dependent Empire, including India and all the Crown Colonies and Protectorates. The whole article was a plea for a "union of the self-governing Empire" for "the maintenance of the dependent Empire" as a sort of partnership. It was freely recognised that some of the keenest Imperialists in the self-governing Dominions were not only indifferent to the dependent Empire, but actually opposed to any closer relations with it, and they would sooner have *purely white commonwealths* than a "piebald" Empire. And the actual experience of the last five years has justified the suspicions of "administrators in India" that the union of the self-governing Empire as against the dependent Empire was not likely to be of any benefit to the latter.

The fact is that the conception of an Empire consisting of parts which, except in name, are absolutely independent of one another is based on a fallacy. The *Times* has practically conceded this when it says in a recent issue that "free peoples," meaning thereby the self-governing Dominions, are perfectly free to say who will enter their country and under what conditions, and who will not. The self-governing Dominions are quite witting to have all the advantages of their connection with the Empire, but they will have nothing to do with its obligations and responsibilities, if the latter in any way interfere with their cherished ideals or desires. They will join the partnership to exploit India, to use it as a field for careers for their sons, for beneficial treatment of their goods in its markets, etc., but they will not admit Indians to their country either as traders or as labourers or as professional men; not even as visitors and tourists, except perhaps on the most humiliating terms. Soon after the article in the *Times* (in 1909) South Africa

enacted laws which not only shut the doors effectually against the further immigration of Indians into the Union, but which aimed at the expulsion of even those who had already settled there and acquired property. Canada and Australia followed suit and provided stringently against the entry of Indians in their territories. The South African question has for the time being been settled by the Indians accepting defeat on the general point—*viz.*, their rights of entry as British citizens, and the South African Government agreeing to let those that are already there remain on tolerably fair terms.

At first, it seems difficult to imagine how it can happen otherwise in Canada. The two cases, however, are somewhat different. South Africa has shut her doors against all Asiatics irrespective of caste, creed, or colour or country of origin. Canada has not done so. She is admitting Japanese and Chinese, but she will have nothing to do with Indians or Hindus. The reasons are obvious. Japanese she cannot shut out because that will possibly involve her in trouble with a friendly State which has only recently given abundant proof of its capacity to enforce its rights and to protect its honour. As for the Chinese, they are irresistible. They will pay any tax that is asked, however prohibitive it may be, but what is still more important is that they will smuggle. The Indians are helpless in either way. The Government is only a department of the Home Government of England; it is neither national nor autonomous; it is completely subordinate to the British Cabinet and the British Parliament, and the latter dare not stand up for India's rights or her honour against Canada. From a child Canada has grown into dominant partner-dominant because it shares all the profits but is not liable for losses. India, on the other hand, is only a Dependency, and as such the property of the partnership, or, in the words of the *Times* article of 1909, "the biggest asset which the United Kingdom" contributes to the "common stock" of the partnership. Surely mere "property" can have no rights, much less rights of citizenship. This is the logical view of the situation which is being endorsed in more ways than one by the English people at home. The Liberal, the Tory, and the Labour man are agreed that Canada cannot be coerced to admit Indians into its dominions, nor can they dare let India enforce her rights in any way that may commend itself to her.

In the meantime, the English educational institutions are also closing their doors against Indians. Some openly say that they are undesirables, being

members of an inferior race and of an inferior civilisation; others pretend that there is no room for them. The position of Indians in England is decidedly inferior to that of South Africans or Canadians or Australians, or, for the matter of that, of the other white people of Europe. It is in no way superior to the other people of Asia who are not British subjects. Japanese, Chinese, Persians, and Arabs are as well off here, if not better, than Indians. The only advantage the Indian has is that he is being watched more closely than anyone else, and that his money is being freely spent in patronising him, in providing guardians, advisers, entertainers, proctors, etc., for him and in feeding him on teas and buns.

The only right, which the Indian's then has as a subject of the British Crown, is that British bayonets protect the British Empire in India, and that except as a paid soldier he is freed from the liability of bearing arms or of using them even for sport of self-protection. In return he is expected to be unswervingly loyal to the British Crown and to be thankful for the education he receives in British institutions in India, for the justice he gets in courts presided over by British officers, for the opportunities he has of bringing his cases to the Privy Council, for the facilities he is given of buying English and Colonial and European goods at the cheapest possible prices, and of selling his own products in the best markets of the world. As for the blessings of peace, the Hindus of the Punjab are getting rather sceptical about it. Raids and dacoities are no longer confined to the frontiers. They are being carried right through the heart of the Punjab. The irrepressible and wicked seditionists give the British police so much trouble that they hardly get enough time effectively to protect person and property. Philosophers as we are, we are still happy in the conviction that British justice and fair-mindedness will in the end prevail and confer the full rights of British citizenship on us. In the meantime we must jog along the best we can.—*The New Statesman.*

CONGRESS DELEGATES IN LONDON.

INTERESTING SPEECHES.

Sir William Wedderburn entertained on Thursday, the 14th May, to breakfast at the Westminster Palace Hotel a number of members of both Houses of Parliament and other public men to welcome the delegates appointed by the Indian National Congress to represent their views in this country. Besides the delegates (Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah, Mr. N. M. Samarth, the Hon'ble Mr. B. N.

obtained a certificate from eminent officials in India, like Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, and the late and the present Viceroy. As to the character of the Council, his suggestion was that it should be Advisory and Administrative. It had been given out that the portfolio system was to be introduced. He thought that would be fatal and dangerous. It would mean duplicating the machinery and reducing the Secretary of State to a mere figure-head. If each man was to be placed in charge of a portfolio, and if he was to be necessarily connected with the administration, it would mean that a man who had retired from the Service in India would be called upon to dispose of matters which were the subject of complaint against the very class from which he was drawn. Hitherto, the Secretary of State had not only dealt with matters of detail, but also with matters of principle and policy. It was in the fitness of things that there should be antagonism between the official and the non-official views on these questions—questions for instance, such as the separation of the executive from the judiciary—or the extension of elementary education, or the Press Act. The Secretary of State, consequently, when these matters came before him would be unable to hear both sides of the question if he had nothing but the official element surrounding him. They wanted the Secretary of State to be made the real master of the situation. They wanted him to be placed in possession of the real facts on both sides. Of course, ultimately the decision rested with him. The full Council, as they knew, might come to a unanimous conclusion on a particular subject which the Secretary of State might not accept, for he had very wide powers. He further submitted that no distinction should be made between the Indian members of the Council and their colleagues. If any was made they would be demoralising not only the whole Council but the Indian members as well. It had also been suggested that if they had the portfolio system they would not be able to get Indian members of the Council with the requisite experience of administration in India, and, therefore, the Indian members would not be able properly to discharge their duties if placed in charge of a portfolio. It was next suggested that the period of appointment should be five years. While it was necessary to have men with experience in administration, it was equally necessary to have men who could place the public point of view before the Secretary of State. It was proposed that one-third of the Council should consist of the official class, one-third of the non-official class, and the remaining one-third should be men of merit and ability in public life in the United Kingdom unconnected with the Indian Administration. This third would hold the balance between the two other sections. They would bring to bear upon the deliberations of the Council that independent judgment which was so characteristic of public men in this country. If

these proposals were accepted they would have a Council composed of three different groups—each specialising in a different branch, but all helping the deliberations of the Council over which the Secretary of State presided. The Secretary of State for India, to whatever political party he belonged and always been an eminent British Statesman who had done his best for India: but even the best of men required some kind of control and check. The Secretary of State, no doubt, was responsible to Parliament and the British Public, in theory, but in practice really he was not responsible; and what was finally suggested was that his salary should be placed upon the British estimates. In that case they would have real effective control by Parliament.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Passing to discuss the position of Indians in the various "parts of the British Empire," Mr. Jinnah said that no other subject had so deeply stirred the minds of the people of India. They had always understood that they were members of the British Empire, but at this moment they were being denied the rights and privileges of British citizenship. Recent events in South Africa had created intense feeling which was only allayed by the wise and statesmanlike pronouncement of Lord Hardinge; and the action of the Viceroy, supported, as it had been, by British Ministers and by the British Parliament, had made a deep impression in the hearts of the people of India.

MR. N. M. SAMARTH.

Mr. N. M. Samarth desired to associate himself with Mr. Jinnah in publicly expressing his thankfulness to Lord Crewe for the sympathetic hearing which he gave to the deputation on Monday last. As to the scheme for the reform of the India Council which they placed before His Lordship, it was necessary to bear in mind the conditions under which they laboured in India as well as here in regard to the redress of Indian grievances and the satisfaction of legitimate Indian aspirations. Under present conditions, a great deal depended upon having a sagacious and progressive Viceroy supported in his efforts for the national advancement of India by a Secretary of State who was not only of one mind with him but who had the strength of character to back him up in spite of opposition from his Council, which was mainly composed of Anglo-Indian officials whose angle of vision differed from that of the freedom loving Britisher and the educated Indian in matters which related to the political progress of India. Failing such a rare combination the sen-dried bureaucrats were apt to get the upper hand, and by burking and pigeon-holing and corresponding and shelving, and, if need be, wriggling out of past promises, to thwart all efforts calculated to bring about the political advancement of

the people of India. The result was despair and discontent in India. No doubt, the British public, through its representatives in the House of Commons was, in theory, responsible for the good Government of India. But he feared that ever since the days of Burke, India had been, more or less, the dinner bell of the House of Commons, which was absorbed in momentous questions nearer home, and had really no time to devote careful attention to Indian questions. Ordinarily therefore, the bureaucrats in India and in the Council of the Secretary of State had it all their own way, and constituted a great hindrance to the political progress of the Indian people, the more so as the Secretary of State had no power to veto the majority of his Council in some matters vitally affecting the well-being of India. He did not think he could state the problem and the conditions affecting its solution in better language than that used by the distinguished statesman who had done them the honour to preside at the Conference that day—language which was as forcible as it was pointed, and showed a complete grasp of the situation. On October 30, 1897, the Right Hon'ble Leonard Courtney, as he then was, made a speech at Fowey, in the course of which he said:—

After all, what was this Government of India to whom we were bound to defer, even if we thought they were wrong? Who were these ten or a dozen gentlemen who governed India? Who appointed them? How were they trained? What were their qualifications? How were these 300 millions of people ruled? He did not intend to enter upon that question now, but it was a serious question, which would have to be very deeply considered. They could not very well have India governed by an Indian House of Commons, choosing its own Government, just as the British House of Commons chose the Government at Home. Things were not ripe for that yet. Nor could India be governed by the British House of Commons as the United Kingdom was governed. The House of Commons would be quite incapable of ruling British India in any direct fashion, and British India could not be left to govern itself. And so British India remained a question which would occupy our attention for some time, but it would have to be considered and dealt with very carefully. This bureau, this little set of people in a room, collected one scarcely knew how, put there one did not know why, having qualifications of which we had no surety, was not the final system of Government for India. The House of Commons never could do it, because it was already overburdened with work, and to undertake to govern India directly would infallibly break its back. But that great question would have to be considered; and if at some future time it fell to his lot to address them on the question of the Government of India and the problem of how to bring that Government into relation with modern life and secure some

interpretation of Indian opinion and some authority for educated English opinion, he was confident he should be rewarded with the same attention and the same intelligence they had given him that night.

Since this speech was made, a notable step had been taken in the direction of securing some interpretation of Indian opinion on the Council of the Secretary of State. Lord Morley, with his keen insight into Indian conditions and his earnest desire to do justice to the demands of educated India, admitted two Indians into the *arcana* of the India Council. But what Lord Morley gave to India was representation by election. What they now prayed for was representation by election, so that the Indian members of the Council might be responsible to an educated and cultured constituency. The proposal to introduce elected members into the India Council was not new. In the debates of 1858 and of 1858 they would find it strongly urged upon the attention of both Houses of Parliament, and in 1858 a resolution was actually carried in these terms: "That with a view to the efficiency and independence of the Council, it was expedient that it should be partly nominated and partly elected." The resolution was supported by prominent leaders on both sides of the House. Mr. Disraeli supported the principle, and regretted that the distracted state of the country did not admit of a representation of the people of India itself. Lord Stanley, on whom devolved the charge of introducing and piloting through the House the measure which eventually became law as the Act for the better Government of India, said: "He believed it was agreed on all hands that, if a satisfactory constituency could be found, that method of appointment would be the most satisfactory of all. No doubt the difficulty was in the attempt to find such a constituency." He added: "We are willing to introduce the elective principle if it were only possible to find a fitting and satisfactory constituency." That constituency was now available, and he asked them to help to build upon existing foundations, and use instruments already at hand. As to the fitness and satisfactory character of the constituency, there could be no question. But even if they obtained one-third elected Indian members on the India Council that would not mend matters. There would be no fair opportunity for effective work for them so long as the Council was overwhelmingly official and Anglo-Indian. In several matters of importance there was difference of opinion between Anglo-Indian officials and leaders of non-official Indian opinion. In order that the Secretary of State may be placed in a judicial position to hear both sides, it was necessary that the Indian members should not be placed in a hopeless minority. They therefore proposed that English public men should be introduced into the Council to hold the balance. He hoped that they would favourably consider the scheme they had laid before them,

and so remodel the India Council as to appeal to the better mind of India and result in the cordial co-operation of Englishmen and Indians in the best interests of the Empire.

MR. MAZHAR-UL-HAQUE ON THE PRESS LAW.

Mr. Haque said he wished to address the Conference on the subject of the working of the Press Act of 1910, and as he saw before him many representatives of the British Press he had no doubt that the question would prove an interesting one. In 1910 India was passing through a phase marked by crimes of violence, and it was considered necessary at the time that writings in the Press should be officially controlled. That was the very first act of the reformed Council of Lord Minto. The measure brought in was very drastic indeed—so much so that one of the most eminent Judges, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, had declared that even the Bible might be brought under its operation. Those who at the time represented the Indian people on the Viceroy's Council were rather on the horns of a dilemma. They knew that it was necessary to control wild writings in the Press, but at the same time they were anxious that their liberties should remain intact. There was a good deal of discussion as to what course should be adopted to secure that end while giving the authorities the desired powers, and one of their endeavours was to give those who were affected the power of testing the legality or justice of the action of the Executive. Indeed, Mr. Sinha, who was then Law Member, threatened to send in his resignation unless some such provision was inserted in the Act, and unless the people of India were given a right of appeal to the High Courts. That was the compromise that was eventually arrived at between the official and non-official members of the Council. Some of them had most reluctantly given their support to the Act, but they had had fears as to how it would work out. Those fears unfortunately, had since materialised, and action had been taken under the Act which was never dreamt of at the time the legislation was under consideration. He might cite as an illustration the treatment meted out to the "Comrade," a weekly paper published at Delhi. The only misfortune of that paper was that it reprinted a certain pamphlet issued in Europe with an introductory article written by Sir Adam Block, of Constantinople. The Government of India declared that the pamphlet was calculated to bring the Christian subjects of His Majesty into contempt and hatred, and it issued an order confiscating all the numbers of the issue in which the pamphlet appeared. That action of the authorities was tested in the High Court at Calcutta. The case was tried by three eminent Judges, of whom Sir Lawrence Jenkins was one, and they declared that, in their opinion, the editor of the "Comrade" had committed no offence, and was animated by a laudable object in reprinting the pamphlet, but at the same time

they added that the powers of the High Court were almost *nil* under the Act, and that they could not give the editor the redress to which he was entitled. Would any Englishman—to use the word in its widest sense—support the retention for even one day of such a law on the Statute Book of this realm? He had another illustration to offer. The "Zamindar" was a paper published in Lahore, with a circulation at one time of nearly 17,000 daily. It was asked to give in the first place security to the extent of Rs. 2,000. This was forfeited, and then it was asked to give security for Rs. 10,000. That, too, was forfeited, and finally the entire Press was confiscated. This was an Act passed to stop crimes of violence, and it was never intended that its provisions should be thus misused and misapplied. The worst feature of all was that officials in India were now using the Act to interfere in religious matters. Personally he was not in favour of religious discussion in the Press; he did not believe it was useful, but why under the guise of this Act should the authorities put an end to papers which were purely religious? That ought not to be allowed, and it was dangerous as creating a doubt of the good faith under which the Act was allowed to pass. He had a third case of a paper at Lucknow. There was nothing wrong with its writings apparently, but the Deputy Commissioner ordered the editor to leave the town within a few hours. Such a thing could not possibly happen in England, and he could mention many cases in which men have been deprived of their only means of livelihood under the operation of this Act. He hoped they would see to it that an end was put to this state of things, and that pressure was brought to bear upon the Secretary of State and upon the Government of India to secure the repeal of this law. At any rate, if it could not be repealed, let the right of appeal from the orders of the Executive to the Courts be at least restored and made more effective and real.

COUNCIL REGULATIONS—MR. B. N. SARMA.

Mr. B. N. Sarma discussed the regulations under which elections to the Legislative Councils were conducted. No one who dealt with that subject would be justified in proceeding with it without first expressing the gratitude of the people of India to the British Parliament and to all parties—to the Liberal Party, in particular, and, especially to Lord Minto and Lord Morley—for the Act of 1909, which enabled the people of India to place more often than before their representations and grievances before the Government, and enabled them to associate themselves with everyday administration to a larger extent than heretofore. The people of India appreciated fully the statesmanlike sagacity which initiated those reforms at a time when India was being grievously misunderstood in the United Kingdom, and the benefit which had followed

therefrom, both to India and England, and had helped to bring the two countries together in a firmer bond of union. At the same time, it must be clearly understood that while thanking the British public for giving them that latitude and for enabling them to make a step in advance in the constitutional progress of their country, the people felt that the reform was to a large extent unreal in the sense that it did not place the real administration of the country in the hands of the people even in the smallest detail. They were grateful to the British public for giving them a power of election, but then they had it in substance before, though it was not recognised by Statute. The Statute of 1909 recognised the principle of election and the principle of representation; but, unfortunately, by the regulations the privilege was reduced almost to nothing, because the Government retained the power of vetoing any election without assigning any definite reason. They asked that that grievance should be redressed at an early day. Again, Lord Minto and Lord Morley foresaw that there was absolutely no chance of Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees and Christians—men of various religious persuasions and with different interests—combining together to defeat the Government on any subject. In fact, it was not really a non-official majority, because the nominated non-official members felt that they were under an obligation to vote with the Government, and in practice it had been found that when they differed from the Government view, they felt it their duty to abstain from voting. The result was that it was absolutely hopeless, even if all the elected members joined together in trying to persuade the Government to act upon their views on a particular question, for them to carry any proposal against the wishes of the Government without the co-operation of the non-official nominees. Therefore, in practice, there was not a non-official majority, and he and his colleagues were asking, consequently, that a larger elected element should be introduced into the Provincial Councils, because there was absolutely no danger of these various elements combining together to defeat the Government unless there were something really wrong in the methods of the Government. They also prayed that some concessions should be given in the matter of the composition of the Viceroy's Council. Further, they wanted the electoral body enlarged. All those who possessed the necessary educational and other qualifications should have the power of voting directly for a member of the Council. Special representation had been given to certain classes, but he and his colleagues felt that with a general electorate there would be no difficulty whatsoever in providing for that form of direct representation. There was no reason why the franchise should not be extended to all classes. There was an unhappy disagreement between the Hindus and Mahomedans and other communities on the question of representa-

tion, and he must not be understood to in any way ask for the special representation of the Mahomedan community on the various Councils to be reduced, or that the minority should not be protected by the Government. Wherever there was a minority the Government must make it its duty to see that it was properly represented in the Council. But at the present time there was an unnecessary amount of differentiation introduced in the regulations which caused heart-burning and which served no good purpose. The balance could be easily redressed by means of a general electorate which might make provision for larger representation in the case of certain bodies. They asked that the franchise should be conferred on all classes of the community possessing the same qualifications. Why should a Mahomedan with a landed qualification of Rs. 500 be given a vote, while a Hindu landowner must have a qualification of Rs. 1,000 before he could get a vote? And why should a Mahomedan graduate of five years' standing be able to vote for a Member of Council, while a Hindu, Parsee, or Christian graduate of the same standing was debarred that privilege? Next he came to the restrictions placed on the choice of candidates. It should be left to the wisdom of the electors themselves to choose the man they thought best fitted, and they should not be confined to selection from a small group. They wanted a modification of the rule, too, which provided that no candidate should be eligible unless he was already a member of some public body. Finally, he came to the question of the powers of the Councillors themselves. In practice it had been found that they were merely an advisory body as, before the Council Act was passed, they possessed in reality no greater powers than they had under the Act of 1891. Any interpellations and resolutions could be vetoed by the head of the Government for no definite reason assigned, and in practice when they had wanted to discuss a certain educational question, they were first told it would be premature to do so, then they were informed at the next stage that they could not do so, because the matter was in correspondence with the Secretary of State, and, then, when the final stage was reached, it was absolutely futile for them to raise the question. They asked that they should be given power to discuss all matters so that the Government of India might be placed in the position of hearing both sides before it arrived at a matured judgment. They had no privileges worthy of the name in financial and other matters, and they looked to the British Parliament which guided their destinies to give them wider powers in the future.

EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIAL FUNCTIONS— MR. SINHA.

Mr. S. Sinha spoke on the question of the separation of judicial and executive functions. This was a question, he said, which concerned the administration of

the Criminal Law in India. The more heinous crimes were tried by Judges, with the addition of assessors and in some cases juries. But the greater number of criminal cases in the country came before magistrates of different classes, who were directly under an official known as the district officer who was also by virtue of his office District Magistrate. This District Magistrate was the head of the police. As such, he had the power of initiating criminal proceedings in all cases. He was responsible for the maintenance of law and order in his district, and in his various positions he was, as was said in India, thief-catcher and Judge at the same time. That was a system which was certainly subversive of what was known as British fair-play and justice. Under the rules which obtained in all civilised countries, the man who was responsible for starting criminal proceedings had no hand either in the trial or in the hearing of the appeal; but in India it was very different. The system, too, was calculated to act unsatisfactorily, because a magistrate trying the criminal charge was under the District Magistrate on whose recommendation his future prospects depended, and it was clear, under such circumstances, he could not do substantial justice in all cases. They had asked for this reform for a great number of years, but one reason for refusing it had been that of cost. He did not think that ought to be allowed to stand in the way, and he hoped, therefore, those whom he was addressing would give cordial support to this proposed change.

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD.

Sir George Birdwood briefly addressed the Conference at the request of the Chairman, and said he was there out of respect for his friend, Sir William Wedderburn, with whose political views he always differed, although on other subjects, artistic and religious, he agreed with him. He had been very pleased with the temperate language in which the speeches delivered that day had been couched. He appreciated the perfect loyalty which had been displayed, but there was only one thing which he wished to say, and that was that he was convinced that if the caste system in India was ever broken down it would mean the ruin of India.

MR. MACCALLUM SCOTT.

Mr. MacCallum Scott, M.P., expressed the pleasure with which he had listened to the clear statements of the Indian delegates of the reforms which they believed to be necessary in the interests of their country, and he hoped, if he took part in any debates in Parliament he would be able after hearing their speeches to speak with more advantage, both in the way of presenting information and helping the cause of good Government in India.

MR. PHILIP MORRELL.

Mr. Morrell, M.P., said he had been astonished in listening to the speeches, not only by the reality of the difficulties with which their Indian friends were faced, but by the extraordinary moderation and reasonableness of their demands, and he trusted that their present visit to this country would prove of great service to the well-being of their fellow-subjects in India.

SIR HENRY COTTON.

Sir Henry Cotton expressed his conviction that the labours of the Indian delegates would not be altogether in vain in regard to the Councils Bill. He heartily congratulated Sir William Wedderburn on the success of the efforts he had been making, almost single-handed, for a long time to bring before the authorities in England matters which were of such serious concern to India.

Dr. John Pollen, of the East India Association, also spoke.

Mr. Jinnah proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman, remarking that the political horizon in India was very often dark and dismal, but it was men like Lord Courtney whose attitude brought a ray of sunshine and hope into their lives.

LORD COURTNEY.

Lord Courtney replied at some length. After declaring that all the credit was due to Sir William Wedderburn for bringing them together, he said the problem of the reconstruction of the Council of India so as to make it a more effective means of communication between the people of India and a Secretary of State was one of the profoundest importance. When he spoke upon it at Fowey seventeen years ago, he dealt with it as a problem to be considered, and not as one for which he had a ready-made solution. He foresaw many difficulties, some of a practical character, in bringing to Westminster elected representatives to join in the work of the Secretary of State's Council Members of that Council hitherto had, no doubt, fulfilled advisory functions, but they had also joined in the administration, and particular subjects had been allotted to them. They were in that way joint assistants and advisers, of the Secretary of State. But when it came to the question of bringing three elected members over, who were not to act primarily in the capacity of assistants and co-operators, but who would more properly be described as members of the Secretary of State's opposition, whose duties would be to criticise and examine, and whose object by their criticism would be to modify and perhaps deflect the action proposed by the Secretary of State, that was an entirely new proposition, at which even the most advanced Secretary of State would feel a little staggered. By regulations the most vital reforms might be deprived of their vitality. For instance, there

was no necessary submission to the Council on the part of the Secretary of State of any projects he might have in his head, and, therefore, if their scheme was to be made effective, it would be necessary to provide rules and regulations by which the presence of these detached members would be made effective. He was making these criticisms in the most friendly way. He had felt it his duty to point out some of the difficulties which might not perhaps have been fully apprehended. It had occurred to him it was just possible, that in this as in many other matters compromise might be possible, and that instead of sending over three elected members to sit on the Secretary of State's Council, it might be possible to elect a panel in India of forty or more persons who, by their previous training, by service under the Government, by knowledge, by position at the Bar, by their activity in commerce or industry, were fit and proper persons to assist and advise the Secretary of State in the exercise of his functions, and that the Secretary of State might have the privilege of selecting from that panel those whom he was advised would be most serviceable to himself. He threw this out as a suggestion for their consideration. He wished to make it plain to the delegates that there were difficulties to overcome.

The proceedings closed with a hearty vote of thanks to Sir William Wedderburn for his hospitality.

INDIAN IMMIGRATION IN BRITISH GUIANA.

BY

E. C. STEMBRIDGE.

At the present moment, when the problem of Indian immigration is foremost in the minds of Imperialists, we may turn for instruction and encouragement to the experience of British Guiana. The story of our rule in the tropics contains no chapter more eloquent of success. Imported on the abolition of slavery to avert the ruin of the cane-sugar industry, the coolie has proved the most potent factor in the well-being of our South American Colony. His salvation of its staple product, however, represents but one service to the State. His term of indenture expired, he has, in thousands of cases, made his home in British Guiana. Thrifty and industrious, the Indian has acquired a modest competence; and in the process has stimulated interest in several pursuits. The force of his energising example has been felt everywhere. From Governors and from Royal Commissions, his sterling qualities have received repeated recognition. Never were those qualities more conspicuous than at the present day. Beneficial as his settlement has proved to the Colony, there is little doubt that when the long-delayed development of the *Hinterland* is achieved the Indian immigrant will exercise an influence, equally important, upon the future of British Guiana.

THE ORIGIN OF IMMIGRATION.

The system of indenture under which the Indian enters the Colony has stood the test of many inquiries—nay, more, it has been acclaimed “as an example to all the world of British fairness, honesty, and organisation.” That result has not been easily secured. Seventy years have gone to its achievement. Its introduction opposed, its working criticised—at times with justice—defects have been revealed which only time and experience could remove. The charge most generally preferred is that the system is identical with slavery. To this charge a Royal Commission replied long ago that there is a prejudice against indenture, “partly sentimental, because it is the symbol of the defeat of the too sanguine hopes for the future of the African race which were entertained at the time of emancipation; partly practical, because the great experiment in this direction failed which was made in the apprenticeship of slaves.”

This reference to the African brings us to the circumstances which rendered necessary the introduction of the immigration system. The abolition of slavery, all-powerful in its appeal to the noblest instincts of humanity, was attended by economic results disastrous in the extreme to the sugar-planters. Continuous labour ceased. Of the liberated slaves, few would work, save at irregular intervals and at prohibitive rates of wages. Many estates went out of cultivation. Those planted up with coffee and cotton disappeared. The Legislature had endeavoured to anticipate events by passing Ordinances providing for the importation of labourers from abroad. But the Home Government proved obdurate. The suggestion of India and Africa as likely recruiting-grounds was received almost with horror. The memory of the slave-ships was too recent. No portrayal of the distress of the planters and of the imminent jeopardy of the Colony at large could persuade Downing Street.

Not until 1844 did emigration from India receive Government sanction. Meanwhile, through private enterprise, thousands of labourers—Portuguese, Brazilians, Africans—had been brought in. At a later date, China was “tapped,” with the result that thousands of her sons found their way to the cane-fields of Guiana. Today, the descendants of the Portuguese and Chinese thus introduced constitute important sections of the trading community. The Portuguese are especially prominent in the life of Georgetown, the capital, where many of their community have won success in the professions and have served the public in the Legislature and on the Town Council.

THE FIRST ARRIVALS.

All these experiments, however, proved but temporary. The demand of a supply of steady labour was not satisfied until East Indians were imported permanently upon an adequate scale. Legislation, passed in 1844,

provided for the opening of a credit of £75,000 to meet the expense of importing 5,000 labourers from India. This number arrived in the following year. By 1848, 12,000 had been introduced. No system could be said to exist, as yet. Method and precaution in recruitment, medical and other comforts on the voyage out, were to be secured later. The labourers obtained were obviously of inferior physique. As a result, great mortality broke out. Relations between the Legislature and the Home Government, which had become seriously strained in 1839, reverted to their former acuteness—largely in connection with this question of labour supply—and for three years Indian Emigration was suspended.

In 1851, the system was resumed, and has continued since without interruption. The first immigrants were merely hired for a month. Nomadic life in a foreign country to which they had not become acclimatised was contrary to the best interests of the immigrants. Hence some method of control became necessary—necessary also for their employers, if the primary object of their introduction was to be secured. A term of contract limited to six months was arranged. 1848, three years' indentures were adopted, the immigrant being entitled to repatriation after five years. Later arrivals were destined to witness several important changes in this regard. Under the existing law, male immigrants are indentured for five years and females for three, the latter remaining for two years longer on the estates as free labourers. At the end of ten years' residence, they are entitled to a back passage to India on payment of half-fare in the case of males and one third in that of females.

THE SYSTEM DESCRIBED.

The immigration system of to-day is based on the Ordinance of 1891. This Ordinance embodied the entire law on the subject up to that time—law which hitherto could only be ascertained by the study of some twelve Ordinances. The Des Vœux Commission of 1871 resulted in several improvements of the system, to which reference will be made. The Committee appointed by Lord Crewe also suggested, in its report presented in 1910, one or two openings for amendment. The outcome of both inquiries—separated by a period of forty years—was, however, to justify the principle of indentured immigration and to evoke eulogies upon its results.

Let us look, then, at the working of the system. The majority, though not all the sugar estates, in British Guiana import coolies. The number brought in has averaged 3,500 yearly, though in recent times that average has fallen to 2,200. How are they obtained? The estates indent each year through the local Immigration Department for the number of coolies required. The orders are executed in Calcutta by an Emigration

Agent appointed by the Colonial Office. One agent serves the interests of British Guiana and Natal. The attitude of the Government of India has been repeatedly stated as that of seeing fair play between the parties to a commercial transaction, while "the Government abstains from mixing itself up in the bargain."

The agent resides at a depot at Calcutta where coolies are kept prior to embarkation and where they are received on their return. Few emigrants hitherto have been recruited near Calcutta. They are obtained at distant places up-country, such as Patna, Muzzaffarpur, Cawnpore and Allahabad. Here are sub-depots, which are under periodical inspection by the District authorities. This inspection, as will shortly be seen, is not as effective as might be desired. The recruiters, who must be licensed, bring the prospective emigrants to these sub-depots. After examination by the civil surgeon of the district, the coolie is taken to the magistrate's office where the agreement to emigrate is explained and executed. The regulations provide safeguards against deception. The sub-agents are paid by commission—not on the number sent down, but on the number passed as fit at Calcutta and actually embarked. Those rejected at Calcutta are sent home, and the sub-agent not only loses his commission but has also to pay the double railway fare and the compensation given to the coolie. If, therefore, he fails to observe the regulations, the sub-agent fails at his own cost.

RECRUITING DIFFICULTIES.

The system of recruitment, however, has not attained perfection; and suggestions for its improvement were made by Lord Crewe's Committee. A large number of coolies are found, on arrival at their destination, to be unsuitable for regular agricultural work or are unwilling to perform it. This leads to convictions under the labour law of the Colony—convictions, the number of which appeared to the Committee to be "the only serious blot on the system of indentured immigration." It is mainly to cut off the supply of such men at its source that some change in the recruiting system seems to be desirable. The Committee found that a certain proportion of the emigrants are picked up casually by recruiters not over scrupulous in their methods: that the field of recruitment is so extensive and so far from Calcutta that proper control by the Emigration Agent is impossible, while the supervision by the Inspectors and Sub-agents is ineffectual. The Committee recommended that, with a view to avoiding these results, the recruiting area should be limited to those districts where a large supply of labour is known to exist. They also suggested that a responsible Emigration Agent be stationed in Benares, the natural centre of the tract, where he would be able to keep in touch with out-going and returning emigrants, and to enlist the services of the

latter as recruiters. The Committee thought that when the advantages of indenture become better known, the services of recruiters might be dispensed with.

DEPARTURE FROM INDIA.

Meanwhile, the coolie arriving in Calcutta for embarkation undergoes further medical examination and further tests of his knowledge of the conditions awaiting him in the Colony. At the depot, he is visited by the Protector of Emigrants and the Medical Inspector of Emigrants, officials appointed by the Government of India to see that the provisions of the Colonial Emigration Act are complied with. The Surgeon Superintendent, who is paid a gratuity for every immigrant landed alive in the Colony, subjects each one to a searching test. His fitness and willingness finally established, the coolie steps on board one of the ships of Messrs. James Nourse & Co., Ltd., who for many years have held the contract for the conveyance of labourers to the West Indies. Until a few years ago, the emigrants were carried in "wind-jammers," which occupied from 70 to 125 days on the voyage. Since 1903, however, steamers have been substituted—a monthly service is now in force—the voyage occupying thirty-eight days. The coolie, accompanied by a surgeon, finds himself surrounded by every provision for his social and sanitary well-being. Probably for the first time in his life he enjoys a liberal table.

Arriving in British Guiana, the prospective labourer is received at the Immigration Depot, where he is housed and fed pending allotment to an estate. Henceforward, he is the protégé of the Immigration Agent-General. This official, with a body of agents in charge of districts throughout the cane-lands of the Colony, is the Court of Appeal to which the coolie can always revert. The Agent-General sits in the Legislature, and communicates directly with the Governor. The latter also enjoys wide powers of control over the working of the system, and can withdraw coolies from an estate if he deems that course necessary in the public interest. The salaries and other expenses of the Department, including the salary of the Emigration Agent in India, and amounting to about £6,800 a year, are paid from the general revenue of the Colony. Medical attendance on the estates (to be mentioned presently) is provided by the Government Medical Service at the public cost. The estates, however, maintain their own hospitals and defray the expenses of indentured immigrants who are treated in the Government hospitals. All other immigration expenses, including those of recruitment in India (except the Agent's salary) and the entire cost of importing and repatriating immigrants, are borne by the Immigration Fund. Into this fund are paid the indenture fees due on the allotment of coolies and the proceeds of the acreage tax levied on all sugar estates.

WORK AND WAGES.

Proceeding to his allotted estate, the immigrant finds himself provided with a house, and with the medical attendance already referred to. Complaints against the medical treatment of that day (1870), on the part of Mr. (afterwards Sir) William des Vœux, who had been a stipendiary magistrate of the Colony, was one of the causes of the appointment of a Royal Commission. As a result of the inquiry, the medical service, then in the hands of the planters, passed under Government control. The abuses, or alleged abuses, of forty years ago have been replaced by a remarkable efficiency of service, and by an improvement in the health of immigrants never more striking than during the latest year under record—1911-12. Admissions to hospital show a decrease, as compared with the previous year, of no fewer than 10,609. The diseases to which the coolies seem most subject are malaria, bronchitis, and dysentery. The number of malarial patients, however, declined by 5,000.

Rations have to be supplied to new immigrants for the first three months of their term of indenture, a deduction being made from the wages of adults. The employer is bound to provide regular work for all days, except Sundays and authorised holidays, and to pay wages regularly every week. If work is not available on working days, wages have still to be paid. The minimum daily wage for time work is a shilling for a working day of seven hours. Work for the most part, however, is by the task, and for each task the payment must not be less than a shilling, the task being capable of performance within seven hours. In case of dispute, the Agent-General and his officers settle the amount of the task. The average weekly wage per head earned during 1911 was 4s. 10d. The immigrant for his part must remain on the estate, and must discharge his allotted task. Failure in this regard entails legal penalties.

THE FREE IMMIGRANT: HIS SUCCESS.

It is as a free man, making his permanent residence in the Colony, that the qualities of the immigrant have become known to a wider public. At the present time, the number of East Indians in British Guiana is about 127,000. Some 9,000 are under indenture. Perhaps the truest index to their treatment by the planter is the fact that of the free coolies some 38,000 are resident on the estates. They are, in fact, encouraged to remain, by means of free housing and grants of small plots of land for rice cultivation, and for grazing for their cattle.

As a rice grower, the coolie has achieved results which constitute a romance of tropical life. At one time British Guiana imported all her rice. That importation has almost ceased, and in its place there has developed an export which in eight years increased in value from £60 to £60,000. The number of acres now under cultivation is 86,000. The success of coolies as cattle rearers is equally pronounced. We find them holding licenses,

also, for provision and butchers' shops, as druggists, as owners of donkey carts, as hucksters. They also receive employment in the Civil Service. One of their number, indeed, is a Government Medical Officer.

The latest return shows that the property acquired by them is valued at £200,000. During 1912, the property transported to Indians was valued at £14,000. Their deposits in the Savings Bank amounted to nearly £120,000. It is not difficult to appreciate the declaration of the late Governor of British Guiana, Sir Frederic Hodgson, that the East Indian immigrant has been, and is, the Salvation of the Colony. An equally striking and important opinion of the coolie was held by Sir Frederic's predecessor, Sir Alexander Swettenham.

THE RECORD OF THE NEGRO.

As might be expected, the presence of the East Indian has not been entirely welcome to the negro—the descendant of the Africans originally at work on the estates. At first sight it might appear that in his case the sins of the fathers had been visited on the children, and that the father having thrown away his chances, and caused the introduction of a substitute, the real sufferers have been his descendants. Those descendants, however, have shown no keener regard for that steady and reliable labour without which the main industry of the Colony would perish. Had they done so, it is extremely unlikely that the planter having had to contend for years with falling prices and foreign bounties (now happily no more), would continue the enormous expense of immigration.

A large number of negroes are employed in the factories and in the fields, where their physique, so much more powerful than that of the coolie, is especially adaptable to exhausting tasks. But the general experience is that regular work cannot be expected of them. Sir Frederic Hodgson, already quoted, has placed it on record: "I do not want it to be inferred that the black man is not a good workman. He can do a better day's work than the East Indian if he likes, for he is much the stonger of the two, and he can earn more money than the latter. Further, there are many black men who will do an honest day's work and will work continuously; but in considering a matter of this kind the black population has to be taken as a whole." From time to time, memorials critical of the indenture system have been addressed to the Home Government by the representatives of the negroes. The sole result has been to disprove the contentions adduced, and to bring out in still stronger relief the colonising qualities of the East Indian as opposed to the "happy-go-lucky" mode of life preferred by the negro. Mr. Chamberlain, replying in 1908 to such a memorial, drew attention to the very small proportion of the Colony's area under cultivation and to the slow increase of population despite the immigration system. "These facts," he wrote,

"coupled with the failure of the coloured population which you (Sir J. A. Swettenham) note, to develop or maintain the coffee and cotton industries, make it impossible for me to approve a policy which would make these extensive territories a close preserve for those who have not yet shown that they are able or desire to make use of them."

Lest this be thought a party view of the question, one may cite the reply of a Liberal Secretary for the Colonies (Lord Elgin) to another memorial from the black people, in 1906. Lord Elgin declared that he could add nothing to this despatch of Mr. Chamberlain. Furthermore, he criticised severely many of the allegations of the petitioners.

At the same time one must in justice remember the enterprise and assiduity displayed by the black race in fostering the mining industries of the Colony: the success of those industries is largely the fruit of negro labour.

THE FUTURE.

The fact is that there is room for all races in British Guiana. True, capital as well as labour is needed. Until more capital is provided, the vast Hinterland can never be opened up to civilisation, and its forest resources, credibly stated to be limitless, can never be fully employed in the service of man, or minister to the prosperity of the Colony. To all true friends of British Guiana, it is a source of profound regret that, after a century of British rule, knowledge of its vast interior could be confined to a few.

The potential wealth of the Colony is beyond human computation. Happily the signs are favourable. The well-directed energy of the present Governor (Sir Walter Egerton) is a welcome omen. By all students of the Colony, a railway through the interior is considered the key to the situation. Nothing can be more hopeful for the future than the fact that the Governor would seem to share that opinion. His recent journey to the Brazilian frontier, upon which he was accompanied by an engineer, may be attended by results which may yet justify to the world the time-honoured title—"The Magnificent Province."

With the dawn of that day there will be literally "work for all." The opening up of the Colony would indeed demand labourers far in excess of those to be found within the existing population of 800,000. With the Savannahs of the Brazilian frontier rendered accessible, there would be made available another field for the East Indian coolie. Dare one prophesy that here, perhaps, may be found a solution of the problem of Indian Emigration—that here, amid these tropical scenes which have witnessed no small measure of his success, the Indian coolie, unwelcome in the lands of white men, may find another home, and rear yet another monument to his colonising powers?—*United Empire.*

BRITISH INDIANS IN PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA.

BY W. W. PEARSON, M.A., B.Sc.

On my way back from South Africa I spent about 10 days in Portuguese East Africa, where I was able to get some idea of the condition of British Indians in Portuguese Territory. Three days of my time was spent at Lorenzo Marques and seven days at Beira. To one who has been accustomed to think with some pride of the British Empire and the benefits of justice and equity which the British flag is supposed to confer on all British subject alike it was humiliating to find that the treatment which British Indians receive at the hands of the Portuguese is so much better than that which they receive in British Colonies.

In Delagoa Bay, both in Lorenzo Marques itself and on the railway, Indians were treated with a courtesy which is very rare in British South Africa. One or two incidents will perhaps illustrate this.

I was travelling on the railway from Lorenzo Marques to a place about 20 miles inland where the Government Agricultural Farm is situated. The Indian gentlemen with whom I was travelling (there are no separate carriages for 'coloured persons' on the Portuguese railways) had occasion to make some complaint to the Portuguese ticket collector, who listened to their complaint with such politeness and good humour that things were at once smoothed over.

At the Government Farm the chief official received us all politely and allowed us to see over the farm and chatted with us on the station platform before we left.

On the return journey a Portuguese boy 14 or 15 got into our carriage and I confess I was agreeably surprised when he began to chat pleasantly with my Indian friends telling them how he had only just recovered from fever, etc. I was surprised because it was such a complete contrast to the behaviour of most European boys in South Africa towards Indians.

Another incident occurred in Beira, where the roads are so sandy that every one has to go about on trolleys which run on small rails. I noticed one trolley which was like a high box with ventilators at the top and I asked my Indian host what it was. He replied that four years before it was the custom for the

meat to go through the town on open trolleys but when the Hindu community protested on the ground that it was offensive to them to see meat continually passing through the streets orders were at once passed prohibiting butchers from placing their meat on open trolleys. This incident spoke volumes for the *considerate* attitude adopted by the authorities in Beira towards their Indian fellow citizens.

Both in Lorenzo Marques and in Beira the Indians told me they had had nothing to complain of until quite recently when in certain directions the influence of Transvaal anti-Asiatic legislation was being left in Portuguese territory.

It is impossible for one who was so short a time there to explain the reasons for this difference between Portuguese and British territory, but the following suggestions may indicate some of the reasons:—

(1) There is amongst the Portuguese very little insularity or colour prejudice. The Portuguese seem to mix freely even with the natives of the country, especially in the interior, and they treat Indian merchants and traders much as they do European settlers.

(2) The Goanese element being largely Roman Catholic and consisting of Portuguese subjects helps to form a connecting link between British Indians and Portuguese. In Beira, the Goanese are to be found holding important official positions.

(3) The Portuguese are not very progressive as colonists and have depended largely on Indians for opening up trade, etc. They realise the great benefit the Portuguese territories have derived from the work of Indian traders. Further as many of the Indian merchants, especially in Lorenzo Marques, own considerable property they cannot be ignored.

(4) In Delagoa Bay, I was told that more than 60 per cent. of the Portuguese were in official posts and therefore the majority of the Portuguese residents are not brought into severe competition with Indians.

(5) The British flag flies over the British Consulate, which proves to be a more satisfactory court of appeal for British Indians than the parliament of a British self-governing colony. The British Consul can refer any cause of complaint to his Home Government, which can at once bring pressure to bear on the Lisbon Government.

I wondered, after my experiences in British South Africa and Portuguese East Africa, whether Froude's ideal of an Empire really united under the British flag would ever be realised.—*The Modern Review.*

A HINDU CAN BECOME AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

(Continued from page 14.)

WHY MONGOLIANS ARE DEBARRED.

(6) In *re Saito* (Circuit Court, D. Mass., June 27, 1894) 62 Fed. 126.

Colt, Circuit Judge: ".....the Japanese, like the Chinese, belong to the Mongolian race, and the question presented is whether they are included in the term 'white persons'.....It is said that Professor Huxley's division of mankind is most satisfactory. He distinguishes four principal types, and he points out the marked physical characteristics of each. These types are: Austroroid (chocolate brown), Negroid (brown black), Mongloid (yellow) and Xanthochroic (fair white). To these he adds a fifth variety, the Melanochroic (dark white). The 'fair whites' are the type of the prevalent inhabitants of Northern Europe; and the 'dark whites' of Southern Europe. All these physical differences do not exist in the case of each individual, and 'innumerable varieties of mankind run into one another by insensible degrees; but, taking the race or type as a whole, the peculiarities are sufficiently distinct to form the basis of well recognized classification....Enc. Brit., tit. 'Anthropology.'"

(7) In *re Gee Hop* (Dist. Court, N. D. Cal. Dec. 27, 1895) 11,200. 71 Fed. 274.

Morrow, District Judge, deciding that Chinese are not eligible to citizenship, said "Mongolians.....are not included in this Act. (Sec. 2169 of the Rev. Stat. under the title "Naturalization"), and quoted from the opinion of Circuit Judge Sawyer (in *re Ah Yupt* 5 Saw, 155) "Whatever latitudinarian construction might otherwise have been given to the term 'white person', it is entirely clear that congress intended, by this legislation, to exclude Mongolians from the right of naturalization."

(8) In *re Buntaro Kumagai* (District Court W. D. Wash. N. D., Sept. 1908) 163 Fed. 922.

Hanford, District Judge, cited the cases of *Ah Yup* and *Saite* and said "This applicant is of a different race. The court is constrained to deny his application upon the ground that the laws enacted by Congress do not extend to the people of his race the privilege of becoming naturalized citizens of this country." By this the court means that the Mongolian people are excluded from citizenship in the United States.

BURMESE ARE MONGOLIANS.

(9) In *re Po* (City Court of Albany, March 1894) 28 N. Y. Supp. 383.

Petition was denied.....in color he is dark yellow.

"The Burmese being the Mongolian race are not within the Rev. Statutes U. S., Sec. 2169, declaring that in the

naturalization laws shall apply only to aliens being free white persons and to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent.

(10) In *re Mudarri* (Circuit Court, D. Mass., Jan 8, 1910) 176 Fed. 465.

Lowell, Circuit Judge: "Syrians are to be classed as of the Caucasian or white race.....Inasmuch as Syrians are classified as above stated, as and this Court has long admitted Syrians to citizenship, the petitioner will be admitted."

(11) In *re Ellis* (Dist. Court D. Oregon: July 11, 1910) 179 Fed. 1008.

Woolverton, Dist. Judge: "As is said by Sawyer, Circuit Judge, in the case of *In re Ah Yup*, Supra, 5 Sawy, 156 Fed. Cas. 104, words in a Statute other than technical terms should be taken in their ordinary sense. The words 'white person' as well argued by petitioner's counsel taken in a strictly literal sense, constitute a very definite description of a class of persons where none can be said to be literally white, and those called white may be found of every shade from the lightest blonde to the most swarthy brunette. But these words, in this country, at least, have undoubtedly acquired a well-settled meaning in common popular speech, and they are constantly used in the sense so acquired in the literature of the country as well as in common parlance. As ordinarily used everywhere in the United States, one would scarcely fail to understand that the party employing the words 'white person' would intend a person of the Caucasian race."

(12) In the matter of the Application of Akhay Kumar Mozumdar to become a Citizen of the United States, 992. May 3, 1913. U. S. District Court for the Eastern Division of Washington, Northern Division.

IS THE INDIAN A "WHITE PERSON"?

So Rudkn, District Judge: "...Akhay Kumar Mozumdar ...is in all respects qualified for citizenship, provided he is a white person within the meaning of the naturalization acts.

On the rehearing the petitioner was further examined and his testimony has been well summarized by the counsel appointed by the Court as follows:

"I came from the Northern part of India, from the part of India that is customarily spoken of as Upper India, or what is known as Hindustan proper. I am a high caste Hindu of pure blood, belonging to what is known as the warrior caste or ruling caste. The pure blooded Hindus are divided into three castes; the priestly caste, the warrior or ruling caste, and the merchant caste. The blood is kept pure by rigid rules of exclusion. Anyone who marries outside of his caste is ostracised and is disinherited by the native laws. None of the high caste Hindus will have anything to do with him. Marriage outside of the caste is not often

known. Very few of the high caste Hindus come to the United States. The great bulk of the Hindus in this country are not high caste Hindus but are what are called Sikhs and are of mixed blood. The laboring class, those who do the rough manual labor, are not high caste Hindus at all but are an entirely separate class, having quite a different religion and a different ancestry. The high caste Hindus are of Brahman faith, and in India are clearly distinguished from all of the other inhabitants, including the aborigines of the country or the hill tribes, and also the descendants of the invaders, those of the Mohammedan faith. The high caste Hindus comprise perhaps one-fourth of the natives of India. The high caste Hindus always consider themselves to be members of the Aryan race and their native term for Hindustan is Arya-Vartha which means country or land of the Aryans."

THE REVISED STATUTE.

Sec. 2169 of the Revised Statutes relating to naturalization provides as follows:

"The provisions of this title shall apply to aliens being free white persons and to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent."

"The provision relating to free white persons has found a place in our naturalization laws from the beginning except for the brief period between 1873 and 1875, and the provisions relating to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent was first incorporated after the adoption of the thirteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States abolishing slavery. In the original naturalization act the expression, "free white persons," was doubtless primarily intended to include the white emigrants from Northern Europe with whom the Congress of that day was familiar, and to exclude Indians and persons of African descent or nativity. Beyond this perhaps Congress had no definite object in view. I could not have foreseen the vast immigration problem with which the Government is now confronted, or the difficulty which might hamper and embarrass the courts in the administration of the law. But whatever the original intention may have been, it is now settled, by the great height of authority at least, that it was the intention of Congress to confer the privilege of naturalization upon members of the Caucasian race only."

In *re Ah Yup*, 5 Sawy. 155.

In *re Saito*, 62 Fed. 126

In *re Camille*, 6 Fed. 256

Matter of San Se Po, 28 N. Y. Supp. 383.

In *re Buntaro Cumagai*, 163 Fed. 922

In *re Knight*, 171 Fed. 297

In *re Najour*, 174 Fed. 735

In *re Halladjian*, 174 Fed. 834

United States vs. Balsara, 180 Fed. 694

It is likewise true that certain of the natives of India belong to that race although the line of demarcation between the different castes and classes may be dim and difficult of ascertainment. The difference between daylight and darkness is apparent to all, but where is the dividing line and where does daylight end and darkness begin? So it is with the races of mankind where miscegenation has been in progress for generations. The system of castes had existed in India for upwards of twenty centuries and religion and law have done much to maintain that system and to prevent corruption of blood, but experience teaches us that religion and law have not always triumphed over nature. After referring to this system, and to the efforts made to maintain it, the historian Le Bon says:

"But in the course of the centuries nature triumphed over these formidable prohibitions. Women always has her charms, no matter how inferior she may be in caste. In spite of Manu, crossing of caste were numerous and one need not travel throughout India to perceive that. To-day, the population of all the races are mixed to a large extent. The number of individuals white enough to prove that their blood is quite pure is very restricted. The word caste, taken in its primitive sense, is no longer a synonym of color, as it used to be in Sanskrit and if caste had had only formerly prevailing ethnological reasons to invoke, it would have had no reason for continuing. In fact, the primitive divisions of caste have long since disappeared. They were replaced by new divisions, the origin of which is other than the difference of races, except in the case of the Brahmans, who still form the less mixed portion of the population. (I belong to the Brahman caste. Vide marked portion of printed testimonials pp. 9-10 S. G. Pandit.)"

"Great events by Famous Historians," Vol. I, p. 55.

".....The testimony in this case satisfied me that the applicant has brought himself within the provisions of the naturalization acts and he will be admitted to citizenship accordingly, upon taking the oath prescribed by law."

LEXICOGRAPHICAL DEFINITION OF THE TERM "WHITE PERSON."

(1) From "American and English Encyclopedia of Law" Vol. XXIX, p. 105.

White person.—These words, as ordinarily used in the United States and in their well-settled and popular meaning, include only persons of the Caucasian race, so the words used in the naturalization laws of the United States do not include individuals of the Mongolian race. In *re Ah Yup*, 5 Sawy. (U. S.) 155; nor persons of half white and half Indian blood, who are therefore not entitled to be admitted to citizenship.....

(2) From "Words and Phrases Judicially Defined," Vol. 8, p. 7446.

White person as used in the naturalization laws, means a person of the Caucasian race. In *re* Camille (U. S.) 6 Fed. 256, 257; In *re* Ah Yup, (U. S.) 1 Fed. Cas. 223 (104?); In *re* Kanaka Nian, 21 Pac. 998, 6 Utah 259, 4 L.R.A. 725.

White persons as used in Rev. St., 1. 1, relative to naturalization, and providing that the act shall apply to white persons and aliens of African nativity, means a person of the Caucasian race and should not be construed to include Chinese, or other members of the Mongolian race. In *re* Ah Yup (U. S.) 1 Fed. Cas. 223 (104?)

The word 'white' as used in the United States naturalization laws, applies to the race commonly referred to as the "Caucasian race." A native of Japan is not a 'white person,' within the meaning of the naturalization laws. In *re* Takuji Yamashita, 70 Pac. 482, 483; 80 Wash. 284; 59 L. R. A. 671. In *re* Saito (U. S.) 62 Fed. 126.

(3) From "Bouvier's Law Dictionary." Vol. II, p. 1228.

White person: As used in the naturalization laws, a person of the Caucasian race. 5 Sawy. 155. It does not

include a Mongolian; it includes a person nearer white than black or red; 11 Ohio 875

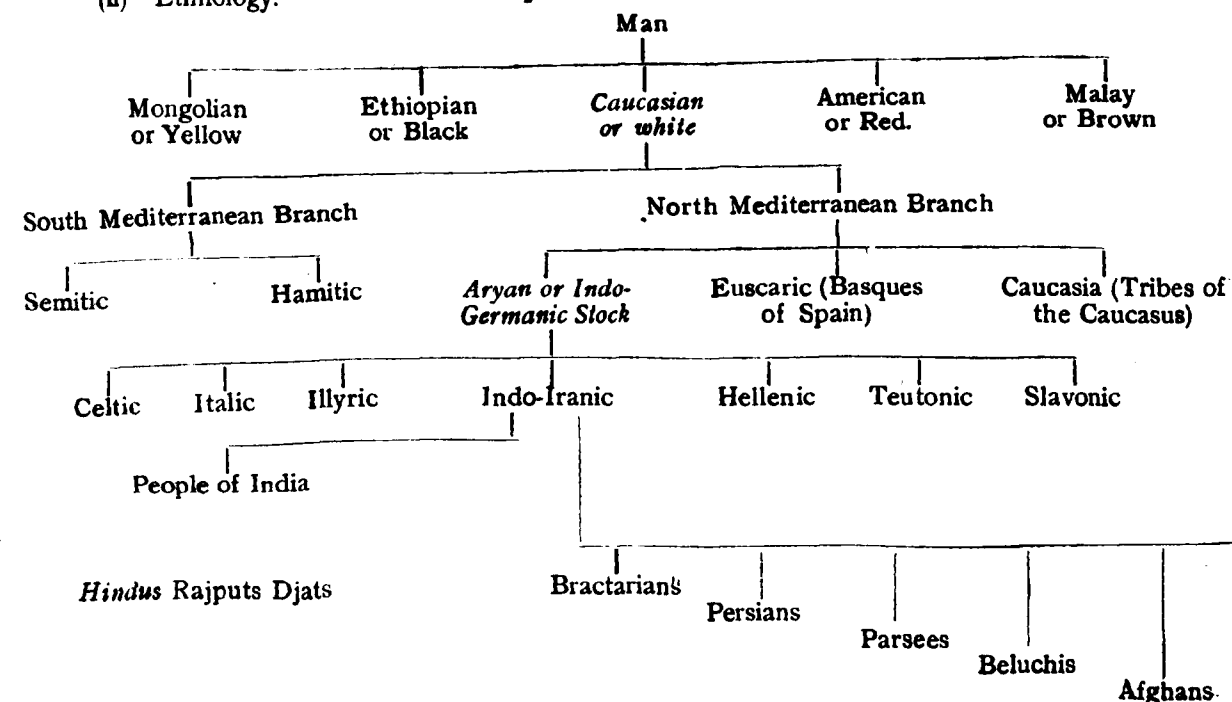
(4) "Webster's International Dictionary." p. 1182.

Race: Naturalists and ethnographers divide mankind into several distinct varieties, or races....One of the common classifications is that of Blumenbach, who makes five races: the *Caucasian*, or *white race*, to which belong the greater part of the European nations and those of Western Asia; the *Mongolians*, or *yellow race*, occupying Tartary, China, Japan, etc., the *Ethiopian* or *Negro race*, occupying most of Africa (except the north), Australia, Papua, and other Pacific Islands; the *American*, or *red race* comprising the Indians of North and South America; and the *Malayan* or *brown race*, which occupies the islands of the Indian Archipelago, etc.

Cuvier makes three: Caucasian, Mongol, and Negro. (5) From the "Amerians."

(i) *Caucasian Race:* A term introduced into ethnology by Blumenbach. *The Caucasian race* comprises the most highly civilized nations of the world, including most of the inhabitants of Europe (the Turks, Hungarians and Finns being excluded); the *Hindus*, Persians, Arabs and Hebrews, etc.

(ii) Ethnology.



The typical *Brahmins* are probably the best representatives of the *Indo-Germanic stock*.

SUCCESSFUL INDIAN STUDENTS IN ENGLAND.

(From the Indian Magazine).

OXFORD.

Honours School in Natural Sciences.—Botany Class III.—R. Dhanukoti, Non. Coll.—**Diploma in Rural Economy** S. M. Hassan, Lincoln, B. C. L., Class II.—R. K. Koti, Non. Coll. **Class III.**—Ali Mir Alam Khan, Lincoln. **Honours School of Mathematics, Class II.**—K. E. Banerjee, New College. **Honours School of Jurisprudence, Class II.**—Hassan Sahid Suhrawardy and Huseyn Sahid Suhrawardy, Non. Coll.

CAMBRIDGE.

Mr. Thomas W. Arnold, C.I.E., M.A., has been awarded the degree of Litt. D. of the Cambridge University.

Master of Arts.—The Degree of Master of Arts has been conferred upon Abdul Aziz, Pet.; Benegal Sanjiva Rau, Joh., Dharam Narain Kak, Down.; Syed Sayid Alam, Down.; Jawaharlal Nehru, Trin.

Master of Law.—The Degree of Master of Law has been conferred upon Camaji Byramjee Navroji Cama, Joh.

Previous Examination, Part I., Class II.—S. N. Gupta, Trin. H. **Class IV.**—K. A. Hussain and K. M. Hussain, Non. Coll.; I. M. Majid, Christ's; K. S. Pratapsinhji Pet; S. C. Welinkar, Jes. **Part II. Class I.**—S. N. Gupta, Trin. H.; K. R. Menon, King's. **Class IV.**—I. G. H. Ariff, Trin. H.; M. A. Azim, Non. Coll.

Additional Subjects, Mechanics, Class II.—C. L. Adhiya, Non. Coll.; K. R. Menon, King's **French Class II.**—M. G. Begg, Gonv. & Cai.; S. N. Gupta, Trin. H.

Second Examination for Medical and Surgical Degrees, Part I.—A. H. Ahmad, Down.

The Sudbury Hardyman Prize was awarded to G. Mat-thai.

LONDON.

Faculty of Science, Intermediate Examination.—Amiyakanta Basu, Balkrishna Vasudeo Bhadkamkar, Jnanankur De, Aloysius Fernandez and Patrick de Silva Kularatne, Univ. Coll.; Surendra Nath Nandi, Phani Bhusan Roy.

Faculty of Engineering, Intermediate Examination.—Kayalat Chakko Chakko. Univ. Coll.; Aziz Rizk Abdelnur, Mohamed Sirajuddin Ahmed, Merwan Sorabji Kapadia, Maung Aye Maung and Burjor Pestonji Sirvai. King's College; Ishwarlal Bhogilal Damania.

Faculty of Laws, Special Intermediate Examination.—Kawaja Firozuddin Ahmed and Balkrishna Keroba

Mantri, Univ. Coll.; Debendra Kumar Mitra and Kandallu Lakshmana Venkataraman (Lond. Sch. of Economics).

Matriculation Examination.—Class II.—Naoshir Sobrabji Chenoy, Ajit Kumar Dhar, Syed Hussain Imam, Mohammad Ishaq, Seyed Mahmood Khan.

Second Examination for Medical Degree.—Part II.—Girdhar Clement Agarwala Sinnethamby and Nirendra Mohan Sen-Gupta, London Hospital; Gabriel Francis Rodrigues and Rustam Navroji, Vakil, University College.

MANCHESTER.

Degree of B. Sc. Tech., Final Examination, Textile, Industries, Third Division.—M. C. Sitaraman, *Intermediate Examination*—P. B. Advani. *Satisfied the Examiners in Mathematics and Physics*—Ahmed Shaker. *Final Examination, Electrical Engineering*—C. S. Sarkar. *Ordinary Degree of B. S. C., Intermediate Examination*—Mahomed Alaily.

EDINBURGH.

The Degree of Master of Arts with Honours, Mathematics Third Class.—Morusuballi Venkata Krishna. *Ordinary Degree*—Mirza Saghir Begg Chaghtai, Sachindra Nath Dutt, Mohammed Jan Khan (B.A. Allahabad), Daulat Ram Sethi, Chairanjiy La, Sharma.

The following Honours have been Awarded to Candidates who already hold the Degree of Master of Arts: *Second Class in Economic Science*—Kona Sitarama Rao. *Third Class in Economic Science*—Nadimpalli Venkata Lakshmi Narasimha Rao. **The Degree of Bachelor of Science.** In the Department of pure Science—Abinash Chandra Bera, M.A.—In the Department of Engineering—Ram Nath Parashar, Mahadev. Balwant Retarekar, B.A. (Bombay), Chiranjiv Lal Sharma, M.A.—In the Department of Agriculture—Barsi Dhar Kapoor.—In the Department of Public Health—Vishwa Mitra Lambah, M.B., Ch. B. In the Department of Forestry—Jal Ardeshir Master, Padmanabha Raman Pillay, B.A. (Madras).—*Degree of Doctor of Medicine*—Kesavan Raman Tampi, B.A., (Madras), M.B., Ch. B. 1906 (in absentia). *Thesis:* Ankylostomiasis in Travancore. Muhammed Abdul Wajid (M.A., B. Sc.), M.B., Ch. B., 1912. *Thesis:* A Study of the Nervous and Mental Diseases called Hysteria with special reference to Symptomatology, Pathology and Treatment. *Degrees of Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery*—Khurshed Husain, Mirza Razakhan.—*Diploma in Tropical Medicine and Hygiene*—Samarendra Lal Mitra—M.B., Ch. B., Stephen Ramchandra Rao, F.R.C.S., Ed.—

Faculty of Medicine, Second Professional. Anatomy—
Francis X. Maya Das, Pares C. Datta, Francis Gunarat-
na, Anand S. Paranjpe.

ST. ANDREWS.

General M.A. Degree Examination. Moral Philosophy
(General)—H. M. Verulker.

ROYAL COLLEGE OF ARTS, LONDON.

Mr. H. Roy Chowdhury has passed the examination
for the A.R.C.A. in Sculpture.

ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS.

Mr. Abdullah B. Peermahomed of Bombay has
passed the Final Examination of the R.I.B.A.

IMPERIAL COLLEGE OF SCIENCE AND
TECHNOLOGY.

Mr. N. P. Gandhi, M.A., B. Sc. (Bombay), has taken
the degree of A.R.S.M. (Associate of the Royal
School of Mines) in Metallurgy First Class Honours,
and has also been awarded the D.I.C. (Diploma of
Membership of the Imperial College of Science and
Technology.

INDIANS AND THE I.M.S.

Bahmini Mohon Mitra, L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S., Middlesex
Hosp. (4th).

Amir Chand, M.B., B.S. Punjab, Lahore Medical
Coll. (7th).

Nilkanth Shriram Jatar, L.M.S., Bombay, L.R.C.P.,
M.R.C.S., Grant Medical Coll. and Univ. Coll. Hosp.
(9th).

Tadepally Sankara Sastry, M.B., C.M. Madras
Middlesex Hosp. (10th).

Jamal-ud-din, M.B., Ch. B. Edin., Edin. Univ. (11th).

Ferozeshah Bapuji Chenoy, L.M.S., Bombay, L.R.
C.P., M.R.C.S., Bombay Univ. and Lon. Hosp. (12th).

Sadanala Bashiam Venugopal, L.M.S., Madras,
L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S., Madras and Guy's (18th).

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

The Colour-Bar on Mines.

Mr. Merriman, in moving, in the House of Assembly
on the 12th June, that one of several petitions praying
for the removal of the color-bar in the Transvaal Mining
Regulations be referred to the Government for consider-
ation, with a view, as far as possible, to granting the
prayer of petitioners, said:—A stranger entering the
House that afternoon might be surprised to find them,
descendants of two peoples who claimed to be the
freest nations on earth engaged in discussing and debat-
ing an elementary principle of freedom—namely, the
right of a man to dispose of his work and such talents
as God had given him to the best possible advantage to
himself. Now, we denied that right at present, not
because of incapacity, but owing to some accident of
colour inflicted by Providence.

He feared it was often from prejudice, an unworthy
prejudice, a prejudice very hard indeed to conquer.
They refused it from fear that the people who had not
had their advantages in the past would compete with
them and oust from that certain employments, because
of a selfish desire to obtain a monopoly of certain classes
of work and to maintain them artificially at a selfishly
high rate of wages. To refuse these people's petition
was against all their traditions, and against all profes-
sions that they had made. It was against their morality
—it was against the best interests of the country. They
did wrong, knowing it to be wrong, so to act to an in-
ferior race; yet they did it. How was it possible, he
asked, for them to go against the teachings of Christia-
nity, namely to do to others as they would be done by?
Take the Mohammedan religion as a comparison, where
those holding the same faith were regarded as brothers.
That was a striking instance of the way in which they
were ready, for their own selfish ends, to tear up the
religion they professed, and deny to others the very
elementary grounds of freedom, using their position as
guardians for the purpose of trampling out, as far as
they could, the very sparks of any ambition in the
coloured and inferior races. (Cheers).
These men were driven out, and treated as brute
animals, and as brute animals they would behave.
What we ought to do was raise the level of these people
as far as possible, above them. The
most curious thing of all was that, with all these rules,
these men did the work. They went down the mines
and did semi-skilled work, which they were capable of
doing, and when inspectors were not looking they
carried on blasting operations—probably with all safety.
But they were not allowed to take the pay. The pay
was taken by the privileged class which supervised
them. Was that fair? Was that the way to keep this

country in peace and order in future? They actually
had men drawing perhaps £100 or £150 a month, and
the whole of the work was done by coloured men who
got 8s. a day. The whole system was so faulty and so
wrong that he wondered we did not see it was at the
root of most of our industrial troubles, because the effect
was to demoralise the white population.
In conclusion, Mr. Merriman said: "I appeal to this
House, on the ground of our duty to inferiors, that,
while we keep ourselves in advance, we should try and
uplift, as far as possible, those whom Providence has
entrusted to our care. A race that tries to keep itself
up by artificial props, is doomed; and it is because I
want to see this a great country, a prosperous country,
the home of a strong white race—it is for these reasons
I wish to see these artificial props kicked away, and to
give a chance to people whose only fault is that they
happen to be of a different colour from ourselves. I
hope my poor words may have some effect of this kind.
I fear not. But, at any rate, I have done my duty. By
adopting the course we have followed in the past,
we have done incalculable harm to this country; and
to attempt to pursue this fatal course is sure, sooner or
later, to end in disaster.—*Indian Opinion.*

Imperial Citizenship.

The *African Times and Orient Review* of 24th
March 1914, in reviewing the proposed Imperial
Naturalisation Bill introduced in the House of
Lords by Lord Emmott, the Under Secretary of
State for the Colonies, on the 17th March, writes as
follows:—

The chaotic condition of the right of citizenship in
the British Empire, under which a British citizen of one
part of the Empire may find himself to be an alien in
another part, is sought to be amended by a Bill which
was announced in the King's Speech as having been
"prepared in consultation with the Governments of the
self-governing dominions relating to British nationality,
and providing for Imperial naturalisation."

We are informed that the Bill, which will be called
the "Imperial Naturalisation Bill," will provide (1) that
the Empire as a whole shall be the area in which a
man must qualify by prior or future residence; (2) that
an alien naturalised in any part of the Empire shall be
a British subject everywhere in the world, with all the
rights and privileges of a natural-born subject, provided
that (i) he satisfies a character test; (ii) he has resided
five years within the Empire, or has been for five years
out of the last eight in the service of the Crown; (iii)
he declares his intention of continuing to reside within
the Empire; (iv) he has an adequate knowledge of
English or other official language.

We would respectfully suggest to Ministers the con-
current introduction and passing of an "Imperial
Citizenship Bill," which will provide that every born
subject of the King Emperor, whatever the country of
his birth, shall be a citizen of the British Empire every-
where in the world, with all the rights and privileges
of a British citizen. This would at once put an end to
such an anomaly as British subjects born in India being
treated as aliens in the self-governing dominions, and
would give the coloured subjects of the King Emperor
an assurance that their rights as British citizens would
be respected in all regions under the British Crown.
We shall jealously scan the terms of the "Imperial
Nationalisation Bill," and weigh its provisions as
affecting our coloured brethren.

Australia's Immigration Policy.

July 4th.—The famous Komagatu Maru case has
been the subject of criticism in all parts of the Empire,
inasmuch as it has raised the important question of
immigration policy of the self-governing colonies,
which in turn affect materially the colonisation of the
Indians within the Empire. In the discussion which
followed between the Hon'ble Mr. P. McM. Glynn-
K. C. (Minister of External Affairs, S. Australia), and a
representative of the "Advertiser," Adelaide, the for-
mer said:—

"Speaking generally," said Mr. Glynn, "the position
is this. Sometime ago the vessel Komagata Maru arrived
at Vancouver with 375 Hindus on board. In accordance
with the regulations the passengers were examined, and
the Hindus were detained. The validity of the deten-
tion has now been raised, and the matter will probably
be decided by the Supreme Court of Canada, from
which there is an appeal to the Privy Council. I think
the regulations in Canada prohibit the entrance of certain
races, described generally as 'Orientals,' except the
emigrant who comes direct from the country of his
nativity. Orientals, as well as members of any other
race, can be stopped if they do not comply with the
medical requirements, and the test of physical fitness
and so on. That, of course, may fail in this case. Then
certain classes, I believe, are specifically excluded from
Canada. According to the 'Times' there is an order
in council prohibiting the entry of artisans and laborers
of any nationality. I cannot definitely confirm that at
the moment, because I have not the Canadian regula-
tions before me. Some months ago I did make a close
examination of the conditions of immigration, under
what would be known here as Immigration Restriction
Acts, in both South Africa and Canada. The results of
my research are not to hand at the moment.

"The grounds of exclusion advanced by some of the
Canadian papers include economic reasons, the possi-

bility of Canada being swamped by an influx of people whose individual standards differ materially from those of the Canadians, and also the possibility of industrial troubles in Canada similar to those which occurred in South Africa recently. Incidentally, South Africa has recently modified its immigration policy in relation to its racial regulations, at all events, in the directions strongly recommended by a Commission. Now, in the case of the Commonwealth, we have a language test, a health test, and a moral test. It was considered invidious expressly to differentiate between races, and the Imperial Government, at the time the Act was under consideration in the Commonwealth Parliament, about the year 1901, strongly recommended the adoption of these tests, in lieu of exclusion based merely upon color. So the right of admission does not depend upon nationality. Personally, from experience as Minister, I find that the present test allows a latitude which is sometimes very helpful. In a case as recently as yesterday, for instance, the regulations enabled me to give an exemption to an Indian, a British subject, when the color principle alone would have rendered impossible, and which, on grounds of humanity, no Minister could refuse.

"The Australian regulations are of course intended simply for the protection of industrial standards and what might be called the purity of race. No matter how high individual races may be either in moral or physical standards—and we do not attempt to set ourselves above other races in this matter—good results can never be attained by the mixture of races disparate in blood and traditions. The statement by no means derogates from the high standard which may have been attained by either of the races concerned."

Asiatic Immigration.

The affair of the *Komagata Maru*—370 "Hindu" workmen being held up for months in the vessel they arrived in pending the decision of the Courts as to the legality of allowing them to land—is a striking instance of "how not to do it." The promoters of this particular scheme for importing cheap labour into British Columbia hoped to take advantage of the lapse of a regulation, just as their brothers in South Africa hoped to achieve their ends by challenging the legality of "acts of repression." The intentions of the Dominions are clearly known. Those who have already an Asiatic population are determined that it shall not increase, and those who have not are determined to keep it out altogether. Their reasons for this attitude have often been discussed in *United Empire*. The possibility of enforcing these views is another, and a more complicated, question. As things stand at present it is the British Empire as a whole (including Asiatic peoples) which would be obliged, if challenged by an Asiatic

race, to enforce those views. Until the Russo-Japanese war ended so fatefully, Europe did not treat the subject with the seriousness it deserved, for it was held as an axiom that no Asiatic nation could successfully challenge a white one. Having parted with that illusion the white nations are obliged to reconstruct their theory of international relations and obligations so as to include the possibility of powerful rivals whose citizens are refused entrance to some of the countries under the British flag. That the adjustment of such difficult relations has not hitherto been beyond the power of diplomacy, must not blind us to the fact that the fundamental question remains unanswered. It has merely been postponed. The more pressing aspect of the question, at present, is the refusal of one part of the King's Dominions to grant admittance to the citizens of another part. Obviously in this case no challenge can be given, no arbitrament of force invoked, and it is not Canada or South Africa which is likely to suffer from the result of the controversy, but Great Britain, upon whom the political agitators and malcontents of India vent their discontent for the existing state of affairs. The necessity for some clearly formulated policy, common to all the Dominions, is becoming more and more evident. They are really of one mind in the matter, but their methods are all different. Canada has an excellent working arrangement with Japan, whereby that Power restricts emigration to Canadian shores; she has a poll tax on Chinese, which is ineffectual though heavy, but she only prohibits Indian immigration by indirect means, through whose meshes the *Komagata Maru's* passengers hoped to slip. The possibility of gaining access by a legal quibble affords a tempting prospect to an Asiatic's speculative mind, but the disastrous side of such attempts is that they inflict hardship and indignity on individuals which, when reported in the country of the sufferer's origin, arouse far more irritation than would ever have been felt over the abstract question of Asiatic exclusion. The New Zealand Government, it is reported, will shortly introduce legislation as to the exclusion of Indian subjects, and South Africa has just finished a chapter in the history of the question by adopting the report of the Commission appointed to inquire into it. The South African debate was marked by the recognition of the fact that it is not merely a domestic, but an Imperial question. This view ought to be fully, and clearly realised in all its bearings, for the Imperial Government, while it will not under any circumstances interfere with the Dominions' right to make their own immigration laws, is placed in a false position when those laws are arbitrary, contradictory, or difficult of interpretation. The question has been shirked, hitherto, because of its delicacy, but the next Imperial conference ought to see a full discussion of it, and, if possible, the establishment of a clearly defined policy,

common to all the Dominions, accepted and approved in principle by Great Britain, and framed in such a way as not to affect the dignity or *amour propre* of the King's Indian subjects. Such expedients as an elastic education test are only makeshifts, and offer far more indignity to the excluded than a clear understanding. Why should not the Indian Government follow the example of Japan, and agree to restrict immigration, not (as she did with Natal coolies) in a spirit of retaliation, but as part of a bargain? In any case it is of the greatest importance that incidents like those of the *Komagata Maru* should be rendered impossible in the future.—*United Empire*.

Mrs. Besant's Letter to the "Times".

Mrs. Besant writes to "*The Times*":—

Outside the domestic problems of Ulster and the women's war, Great Britain is faced with two problems in the East which will tax to the utmost her political sagacity, and it is not too much to say that her success or failure in building a world-Empire will depend on the fashion of their solution.

The first is that of Indian emigration, and the right of Indians to travel freely throughout the Empire and to settle in it where they will. This chiefly affects the labouring classes of the vast Indian population, seeking an outlet for subsistence abroad, since many of the home industries have ceased to be life-supporting; to some extent their difficulties in gaining a livelihood in India may be diminished by the demand for labour in tea, coffee, and other plantations, where wages tend to rise in consequence of the scarcity of coolies and by the improvement of village life, by the spread of co-operation and the revival of weaving and other handicrafts. These remedial tendencies are, however, inevitably slow in their action and the area over which they must spread for effective usefulness is so huge that, while they may slightly lessen they cannot obviate the necessity for emigration in search of livelihood. The educated class is touched by the question of the emigration of the labouring population mainly through sentiment—the feelings of kinship with those immediately affected, of indignation against unfair treatment meted out to fellow-countrymen, of race-pride smarting under the imputation of inferiority. The late agitation in India over the South African troubles—that had risen to danger-point when Lord Hardinge's statesman-like sympathy saved the situation by associating the Government with the popular feeling—joined all classes together for the first time in a national protest, and made India feel her strength as a united people; its practical success in gaining a large measure of relief is hailed as a sign that Indian public opinion is no longer voiceless and impotent, and that

Indian feeling can be effectively aroused in defence of Indian interests. To the educated class, this question of emigration is only a part of the larger problem—the position of Indians in the Empire as inferiors or as equals; and it is this second question which is greatly the more important although the emigration matter may seem to be more immediately pressing. . . .

A Promising Student in England.

The London correspondent of the *Hindu* writing from the House of Commons under date 17th July sends the following information:—

There is a young Indian at present studying in Emmanuel College, Cambridge, who bids fair to become as famous in his own branch of natural science as Dr. J. C. Bose has become in the study of plant life. I refer to Mr. George Matthai, a graduate of the University of Madras, who comes from the Syrian Christian community of Travancore, and who is already achieving a European reputation for his original researches in the highly technical subject which he has chosen for study. The special research on which Mr. Matthai is engaged is entitled "The Comparative Anatomy of the Madreporaria." The work has had to be undertaken in parts, owing to its vastness and complexity. Three or four weeks ago Mr. Matthai was invited to address the Linnaean Society in London on the subject, which has a very great honour for such a young man. The topic upon which he discoursed to the learned *savants* was "A revision of the recent Colonial *Astræidæ* possessing distinct *Corallites*." The work is now in the press and will be published within a few weeks.

Mr. Matthai has just begun the second part of his research on "A Revision of the Meandroid *Astræidæ*," which will take him nearly a year to complete. In this connection another signal distinction has been conferred upon him, this time by the Royal Society who have awarded him the McKinnon studentship. This will enable him to prosecute to better advantage his original studies in this abstruse and difficult field. He has already spent some time, in several of the best equipped Continental laboratories and museums and he will now be in a position to work with the prospects of every better results in directions not hitherto explored. Mr. Matthai has been at Cambridge now for three years, and he expects to remain for at least another year. The Professors at both Oxford and Cambridge have spoken in the highest terms of the work which he has so far accomplished.

Mr. Matthai belongs to a well-known Syrian family connected, through the education of its sons, with this College for over a quarter century. Mr. C. Thomas Matthai, eldest son of Mr. Challiyal Matthai, for some time Headmaster of C. M. S. High School, Kottayam, and afterwards Inspector of Schools in Malabar, graduated from the College in 1889, three years before he died all too early! Simultaneously with him and under the same pathetic circumstances died a younger brother then in the College, C. M. Matthai, in whose memory the Matthai Prize awarded to the student of the second class who stands first in Scripture has been founded by Mr. K. K. Chandy of the Mysore Provincial Service. Another brother, Mr. C. Cheriyan Matthai, who graduated in 1892 is now Chief Inspector of Schools in Cochin.

come to Natal not by arrangement but by reason of the conditions prevailing. Besides, he was also not well having undergone an operation on his leg and was greatly upset at the enforced alterations of his plans.

Replies were afterwards received by the Durban public bodies as follows :—

"I thank you heartily and am much gratified by kind offer to do me honour of visit and reception, but am travelling *incognito*, was forcibly brought here and especially made a rule to go through as a private gentleman, besides am, not well and very sad by events.

NOTIFICATION.

Ootacamund, September 16, 1914.

No. 507.—The following resolution of the Government of India is republished :—

DEPARTMENT OF COMMENCE AND INDUSTRY.

RE-EMIGRATION.

Simla, the 3rd September, 1914.

Resolution.—The following procedure has been arranged by the Government of India in discussion with the Government of the Union of South Africa to facilitate the admission into the Union of the wives and minor children of Indians resident in that country.

2. The husband or father resident in South Africa who desires to obtain a certificate of relationship from

a magistrate in India to facilitate the admission into the Union of South Africa of his wife or children under the age of sixteen years, will, in the first instance, make application in the prescribed form to the immigration authorities in South Africa or to the magistrate of the district in South Africa in which he is residing, and on obtaining from the proper officer in South Africa a certificate in respect of his application, will transmit the same to his wife or child, as the case may be, for production with his application for a certificate of relationship before the principal local magistrate in India, viz., the Chief Presidency Magistrate in a Presidency Town, the Political Officer in a Native State, or the District Magistrate elsewhere.

3. The principal local magistrate in India on receipt of such application and on production before him of the certificate issued in South Africa, will institute an enquiry, either personally or through an officer not below the rank of a Deputy Tahsildar, a Sub-Deputy Collector or a Mamlatdar according to the province concerned, and if the senior magistrate is satisfied as to the alleged relationship, he will grant a certificate of relationship in the attached form in favour of the person (or persons) referred to in the application who will present it to the Immigration Officer at the port of entry in support of ^{her} ~~his or their~~ claim to admission into the Union.

THE

"INDIAN EMIGRANT."

A Monthly Journal devoted to the following aims and objects.

1. To discourage and put a stop, by organised work, to the system of "Indentured Labour" of Indians to foreign countries.
2. To Encourage Emigration of educated men and skilled Labourers.
3. To collect information from all parts outside India as to the facilities for study in arts and crafts, for trade, commerce and Industries and disseminate them among students, merchants and manufacturers. In short, the formation of a Bureau of information.
4. To report in general the working and doings of our fellow countrymen abroad and to bring about a closer and more intimate acquaintance with them.
5. To create an Emigration Fund to be utilised for the benefit of Emigrants, coolies in particular.
6. Lastly, to advocate equal rights of British citizenship within the Empire.

T. K. SWAMINATHAN,
Editor.

EDITOR'S REQUEST.

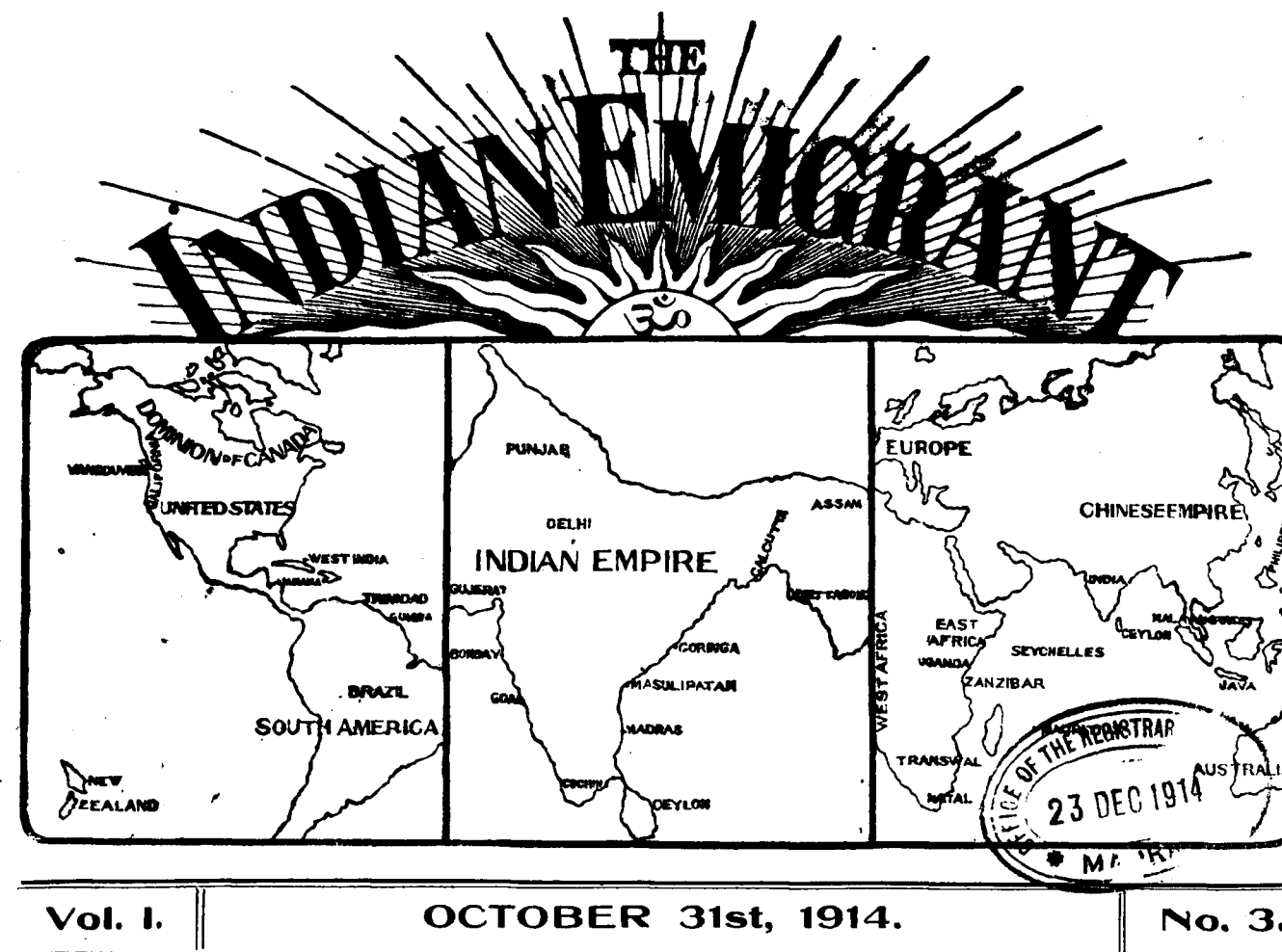
We now beg to invite public opinion from all eminent men, the Hon'ble Members of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Council, our numerous patrons and supporters and the public bodies in India on the important question of "complete Reciprocity in Emigration" which our generous Viceroy so frankly put forth for the consideration of the Indian public. We shall be failing in our duty if we do not take this opportunity of co-operating with His Excellency the Viceroy.

All correspondence to be addressed to—

THE EDITOR,

"INDIAN EMIGRANT,"
33, Broadway Madras.

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The "Indian Emigrant."

A Monthly Record of the Status and Doings of Indians in British Colonies and Foreign Countries and an Advocate of Equal Rights of British Citizenship within the Empire.

A WORKING BASIS FOR

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

"You have not succeeded yet, because you have talked too much."

This is a charge very often levelled against the leaders of the Indian National Congress, both by the rank and file of the party and by the younger generation. The exact amount of truth there is in the statement, we shall not try to estimate in this short article; but we venture to say that the work turned out by the Congress or the success it has achieved during the 26 years of its existence has not been commensurate with the length of its life. If we review the progress of our country for the past

century and a half and compare it with the world's progress, we cannot be said to have progressed very much. We have been till now led by men—Moderates as they were called—who "took the world as it came" in the mischievous and self-deluding hope "after us the millennium" and who made no real sacrifice to hasten that millennium. They seemed to think that there is some sacredness and virtue in this speculative hopefulness which relieves them from taking any trouble for bringing about any improvement in particular. They sometimes put forward the plea that the time has not yet come or that the masses are not yet ready. We believe that such people indulge in vain hope making life a greater dream and shadow than it really is.

Let us now take stock and consider what is the work before us. In the first place our social and economic condition should be improved, i.e., our agriculture should be based on a more scientific basis, our swadeshi articles must be made to glut our markets, the existing indigenous industries should be fostered and new ones created. We are of firm hope that in this gigantic work of material reconstruction lies our political salvation also. It is truly

State. The fourth brother, Mr. John Matthai, after graduating in 1906, acted as History Lecturer in the College before he joined the local Bar in 1911. Though in every way qualified for achieving forensic success, his conceptions of usefulness led him to join the Secretariat staff of the Y. M. C. A. He is now studying in the School of Economics in London with a view to equipping himself for efficient social service in India. Mr. George Matthai, the youngest son of the family, graduated in 1907, taking a first class in Zoology. He served in the College up to the date of his sailing for England in 1911, as Demonstrator and Lecturer in Biology in which subject he also took the M. A. Degree. He was an impressive teacher, a lover of his subject and of his students in whom he sought to instil something of the passion for direct observation and patient research which he had imbibed from his Professor. Dr. J. R. Henderson, to whom congratulations are due on the successes achieved by his pupil. If Mr. George Matthai fulfils the high hopes expressed in the letter quoted above, Dr. Henderson may well feel that as Professor of Biology in this College he has not failed to make a legacy to the cause of Natural Science, that is to say, if the saying is true, that a teacher lives and works through those whom he has trained as much as in his own person.—*Christian College Magazine*.

An Indian Artist in Europe.

Twenty years ago the idea of an Indian artist exhibiting pictures in London could have been only a joke. It is still the custom with many to imagine that a picture painted by an Indian painter could not be otherwise than grotesque, and it must be admitted that even in the present day the great majority of Indian representations of the human form divine are certainly not god-like. Amongst Indian artists, however, there are select few whose works are of a very high class, manifesting true art both in their conception and in their composition, and also in their execution. English papers received by the mail relate that just before the outbreak of war, Mr. Fyzee-Rahamin, a talented young Indian artist, who has recently been exhibiting his pictures in Paris and London, was invited by Herr Reichter, the great German art-critic, to exhibit some of his paintings in Dresden and other important galleries in Germany. Owing to the war Mr. Fyzee-Rahamin was, of course, precluded from accepting the invitation, but an English contemporary remarks that the invitation indicates all the same the gradual spread of the area of European appreciation of Indian Art. Mr. Fyzee-Rahamin is at present exhibiting in the Manchester and Liverpool galleries; and it is of interest to learn that not only are his own pictures attracting great admiration, but that a picture entitled "Indian Music" painted by his wife is "a fascinating work."—*Madras Times*.

Indians in German East Africa.

STORIES OF SUFFERING.

Bombay, Aug. 27.*

A story of the troubles and sufferings of Indians in German East Africa has been brought to Bombay by Mr. Haji Kamaria and Mr. Natoo Mahomed, members of the personal staff of His Highness the Aga Khan who have arrived from Zanzibar. Before he left Zanzibar on the 11th instant, they met a number of Indians who were stranded in Dar-e-Salaam and were sent to Zanzibar by the British Consul. The news they bring is that the Germans recalled S. S. "Koonig" from Zanzibar to Dar-e-Salaam and captured the cargo of the steamer and robbed the passengers of everything they possessed. They were deprived of articles of food and clothing and were driven away penniless. The same fate was meted out to the Indian residents of the place who were ill-treated and robbed of their possessions. They were put to great indignity and sufferings and were not released until they had given up everything they had. The Indians went to the British Consul and complained against the Germans brutal conduct towards them and asked his protection. The British-Consul after hearing their grievances chartered a ship and sent them to Zanzibar which place they reached in a helpless condition. This happened in the initial stage of war at the beginning of this month. News of the ill-treatment of Indians in German territory in East Africa caused great indignation among Indians in East Africa. Mr. Haji Kamaria stated that the British Resident in Zanzibar had adopted every means for the safety of Indians in East Africa and those Indians had enlisted themselves as volunteers.

Another Koja who arrived from Zanzibar said he had met several Indians in Zanzibar who had arrived in a panic from Dar-e-Salaam. They complained that they had been robbed by the Germans of everything they possessed and were turned out from the place. Speaking of German prisoners in Zanzibar he stated that the British Resident showed them every consideration and sent them to Nairobi as prisoners of war. The Indians in German East Africa were reduced to the condition of paupers and they hoped that England would deliver them from the heavy hands of the Germans.

Several letters have been received in Bombay from friends and relations of the people in Dar-e-Salaam complaining of the condition to which they had been reduced by the Germans.

Mr. Gandhi's Explanation to Muhammadans.

(From the Indian Opinion).

As a number of Muhammadans expressed dissatisfaction with Mr. Gandhi's conclusion of negotiations leading to the Relief Bill, he accepted an invitation to meet them on July 15th.

He was asked on whose authority he had acted, what the Indian merchants had gained by the eight years' struggle, and how the funds subscribed had been disposed.

Mr. Gandhi said that in the negotiations he had acted on behalf of the general body of Indians throughout South Africa, and meetings which had been held since the Bill was passed showed the unanimity of the British Indian public opinion. Merchants had gained what the community had gained. The status of Indians had been raised in the estimation of Europeans, and the term, "coolie" as a reproach had been effectively removed. If they had not fought, no trace of them would have been left here as a self-respecting community. He satisfied the meeting that the money set aside for the hospital at the time of the plague was from fees due to him for acting as solicitor for clients in connection with expropriation of the insanitary area in 1904, and though not used for the hospital, were devoted to public purposes. Balance-sheets showing how money subscribed for passive resistance had been disbursed had been published, and any inquiry would be dealt with by his solicitor. The settlement was final. As regards the passive resistance, there was nothing to prevent them continuing to agitate for the removal of Provincial disabilities, but he warned them they had to cultivate European opinion. He also explained the settlement in connection with marriage and said that Moslems were not called on to violate an iota of the Koran.

The meeting passed off harmoniously.

A Returning Emigrant.

The *Madras Times* tells a tale.

Veeraswamigadu lived in a village in the Kistna district. Four years ago, at the age of eighteen, he was induced to emigrate to Fiji, to help in cultivating the sugar that is grown there. Three years passed, and Veeraswamigadu contracted a bad cough. He grew worse, and he pined for his home in India, and on the 22nd June started on the sea voyage. Coolie accommodation on boardship is not the ideal for a consumptive, and on the 4th of last month Veeraswamigadu died. He was buried, and his little possessions were collected by the captain of the vessel. They consisted of £10—Veeraswamigadu's savings—a nice little sum of Rs. 150, which would have been quite useful for a village swain of 22; an amulet—which was powerless to save him from consumption; a brass lotah, and seven articles of clothing. Veeraswamigadu's village is known, but no one knows his people; and now it is the Emigration Agent's business to find out whether there are any claimants for a share of Veeraswamigadu's little store.—

A Commissioned Indian Officer.

The *Indian Daily News* of Calcutta learns that the son of Mr. Shelley Bonnerjee has been offered and accepted a commission in the British army. Mr. Bonnerjee is an Indian domiciled in England. In this crisis of the Empire many kind acts have been done to us by the Imperial Government and this is one of the most interesting among them, for, if we mistake not, it is the first commission, outside honorary ones, offered to an Indian. And it is high time that Indians should have a larger share in the British Army and Navy.

A Barrister's Visit to Natal.

We learn with pleasure that Mr. A. Sundram, B.A., Bar-at-law of Madras, paid a professional visit to S. Africa during the last summer vacation. This is perhaps the first time that Natal had been visited by a Tamil Hindu Brahmin of the legal fraternity.

We wish that many more well-to-do legal members and other leading gentries of the country take occasional trips to such places where there are many Indians and understand the real condition of our countrymen over there; and the public will be greatly benefited by an expression of their views and experiences of those countries.

H. H. Aga Khan in South Africa.

The accidental arrival of H. H. Sir Sultan Mahomed Aga Khan, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., at Durban during last month by the Union castle liner *danstephen castle*, from Zanzibar, has been a source of great satisfaction to the Indian community in Natal and although the representatives of the various bodies were eager and vying with each other to give him a fitting reception, His Highness would not accept it, owing to the disturbed condition of affairs on account of the war and the fact that his visit was only a chance. However, after several unsuccessful attempts, he was "pursued and captured" by some of the representatives of the Indian community, seated in a motor car perusing the many telegrams received from all parts welcoming him to their shores. They asked him whether His Highness would kindly accept the invitation of the Indian Community to a private reception at which the leaders would attend and pay their respects to one who was held in so high esteem by all sections and they felt that it was impossible for them to allow him to pass through Durban without some recognition of his valuable services to the Indian cause in South Africa. These and other suggestions were smilingly refused and with profuse apologies. His Highness said that he was very much obliged for their kindness but it was quite impossible for him under the circumstances to accept their very kind offer since he had decided to travel strictly incognito through South Africa and also that he had

said that a poor people can never be refined nor a rich people ever barbarous. J. R. McCulloch in his *Principles of Political Economy* points out that "it is impossible to name a single nation which has made any distinguished figure, either in philosophy or the fine arts, without having been at the same time celebrated for its wealth. The age of Pericles and Phidias was the flourishing age of Grecian, as the age of Petrarch and Raphael was of Italian Commerce. The influence of wealth is, in this respect, almost omnipotent. It raised Venice from the bosom of the deep, and made the desert and sandy islands on which she is built, and the unhealthy swamps of Holland, the favoured abodes of literature, of science, and of art." If we therefore continue to neglect our economic well-being as we have been doing till now, the future is bound to be dark and gloomy and the people must necessarily grow poorer and poorer day by day.

A rare and splendid opportunity offers itself now for this year's Congress, to lay the foundations of a constructive work for the future. While writing this, there appeared in the columns of *New India*, (15th October), our daily contemporary, a note, a warning note quoted from the *Indian Mirror* informing us "on the authority of the most exact astrological calculation, that the Indian National Congress, if it is held this year, will be a dismal failure. It is time for the leaders to profit by this warning." The answer to this warning has appeared in the same column in these terms, "all that sane astrological authority can say is that the conditions will be unfavourable and irritating. If that be so, it will only be necessary to throw in more will power and greater amiability." We might as well add that we should double our strength and quadruple our energy if we should come out successful through this year's work. Certainly it will not be the duty of the Congress, this year, to say anything on the defects of the internal administration or to criticise the measures and actions of the Government. Perhaps, in this sense, it may be a failure. While therefore refraining from any attacks on Government, shall we not by vigorous organization and systematic work bring about a scheme worthy of the traditions of the Congress for practical work, year in and year out.

A NATIONAL ECONOMIC LEAGUE.

The suggestion that appears to us most cogent in this state of things is, the creation of a National Economic League consisting of paid workers, permanently attached to the Indian National Congress, whose special business it should be to supervise, and assist our social, educational, industrial, agricultural and even politi-

cal development of the country. How the scheme is to be worked we shall presently indicate; but before doing so, we cannot forbear saying a few words on the great scope there is for practical work on the part of voluntary organizations like the one proposed. A writer, in the recent *Hindustan Review* (September) writing on political and social reforms, points out as follows:—"The work for the uplift of the country is multiform. Part of it could be done by using the agency of the Government while the part of it can be accomplished without the Government aid. There is a great deal of work to be done for the national betterment and it is the duty of the thinkers in the country to discover it. Instead of agitating for greater political power, we have to use the power which we already possess. The temples in India have a great deal of money which can be utilized for public purposes. This money is either hoarded or spent in litigation or in dissipation by the temple priests. Abuses like these are manifold and are waiting for leaders, for their own removal. But to social legislation, calculated to remove such evils no attention was paid. The active Reformers have been men guided either by false ideas of reform or by false motives and the political agitators were centred on one object, political reform and securing of civil service posts." He goes on to say that, "One requirement to carry out a propaganda for social reform is the knowledge of the actual conditions in the country. We, at present, do not possess an accurate knowledge of the conditions of labouring classes, of the social morals, of the relations between landlords and tenants, of the insanitary conditions of life and of many other things."

Now, the proposed League is based on a system known as the Wanderjahre System which is explained at full length by Mr. Karl Pearson in one of his interesting essays on "The function of Science in the Modern State." The League itself is as follows. It is the establishment of a body of paid workers, say on Rs. 40 or 50 a month, consisting of the pick of the graduates or undergraduates who will specialise themselves in particular departments of sociology and politics, in commerce, industry and agriculture and if funds permit the appointment of a permanent paid head to superintend the workers. Now, while the workers are devoting some time in the year to the theoretical studies at a Central Institution, like the Servants of India Society, they must spend the remaining part of the year in travel to several places in the country making notes every day and sending them to Head Office every week. The object of their

travel should be to explore the country and to study in detail village by village, as to the local conditions, the possibilities and resources, the village Unions forming the base of their operations. The notes that these men make may very well be published in the organ of the Congress which is suggested later on. In this manner we shall be able "to take the masses along with us" and influence the local public to take an active and helping hand in the material welfare and political development of the country.

This custom of sending out men and students is known as Wanderjahre System and whatever may be its prospect of success in the beginning, it is bound to succeed after a few years and in the long run and it will greatly develop our institutions and improve by leaps and bounds our educational system, our social life and political organizations. This class of workers whose minds have been freed from their narrow and insular method of training and who are unfettered by local custom will undoubtedly be in constant demand for pioneer work. Some of those trained in this way in their own country might with advantage be sent to foreign countries for the study of their industrial systems or political institutions. For the organization of a League of this kind, we wish that the leaders of this year's Congress will meet, concert measures and answer these problems. If they fail to solve the pressing question of the day, they must at least help their aspiring children who are ready to take up the service and act on the principle,

"Our country's welfare is our first concern,

And who promotes the best, best proves his duty.

The youth of India feel the call more strongly than the middle-aged and the old. A great statesman and prophet once said "Place, the young at the head of the masses; you do not know what strength is latent in those young bands, what magic influence the voice of the young has on the crowd; you will find in them a host of apostles for the new religion. But youth lives on movement, grows great in enthusiasm and faith. Consecrate them with a lofty mission, inflame them with emulation and praise; spread through their ranks the word of fire, the word of inspiration; speak to them of country, of glory, of power, of great memories." "All great national movements," he wrote "begin with the unknown men of the people, without influence except for the faith and will that counts not time or difficulties."

But then, the old pertinent question follows who is to provide funds for the payment of the workers or how best to secure the necessary sinews of war?

The following plan might, we hope, be adopted with success. Let each district or, to begin with, a group of districts gladly levy on themselves a sort of patriotic tax to maintain a public worker at their expense. Will not half a dozen districts in each province collect together Rs. 40 a month for a public cause? If this method is not found feasible, we may as well bid good bye to the Congress and its workers and thus wind up the whole affair.

Without the leisure and opportunity afforded by the assurance of a mere bare subsistence, many an enthusiast and many a patriot has been wasted and lost to the public. We sincerely hope that the ensuing Congress and the President-Elect, in particular, Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, to whom the noble task of conducting the Congress is entrusted, will consider this suggestion and bring about a permanent working institution connected with the Congress which will not only improve the material condition of the country but also tend to the advancement of our political institutions. We fully believe in Mr. Basu, a far reaching Statesman as he is, as is evidenced a few years ago by the promulgation of his Marriage Bill, familiarly known to every school boy as Basu's bill, which unfortunately had the fate of being thrown out either because the country was unripe for it or was unable to appreciate it. Lastly we have only two more suggestions to make and they are these.—

1. The necessity for an independent organ belonging to the Indian National Congress.

2. The representation in the Congress of our Indian Colonial born gentlemen.

The first suggestion does not of course admit of difference of opinion. We therefore dismiss it with the hope that, a new era will be opened in the history of the Congress of this year by the starting of a journal in India advocating the cause and the creed of the Congress. It is with regard to the second point that we wish to amplify a little more in detail. Great India is gradually growing greater and greater. Her so called insignificant sons have gone abroad and have become great. There is many a Gandhi hidden and unknown to our narrow and selfish eyes. Is it not time that we should gather them together, acquaint ourselves with them and acquaint them with each other. The Master-Builders of India are not confined to the home land but live abroad as well. This we must recognize early and bring about a speedy solution for the proper representation in the Congress of Indians wherever they may be in whatever part of the globe.

To-day the strength of the Indian population in the principal British Colonies and Protectorates stands in round numbers as follows :—

British Guiana	126,000
East Africa including Uganda	13,000
Fiji Islands	40,000
Jamaica	20,000
Malay States and Strait Settlements.	255,000
Mauritius	258,000
Trinidad and Tobago	50,000

and including Natal and other places the total Indian population outside India exceeds a million.

The above figures are not too insignificant to be lost sight of; but they call forth for an adequate representation of each colony in the National Council of this country. The Indian Colonials have done and are still doing a huge work—a work of self-sacrifice, a work of honour and self-respect in foreign lands for the uplift of India, and it is therefore the duty of the Indian National Congress, as a national assembly, to bestow on them the honour of a welcome invitation for an active participation by them to contribute their share to the sum total of political development of the country.

Will this Congress do it?

The time has truly come nigh when we shall have to give up traditional ways and means and march onward in the paths of progress and enlightenment.—*Ed.*

EMIGRATION TO JAMAICA.

A general survey of the Annual Report of the Indian Immigration Department of the Government of Jamaica for the year ending 31st March 1913, brings to light several points of interest in connection with the emigration of Indians to that Western colony. The report, which is full 24 pages of foolscap size, has been compiled by Mr. Chas. W. Doorly, the Protector of Emigrants, who is now in Madras in charge of the Government Emigration Depot.

We gather the following particulars from the report. The number of indentured immigrants introduced into the island was 1,319 males, 529 females, and 137 children and they all sailed from Calcutta in five shipments at different periods of the year; and each shipment carried not less than a dozen men who had emigrated to other places previously. The length of time occupied by the journey was about a month and a half and considering the length of the voyage and that our labourers were unaccustomed to such voyage, the general health of the immigrants was

fair and satisfactory on the way, although on the arrival of the first steamer there were attacks of measles and mumps on board and these cases were treated at the quarantine and at the contagious-diseases hospital. The estimated total number of East Indian population on the 31st March 1913 in the island was 20,000. What exactly was the total number of free Indian population exercising the right of franchise, we are unable to say from the report. We guess, however, that it must be between 12,000 to 15,000.

During the year under review, 331 persons were repatriated and 33 immigrants were released from indenture on the ground of ill-health, and the diseases from which most of the people suffered were, in the majority of the cases, rheumatism, ankylostomiasis and general debility. It is interesting also to note that nine immigrants commuted their indenture by money payments to employers in respect of the unexpired periods of their indentured service, so that there seems to be growing, though not as yet widely practised, a desire on the part of the Indians to become free citizens. The Government of Jamaica also seem to encourage free citizenship by prohibitory laws making now the system of re-indenture absolutely illegal. It is very gratifying to see from the report that during the year, no time-expired immigrant sought to enter into any contract for service in the island. The Protector even assures us that there has not been a single case of an immigrant re-indenturing himself during the 22 years he was in the department. This is a most comforting piece of news as it is quite unlike the conditions which prevail in South Africa or in Fiji. The report then goes on to deal with births and deaths among the East Indians, the percentage when worked out gives 2.00, 2.21 respectively.

Phthisis and ankylostomiasis were the causes of most of the deaths among the immigrant population and the matter was reported to the Superintending Medical Officer who at once took steps to cope with these diseases and he has been successful so far. Another feature in the question of medical supervision of indentured immigrants is, the special care, on the part of the Government of Jamaica, by passing new rules requiring Medical Officers to pay monthly visits of inspection to estates instead of quarterly as had hitherto been the case. As a result of this sympathetic and benevolent attitude of the Government, there were far fewer cases of malaria than formerly and closer attention was paid to sanitary conditions on the various estates.

As to the much abused system of suicides so often heard of in plantations of other colonies, there were none at all. With regard to crimes and punishments, there were 37 immigrants imprisoned during the year on various offences and the rate is about 1.85 per thousand, but the percentage of charges for breaches of Immigration Laws is about 10 times more and the report observes that, "in considering these statistics it should be borne in mind that a large number of the convictions were for the offences of assault, mostly on other labourers on the estates, and for drunkenness and disorderly conduct. These can hardly be called as 'breaches of the laws.' No charges of assault or ill-treatment were preferred against employers by or on behalf of indentured immigrants during the year."

Four strikes occurred during the year, but none of them was in any way serious; but in the majority of the cases, it was found that the overseer or the headman was always to blame and the behaviour of the coolies was orderly and admirable on all the occasions.

One other point deserves our careful consideration and that is, the education of the Indian children.

From the statistics given in the Report, there were 915 boys, and 920 girls of school going age, of which 453 boys and 272 girls were actually attending school. It will be seen that only one third of the East Indian children of school going age are taking advantage of the facilities offered for their education. Although this state of things is encouraging to a degree, there is a deplorable want of Indian teachers to teach the children not only the three R's but what is more important, the 4th R if we may call it, the rudiments of Religion. We, in India, have begun to realise the sad necessity and the evil consequences of the utter neglect of religious and moral education in the schools, and we may imagine what must be the state of things in a country or place where the materialistic tendencies are much stronger than in India and where the scope for the study of Indian religions are altogether wanting. We do not advocate a particular religion or a particular dogma. What we need is, that each race or nation should study and develop its own religion and philosophy. The reports of the Inspectors of Schools admit that Indian children attend better when the teacher is fair or an Indian. This is but natural. Two years ago, three special schools were started for the East Indian children and the authorities are dissatisfied with their attendance, with the result, that the facilities now afforded, if not taken advantage of, will be discontinued. We appeal to some of our enterprising young men in India, who have

an aptitude for the teaching profession to sail to foreign countries, where they are wanted for the elevation of the intellectual tone of our people.

On the whole, it is clear from the Report that, the administration of the Immigration Department of the Government of Jamaica, has been conducted under a sympathetic and kind officer who spared no pains to look to the welfare and comfort of the people of whom he has rightly been styled the Protector. If, however, every officer in similar position were of this description, it would be also better to bring the free and unregulated labour now taking place to Ceylon and F. M. S. under the same conditions, however objectionable it may seem to the sentiments of our people. No doubt, there are certain cases in which the Protector plays into the hands of the employers, in which case the system deserves our whole hearted condemnation.—*Ed.*

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA.

Ever since the war broke out with Germany, a certain amount of commercial depression was felt in India. As a consequence, there was keenly felt in the country the utter hopelessness of dependence on foreign nations for articles of use and therefore of the importance for self-sufficiency in the matter of manufactured articles of our daily necessity, which the import of cheap German goods into India has created. For the past one month and a half, meetings were held every where, resolutions were passed and committees were appointed for the Industrial regeneration of India. It was perhaps thought that, at this psychological moment by the magic use of a talisman, extraordinary results could be produced instantaneously. But, what is the net result after all. We are where we are, if not in a worse predicament. While we fully appreciate the readiness with which our people have come forward with their hoarded wealth subscribing thousands and lakhs to the war, we fail to understand why so little or no effort was taken individually or collectively to start any particular industry which has the largest scope for development.

Supposing an industry has been started by an earnest body of men—(we say earnest, because we know there have been industries started by lending the names of big men, which in the end have resulted in ruin)—and they produce tolerably good articles of consumption, what we often hear our too refined and critical a people, long accustomed to European articles of comfort and luxury, remark is "it has not the fineness, the beauty and the polish of an English

make, Oh we can get a better article much cheaper in the evening or night bazaar, I am not going to pay such a fancy price for it." If this is the attitude of our educated public men, who talk in this strain and who know not the process by which England attained her present industrial supremacy, we may stop speaking of industrial development altogether. If, even now, our leading gentries try and avoid as far as possible the use of foreign articles and encourage the Swadeshi Industries which are already working in India, a good deal may be expected for the future development of Indian Industries. It is the want of public support that drives the existing industrial concerns into liquidation.

Instead of starting new Industries, what we would therefore humbly suggest to our public and patriotic men and respectfully urge also on the Government is, the necessity to inquire into the state of the hundreds of existing indigenous industries and ascertain what scope there is for their proper working and future development, to investigate into the causes of failure of so many companies which have been wound up and to find out the true remedies for the means of successfully floating them again and helping them financially if necessary.

This is only one of the ways of improving Indian Industries.—*Ed.*

THE LABOUR PROBLEM IN INDIA.

Sir Henry Cotton, K.C.S.I., writes in *India* :—

In the financial supplement of the "Times" for June 15 there appeared the following special leader under the title of "The Labour Problem" in India: "Where Workers are Wanted":—

The attempt to land a shipload of Indian immigrants at Vancouver has led Sir Harry Johnston to ask, in a letter to the "Times," the pertinent question why the promoters of Indian emigration schemes do not first endeavour to colonise to its fullest extent some 200,000 square miles of habitable but unpopulated India.

That India as a whole is over-populated is an entirely mistaken idea. Of its vast area of nearly 1,800,000 square miles, two-fifths has less than 100 persons to the square mile, and there are great tracts of country with less than 25 persons to the square mile. In nearly two-thirds of the Districts and States the number is less than 200, while in only about a quarter does it range between 200 and 500. There is moreover an absolute shortage of labour in all industries based on modern capitalistic condition,

and it is seriously retarding the economic development of the country. A few weeks ago, presiding at the Assam dinner, Mr. C. C. McLeod, while congratulating the tea industry upon its present prosperity, referred to this labour difficulty.

Shortage is seen not merely in distant Assam, but also in Bengal and Upper India, where factories and workshops are within easy reach of congested agricultural areas in the fertile Gangetic valley. A distinguished captain of Indian industry informs us that the want has been keenly felt at the mills and collieries and in transport work, and that this spring his firm alone "could easily have employed an extra 5,000 hands for these purposes, but they were not obtainable." It may be added that the problem has not suddenly arisen, leaving the promoters of emigration to countries where the Indians are unwelcome without opportunity of knowing the facts. At a conference of the Indian and Ceylon Chambers of Commerce held so long ago as January, 1905, a Resolution was passed asking for a Government Commission to investigate the inadequacy of labour for organised industries. Since then the difficulty has become more acute year by year.

These observations show such a complete want of appreciation of the real condition of Indian labour that I am induced to offer a few remarks with a view to throwing light on what is after all a very simple matter however much it may be misunderstood by British capitalists in India.

THE ALLEGED SHORTAGE OF LABOUR.

The misunderstanding is, I am afraid, deliberate. The "Times" writer, who voices capitalist opinion, comes to the conclusion that there is "an absolute shortage of labour in all industries in India which are based on modern capitalistic conditions," and while he has no remedy to offer for this state of things, he goes on to observe that "the difficulty becomes more acute year by year." There is no foundation for these statements, and indeed, the very reverse of them is the truth. In point of fact, not only is there no shortage of labour in India but the supply always exceeds the demand, and whatever difficulty there may be among capitalists in obtaining labour is entirely due to their own reluctance to pay the higher market rate of wages which the increased cost of living in India has made inevitable.

There is no country in the world where the labour market is larger than it is in India. The supply is practically inexhaustible. Indians in all classes of life are extremely reluctant to emigrate from their own

country—very much more so than we are in the West—but yet they pour forth in shoals as ordinary labourers on sugar, tea, coffee, rubber and other plantations in our Colonies. According to the Census returns of 1911—and the numbers have enormously increased since that date—there were more than a million persons in our Colonies employed on such service, who were born in India. Of the total number 474,000 were enumerated in Ceylon, 231,000 in the Straits Settlements and the Malay States, 88,000 in British Guiana, 73,000 in Natal, 51,000 in Trinidad, 35,000 in Mauritius, 29,000 in Fiji and 8,000 each in Jamaica and Zanzibar. The number in Canada was 2,342. What is the meaning of these figures? They mean that more than a million labourers had emigrated because they found that they could get better wages abroad than they could earn in their own country. They certainly do not mean that there is any shortage of labour supply in India itself.

Why then is it that British capitalists in India should complain of a shortage? Why is it that, as the "Times" points out, a Resolution was passed at a Conference of Chambers of Commerce held as long ago as January, 1905, asking for a Government Commission to investigate the inadequacy of labour for organised industries? The answer is not far to seek. The cost of living in India, that is to say, the price of rice and of other necessities of life is three times as great as it was fifty years ago, and about twice as much as it was twenty-five years ago. This is due to many causes, partly to increased facilities of communications and to the absence of reserves of food supply which formerly amounted to three-quarters of a year's consumption, and partly to the passing of lands which used to be devoted to cereals to more profitable crops such as jute. In any case the fact of the increase in cost of living is indisputable.

THE QUESTION OF WAGES.

But how about wages? Of course they have increased, but the increase is infinitesimal in comparison. Let us take the largest industry in India under the control of British capital, viz., tea. In the Province of Assam alone the strength of the labour force is 800,000, of which practically the whole is imported from other parts of India. The difficulty of this labour supply is chronic, and there has never been a time in the history of the industry when it could not be called acute. It has always been due to the question of wages which have never been paid on an adequate scale. It was officially denounced as inadequate in the 'sixties, and although the latest

official figures are not at my disposal, I have no doubt that I am well within the mark if I say that the increase of wages since that date has not been more than two pence a day per head. It is no wonder that Mr. C. C. McLeod, the Chairman of the Assam dinner a few weeks ago, while congratulating the tea industry upon its present prosperity, should have referred to the labour difficulty. That difficulty we may be sure will never be solved until some portion of the twenty or thirty per cent. dividends which now find their way to the pockets of the shareholders is transferred to the wages account of the concern.

Just as with tea so it is with all other capitalist industries such as mining, jute and cotton mills, transport work, and the like. But it is the fact that these industries have been more responsive than tea to the necessities of the situation, and the labour difficulty is therefore less felt by them. But it is felt, and for the same reason though in a less degree. There is ample labour available for one and all, but it will not come unless the workman is enticed by the offer of a wage which will make it worth his while to leave his home.

Nothing is more obvious than the reluctance of employers everywhere to increase wages; but in India this tendency is peculiarly apparent, because not only are the workers without any organisation whatever, but it so happens that employers are far better organised to act together than they are in other countries, even to the extent of having legislation at their back, and the influence of custom—a very potent influence, always in the Orient—is on their side. Nevertheless, a beginning has been made, and a free scope will ultimately be found for the natural operation of economic laws. In the meantime, however, the complaints of the employers to which the "Times" so naively gives expression will never cease until the employers honestly recognise that if they want labour they must pay for it. That is the Indian labour problem in a nutshell.

THE POSITION OF INDIANS IN THE EMPIRE.*

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have chosen this subject of "Indians in the Empire,"—or "India and Indians in the British Empire,"—because I think that it is, from the point of view of Indian and Imperial interests, the most pressing problem that exists at the present day; and I think it is going to become more and more

* Summary of a lecture delivered before the Students' Brotherhood in January, 1914, by Mr. B. G. Horniman and Reprinted from the "Students Brotherhood Quarterly."

pressing. And as I believe those of my audience this evening mostly consist of men of the rising generation, who will have to deal with this problem in the future, I have chosen this subject in the hope that whatever I may be able to say may be of some use in guiding in any way, those who may hear this discussion this evening. I propose to deal with the problem from the point of view of Indian and Imperial interests, because there are only two points of view, which can possibly concern us in this country, of this great question. One is the Indian point of view and the other the Imperial point of view. Now I have had the pleasure, or the pain, of listening to more than one discussion on this subject within the last few months, and also of reading a good many articles in Anglo-Indian newspapers, and I have been always painfully impressed by the way in which an Indian audience, or the readers of an Anglo-Indian newspaper, are always asked to look at this question from the Colonial standpoint. Well, I am not going to say that it is not a good thing to look at things from other people's point of view, or to look at questions from your opponent's point of view, but I think that that request has been very largely overdone in this case. Our business in India is to look at this question from the Indian point of view, only qualified by the Imperial point of view, and that is the point of view that I am going to talk about this evening. I do not see why we should concern ourselves with the difficulties of the inhabitants of Australia and South Africa and Canada in dealing with an alien population, for the presence of which among themselves they are chiefly responsible. They have made the situation; it has not been made by India; and it lies upon them to deal with the situation in a manner which appreciates and fully appreciates the recognition which should be paid to India as a component part of the British Empire, and to the citizens of India as fully qualified citizens of the British Empire.

I am going to ask you first of all to look at the position which India occupies in the British Empire at the present day. Now we always find that when Colonial people discuss this question, and I am sorry to say, when a great many of my own countrymen discuss the question, they always start with the assumption that India is not in possession of the same claims and rights as themselves, *i.e.*, of the self-governing dominions, and that in every treatment of the matter, she must receive a secondary consideration. Well, that is not a position which I am going to recognise at all, and it is not a position which I trust any inhabitant of this country is going to recognise, and one of my main objects to-day is to try and impress upon you all that one of your most important duties, as citizens of the British Empire, is to stand out for your full claim to be treated on an equality with the inhabitants of every other portion of the British Empire,

in whatever country you may be, either permanently or temporarily, dwelling. I say that as an English-born citizen myself, because I regard it as a solemn duty upon the people of my country to extend those full rights, which have been solemnly promised to the people of this country by our King-Emperors and late Queen-Empress over and over again.

Well now, let us look at what the position of India is in the British Empire and what is the position of the self-governing colonies. Looking at the question from the practical point of view, it is no use denying that the self-governing dominions occupy a far superior position, because being to a large extent people of the same blood and origin as the people of the mother-country, they were granted very early those free institutions which, however, it is considered a danger to confer upon the people of this country. But looking at it also in another way, from the material and moral point of view—and this is a point which every patriotic Indian ought to instill into his mind and should never forget—the Indian Empire is—I say it as an Englishman, and I am prepared to justify it in every possible way—of far greater importance to the British Empire than any of the self-governing dominions. In the first place, India is a valued possession of the British Empire, a valued part of the British Empire long before any of these self-governing dominions began to be of any importance at all, and for the last 150 years India has been contributing to the wealth of the British Empire, and mainly to the wealth of the United Kingdom in a way that leaves these stripplings of self-governing dominions far behind. They have, as a matter of fact, only within very recent times become factors of importance from that point of view at all. Whereas India has for all these years been contributing to the wealth of the British Empire, and has in that way been one of its most solid pillars of support, under which, the self-governing dominions have been able to flourish and grow up, and earn their claim to the free institutions which they now possess.

I just want to give you in that connection a few figures to show how monstrous is the attitude which is taken up by people like the Premier of the Union of South Africa—by General Botha and others when they talk about India. Because you will remember that in the course of the recent controversy—a controversy which has not yet closed—in regard to the position of Indians in South Africa, the matter was always treated by General Botha and his Ministers as though India had no claim to lay down for herself—as I think that you ought to be allowed to lay down—the lines on which her own subjects shall be treated in a great self-governing dominion,—and they always speak from that particular point of view; as though a self-governing dominion were of the first importance to the Empire

and as though India were merely a secondary consideration that could easily be put on one side and dealt with in any way they pleased.

Well, the British Empire exists, as we all know, not by the power of the United Kingdom to exercise control over every part of it, but by the consent of those countries which are its component parts. The existence of India as part of the British Empire depends upon the consent of the people of India as the existence of South Africa or Australia depends upon the consent of the people of Australia and South Africa.

Let us just look at the facts and figures, and examine for a moment the position which India occupies as the strongest pillar of support of the British Empire. If you will look at the figures of the trade of the United Kingdom with other parts of British Empire, you will find that the total amount of trade of the United Kingdom with the other portions of the British Empire amounts nearly on an average to about £375,659,000 of which India contributes no less than £111,885,000. The share of the Union of South Africa, in this volume of trade is, £11,151,000, *i.e.*, one-tenth of the total value of the trade of India with the United Kingdom; Australia's is £36,120,000, *i.e.*, about one-third of the trade of India with the United Kingdom; the North American Colonies, not only of Canada but also other Colonies in North America, have a total of £28,000,000, less than a third of the volume of India's trade with the United Kingdom; New Zealand £20,000,000, less than one-fifth of India's trade. And if we go in detail into those figures, exports and imports, which we have no time to do this evening, we find how in every respect India holds a leading place, not only in regard to actual figures, but also in regard to the importance of her trade, and the way in which her trade is such an enormously valuable asset to the United Kingdom. But take the figures in another way, *i.e.*, if we take the total of self-governing dominions and of the Crown Colonies with the United Kingdom, we find that India is at the head of the whole lot of them by such an enormous figure as puts them entirely in the shade, when compared with India, as contributors to the wealth of the United Kingdom and to the wealth of the British Empire.

There is one consideration, which every Indian should bear in mind whenever he is discussing this question, whatever he thinks of it, that, if India were taken away from the British Empire, the British Empire would receive such a staggering blow that it is doubtful whether it would ever recover from it, and the United Kingdom in its material welfare would receive such a blow that it would possibly, should such a thing happen, which God forbid, have to take its place with small States like Holland and Belgium. If, on the other hand, you took away any single one of the self-governing

dominions of the British Empire, Australia, or Canada or the Union of South Africa, I cannot see that the injury which the United Kingdom, and which the British Empire would suffer would be of such huge importance that the United Kingdom could not manage to recover from it after a short while; on the other hand, in my opinion, we should gain—I am speaking as an Englishman and as a citizen of the United Kingdom—very large advantages, because it would enable us to deal more easily with many vital questions that arise, and which we are quite unable to settle so long as the self-governing dominions remain portions of the British Empire, on a satisfactory basis—questions we should probably be able to settle in about five minutes if we had to deal with these countries as foreign States. However, we none of us desire to see the state of affairs which would give us such an advantage.

Thus, in considering the position of India in regard to the other component parts of the British Empire, looking at it from the Imperial point of view, which is my point of view as an Englishman, I have to remember that India has all these years contributed so largely to the wealth of the United Kingdom and the British Empire, and has helped in an enormously greater degree than any other parts of the British Empire to make the Empire what it is. India having played that part, when I have to make up my mind in regard to any question affecting the welfare of India or the rights of the Indian citizens as against the claims of the self-governing dominions, I am quite unable to see—India being as much a part of the British Empire as any other country, and the citizens of India being as much British citizens as I or any other Englishman—I am quite unable to see why I should not in every way give the fullest justice and consideration, to everything that the Empire and the United Kingdom in particular owes to India for being what it is. And therefore, when I am told—as we have been told recently not only by the self-governing colonies but unfortunately by a very large number of Englishmen in this country—when we are told that every country must have the right to say, who are who shall not come into its territories and reside there, then I say that if that is a right which belongs to the self-governing colonies, it is a right which ought to belong to India. And it seems to me essential that we should make up our minds at once to accord to this country and to the citizens of this country every justice in that respect, for the time will come when this country will be in the same position as the self-governing dominions are at the present day, and be able to say who or who shall not enter its territories, and if that day comes before justice has been meted out to India in that respect, it will be one of the most disastrous days that ever fell upon the United Kingdom and the British Empire. I say that because I do not think that there

are many people in my experience, I find that there are not many Indians even, who appreciate the full extent to which English Society and English Institutions and everything in England benefits by the connection with India.

I have so far enlarged somewhat on this question of the material importance of this country in the British Empire, and I hope that you have gathered that I wanted particularly to bring out the extent to which the self-governing dominions—the whole of the Colonies of the British Empire—have benefited by the association of India with the Empire, and that it has only been by the Imperial wealth to which India has so largely contributed that they have been able to grow up and flourish, as they have done, and that the mother-country has been able to put them in the position that they are now. So these self-governing dominions in an indirect way, and almost in a direct way, very largely owe the position that they occupy, not only to their own enterprise and energy for which they deserve every credit, but also to the Imperial protection which British dominion over India has principally enabled Britain to give them.

Then again I want to point out what a very great and important part in every other way India has played in the making of the British Empire. It is the general assumption of the Imperialists in England that when they talk of the British Empire they mean the mother-country and the self-governing dominions, and everything else is left out as though it were of no importance at all. Whereas, as a matter of fact, the fact—which I presume is well known to everybody in this hall—is that India has played a very much larger part than any other British possession in building up the British Empire, in assisting the mother-country to build it both from the military as well as from the trade and commercial point of view.

When we are asked to give such a preponderating consideration as Imperialists to the self-governing Colonies in relation to their attitude towards India, the reflection comes upon me, and I do not know why it should not come upon anybody else—that we owe so much to India in this respect, and the self-governing dominions have done so little for the Empire at large, as apart from their individual interests, that it is presumptuous to treat India as if she were not on an equality with these self-governing dominions. They have enjoyed the military protection of the mother-country for all these years without paying a pice for it. India, on the other hand, has paid through the nose for every penny that has been spent upon the internal defence of this country; in the maintenance of the army in this country, an army which is of great value not only for the purposes of the protection of India itself, but as a factor in the whole outlook of Imperial defence. India has to spend a sum of more

than twenty millions annually on the maintenance of her military forces—a sum larger than the whole of her land revenue—and she pays every pice for the support of the British Contingent in that army. In addition to all this, she pays a tribute of a hundred thousand pounds annually to the Navy. South Africa has now begun to make a contribution of eighty thousand pounds a year towards the Navy, and the others have only just begun to take a share in their own defence. There is not one of them that would have been able to exist up to this time without the protection of the Imperial forces; there is not one of them that could exist for a week at the present day without that protection. But India is the only part of the British Empire, with the exception of the mother-country, which depends upon herself for her own military protection. There is not any other country in the Empire that provides for her own military protection in the same sense, and if any of the self-governing dominions ever got into any sort of trouble of that kind, now or for many years to come, they could not possibly deal with it without the full assistance of the whole of the Imperial military power that could be put forward. I do not mean to say for a moment that India does not enjoy a very large measure of Imperial protection, that the supremacy of the sea, which the British Empire enjoys, is not a factor of enormous value to this country, a factor without which the Indian Empire could not expect to exist or progress; but I do say that India, looking at it from a purely military point of view, is the only part of the British Empire outside the British Isles, that is self-dependent in a military sense, and pays for it. More than that. Before leaving this part of the question, I want to draw attention to one or two particular instances, which ought to make Englishmen peculiarly grateful to this country. One of the first things that struck me the other day when this trouble arose in Natal, and the Union Government took up an attitude towards the Government of India as though it had no right to speak in the matter at all—one of the first things that came to my mind was the recollection of the fact that when the Boer war broke out in South Africa in 1899, it was the Army in India, which saved Natal for the British Empire. It seems to me that, when we find the self-governing dominions taking up this extraordinary attitude of superiority towards India and Indians, that we should remind them what they owe, and still owe to India in that respect; and of the fact that, if it had not been for the burden that India had for all these years borne to keep a standing army of British white troops, from which we were enabled to send a contingent to South Africa at that moment of emergency, the whole situation in Natal at that particular juncture would have been entirely changed. That is only one instance of what India has done in a practical way for

the Empire from the military point of view. There are many others.

Well, of course, it is very easy to stand up here and talk about these things and demonstrate that the self-governing dominions owe a great deal to the Indian Empire, and that morally they ought to take towards India a very different attitude. But unfortunately I am sorry to say we have to deal with a state of affairs that prevents us from being able to do very much in a practical way. The self-governing dominions have for good or for evil adopted an unfortunate attitude towards the Indians, and although the Imperial control nominally exists and the Imperial responsibility for any wrongdoing by the self-governing dominions remains, the Imperial Government is apparently not willing to exercise its powers. We have had two unfortunate demonstrations of this lately. We have to deal with the fact that the Imperial Government apparently will not take the responsibility of directly and definitely vetoing any improper action by any of the self-governing dominions affecting the interests of any other part of the Empire or the Empire at large. We have seen that in the case of the Indians in South Africa, and we have seen it in the case of the way in which the South African Government dealt with the recent labour strikes, and in the deportations without trial of British subjects. All those things nominally require the assent of the Imperial Government. But even the strong Liberal Government that has existed in England has not the courage to fight the self-governing colonies, and it therefore leaves this country in a very unfortunate position, because you have to do exactly what you are told to do, and the self-governing dominions may do exactly as they like. But there is a great deal to be done—and we have had recently a demonstration of that—by moral pressure and by agitation. It must be clear to everybody that a very great impression was recently created in England and throughout the British Empire—an impression that has even extended to South Africa—by the intense feeling and the strong and unanimous expression of feeling which was caused in this country by the troubles in South Africa; and I am sure that, if every Indian makes it his business, and if Indians, as a whole, make it their business, to keep up that agitation and that moral pressure, to keep up the constant assertion of their rights—and not to let the matter drop if this particular South African question happens to be settled—to go on with and to insist upon it being dealt with and settled as a whole in a manner that is consistent with the self-respect of this country, they will be able in time to force a solution, which will be satisfactory to this country as well as to other parts of the Empire. But that can only be done by insisting on the matter not being allowed to drop, by insisting upon some such measure as an Imperial Conference in London, in which India shall take her place on an absolute equality with

the representatives of other parts of the Empire, and to which she shall go with the full understanding that all her citizens are co-equal in every possible respect with the citizens of South Africa, Australia and Canada. I believe that if that can be achieved, that, if a Conference of that kind can be brought about, that when these matters begin to be discussed between the representatives of India and of the self-governing dominions, in the presence of the representatives of the mother country, that the Colonial representatives will be compelled to take a different view of this matter to what they take when they are in their own country. My time is now up, but I hope that anything I have been able to say to day will assist to keep this matter alive, and that those who are here to-day will make up their minds not to allow it to drop, not to let the agitation become any the less vigorous, any the less intense, because there happens to be a lull in South Africa at the present moment. But that they will go on with it until they have finally achieved the recognition of their right to the same treatment as other British subjects, whether they are in this country or in any other country or in any of the self-governing colonies.

THE PROBLEM OF THE INDIAN STUDENT.

Lala Lajpat Rai writes in the *New Statesman* :—

The problem of the Indian student is growing more serious day by day. In a way it is a part of the great problem of India, but in another way it is a problem by itself. The problem is as serious in India as in England, as it has been found that even at home the Indian student is not so docile and easily managed as he used to be.

There are three aspects of this problem—educational, economic, and political. Educationally, India is far behind the other civilised countries of the world. The Government of India have not yet recognised fully and properly that the children of the body politic are its greatest asset and its most valuable capital, and that on the proper investment of that capital and on the proper handling of that asset depend the future prosperity, happiness, and greatness of the body politic. Education in India is still a matter of secondary importance. The Government have not yet accepted their obligation to establish a system of universal compulsory elementary education. The amount spent on secondary education, on universities, and on technical and industrial education cannot bear comparison with similar expenditure incurred for the same purpose, by other Governments in Great Britain, in Germany, in France, in the United States of America, or even in Japan. Thus India is at a double disadvantage. It not only suffers from want of schools and colleges and technical institutions, but it also suffers from the quality

of the education imparted in its educational institutions. The Government of India have no funds to introduce a system of compulsory elementary education, and what they can spare for education they want to apportion between the extension of primary education and the improvement of the existing educational institutions. On the latter point also, those who have the shaping of the Government educational policy in India, as also those who have the carrying out of it, have rather queer ideas. They attach very great importance to buildings. The buildings have to be palatial and artistic. They forget that the most important test of a successful educational institution is the quality of the education it imparts. If the education is sound and practical, it matters comparatively less in what sort of a building it is imparted. A habitation is always a necessity, but much more are food and water and air. A man with a small income cannot afford to be a dandy at the cost of the necessities of life.

Then the Government of India must employ a larger number of Europeans in the educational service than is absolutely necessary. More often than not, the persons appointed to or selected for the Indian Educational Service are not of the best kind. It would be much better if a few first class men were appointed in every university than that a larger number should be employed on salaries which cannot and do not attract first-class men. The worst is that even first-class Indians are passed over in favour of third-class Europeans. Again, the Indian educational policy insists on a great deal of the Indian student's time being wasted on high proficiency in the English language, and also on teaching all subjects, other than Oriental languages, in English. It also insists on impossibly high standards for ordinary passes. This results in making the lot of the Indian student rather hard. A very high percentage of students fail to get pass marks in almost every university examination, and one often hears of "general massacre" in connection with this examination or that add to this the fact that the education imparted is generally so unpractical that in very many cases it does not enable the successful student to earn a decent livelihood at the end of his academic career. As far as Government service is concerned, the Indian, educated in India, must content himself with inferior positions however brilliant his university career may have been. This is the rule, though there are exceptions to it here and there. One must come to England to compete for the I.C.S., for the I.M.S., for the Imperial Service of the P.W.D., for the Bar, for the Forest Department, etc., etc.

All these considerations necessitate the coming of a large number of Indian students to England, where again the colour prejudice has of late grown very largely both in volume and intensity, and it is very unfortunate that at the universities, the technical institutes, and

the hospitals its growth should be "pari passu" with the establishment of the Indian Educational Bureau. The very establishment of the bureau is an evidence that the Government is alive to the seriousness of the Indian students' problem in England. The Indian students in England are in revolt against the Bureau. Personally I would strongly favour an institution like this if it were worked in a purely educational spirit, with the sole object of helping the Indian student in getting educational facilities and practical experience. The Indian students, however, complain that it is not worked in that spirit; that instead of removing the colour prejudice, it has contributed to the increase of it, by creating an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion; that from an advisory bureau it has developed, into a Department of Administration, seeking to have an effective and exclusive control over all Indian students in Great Britain and Ireland; that instead of securing greater facilities for Indian students, the working of the Bureau has resulted in the contraction of those facilities; that it is guided and governed more by political considerations than educational, and that it has introduced a regular system of espionage; that its guardianship is quite ineffective and very expensive, and that it encourages flattery and hypocrisy, and doles out its favours in the same way and on the same principles which mostly guide the different departments of the Government of India in the distribution of patronage.

I am not in a position to say whether these complaints are well founded but I have no doubt that there must be something in them, and that the matter requires thorough investigation and a statesmanlike handling. The fact of the matter is, that the whole educational policy of the Government in India is dominated by suspicion and distrust of the educated Indian, and that distrust and suspicion has by some unfortunate means travelled as far as England. I am prepared to admit every Government is more or less moved by political considerations in the shaping of its educational policy. The difference is that in self-governing countries the education of the citizen aims at making him not only an effective and useful member of the body politic, but also patriotic, self-reliant, and independent. In countries governed by bureaucracies such as that which rules India, one of the ideas that actuates the educational policy of the Government is to prolong the rule of the bureaucracy by discouraging all methods of education which might result in the lowering of their prestige, in the weakening of their hold over the people, and in the steady transfer of the power from the bureaucracy to the representatives of the people. This, of course, is bound to result in much educational waste, in educational contraction and distortion, and also in the subordination of pure educational interests to political considerations. All this is the more accentuated

ated when the ruling bureaucracy is foreign. The truth is that no foreign Government can altogether be free from this prejudice. And if we recognise this fact, we cannot help remarking that great credit is due to the British Government and the British nation for what they have actually done in India in the case of education.

It is evident, however, then with the political awakening in India the education problem enters on a new phase. It grows in complexity. There is suspicion and distrust on both sides. The Government mistrusts the Indian student and the Indian student mistrusts the Government. It is time that something effective were done to remove this mistrust, as in any case the younger generation is growing in mistrust and suspicion of their Government is neither good for the Government nor for the country at large. Then again, from the economic point of view also, the Indian student has some substantial grievances. He comes to this country at great sacrifice and receives the best education that he can get here. A good many of them distinguish themselves in the university examinations of this country; yet they find that there is hardly a career for them in their own country worthy of the education they have received and the expense they have incurred. A good many Indians who have qualified in the best technological institutes of Great Britain are passed over in favour of Englishmen whose educational qualifications are in no way better than theirs. All this makes them bitter and sour. Repressive measures might be effective so far as outward manifestations of discontent are concerned; but they can hardly lead to that contentment without which no Government can ever be happy or fully secure. If the Government were once to make up their mind that their educational policy, both here and in India, will be solely guided by what is best for the Indian student, and that the successful Indian student will have the first claim to their patronage, then most of this distrust will disappear automatically.

In addition, early steps should be taken to make education in India as good and effective for all practical purposes as in England, so that the necessity for education in England might be dispensed with, at least in the case of a vast majority of those who come here either for competitive examinations or for admission into learned professions. The Educational Bureau in London should be a purely advisory body and a help. The admission into English universities and hospitals should be free, subject to the same regulations and restrictions as are imposed in the case of non-Indian students. Certificates of merit and good conduct given by Indian colleges and universities ought to be quite efficient for admission into British colleges, universities, polytechnics, and hospitals, etc.

The restrictions recently imposed on students in India with a view to insuring them against political

"contagion" are, in my humble opinion, futile and provocative. They have cut away the students altogether from political life. The authorities may well require that the students should not take active part in politics, but to remove them from influences which taught them the value of self-restraint in politics is bad policy. The elderly generation of Indian politicians, who alone could provide a proper atmosphere of political thought for them, have lost influence over the younger generation as the latter have no occasion to mix with them fully and on intimate terms. The Indian student is a thinking being. No amount of repression can stop thought. The best and safest thing is to guide it and to allow it an outlet in proper and restrained channels.

I am fully conscious of the fact that the Indian student in England sometimes goes wrong and requires guidance, but the remedial measures adopted have so far failed to improve matters. The gentlemen and ladies of the Educational Bureau mean well, but the circumstances under which they started their work were rather unfortunate. Their work is uphill, as both their motives and their methods are questioned. The real solution of the problem lies in opening careers for Indian young men and in bringing into existence conditions of political and economic life in India which may be consistent with individual as well as national self-respect. Let Indians have the same positions in India as the Colonials enjoy in their colonies, or as Englishmen have in England, and the whole problem would be solved automatically. If it cannot be done at once, at any rate let the Government make substantial advances in that direction, so as to convince the Indian student and the Indian people that it intends to do it in the near future.

A WRONG DECISION OF THE IMMIGRATION BOARD, DURBAN.

The Full Bench of the Supreme Court, delivered judgment in the matter of an application by Mahomed Ismail Cassoo for a writ of *mandamus* against the Durban Immigration Appeal Board to order them to submit certain questions of law to be reserved for the decision of the Supreme Court. At the appeal heard in May last, the Board had refused to do so and dismissed the appeal.

Mr. Harold J. Stuart appeared for the applicant and Mr. Douglas, K. C., the Attorney-General, for the Board.

After hearing the arguments of counsel, which were at some length, their Lordships gave judgment in the following terms:—

Mr. Justice Dove Wilson, the Judge-President said:—This is an application in effect for a *munda-*

mus to compel the Immigration Appeal Board to perform a duty committed to it under the Immigration Act, which, it is alleged, it has refused to fulfil. It is conceded by the Attorney-General that the Immigration Board is such a tribunal as may be ordered by this Court in its inherent jurisdiction to perform its statutory duty, provided that that jurisdiction is not expressly ousted by the terms of the Immigrants' Regulation Act, Section 3, sub-section 1 of that Act provides that: "No Court of Law in the Union shall, except upon a question of Law reserved by a Board as in this section provided, have any jurisdiction to review, quash, reverse, interdict or otherwise interfere with any Proceedings, Act, Order or Warrant of the Minister of a Board, an Immigration Office, or a matter, done or issued under this Act, and relating to this restriction or detention, or to the removal from the Union or any Province, of a person who is being dealt with as a prohibited immigrant." It is said in the first place that the action of the Board in refusing to reserve the question of law which the appellant asked to reserve was a proceeding under the Act and therefore that this Court has no jurisdiction to interfere in any way. There might be more to be said for that contention if it were not for the terms of sub-section 2 of the same section. There it is set forth that "a Board may of its own motion, and shall at the request of the appellant or of an Immigration Officer, reserve for the decision of a Superior Court having jurisdiction any question of law which arises upon an appeal heard before such Board."

THE LIBERTY OF THE SUBJECT.

The obvious intention of the Legislature was to oust the jurisdiction of this Court except in regard to such question of law as might be reserved. But, for the protection of the subject whose liberty is interfered with by the Act, it is declared that, where the appellant desires it, any question of law arising upon the appeal shall be reserved by the Board. The Board has no discretion. I think it would be rendering the enactment altogether nugatory if we were to hold that this protection of the subject can be taken away by the simple expedient of the Board refusing to state a question. The Board has been precluded by the words of the statute upon which it acts from taking any such course, and therefore, if a question of law does arise in an appeal, and the Board refuses to reserve it at the request of the appellant, it seems to me impossible to say that their action "is a proceeding, act or order done or issued under this Act," because it is a proceeding done in direct violation of what is expressly enacted by the Act. If,

therefore, there is a question of law here which the Board has been asked to and has refused to, I think there can be no question that our inherent jurisdiction to order them to perform what the Act says they shall do, is not ousted. The question of law which the Board was asked to reserve was this: Does Section 30, Act 22, 1913, take away or affect the domiciliary rights already acquired by appellant under the repealed Acts 30, 1913, and 8, 1906; in other words, does not that section only refer to persons leaving the Province after the passing of that Act?" I am not sure that that question is altogether happily worded, but the legal issue which it raises is clear enough. The Board, however without indicating, as I understand during the course of the argument, whether it was prepared to reserve the question or not, proceeded to give judgment, basing it upon a ground no indication of which, as I also understand, was given to the applicant's counsel during the argument.

THE BOARD'S JUDGMENT.

The judgment is: "The Board, in considering the question of domicile, is concerned only with the definition of domicile in Section 30 of Act 22 of 1913, and if a domicile certificate under a former statute is produced it may be received as affording evidence of domicile, but the question of any rights claimed to have been conferred by such certificate is a matter outside the scope of the Board's consideration, and the Board, therefore, refuses to consider the matter or to reserve it as a question of law arising upon the appeal, because, in the opinion of the Board, the fact that the appellant left no property or interests whatever in South Africa and lived outside of it during the past eight years and owns property, a house and ten acres of land in India, and his wife and family resided there and have never been in South Africa, he has lost any domicile he may ever have had, and the appeal is dismissed." The first observation which occurs to me in regard to that is that if the Board held the view that it was only concerned with the definition of domicile in Section 30 of Act 22 of 1913 and was not concerned with the effect of rights acquired under prior statutes as affecting the application of the Immigrants' Regulation Act, the least it should have done was to have indicated, previously to giving decision, that that view was operating in its mind, when at any rate it might have proceeded to judgment with the advantage of knowing the view of the appellant upon that all important question, it should not have proceeded to judgment without his having had an opportunity of urging anything that he

thought might be urged against that view. It was stated during the course of the argument that, taking that view of the scope of its function, the Board considered that the question of law which it was asked to reserve was not one arising upon the appeal. But I have no doubt that appellant's counsel, had he known what was operating in the mind of the Board, would have at once asked it to reserve the question whether that view was legally maintainable for the consideration of this Court, and had he done so I fail entirely to see upon what possible ground the Board could have refused his application.

AN EXTRAORDINARY CONTENTION.

The duty of the Board is to reserve at the request of the appellant, any question of law which arises upon an appeal heard before it; and why a question should be any the less a question of law arising upon the appeal, because it involves the consideration of the effect of the statute under which the Board is appointed, upon right acquired under previous statutes, I am utterly at a loss to conceive. The very thing which the Board has to determine is whether the appellant falls to be restricted under the Act, and that must depend in the first instance on whether he comes within its operation. The view of the Board amounts to this that, though in law an immigrant is not affected by the Act, the Board is nevertheless, bound to go through the farce and injustice of considering his appeal on the footing that the Act applies, and of giving a judgment in those circumstances against which there shall be no appeal. To my mind, the contention has only to be so stated to show that it cannot, for a moment, countenance; and it will take much weightier reasons than I have hitherto heard urged to convince me that anything so extraordinary was ever in the contemplation of the legislature. The question which the Board has to determine upon appeal is whether or not the appellant falls to be restricted, and, if that question involves the consideration of rights acquired under other Acts or affected by the Act under which the Board is appointed, it is none the less a question of law, and a vital question of law arising upon the appeal which it is its duty under the Act to reserve at the request of the appellant for the decision of this Court. I confess that I have difficulty in understanding how the Board has come to hold this view of its functions. I have the greater difficulty because it involves a departure from the practice of the previous Board, and not only that, but a refusal to consider the decision of this Court given in answer to practically the same question as this Board refuses to reserve, and it was

arrived at, apparently, without any argument in the appeal. I do not say that the Board was not conscientiously of opinion that this was not a question of law which it was called upon to reserve, and I should be sorry to have to entertain the suggestion which has been made that it is so much the creature of the Immigration Department that it has adopted this attitude merely at the bidding or on the advice of the Department or that the Department have attempted in any way to influence or fetter the decision of the Board in appeals against the actions of its own officials; but I should have expected in the circumstances a somewhat fuller statement from the Board of its reasons for the course it took than are contained in the words of the judgment.

THE RIGHT OF THE APPELLANT.

But it was contented that the Board is the judge in its own decision of what is a question of law, or whether it arises upon the appeal. The plain and simple words of the Act, however, are: "The Board shall, at the request of the appellant, reserve for the decision of a Superior Court any question of law which arises upon an appeal," and it cannot have been intended by the Legislature that the protection thus afforded is to be taken away whenever the Board erroneously thinks that a question is not one of law, or that it does not arise upon the appeal. It is the right of the appellant to have any question of law arising on the appeal determined by this Court and the express duty of the Board to reserve it for that purpose and if the inherent jurisdiction of this Court extends, as I think it does, to seeing that the Board shall not refuse to do what it is expressly enacted it shall do, this Court must decide whether the question is one of law and arising upon the appeal in order to determine whether the Board has done its duty or not; and, if in the opinion of this Court there is such a question, it is its duty to ensure that the Board shall reserve it. I have no doubt whatever in the present case that the question which the Board was asked and refused, to reserve is a question of law and a most important one, arising upon the appeal I think that we must not hesitate to order the Board to perform the duty enjoined upon it in express terms by the Act of reserving it for our decision.

Mr. Justice Broome and Mr. Justice Bird delivered concurring judgments.

An order was then given directing the Immigration Appeal Board to state a special case for the Supreme Court's decision of the question of the law raised by the applicant, Cassoo, within seven days from the date of the above judgment. No order was made as to costs.—*Natal Advertiser*.

A HINDU CAN BECOME AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

PETITION AND THE BRIEF.

(Continued from page 56.)

ANTHROPOLOGICAL AUTHORITIES TO SHOW THAT THE HINDU IS A "WHITE PERSON" OR CAUCASIAN.

1. From "Man's Place in Nature" by Professor Huxley :

pp. 281, 282 : "So far as India is concerned, the internal evidence of the old literature sufficiently proves that the Aryan invaders were 'white' men, . . . and that the high-caste Hindus are what they are in virtue of the Aryan blood which they have inherited. I am unable to discover good grounds for the severity of criticism, in the name of the 'anthropologists,' with which Professor Max Muller's assertion that the same blood runs in the veins of the English soldiers 'as in the veins of the dark Bengalese,' and that there is a 'legitimate relationship between Hindu, Greek, and Teuton,' has been visited. So far as I know anything of anthropology, I should say that these statements may be correct literally, and probably are so substantially, I do not know of any good reason for the physical difference between a high-caste Hindu and a Dravidian, except the Aryan blood in the veins of the former; and the strength of the infusion is probably quite as great in some of the Hindus as in some English soldiers." (Vide portions marked in red ink on pp. 9, 10, 11, 12, 18 and 19 of my printed testimonials.—S. G. Pandit.)

2. From A. H. Keane's "Man: Past and Present." Cambridge University Press. 1900. Cap. XII, pp. 441, 442, and 448.

THE CAUCASIAN PEOPLES.

Present Range.—All the extra tropical habitable lands, except Chinese empire, Japan and the Arctic zone; intertropical America, Arabia, India and Indonesia; sporadically everywhere.

Three types.—(1) *Homo Europeans*: Scandinavians, North Germans, Dutch, Flemings, most English, Scotch

and Irish, Anglo-Americans, Anglo-Austrians, English and Dutch of S. Africa; Thrako-Hellenes, some Kurds, most West Persians, Afghans, Dards and Siah-post Kafirs, many Hindus, Indonesians. (2) *Homo alpinus*: Most French and Welsh, South Germans, Swiss and Tyrolese; Russians, Poles, Chekhs, Yugo-Slavs; some Albanians and Roumanians; Armenians, many Kurds, Tajiks (East Persians), Galchas, some Indonesians. (3) *Homo mediterraneus*: Most Iberians, Corsicans, Sards Sicilians, Italians; Greeks; Barbers and other Hamites; Arabs and other Semites; some Hindus; Dravidas, Todas, Ainus.

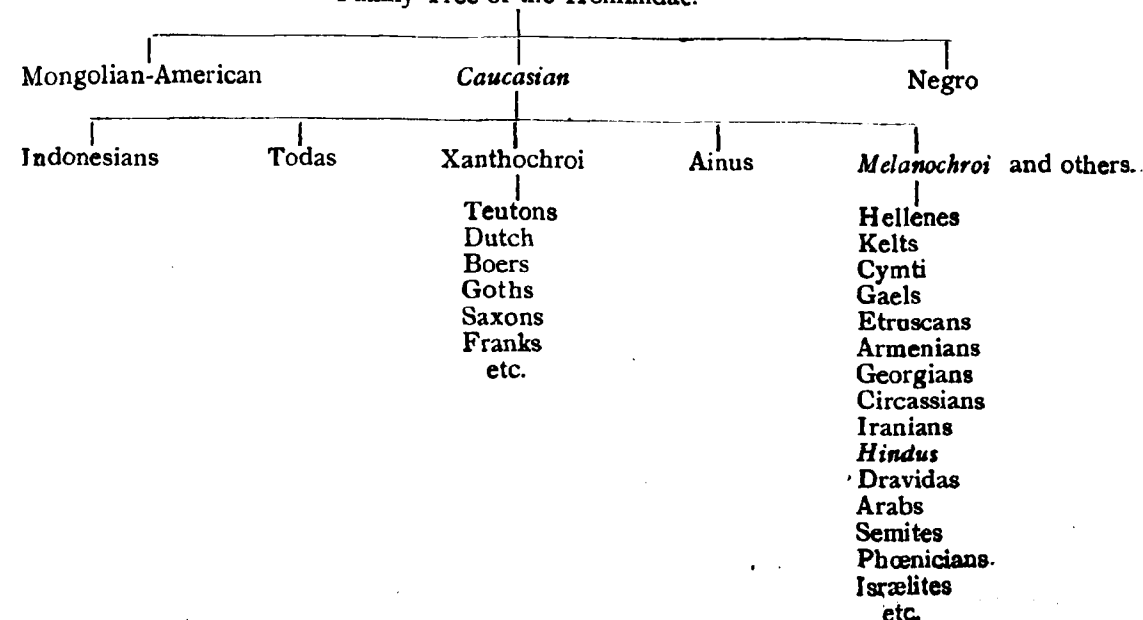
Color.—(1) florid. (2) pale white, swarthy or very light brown. (3) very variable—white, light olive, all shades of brown and even blackish (Eastern Hemites and others).

p. 448: "And here arises the more important question, by what right are so many and such diverse peoples grouped together and ticketed *Caucasians*? Are they to be really taken as objectively one, or are they merely artificial groupings, arbitrarily arranged abstractions? Certainly this Caucasian Division consists apparently of the most heterogeneous elements, more so than perhaps any other except the Ethiopic. Hence it seems to require a strong mental effort to sweep into a single mental category, however elastic, so many different peoples—Europeans, North Africans, West Asiatics, Iranians and others all the way to the Indo-Gangetic plains and uplands, whose complexion presents every shade of color, except yellow, from white to the deepest brown or even black.

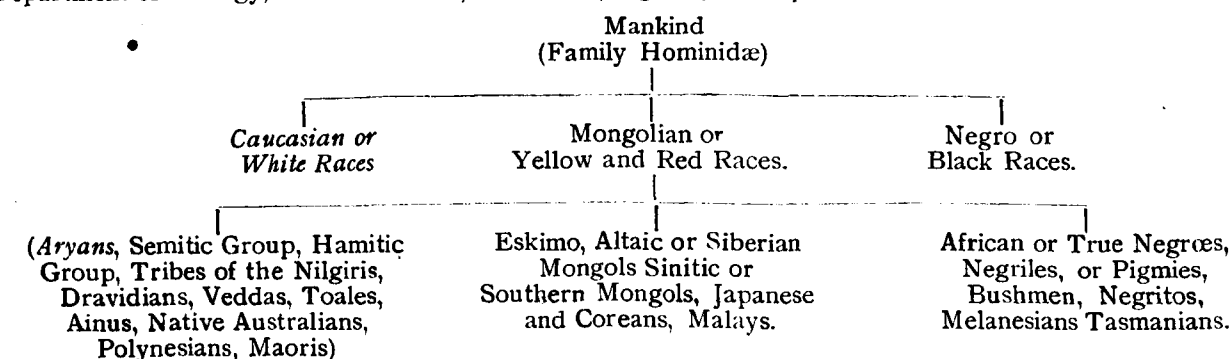
"But they are grouped together in a single division, because their essential properties are one, and because, as pointed out by Ehrenreich, who himself emphasises these objections, their substantial uniformity speaks to the eye that sees below the surface. At the first glance . . . we recognise a common racial stamp, in the facial expression, the structure of the hair, partly also the bodily proportions, in all of which points they agree more with each other than with the other main divisions."

8. From "Ethnology" by Professor A. H. Keane, LL.D., F.R.G.S., University College, London (England); pp. 224 and 380:

Family Tree of the Hominidae.



4. From "Guide to the Specimens Illustrating the Races of Mankind (Anthropology) exhibited in the Department of Zoology, British Museum," London (England) 1908 p. 5.



p. 9 "The Caucasian or White Race includes two types—the Blonde Caucasians or Kanthochroi, and the Dark Caucasians, or Melanochroi."

"In the *Dark Caucasians* the eyes and hair are black, but the skin may vary between white and black. The group includes most of the inhabitants of Southern Europe, Northern Africa and *South-Western Asia*; the chief language groups being the *Aryan*, Semetic and Hamitic. It also comprises the Dravidians of India, the Veddas of Ceylon, and probably the Ainus of Japan, the Maoutzi of China, and the Australian natives as well as the Polynesians." pp. 10-11: "*Aryans* may be divided into an Asiatic and a European group. To the former belong the *Brahmins of India*, and the races who now speak Bengali, Nepali, Kashmiri, Hindi and *Mahratha* are also languages belonging to this group, which likewise includes the Siaposh of Kafirstan, and the Gypsy tribes who wandered from India into Europe between the 11th and 14th centuries." (My mother-tongue is "Mahratha" and I belong to the Brahmin caste. (Vide printed testimonials, marked portions, on pp. 9-10 and 19.—S. G. Pandit.)

"On the east, or entrance side of the second case are exhibited skulls and photographs of a number of *Asiatic Aryans as well as of other Asiatic Caucasians*, to some of which reference is made later."

5. From "The scope and Content of the Science of Anthropology" by Juul Dieserud, A. M., (of U. S. Library of Congresses). Open Court Publishing Co., 1908.

The author divides the remarks of the eminent anthropological authorities dealing with races, under the headings: physiological, pathological and sociological; and under the title physiological anthropology or racial physiology he includes these phases:—general, bodily strength, attitude and movement, temperature of blood, circulation, respiration senses, expression of emotions, reproduction (in-breeding, racial crossing, heredity, puberty, menstruation, fertility, sterility, birth), growth and decay (growing gray, longevity, dentition), race and environment, tolerance of climate, the two sexes, diet, demography and vital statistics.

THE RACIAL DIVISIONS.

Under the title racial psychology or anthropo-psychology, the author divides the subject into various branches:—general—capacity for acquiring and remembering, sagacity, emotions, temperament, volition, reaction times, the two sexes, and child study.

And, presumably, after a valuation of almost all of the important authorities since 1501, viz., Magnus Hundt, Buffon, Blumenbach, Virchow, Sergi, Ranke, Deniker, Stratzm, Darwin, Huxley, Ratzel, Boas Haddon, and many others, he groups the races and sub-races of man in the following, interesting and scientific manner:—

"I. Black or Melanoderm race (Negroes, Papuans, Australians and Tasmanians, other varieties).

"II. Yellow or Xanthoderm race (Asiatic-Polynesians):

1. Sinitic branch (Chinese, Thibetans, Indo-Chinese, Burmese).

2. Sibiric branch—

(a) Tungusic Group.

(b) Mongolic group.

(c) Tartaric group (Tures, Cossacks, Kirghis).

(d) Finnic group, (Finns, Magyars, Lapps).

(e) Arctic group (Chuckchia, Komchatkans, Eskimos).

3. Japanese branch.

4. Malayic branch (Malayan group, Polynesian group).

5. Other varieties.

"III. American race: North American Indians, Mexican Indian, Central American, South American.

"IV. White or Leukoderm race—

(a) Mediterranean branch *Indo Iranians Semites*, Hamites, Nubians, Peninsular or Southern Europe group, Basques).

(b) Alpine branch (Slavic group).

(c) Nordic Group.

(d) Caucasian peoples (the tribes of the Caucasus.

(e) Ainus.

(f) Veddas.

(g) Indonesians (Tongas, Mooris Battaks, Dayaks).

(h) Other varieties."

The point to note is that the *Indo-Iranians (Hindus and Persians)* are not to be found in any of the sub-divisions of the *Mongolian or yellow race*, but are comprised in the *white or, Leukoderm race*.

6. From "The Study of Man" by Alfred C. Hadden: pp. 56-57:—"The typical Asiatic race, the yellow-skinned brachycephals, are scarcely represented in India, and that only at the northern and eastern frontiers of Bengal." (I come from Ahmedabad which is about 30 miles north of Bombay on the *West* coast of India. *Vide* printed testimonials, pp. 9-10, marked portions.—S. G. Pandit.) "In fact one would scarcely be wrong in saying that, ethnologically speaking, India is more 'European' and less 'Asiatic' than Lapland."

7. From "Races and Peoples" by Dr. Daniel C. Brinton, Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, p. 140:

153: Scheme of *Aryan Migration*.



PHILOLOGICAL AUTHORITIES IN SUPPORT OF THE
IDENTITY OF RACE, OF HINDUS, MOST EUROPEANS,
AND OTHER CAUCASIANS, ARYAN OR
INDO-GERMANIC PEOPLES

1. From Professor Max Muller's "Lectures on the Science of Language"; 1st Series, pp. 211-213.

"There was time when the first ancestors of the Indians (*Hindus*), the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Slave, the Celts, and the Germans were living together within the same enclosures, nay, under the same roof."

"Before the ancestors of the Indians (*Hindus*) and Persians, started for the South, and the leaders of the Greek, Roman, Celtic, Teutonic and Slavonic colonies marched towards the shores of Europe, there was a small clan of Aryans, settled probably on the highest elevation of Central Asia, speaking a language not yet sanskrit or Greek, but containing the dialect germs of all."

2. From Max Muller's "Survey of Language," p. 29:

- | | | |
|-------------------|-------|---|
| 1. Celtic | Group | (Highland Scotch, Irish Welsh, etc.) |
| 2. Italic | " | (Italians, French, Spanish etc.) |
| 3. Illyric | " | (Albanians, Greeks, etc.) |
| 4. Hellenic stock | " | (Macedonians, Greeks, etc.) |
| 5. Lettic | " | (Letts, Lithuanians, Old Prussians.) |
| 6. Teutonic | " | (Scandinavians, Germans, Danes, Dutch English, Anglo-Americans, etc.) |
| 7. Slavonic | " | (Russians, Poles, Bulgarians, etc.) |
| 8. Indo-Eranic | " | (Armenians) Persians, <i>Hindus</i> , etc., |

"The same blood runs in the veins of the English soldiers as in the veins of the dark Bengalese."

"There is not an English jury now-a-days which, after examining the hoary documents of language, would reject the claim of a common descent and a legitimate relationship between Hindu Greek and Teuton."

3. Schleicher, in his "Compendium."

"The home of the Indo-Germanic race is to be sought in the central highlands of Asia." "The Slavo-Teutonic races first began their journeying towards the west; then followed the Græco-Italo Celtic peoples; of the Aryans who remained behind, the Indians (*Hindus*) travelled south-eastward, and the Iranians spread in the south-westerly direction."

4. From Professor Sayce's "Principles of Philology," p. 101:

"When the Aryan languages first made their appearance it is in the highlands of middle Asia, between the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes."

5. From "Origin of the Aryans" by Isaac Taylor, M. A., Litt. D., Hon. LL.D. (Contemporary Science Series) p. 22; "Diagram of Aryan Migrations: Hence the European Aryans form a closely-united circular chain of six links; but there is one vacant place—one link is missing from the chain. This missing link is discovered far away in Asia, where we find the Indo-Iranians, who are very closely united with the European Aryans but whose affinities are chiefly with the Slavs on the one hand, and with the Greeks on the other. They clearly constitute the missing link in the chain, which would be complete in its continuity if they had at some former period occupied the vacant post."

pp. 49-50: "Hence in our investigations as to the origin of the undivided Aryans, we have these two fixed points the earliest known seat of the European Aryans was in Northern Europe, and that of the Asiatic Aryans on the Jaxartes. The only question which remains is whether the European Aryans came from Asia, or the Asiatic Aryans came from Europe."

6. Dr. Lazarus Geiger in his Lectures on the "History of the Development of the Human Race," p. 118:

"But such more especially are our emotions when we approach the primitive stock from which the head and flower of the whole human race has destined to proceed—the stock from which has sprung the civilized Europe with its mighty colonies, and not less so a large portion of the population of Asia, as far as the boundaries of China."

7. Friedrich Schlegel in "Ueber Die Sprache Und Weisheit Der Indier" ("On the Language and Wisdom of the Hindus"), speaking of the Indo-European languages, pronounced the Latin, Greek, Teutonic, and Persians, on the one hand, and the Armenian, Slavonic, and Celtic languages, on the other, to be, the former more nearly, the latter more remotely, related to Samskrit. The relation of Samskrit to the other cognate dialects he conceives as that of a mother-tongue to its off-springs. Nay taking his stand on the great agreement he also found in sphere of the ideas and legends of India and those of Europe, he declared the populations of Europe to be actual "Indian colonies" of which he makes the Brahmins the special leaders, and holds those colonies to have been more important and efficacious than, though not essentially different from, the later Greek settlements.

THE STATUS OF THE MEXICAN.

It has been pointed out by very competent judicial authority that a native of Mexico, though not a white person nor an African by birth or nativity, can become a citizen of the United States on account of rights secured through treaty with Mexico.

The United States is the land of liberty. A man—a free man—has obligations to himself, to family, to

society, and to the state; and the Declaration of Independence points out that every form of Government, and especially the one in this country, is instituted to secure to the people the rights to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

In the estimation of the petitioner, no one is really free, nor has the full opportunity to pursue to course leading to happiness, who is denied the privileges of participating in civic affairs and thus fulfilling the obligation to society and the state. Freedom involves duty and responsibility, and to deprive a man of the privilege of performing his civic duties is no less tyrannical than to impose on him the chain of slavery. John Stuart Mill very justly said that no one has the right to make of even himself a slave, and that it is the duty of the state to prevent slavery in any and every form.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that the authority of adjudicated cases, as well as colonial and federal statutes and publications, modern statutes requiring separate accommodation in travel and in treating of schools,—and references to be found broadcast in literature generally—all seem to agree with the language of article 23, sec. 11 of the recent Constitution of Oklahoma, which employs the term 'white race' to designate persons not otherwise classified, and reads as follows:

"Whenever in this Constitution and laws of this state the words 'colored' or 'colored person,' 'negro' or 'negro race' are used the same shall be construed to mean to apply to all persons of African descent. *The term, 'white race' shall include all other persons.*"

In the matter of laws relating the naturalization the meaning of the term white persons has been further narrowed by Act of May 6, 1882, c. 126, Sec. 14, 22 Stat. 61 which reads that "hereafter no State Court of the United States shall admit Chinese to citizenship; and all laws in conflict with this act are repealed."

More recent legislation and the debates in Congress pertaining thereto clearly show that the word 'white,' was employed therein to distinguish between the white, the African and Mongolian races. In *re Saite* (C. C.) 62 Fed. 126.; In *re Ah Yup* 5 Sawy, 155, Fed. Cas. 104.

But there is nothing in the publications of the Government from colonial to quite recent times, that I am aware of, which restricts that meaning still further.

If, however, an attempt were to be made in the future, to still further restrict the meaning of the word 'white,' it does not seem possible that such restriction could operate to exclude Hindus from the connotation. The science of anthropology as well as the branches of morphology, embryology, pathology, physiology, besides comparative philology and mythology, mathematical psychology and sociology, all show conclusively that it would be as easy to rule out the Englishman or Greek as the Hindu or Iranian from the white or Caucasian category.

THE COLOUR OF THE SKIN.

If the Hindus were to be excluded from the meaning of the term 'white race' on the ground that the skin of most of them is not of a color identical with that of the North German or Swede, it would be easy to show that no human skin is literally white, and that according to the vicissitudes of climatic condition, heredity, occupation, etc., the color of the human skin in specimens of even single countries has also varied; while the marked diversities of color in the inhabitants of different parts of Europe itself have been repeatedly commented upon, so much so, indeed, that Judge Newman is contrived to say (In *re* Najour, 174 Fed. 7350 :) "Although the term 'free white person' is used in the statutes (R. S. Sec. 2169), this expression, I think, refers to race, rather than to color."

Were the supposed possible admixture of a small percentage of non-Aryan blood in the veins of members of some of the classes of Hindu society to be regarded as operating to change the statutory color of these classes, it is only necessary to suggest that as pointed out by Circuit Judge Lowell (In *re* Halladjin, 174 Fed. 834), "the inhabitants of no considerable part of Europe belong to a race thus mixed;" and that "the English, French and Spaniards are mixed races." Moreover, the difficulties in the way of any possible admixture of blood with other races, even in the case of the so-called lower classes, are immeasurably greater in India than they ever have been in any country of Europe. There are formidable religious, social and legal obstacles in the way of fusion of blood even between the different grades or castes of Hindu society, such as have not been dreamed of by the Catholic or Jew in the days of their greatest exclusiveness. It is this fact, added to the results of the researches in comparative philology, mythology and religion, which led Max Muller and a host of other eminent scholars to acquiesce in the unique claim of the Brahmans of India that they, and the immediately succeeding castes, were the only true and full inheritors of "the pure Aryan blood undefiled."

There is at present in the United States no immigration problem, worth speaking of, even in connection with "the lower castes" of the Hindus. Nor, according to indications to date, are they likely to leave their native land in any considerable number to make their homes in far off America. The natural instincts and traditions of the people as well as the great distance, are likely to prove most effective barriers against such a course.

And herein, it seems to be, comes an opportunity for the fulfilment of the great mission which is peculiarly that of the United States. Many a Hindu has, especially since the modernization of India, often dreamed of the great American republic with its portals flung wide open to the Caucasian race—nay, even to the negro to make due recompense for the wrong done him in the dark

days of slavery—and the Statute of Liberty lifting high the magic torch to enlighten the dark places in the realms of social organization and political self-government, and he has longed for more light and greater illumination from the intensely practical genius of his cousins at the antipodes, in order that he may be able to realize in the daily affairs of life, for all the inhabitants of this country, a larger measure of that Freedom which the Brahmans have philosophised about and realized to some extent as an exclusive possession of their caste. And in this respect, me thinks, the Hindu citizen of the United States has the opportunity and the privilege of serving as a willing channel, with vital connections at both ends, through which may flow in fuller measure, to the greater glory of America and the deeper satisfaction of India, the simple yet profound truth, which when realized and lived by mankind, will change this old earth of ours into something truly worth living in for all her children.

Respectfully submitted,
SAKHARAM GANESH PANDIT,
Petitioner.

A FAREWELL LETTER.

MR. GANDHI TAKES LEAVE
OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Just before leaving South Africa, Mr. Gandhi handed to Reuter's Agent at Capetown the following letter addressed to the Indian and European public of South Africa:—

I would like, on the eve of my departure for India, to say a few words to my countrymen in South Africa, and also to the European community. The kindness with which both European and Indian friends have overwhelmed me sends me to India a debtor to them. It is a debt I shall endeavour to repay by rendering in India services I am capable of rendering there; and if in speaking about the South African Indian question I am obliged to refer to the injustices which my countrymen have received and may hereafter receive, I promise that I shall never wilfully exaggerate, and shall state the truth and nothing but the truth.

A word about the settlement, and what it means. In my humble opinion it is the Magna Charta of our liberty in this land. I give it the historic name, not because it gives us rights which we have never enjoyed and which are in themselves new or striking, but because it has come to us after eight years' strenuous suffering, that has involved the loss of material possessions and of precious lives. I call it our Magna Charta because it marks a chance in the policy of the Government towards us and establishes our right not only to be consulted in matters affecting us, but to have our reasonable wishes respected. It moreover confirms the theory of the British Constitution that there should

be no legal racial inequality between different subjects of the Crown, no matter how much practice may vary according to local circumstance. Above all the settlement may well be called our Magna Charta, because it has vindicated Passive Resistance as a lawful clean weapon, and has given in Passive Resistance a new strength to the community; and I consider it an infinitely superior force to that of the vote, which history shows has often been turned against the voters themselves.

The settlement finally disposes of all the points that were the subject matter of Passive Resistance, and in doing so it breathes the spirit of justice and fair play. If the same spirit guides the administration of the existing laws, my countrymen will have comparative peace, and South Africa will hear little of the Indian problem in an acute form.

Some of my countrymen have protested against it. The number of these protestants is numerically very small, and in influence not of great importance. They do not object to what has been granted, but they object that it is not enough. It is impossible, therefore, to withhold sympathy from them. I have an opportunity of speaking to them, and I have endeavoured to show to them that if we had asked for anything more it would have been a breach of submission made on behalf of the British Indians in a letter addressed to the Government by Mr. Cachalia during the latter part of last year and we should have laid ourselves open to the charge of making new demands.

But I have also assured them that the present settlement does not preclude them from agitation (as has been made clear in my letter to the Secretary of the Interior of the 16th ultimo) for the removal of other disabilities which the community will still suffer from under the Gold Law, the Townships Act, the Law 8 of 1885 of the Transvaal and the Trade Licences Laws of Natal and the Cape. The promise made by General Smuts to administer the existing Law justly and with due regard to vested rights gives the community breathing-time, but these laws are in themselves defective, and can be, as they have been, turned into engines of oppression and instruments by indirect means to drive the resident Indian population from South Africa. The concession to popular prejudice in that we have reconciled ourselves to almost the total prohibition by administrative methods of a fresh influx of Indian immigrants, and to the deprivation of all political power, is, in my opinion, the utmost that could be reasonably expected from us. These two things being assured, I venture to submit that we are entitled to full rights of trade, inter-Provincial migration, and ownership of landed property being restored in the not distant future. I leave South Africa in the hope that the healthy tone that pervades the European community in South Africa to-day will continue, and that it will enable Europeans to recognise

the inherent justice of our submission. To my countrymen I have at various meetings that I have addressed during the past fortnight, attended in several cases by thousands, said, "Nurse the settlement; see to it that the promises made are being carried out. Attend to development and progress from within. Zealously remove all causes which we may have given for the rise and growth of anti-Indian prejudice or agitation, and patiently cultivate and inform European opinion so as to enable the Government of the day and Legislature to restore to us our rights." It is by mutual co-operation and goodwill that the solution of the balance of the pressing disabilities which were not made points for Passive Resistance may be obtained in the natural course, and without trouble or agitation in an acute form.

The presence of a large indentured and ex-indentured Indian population in Natal is a grave problem. Compulsory repatriation is a physical and political impossibility, voluntary repatriation by way of granting repassages and similar inducements will not—as my experience teaches me—be availed of to any appreciable extent. The only real and effective remedy for this great State to adopt is to face responsibility fairly and squarely, to do away with the remnant of the system of indenture, and to level up this part of the population and make use of it for the general welfare of the Union. Men and women who can effectively strike in large bodies, who can for common purpose suffer untold hardships, who can, undisciplined though they are, be martyrs for days without police supervision and yet avoid doing any damage to property or person, and who can in times of need serve their King faithfully and capably, as the ambulance corps raised at the time of the late war (and which had among other classes of Indians, nearly 1,500 indentured Indians) bore witness, are surely people who will, if given ordinary opportunities in life, form an honourable part of any nation.

If any class of persons have special claim to be considered, it is these indentured Indians and their children, to whom South Africa has become either a land of adoption or of birth. They did not enter the Union as ordinary free immigrants, but they came upon invitation, and indeed even after much coaxing, by agents of South African employers of this class of labour. In this letter, I have endeavoured as accurately and as fairly as is in my power to set forth the Indian situation, and the extraordinary courtesy, kindness and sympathy that have been shown to me during the past month by so many European friends. The frankness and generosity with which General Smuts, in interviews that he was pleased to grant me, approached the questions at issue, and the importance that so many distinguished members of both Houses of Parliament attached to the Imperial aspect of the problem, give me ample reason for believing that my countrymen

who have made South Africa their homes will receive a fairly full measure of justice and will be enabled to remain in the Union with self-respect and dignity.

Finally, in bidding good-bye to South Africa, I would like to apologise to so many friends on whom I have not been able, through extreme pressure of work, to call personally. I once more state that though I have received many a hard knock in my long stay in this country, it has been my good fortune to receive much personal kindness and consideration from hundreds of European friends, well wishers and sympathisers. I have formed the closest friendships, which will last for ever, for this reason and for many similar reasons, which I would love to reduce to writing but for fear of trespassing unduly upon the courtesy of the press. This sub-continent has become to me a sacred and dear land, next only to my motherland. I leave the shores of South Africa with a heavy heart, and the distance that will now separate me from South Africa will but draw me closer to it, and its welfare will always be a matter of great concern, and the love bestowed upon me by my countrymen and the generous forbearance and kindness extended to me by the Europeans will ever remain a most cherished treasure in my memory.

THE INDIAN TROOPS AT MARSEILLES.

A SPLENDID WELCOME.

The Special Correspondent of the "Times" who witnessed the disembarkation of the Force describes the extraordinary enthusiasm with which it was greeted at Marseilles. Never before in history have Indian troops fought upon the soil of Europe.

To-day it has been my great good fortune to assist at the making of history. I have seen the troops of one of the world's most ancient civilizations set foot for the first time on the shores of Europe. I have seen proud Princes of India ride at the head of thousands of soldiers, Princess and men alike fired with all the ardour of the East, determined to help to win their Emperor's battles or die. And of far greater significance to my fellow-country men than the mere making of history, I have seen welded before my eyes, as it were, what may well prove to be the strongest link in that singular and wonderful chain which we call the British Empire.

The haze that betokened a hot September day had just begun to lift from the bay, when suddenly an interminable line of steamships crept along by the romantic Châteaud' if and adjacent islands. The telescope showed that all were riding high in the water, and awakening Marseilles knew that the long expected ships with the Indian troops aboard had arrived.

With a precision and expedition that made every observer marvel, the Armada of transports swung into

harbour and moored alongside the appointed quays. A French officer was lost in admiration. Afterwards he confided to me with delightful frankness that the British Army and Naval authorities were the finest organizers in the world, and that Great Britain alone of all the nations was capable of carrying out a project of the kind with such success.

THE LANDING.

The strong southern sun had by now dissipated the mist, and as each dark-painted liner glided to her moorings, the troops packed on deck as close as pit-props on a Baltic schooner, and with *pagris* flying in the breeze, were thrown up in relief, presenting an imposing and, for a Briton, unforgettable picture. The camera may hint at the strangely stirring scene in black and white, but nothing less than the brush of a master could convey an adequate portrayal to the present generation and to posterity. It does seem a pity that an event so vitally important to our own and our Allies' destinies should only live in the columns of newspapers.

Across the Indian Ocean, up the Red Sea, and through the Mediterranean the same propitious conditions prevailed, and the troops, Indian and English alike—for many of our sunburnt foreign service troops have also come over to join in the great fight for liberty and right—stepped ashore in magnificent condition. Military surveillance of the port was, of course, very strict, but the good people of Marseilles were bent on having a glimpse, however distant, of what was passing, so that every road within a mile of the docks was a mass of excited Latins, and every second story window and every roof within a like area was a coveted vantage seat. Daily for a couple of months now Marseilles streets have echoed to the tread of a remarkable medley of soldiers—picturesque Zouaves and Tureos from Algeria white-turbanned, swarthy Moors from Morocco, coal-black negroes from Senegal, and a score of different units from France itself—and all have been received with heartiness. But the welcome of the high-spirited Marseilles extended to the Indians transcended all others in spontaneity and warmth.

Hour after hour fully a score of steamers discharged their cargoes, and I am certain happier fighting men never landed in a country where death or glory was to be their goal. Had not the Emperor of India paid them the highest tribute in his Imperial power by asking them to join his white soldiers in crushing the military despotism that was rendering impossible peace and progress in Europe, and therefore upsetting the political balance of the empires and kingdoms of the whole earth? Yes, the King-Emperor had done this, and the soul of every Indian of every race represented in that mighty throng was filled to overflowing with a pardonable joy.

The Indians were made to feel at home almost as soon as they came ashore. The French soldier immediately set about shaking every brown hand that came within reach, and examining in a professional manner, but not without curiosity, the rifle, the bayonet, and general accoutrement of his newly-made comrade-in-arms. The uniform he unhesitatingly pronounced more practical and superior to his own. But what impressed and interested him most was the curved *kukri* of the little Gurkha, who with dramatic action described more graphically than by words its many uses. All the troops are in khaki, with only slight differences in design.

COMPLETE IN EVERY DETAIL.

Not the least extraordinary feature of this wonderful expeditionary force is that not only is it an army from another continent, but an army complete in every detail and ready to take its place in the firing line at a moment's notice. How it will immediately make its presence felt and prove of immense help to the Allies can best be realized by those who, like myself, have seen it on the march. I have been an observer of most of the European armies in peace and in war, but never have I seen troops with a finer *entrain* than those who swung past me on the roads in the environs of Marseilles this afternoon. It is no exaggeration of language to say that the regiments brought over from India are composed of noble and majestic specimens of manhood.

Everything necessary for campaigning has been brought, even to the shovels and picks to dig the trenches, paraffin lamps to light the sleeping places, and praying mats.

Throughout the forenoon while the troops were landing, excitement had been steadily rising in the city, and the defiling of the British and Indian soldiers through the streets in the afternoon *en route* to their rest camps was the signal for the whole of Marseilles to give vent to frantic enthusiasm. Sikh, Punjabi, Baluchi, or Gurkha was no matter to the dense, struggling crowds; they cheered all to the echo.

First came a detachment of stalwart Sikhs, for the greater part head and shoulders above the spectators. Immediately, the police guarding the route were swept aside, the ranks were rushed, men and women shook the laughing soldiers by the hand, and young girls showered flowers upon them, pinning roses in their tunics and in their turbans. Tricolours were distributed with prodigality, and it seemed that within a minute or two every second soldier was proudly flying a flag from his rifle. Old ladies with bitter memories of 70 pressed forward the better to admire these handsome bearded men with gleaming eyes and flashing white teeth, and it would be difficult to conjure up anything more deeply touching than the sight of those frail women patting the bronzed giants on the back and calling down blessings on their heads.

So it proceeded for hours, the only difference being that the townspeople waxed in enthusiasm. When the sturdy little Gurkhas, still smiling, of course, came marching along to the strains of "The Marseillaise," played marvellously well on a weird collection of reed instruments, the crowds considered that they could better show their regard by allowing the soldier's right of the pavement instead of the cobbled streets.

Accordingly men, mountain battery mules, and officers' horses, marched along under the very awnings of the *café terrasses*, men and women meanwhile standing on chairs and tables, waving hats, sticks, and handkerchiefs, and expending every ounce of lung energy in shouting "Vivent les Anglais, Vivent les Indiens." The quick-witted Indians voiced their gratitude by replying "Veeve France," and by making repeated use of a phrase in Hindustani, the intonation of which was suspiciously reminiscent of the British soldier's dearly-beloved "Are we downhearted? No!"

JUMPING FOR JOY.

I have often heard of a man jumping for joy. This afternoon I have watched hundreds of the younger Indian troops perform the operation, to the amazement and delight of thousands of onlookers. From sheer patriotic exuberance they would leap two or three feet in the air and wave the Union Jack and the French flag, with as deep faith in the force and sense of the action as children at home on Empire Day or Alsatian pilgrims to the Strasburg statue in the Place de la Concorde. Several princes, distinguished by finely chiselled features and by gold ornaments flashing in their turbans, rode on magnificent chargers, exhibiting every sign of pleasure at the reception accorded them.

At one part of the route taken by the Sikhs a little incident created much amusement among the spectators. A particularly striking company, all men over 6 feet, was passing and the crowd clapped their hands loudly in addition to cheering. Presumably in the belief that they were intended to respond in similar fashion, the whole of the company slung their rifles and vigorously clapped their hands till they were tired. The British officers, who walked at the head of their regiments, were singled out for special ovations.

It was an amusing experience to stand in the crowd and listen to the remarks when our own British regiments that had come over with the Indians passed. Bronzed by the Oriental sun, clean-limbed and keen-faced, the French people at once put them down as officers, every one of them, and it was some time before I could wean those around me from their belief. They would have been better pleased had I not disillusioned them.

In the failing light of an autumn evening I wandered on the outskirts of what must be one of the most picturesquely situated camps ever pitched. To-morrow, side by side, Briton and Indian will go out, heads high and hearts beating true to one King-Emperor and one Empire, to battle with the common enemy, the enemy of the civilization itself.

Our Indian troops, comparable as they are to any martial force in the world, have only one fear, and I have done my best to explain to them that it is absolutely groundless. It is that the war may be over before they get to the front!—(*New India*)

HELP FOR INDIAN STUDENTS.

STRANDED IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Thakur Shri Jessraj Singhji Seesodia, President of the London Hindu Sabha, writes to *New India*:—There are about 1,800 Indians scattered about in England, Scotland and Ireland at present, the majority of whom are students wholly dependent upon their monthly or quarterly allowances from India; others are permanent residents engaged in various professions in this country.

Now, a good many of them on account of the war and the fact that direct communication with India has been interrupted, are stranded without any means in Great Britain. They (and I am talking of a good many of them) have no money whatever, to look forward to, or fall back upon, in case of sudden distress or their usual allowances not coming in time. Their parents who are generally peasants of limited means or zamindars in a small way, might naturally secure for themselves as much hard cash as possible to meet emergencies in their own land owing to the war, and consequently might not be able to send their sons over here enough and sufficient funds for their maintenance. In that event, the poor students will have to face hardships and it may be, starvation in a country which is busy enough to relieve the distress of her own children; and it is to help such poor fellows and other Indians that the Hindu Sabha of London has taken up patriotically the cry of the Indian community in the United Kingdom to appeal to the generosity of the public-spirited men and women of Hindustan.

To help and to make preparations for such an emergency which is likely to arise, is to help India; and to appeal to the proverbial big-heartedness of the Indians on that account is to be sure of ample funds for the poor students to save them from the pinch of starvation and poverty, which will now at any moment face them as an outcome of the unforeseen and unprecedented circumstances of this great European War.

"CHARITY BEGINS AT HOME."

While fully approving of the spirit in which our loyal Princes and prosperous Shethias have tendered thousands of pounds of their wealth at a feet of the Supreme

Government for various purposes, I, with all respect venture to remind them that "Charity begins at Home."

I therefore hope that every Indian with a grain of generosity in his heart would not for a moment hesitate to open his purse for his brethren who are sure to find themselves one of these black days face to face with the grim prospects of privation. The cause for which I to-day appeal through the medium of this paper deserves not only sympathy but the substantial support of the whole of India.

I need hardly say that all the other countries directly or indirectly affected by this war have opened similar funds for similar purposes. Surely, philanthropic India is not going to let her children starve and suffer owing to no fault of theirs.

AN INFLUENTIAL COMMITTEE.

I beg to enclose the names of the Committee specially formed for this purpose:—Mr. P. D. Acharya of Bombay, Managing Director of the India and Peninsular Steam Navigation Co., Limited; Mr. Rajavelu Mudaliar of Madras (family of Raja Sir S. Ramaswami Mudaliar); Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D. Sc., London (son of Sir Mutu Coomaraswamy Mudaliar); Mr. Ran Chordas Mavani of Bombay; Mr. Madhavdas Dessai (of the family of Sir Mangaldass Nathoobhai, *Knight*); Mr. Pramrai Muzamdar of Kathiawar; Mr. Padmanabha Punambalam of Ceylon (son of Sir Punambalam Aarunachala, *Knight*); Mr. Khem Singh of Punjab; Thakur Jugal Kishore Singhi of Sagar U. P.; Mr. Vijai Ram Vizagapatam.

P. S.—All the funds should be sent to the Secretary, Westwood House, 210, High Holborn, W. C., or to the following gentlemen:—Jamnadas M. Mehta, Esqr., M.A., LL.B., Bar-at-Law, Napean Sea Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay, Prince Chandradevi Seesodia of Dharampur, and Mr. Raj, of Narasimha Raj Co., King & Co., Bombay, India.

OUR EMIGRATION FUND.

When this Journal was first started, we anticipated circumstances of the kind just mentioned above and we wished to create an **Emigration Fund** with it at the same time, on our own responsibility from any surplus we may gather after meeting the expenses of the Journal.

We stated in our objects that the Fund will be utilised for the benefit of the Emigrants, coolies in particular; but we had also in view helping stray cases of students stranded in foreign countries and also using the fund for starting labour organisations to take up practical work connected with our object.

We therefore appeal to our benevolent and enlightened men not only to contribute to the present relief of the above-helpless students but also to subscribe to our Journal to enable us to do some useful work for the mute, emigrant as well as stay at home labouring population:—*The Editor.*

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

"KOMAGATA MARU" PASSENGERS.

SERIOUS TROUBLE ON LANDING

MARCH ON CALCUTTA.

Calcutta, Sept. 30.—A Bengal Government *Press Communique*, issued to-day, states:—Passengers on the *Komagata Maru*, who were being repatriated by the Government of India, arrived in Hooghly last Saturday evening. The Bengal Government had been asked to arrange for their safe transport at Government expense to Punjab and so a special train was arranged to meet the steamer at Budge Budge yesterday morning. A number of Punjab Officers and the Magistrate of the 24 Paraganas, with others, had met the steamer, and after some persuasion prevailed upon the men to land. This was effected at about 2 P.M. but they were still unwilling to believe the assurance of the Magistrate that they were to travel direct to Punjab. The Magistrate had power under Ordinance No. 5 of 1914 to compel them to follow his instruction, but scrupulously refrained from exercising the powers until he found that the men refused to enter the train and were determined to march by road to Calcutta. He then produced the Ordinance and explained its terms to the leaders but in complete disregard of his orders they proceeded on the Calcutta road and he had no sufficient force to prevent them.

MILITARY CALLED IN.

Troops and police were then requisitioned to stop them, and they were stopped, when they had gone three or four miles. Sir William Duke who had proceeded with the troops met them there, taxed their leader with a breach of the Ordinance, and told them that what they had to say would be considered at Budge Budge, to which they must return.

On this they went back without further demur, followed by the police, and at a distance by the troops.

The first special train had already gone off with about sixty men, who most willingly had already gone on, and Sir William Duke proceeded with the party to Budge Budge and secured a second special. He was actually inside the station making the final arrangements, when the following occurrences took place.

THE TROUBLE BEGINS.

As soon as the party arrived at the station, just after dusk, Mr. Donald called for the leader, with the intention of explaining the position. The men suddenly became very excited, and without any warning, a hot revolver fire was opened on the police and the officers, while others charged them with staves, knives, and even one or two with swords. The revolver fire was returned by four out of the posse of Sergeants who alone were armed with revolvers.

OFFICERS WOUNDED.

In a few seconds Sergeant Major Eastwood was brought to the ground and shot in the back. Sir Frederic Halliday was wounded in the foot, Mr. Petrio was shot through both leg and arm. Mr. Humphreys was seriously injured. Mr. Lomax, Assistant Traffic Superintendent, E.B.S.R., was fatally shot through the body and several Sergeants were badly wounded in the head. The troops were behind, and the affray was partly screened from them by the railway fencing. Also the police and the Officers were at first mixed up with their assailants. It was only when this front was cleared, although that may not have taken many seconds, that the troops could be ordered to fire. Even when they did so the rioters made two or three further rushes, while one party occupied some shops from which they maintained a steady fire, and here a majority of their casualties took place. Sixteen rioters were killed as well as two innocent onlookers. In addition to the casualties mentioned above, the Punjab police had one killed and six injured. They were scattered through surrounding villages, a certain number surrendering to the police and to the picquets. Extensive combined sweeping movement is being made by the military and police to collect the rest, and up to the early hours of this morning, thirty-two have been made prisoners.

GOVERNMENT DEPLORE LOSS OF LIFE.

The Government of Bengal deeply deplore the loss of life which has occurred. They were acting in pursuance of the openly declared intention of sending to their homes the passengers who had suffered so much in pocket by the voyages of this ship. They were aware of the existence of a certain amount of strong political discontent amongst some of the passengers, and in full concurrence with the Punjab Government considered that the return to the native country should be prompt and direct. No one had the smallest suspicion that any of the party were armed for a desperate and unprovoked attack on the British Officers.

THE MISSING LINK.

The unfortunate affair known in Canada as the "Komagata Maru affair" has come to be known in India under the term "Budge-Budge incident."

It will be apparent to any one, who reads the above communique on the subject, that there is a link missing somewhere. While the account is clear so far as the arrival of the party at Budge-Budge station is concerned, and then, as is stated, when Mr. Donald called for the leader with the intention of explaining the position "the men became suddenly excited and a hot revolver fire was opened." We are unable to understand that the mere attempt to explain the position would suddenly excite the people and evoke firing.

As the *Bombay Chronicle* rightly points out that "the affair is unfortunately shrouded in a good deal of mystery, and it would be premature to suggest or attempt to ascertain, until there is more evidence at our disposal, where the blame, if any, lies." We hope that when the present enquiry is over, the facts will become clear; and until then, it is good to reserve judgment.

All the same, we cannot help pointing out to our countrymen that this unhappy affair, if known to the British Columbians or Canadians, will make their position so strong that, perhaps next time when some Indians try to land in Canada or Australia, the authorities will shoot them straight off instead of sending them all the way back to create a scene in their own country.

The matter is important and we hope that the enquiry will be thorough and searching.

Incidents like this are very unfortunate especially under the sympathetic administration of His Excellency Lord Carmichael and we are extremely sorry that His Excellency Lord Hardinge's anxiety during these anxious times should be increased by such occurrences.

Perils of the Indenture.

The Correspondent of the *Hindu* writes from Johannesburg, *June 6*.—India may well be thankful that the system of exporting human chattels to South Africa, under indenture, is a thing of the past, as the following incident will indicate. On a certain estate growing wattle there was an elderly, decrepit Indian, stricken with paralysis. During the strike, he somehow had managed to incur the ill-will of the estate manager. On a particular occasion, the man, not having satisfied the manager in some respect, the latter is alleged to have brutally assaulted him with a sjambok knocking the helpless creature to the ground. When the labourer had sufficiently recovered, he proceeded to Phoenix, to see Mr. West, the Sub-editor of *Indian Opinion*, and showed him the marks of the assault. Amongst those who saw the weals upon the man's back was the sister of the present Speaker of the House of Assembly, Miss Moltens. The manager, however, suspecting that a criminal charge would be laid against him decided to anticipate events by charging the labourer under the indenture law. The latter was arrested and kept in prison, and subsequently died there, as a result, it is alleged, of the ill-treatment that he had sustained. After some days, a *post mortem* examination was held, but, by that time, the marks had disappeared. At the inquest, both Mr. West and the lady aforesaid gave evidence of what they had seen with their own eyes. It was anticipated that the manager

would be prosecuted for culpable homicide, but the Attorney-General instructed that he should be proceeded against for common assault. In the absence of the testimony of Miss Moltens, who was then in the Cape Colony, and of independent medical evidence that might have been obtained at the time, the magistrate, whose sympathies are notorious with the employers, and without hearing the arguments on either side, but having made up his mind against the Crown evidence, discharged the manager, apparently believing his statement that he had such excellent control over his temper that such an incident was impossible. But the magistrate had not troubled to remember that, in his own Court, only a week previously, the manager had been bound over to keep the peace towards Mr. West, against whom he was so enraged because he had dared to give information to the police, that Mr. West went in fear of bodily harm at the manager's hands for weeks, and was obliged to remove temporarily with his family to Durban. As has been wittily said, it is harder for an employer of an indentured labourer in Natal to be punished for ill-treatment of the human chattel placed in his care than for a camel to pass through the eye of needle.

RHODESIAN OPPRESSION.

Seemingly an eye—a very watchful human eye—must ever be kept on South Africa, for no year passes without, in some part or other, an attempt being made to impose a fresh disability upon resident Indians. The latest instance of the kind is from Southern Rhodesia, which is a chartered territory outside the Union. Your readers may, perhaps, remember how, in 1908, at the height of the then phase of the passive resistance struggle, the Legislative Council passed an enactment combining all the harshest requirements of the Transvaal Registration law with the severest provisions of the Transvaal Immigration law. Strong protests against the granting of the Royal Assent to the measure were lodged, and it was eventually vetoed, on the double ground that the circumstances of the Colony did not warrant such drastic legislation, and that, with the object lesson of the neighbouring Colony before them, the Imperial authorities were chary of sanctioning such a measure in a territory where self-government did not exist and over which they themselves exercised direct authority. Recently, however, the Legislative Council has passed a most stringent Immigration Ordinance following closely upon the lines of the Union Statute, even including the economic clause, and against this tyrannical measure strong protests have been lodged by Rhodesian and Union Indians, who hope for the co-operation of their countrymen in India to prevent the measure becoming law. The history and circumstances of Rhodesia are totally different from those of the Union, and whatever justification might have existed in South Africa proper for a stringent Immigra-

tion law, by reason of the peculiar conditions here, no sort of justification can be urged for it in the Chartered Company's land, where the European population is sparse and scattered and the Indian inhabitants barely exceeds a thousand in number all told.

The Hon'ble Mr. E. F. Barber on Coolie Recruiting.

The following is an observation made by the Hon'ble member in the course of his speech at the Madras Legislative Council:—

A year ago when I spoke in this chamber I dealt with the question of labour. The outlook now is no less serious than it was then and since the welfare of our industries, and indeed the prosperity of the Presidency depends on an adequate supply of labourers, the subject must always remain a serious one. The planters, I am glad to say, are preparing to meet their requirements by organisation, and a scheme of self-help which entails heavy self-taxation is on foot. We do ask for any assistance here, but should like to see your Excellency's Government take an interest in the matter, and I think I am justified in asking that steps may be taken to suppress any abuses in recruiting that may exist. Increased extension of planting has led to increased activity in recruiting. It is well known that high fees are being paid for coolies delivered at Depots and it is not surprising that abuses have crept in. Free emigration in the true sense of the word free, does not exist, the free emigrants have all emigrated and those that emigrate now at the best are bribed to emigrate, and in some cases I am afraid, forced into it by the tricks of the recruiter. If abuses occur in recruiting for local enterprises they should be put down too, but as a matter of fact they defeat themselves. The tricked coolie can get back to his village comparatively easily from a South Indian estate, and once back, he is not a good advertisement for the recruiter.

EXTRADITION FACILITIES.

A Draft Enactment.

In an *F. M. S. Government Gazette Extraordinary* appears the draft of an Enactment to provide for the surrender to Foreign Countries of persons accused or convicted of the commission of certain offences within the jurisdiction of such countries. In the "objects and reasons" it is stated:—

The only statutory provision at present in force in these States for the surrender of criminals to foreign countries (excluding from that expression British possessions) is contained in Enactment No. 21 of 1912 ("The Extradition Enactment, 1912"): this Enactment was passed with special reference to Siam, a country between which and the Federated Malay States a diplomatic arrangement exists for reciprocal action in the matter of fugitive criminals.

Theory and practice alike suggest the advisability of making suitable arrangements with other foreign countries on this subject and providing statutory powers for carrying them into effect, both in order that we may be in a position to meet the reasonable requests of other countries for surrender of offenders who have been taken themselves to these States and also that offenders from other countries may not be tempted by immunity from arrest and surrender, to make these States their home.

It is therefore proposed to endeavour to secure through the good offices of the British Government an extension to the Federated Malay States of the provisions of existing Extradition Treaties between Great Britain and certain other countries whose nationals are not unlikely to resort to these States.

Power exists under Enactment No. 21 of 1912 to apply the provisions of that law to foreign countries other than Siam; but, in view of what is now contemplated, it appears advisable to replace that law by one based on the Extradition Act 1870 (33 and 34 Vict. ch. 52), and the present Bill was prepared in 1913 accordingly.—*Malay Weekly Mail*.

FAR AND NEAR.

"The Kamayut Club," Rangoon.

We received a copy of the 3rd Annual Report of the above Club read at its annual meeting held on the 4th inst. at Kamayut, a beautiful suburb of Rangoon.

The object of the Club shall be to promote social life among its members. This will be achieved by the maintenance of a Reading Room and Library, by holding Literary Meetings, Social Gatherings and occasional Entertainments, as well as by providing such indoor games and out-door sports as may be feasible and agreed upon from time to time.

The Report begins with a short history of its birth (Established 30th April 1911) and, dealing consecutively with its life and work during the three years of hard existence, closes with a refreshing sketch of the 4th year of its active work to the present time. From what appears in the Report we gather that the Club had its ups and downs all these years as the enthusiasm of the members waxed or waned. The main difficulty experienced for the successful working of the Club is the question of finance; and the other cause of anxiety has been the constant falling off of the members, due to a want of Co-operation among them and to the "unattractiveness" of the Club complained of in the Report.

We cannot understand how a Club, situated as it is, in the vicinity of a beautiful scenery of gardens and

groves, with long and lovely roads for a pleasant evening walk, ride, or drive, with the Kokine Lake—a broad expanse of water studded with picturesque islands in its midst—situate close by, and above all with a natural spring flowing under the very nose of the Club, could have failed to attract to itself sufficient members. If only the members show a strong *Esprit de corps* among themselves, they could do a great deal to make it a premier Club.

We are glad to find that the Club has gained strength through its weekly social gatherings and there are now 53 members in the roll to its credit composed mainly of Madrasees with a sprinkling of Bengalee, Mahomedan, Burman and Christian members, which speaks so much for the cosmopolitan nature of the Club.

It is also evident from the report, that the members are fully alive to the necessity of games and "that it is only at games that a spirit of comradeship is engendered and nurtured." We therefore venture to suggest for the Club's future attractiveness the starting of a Swimming Bath and a Boating House in the Kokine Lake under the auspices of the Club. This Club has the greatest facility for a possibility of the suggestion and, if it should take on itself the responsibility of bringing this about, it will be one of the greatest attractions on the power of the Club to provide not only for the local residents but to the Rangoonites and other visitors as well.

The present Secretary is Mr. C. S. Ekambaram, B.A., through whose exertions and amiability, the Club has entered on a prosperous career and we wish it all success in the future.

INDIAN WAR FUND.

Meeting in Kuala Lumpur.

There was a large meeting of Indians in the Town Hall, Kuala Lumpur, on September 22nd the object being to consider proposals to collect subscriptions for the Indian Imperial War Relief Fund. The meeting was fully representative, all classes of Indians being present.

Mr. K. T. Parimanam Pillai, being elected to the chair, briefly explained the object of the meeting; following which Mr. Pat Zilwa was unanimously elected Hon. Secretary.

Dr. W. A. Rogers, in proposing that subscriptions be collected for the fund, referred to the way Mrs. Watson's Fund was going up by leaps and bounds. The difference between this fund and the one he proposed they should assist was that the latter would be transmitted to India to His Excellency the Viceroy and would be applied for the relief of distressed among the widows and orphans of Indian soldiers. (Applause.)

In other words, this Fund was auxiliary to and ran parallel with the other, to which, he supposed, some had already given. These had done well and he now asked them to go one better. They might not be as rich as the Maharajah Scindia who gave £10,000 to the Prince of Wales' Fund and then subscribed to the Viceroy's Fund, he believed, a lakh of rupees. (Applause.) They could do what they liked in their own way, but one naturally expected that, when they gave to the Viceroy's Fund, which went to the relief of distress of those of their own native soil, they would put their hand deeply into their pockets. (Applause.)

Mr. E. V. Xavier seconded and the resolution was carried.

Dr. McIntyre next proposed and Mr. E. S. Souragen Pillay seconded that a committee be appointed to collect subscriptions.

This was also carried and a large and influential committee appointed.

Dr. D. Gupta proposed and Mr. San Singh seconded that all monies collected be paid into a local bank and remitted from time to time to India. This resolution was also carried.

Mr. N. V. Visvalingam proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman which was seconded by Mr. C. V. Dora Samy and carried.

The whole of the proceedings were interpreted into Hindustani by Mr. San Singh (Interpreter of the Supreme Court, Kuala Lumpur).—*Malay Weekly Mail*.

The Penang Literary Society.

The second public meeting of this society was held on the 28th ultimo in the Free School Hall (kindly lent by the Principal). There was a large gathering of members and their friends, before whom Mr. Mohamed Ariff of the Medical School, Singapore, delivered a lecture on "Malay Social Customs." He touched on birth, marriage and funeral rites and made passing references to magic, amusements, sports and general social customs amongst the Malays. As the Chairman Mr. Isaac Tambyah, and Mr. L. B. Balavendrum, in according a vote of thanks to the lecturer stated, the lecture was interesting and instructive and contributed much to current information on the subject. At the close of the lecture copies of the Society's rules were distributed and new members enlisted. Announcements were made of the work for October, including the starting of a class for the study of Tennyson.—*Penang Gazette*.

FEAST OF GODDESS MARIAMMAN.

Celebration in Penang.

The annual feast of the Goddess Mariamman (Navarathree), the local shrine of which witnesses a ten-day celebration among the Hindus, commenced on Saturday,

and despite the hard times as a result of the war, it is being observed by the different sections of this community on a larger scale than on previous occasions.

Yesterday was the turn of the cake-sellers of the Settlement, under the leadership of Mr. Sattam Pillay. A torchlight procession was held last night through the principal thoroughfares of the town, and on its return to the temple, cakes and refreshments were served to the invited guests, among whom were the members of the Penang Hindu Sabha. Those present included Messrs. Singaram Pillay, general representative of the Tamil community, A. Veerappa Pillay, A. Poomoosamy Pillay, and Velu Tindal, members of Endowment Board, who were all garlanded by Mr. Sattam Pillay.—*Penang Gazette*.

Scientists in Singapore.

By a steamer arriving from Australia there have arrived the party of the members of the British Association who have been to Australia for the annual meeting of the British Association and are travelling home this way, says the "*Free Press*." The original information available was that there would be a party of some forty members, including Professor Bateson the President of the Association, who was installed by Sir Oliver Lodge, and Sir Edward Schafer, who was the President in 1912 and was a visitor to Singapore a couple of years ago when he gave a very interesting lecture to the Medical School. The number of distinguished scientists who have arrived indicates that few of them have changed their minds in consequence of the war. Some of them will be staying in Singapore awaiting a homeward bound boat, and some will travel through the Peninsular to Penang, catching up the homeward boat there.—*Penang Gazette*.

Indians in the Philippines.

A memorial has been submitted by the Indian residents of Manila in the Philippines to the British Consul-General for the United States of America. The Indian residents are about three hundred strong from different parts of India, doing business in the city, some selling goods in the Provinces some farmers, watchmen, and the rest belonging to various callings. In the course of their memorial which is requested to be presented through the British Consul to the various authorities concerned, they say that they have been insulted by the refusal of the requisite permits to the U. S. A. and that even the steamships demand exorbitant charges for their journey. They allude to the remarks of President Wilson that the British Government would not object to any restrictive measures as they are countenanced in the British Colonies themselves and conclude:

"We may openly and frankly say that the matter between the British Government and the Colonial Governments is already being discussed, and the Indian Government is taking strong

stand in favour of the Indians. In the mean time, we, as loyal subjects of H. M. King George V., do not want to be insulted in the way, as we are being treated by the Immigration Department of the U. S. A. and Philippine islands and the Coy's running ships between Manila, and U. S. A.

Here we further add that we do not want the whole of India to be allowed to go to U. S. A. as labourers, but those who are already in the Philippine Islands and some of them are businessmen, merchants, some students and some farm laborers, of course may be allowed without any difficulty under the present existing laws, and the laws now proposed should not affect us as we are already in the way to U. S. A.

Further more we have to say that even under the Chinese Exclusion and Admission laws, (Pages: 5-8 Article I. II. Sec. 6 of April 18, 1910 Edition of February 24, 1913) the students, business men, merchants, teachers, and even the laborers those who have already been in U. S. A. are allowed freely to come to their country and go again without any restrictions, and we see no reasons why the same treatment should not be rendered to our students, teachers and men of business, and professions, as we are fully aware of the facts, that many of our countrymen who have gone to U. S. A. as students, are being debarred from entering into U. S. A. This we strongly protest."—*Indian Review*.

The Hindu Association of United States.

Unlike the Cromwell House in London controlled by officials deputed by the India Office, students in America have established an independent Association at Chicago. It was formed last year, the number of students on the roll being 150, and more than 100 are active members, who manage the Association on democratic lines, independent of patronage or out-side help; it is properly speaking, on co-operative principle. The main object of the Association is the promotion of the educational interests of Indian Students in the States. Information is furnished free of charge, with respect to educational facilities, expenses, and opportunities for employment; incoming students are met on their arrival, and quarters found for them. The great majority of the members are self-supporting, either making their own way to the College or at the end of their course securing employments as Engineers, Doctors, Chemists and so forth, both gaining experience and learning the Western virtue of self-reliance. The struggle, we are informed, is hard and sometimes very trying, but the Indian students have faced it with success. Besides the American Universities accord warm welcome to Indian students and show an interest in their welfare. The Hindustan Association is taking part in the International Congress of Students to be held at Cornell University at the end of the summer, and it is projecting an organ of its own. The Headquarters are at 509, S. Marshfield Avenue, Chicago, U. S. A.—*Punjabee*.

An Ambulance Corps of Indian Students, London.

In response to a desire widely expressed by Indian students here to take some active part in service in connection with the war, the War Office has assented

to the proposals of the India Office for the organization of an Indian Field Ambulance Corps, and has agreed to give members of the corps, when adequately trained, an opportunity of serving with the Indian troops on the Continent.

The nucleus of such an organization was formed in London in the latter half of August, a considerable body of young Indians having been drilled and trained for some weeks under Dr. James Cantlie, and the steps now being taken with the co-operation of the War Office and the authorities of the London University Officers Training Corps, are designed to expand and develop this nucleus into a highly-organized corps. The Government of India has sanctioned the proposal and Lieutenant-Colonel R. J. Baker, late of the Indian Medical Service, has consented to act as Commander. The names of recruits are received by the Indian Volunteers Committee, of which *Mr. Gandhi is Chairman*, at 60, Talbot road Bayswater, W. Applicants are enrolled, if passed by a medical board as physically fit, in the Indian Field Ambulance Training Corps. They are drilled almost daily by trained instructors in London, at an hour which does not interfere, unduly with their ordinary studies and occupations; and arrangements have been made for them to go into camp for further training each week-end from Friday night to Monday morning at Eastcote, near Pinner where a large Sports' Ground has been placed at the disposal of the corps by Mr. Debenham, and convenient buildings in an adjoining ground are being lent by Mr. Haywood.

After some weeks of training the men certified to be efficient will be entitled to volunteer to serve for six months as a detachment with the Indian troops abroad, under terms and conditions to be subsequently announced. It is hoped in the first instance to find places in the detachment for 10 medical officers and for 50 other recruits, the latter to serve as nursing orderlies, dressers, compounders, bearers, etc. The movement has been eagerly taken up by young Indians. Many members will be left behind in this country, but some of them may have opportunities or subsequently proceeding to the front to take the place of any who may be wounded, or they may later be formed into a second detachment; while others will doubtless do good service in working among the wounded brought to this country. In settling the arrangement for Continental service the Commandant is in close communication with Colonel James, R. A. M. C., who is in charge of training work at the War Office, and who is giving his service as a lecturer to the corps. The members are enthusiastic and delighted at the prospect of service for the Empire in the field—*The Times*.

This is only a small step in the right direction and it proves that if equal opportunities and equal rights are given to Indians and if they are treated as equal subjects of the British Empire, they shall not be found wanting in any work entrusted to them for serving the country or the Empire.

Indians in Germany.

The *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* publishes the following extracts from Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahni's letter, written from Cambridge, to assure the friends and parents of Indian students in Germany that they were all well and kindly treated by the Germans:—

"I hope this rather lengthy personal narrative will be excused if it tends to allay the anxieties of the friends and relatives of other Indians who are still in Germany. I have not the slightest doubt in my own mind that they are all being treated with every consideration and that they are quite safe and comfortable.

I don't know how many Indians there are in Germany, but I met the following at Heidelberg on the 3rd August, with the exception of the first two gentlemen whom I saw there a week earlier.

1. Professor Dalal, M. A., sometime Professor of Chemistry at the Central Hindu College, Benares.
2. Mr. Rau, a Forest Officer in the service of H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore (? or Mysore). He was on sick leave.
3. Mr. Bose, B. Sc., son of late Mr. A. M. Bose of Calcutta.
4. Mr. Maharaj Narain Kaul of Delhi.
5. Mr. S. Hudlikar, M.A., sometime Professor of Geology at the Fergusson College, Poona. His father is, I believe, a pleader at Allahabad.
6. Mr. A. S. Paranjpe, B.A., son of Rao Bahadur S. G. Paranjpe, Forest Officer, Jubbulpore.
7. Mr. Menon B.A. (an Oxford student). He went to Heidelberg to learn German.
8. Mr. Pandit, B.A. of Rajkote, a nephew of the late Mr. S. P. Pandit, the well known Vedic scholar.
9. Mr. Wala, Parsi gentleman from Bombay. He is a student of Philosophy. I am sorry I have forgotten his full name.
10. Mr. Pillai, son of Mr. K. S. Pillai, District Judge, Alleppey, Travancore.

Besides the above named gentlemen, all of whom I saw myself during the last week of my stay in Germany, I heard of several others in other parts of the country such as Mr. Todar Mall at Bonn, Mr. and Mrs. Dutt at Berlin, Mr. Pillay (Forestry student) at Munich.

I shall feel obliged if some of the Provincial papers in India will kindly reassure the relatives of the Indians in Germany, as they are, I fully believe, being taken care of in every way.

Cambridge, Sept. 24.

Ruchi Ram Sahni.

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EDITOR'S REQUEST.

We now beg to invite public opinion from all eminent men, the Hon'ble Members of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Council, our numerous patrons and supporters and the public bodies in India on the important question of "complete Reciprocity in Emigration" which our generous Viceroy so frankly put forth for the consideration of the Indian public. We shall be failing in our duty if we do not take this opportunity of co-operating with His Excellency the Viceroy.

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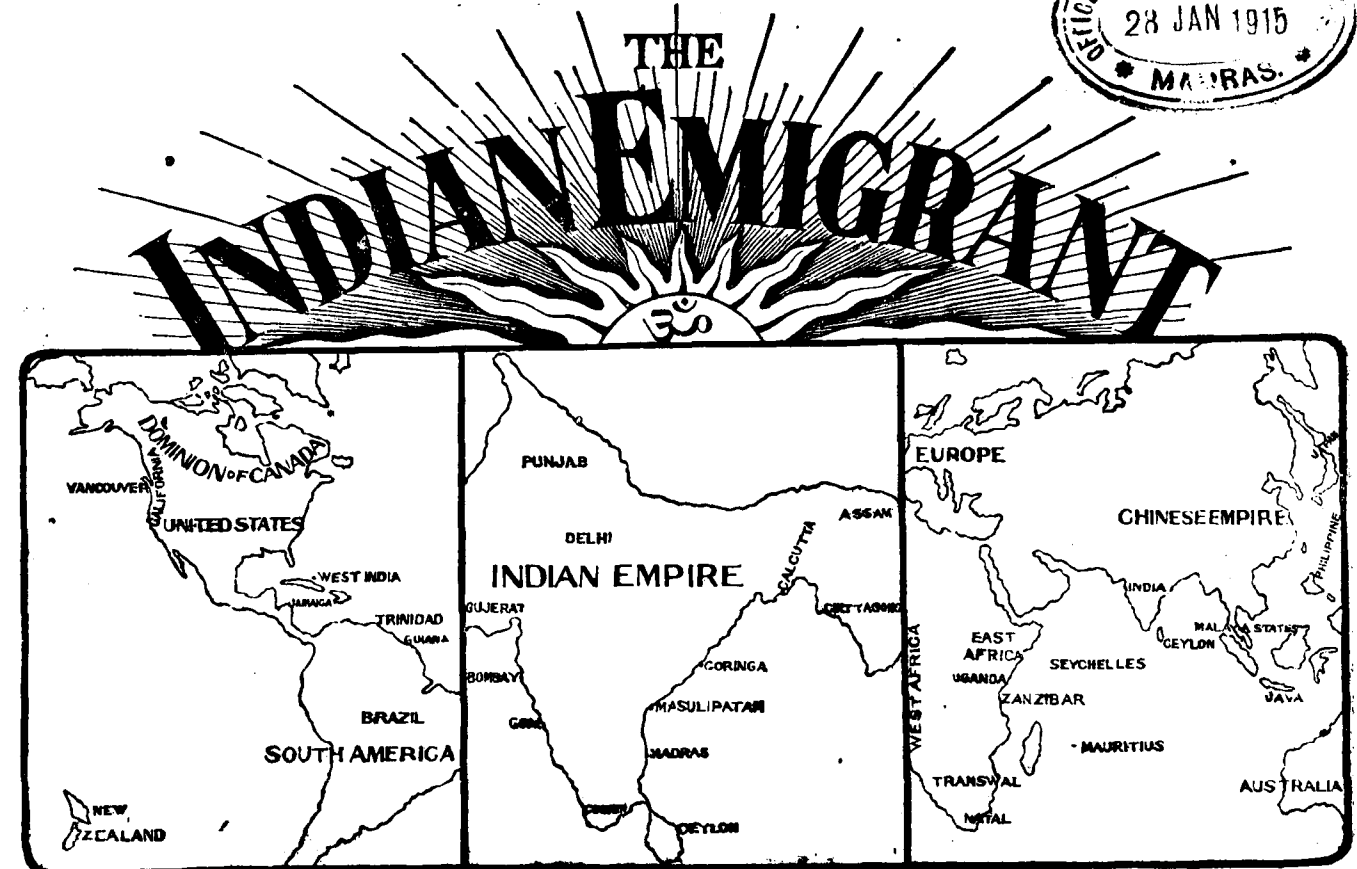
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The "Indian Emigrant."

A Monthly Record of the Status and Doings of Indians in British Colonies and Foreign Countries and an Advocate of Equal Rights of British Citizenship within the Empire.

OUR FIRST DUTY.

THE present problem of India is not political. We shall never be able to fit ourselves for higher privileges unless we can do away with the narrowness of our mind and the weakness of our character. All the poison of ignorance, indifference and disunion that are in the very marrow of our society are standing in the way of our fullest development. Our warfare is with these. We have to train ourselves to extend our vision from the family and from the vision to wider circles. We have

to eradicate the hedges of effete customs and plough our social soil for higher purposes than mere truck gardening.

Let us first liberate our society from the tyranny of hide-bound customs and dedicate it to a spirit of liberality. This is our first duty.

We badly need the training of mixing with the outside world. Following the beaten track of the drudgery of governmental clerkship, we have become disgracefully worthless. Shake our country to its very foundation at this point and teach our countrymen to walk defiantly in the wide world in pursuit of modern scientific and industrial knowledge to modernize our ancient and glorious land.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

[Translated from Mr. Tagore's Bengali message to the Hindustan Association of America, by B. K. Roy].

BRITISH SUBJECT

AND

EMPIRE CITIZEN.

BY THE EDITOR.

Mr. Herbert Samuel, a Cabinet Minister, publicly announced a few months ago that the Imperial Naturalisation Bill, a measure for a uniform naturalisation of all British subjects, should be enacted into a law. The essence of this enactment is to be, that a British subject wherever he may be born within the British Empire shall have the rights and privileges to enter and live in any part of the British Empire. The fact that an enactment of the nature is considered necessary for effecting this state of things, presupposes a certain amount of anomaly in the existing rights of British Citizenship. For all theoretical purposes, the British Empire confers on its subjects equal privileges and freedom. But, as Sir West Ridgway points out in the *Times*, "within the fortified *enceinte* of the British Empire, there are many houses and families, each inhabited by its own family. These households have common interests; but each manages its own affairs,—wisely or unwisely—without interference from others, and no one is entitled to enter any house not his own except on invitation, and even then he must submit to the conditions which may be imposed." Although the statement that a house managing its own affairs may not be literally true of India, which is only a Dependency and not a self-governing Colony; yet "of late years" writes Sir Valentine Chirol, "there has been a marked disposition on the part of the British rulers of India to give the people of India a larger consultative voice in the management of Indian affairs. Under Lord Morley's administration, the enlargement of the Indian Legislative Councils on a partly elective basis and the admission of Indians into the Executive Council of the Viceroy as well as into those of the three Presidency Governments, marked a great stride forward such as Indians of a former generation would never have ventured to hope for. . . The vigorous action of the present Viceroy in defence of Indian interests during the unfortunate South African controversy last winter produced an almost equally deep impression upon Indian opinion, for the position which Lord Hardinge of Penhurst took up on that occasion was, to all intents and purposes, just the position which might have been taken up by the head of the Government of one of our self-governing dominions. Again now the action of the Imperial Government in despatching the Indian forces, not merely, as has often happened before, to fight the

battles of the Empire in outlying regions, but to take their place along side of Sir John French's army in the battlefield of Europe, bears signal testimony to that closer and more intimate relationship between India and the other component parts of the Empire which it is the object of both British and Indian State-manship to achieve." So then, it is necessary that we Indians should in time begin to consider this problem from the Imperial standpoint in the interests of the unity of the Empire.

It will be obvious to those, who have been closely following the discussions on the subject of Imperial Naturalisation Bill both at home and in the Colonies, that this long delayed reform towards Imperial unity has been in the air for some time since 1899. An inter-departmental Committee was then appointed by the Home Secretary, Sir Mathew White Ridley, to enquire into the doubts and difficulties which had arisen as to the proper interpretation and administration of the naturalisation laws and to suggest improvements. This was the beginning of the movement. The Naturalisation Act of 1870, which was based on an earlier Act of 1844, recognised the rights of the Colonies to regulate naturalisation within the limits of their own territories, but made no provision for securing to an "alien" naturalised in a British Colony the right of a British subject to enter any part of the British Empire. The object therefore of the present Bill, which is of far-reaching importance, is to put an end to this anomalous state of British citizenship and to weld the British Empire into one of solidarity. This question is also becoming one of the greatest of the social and economic evils which are confronting the attention of the Imperial Statesmanship not only in India but throughout the Empire. The increased facilities now afforded by improved means of communication and the consequent freedom of movement from one part of the Empire to another has tended to make the situation more serious.

Mr. Richard Jebb in the *Quarterly Review* adds, that "in recent years, the practical importance of the anomaly has been aggravated owing to the greatly increased volume of foreign immigration into the Dominions, especially Canada. At the Imperial Conference of 1911, Sir Wilfrid Laurier made an eloquent plea for the principle 'A British subject anywhere a British subject everywhere.' He instanced the case of American settlers who readily take out naturalisation papers in Canada, only to find that when they come to Europe they are no longer British subjects, but foreigners again." The same case applies in a more rigid degree to Indian settlers who are Indian-

born British subjects. They are not only treated in countries other than their own as foreigners, but also as "coloured men" and "undesirables," an imputation which is more the characteristic of the narrowness and selfish interests of the Colonials than of the dignity of high bred Englishmen. Even in these days when Indians are shedding their life blood in foreign lands for the safety of the Empire, the *East Rand Express* is not ashamed to remark that "the Empire must uphold the principle that a coloured man must not raise his hand against a white man if there is to be any law or order either in India, Africa or any other part of the Empire where the white man rules over a large concourse of coloured people." It is the currency of such absurd views and expressions which is calculated to foment distrust and ill feeling among all classes of Indians.

It is unnecessary here to go into the details of the International Committee's report which appeared in 1901, two years later than it was appointed. The Committee dealt with the history and theory of the status of a British subject and the law of Naturalisation, pointing out the principles involved in nationality as determined by the place of the birth or by the nationality of the parents of the individual and recommending certain modifications. Only when it took up the enquiry relating to the admission of aliens to British subjecthood and the granting of certificates of naturalisation to them, the trouble stared the Committee in the face. The Colonies were the first to fight shy of the proposal. They apprehended that, if a world-wide naturalisation were to be passed to all British subjects whether white, black or coloured, the Colonies will have to be thrown open to a flood of undesirables and Asiatics whom they would be obliged to treat as equal subjects of the King.

A subtle distinction has been drawn by them between the words "subject" and "citizen," a distinction which is specially important in a long protracted controversy of this kind. It has been questioned by them whether the status of a British subject in itself carries with it political rights. If that be so, they argue, has any British subject the power to vote in an election unless qualified under local laws. Has any person, as a British subject, the free right of entry to any part of the Empire unless the requirements of the local Immigration laws are satisfied. Thus they point out that, while British subjecthood does not itself confer political rights, all the same it is necessary to be a British subject to deserve any political rights.

Again the expression "British citizen" has very often been used synonymously with "British subject."

This according to Mr. Westlake (in his work on British citizenship), is a misleading term and is unknown to English law. The word "citizen" is a democratic term used only by the Americans and it implies a right of voting; so that, in the strict sense, there are no citizens of the British Empire inasmuch as there is no common Government of the Empire in which all British subjects may take part according to a common electoral law.

The Imperial Conference or the Imperial Federation forms therefore the only political organization which should rightly take the place of an Imperial Government and link together the various fortified households mentioned at the outset. The general aim of the Imperial Conference of 1911, as is stated, is summed up in two postulates (1) that a British subject anywhere shall be a British subject everywhere; (2) that the process of naturalization should be uniform.

Of course, these suggestions for securing an Imperial Unity are now on the verge of being placed on the Statute Book. But the irony of circumstances has always been till now, to exclude India from any participation in conferences concerning the Empire. But, fortunately for us, the war has obliterated for the time all colour distinction within the Empire by indissolubly linking together Great Britain and India. For this, we have the assurance of His Majesty the King himself and we cannot help quoting his own words.

"Among the many incidents that have marked the unanimous uprising of the populations of my Empire in defence of its unity and integrity, nothing has moved me more than the passionate devotion to my throne expressed both by my Indian subjects and by the Feudatory Princes and the ruling Chiefs of India, and their prodigal offers of their lives and their resources in the cause of the realm. Their one-voiced demand to be foremost in the conflict has touched my heart, and has inspired to the highest issues the love and devotion which, as I well know, have ever linked my Indian subjects and myself. I recall to mind India's gracious message to the British nation of good will and fellowship which greeted my return in February 1912, after the solemn ceremony of my Coronation Durbar at Delhi, and I find in this hour of trial a full harvest and a noble fulfilment of the assurance given by you that the destinies of Great Britain and India are indissolubly linked."

Nobly has India fulfilled her part in the transaction and it is the turn of Great Britain and her Colonies now to fulfil theirs.

EDUCATIONAL GRIEVANCES IN THE COLONIES.

BY MR. O. KANDASAWMI CHETTY.

While the present is not the time for urging the claims of Indians in British Colonies upon the Colonial Governments and Colonial races in any controversial spirit, the present is perhaps the best time for asking our fellow-citizens of the British Empire in the several colonies to consider calmly and without excitement whether more should not be done by them than has been done to remove obstacles in the way of the free development of Indians in the Colonies. The shoulder touch of Indian Sepoy and British Soldier in the battlefield is a magic touch calculated to work psychological wonders hitherto undreamt of, and one would not be a rash prophet if, as the outcome of the united front which Indian and Australian, South African and Canadian are presenting in common with the Britisher to the enemy of civilization and international morality, one foresees the springing up of a new mutual appreciation, the dawning of a new sense of mutual obligation, the birth of a new unity, the unity of suffering comrades on behalf of our Empire in which all men have equal chances in life and none has higher rights and privileges simply because he belongs to one race rather than another, or lives in a costlier style and lives a more delicate life than another.

We say all this with special reference to the problem of Indian and Native education in the South African Colonies. We are sure that when the war is over, and even when the war is proceeding, and the representatives of the various races which compose the British Empire emerge victorious from the battlefield, they will all feel ashamed of restrictions placed upon the free growth, physical, mental, moral and spiritual, of any member of the body imperial. They will seek each other's welfare, and seek to lighten each other's burden. Dispelling all kinds of suspicion and prejudice, they will see brothers where hitherto they saw strangers. They will see gentlemen among mere physical labourers,—fellow-citizens among mere coolies. If this transformation in the social outlook does not take place, the sacrifices which are now being made will have been made in vain and without any lasting benefit to the Empire. We shall, out of feelings of loyalty and patriotism for the Empire whose blood we feel coursing in our veins, desist from enlarging upon the educational grievances of South African Indians, but shall merely hand in, as it were, in the form of a small chit, the various reforms which require to be introduced in order to allow the Indian

and the South African Native to develop freely and unhampered by selfish and unimperial legislation—

1. That schools be opened in every town and village where there are twenty or more Indian children.
2. That primary education up to the fourth standard be compulsory.
3. That the age limit for attending schools be entirely removed.
4. That qualified Indians should be employed in such schools, only the headmastership being held by a sympathetic European teacher.
5. That the standard of education should be similar to that given in the European schools.

While we address these recommendations in a purely friendly and fraternal spirit to the British Colonials, we would also request the Government of India to see that these reforms are taken in hand and introduced in justice to the Indians and in fairness to the common humanity of all human beings.

THE WAR—ITS LESSON TO ENGLAND AND INDIA.

BY MR. G. HARISARVOTHAMA ROW, M.A.

The whole world is now convulsed by the Great War that has already proved the most extensive ever known. Every civilised country has directly or indirectly suffered the consequences of the opening months. If actual warfare has devoured thousands of the sons of the belligerents, the remoter effects of the stoppage of the ordinary human activities of a number of the best productive states of the world have materially made themselves felt on the non-combatant nations. The stress of circumstances has created an atmosphere in which all the peoples of the world are put on their trial. On the capacity they show to withstand the stress, on the power they exhibit to adapt themselves to the fastly arising newer conditions, on the enthusiasm they can evince in beholding resplendent life arise out of smothering death and on the steady and superb character they can lay claim to at this juncture of the world's progress depends the measure of the future greatness of the nations.

Every nation which has its own good and the good of the world at heart must necessarily, in the yet undeveloped state of the world, aim at its own progress. It has duties to itself which it needs to effectively look after. Not the highest altruistic disposition will be able to save it from disintegration and destruction if it does not build up its own life by thoroughly conscious

and strongly determined action of its own. But, if, in this attempt to grow into an effective organism it should so concentrate its selfishness as to forget that it is a part of a higher whole, a sharer in the universal bounty of nature, an humble actor at the bidding of a Will that directs the laws of existence it works its own destruction and decay by its own hand more than by any other circumstance. Every nation therefore, in relation to the world as a whole, must harmonise its own interests and the interests of the world just in the same manner as it requires its citizens to harmonise their interests with the interests of the State.

The relations that exist between an individual and his community exactly hold good, no doubt with reservations that are inevitable on account of the larger scale, in the case of the human world and its component nationalities. It is well for us that the "Survival of the Fittest theory" on the physical plane has come to be knocked on the head both in the realm of the animal kingdom and the human world; the more so in the human world because it has been recognised that man is a social animal and that the society he belongs to is day by day extending to the uttermost limits of the world he inhabits. With the modern development of science and the means of communication thereby arising there is absolutely no room on this small earth for the man or the group of men that desires himself or itself isolation and preponderance. Preponderance in a way, there may be, when the claim comes from out of the service that is rendered for the homogeneous development of the whole mankind in amity and peace.

Tested by these standards, the thoughtful will certainly perceive that the two nations which stand foremost at the present juncture are the two small nations of Europe, Belgium and England. They are small only in territory and numbers but the part they play is the greatest that has ever been played in the annals of the world. Belgium, the tiny little corner of Europe with a tiny little population, has brought to bear upon the situation a force of character which really borders on the super-human and has stemmed, at the risk of a complete effacement of herself, the on-rushing deluge of a superior force that has unblushingly made a bid for the physical mastery of the whole world. In the heroic struggle that Belgium has maintained for her own liberty and the liberty of free peoples, she has touched the one chord in every heart which vibrates in unison with the music of the worlds and springs forward with all intensity to settle once for all that militarism shall die. In this supreme wise Belgium, though acting under the influence of what strict logi-

cians would call the highest selfishness, has laid the world under a deep debt of gratitude and carved out for herself a place in the history of the world worthy of the noblest in man.

No less remarkable, has been the part played by the doughty old Albion. Since the day England entered the arena of world politics, her share in moulding it has been so immensely superior that a world, habituated to hear often of her intervention in one place and another or is likely to estimate her greatness much lower than what it really is. There is no question that England, all through these centuries, has slowly and surely built up an Empire and an influence unsurpassed in the history of mankind. There is also no doubt that her supreme aim has always been to make herself as fully efficient and as perfectly strong as possible. But her struggle has, in the main, been a struggle for liberty both for herself and for the world at large. She has never consciously set up the ideal of Might is Right. All through her career, on the other hand she has been markedly known for her disposition towards conservatism and peace. She has often been derided as a land of shop-keepers and she has as often proved the protector and saviour of small nationalities. That she has sometimes had peculiar advantages is not her fault but rather a sign that the goodness of her heart brings fruit that is its mete. Look at Italy, look at Greece, look at Portugal, look at the now faithless Turkey, look at the United States, look at Egypt, look at Canada, South Africa and other self-governing parts of the British Empire or look at her very dependency India where no doubt a great deal has yet to be achieved and will certainly be achieved by the free joint action of the rulers and the ruled under the broad confiding spirit this war is so responsible in producing, and you will recognise the mission of England has been one not of mere self-aggrandisement but really of wide-world development. England has made, is making and probably will make many a mistake. No nation can be perfect in detail, and as long as human nature is what it is, mistakes are inevitable. Where the heart is free, the ideal is pure, the life is consistent, mistakes are easily condoned however grave at times they may have been and this is the secret of England's Supreme success—even at the beginning of the War in the hearty and unanimous support that she has received from every part of her vast empire which her enemies believed would crumble like a house of cards the moment she was involved in grave complications. The most discontented of British Citizens know the value of their citizenship and are prepared to rest content under the guidance of the

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admirable men at the helm of affairs till the day of England's final success shall arrive.

By the side of these two small nations one fulfilling its duty by almost sacrificing herself for the rest of mankind and the other stoutly resisting the world's temptor not merely for her own benefit but eminently for the preservation of the world's peace and for the continuance of its happy evolution have stood other allies with the land of the rising sun among them. Honor to all of them France, Russia and Japan.

The less said of the enemy the better. But, as there seems to be a perfect contrast between the enemy and this land of ours India, at any rate in so far as too much life and no life are the respective characteristics, it is well not to pass by Germany, her ways and her ideals. In a word, her ambition is mastery of the world, her ways are the ways of the bully and her very God is the God of Might. Right is of no consequence to her who is the whole humanity unto herself. 'A weak world for a strong Germany' is her aim; not a 'Strong Germany for a stronger world.' It is because this concentration of selfishness has sway over Germany that she has plunged the whole of Europe into this catastrophe and sanguinary war. There is very little doubt however that she will be ultimately obliged to reap the whirlwind and vanish into an unrecognisable form.

From Germany to India is a long leap and a long leap we must be prepared to take; because, we are discussing but types. The opportunity for India has come and India has to decide whether she shall make a supreme effort and rise in the scale of nations or dwindle into insignificance once again. Her history till the British Conquest was a history of isolation, division and internal distraction, though there do not seem to be wanting bright patches of time enlivened by the genius and generosity of individual rulers. England it is, that has really implanted in India a sense of nationality and pointed the way to its development, however haltingly and grudgingly at times she might have acted, in helping the growth of her own hand-work. Those very halting and grudging steps have had their useful effect and India can now be fairly said to be united. Thanks to Germany, she has really provided a touchstone by her foolish conduct and to-day sees India and England nearer than ever before. It now rests on the shoulders of Indians to take the example of England and build up a strong India for a stronger British Empire and a much stronger world. Without their own struggle and their own effort nothing can be achieved. They have yet to rise from the old world contentment, to realise that

they are being over-run in the race, to understand the significance of the poet's words

"Old order changeth yielding place to new

Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

to shake off the heavy social shackles that bind them to low and uneventful life and make a consciously determined effort to work up a social and an economic revolution under the aegis of British Rule. Britain has already given India a helping hand in the way of educating her sons and India has repaid the kindness in part by learning in peace and contentment. But what has been done is extremely little and a vast field lies before us unexplored. The present war has opened the eyes of England to the fact, the undeniable fact, that India is more kin to her than any other nation that she has so far favoured in preference to her dependency. An echo heard in the London Chamber of Commerce that the export of raw material from India shall be subject to a duty against the enemy countries, or rather against other countries than England after the war because there will be no enemy then, and the living voice of our most popular Viceroy on behalf of a complete reciprocity between the Indian British Citizen and other British Citizens, over and above the enthusiastic tributes paid by the British press and the British public to our army and to our loyalty—the echo and the voice have both clearly shown that England has at last come to see that India is the blood of her blood and the nerve of her nerve. On the other side the broad liberal policy inaugurated long before the war by His Majesty Emperor George V. of course based upon the past work of Britain in India, the hearty and faithful discharge of the master's mandates by one of the greatest men of the world Lord Hardinge of Penhurst and his no less liberal assistants, and above all the dramatic fulfilment of Ireland's national destiny at the hands of the best of British Cabinets has convinced intellectual India of the soundness of the British heart and carried her rapture into the arms of England in the present world crisis. And it behoves her therefore to recognize in a fuller measure the responsibilities of her guardianship, to treat India more and more as she treats herself, and the self-governing Colonies to accord the sons of this soil greater privileges of Self-Government, which alone is after all capable of working the social and economic revolution that is so badly needed, and to earn the undying gratitude of a nation which, if once raised in the world, has probably the best potentiality in her ancient civilization and culture to stand as a second to Britain herself and fulfil the dream of a world at peace with itself.

THE INDIAN COLONY IN ENGLAND.

The number of Indians settled in England and visiting it either for educational purposes or for trade or otherwise is ever on the increase. Some nine years ago, on the occasion of my first visit to England, the number of Indians settled in England was very small and the students also were comparatively fewer in number, and this in spite of the fact that educational facilities have been considerably curtailed since then. At the present moment the number of Indians in England may be roughly estimated at about 2,000, the great bulk of them residing or staying in London and being students of Law at the various Inns of Court. Next come the Colonies at Cambridge and Oxford. There is a goodly number at Edinburgh and there are smaller batches at Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool, Newcastle, Dublin, Glasgow, etc. Some doctors are practising in Yorkshire, Lancashire and other counties, and have to all intents and purposes settled here. The character of this small community is determined by the standards of those residing or staying in London; and I am afraid it is not what it ought to be.

As at home, this small community is divided into cliques and groups on the bases of religious, political, provincial and personal prejudices. Some nine years ago when I first visited this country, religion played very little part, if any, in the activities of Indians in London; but now (1914) it is a somewhat important factor. The Mohammedans have a London branch of the Muslim League, presided over by the Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali, and they have besides, an active centre of religious propaganda under Khwaja Kamal ud Din of the Punjab. The influence of the Muslim League is not as strong now, as it was 4 years ago, and there is a growing tendency towards an All-India nationalism regardless of creed, but there can be no denial that there is a class of Muslims over whom the Muslim League does exercise a certain amount of influence. Then we have the Hindu Sabha, the Arya Samaj, and the Brahmo Samaj, of which the last is the oldest. The Brahmo Samaj was started and is being kept up by some Bengali ladies and gentlemen, the Arya Samaj mostly by Panjabees and people from the United Provinces, while the Hindu Sabha possesses more or less an All-India character. The Hindu Sabha is not so influential as the Muslim League. The Hindus who have settled in London are not of the kind, both in quality and position, to which the Mohammedan leaders of the Muslim League belong. Most of the former are only Hindus in name. They are neither Hindus by faith nor by sympathies. The

Hindu Sabha has, so far, evoked no enthusiasm either among permanent residents or among students. It has no connection whatsoever with the Hindu Sabhas in India, for the reason that the latter have not provided themselves with an All-India organisation of their own and have taken no trouble to look after Hindu interests outside India. These facts show how the Hindus lack in communal insight. They are either too narrow, confining their sympathies to their own caste, or too broad, embracing the whole world. It is rather difficult to effectively impress upon them the desirability or the necessity of a middle course, and the attempts so far made to create a Hindu communal spirit, have not been very successful. The prospect of any great success in this line in the future seems to be scanty.

Besides these denominational bodies there are a number of Indian Societies in London with professedly social aims, but in reality representing the political opinions of those who started them or manage them. The whole atmosphere savours of intrigue and of party spirit.

It pains one to find how hopelessly Indians are divided and how hopelessly petty-mindedness dominates them. "Everyone for himself" is not so bad as "everyone against everyone else." The same desire of trading in the name of the country, of pushing oneself forward at the cost of others, of putting others in awkward places, if by so doing one can advance his own interests even a little, of straining every nerve to keep others in the back-ground, of imperious domination on the part of those who have assumed the role of leadership, of brushing aside rather summarily the opinions of others, etc., prevails here to the same extent and in the same degree (if not even to a greater extent and degree) as in India. The two articles which constitute the stock-in-trade of the average educated Indian are "patriotism" and "loyalty." These he carries with him wherever he goes and these he sells in the best and the readiest market. The worst feature is the necessity he feels of running down some and underselling others of his countrymen. The sight is painful and sickening. In this sea of hypocrisy and petty-mindedness, in these backwaters of personal jealousies and personal vanities, one does not find a single lighthouse to cheer the stray wayfarer or to guide and show the way to the storm-beaten sailor.

The Indians in England, or rather in London, can be classified as below:

- (1) Those who come here for trade or business.
- (2) Those who have settled here in professions.

(3) Those who have retired from active life and settled here either on pensions granted by the Government or otherwise.

(4) A good number of Government servants, such as the I.M.S. and others, who constantly visit this country and pass long periods of leave here with the double object of improving their own knowledge and educating their children.

(5) Professional politicians, permanent and temporary, who think that residence in England or a visit to this country with an ostensible political mission, raises them in the estimation of their countrymen and gives them opportunities of hob-nobbing with the highest in the land.

(6) Persons who want to escape from the attentions of the authorities in India, and who come either to rehabilitate themselves, or to ventilate personal grievances, or to seek a temporary shelter.

(7) Students.

Of these, the most dangerous (from the Indian point of view) and the most despicable are some of those that are covered by heading (5). They ruthlessly victimise their own countrymen and impose on the authorities. They get large sums of money from various sources at home, espousing causes for which they care only as much, and as long, as it pays them. They assume representative characters and pose as leaders. Some of them get regular or irregular allowances from Native States. A few of them play the double game. On one side they hob-nob with the authorities and are profuse in their expressions of loyalty and in their desire to be of service to the Government, on the other they carry on a friendship with Nationalists, fish out their secrets, raise subscriptions in their names, and organise costly receptions, but all the time their chief motive is personal gain and fame. There are others who are of a slightly different kind; to whom pecuniary gain is no consideration. They seek other kinds of gain. They meet eminent persons, take up their suggestions and try to work them out and establish their influence. They will not listen to argument nor reason. They are out for certain things and will do them or will have them done at any cost. Anyone opposing them or differing from them is dubbed extremist, unwise and impractical.

They cannot think, much less talk of *sincerity* in politics. They have no scruples as to means so long as the end justifies them. They want their game, no matter if it puts some of their countrymen, who cannot follow them, in awkward positions. This is main-

ly the nature of the political work that is done in England, and the impression left is most unfortunate. Englishmen, as a rule, have no respect for persons who adopt a whining attitude. People who appeal for mercy and for pity, or those who crave indulgences or who beg for concessions in the name of God or as favours, command no respect here. The Anglo-Indians, of course, like them and try to make much of them and the India Office, perhaps, also smiles and pats them on the back; but the independent people look down upon them and think very poorly of the movement they represent and the organisations they lead. They recommend their pills to others in the name of the future political good of their country, in the name of prudence, expediency and diplomatic wisdom. They get a lot of invitations to teas, lunches, dinners, at homes and receptions, and this raises them in their own estimation. The result is that puffed up by their own importance and full of their own sense of "wisdom," they become dictatorial in tone and bearing and lose what little influence they had with their own younger countrymen. It gives birth to a contemptuous smile on the face of honest men to see these worthies using institutions and societies, run by other people's money, for their own selfish purposes. But what is most contemptible is that they run away with the ideals of other people, pass them as their own and establish their claim to the gratitude of their countrymen, without acknowledging the source, and by keeping him or them entirely outside in the actual working of it. Involuntarily one exclaims, "If such be thy Gods, Oh Israel."

What is even more despicable is that some good ladies too are used as tools by these estimable persons. Oh, the villainy of the whole thing! It is no wonder that a person of excitable nature begins to despair of the future of his country. He finds meanness, smallness and treachery all around him. He sees that in most cases patriotism is only a mask for personal ambition. Believing that righteousness alone exalteth a nation, and that patriotism, the disinterested love of one's country, the unselfish love of one's people and of humanity at large, is a virtue, which is the offspring of self-sacrifice, self-abnegation and selfless service, he gives way to pessimism and becomes disconsolate.

In this frame of mind the only ray of hope that illumines his mind and cheers him a little is the innocent, sincere, out-spoken, though sometimes wild, ill-considered and ill-formed prattle of his younger countrymen. It is no wonder that these young men are sometimes wild and rash both in thought and in

word. It is no wonder that in the exuberance of their innocent enthusiasm, and in the warmth of their feelings, they sometimes betray their ignorance of the real condition of things and also their inexperience. It is no wonder that in the absence of sympathetic guidance, for lack of affectionate lead and for want of that loving solicitude tempered with consideration for their age, and for their youthful feelings, which alone can win young and unsophisticated minds, they are sometimes misled into undesirable by-lanes of political life. The "leaders" do not love them. They have no consideration for them and no patience with them. They want to use them as pawns in their game. They want to rule them with an iron rod. They want to establish a régime of military discipline. They want only tools and not colleagues. They aim at unquestioned obedience and not intelligent co-operation. They brush them aside as impatient, wanting in knowledge and wanting in experience and worldly wisdom, but they would not lift their little finger to communicate their knowledge and experience to them, to train them, to argue with them, to teach them patience and self-control, either by precept or practice. They are mistaken if they think that the younger generation is going to follow them blindly. Sometimes blind following is possible, but that falls only to the lot of leaders whose motives are transparent, whose life is an open book, whose character is unmistakably pure and noble, whose conduct is manly, free from suspicion of self-interest and ambition, and whose life is a record of selflessness and self-abnegation. Such leaders might evoke even blind following; but ordinary mortals, possessing ambitious souls, with dubious records of their deeds, with dubious methods of work, revelling in all the luxuries of life secured by wealth not always acquired by very pure and high means, possessing transparently petty minds and small heads, create a very sad impression when in the name of expediency, policy, wisdom, patriotism, and age they claim implicit obedience from men whose education is perhaps better than theirs, and whose aspirations are certainly higher than theirs, simply because the latter are younger and have had no experience of the double lives these worthy leaders have been leading. The younger generation of Indians, whether at home or abroad, are sick of these shibboleths, they are in no mind to accept things on authority; they are not disposed to bury the purity of their hearts and the loftiness of their aspirations under the debris of expediency and diplomacy. You must convince them of the soundness of your views and also of the purity of your

motives. You must reason with them and defeat them in their own game before you can win their allegiance and their respect. You must give incontestable proofs of your sincere love for your country and your sincere affection for the younger generation, before you can demand their loyalty and regard. You must have patience for their whims, eccentricities and frolicsome habits, however distasteful they may be to your mature minds, disciplined tongues and trained eyes. You must win them both by love and talk. *But what is most important is that your life and your character must be above suspicion.* Your reasoning may be without flaw, your logic may be powerful, your arguments may be unanswerable, but if your life is not pure and the disinterestedness of your character is not clear to them they will not follow your lead, though the obverse is possible.

A great many Congress-leaders are also only the remnants of an old world. Most of them have led very busy lives and even now can only give their spare time to public duties. Self and family interests have mostly dominated their lives in the past. Their patriotism is only of a subordinate nature. It does not permeate their body and soul. Their knowledge of things, and of political and social science too is antiquated. Their ideas of public life are old-fashioned. At best they are only land-marks in a great march onward; they are milestones which people have passed by long ago. In their march onward both in thought and in spirit, the younger generation has left them miles behind. They have served their purpose. For them to assume airs, to expect that people will stick to them with gratitude and homage is a presumption which spells ruin to them and a certain amount of derangement and trouble to those whom they want to drag behind. If they want to keep their place and maintain their position as leaders, they must go forward, though with care and caution, exercising their right to insist on discipline and order, and at times even to order a halt where they consider it necessary to do so in the interest of all concerned. But sticking to the patches of land where they were posted 30 years ago by their pioneers, and demanding that people should not go forward, but stay where they are themselves, is not only unwarranted presumption but folly and perhaps even madness. No one will listen, much less obey. The result will be a struggle, in which those who want to go forward must win, leaving those behind who presume to stand in the way of their progress. Sullen and beaten, they may swear to be avenged and may succeed in a few

cases, but the infamy of the step will eventually drag them down to their shame and discomfiture.

The Indian students in England are not so hopelessly divided as their older countrymen are. Some of them are used by the latter for their own ends, but the majority of them keep aloof from them and do not care either for religion or for society. The Indian politician in London takes little interest in Indian students except when he wants them either to fill up his meetings, or to add to the dignity of his receptions. I wonder if, with one or two notable exceptions, the Indian householders in London ever invite Indian students to their homes or take any trouble to cultivate their acquaintance, or seek their society, or show the least anxiety to be of use to them otherwise. The Indian Societies to the membership of which Indian students are admitted, profess to eschew politics. There is no place in London where an Indian student can study Indian politics in sympathetic surroundings. It is no wonder then that he forms his own independent views and grows in an atmosphere of distrust towards the Indian National Congress. It will be no exaggeration to say that 75 per cent. of Indian students who care to have political opinions are on principle opposed to the Congress propaganda. They strongly dislike its methods and make no secret of their dislike. In the remaining 25 per cent. are possibly some who get their political cue from 21, Cromwell Road. It would be a mistake to suppose that all the Indian students in England are serious in their political views or for the matter of that, in any views. In the absence of any effective control they drift into lives of frivolity. The guardianship of young men in England means almost nothing. In the case of English students the only thing which controls them is the opinion of their fellows. Besides, they have their own home influences. In the case of Indians both these influences are wanting. In a foreign country, in entirely strange environments, with alien surroundings and amidst formidable temptations, they are left to the guidance of their own good sense. Under the circumstances I am inclined to think that the wonder is not that so many go wrong, but that so few are hopelessly bad. The establishment at 21, Cromwell Road, originated in the desire of the authorities to check this evil and to provide a certain amount of guidance to the Indian student in Great Britain. The experiment cannot be

said to have succeeded. The desire to befriend the Indian student and to provide hospitality and healthy influences for him during his stay in this country may be laudable and thoroughly well-intentioned, but it is not likely to go far enough to check the evils from which he suffers. The Indian student in England suspects that all this hospitality has been designed to control his political opinions and that the object is to smother his nationalism by too much caressing, and to drown his independence in cups of tea aided by heavy loads of pastry. The one thing which he hates is an air of patronage, assumed by those who arrange entertainments for him either for political motives or out of compassion for his forlorn condition. Perhaps he is too fastidious, perhaps he is unreasonably sensitive. Perhaps he on his part assumes airs of undue importance. Be the cause what it may, the fact remains that, so far, the attempt to provide state-aided, official or semi-official control of, or guidance for the Indian student has not met with any success. The Indian residents have done little to win the esteem and affection of the Indian students. The latter is thus left to his own resources and goes about as he pleases.

The Indian visitors to London do not set a very good example to their younger countrymen. They live and go about in a style which encourages extravagance and a high scale of expenses quite out of proportion to the Indian standards of life and Indian standards of income. Many an Indian leader spends India's money in England as if there were no need of it at home. All this tends to demoralise the Indian student and encourages him to take to costly habits which never leave him in after life and mar his usefulness to his country. The rest of his life, in very many cases, is spent in earning money to meet his newly contracted habits and in living them out.

London is becoming the "Mecca" of the Indian and the stream of visitors grows with every year. The number of the students too has not diminished.

It is time that patriotic Indians put their heads together and devised some means to provide suitable and sympathetic guidance for Indian students in England, if it is intended that, during their stay in England, the latter should grow in moderation, wisdom and sound patriotism. The present policy of drift and supercilious leadership spells ruin.—*Modern Review*.

INDIA'S HELP IN THE WAR.

ADMIRATION OF THE WHOLE WORLD.

India has gratified the rest of the Empire and astonished the whole world. There has been nothing in history to equal the magnificent and sincere offers of help and service which have been showered upon the Government of India by her princes and peoples. The reading in the House of Commons of the message from the Viceroy, describing all the offers received, produced a wave of emotion such as Parliament has seldom known. The relations between Great Britain and India have been transfigured in a month.

I understand that ample provision has been made for supplying the Indian troops with the food they require. As to the winter, it is pointed out that Indian troops have faced winter operations in Afghanistan and Northern China with conspicuous success, and are no more likely to be deterred by the cold than the Lascars on an ocean steamer. When I asked a very experienced Australian what the Commonwealth would think about the expedition from India, he replied: "Why, our people will be overjoyed, and our men will be proud and glad to fight by the side of the Indian troops. They are fighting for us, and we know it. Australia knows very well that if the Germans win she is done for. Moreover, you must remember that Indian troops have always been immensely popular in Australia. When India sent a big contingent to the inauguration of our Commonwealth, we gave them the time of their lives." A Canadian gave very much the same answer and added: "This war is going to break down all barriers in the British Empire, and to draw us all closer together." An American said: "We have always heard splendid things about your Indian troops, and never anything else. Our men in the Boxer business in China were deeply impressed by them. I believe the announcement that Indian troops are on their way has thrilled America, and made her realise the power of the British Empire as nothing else has done since the war began. As to the possible effect of warfare in Europe upon the Indian Army, all that class of consideration has already been swept away for ever. We can see, perhaps dimly as yet, that one of the consequences of this war must be that our relations with India will be altered and broadened. There will be time enough later to speculate upon the nature of these probable changes. We must win the war first and talk about its consequences afterwards."

The wonderful response of India to the King-Emperor's call has made a good many of us feel that we have never fully understood the Indian Empire. We thought we knew it, after long years spent upon its shores, but lo! in a flash have come revelations never dreamed of. I think now that I never really got a glimpse into the true heart of India until that

amazing day at Delhi nearly three years ago when the King-Emperor, enthroned beneath a golden dome far above an immense multitude, received the homage of India's Princes and an innumerable throng of India's people. Of all the things I have ever seen, that extraordinary and brilliant spectacle which has never been equalled in the whole history of the world will remain to the end the most vivid and impressive of my memories. The Empire never grasped all that Delhi meant. These events taught us something but the last month has taught us infinitely more.

What are the mainsprings of this wondrous outpouring of loyalty? Some people tell us that the people of India are now speaking for the first time in real earnest, and in this moment of crisis have thrust aside the politicians and other leaders who in the past have claimed to interpret their views. Spokesmen of the educated classes—witness the letter of Mr. Abdur Rahim in the *Times* of September 1914—declare that they support the war because they have no desire to exchange the mild and tolerant British rule for the arrogant domination of Germany. Those, who profess to know best the princes and chiefs, maintain that these rulers are overjoyed because they have now an opportunity denied to them and their forefathers for nearly a century, to become warriors again, in accordance with the traditions of their families. All these explanations are in part correct and yet all need qualification.

INDIA JUDGED TOO HARSHLY IN THE PAST.

The true and chief cause of India's magnificent support of Great Britain is that devotion to a just and honourable ruler is inherent in every fibre of the Indian peoples. India is loyal to the core and at the core. Let there no longer be any lingering doubt about that. In the past we have sometimes judged her too harshly because among her three hundred millions there are some who oppose our rule and even seek to undermine it. Do we judge of the people of Great Britain by ranting anarchists in Hyde Park and the dynamitards who left some explosive under Mr. Gladstone's seat in the House of Commons? Clearly, as an able Russian diplomatist once warned me, we have thought too much of the dangers. The response of India at this juncture leaves us awed but grateful. The explanation offered by the educated classes is accurate also. They are loyal too, but theirs is a reasoned loyalty. They have asked for more liberty, and struggled hard to obtain it, but they have always protested their loyalty, and their words were true, far more true than we realised. They have seen and know that though we have made mistakes, though we have sometimes been unsympathetic, though we have often given our confidence grudgingly, we have tried to administer India fairly and honestly, and with a constant care for the well-being of the Indian peoples. They are well aware

that their country cannot stand alone, and that if we left it, another and perhaps harsher nation would inevitably take our place. They understand perfectly well what German rule in the tropics has been and do not want Prussian brutality substituted for our humane control. It is not fair to stigmatise this attitude of theirs as calculated loyalty, a term I have heard used; neither is it fair to bring forward the thread bare sneer that they do not speak for the masses. The latter gibe has done duty long enough. If the masses of India are inarticulate, the educated classes are still of their blood, represent the intelligent thought of the Dependency, and are entitled to respect. Nothing could be more foolish than to criticise them because they frankly say they prefer our rule to Prussian domination. That is exactly the spirit we should seek to foster and to deserve. We hope, not for blind acquiescence in our control, but for reasoned and intelligent acceptance of it. Therein should be the future strength of India's attachment to the Empire. When Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, after several years' immurement in Upper Burma is discovered publicly counselling his followers to give the Government all possible support in this emergency, I for one take back many severe things written and said about him during past years. It does not follow that in his case these things were in the least unfounded, but it does follow that the attitude they implied cannot be further maintained. The memory of the past must be blotted out, and Mr. Tilak must be recognised only as the brilliant author of "The Arctic Home of the Vedas," and the patriot who swept aside his own propaganda when confronted with a greater and more insistent call.

70,000 HARD-BITTEN WARRIORS.

Small wonder that the splendid army sent by India has aroused the admiration of the whole world. The British Expeditionary Force has done well on the continent because it is entirely composed of trained professional soldiers; but it is no disparagement of the troops from Great Britain to predict that no army already operating in Europe will be found to excel the compact force of 70,000 hard-bitten warriors from India which will soon be marching against the Germans. The racial proportion of the forces is not disclosed, but doubtless the Indian practice has been adhered to, and there are two Indians for every Briton. An Indian infantry brigade consists of one British and two Indian regiments. The whole of this Indian Expeditionary Force is made up of seasoned soldiers who are always maintained on a war footing. Many have seen service before, and all have been hardened in the great and prolonged manœuvres held in India every cold weather. The British troops are not fresh from the depots, but are salted by sojourn in foreign climates. The Indian troops are assuredly the flower

of the Indian Army, for India will proudly have sent of her best to the greatest war the world has ever known. I have had the good fortune to see the cavalry of many nations and do not believe there is any light cavalry to equal the best of the Indian lancer regiments. The Gurkhas will astonish Europe. Seven battalions of them are coming, and they are as good as the best Japanese infantry, and probably superior in physique, for they are all hardy hillmen who do not know the meaning of fatigue. There is no more tenacious and indomitable infantry in the world. The tall Sikhs and fierce Pathans may be trusted to render a good account of themselves, and every man will be fired by the knowledge that Indians are fighting in Europe for the first time in history. There will be no cruelties and no brutalities where the chivalrous Indian troops march. Their pathway will never be stained by the gross crimes which have covered the German Army with indelible infamy. Women and the wounded will be safe in their hands, and they will not leave behind them a ravaged and devastated tract.

GERMAN BARBARITIES IN BOXER REBELLION.

One wonders now why one has been so slow to realise the shameful cruelties practised upon the weak and the innocent by German troops in wartime. I rode in the tracts of the German force in North China after the Boxer rebellion, and in lonely villages heard stories enough of their wanton and evil deeds. Riding alone far in advance of my carts, I have entered village after village and found every house barred, and not a living soul visible, so great was the terror inspired by the sight of a solitary horseman in helmet, trotting across the plain. Such were the memories which the Germans left behind them in China. Well did they obey the injunction of the modern Attila to act like Huns. I thought, however, that these savage excesses were specially meant to overawe the Chinese, and were the outcome of some ridiculous Teutonic theory that in the east only wholesale barbarity would impress the populace. It never occurred to me for a moment that these things were part of the accepted German principles of warfare, and would be practised with equal ardour in Western Europe. The Indian troops have invariably expressed horror and loathing of the disgraceful cruelties perpetrated by the Germans in China. The Rajput and the Sikh are gentlemen, and fight like gentlemen.

HINDUS AND MUSSULMANS ARE AT ONE.

One smiles now to read again General von Bernhardi's comforting assurance, to his countrymen that for a war in Continental Europe, we have only to take into account the regular army stationed in England. He will soon become acquainted with 70,000 proofs

that he is wrong, and another 70,000 can be furnished if need be. Examining once more von Bernhardi's eccentric volume in the light gained by six weeks of warfare, it is interesting to note how completely his calculations and assumptions have in almost every respect gone away. He says, for instance, that the self-governing colonies can be completely ignored so far as concerns any European theatre of war. Canada and Australia, New Zealand and Newfoundland, will soon furnish him with convincing reasons to the contrary. Again, he is imbued by the idea that the moment Great Britain becomes engaged in a European war there will be a revolution in India. We know the dramatic character of India's refutation of this theory which crops up repeatedly in the vaticinations of the German political prophets. If we have failed until now fully to enter into the hearts of India's people, German observers have never understood the character of our rule, nor the foundations of justice and fairness upon which it was built up. How should they? Mr. T. J. Bannett tells us in a letter to the *Spectator* how long ago Major von Wissmann, the Governor of German East Africa, explained to him that the only way to control a native population was that they must be thrashed and thrashed and thrashed again. The people of India know all about German methods in their colonies. They have learned the truth from their countrymen in Dar-es-Salaam. India needed no incitement to take up arms against Germany. In this matter Mussalmans and Hindus are at one. When the Aga Khan, the spiritual head of millions of Khoja Mahomedans, and the temporal leader of Islam in India, chanced to hear of the outbreak of war he was at Zanzibar (though he has since reached London). Instantly he telegraphed to his followers instructing them to render all the services they could to the Imperial cause, while to the general Moslem organisations in India he counselled the same courses. The Mahomedans were already prepared. No military diversion on the part of Turkey will deter them, and thus another ingenious calculation made in Berlin comes to grief. Von Trietsechke was very fond of expounding to his followers the supposed iniquities of British rule in India. For an answer we may point to the present revelation of India aflame for the war. When Indians are coming forward in tens of thousands to offer their lives for the Empire, we may well recall lines written on the Sikhs who fought to the last man at Dargai:

O Empire-planting Britain didst thou own
No other sons to fight as these for thee,
Still mightst thou scroll upon thy banners wide;
'Judge, of my rule by these, who for me fought and died.'

Well, we have learned our lessons at last about India she has taught it herself. Nobly has she come to our

aid, and generously must she be repaid in new trust and confidence and freedom when peace dawns again.—*The National Review.*

A HINDU CAN BECOME AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

FULL DECISION OF COURT.

(Continued from page 84.)

In the matter of the Petition for Naturalization of Sakham Ganesh Pandit. } No. 2337.

MEMORANDUM OF DECISION.

The petitioner, Sakham Ganesh Pandit, a Hindu and a native of India of the Brahman caste, seeks to become a naturalized citizen of the United States. A graduate of the University of Bombay, a lecturer on philosophy and an able law student, a man of good moral character and marked intellectual attainment and achievements, the petitioner well represents the highest type of the Hindu race, its culture and thought, and apart from the question of color or race, is in all respects qualified for citizenship.

In determining who is eligible to citizenship, the court is governed by the provisions of the revised statutes of the United States, Title XXX, Section 2169, (as amended in 1875) which section reads as follows: "The provisions of this title (naturalization) shall apply to aliens being free white persons, and to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent."

Citizenship is a privilege which may be granted to an alien but which cannot be demanded by him as a matter of absolute right. (In *re* Buntaro Kumagai, 163 Fed. 922) Therefore, the alien who seeks to avail himself of this privilege must clearly show that he is entitled thereto under the law; otherwise, his petition must be denied. (U. S. *vs.* Rogers, 185 Fed. 334; In *re* Hollo, 206 Fed. 852).

FREE WHITE PERSON.

The phrase "free white person" was used in the first naturalization act, entitled, "An act to Establish a Uniform rule of Naturalization." Approved March 26, 1790, (1 Stat. 102) Section 1 of this act provided, "That any alien being a free white person," may be admitted to become a citizen, etc. The same language was used in sundry later modifications of the law. By Section 7, of the Ammandatory Act of 1870, the naturalization laws were extended "to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent." The revised statutes of 1873, Sec. 2165-2169, apparently by oversight or mistake, omitted to mention "free white persons," thereby extending the act to include all persons,

irrespective of color or race. By the Act of Feb. 18, 1875. (18 Stat. 318) passed "to correct errors and supply omissions in the revised statutes" section 2169 (*supra*) was amended by again inserting the phrase in question, thus clearly showing, though in an awkward manner, that the privilege of becoming a naturalized citizen was to be limited to those aliens mentioned, to wit; "to aliens being free white persons and to aliens of 'African nativity' and to persons of 'African descent.'"

Under this action of the Act, if the alien be so fortunate as to be of African nativity or even if he be of "African descent," then he is not to be further interrogated concerning his race, color or previous condition of servitude. Who is a person of "African nativity" or "African descent?" Is a Mongolian born in Africa, of "African nativity?" If a Mongolian marries a native of Africa, are his descendants persons of "African descent?" It seems clear that the negro from Kongo, the brown pirate from the Barbary Coast and the native of Abyssinia, and, in fact, all native Africans and their descendants, by mere accident of birth, are made eligible for citizenship. If, however, the applicant be not thus fortunate in his choice of parents or place of birth, then, no matter how desirable or highly cultured he may be, he must be denied citizenship unless he can prove that he is both *free* and *white*.

THE QUESTION AT ISSUE.

As the petitioner aptly says, the mere fact that he is in the United States petitioning for citizenship conclusively proves that he is *free*. The question as to whether or not he is a *white person* is not capable of being so easily solved, since his complexion is certainly not white, but of a light copper color. Should eligibility to citizenship be determined by the color of the applicant's skin or by reference to the race to which he belongs? If the former is the proper test, then where is the color line to be drawn? Must the complexion be "lily white" or if "brunettes" are to be included as well as "blondes," how dark may a brunette be without becoming black?

No human skin is literally white, and the degrees of colorization are innumerable, even in the same family, dependent upon occupation, climate exposure, etc. The people of Southern Europe, although unquestionably white are much darker skinned than the inhabitants of Germany, for example. Since these facts are understood by all, it hardly seems possible that Congress ever intended to make the right to citizenship dependent upon the degree of colorization, to admit one member of a family and exclude another, and to place upon the courts the responsibility of drawing the color line by mere ocular inspection. Citizenship is one of the most sacred gifts of the state and the right thereto should rest upon a firmer foundation.

RACE OR COLOR?

If the term "white person" refers to race rather than color, or absence of color, then what is the "white" race and of what peoples is it composed? A very slight study of anthropology will convince even the most sceptical person that there is no clearly defined "white" race. Is it to be wondered at then if, after reading our curious naturalization act, the courts have halted and pondered over its meaning and then declared it to be most ambiguous, unintelligible and difficult to construe and apply?

There are numerous decisions in which some of the questions suggested have been passed upon, but unfortunately, there is no uniformity and the conclusions are as unsatisfactory as they are varying. The following have been examined in the endeavour to ascertain the true rule to be followed, viz.:

In *re Ah Yup*, (1875), 5 Sawy. 165; Fed. Cases, No. 104, excluding Mongolians; In *re Camille*, (1880), 6 Fed. 256, excluding a half-breed Indian and white; In *re Saito*, (1894), 62 Fed. 126, excluding a Japanese; In *re Gee Hop*, (1895), 71 Fed. 274, excluding a Chinese; In *re Rodriguez*, (1897), 81 Fed. 337, admitting a native of Mexico; In *re Kumagai*, (1908), 163 Fed. 922, excluding a Japanese; In *re Knight*, (1909), 171 Fed. 299, excluding a half-breed Mongolian and white; In *re Nanjour*, (1909), 174 Fed. 785, admitting a Syrian; In *re Halladjian*, (1909), 174 Fed. 884, admitting an Armenian; In *re Mudarri*, (1910), 176 Fed. 465, admitting a Syrian; In *re U. S. V. Dolla*, (1910), 177 Fed. 101, admitting a Hindu; In *re Bessho v. U. S.*, (1910), 178 Fed. 245, excluding a Japanese; In *re Ellis*, (1910), 179 Fed. 1002, admitting a Maronite; In *re U. S. v. Balsara*, (1910), 180 Fed. 694, admitting a Parsee, (affirming 171 Fed. 294); In *re Young*, (1912), 198 Fed. 715, excluding a half-breed German and Japanese; In *re Alverto* (1912) 198 Fed. 688, excluding a quarter-breed Spaniard and Phillippino; In *re Ex-parte Shahid*, (1913), 205 Fed. 812, Excluding a Syrian; In *re Mozumdar*, (1913), 207 Fed. 115, admitting a Hindu of the Brahman caste; In *re Burton*, (1900), 1 Alaska 111, excluding an Indian; In *re Po*, (1894), 28 N. Y. Sup. 383, excluding a Burmese; In *re Kanaka Nian*, (1889), 6 Utah 259, excluding a Hawaiian.

THE PETITIONER'S CONTENTIONS.

The petitioner, in the very able brief which he has prepared and presented in support of his right to become naturalized, contends; (1) that the phrase "white person" refers to race rather than to the color of the skin of the individual applicant, and includes all the people of the so-called Caucasian or white race and (2) that the Hindus of the Brahman caste, from the North and Western part of India (of whom applicant is one) are members of this race according to (a) Anthropologi-

cal and ethnological, (b) Philological, (c) Lexicographical and (d) Judicial interpretation.

Although the decisions above cited are by no means uniform, they all seem to be based upon the theory that the phrase 'white persons,' as used in the act, does not present a question of color, but one of race. There are two distinct views as to what is the "white" race referred to which are, perhaps, best presented by quoting from the decisions where the questions are raised:

(1) Sawyer, Circuit Judge, "Words in a statute, other than technical terms, should be taken in their ordinary sense. The words 'white person,' as well argued by petitioner's Counsel, taken in a strictly literal sense, constitute a very definite description of a class of persons, where none can be said to be literally white, and those called white may be found of every shade from the lightest blonde to the most swarthy brunttee. But these words in this country, at least, have undoubtedly acquired a well settled meaning in common popular speech, and they are constantly used in the sense so acquired in the literature of the country, as well as in the common parlance. As ordinarily used everywhere in the United States, one would scarcely fail to understand that the party employing the words 'white person' would intend a person of the Caucasian race." (In *re Ah Yup* (*supra*) 1 Fed. Cases p. 223.)

(2) Lacombe, Circuit Judge, "The phrase 'free white persons' must be taken as used with the same meaning in the various successive statutes in which it appears. There is much force in the argument that the Congress which framed the original act for naturalization of aliens (Act April 14, 1802, c. 28, 2. Stat. 158) intended it to include only white persons belonging to those races whose emigrants had contributed to the building up on this continent of the community of people which declared itself a new nation, admission to the privileges of citizenship in which was by that statute sought to be restricted. No doubt such interpretation is unscientific, and, it may be, not always easy of application; but there are equally serious objections to accepting the words 'white persons' as including all branches of the great race of family known to ethnologists as the Aryan, Indo-European, or Caucasian. To do so will bring in, not only the Parsees, of which race the applicant is a member and which is probably the purest Aryan type, but also Afghans, Hindoos, Arabs, and Berbers." (In *re Balsara*, 171 Fed. 294.) (The court, however, did admit the applicant, a Parsee, and its decisions was affirmed on appeal. *U. S. vs. Balsara*, *supra*.)

RACE AND NOT COLOR.

It will be noted that both courts agreed in thinking race, not color, is the line of demarcation. Race is defined in the "Century Dictionary" primarily as:

"As ethnical stock; a great division of mankind having in common certain distinguishing physical peculiarities, and thus a comprehensive class appearing to be derived from a distant primitive source."

The classification of mankind into various races and sub-divisions is based on obvious natural and extrinsic and is not merely a haphazard arrangement. In the endeavour to properly classify races, the racial characteristics, such as the physical aspect, height and build the color of the skin, eyes and hair, its texture, structure and arrangement, are all taken into consideration. Of these characteristics, perhaps the most important is the shape of the skull. In addition to the physical characteristics, language is an important element in determining the stock from which a people spring. There have been many classifications of man, which are about as unsatisfactory as the decisions above cited, but which are all based upon more or less indisputable racial characteristics.

THE CLASSIFICATION.

Of these classifications, perhaps the one best known is that of Blumenbach, made in the year 1775 but first published in 1781. He divides mankind into five races, (1) the Caucasian or white race, (2) the Ethiopian or black race, (3) the Mongolian or yellow race, (4) the Malay or brown race and (5) the American or red race. The name "Caucasian" was chosen as a race name on the supposition that the skull of a native inhabitant of the South Caucasian Mountains was typical of the most highly developed race.

Cuvier reduces the five classes of Blumenbach to three preserving the Caucasian, Ethiopian, Mongolian, but eliminating the Malay and Indian and including these two cases as sub-division of Mongolian. At the present time the classification accepted as the most satisfactory is that of Huxley who distinguishes four distinct types, viz., the Australoid (chocolate brown), Negroid (brown black), Mongoloid (yellow) and Xanthochroic (fair whites,) adding also Melanachroic (dark whites). Numerous other classifications might be mentioned, some of which go to extremes by including as typical races that would appear to be merely subdivisions but these classifications need not be here discussed. Many of these classifications will be found in the "Dictionary of Races and Peoples for (*supra*)."

THE LIMITS.

If the construction be narrowed to limit the right of naturalization to those Europeans who were coming to this country at the time of the adoption of the first naturalization act, as contended by the Government at one time, then since at the time of the adoption of the first act, no immigration was known except that from England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Germany, Sweden, France and Holland, it would follow that Russians,

Poles, Italians, Greeks, Jews and others, would not be eligible to citizenship and as is stated by Ward, C. D. in *U. S. vs. Balsara (supra)* "such construction is absurd." If then the meaning of the phrase is to be extended to include those mentioned, it must be on account of the fact the phrase "white person" refers to one of the great racial classifications of mankind, *i.e.*, the so-called Caucasian race.

Judge Smith, in *ex-parte* Shahib (*supra*) although excluding the applicant, a Syrian, upon the ground of his personal unfitness, adopted the suggestion of Judge Lacombe, and said that the phrase should be construed to mean only the "European race" then commonly counted as white although admitting that "this may not, ethnologically or physiologically speaking, be a very clear and logical construction."

NO EUROPEAN OR WHITE RACE.

It would take but very little argument to convince the ordinary person that the "distinguishing physical peculiarities" of the Turks or Tartars of Mongolian origin (and of the Germans or Swedes of Caucasian origina) are just as widely separated as are those of the American, Indian and the Negro. As both are natives of Europe, one must agree with Lowell, Circuit Judge, when he said: "There is no European or White Race!" (In *re* Halladjian (*supra*) a lengthy and well considered case.)

Eliminating from consideration such decisions as that of *In re* Rodiguex (*supra*), where a native of Mexico, of Indian parentage was admitted, upon the ground, not that he was a white person, but was a citizen of Mexico and as such entitled to become naturalized under pre-existing treaties, it is apparent that practically all of the decisions favours an interpretation which includes all peoples of the so-called Caucasian race and is against any interpretation which limits the construction in any other manner. Although it may be that the term "Caucasian" was not in common use when the first naturalization act was adopted in 1790, it was in common use when that act was amended in 1875 and prior thereto during the slavery debates in Congress, and, therefore, in any event, by again inserting the phrase "white persons" Congress must be held to have intended to include all sub-divisions of the race then commonly referred to on the floor of Congress as the white race, to-wit, the Caucasian race.

The question as to what peoples are to be properly included in the so-called Caucasian or white race has given rise to much discussion and wide difference of opinion. While all writers agree as to the inclusion or exclusion of the extremes, hardly any two agree as to where the line of demarcation should be drawn.

In December 1910, Senator Dillingham, in behalf of the Federal Immigration Commission, transmitted to

Congress a "Dictionary of Races and Peoples," prepared by Dr. Daniel Folkmar. The attention of the naturalization department is called to this work for the reason that it was evidently prepared after a careful and impartial survey of all available authorities, and may be said to reflect the present views of the Government on the questions presented. I quote from this work as follows, the italics, however, being my own:

AUTHORITIES QUOTED.

"*Caucasian, Caucasoid, European, Eurafrian or White Race.* This name was given by Blumenbach in 1795 to the white race or grand division of mankind as distinguished from the Ethiopian, Mongolian, American and Malay races. The term is now defined more suitable for our purpose in a broader sense by Briton and Keane, namely, to include all races, which, although dark in color or aberrant in other directions, are, when considered from all points of view, felt to be more like the white race than like any of the four other races just mentioned." (Page 80.)

"Huxley long ago marked out in this field two distinct physical races, the 'Xanthochroid' and the 'Melanochroid,' or light and dark Caucasians." (Page 17.)

"Thus the dark Gallas of Eastern Africa are included, partly on linguistic grounds, partly because they have the regular features of the Caucasian; the Berbers of Northern Africa because of the markedly blonde and regular features found amongst them; *the dark Hindus and other peoples of India still more emphatically because of their possessing an Aryan speech, relating them still more closely to the white race, as well as because of their physical type*; and possibly the 'Polynesians,' 'Indonesians' and 'Ainos' of the Pacific because of their physical characteristics, although in this discussion these will be excluded from the definition. *The general opinion is that the Dravidians and Vedda's, south of the Aryan Hindus in India, are not Caucasian. They do not possess an Aryan tongue; and physically they more nearly approach the Negro.*" (Page 80.)

"Although the white race would be supposed to be the one best understood, it is really the one about which there is the most fundamental and sometimes violent discussion. The word 'Caucasian' for instance, is in nearly as bad repute as 'Aryan' at the present time amongst ethnologists. Yet, as Keane has said of the former term, both words may be preserved with conventional meanings as are many of the early terms in natural history, although the early ideas associated with their use be discarded. While the word 'Caucasian' has reference mainly to physical characters, 'Aryan' will be used here as applying strictly to linguistic groupings." (Page 80.)

WHO IS HINDU?

"*Hindus.*—In the broadest sense, any native of India; so defined for convenience in the dictionary Ethnologically often defined in a still different sense as signifying the three-fourths of the population in Northern India who are of Aryan stock But it is not generally realized how great a number of races and tribes there are in India many of them extremely low in civilization and approaching the Negro in physical characteristics. Such are some of the Dravidas and Mundas, who occupy all of Southern India. In greatest contrast with these are the Aryan Hindus of the north, more closely related in language, if not in physical appearance, to our northern Europeans than are the Turks, Magyars, and the various peoples of Eastern Russia." (Page 75.)

"The words 'Aryan,' 'Indo-European,' and the like are linguistic rather than ethnological." (Page 17.)

"It is safe to divide the Caucasian grand division of mankind on the basis of language into the Aryan, Semitic, Hamite, Caucasoid, and Euskalic stocks. The last two possess agglutinative languages and are confined to the small areas of the Caucasus Mountains and the Pyrenees." (Page 18.)

The foregoing quotations indicate that the Federal Emigration Commission believed that certain of the Hindus were Caucasian Aryans.

WEBSTER'S DEFINITION.

Webster's New International Dictionary defines the term "Aryan" as:—"A member of that Caucasian race one branch of which early occupied the Iranian plateau while another branch entered India, and conquered and amalgamated with the primitive inhabitants of that country; and Indo-Iranian."

The India branch of this colony (Aryan) entered Hindustan as late as 2000—1500 B.C. The earlier Indo-Aryans had undoubtedly retained many pure Aryan traits. They were of medium height, oval faces, handsome regular features, symmetrical in body, the skull dolichocephalic, the complexion brunette but not brown, the eyes hazel, the hair wavy. This is the type of the highest Brahmans to-day, and throughout all their history they have exercised the utmost care to preserve intact. The institution of castes was undoubtedly established with this object in view. (Races and peoples, Brinton, page 69.)

WHAT IS CASTE?

Caste is defined by Webster's New International Dictionary as, "(1) A race, stock or breed of men or animals. (2) One of the hereditary classes into which the society of India is divided. The caste system is fundamental in Hinduism, referring, for its origin, at least, to the time of the Aryan invasions of India. Ortho-

dox Hinduism ascribes to the invaders four castes; the Brahman, or priestly; the Kshatriya, warrior or kingly; the Vaisya, mercantile and agricultural; the Sudra, artisan and labouring. The native name for 'Caste' signifies 'color' and the system seems to have originated in the endeavour of the light-hued Aryans to preserve their racial purity." Some authorities add to the above a fifth caste known as "Beran Saukar," including therein the mixed Hindu population.

"The Kshatriya and Vaisya castes, as well as that of the mixed population, Beran Saukar, were in course of time open to the native subjects, and to others, but in no case could they enter the Brahman caste." (The History of Mankind—page 361.)

The Hindu who transgressed against the racial and religious requirements by marrying outside of his caste, became an outcaste, of no particular caste, and not received either by those of his own caste or by those of his wife's. Although in the Southern plains of India, the caste restrictions were broken down to some extent by contact of the Aryan invaders with the native peoples, unquestionably they were strictly adhered to in the North and Western part where the Aryan invaders drove back the natives and took complete possession, to the exclusion of the natives almost to the same extent that the Caucasian peoples of this country have taken possession and driven out the native red men.

ARYANS ARE WHITE MEN.

"So far as India is concerned, the internal evidence of the old literature sufficiently proves that the Aryan invaders were 'white' men, and that the high caste Hindus are what they are by virtue of the Aryan blood which they have inherited. I am unable to discover good grounds for the severity of criticism, in the name of the 'anthropologists,' with which Professor Max Muller's assertion that the same blood runs in the veins of the English soldiers as in the veins of the dark Bengalees, and that there is a legitimate relationship between Hindu, Greek and Teuton, has been visited. So far as I know anything of anthropology, I should say that these statements may be correct literally, and probably are so substantially. I do not know of any good reason for the physical difference between high caste Hindu (Brahman) and the Dravidian (native tribe) except the Aryan blood in the veins of the former; and the strength of the infusion is probably quite as great in some Hindus as in some English soldiers." "Man's Place in Nature," by Professor Huxley; (pp. 281-282.)

"There is not an English Jury now-a-days which, after examining the hoary documents of language, would reject the claim of a common descent and a legitimate relationship between Hindu, Greek and Teuton." (Max Muller's "Survey of Languages.")

THE JUDGE'S VIEW.

Although inclined at first to believe that there could be no legitimate relationship between a Hindu and the Caucasian race, I have now become thoroughly convinced that such relationship does in fact exist and that a Hindu, of the Brahman caste, from Northern and Western India is to be classed as of the Caucasian race. In fact, although I have examined many race classifications, tables and charts, I have not run across any which excludes the high caste Hindu from the Caucasian race.

The mere fact that the native peoples of India were not Caucasian does not mean that *all* of its peoples are to be excluded from that race. The Indians were the natives of this country, and history teaches us that our pioneers and frontiersmen intermarried with the natives, but those who boast of being descended from the first citizens would be surprised if they were told that they were not Caucasians. The Parsees immigrated some 1,200 years ago from Persia into India, still, as was said by Ward, Circuit Judge, in "U. S. vs. Balsara, (*supra*.)" "They are as distinct from the Hindus as are the English who dwell in India." It may be said with equal force that the high caste Hindus who settled in India some 4,000 years ago, are as distinct from the natives of India as the people of this country are from the American Indian.

PREVIOUS DECISIONS.

In many of the decisions above cited, expressions will be found favourable to the conclusion which I have reached. In two cases, "In *re* Dolla (*supra*)" and "In *re* Mozumdar (*supra*)" the court admitted a Hindu to citizenship. In the latter case, determined by Judge Rudkin of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Washington the court says:

"It is likewise true that certain of the natives of India belong to that race (Caucasian) although the line of demarcation between the different caste and classes may be dim and difficult of ascertainment. The difference between daylight and darkness is apparent to all, but where is the dividing line and where does daylight end and darkness begin? So it is with the races of mankind where miscegenation has in progress for generations. The system of castes had existed in India for upwards of twenty centuries and religion and law have done much to maintain that system and to prevent corruption of blood, but experience teaches us that religion and law have not always triumphed over nature."

This is unquestionably true, but even so, there are certain tests to be applied, which when taken in connection with the testimony of the applicant enable the court to determine with a reasonable degree of certainty whether the individual is of the Caucasian race.

These are (A) Physical characteristics. (B) Caste. (C) Place of nativity. (D) Language.

THE FINAL REVIEW.

(A) *Physical Characteristics*.—The high forehead, stout build and light copper color of the Brahmans and other castes allied to them, appear in strong contrast with the somewhat low and wide heads, slight make, and dark bronze of the low castes. (Vol. V. Enc. Brit. XI ed. 466—"caste.") In addition to the foregoing, the applicant must possess the other characteristics of the Caucasian race which need not be here mentioned. The Dravidians are the oldest known non-Aryan native races of India, forming the bulk of the population of Southern Hindustan except the West Coast occupied by Scytho-Dravidians. The typical Dravidian is short, very dark, with plentiful and often wavy hair, and broad nose depressed at the root. They are variously considered as related to the Australian aborigines, as of Negroid affinities, or as Caucasians intermixed with an anterior Negretic population. (Webster's New International Dictionary).

(B) *Caste*.—The Hindu of the Brahman caste is more likely to be pure Caucasian than one of any other caste. If the applicant is of the lower caste it is more than likely that he is of the native tribes of India.

(C) *Place of Nativity*.—The Hindu of the Brahmans caste born in the northern and western part of India is more free from native blood than any other.

(D) *Language*.—Important to determine the place of nativity and whether or not related to the Aryan group.

Since citizenship is a privilege not to be lightly conferred upon any applicant, the proof offered in support of the application should be clear and convincing, particularly so when hard to verify, and all doubts should be resolved against the applicant. If he is unable to convince the court that he is one of privileged class, his application should be unhesitatingly denied.

THE CONCLUSION.

Directing our attention to the applicant now before this court, we find that he possesses all of the physical characteristics attributed to those of the Brahman caste as distinguished from the native peoples of India. In support of this ocular evidence, the petitioner testified substantially as follows:—

"I am a native of British India from Ahmedabad in the presidency of Bombay. I am of the Hindu race. The people of India are divided into four castes, namely, the Brahman or priestly caste—the first or highest caste; the (Kshatriya or warrior caste) the Vaisya or merchant caste and Sudra or serving caste. Then there are what are sometimes spoken of as the fifth class, namely, the outcastes. I base my claim to being a Brah-

man upon the fact that belonging to a caste—not like the difference in classes in Europe, or to some extent, in this country—does not depend upon wealth; it depends on birth; and so there is no possible doubt in regard to it in the minds of those who live in that country. I was born of Brahman parents who were born of Brahman ancestors. We trace our family back to some several thousand years. I am a descendant from Kashyapa, who wrote some of the hymns of the Veda which is a Bible of India. We have what is known as the system of Gotras, or families and people belonging to the same Gotra can't intermarry, and so always the whole family chart is gone through at the time any marriages are performed so as to make sure that the contracting parties do not belong to the same family. My family does not keep a history showing all intermarriages, but simply of the direct descent. Each person in my family would be able to trace his ancestors back for some considerable period, though not to the time of Kashyapa, but it would be known practically that certain people belong to the Kashyapa family and others to another, although all are included within the Brahman caste. This would be known through tradition which goes back very far and partly through customs that have gone on for centuries. It would have been impossible for one of my family to have intermarried with the so-called native families of India, because as soon as such intermarriage took place, the person would become an outcaste and belong to none of the four Hindu castes. The three higher castes of India are of the pure Aryan blood, the sense in which we use the word Aryan in India, in the Brahman sense, is the original people who came from the north and settled in India, the Aryan invaders. That means people of the Caucasian stock who are chiefly distinguished by certain physical characteristics of hair, structure of the body, etc. Any intermarriages in India must necessarily be between members of the same caste; otherwise, the person who goes outside of the caste becomes an outlaw. One who becomes an outlaw on account of this intermarriage can never be reinstated to the Brahman caste. He and his descendants will remain outside of the Brahman caste for ever."

In addition to the oral testimony given by the applicant and his witnesses, he produced many testimonies from public officials and others, all tending to show that he was what he claimed to be a Hindu of the Brahman caste from the north-west highlands of India.

I am, therefore, of the opinion, that the petitioner has succeeded in establishing beyond all reasonable doubt, that he is a "free white person" within the meaning of the naturalization Act.

He will, therefore, be admitted to citizenship.

THE SLAVERY OF INDENTURE.

By C. F. ANDREWS.

May I claim the support of your valued paper in an effort to put an end to the last remnants of the indenture system which still linger on in this country and degrade India in the rank of nations? As Madras Presidency is the province now chiefly affected, I am writing specially for the aid which you can give in this long struggle. The present year has seen two most notable advances. The Assam Indenture system was practically brought to an end in July; while in June the South African Government abolished the £3 tax in Natal, and by so doing dealt a death-blow at the indenture of Indians in that country.

Let me give from my own experience some facts which show that the system itself is but slavery in a modified form. One of the most single-hearted men I met in South Africa was Rev. Dr. Booth of S. Barnabas, Capetown, who was medical officer on the sugar plantations in Natal, before he became a clergyman. He has had more than twenty years' experience of the indenture system, and he told me that, whatever regulations might be made, the bad planter could always evade them, and the system then became legalised slavery: "Nothing more nor less," I quote his own words, "than slavery in disguise." He gave me one particularly flagrant case of a man named X, on whose estate Dr. Booth was morally certain that coolies had been actually flogged to death. "And yet," he said to me, "we could never get a conviction. And the consequence was that for eighteen years, Government had to go on supplying him with coolies. . . . Then at last," he added, "we caught the villain out, and we stopped his supplies. But it took us eighteen years to do it!"

HELL ON EARTH.

When I was in Pretoria, I saw a paragraph in the *Rand Daily Mail*. The heading was—A Panic-Stricken Indian. I read the paragraph, and found it was the case of a Tamil cooly, who had been fourteen times convicted and imprisoned for running away from the estate. He was looking, so the newspaper reporter said, "Panic-Stricken," and implored the Magistrate not to send him back. Sooner than go back, he declared, he would commit suicide outside the Court. I showed the paragraph to Mr. Gandhi, and he told me that such suicides had not unfrequently occurred. Now to a Hindu, as everyone knows, suicide is a crime of the most terrible kind; it means the destruction of life, the breaking of *ahimsa*: but this Hindu would sooner commit a crime against his own religion, and risk a

future hell, than go back into a living hell on earth, such as the plantation had proved to him.

I have in my mind the statistics of suicides among indentured coolies for either the year 1907 or 1908, I forget which. In India the rate was as low as in any country in the world—41 per million; in Natal, among indentured coolies, it was the highest in the world, viz., 685 per million. I am writing from a sick bed in the hospital, and cannot verify my figures, but they are near enough to be roughly accurate. I have, if anything, understated the vast disproportion.

I could go on giving other facts which came under my own notice, but these will be sufficient. What I ask for is your aid and advocacy toward the abolition of the whole system as far as India is concerned. Even apart from the essential viciousness of the system, the indignity of it to the country which allows it should make us all attempt to get rid of it. No one could for a moment think of the British Government indenturing so many Englishmen as coolies to a foreign country by regulation and legislation, or the French Government indenturing so many Frenchmen. We must not bear, in India, any longer this degradation, the disgrace of being one of the last countries in the world that still allows its citizens to be exploited, and legalises that exploitation.

OUR DUTY TO MR. GANDHI.

Mr. Gandhi was on the point of coming back to India, where his heart had been turning with unutterable longing year after year. He used to speak to me of his return with a look of passionate devotion for India in his face, that I could never forget. It haunts me still. Yet he has freely sacrificed this one great longing of his heart on the altar of duty. He has written to me that he felt bound to offer his services as an ambulance worker in the War. I know no sacrifice that has been made at this time that is more generous than that. I alone in India can know fully what it cost him, after all these years of waiting. I hope I shall not be counted extreme, if I compare it with the self-imposed and voluntary exile, at the call of duty, of Rama Himself in the Ramayana story. If this is so, and if we wish to honour Mr. Gandhi, both for his noble struggle in S. Africa and for this last crowning act of self-denial, then I know no way in which we can honour him more worthily than by helping to take away from India, his own loved Motherland, the degradation of the indentured labour system. Let us rid our country of that which Mr. Gandhi has, times without number, called in my own hearing "virtual slavery." No one has had a more intimate experience of it than he. No one has condemned it more whole heartedly. And I know for certain that there is nothing which would rejoice his heart more than its complete abolition.—*New India*.

THE BRITISH COLONY OF TRINIDAD.

"Of all the colonies of the West Indies, Trinidad is the favoured home of the Indian settlers where he can easily and rapidly attain comfortable independence and even considerable wealth with corresponding social position." It is to be noted that this is one of the principal colonies in which the East Indian population form full one-third of the total population. We therefore give below a short sketch of the Island.

Physical Characteristic.—Geologically the island of Trinidad belongs to the mainland of South America, from which it is separated by the broad, and for the most part shallow, Gulf of Paria. Its south-western extremity is distant from the mainland only three miles. The southern passage is known as the Serpent's Mouth, and the northern, which is sub-divided into four channels by three small islands, as the Dragon's Mouth—these somewhat terrifying names being occasioned by the violence with which the ocean current, which later forms the Gulf Stream, and consists largely of the muddy waters of the Amazon and the Orinoco, rushes northward through these openings. Situated between 10° 8' and 10° 50' North latitude and 60° 54' and 61° 56' West longitude, the island is nearly rectangular in shape—its greatest length from North to South being 55 miles and its breadth from East to West 40 miles. Its area is 1,754½ square miles, making it the second largest of the British West Indies. Two long capes project westward from the main body of the island at its northern and southern ends and at these portions are prolongations of continental mountain ranges. The northern range attains an extreme altitude of 3,112 feet, while the main ridge varies from 1,600 to 2,000 feet in height. The southern is much lower, while a third range stretches diagonally across the island from south-west to north-east. All three are covered clear to the top with dense tropical vegetation. The remainder of the island is level and in many places low and marshy, the plains forming one of the most fertile agricultural regions in the world as the soil is everywhere very rich. The climate, although tropical, is tempered by the trade winds from the Atlantic. The temperature varies from 70° to 88° Fahr., while the average rainfall during a period of 45 years was 66.1 inches. The rainy season, which is also the hottest, begins in June and lasts about five months, the wettest month being August. The pleasantest months are January to March, which constitute the tourist season. Trinidad is not in the track of the hurricanes that devastate some of the West Indian islands; has no volcanoes, and no earthquake shocks of any seriousness have ever been reported there. The population, March 31, 1912, was estimated at 840,228, or about 196 to the square mile. The last census was taken April 2, 1911,

when the population was 333,552, or about 34,000 less than previous estimates. The increase since then is calculated upon the excess of births over deaths, and excess of arrivals over departures in East Indian and general immigration. Of the total fully one-third are East Indians, perhaps an equal number Negroes, and the remainder consists of English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Venezuelans and many other nationalities—no other West Indian island having so cosmopolitan a population.

History.—Discovered by Columbus on his third voyage, July 31, 1498, Trinidad owes its name to a vow made by the great discoverer to christen his next landfall after the Trinity—a pious resolution that was confirmed by the sight of the three peaks on the southern coast, since known as the Three Sisters. It was not until 1577, or shortly thereafter, that a permanent settlement was made by the Spaniards at St. Joseph. The colony was a feeble one, the absence of gold and the proximity of the pearl fisheries on the mainland causing the Spaniards to neglect it, and during the seventeenth century the island was successively raided by the English, the Dutch, the Buccaneers and the French. As in all Spanish colonies the native population decreased rapidly and was gradually replaced by Negro slaves. Cacao was the principal source of wealth until about 1725, when a blight destroyed many of the plantations. As late as 1783, however, the population of the island was only 3,000 and its industries and commerce languished under Spanish neglect. A French visitor from Grenada named St. Laurent induced the Government to assume a more liberal policy toward foreigners and as a result of this the population increased to 18,000 in 14 years—the newcomers being mostly French, with a few Irish. The influx of Frenchmen led to trouble with England, however, and in 1797 Port-of-Spain was captured by an English squadron, and at the Peace of Amiens, in 1802 Trinidad was formally ceded to Great Britain.

Under the energetic rule of the first British Governor, Picton, the population increased from 18,000 in 1797 to 28,000 in 1802. It was still comparatively small, however, in 1834 when slavery was abolished—a circumstance that caused Trinidad to suffer less from this great economic change than did most of the British West Indies. The number of slaves emancipated was 20,657, and to replace these the importation of East Indian coolies was soon begun—the first shipload arriving in 1845. The total population in 1884 was 43,610, and during the next decade had increased to over 60,000, and has since increased very rapidly. During most of the nineteenth century sugar was the principal staple raised and exported, but owing to the depression which fell upon that industry throughout the West Indies as a result of beet sugar bounties, Cacao has now taken the first place in the island's exports. British law and

procedure have been substituted for Spanish, and in 1849 the island was divided, for administrative purposes, into counties, districts and wards—the island of Tobago becoming an additional ward in 1899. The Government is a Crown Colony, consisting of a Governor, assisted by an Executive Council of five members and a Legislative Council of 20, of whom ten are officials and ten non-official members nominated by the Crown. The latter serve for five years.

Communications.—From New York, Trinidad is reached by the following lines of steamers in 8 to 9 days:—The Trinidad Line, with sailings direct for Port-of-Spain and San Fernando every 10 to 14 days; the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, with sailings, via Colon, every alternate Saturday, and the Royal Dutch West India Mail Line, with sailings every fourth Monday. The Lamport and Holt and Houston Lines have fortnightly sailings from New York for Trinidad and Buenos Aires. From Southampton there is a fortnightly service, via Cherbourg, by the steamers of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, in connection with which there is a fortnightly intercolonial service to Barbados and the other British West Indies, and another to Puerto Colombia, Cartagena, Colon and Jamaica and thence to New York (the second line above mentioned), and still another to La Guayra, for Caracas, Venezuela. There is also a weekly service around the island and to Tobago. Direct line steamers also run from London and Glasgow every fortnight, and the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique has a steamer monthly from Havre via Martinique and Guadeloupe, about the 9th, and proceeding to South and Central American ports and returning about the 26th, with a French intercolonial steamer on the 24th (southward) returning the 7th. There are also lines operating regular steamers to Trinidad from Liverpool, Amsterdam, Hamburg, Copenhagen and Genoa—all of these proceeding to other ports to complete their routes. Steamers of the Compania de Vapores del Orinoco run between Trinidad and Ciudad Bolivar, on the Orinoco in Venezuela, connecting there with river steamers of the same company. The Seeberg Steamship Line, Inc., has sailings about once a month from Mobile, Ala., for West Indian ports, including Trinidad, and the Pickford and Black S. S. Co., Ltd., has sailings every eleven days from Halifax, N. S., for Bermuda, Barbados, Trinidad and Demerara.

A Government railway, 4 feet 8½ inches gauge, connects Port-of-Spain with the principal places on the island, most of which are situated in the north, central and western portions. The main line runs from Port-of-Spain to St. Joseph, 7 miles distant, where it branches, one division going eastward across the fertile plains between the northern and central mountain ranges to Arima, the third largest town on the island, and thence to Sangre Grande, a short distance from

the eastern coast, and in the heart of the cacao and rubber districts. The other division runs southward from St. Joseph to San Fernando, on the western coast, with a branch spur running toward the central part of the island and terminating at Tabaquite, at the foot of the Montserrat Hills, and another running inland to Princes Town. The distance from Port-of-Spain to Sangre Grande is 29 miles, and to Princes Town 45, while the spur from Jerningham Junction to Tabaquite is 15 miles in length. Altogether 80 stations are served by the railway. Plans have been drawn for two railway extensions: (1) From San Fernando to Siparia in the south-western portion of the island, a distance of over 16 miles, and (2) from Tabaquite, the present terminus of the Brasso-Caparo line, to Rio Claro, near Poole, a distance of 15 miles. The first extension will cross the Oropouche Lagoon and it is expected that 11 miles of it will be open for traffic by March or April, 1914. Work on the Tabaquite-Rio Claro extension was begun September 29, 1911, and it is now about completed.

A steamboat service is operated in connection with the railway from San Fernando to the Pitch Lake and intermediate points as far as Point Icacos at the Serpent's Mouth. Gulf steamers leave Port-of-Spain four days each week for the islands and other points at the Bocas (Dragon's Mouth). The coastal service of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company around the island and to Scarborough Tobago, comprises 12 ports in Trinidad. For transportation to all other points the highways must be used. These are good, being constructed by the Government of crushed stone and asphalt, and are being gradually extended, but there are practically no vehicle roads over the northern mountain range, while much of the region in the south-eastern portion of the island is destitute of roads and some of it has hardly been explored. There are many short rivers flowing toward the different coasts, two of them—the Ortoire in the south-east, and the Coroni in the north-west—being of some size, but none of them is navigable for other than small craft.—*Dun's Review.* (To be Continued.)

INDIA AND THE EMPIRE.

H.H. THE AGA KHAN'S SPEECH.

London, 2nd Oct.—A meeting inaugurated by the Indian Volunteers Committee was held at the Polytechnic, Regent Street, yesterday afternoon, Mr. M. K. Gandhi occupying the Chair.

MR. GANDHI.

The Chairman, in the course of his opening remarks said:—I have to make the very pleasant announcement that H.H. the Aga Khan has just handed to me a cheque for £200. (Cheers.) He is desirous that the

proceeds of this cheque should be used for the comfort of those who may be sent by the authorities, under the direction of our Commander, Colonel Baker, to France. His Highness, who has very great personal experience in regard to these matters, has told me that, although the authorities will clothe us and feed us well, it will be necessary for some comforts to be added for the extra happiness of those who will be sent to the front, and he hopes that this cheque of £200, which is in itself a most handsome donation, will be added to by some of our wealthy countrymen who are living in London. Your Highness by your example in offering your services as a Private in this terrible crisis that has overtaken the Empire, of which we are a part, has set a noble example to us who might make mistakes and who might not be able to take a proportionate view of things at the present time. You have shown that although we may not all become officers, it is given to every one of us to serve as humble Privates. That will inspire us, I have not the slightest doubt, in the work that lies before us. I hope that your interest in this loyal Corps will continue until it is disbanded, and I shall pray to the Almighty that this Corps, which you have inaugurated before the public mind this afternoon, may have a useful career. (Cheers.)

H.H. THE AGA KHAN.

H.H. the Aga Khan, who had an exceedingly hearty welcome, then delivered the following address:—

I am unable to tell you the feelings of pride and joy with which I address my fellow countrymen here, whose spontaneous desire to actively serve the King-Emperor in this supreme hour in the destinies of Europe and the Empire has found scope in the formation of the Indian Field Ambulance Corps. For weeks past, first under Dr. James Cantlie—(cheers)—and now under Colonel Baker—(cheers)—you have been preparing yourselves by diligent training for the task now definitely allotted to you by the War Office and by the Red Cross Society. It will be the proud privilege of most of you to go to the front to minister to the medical and hospital needs of soldiers of our own nationality engaged for the first time in history in fighting on West European soil for the great Empire to which we belong. (Cheers.) It is, in fact, a unique occasion. You represent a spirit which is universal amongst our countrymen in India and here. Some of them in provincial centres, being fewer in number, have not facilities for combined training equal to yours, but I believe they are no less eager to serve the Empire; and I am glad to know that in some of the University towns young Indians have been attached for training to the Red Cross Section of the Officer Training Corps. A few have quietly offered themselves for Lord Kitchener's new Army, and I believe they have been welcomed and are welcomed on passing the same physical tests as are applied to their English comrades.

SPLENDID SERVICE.

I can only say that I envy them the opportunity of combat, and I envy you the equally necessary, though not equally dangerous, if perhaps not so picturesque service of which they have taken advantage. I should be very proud and happy to be one of their number, which I may add is by no means improbable. (Cheers.) Do not forget, however, that the services you are about to render are in some ways even more glorious than those of the men in the fighting line. You have to expose yourselves constantly to danger, and you cannot actually take a part in the fighting, so that you will not have the benefit of the excitement that combatant work brings, that helps one to go through. From the very first day when the war commenced our noble and high-souled Chairman, Mr. Gandhi—(cheers)—whom those who know his work in South Africa cannot help but revere—(cheers)—urged that there should be no picking and choosing, but that we as Indians must at once go and do any work that came to our hands. That spirit of patriotism finds expression in the intimation of your Committee to the India Office, placing your services unconditionally at the disposal of the authorities as a proof of India's desire to share the responsibilities no less than the privileges of membership of the great Empire.

THE END OF RACIAL ANTAGONISM.

That you should be actuated by these high standards of public duty is in accordance with the confident expectation of those who, like myself, have been closely familiar with the thoughts and the noble aspirations of my educated fellow-countrymen. After all, you do but mirror in a different environment the wave of loyal enthusiasm which has swept through our motherland, and to which I shall make further reference. I feel confident that these patriotic conceptions will actuate all who have undergone training when the time comes for most of you to proceed to the Continent, and for the others to remain behind, for, as you are aware, some are sure to be wounded, and many more are sure to come back ill and broken in health. For these reasons I feel sure that many who are remaining behind will be required to go to the front later on. I feel confident that the many wastages that will occur will be easily replaced by further volunteers who will be trained in this country. In this hour of India's and the Empire's difficulties happily no differences of race and creed exist in India; they do not count—(cheers)—and the Indian blood that will be shed on the fields of France and Belgium, and, I hope, Germany—(loud cheers)—will not have been shed in vain if it leads to a permanent disappearance of racial and religious antagonism or any other suspicion in India. (Cheers.) We are absolutely united in the common purpose of taking our full share in the trials and sorrows of the Empire, and in contributing to the

sacrifices entailed by the unconquerable determination of the British Empire and her Allies to win through. (Cheers.)

THE STRONG WALL OF LOYALTY.

You are well aware that though I have always been convinced that Germany was the most dangerous enemy of Turkey and all other Muslim countries, for she was the one that was most anxious to annex by peaceful penetration Asia Minor and Southern Persia—(laughter)—she has been at the same time posing for years past, to serve her own ends, as a sort of protector of Islam—(Heaven forbid that we should have such an immoral protector!) (cheers)—and is only too eager to turn to mischievous account unguarded expressions from Englishmen of eminence. Happily so far as the Muslim and other subjects of the King-Emperor are concerned these efforts of our enemies are absolutely futile. We will never break down the strong wall of loyalty, based on the certainty and consciousness that not only our truest interests, religious as well as civil, are guaranteed to us by British rule more securely than they could ever be otherwise, but that our ultimate aspirations to rise in everything to the standard of Europe and America can only be obtained through permanent association and union with British rule. (Cheers.)

We had evidence of this security of even comparatively small religious sentiments only a year ago in Lord Hardinge's wise and courageous recognition of the justice of our complaints in the action of the local authorities in the Cawnpore Mosque case which had perturbed Muslim feeling throughout the country. In the partnership of Empire to which we are all summoned by the life and death struggle of to-day, we Indians of whatever race or creed look with confidence to those in high places in the counsels of the Empire to reciprocate the sentiments of respect and goodwill we cherish towards all subjects and sections of His Majesty's Empire. (Cheers.)

INDIAN LOYALTY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Gentlemen, I have been only a few days now in this country, having just come from South Africa, with which our distinguished President's name is so intimately associated; and I was, I must say, rather surprised to see that there was in this country a feeling of pleasant surprise, but still it was a distinct form of surprise, at the unanimity and loyalty of India in this time of crisis. Gentlemen, that feeling of surprise was not shared by any Indian who knew his country, or who had travelled amongst the people of India or who realised how the people of that country were deeply attached to the King-Emperor, and, in spite of any passing clouds, of the permanent confidence they had in the goodwill and in the good sentiments of the

British people as a whole towards India. (Cheers.) There has been, especially amongst the educated classes of India, a feeling towards British rule which has always reminded me of the feeling of Cordelia towards Lear before the tragedy. It is a feeling and a sentiment that is too proud to show its loyalty and affection when all goes well; but England's needs will be India's opportunity to shed her last drop of blood and spend her last penny to save and to help the Empire. (Cheers.) The educated classes of India have not been fair weather friends, and no one in the world who has any sense of justice can deny that to a man they have shown their united loyalty to the Empire in this great crisis of its history.

THE END OF MISUNDERSTANDING.

But, gentlemen, when this war is over, let it be the end of misunderstandings. (Cheers.) Let us begin with a clean slate. Let us not in future either on one side or the other allow our natural pride of the feelings that stopped Cordelia from showing her sentiments towards Lear come in our way. Let us not have any more misunderstandings, or let us reduce them as far as possible in the future. For, after all, whatever happens to this country, if this country is ever weakened, India's aspirations and India's future go to pieces. On the other hand, whatever happens in the future India can always be an inexhaustible source of man power, of wealth, and of natural resources for the British Empire. (Cheers.) Let us hope, and more than hope—let us work when the war is over, that the same goodwill and that the same energy that we are now showing towards helping the Empire will be devoted towards what I may call a permanent reconciliation, and an end of all the misunderstanding of the last twenty years or so. Throughout India,—and I can claim to speak with some knowledge having travelled practically all over the country once every year—the final settlement that was come to in 1858 has been loyally accepted. Instinctively and sub-consciously (these are infinitely more important motives of action in times of great crises in human affairs than conscious and reasoned conclusions)—instinctively, sub-consciously, our people have accepted British rule, and have realised that their future development to its fullest can only be possible under the King-Emperor, and within this Empire. On the other hand, they have never forgotten the spirit of the Queen's Proclamation—(cheers)—and it is for the English people also not to forget the letter and spirit of that Proclamation, but to keep it as it was meant by Queen Victoria, whom John Bright, I believe, described as the most truthful person that he had ever met. Let it be accepted in its entirety, in its spirit, in its letter. Let the future of India develop on our side by loyalty and devotion towards the Sovereign, towards the Empire, and towards England, but at the same

time let the people of England realise that that must be the bond of union between us, a bond of union which I hope will last for ever. (Loud cheers.)

A PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

One small and humble personal explanation. If I do not get anything of a more combant nature I hope to come with you as your interpreter, if I may. (Cheers.) I know English, French, German and Hindustani, and I do not think you will find many interpreters so useful; so that I will earn my bread if I can there. If I do not go it will be because of some *force majeure*, and not through any want of effort on my own part. (Loud Cheers.)

THE CHAIRMAN'S CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The Chairman, in the course of some concluding remarks, said:—We, Hindus, have to live side by side with Mahomedans. Their sorrows must be our sorrows; their joys must be our joys. I entirely believe in the doctrine that the Hindus and Mahomedans of India are the two eyes of Mother India. If one is hurt the other is equally affected, and India without Mahomedans or without Hindus would be only a one-eyed mother, and India divided between those two sections, who would war against one another would only see with one eye, and then but faintly and dimly. I am sure we shall treasure the message His Highness's has delivered this afternoon. We shall always be conscious that we have undertaken a high duty. The camp life that we shall have to lead will knit us Indians from different parts of the Empire together in a common bond. We shall be comrades and feel as one soul as perhaps we have not been able to do in India itself. Let us then conserve all the energy we may have at our disposal in order to discharge the mission that we have undertaken. (Cheers.)

AN INDIAN RANEE'S VIEWS ON ENGLISH WOMEN.

HER PERSONAL EXPERIENCES IN ENGLAND AND THE CONTINENT.

The Chief of Ichalkaranjee had gone on a tour to England some months back. His wife was with him. She attended a gathering in Karve's Ashrama a few days back, when she addressed the audience on the above subject. She said:—

I got an opportunity to visit some countries in Europe with my husband and from what I saw there I have formed the opinion that we in India do not make efforts and sacrifices in such directions and for such purposes as we should do. We are not behind our sisters in Europe in the self-sacrificing tendencies, but, generally,

all our methods of thought and action have come down to us from ancient times as hereditary gifts, and they have not been changed to suit changing times and circumstances. In the west women undertake and do all things relating to the public good, whether they are from the big cities or small villages. It gave me a great delight to see personally how well Lady George Hamilton and Lady Brassey did such useful works.

WOMEN EVERYWHERE.

The improving of the condition of our clients, lessees, tenents, educational institutions, religious bodies, houses for the poor, dispensaries, homes for the blind and the maimed—all these are maintained and continued and others started anew by women. We have our Municipalities and Local Boards here in India, similarly have they their Borough-Councils and Town Councils. Women are elected by the rate-payers to these councils and they have proved themselves very useful there. I had once an occasion to witness in London the proceedings of the Country Council. I found women taking part in them and they seemed to have much influence over the male members. I mention this because I want to show there is ample scope for many kinds of works for us in India. As in these public works, so in the mercantile line, as well as in household duties women take the lead in England. Not a shop will be found where women do not work. Women in France, Germany, Italy and Austria are not given as much freedom of action as they are given in England.

PRIMARY EDUCATION.

Just as political power and the courage and skill to wield it are necessary for the rise of a country, so also is the increase of commerce necessary for the prosperity of a nation and for the happiness of its people. If you want your trade and manufactures to flourish, I believe you will find it very necessary to take the help of women. The discipline, the honesty and the courage necessary in the commercial line have to be instilled into a child's mind at home. Many of you must have

heard that primary education is given in England in schools to boys and girls together. This custom of theirs is worth giving a careful thought. If small girls begin to learn in company with disciplined boys of careful and studious habits, the desire to study will grow in the minds of girls also. There are lady teachers in primary classes, and they teach with love and close attention. Very small children are sent to schools at a great distance.

When the Primary education is completed, very poor girls are sent to institutions where they receive such education as fits them for work in shops, kitchens, laundries, dairies, etc. I saw an institution of this kind at Wamer.

ENGLISH WOMEN ABROAD.

Girls from the middle class are sent even to foreign countries like France, Germany, Italy and Switzerland to have their minds enlightened and also to gain knowledge of any particular arts or sciences. What strikes one here is that the liberty loving and extremely patriotic Englishman sends his boys and girls to any place where the best possible education is available.

In foreign countries wherever there are conveniences for such education, many English students stay and learn. They impress the stamp of England on all their surroundings wherever they may go and live. Montro in Switzerland is a place of this type. I lived there for sometime and I smelt and felt England everywhere.

General education in arts and professions as would be useful in trades and household duties should be given to girls in India on a very large scale. Even boys do not get it well and so my cry on behalf of girl's education on these lines will, for sometime to come, I am afraid, be a cry in the wilderness. These subjects are to my mind as necessary as ordinary reading and writing. I wish that our girls should study well and that they should make the best possible use of their education in after-life. Even at this age I have kept up my studies and I say this as I want you to know that I am in earnest.—“*New India*.”

Round the Indian Empire

BY POLITIQUE.

The War has served to make manifest the virility of the old Empire on which the sun never sets. The challenge of her treacherous enemies has braced her to do yet another deed for the cause of humanity and justice. The latter-day political upstarts to whom right is synonymous with might, fastened their faith on what they imagined to be a “decadent England” and, it is to be hoped, have had their rude awakening already. Their

crude notions have been brusquely brushed aside by the splendid rally of the different parts of the Empire under the flag of the Mother Country. This is striking testimony of the soundness of the Empire and at once the most cogent answer to the aspersions of her beguiled traducers. Those who have read His Majesty the King's messages to the Self-Governing Dominions and to the Empire of India, will realise the intensity and the extent of the feeling that to-day actuates the minds of millions

of people of diverse creeds and nationalities, who owe unshaken allegiance, alike in times of peace and peril, to the throne of the King-Emperor. The King in his first message to the Oversea Dominions said :—"I shall be strengthened in the discharge of the responsibility which rests upon me by the confident belief that in this time of trial my Empire will stand united, calm, resolute, trusting in God." The response that has been made justifies to the uttermost that confident belief and proves once more, if further proof, indeed, were necessary, the fundamental unity of the British Empire. It is now a matter of common knowledge that the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia and the Dominion of New Zealand have placed at the disposal of the Empire their naval forces which had rendered before such splendid service for the Empire. Strong expeditionary forces have been sent from Canada, Australia, New Zealand and India for service at the front and the Union of South Africa has released all British troops and voluntarily undertaken an important military responsibility, the discharge of which will be of the utmost value to the Empire. Newfoundland has doubled the numbers of its branch of the Royal Naval Reserve. From the Dominion and Provincial Governments of Canada large gifts of supplies have been sent for the use of both the Naval and Military forces of the Kingdom and for the relief of the distress in the United Kingdom. Thus have the component parts of the British Empire demonstrated "in an unmistakable manner the fundamental unity of the Empire amidst all its diversity of situation and circumstance." Proud, then, is the boast to-day, prouder than that of the Roman of old, "*Civis Romanus Sum*,"—the boast of the individual who can say, "I am a citizen of the British Empire." May that honour live down to posterity for ever and ever!

It is impossible to expatiate on the loyalty that India has shown to the Empire without breaking the reticence one may have imposed on oneself through modesty or reservation of self. It has completely taken by surprise even those who believed in its intensity before. This great Dependency had never previously been allowed to take part in the broad functions of the Empire and the chance now offered has found her fully equal to the gravity of the situation. Englishmen as well as Indians may well feel justifiable pride at the unflinching and spontaneous loyalty of the whole of the Indian Empire to the throne and person of His Majesty, the King-Emperor, and her firm determination to face the crisis. His Majesty had made handsome acknowledgment of this unquestioning loyalty in words that will ring down the ages, and take their treasured place with other Royal Proclamations that have bound India to England with bonds that can never be sundered. His Gracious Majesty who still cherishes happy memories of his recent visit to these

shores thus struck the keynote of his message to India:—"I recall to mind India's gracious message to the British nation of good-will and fellowship which greeted me on my return in February, 1912, after the solemn ceremony of my Coronation Durbar at Delhi, and I find in this hour of trial a full harvest and a noble fulfilment of the assurance given by you that the destinies of Great Britain and India are indissolubly linked." There could be but one response to this message and that has been given by India as a whole with one voice from the day the war was declared. That India has been thus enabled to give freely of her men and money marks the triumph of British Statesmanship over her peoples and at the same time demonstrates their confidence in its justice and liberality. Lord Hardinge, one of the most sympathetic of Viceroy's and an undoubted friend of Indian aspirations, in his address to the Supreme Legislative Council the other day, so feelingly expressed his appreciation of the loyal offers from India and her readiness "to make any sacrifice to further and strengthen the interests of the Empire." No less warm have been the tributes of the British Parliament and in the House of Lords the Marquess of Crewe, referring to what his lordship called the wonderful series of offers of their resources made by the Feudatory Princes and Ruling Chiefs of India in the cause of the Empire, felt confident "that the House and the country would feel deep appreciation of this magnificent demonstration of the loyalty with which the Princes and peoples of India had identified themselves with the cause of the Empire." The Press and the people of England have been equally enthusiastic over the service rendered by India and these sincere sentiments of mutual trust and fellowship are guarantees of India's place in the Empire which rightly regards her as "the brightest jewel in her diadem."

We read first with gratification the announcement that Indian troops are going to be engaged in the European War. With overwhelming joy we learned the news of their enthusiastic reception in France by the Allied soldiers. And to-day who amongst us does not feel a glow of pride at the gallant feats they are performing at the front and at the dash and go they display in the daily incidents of the warfare! It has, indeed, filled India with an enduring sense of the duty and honour of belonging to the Empire. This is the first time in the history of the Empire that Indian troops have been sent to fight in Europe and the event is fraught with significance in the relations of India to the Empire. Lord Curzon, under whose Government in India, the administration of the Army underwent considerable alterations, eulogised the gallantry of the Indian soldiery before a British audience recently, and regarded the decision to bring it into action in the war as an act of the highest statesmanship and of the highest wisdom. The

Indian army have signified their loyal intention of serving their king, even outside their territorial jurisdiction, many times before. The cause of the Empire is always dear to their heart. At the time of the Boer War, the Indian force clamoured for action, but the so-called "native problem of South Africa" prevented them, in the eyes of the Government, from taking part. Nearly forty years ago, in a moment of European crisis, Disraeli provoked the keenest criticism by bringing Indian troops to Malta. But to-day all voices are hushed; they go in "answer to the call of the Fiery Cross. They go rallying to the Empire's need; bound to the front, to meet the menace of the blood and iron, from distant places, with hearts attuned to war." Truly, as the *Times* points out, in the face of this tremendous outburst of loyalty, things can never be the same between Great Britain and India as they have been in the past, and it will be the duty of Great Britain, when she has settled her affair with Germany, to see to it that, as the years pass, India takes a more ample place in the councils of the Empire.

The depredations of the light cruiser *Emden* in Indian Waters and the insecurity apprehended to shipping are calculated to give mercantile and shipping circles both at home and in India "furiously to think." In spite of the assurances given by the Government of India and the British Admiralty about the reasonable safety of these sea-routes, a few have sought to be exercised over the question, regarding "the necessity of India to make an adequate contribution towards the naval defence of her trade and the guarding of her sea-routes." The *Madras Mail* has taken the lead in the agitation, as it has done many times before, and made a strong case in favour of its pet scheme. The Madras Chamber of Commerce have been converted to its views, though the Bengal and Bombay Chambers have rightly shown their cold shoulders. We are living in troubled times and under abnormal conditions created by the world-wide war. These considerations as well as the proximity of the loss inflicted on merchantmen by the *Emden* on both the coasts of the country, may preclude some from taking a rather detached view of the situation. It seems to us impolitic to drive home a point offered by, and plausible during, the exigencies of the hour, which we would refuse to consider at normal times. The suggestion, already referred to, of our esteemed contemporary, appears to us to belong to this category. The ways and means proposed are simple: "The trade of India is valued at some £290 millions, and a contribution on a 1 per cent. basis would provide a very substantial sum for this form of an insurance against war risks." The danger to India, it has been argued, was likely to proceed from a much more formidable force than has been brought to bear, against which the small

and obsolete East Indies Squadron would have been almost useless. We confess we fail to see the anticipated danger, now or at any time, from a much more formidable force, unless the writer is inspired by arguments other than purely commercial. Even considering the political and strategical points that may arise, we do not believe that they can be solved at a bound, and the solution will depend on the status and strength of India in the Empire. From a commercial point of view, however, it may at once be said that for many a long year India would not be able to afford the proposed contribution, in view of the loss of the opium and other revenue. As the Bombay Chamber said, if India could afford it, the proper use for such funds was the extension of railways for the development of inland trade. But there is something to be said in favour of the importance of local navies for many purposes, primarily for the development of national feeling and the training of seamen. Any one who has studied the *History of Ancient Shipping* will remember that India too has had her glorious chapters in the annals of the Navigation of high seas. In this connection, we would desire to call the attention of our readers to the announcement of the Government of Bombay of the intention of Mr. Muhammad Yussuf Ismail of Bombay to start and maintain at his own expense a small training ship in the Bombay harbour for the sons of Indian seamen, irrespective of caste and creed. This is surely a patriotic enterprise worthy of high praise. But the time, we believe, is not yet come, for any political moralising on a high scale from this or the other incident. Since writing the above, we have learnt the news that the *Emden* has been sent to the bottom by an Australian Cruiser. With a strong ally like Japan and the squadron maintained by Australia, not to speak of the "obsolete" East Indies Squadron, considerably strengthened though it has been recently, no enemy dare molest us with impunity in Eastern waters. It is fanatic to conceive trouble to Britain in the Far East, so long as the strong Anglo-Japanese Alliance lasts.

It is difficult to say whether England got her world-wide Empire by chance or as the result of premeditated policy. At any rate the British Empire is a living reality and a source of supreme strength to the Mother country. England has infinitely more Oriental and African subjects than any other power. She has two great Empires in Asia and in Africa to govern and it is estimated that her commercial relations with Oriental and African peoples account for some two hundred millions pounds sterling per annum of her trade. The task of directing the concerns of this far-flung Empire, by no means uniform, is not a simple one. Many complications often arise on account of the diversity of the creeds and nationalities professed by the different parts of the

Empire, and even with the best of intentions it is sometimes difficult to steer clear off all difficulties in the governance of this vast Empire. The study of the Empire is a fascinating side of British politics and till now there has been no systematic attempt at developing a habit of thought sufficiently informed or comprehensive to grasp at Empire problems. What has been styled the "colour problem" of the Empire still remains a moot question and the "little" Englander whether at Home or in the Colonies is devoid of the mental equipment necessary to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the question. There is need to-day, more than ever, to think and legislate in the terms of the Empire so as to make it more cohesive and more homogenous. Many people imagine that the problem of the Empire is incompatible, if not antagonistic, to the principles of democracy which England cherishes, but there is nothing of the unusual in a freedom-loving people gathering round themselves the affections and gratitude of a federated Empire. As a first step towards the realisation of this democratic Empire, if that term be permissible, is a thorough and intelligent understanding of the peoples that constitute the Empire. In this connection, it will be remembered that, recently, thanks to the work of Lord Cromer, a school of Oriental languages, under the patronage of the King and with a Royal Charter, has been established in connection with the University of London. The scheme of studies include not only Asia but East and West Africa, as well as Egypt. The Government of India contribute £1,250 a year towards the cost of this institution in England and it is hoped that the languages taught there will provide "the key to the thoughts, customs, religious beliefs and national character of the people" called on to be administered by England. Another unique scheme of imperial studies is called attention to by a contemporary, which is also announced by the University of London. It is not known whether the two schemes are really only one, having two distinct branches. The aim of the latter, however, according to the syllabus issued by the University early in June before the outbreak of the war, is "a specialised study of the past and present conditions that govern the life and development of the communities under the British Crown, together with the study of cognate problems." The scheme of lectures announced comprise a wide range of subjects from Geography and Anthropology to Law and Comparative Religion. In addition to these courses, "of a more definitely University Character," the Imperial Studies Committee, of which Lord Milner is Chairman and which includes such distinguished men as Lord Bryce, Sir Krishna Gupta, Sir Harry Johnston, Mr. Sidney Low, Sir Charles Lyall and Sir Theodore Morison, has wisely decided to appeal to the uninitiated public. Prominent place is given to India and Indian subjects, a fact of no mean importance indicating the position that India occupies in the thoughts of the

Empire. A whole course of six lectures are to be given by Professor T. W. Arnold on "Islam in India." Sir Theodore Morison is to lecture on "British culture in India," the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali on "Islamic culture in India," and Mr. Graham Wallas on "Britain and Native Races." The war has given us all a new sense of the value of the Empire and the great imperial awakening shadowed forth in these announcements is certain to bind us more towards each other and beget in each of our judgments the stamp of the imperial idea—"Empire first, and everything else after!"

More than the usual degree of interest attaches to the Session of the Congress to be held this year in Madras. If we had fallen in with the counsels of those who wanted to do away with it this time owing to the special circumstances attendant on the war, we would have made a tactical error in leaving out of account the unanimous praise of Britain of our loyalty, from the annals of the most august assembly of the Indian Empire. The outspoken expressions of mutual trust and confidence with which Britain and the Constituent portions of the Empire greeted the unstinted support of India, are a priceless asset to us and a suitable acknowledgment should be made of that handsome recognition. We feel that the Indian National Congress as representative of the educated classes of India, is the fittest body to make that acknowledgment in behalf of this part of the British Empire. Critics have not been slow to cry out the Congress body as supernumerary by the side of the enlarged Councils and that the former has ceased to perform any useful function. Why should so many Political Associations exist in England, when there are the properly constituted Houses of Parliament? But we are not called upon to defend the Congress against its critics, since in their arguments they often confuse motives with means. The end of the war is bound to alter considerably the relations of the Empire and wake us all to a new sense of inter-imperial obligations. The Indian National Congress will be the accredited exponent of India's voice in the newly enlarged Councils of the Empire. It will hereafter have to perform broader functions than before and cultivate an imperial outlook in the settlement of India's National and Imperial affairs. The Councils are not the proper place to discuss high politics of the Imperial State, and apart from the Congress ceasing to perform its ordinary duties, additional burdens will be thrown upon its shoulders. It has to think for the Indian Empire in the altered situation in which it is sure to find itself after the close of the War. These and other considerations pregnant with mighty possibilities for the future, ought to make us all united in our deliberations. It is time to forget and forgive the split in our ranks and arrive at a rapprochement of the parties. The goal of the "Moderate" and the "Nationalist" sections is after all the same. We differ only in the means of attaining to the goal and none of us are behind in our loyalty to the Throne. These differences, then, seem trifling and we should all be united in heralding the approach of the Imperial idea which promises to reshape our political existence. England is drawing closer to India, and let us ourselves draw closer to each other and meet on a common platform in the service of our Motherland.

The Indian National Congress.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

FIRST INDIAN V.C.

HAVILDAR GANGA SINGH'S HEROISM.

London, Nov. 26.—The Times states that the first Indian to win the Victoria Cross is Havildar Ganga Singh, of the 57th Wilde's Rifles. He was the sole survivor of sixteen Indians, after a hand-to-hand fight in the trenches. The Havildar killed eleven Germans and was left for dead. He had five wounds.—(Reu.)

The South African Indian Fund.

As previously notified, a meeting of the subscribers to the South African Indian Fund was held, in Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim's Offices on Tuesday, the 3rd November 1914, at 6 p.m. (S.T.) to approve and adopt the audited statement of accounts of the South African Indian Fund, and to consider the question of the disposal of the balance in the hands of the Secretaries. The Hon. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, Kt., was in the chair.

Mr. Jehangir B. Petit read out the audited statement of accounts of the South African Indian Fund showing a balance of Rs. 1,47,867-5-4.

The following resolution was thereupon proposed by the Hon. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, Kt., seconded by Mr. K. Natarajan and unanimously adopted by the meeting:—

"This meeting of the subscribers to the South African Indian Fund resolves.—

(a) That the audited statement of accounts of the South African Indian Fund be and is hereby approved.

(b) That the balance of Rs. 1,47,867-5-4 of the South African Indian Fund, minus the amount of expenditure that may be incurred subsequently to this date in connection with the closing of the Fund, be devoted to securing, safe-guarding and maintaining the economic interests and the civil rights of Indians as equal subjects of the British Crown in all British Colonies as well as foreign countries.

(c) That the following gentlemen, namely, the Hon. Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Bart., Mr. H. A. Wadia, the Hon. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, Kt., Mr. Narottam Morarjee Goculdas, Mr. K. Natarajan and Mr. Jehangir Bomanjee Petit, in whose names the securities now stand, be and are hereby appointed Trustees of this Fund.

(d) That for carrying out the objects set forth in clause (b) of this resolution the South African Indian Committee consisting of:—

President:—Mr. Ratan Tata; Vice-President:—The Hon. Sir Pherozshah Mehta, K.C.I.E.; Chairman of the

Managing Committee:—the Hon. Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Bart.; Vice-Chairman:—Mr. H. A. Wadia; Members of the Managing Committee:—Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Bart., Sir Dorab Tata, Kt., Sir Ebrahim Rahimtulla, Kt., Sir Vithaldas D. Thakersey, Kt., The Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, The Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samuldas, The Hon. Mr. G. K. Parekh, Mr. Purshottamdas Thakordas, Mr. J. R. Gharpure, The Hon. Mr. Manmohandas Ramjee, Dr. Stanley Reed, Mr. B. G. Horniman; Secretaries:—the Hon. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, Kt., Mr. Narottam Morarjee Goculdas, Mr. Jehangir B. Petit and Mr. K. Natarajan; Assistant Secretary:—Mr. N. M. Joshi (servants of India Society).

be and is hereby authorised to form an association for safe-guarding the interests of Indians out of India, and that the trustees be and are hereby authorised to pay out of the fund to such association such sums as it may require from time to time for carrying out that object.

(e) That the association so formed be and is hereby empowered to make rules for, besides its own constitution, the appointment of trustees whenever there is a vacancy."

A vote of thanks to the chair terminated the proceedings.

One of our objects in connection with this Journal is the creation of an Emigration Fund, on our own responsibility. We had occasion to refer to this matter in our two previous numbers. Fortunately now, we are relieved of this responsibility, in as much as the surplus of the South African Indian Fund amounting to a handsome sum of Rs. 1,47,864-5-4 is now to be utilised for carrying out the objects mentioned in the Resolution (b) above, which exactly falls in with our aim.

As advocacy of equal rights of British Citizenship within the Empire forms one of the avowed objects of the Journal, we hope the respectable and influential Committee formed in Bombay for securing this end will recognise this Journal, devoted as it is exclusively to the purpose, and co-operate with us in the matter of carrying out the objects to the best advantage.

Indian Emigration.

The current issue of the Calcutta Gazette contains the following resolution on the annual report on Emigration from the Port of Calcutta to British and Foreign Colonies during the year 1913:—

The most important events of the year were the amalgamation of the Emigration Agencies for Trinidad, Fiji, Jamaica and Mauritius with that for British Guiana and the appointment of a central agency at Benares.

These measures were the outcome of the recommendations of Lord Sanderson's Committee on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates. They aim at effecting improvements in the recruitment of labour for the Colonies, but as they were only introduced on the 1st January, 1914, it is too early to appreciate their working.

2. As in previous years there were five Emigration Agencies in Calcutta, four working for British Colonies and one for the Dutch Colony, Surinam. The demand for labour decreased from 8,821 in 1912 to 5,167 in the year under review. The supply exceeded the demand by 726, but out of the total number 512 emigrants were supplied to Jamaica to meet the requisition of 1912, and 226 were sent to Fiji to make up a shortage in the number to be supplied from Madras. British Guiana was the sole Colony which failed to obtain the requisite number of coolies.

3. The number of licenses issued to recruiters in 1913, was 1,211 shewing a decrease of 195 on the previous year. The smaller demand for labour accounts for this decrease. On the other hand, the number of licenses issued for Surinam alone rose to 174 from 94. No explanation of this is given and enquiries will be made. Forty-eight licenses were cancelled during the year, 30 of which were granted in 1912. Thirty-nine licenses were cancelled for misconduct and 9 for other causes. Operations were conducted in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the United Provinces, Ajmere, the Central Provinces and the Punjab. The United Provinces, as usual, supplied the largest number of emigrants, 73.66 per cent. of the total number coming from these Provinces.

4. The total number of emigrants registered was 9,171 as compared with 11,698 in the previous year. The decrease is due to the smaller demand. One thousand one hundred and eight coolies were rejected as physically unfit, 230 deserted and 604 were released from their engagements. The casualties in the depots from all causes amounted to 26.20 per cent. as against 19.24 per cent. in the previous year. The increase may be due to less careful selection in the districts possibly on account of greater difficulty in obtaining suitable emigrants. Of the number actually embarked 8.88 per cent. were returned emigrants, a reduction of .98 per cent. on the previous year. Surinam required and obtained the largest number of emigrants, 1,675 going to the Dutch Colony, 1,240 to British Guiana and 1,188 to Trinidad.

5. The sanitary arrangements in the depots continued satisfactory, though the percentages of sickness and mortality rose .07 and .12, respectively. The increase in mortality was chiefly among infants. Cases of cerebro-spinal meningitis declined from 12 (with 10 deaths) in 1912 to 6 (with 5 deaths) in the year under review. Orders have recently issued abolishing

the experimental open-air hospital in the British Guiana Emigration Depot and directing suspected cases to be sent to the Medical College Hospital for treatment.

6. Three thousand five hundred and fifty-one emigrants left the Colonies during the year bringing with them savings aggregating Rs. 6,48,564, or an average of Rs. 181-3-9 per head, as compared with Rs. 194-12-4 in 1912. On the other hand, no fewer than 2,174 emigrants or 61.22 per cent. of the total returned with no savings. The average remittances from resident emigrants to India shew little variation from the figures of the previous year, except in the case of Mauritius, where the average rose annas 2 per head corresponding to an increase of over Rs. 32,000 in the value of the remittances. Natal's remittances, amounting to nearly eleven lakhs, again far exceed those from other Colonies, but, as observed in last year's resolutions, these figures probably include remittances from traders and other Indian snot belonging to the labouring classes. As was also observed in that resolution the remittances from Mauritius and Fiji would probably have been larger, but for the fact that the immigrants there invest largely in immoveable property and draught animals with a view to permanent settlement in these Colonies.

7. Two hundred and thirty-four estates of deceased emigrants valued at Rs. 17,869 were administered by Government during the year. Of these the heirs of 148 were traced, 52 lapsed to the Colonial and Indian Governments, and the remainder were still under enquiry at the end of the year. The emigration accounts closed with a deficit of Rs. 8,013. This is largely accounted for by the fact that the coolies embarked were fewer by 2,400 than in 1912 causing a corresponding deficiency of Rs. 7,200 on the receipt side of the account.

8. Dr. Banks held the post of Protector of Emigrants throughout the year. The thanks of the Governor in Council are due to him for the efficient way in which he carried out his duties.—*The Express*.

Moral of the Komagata Maru.

The Press both at Home and in India have been lashed into a fury of righteous indignation at what is now known as the Komagata Maru affair. It is now clear that it is more than a local incident and involves issues vital to the harmonious working of the different parts of the Empire. The significance of the incident is well brought out by the *Chronicle* (London).

She is the East knocking at the doors of the West: the Asiatic on the doorstep of the Anglo-Saxon. And Canada is making her a test case. Is Canada to exclude the Indian, the Japanese, the Chinese, from entering her doors in large numbers?

What is the nature of the problem? According to the journal quoted above.

It is an industrial one on the surface—a question of cutting out white labour by the cheapness of Asiatic living. But it is also a commercial, racial, social and religious problem, involving those tremendous and complex issues of race-fusion or segregation, of moral uplift, industrial development, educational progress and religious salvation in East and West which form the greatest problem crying for solution in the next half-century.

It is no wonder, then, that

If you land to-day on a South Sea Island, Chinese coolies and Indian labourers run down to compete with Samoan or Fijian for your employ. The Prime Minister of New Zealand has declared in the last month that the New Zealand Defence Act was prompted by fear of Asiatic attack, and that he hopes to pass legislation prohibiting the entrance of Hindus into New Zealand. In South Africa the problem created by the importation of Indians (as labour) by ourselves as white people issued in a frightful imbroglio between Anglo-Saxon, Kaffir and Indian, which was full of menace.

Intense feeling is developing both in our dominions on the one hand and in Asia on the other. This is not a problem which can be settled by rule of thumb, but needs a long, continuous search for the Christian solution.

The Times, commenting on the Komagata Maru case, has advocated a principle for Canada, receiving wide assent, that—

“free peoples have a right to say whom they will admit into their country, just as free men have the right to say whom they will admit into their houses.”

We cannot help feeling that that statement involves a perfectly colossal menace. Japan, fully-armed and buoyantly confident; China, now milking in the greatest coal fields and the greatest iron-fields in the world, and beginning to face possibilities of producing her own *Dreadnoughts* and guns, with her four hundred millions of people, hardy, and careless of death; and India with its teeming population, have, in that case, the right to exclude the West from Asia, with all those enormous Commercial, Governmental, Social, and Industrial interests which we share in China and India.

It is easy to use the word *Armageddon* in oratorical exaggeration, but no conception of the frightful world-Armageddon of warfare has ever remotely approached the hideous realities which would then be upon us.

SOUTH AFRICA.

The Minister and the word “Coolie.”

On the 2nd instant the Chairman of the British Indian Association addressed the following letter to the Private Secretary to General Botha:—

“Members of my Association have read with great respect and appreciation General Botha's important

speech at Bank this week. I observe, however, that in the course of his speech, according to Reuter's indirect summary, he is reported to have used the word ‘coolie’ on three occasions. The paragraph to which I beg to refer is as follows:—

“The British Government was determined to take German South-West Africa, and, if the South African Union had not done its share, the Imperial Government might have sent 50,000 coolies there. (Cries of ‘Hague Convention’) Nonsense! The gentleman who exclaimed ‘Hague Convention’ did not know what he was talking about. Besides, there were coolies. Indians and Japanese already fighting. (Cheers.) The British Government would have been quite justified in asking coolies to take German South-West, and could have told these people when the war was over that they could make a settlement there later on. Would that, he asked, have been to the interest of South Africa, and would mothers quietly have contemplated such a state of affairs?”

“My Association is aware, of course, that the word ‘coolie’ is somewhat indiscriminately used in South Africa when ‘Indians’ are intended, and although its use is not intended to offend, nevertheless as the word is confined amongst Indian themselves to those of the labouring classes, the word ‘coolie’ meaning a labourer, the Indians community generally feels that the word should ordinarily not be used. It is certainly out of place as applying to the military classes, and those Indians in this country who have volunteered their services to the Government. My Association is well aware that General Botha had not the slightest intention to hurt Indian susceptibilities, assuming that Reuter's summary correctly represents what he said, but I venture respectfully to hope that in the event of the Government circulating his speech in any form, care will be exercised so that the word ‘Indian’ is used throughout where at present the word ‘coolie’ appears.

“Trusting that General Botha will appreciate the spirit in which this letter is addressed to him, and that he will understand that my Association has every desire to refrain from causing him any embarrassment whatever at the present critical juncture.”

THE REPLY.

The following is the reply, dated the 3rd instant:—

“I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 2nd instant, which I have shown to General Botha. In reply I have to state that General Botha is not sure whether the word ‘Koelie’ was indeed employed by him during the course of his speech at Bank last week; he does not wish to be unfair towards the reporter, however, and it is quite possible that the word was used. In any case he wishes me to assure you that nothing was farther from his mind than to give offence to our Indian population by the use of a

word which by them is considered opprobrious. As you will be aware, in Dutch, the word 'Koelie' is more ordinarily used than the word 'Indien' and does not convey anything derogatory.

"General Botha hopes that your Association will accept his assurance that no offence was intended by the expression if used by him."

Mr. Cachalia, on the 6th instant, closes the incident with the following :—

"I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant, in reply to my Association's letter of the 2nd instant, with reference to General Botha's speech at Bank. I need hardly assure you that my Association was quite satisfied that General Botha had not the slightest intention of giving offence to the community that it has the honour to represent, and very much appreciates your courtesy in writing on General Botha's behalf in this matter."

The Zoroastrian Anjuman, Durban, also sent a telegram protesting against the words used by General Botha.

In reply to a correspondent the *Natal Mercury* adds a foot-note as follows :—

The Prime Minister was presumably speaking in Dutch, and the term to which our correspondent objects may have erroneously crept into the translations. At any rate, its use was unfortunate : and we cannot imagine that General Botha intended to be offensive to the Indians, whose splendid loyalty to the Empire everybody admires.

The Problem of a Migrating Orient.

Mr. T. J. Scott writes from New York under the above title to the Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer* :—

Europe, feeling crowded, pushed into America, Australia, South Africa and other places. The Orient under the same pressure, is also seeking those countries. The West objects, and the perplexity is how to deal with the situation. It is in large part an antipathy touching social and religious life and color ; but it is due also to individual and national selfishness, that seeks to keep for itself, some good thing found. The perplexity for the West deepens, when, as is the case of America with Japan and China, there is treaty of reciprocity ; and of England in Canada and South Africa, where exclusion is discrimination against her own subjects. Statesmen try to make patriotism of this exclusion, protecting her own. Rev. G. Campbell Morgan, an Englishman, writes : "Patriotism is after all, one of the greatest curses the world has ever seen, and is but an other name for selfishness." Yet, I think, patriotism has a right place, but not in ignoring the well being of fellowmen. The Jewish lawyer put the question to Christ, "Who is my neighbour?" and got

the answer in the parable of the good Samaritan, his hated traditional enemy. All the world is talking just now about the "fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man," which if not mere talk, or academic morality, is the key to this whole problem.

It is a matter of great interest to me, and this is my point in this communication, that the "Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America," representing 80 denominations and 17,000,000 church members, under the inspiration of a missionary to Japan, Dr. Gulick, is seeking to deal with the question of excluding Japanese from America. His plan is along the line of a hint from Professor Eucken, in your issue of June 14th, i.e., such form of educational touch as may produce "a good understanding between the Indian world and our civilization," as Eucken puts it. Dr. Gulick who is working especially for Japanese immigrants, urges that "such material should be introduced into geographies, histories, &c., as will give American children and youth, more correct ideas of Asiatic peoples, and develop in this way a proper attitude of respect and goodwill." "He thinks that American children should be taught to look with goodwill upon immigrants of all races and to know that the prosperity of America in no small way, depends upon their presence, their right treatment, and their happiness here." This is the ethics of Jesus, and I feel proud of the *esprit de corps* of my missionary associates all over the world, for their efforts on this line. Shabash for Andrews of India ! I recall with pleasure how Mrs. Baldwin and Dr. Gibson, pled for a proper treatment of Chinese in America. Dr. Gulick insists that a discriminating immigration law should be passed, giving the same chance to all. Of course there are some perplexities in the matter, but when the spirit of humanity, and not mere national consideration, but the spirit of true brotherhood finds free play, a righteous way will be found. In most cases it was the cupidity of the peoples now objecting, that opened the way for immigration. Witness the "coolie trade" of India. I am glad the Protestant Churches of America are taking the thing up, in behalf of Japan. Let English Churches do the same for India. Meantime why not a *Home Colonization Society* for India, by her own leading men ? And this in atonement for the deplorable treatment of great masses of her own, is worse than anything she is now enduring from a foreign race. You have a hint in your issue of the same date (June 14th, p. 484). There are tracts in India that can be utilized for the over-crowded population of other places.

While so much good work is being done by foreign Missionaries for the welfare of India, it is deplorable that so little attention is paid to these problems by our own educated countrymen. Thanks to the Rama Krishna Mission, the Arya Samaj and other religious bodies which have replaced the foreign missions and

started hospitals, orphanages, students' homes and similar philanthropic works. Unfortunately these institutions are not receiving the material help they so well deserve. It is hoped that Indians will realise ere long the importance of these organisations which have proved their worth and earned the confidence of the public and help them substantially.

In this country charity rarely begins at home.

The Labour Code Proposed Amendments.

The latest issue of the *F. M. S. Government Gazette* contains a draft Enactment amending the Labour Code, 1912.

The amendments for which the Bill provides are intended

(a) to remove provisions relating to written contracts to labour by Chinese "indentured immigrants," such contracts being now prohibited by section 36 of the Code.

(b) to remove provisions relating to written contracts to labour by Indians and to prohibit such contracts for the future ; it is believed that no such contracts are at present in force ;

(c) to make more complete provision on the subject of the supply of food by employers to labourers, in accordance with recommendations of a Committee which reported on this subject in April, 1913 ;

(d) to remove certain difficulties which arise in connection with the provisions of Chapter VI of the Code relating to verbal agreements and the notice whereby they may be terminated ;

(e) to extend the scope of the powers conferred by sections 178 and 179 of the Code so as to enable action to be taken against an employer who seems likely to abscond and enquiry to be made into disputes between employers and labourers, whether the parties be engaged in mining or in agriculture ;

(f) to prescribe the mode of service of a summons issued by the Controller.

CANADIAN IMMIGRATION.

Restrictions in British Columbia.

Lahore, 14th Nov.—Intimation has been received that the Government of Canada have extended the period of prohibition against the landing of artisans and skilled or unskilled labourers at ports of entry in British Columbia to the 31st March, 1915. Intending emigrants are therefore warned that they incur very considerable risk of non-admission if they proceed to British Columbia in search of work within this period.

Indians in British Colonies.

A contributor writes to the *Indian Social Reformer* :— "The difficulties attending the question of the emigration of Indians to British Self-governing Colonies, suggest that the medieval Hindus when they prohibited sea-voyage as sinful, might have been actuated

by a desire to avoid political complications with countries separated from India by intervening oceans. So far as Indians emigrating to lands beyond the seas is concerned, it is obvious that there would never have arisen any problem but for the emancipating ideas brought in by British rule. It is, therefore, rather disconcerting to those of us who have been led by those ideas to regard freedom of movement from one country to another in pursuit of peaceful aims, as the birth-right of every human being, to be told to consider that such a birth-right has been abrogated so far as we are concerned by the 'laws' of a self-governing colony. We realise that we have no remedy and are helpless but, for Heaven's sake, let us not be required to accept the inferiority imputed to us as in the fitness of things."

LETTER TO THE EDITOR.

ISSUED FROM THE BHARADVAJASRAMA.

Mylapore, Madras, S.—India.

Whereas the great *Acharyas* (Sankara, Ramanuja, Vallabha and others) had, during troublesome times, done the highest social service by reclaiming respectively many Buddhists and Buddhist temples, down-trodden castes and degenerate mercantile classes, and others, to Hinduism, and thus arrested the numerical decline of the Hindu Society : whereas, at the present time, when person and property are safe under the British Government which maintains religious neutrality, the Hindu Society, as can be judged from the latest Census Report is declining in numbers owing to the indifference and the exclusiveness of the higher castes towards the lower castes and the depressed classes ; and whereas the saintly *Appayacharya*, the founder of the *Anubhavadvaita* or *Sankhyayoga* school of *Vedanta*, has authorised his disciples and successors, on the strength of his original writings and commentaries (especially his *Paroksha* and *Aparoksha Prasthanatrayas* and *Yogasara*) to do the same social service on a world-wide scale, it is hereby announced by the head of the *Bharadvajasrama* established for carrying out the said teacher's injunctions, that the successors, disciples and followers of the saintly *Acharya* will admit all persons belonging to the oppressed castes and depressed classes of Hindus and all others (who are willing to undergo the necessary spiritual training and the *Sankhya-yoga* initiations) into the *Sankhya-yoga* school of *Vedanta* which recognises only the four main castes and the first three orders of life as suited to modern requirements of the Hindu Society ; and thereby remove their present social disabilities that are absent in the *Anubhavadvaita* system of religion and philosophy.

It can be proved by the aid of the *Sankhya-yoga* doctrines that the *Brahmanas* are the oldest and the most genuine Christians ; that Lord Jesus, the Christ,

taught only the Vedic doctrines in a modified form; and that if Christianity can save a Hindu from social disabilities, its parent (the *Sankhya-yoga* school based entirely on the *Vedas* and *Vedantas*) could certainly do so with greater spiritual efficacy.

In these circumstances, the Hindus who may suffer from religious and social disabilities and oppression, as well as non-Hindus who wish to belong to Hinduism are hereby invited to study the most eclectic scientific, and always up-to-date, *Sankhya-yoga* doctrines for their spiritual regeneration.

Members and disciples of the *Bharadvajasrama* are *Sankhya-yogins* that have been initiated into the doctrines of *Sankhya-yoga* system of *Vedanta* founded by *Appayacharya*. They are orthodox Hindus following the *Vedas* and *Vedantas*. They are also reformers and regenerators of the oldest orthodox type. The *Asrama* has now decided to arrange to reclaim fallen Hindus and others by helping them in their spiritual regeneration by all means; because the founder of the *Anubhavadvaita* system of *Vedanta* has desired his successors to attend to this necessary social service. The *Bharadvajasrama* undertakes, according to its rules, to admit as followers of Vedic religion, and as students of the *Sankhya-yoga* school of philosophy, all those who belong to the down-trodden castes, depressed classes non-Hindus, and also Hindus that have gradually fallen from their spiritual estate owing to the struggle for existence or on account of social disabilities peculiar to present day Hinduism.

Applications for admission as *Sankhya-Yogins* should be made to the Manager, *Bharadvajasrama*, Mylapore, Madras, who will arrange for the same according to its rules.

As the *Sankhya-yogi Math*, *Bharadvaja Asrama*, and *Gayatri Mandir* are institutions subject to no other spiritual head but their own *Acharya* and as they are founded on the authority of the *Vedas* and *Vedantas*, all well-wishers of India are expected to rejoice over the independent regeneration work of these institutions in the cause of Hindu social service.

It would be far better for the Orthodox Hindus of the obstinate and uncompromising type to allow their oppressed and depressed brethren and others, to be regenerated through the *Asrama*, *Math*, and *Mandir* for the ultimate benefit of Hinduism, than cruelly and negligently allow the Cross and the Crescent to claim most of them.

The *Asrama*, *Math*, and *Mandir* do not ask those Hindus who are custom-ridden and who follow narrow orthodoxy, to inter-marry or inter-dine with their reclaimed brethren. Such being the case they are also expected to help the proposed work of Indian National regeneration based on the authority of the Hindu Scriptures.

KRISHNANANADA.

REVIEWS.

Vedic Mission Home.

We are glad to notice, that in the pages of "Vedic Lore"—Part III, just published the fact that the Vedic Mission workers—as servants of God—are anxious to render all possible spiritual help to our Indian Emigrant brethren in British Colonies and foreign countries. Says the Editor:—

"We offer our hearty thanks to our numerous donors and subscribers for their voluntary contributions up to date. But for their contributions we should not have been able to do our work so far. With the aid of similar voluntary contributions from a still larger number of sympathisers and friends, we hope to extend our religious, educational and literary propaganda to our Indian Emigrants in different parts of the world. We feel that it is our duty to first attend to their spiritual needs."

We wish that, at least, our Hindu brethren outside India will avail themselves of this opportunity and that their leaders will be in touch with the "Manager, Vedic Mission Home, *Bharadvajasrama*, Mylapore, Madras" for their spiritual uplift. The "Vedic Lore," issued in parts, is full of solid information on religious, social and philosophic subjects. It is freely distributed among the subscribers and donors to the Mission Funds. Further particulars may be gathered from the Mission Book list, &c., advertised elsewhere in this and subsequent issues of our Journal.

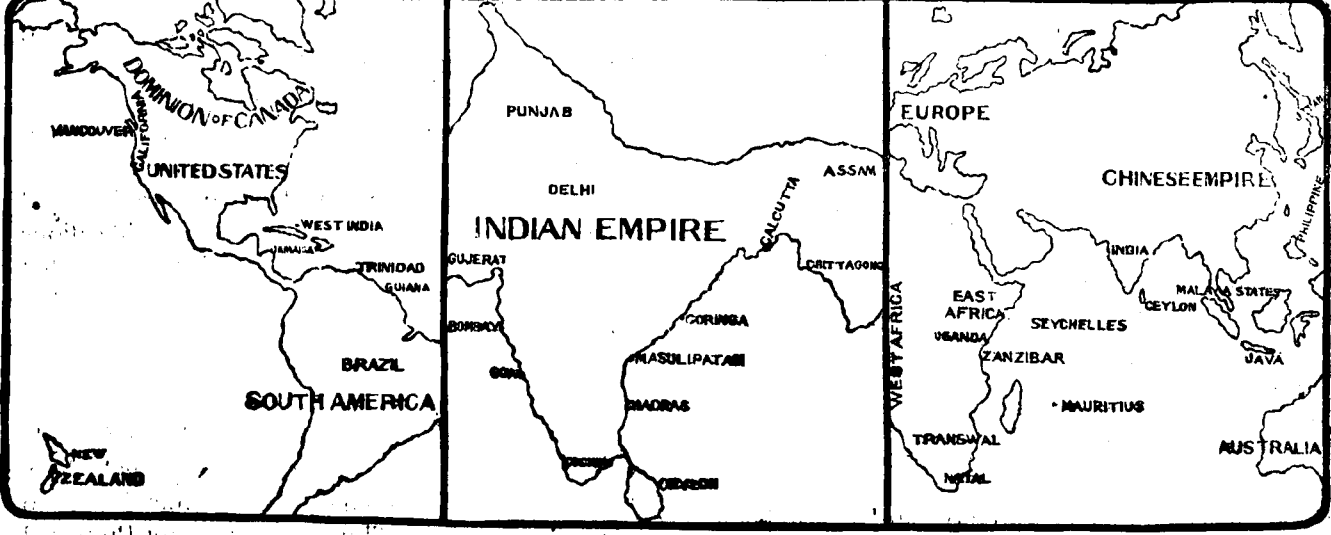
The Life and Life Work of J. N. Tata, by D. E. Wacha, published by Messrs. Ganesh & Co., Madras. Price Annas 8.

Messrs. Ganesh & Co. are well known throughout India and abroad for the patriotic work they are undertaking by publishing biographies of eminent men of India. The recent volume of "the Life and Life Work of J. N. Tata" is a welcome addition to the Indian Nation Builder Series published by them.

There is not an Industry or a gigantic venture in recent years that is not associated with the name of this philanthropic Parsee Patriot. India in the past has produced men distinguished in many branches of human activity; but the application of the spirit of the West to meet the needs of the East has found no greater exponent than the late Mr. Tata. The name of Mr. Tata is already written in the hearts of every Indian as a great captain of Industry and those who are interested in the material advancement of the country will do well to read the book to know what a man of action has done.

We particularly recommend the book to the younger generation to whom it will serve as an inspiration for patient and patriotic work.





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The "Indian Emigrant."

A Monthly Record of the Status and Doings of Indians in British Colonies and Foreign Countries and an Advocate of Equal Rights of British Citizenship within the Empire.

INDIAN EMIGRATION.

A plea for an independent and better organisation.

BY

T. K. SWAMINATHAN,

EDITOR, "Indian Emigrant," Madras.

Perhaps there is no subject which is brought more into prominent relief in recent years than the subject of Emigration of Indians into British Colonies and Foreign Countries. It was in the year 1893, I think, that the late Mr. Justice Ranade read an instructive paper on "Indian Foreign Emigration" at the Industrial Conference held at Poona, giving therein a Summary of the History and Progress of Indian Foreign Emigration and foreseeing even at that period

the practical utility of this great movement and its close relations to the Social, Economic and Political development of the country. A little over two decades have passed since then and it is surprising and even painful to note that not even a tenth part of the hopes entertained by Mr. Ranade of Associations like this, under whose auspices he delivered his lecture, of making themselves practically useful, has ever been realised. Since the time of Mr. Ranade, the subject of Indian Emigration has grown in volume, in intensity and importance, and it will not be enough for us now to treat the subject merely in an academic fashion and be satisfied with it. We, in recent times, have seen and heard of the hard struggle of our countrymen in South Africa, Canada and other parts of the Empire. Thanks to Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Polak and others who have taken up an abiding interest in the movement and who presented an attitude worthy of the admiration of the whole world. No less thanks are also due to H. E. Lord Hardinge for his kind intervention in bringing about a fair settlement (I do not say a very satisfactory settlement) regarding the South African question, which is only a part of the wider problem of Emigration within the Empire.

ITS IMPORTANCE TO INDIAN ECONOMISTS.

It is no exaggeration to say that the problem of Indian Emigration is one the importance of which is very little recognised both by the Publicists and the leading men of the country, much less understood. The subject has not attracted to itself sufficient adherents, either because our educated men have not turned their thoughts to it or they were unwilling to extend their sympathy to the Emigrants who till now belonged to a class, by no means rich or educated, but who still form the major portion of the Emigrant population, I mean the Indian rustic or the field labourer that often goes out of the country either driven by a sheer want for the necessities of life or out of a mere spirit of enterprise and adventure or due to other causes. But, whatever may be the fact, the conditions are changing, not yet fast enough as one might wish or expect. Educated men are now seeking fresh fields and pastures new in foreign lands to earn a decent livelihood or to learn the various arts and sciences, industries and manufactures with the object of uplifting their mother-country. It is to these few educated men that we owe now the little impetus that is given to this question. However, it is sad to reflect that a vast country like this sending out nearly 20,000 people every year to the distant parts of the world (excluding a net floating population of 50 to 60 thousand a year to Ceylon, Burma and Malay States) should lack in a single organisation to take on itself the responsibility, in a greater or less degree, of showing the way to intelligent Emigration, internal and external, to bring about a closer intimacy between the Emigrants and the stay-at-home, to understand the life, thought and activities of those abroad and to co-operate with them for our mutual benefit and to discuss problems peculiar to the subject. These are but some of the broad questions which should naturally strike or suggest themselves to the Indian Economists who have the welfare of the country at heart.

INSTITUTIONS IN ENGLAND.

In a small country like England, there is a net work of organisations which have for their object organised Emigration of men, women and children. The Bernado's Home is a familiar name even to the man in the street. It is a Home for converting the orphan, the destitute and the untouchables of their country into men of position and honourable citizens of the Empire. There are other societies such as the British Dominions Emigration Society, Self-help Emigration

Society, Settlers Emigration Society, Central Emigration Board, Emigrants Information Office, East End Emigration Society, Colonial Intelligence League, British Women's Emigration Association and Child Emigration Society to mention only a few of them.

These organisations are more or less the result of private enterprises directed and maintained by public subscriptions and voluntary contributions. Of course, there can be no comparison between England and India in any matter, particularly so in the question of Emigration. The aims of some of the English Societies abovementioned have been advisory, collecting and distributing exact information for the use of the Emigrants as to what they are leaving and whither they are going, what particular qualifications or occupations are in most demand and in what parts they are most required. There are other societies which hold out direct inducements by offering free or reduced passages to certain classes of Emigrants mainly to those unemployed and underpaid in Great Britain by granting lands in Canada and in the other British Colonies, as Tasmania, New Zealand, Australia at a cheap or a nominal price to the intending settlers. Thus a great many Promised Lands are bidding against one another for English man's share of Colonisation. Intelligent and assisted Immigration to the Colonies and Emigration organised and actively encouraged by the State and such Societies at Home for half a century, forms the true key to the success of English Colonisation. We in this hall should be talking in vain and wasting our breath for nothing if we do not at once take steps to bring about a single organisation, however small it may be, even with two or three earnest members who are really interested in the problem. Only a beginning should be made and the earlier it is made the better.

HOW TO INTEREST OUR MEN.

As I pointed out to you, gentlemen, a minute ago that it is the lack of interest in the question and the want of sympathy to the Emigrants and the improper understanding of the whole situation of Indians outside India that has been the real cause for the delay in the formation of a society which should be either as a consultative or an executive body, in all matters concerning Indian Emigration. To what else could we ascribe the failure, but the want of interest in and the imperfect understanding of the subject. There are only two ways by which we can create an interest in our men in this question, and that is by reporting to them the sufferings and the disabilities of our countrymen

in foreign lands and thereby evoke their sympathy, just as the whole country was roused to a man when the sufferings of our countrymen in S. Africa were brought home to us by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale and Mr. H. S. L. Polak. In the second place by inviting discussions on the question now and then as to its effects on the broader aspects of life in relation to the Social, Economic and Political development of the country.

I give you below an instance from an eye-witness of coolies who are the victims of frauds and extortions of all kinds, in one of the estates in the Malay States. This is the story of the cooly "I was first employed on an estate close to here, belonging to a European gentleman. I was persuaded by some of my relatives living on my present estate to give notice and I was promised by the 'Mudalaley' a very good pay. I have worked for over two years and the Mudalaley owes me over \$150. He gives very hard work to do every day and I am given only rice and little money to meet my other expenses. When I ask him to settle my account, so that I may return to India he says, 'to-morrow, to-morrow.' One day when I insisted on his settlement of my account, I was flogged by the 'Kanakapillai' at the instigation of the Mudalaley. I have to leave the estate without a single cent in my pocket to go home." One cannot but feel pity for the Indian coolie in Malay States and there are hundreds of cases which escape our notice like this and they are not often successful in Courts of Law, as it is a difficult matter to prove the claim. Instances of this nature without number can be multiplied. While therefore it is a matter of great importance to redress the existing evils attendant on Indian Emigration in the Colonies, it is no less important to know the serious economic consequences and the social and political degradation that follow from a system of recruitment of Indian labour to the British Colonies, I mean the system of Indentured Labour. Fortunately, things are now taking a better turn and the Government itself is turning its attention seriously to this problem as will be evident from the speech of H. E. the Viceroy at the autumn session of the Imperial Legislative Council held in September last. In the course of the speech, H. E. said:—"I would now like to say a few words upon another question which has seriously occupied the attention of India during the past 12 months, a subject to which we attach the very highest importance, I allude to the question of Emigration from one part of our Empire to another."

Gentlemen, it is a thousand pities that even after H. E. has moved this subject of his own accord and, especially at a time when the whole thought of the nation was taken up by this bloody war in Europe, with a sympathy and broad mindedness so characteristic of his administration, no Hon'ble Member or an Indian politician has ever seem to have bestowed the least thought on this subject, which in H.E.'s own words "is for the consideration of the Hon'ble Members and of the Indian public that I have developed our views to-day."

This present attitude of the Government of India is quite a new departure from its traditional neutrality of only "seeing fair play between the parties to a commercial transaction."

AN INDIAN PROTECTOR OF EMIGRANTS.

In so far as this subject of "Coolie Emigration" is concerned, we are shortly to receive a full and exhaustive report on the condition of the Indian labourers in the four distant Colonies of British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji. The report of the Commissioners has not yet reached our hands and we are therefore at a loss to know exactly what their recommendations are. Whatever they may be, we cannot help making at present a suggestion or two which the Government of India will take it somewhat seriously to bring about. The first consideration is the appointment of an Indian Protector of Emigrants or an Indian Assistant to the Protector. It was in the year 1842, on the recommendation of Sir J. P. Grant, a member of a committee of four appointed in Calcutta in 1837, to enquire into the abuses of the system of Indentured Labour that a Protector of Emigrants was appointed; and it was on this safeguard that Emigration to Mauritius was re-opened and later on to other Colonies.

Gentlemen, we do not recommend the appointment of an Indian Protector on the score that we want to create new berths for educated Indians; but on the other hand with the hope that the Indian so appointed will act as an intermediary between the Indian labourer on the one hand and the English Protector or the Planter on the other and to whom the labourers will have free access to express their grievances in their own familiar way. Of course, in the choice of such a man, care should be taken to consider his personal qualities and his status in society, apart from his other qualifications. He must not be of an unsympathetic or an overbearing nature, as most of our men risen from a low rank to a high position are.

An Indian, full of sympathy for the poorer classes of his country, must always be selected for this position of importance. Such a person under the existing state of things is considered very necessary and indispensable. If we compare the strength of the outgoing Indian population from the time of 1842, decade by decade, up to 1912, it will be found that the population has almost increased now 5 times, so that the English Officer will barely have the time to inspect the people closely and attend to their wants. Nor will he have the patience to learn the various languages of the Emigrants to hear and understand their grievances aright. Moreover, the mere presence of an Indian Protector of Emigrants in the various Colonies entering into the sympathies and understanding the languages of the emigrant labourers, will spell a sense of security in their lives and lead them to expect better treatment.

REGULATION WITHOUT INDENTURE.

The other suggestion that I wish to bring forward is the old idea, which is familiar to every one of us here, an idea which is as old as Emigration itself when it began under the British Rule; I mean the doing away with the most disgraceful system of Indenture throughout the Colonies, which, in the opinion of many Englishmen themselves, is nothing short of slavery in a modified form. It would nearly fill a volume, if I should begin to narrate here the views of all the eminent men, both English and Indian, on this vexed question. Even the feelings of the Colonials are largely hostile to its continuance simply on the score, if not on anything else, that a free Indian labourer does better and more work than a labourer under restraint, and secondly that it tends to depress the current rate of wages and as a consequence only a minority of the time expired coolies become permanent settlers, the majority claiming their return passage and taking money out of the Colony in the form of savings.

And for a general and concrete treatment of the subject, I would refer to the little interesting book of Mr. H. S. L. Polak "Indians in South Africa."

I would also just recall here the words of the Committee of 1910, which, speaking of British Guiana says:—"There is however, one unsatisfactory feature of indentured immigration, which is at least as prominent in this as in any other Colonies, and that is the extent to which the employers resort to the Criminal Courts in order to enforce the fulfilment by the immigrants of the statutory obligations. In 1907-08, with

an indentured population of 9,784, there were on less than 3,835 complaints by employers against immigrants, of which 1,499 were withdrawn, 201 struck off, 116 dismissed and 2,019 resulted in convictions. The percentage of complaints to the indentured population was 39.2 and of convictions 20.6. In contrast to these figures there is recorded only one complaint by an immigrant against his employer which ended in conviction." These figures speak for themselves.

The Report continues: "In these circumstances it should, in our opinion, be possible to devise some system by which a large proportion of the numerous complaints brought by the employers against their indentured labourers should be decided without the intervention of the Criminal Courts. There are no statistics in the Report of the Immigration Department to show in how many cases imprisonment followed on conviction, but from the returns of the Prisons Department for the same year it appears that 1,694 persons were imprisoned for offences under the Masters and Servants Ordinances, including the Immigration Ordinance. It may be presumed that most, if not all, of these offences were committed by Indentured Immigrants."

Without further going into its details, let me suggest at once a compromise between the Government's action, Indian and Colonial on the one hand and the Indian public opinion on the other. What I would therefore recommend is a system of "*Regulation without Indenture*." Indenture as we all know is a peculiar kind of contract entered into not under the common law of the country, but under a Statute specially devised to meet the case. What the present suggestion would indicate is, a contract on fair terms and under ordinary law between the employer and the employed and any such breaches of contract should be a matter for the Civil Court to decide and not the Criminal Court, as under the Indenture Law. The necessity for adopting such a system of Indenture by the Colonies has been merely to insure payment by the Immigrants for the amount of money expended or incurred on their account by the Colonies themselves in taking them over to their country, such as the passage money, medical attendance on the way and in the plantation and other incidental expenses. The Colonies think that there is no other way of insuring this amount except by a strict restraint over the person. If those who are interested in the abolition of this system of Indenture, should take on

themselves the duty of voluntary help to our poor emigrants by organising an Association for the rendering of monetary assistance under specified circumstances, as in the same manner as many of the Guarantee Societies do elsewhere. In other words, there ought to be a system of suretyship which would compensate the planter or the capitalist for any wilful or perverse breach of contract and safeguard the interests of the estate and its continuance, while at the same time affording sufficient protection to the Indians in cases of real ill treatment or hardship.

OUR RESPONSIBILITIES.

Gentlemen, Privileges always carry with them certain Responsibilities and if we ourselves should learn to carry on our shoulders this responsibility of making an amount of self-sacrifice that is necessary in all matters affecting our national welfare, the question of Indenture would be solved the moment we realise it.

Imagine for a moment the immense amount of money that is spent by each Colony in getting labour from India in any particular year, say for instance, 1908.—

British Guiana	...	\$ 204,084 for 1,766 adults.
Trinidad	...	£ 62,056.

All this money is no charity freely bestowed on the Indian. Every pie that is spent on him from the moment he leaves, rather he is made to leave his house by the recruiter, he is made liable for and is wrung from him to a pie. And unless we place the Indian labourer, ignorant and uneducated as he is, who wishes to make his fortune in foreign lands, in a position by allowing him with passage money and other requisites to enter any Colony or place he likes as a free citizen and then to declare his terms, we will never accomplish the task of stopping the system.

EFFECTS OF HIGH AND LOW WAGES.

As an alternative to provide him with a free passage etc., to distant Colonies, if only our landed proprietors and capitalists should combine to increase the wages of labourers and workmen in their own country, any allurements to distant Colonies will save him from this degradation. This brings us on to the crucial economic problem, *viz.*, the Wages Question which is the root of all agricultural and Industrial progress of the country and in a sense the prime cause of Emigration.

We, in this country have been keeping down wages so miserably low as not to allow the agricultural labourer or the daily wage earner to lift his

head above want. The only country for us to look to an example of the disastrous effects arising out of a low standard of wages is Ireland. The conditions of these two countries have been similar in more respects than one. In the matter of wages, the peasantry of Ireland furnishes a striking example. Having no taste for the convenience or the luxuries of life, the labouring classes of Ireland are satisfied if they obtain a sufficient supply of potatoes and if the supply fails, it is next to impossible, they can escape falling a prey to famine.

Gentlemen, allow me just to quote a single paragraph on the effects that follow low wages so strikingly put by J. R. McCulloch in his "Principles of Political Economy":—

"Whenever the wages of labour are so low, as to render it impossible for an ordinary increase of exertion to make any material and visible addition to their comforts and conveniences, the labourers invariably sink into a state of idleness, and of sluggish and stupid indifference. But the desire to rise in the world, and to improve our condition, is too deeply seated in the human breast ever to be wholly eradicated. And as soon as labour is rendered more productive, as soon as an increase of industry brings a visible increase of comforts and enjoyments along with it, indolence uniformly gives place to exertion; a taste for the conveniences and enjoyments of life gradually diffuses itself; increased exertions are made to obtain them; and ultimately the workman considers it discreditable to be without them. Have the low wages of the people of Ireland, Poland, and Hindostan, made them industrious? or the high wages of the Americans, the English, and the Hollanders, made them lazy, riotous, and profligate?—Just the contrary. The former are as notoriously and proverbially indolent, as the latter are laborious, active and enterprising. The experience of all ages and nations, proves that high wages are at once the keenest spur—the most powerful stimulus to unremitting and assiduous exertion, and the best means of attaching the people to the institutions under which they live."

Everywhere in the world is visible the contest between Labour and Capital. The agricultural labourers in certain parts of England are now endeavouring to combine for the purpose of securing an increase in their miserably low wages. The American agriculturist is fairly well off in his profession and any outside work is never too attractive to him. "An abundance of nutritious food is and has been, ever

since the revolutionary period, the sure condition of the agriculturist in the United States. The mode of living on the part of the agricultural population has necessarily set a minimum standard of wages for mechanical labour."

LAND TAXES IN INDIA AND ENGLAND.

While such is the story of other countries, how is it then in India agriculture is not paying, wages are as low as ever, the cultivator sinking lower and lower. The fact is that in "old countries" such as ours the land has so long been fully occupied that the productive capabilities of the soil have been exhausted. Besides, lands in India are so heavily assessed that they hardly offer the bare means of subsistence much less leave a margin of profit; and the fear of resettlement every twenty-five or thirty years hangs heavily on the landowner and he is reluctant on that account to improve the condition of his already impoverished land with the result, that the land deteriorates in its productivity year by year. In this connection I should not fail to mention the remarkable book of "Progress and Poverty" by Henry George in which (Bk. II., Ch. 2) the land problem is treated somewhat briefly, but at the same time gives an idea into the state of Indian peasantry.

A little comparison at this stage as to the percentages of taxes on land and other heads of revenue between England and India will explain the position better—

	England (1906-09).	India (1904-08).
Land ...	·5	38·5
Excise ...	25·9	12
Customs ...	23·8	9·3
Income-tax ...	23·8	2·9

The above statement of percentages of revenue only illustrates the difference of systems adopted in a rich and a poor country like England and India by the two Governments.

As it will be seen from the figures, that Excise, Customs and Income-tax form the chief source of revenue to the Government of England, whereas in India the land revenue forms the biggest source of revenue. It cannot therefore be doubted that the land tax is the pivot on which the whole emigration question moves. The remedy for this lies in the reform of the system of Finance and Tariff which forms a subject by itself.

INFLUENCE ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE.

I may perhaps at this stage be thought to have drifted into another question which seems altogether unconnected with my present subject, but the question of Emigration is too deep and intricate a problem that it cannot be divested of its side issues on the Social, Economic, Political and even Agricultural and industrial aspects of life. It is not the present purpose of this paper to go into the details of these branches, but they will be discussed often and on in my Journal the "**Indian Emigrant**" started recently and with the help and the co-operation of the members of this Conference to continue to do some useful work for the poor Emigrants of this Country.

OUR FUTURE HOPES.

Gentlemen, I refrain from saying more for the present on this subject for two reasons.

In the first place, the Report of the Commissioners, Messrs. Chimman Lal and MacNeill are about to be published shortly and it is possible that they may have proposed several suggestions for the improvement of the condition of Indians in the various Colonies. If in the meanwhile an organisation is formed, the question may be taken up and discussed again next year in the light of the Report.

The other consideration is that the shoulder touch of the Indian with the Britisher and the Colonials in the battle field of Europe is expected to work some miracles regarding the position of Indians within the Empire after the war is over. Then, a British subject anywhere, will be a British subject everywhere. Let us therefore anxiously hope for the day when there will be "Peace on Earth and Good Will among Men."

* * * The above paper was read at the Industrial Conference held in Madras, in Dec. 1914.

IMMIGRATION TO TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO.

It seems a far cry from where we write to the British Colony of Trinidad, but Asiatic labour has moved the distance heedless of all obstacles. A short description of the Colony is being published in the **INDIAN EMIGRANT**, and nowhere does the Asiatic labourer land save he enriches its soil and increases its resources. The touch of Midas is with the migrating Orient and his contribution to the economic resources of the various parts of the British Empire cannot be too highly estimated. In a foreign region and in such totally different circumstances, it is

natural to feel some consideration, an almost sympathetic curiosity, in his welfare. It is with feelings akin to these that we take up the latest Immigration Report for the year 1913-14, of Trinidad and Tobago, prepared by the Protector of Immigrants there. Our quickened imagination at once meets with a rebuff of cold dullness and the Report lacks the information which we most seem to desire. A little flesh and bone added to the figures will make such Reports more enlivening and the stiff statements, will bring home a sufficient picture of the Colonial life of Indians, if only leavened with more personal touch.

THE REPORT.

The Report deals with Indian Immigration, and the Indian immigrants in the Colony, during the twelve months ended 31st March, 1914, to which is attached the new Abstract of Quarterly Returns with other important Tables as also a return prepared by the Surgeon-General, Mr. H. Z. Clare, relative to diseases among indentured immigrants. During the period under review, three ships arrived from Calcutta between the months of August and November, bringing a total of 1,189 souls, equal to 1,143 statute adults. From the Reports made by the Surgeons-Superintendent, it would seem that the health conditions, which obtained during the voyages, were all that could be desired, and that the sickness which prevailed was not above normal. There were, however, two epidemics—one of measles and mumps in the ship, "Sutlej," and one of mumps only in the ship, "Mutlah," all being of a mild type. Three births occurred during voyage among 814 females, and among the three deaths that are reported, all males, one died of pleuro-pneumonia, another of cerebro-spinal-meningitis and the third death was supposed to be one of suicide. An investigation into the causes of mortality on board the ships, apart from those attendant on a first sea-voyage, must be interesting for an understanding of the feelings of the labourers carried on board. We are told that the mortality on board the ships in 1913 was below that of the previous year, being .25 per cent. and .77 per cent., respectively. When only able-bodied men are recruited and when they are supposed to be influenced by no other motives except their absolute self-interests, these watery graves sometimes sought by emigrants are, to say the least, a little mystifying.

PASSENGERS.

From the particulars given of the immigrants who arrived by the three ships during 1913, we learn that

bills amounting to \$ 2,138.98 cents were brought by them. Of the immigrants who came for indenture, seventeen deposited with the Immigration Agent the sum of \$ 923.84 cents for remittance, which amount was returned to them on arrival. We notice that there were 89 immigrants who came out to the Colony for indenture, who had formerly resided there, or in the Colonies. Seven came from Jamaica, 16 from Fiji, 10 from British Guiana, 38 from Trinidad, 10 from Natal, 4 from Mauritius and 4 from Surinam. During the year under notice, 816 souls in all returned to Calcutta on the 8th February 1914, leaving the Colony on the 24th December 1913. Many of the return emigrants this year were reported to be in fairly comfortable circumstances, having made money during their term of industrial labour in the Colony. We regret to notice that as many as 16 deaths occurred during the return voyage to one birth, but this fact has been explained away by the Protector as being due to "the poor health in which some of the immigrants left" from the Colony. Of the total of 816 passengers, 293 lived to earn free passage, which is granted after 10 years of labour, 122 were sent back as unfit for further service, and 112 children also were returned. Exclusive of money taken back by return emigrants, the sum remitted through the Post Office exceeds the amounts remitted for the last seven years, although the number of remitters is found to be less than the average for the same period.

ECONOMIC CONDITION.

An inquiry into the economic condition of the immigrants in the Colony, prompts an instinctive shrugging of the shoulders. After all, the—"Industrial Paradise" painted by the painstaking recruiter exists only in his imagination. The total number of murders among Indian Immigrants reported for 1913-14 is above the average for the last ten years, but the Protector is pleased to say that there is a marked decrease in the number of murders of wives. There were 188 immigrants transferred during the period owing to various causes, *viz.*, interfering with other immigrant's wives, threatening Estates' Authorities, or immigrants persuading immigrants to desist from work, and "for reasons of policy." Reading between the lines, the suspicion is forced on any one that all is not well with this Colony regarding the relations existing between employers and labourers and other facilities provided for their comfort. Desertions are on the increase in the Colony and during the year under review there were 912 such cases as

against 849 in the previous year. The number is nearly double that of 1911-12 when there were only 519 desertions. In this connection the Report says:—"Although the number of prosecutions for breaches of Indenture, namely, 3,173 among 10,912 indentured immigrants, or 29 per cent. of the total number, is larger than 1912-13, yet it must be borne in mind that there are a great many habitual idlers, who cannot be made to abide by the terms of their contracts, and have, therefore, to be prosecuted and convicted over and over again." In the case of one estate, we read, employing a small number of immigrants—31 in all—there were no fewer than 29 convictions recorded against them, principally for desertion and habitual idling. But, some of the suggestions for the proposed new ordinance in the Colony, viz., that no Manager can prosecute without previous sanction of the Inspector of the District, as also non-compulsion to prosecute in cases of desertion, are hoped to materially lessen the high figures under this head. The Report, which is just concluded, of Messrs. Mc Neill and Chimmanlal deputed to the Colonies importing Indian labour, touching on this aspect of the problem, is bound to throw considerable light on the question.

SOCIAL WELFARE.

Though the general mean death-rate for the period under review, is less than the previous year, although the actual death-rate is higher, being 1.71 as compared to 1.47, a glance at the figures of mortality among indentured immigrants ranging over a decade is not reassuring at all. The adequacy of medical facilities in this and other respects calls for criticism and we hope that immediate arrangements will be made to remedy this state of affairs. The causes of death are reported as being due to malarial fever, ankylostomiasis, anemia, dysentery and disorders in the digestive or respirative system. The Surgeon-General calls attention to the insufficient and unsatisfactory character of the water-supply for drinking purposes in such notorious parts of the Colony as Chaguanas, Couva, Guayacana, North and South Naparima, Princes Town and Indian Walk. These districts are dry ones with few or no streams. The Acting Protector of Immigrants, M. A. De Boissiere has the courtesy to tell us that the want of water is common to all the inhabitants, not to the immigrants only. There is undoubtedly consolation to be derived from a sense of common hardship, but the Acting Protector of Immigrants has gone a step further in seeming to want the immigrants share sorrows for which they

had never bargained. However, we are told that the matter is receiving the attention of the Governments, and we hope for the best. The Orphan Homes at Belmont and Tacarigna are, we note, admirably conducted; so also the Lunatic and Leper Asylums.

ADMINISTRATION.

We are able, on the whole, to congratulate the Protector of Immigrants, Commander W. H. Coombs, R.N., on the efficient working of the whole Department. We read that the relations between employer and employed continue to improve, both recognising that much can be done by sustaining that harmony and good feeling which alone can conduce to their mutual interest and benefit. As Commander Coombs has obtained permission to shortly retire from the Colonial Service, this is his last report, and in closing it, he writes: "I would wish to place on record my deep appreciation of the work and conduct of the Inspectors, Clerks and Interpreters, who have done their work loyally and well during the 18½ years I have held the post of Protector of Immigrants, and have thus assisted me in bringing the Immigration Service of Trinidad to the high state of efficiency in which, I venture to think, it now is."

THE BRITISH COLONY OF TRINIDAD.

We gave in the November number of the *INDIAN EMIGRANT*, page 116, a geographical description of the Colony. Below, we furnish the chief industries and other economic particulars regarding the same.

THE CACAO INDUSTRY OF TRINIDAD.

While cacao has been grown in Trinidad since the Spanish period it was not until about 1900 that owing in part to the decline in sugar production, it attained the first rank among the island's products. In 1894 and 1895 Trinidad held the second place among producers of the world's supply of cacao but since then it has been surpassed by San Thomé and Brazil, while Venezuela is a close fifth. As cacao requires a very warm and humid climate—77° to 86° Fahr., with abundant rainfall—Trinidad is by nature well suited to the production of this crop, while the absence of violent wind storms, a fair supply of labour and a good Government make the position of the cacao planter very favourable. From 1894 to 1905 the production of cacao in Trinidad increased more than 100 per cent., while since the latter date it has fluctuated considerably. The crop in 1910 was the largest on record, a drought reducing the yield in 1911. The following table gives the total amount of the cacao exports from Trinidad from 1894 to 1911 inclusive:

EXPORTS OF CACAO.

Year.	Pounds.	Year.	Pounds.	Year.	Pounds.
1894	22,602,088	1900	34,790,682	1906	27,570,928
1895	29,873,079	1901	33,880,560	1907	49,730,576
1896	28,219,680	1902	44,342,256	1908	49,136,088
1897	27,669,141	1903	42,585,760	1909	51,575,104
1898	28,340,960	1904	40,753,776	1910	57,858,640
1899	33,942,048	1905	48,416,256	1911	49,790,832

EXPORTS.

The values of the exports for the last five years were as follows: 1907, \$3,687,708; 1908, \$5,605,866; 1909, \$5,480,840; 1910, \$5,904,465; and 1911, \$5,470,028. It will be observed by comparing these figures with the foregoing table that the prices of Trinidad cacao vary quite widely—notably in 1907 and 1908, when a crop of almost identical size realized \$3,081,842 more in the former year than in the latter. In general, however, the quality of Trinidad cacao is excellent and on the Hamburg market it usually brings higher prices than San Thomé, Brazilian or the other West Indian grades, although less than Ecuadorian or the best Venezuelan qualities. Comparatively little of this cacao finds its way to the Hamburg market, however, fully three-fifths coming direct to the United States, while most of the balance is sent to London. There are in all 750 or more cacao estates on the island, for the most part belonging to separate owners, although single holdings of two or three up to five or six estates are not unusual. In the Arima ward union, on the southern slopes of the northern mountain range, there are 136 cacao estates, in Diego Martin and St. Ann's ward, just north of Port-of-Spain, 92; in Manzanilla, on the east coast portion of the north central plain, 95; in Montserrat, on the slopes of the central range, 88; in Tacarigua and Blanchisseuse wards, around St. Joseph and beyond the northern range, 80; with from 15 to 50 estates in a number of other wards. New estates are being planted as the insular system of railroads and highways is extended, but as five years are required before the trees begin to bear, the increase is slow. The total area planted to cacao in 1911-12 was 290,200 acres out of a total cultivated area of 422,190 acres. Crown lands are available in abundance for cacao cultivation at £2 10s. per acre, including cost of survey.

CACAO.

As cacao is one of the great staples of world commerce a brief description of the manner in which it is cultivated and prepared for the market will be of interest, especially as the methods prevailing in Trinidad are usually looked upon as representing the best practice, and serve therefore as models for the planters in other cacao growing regions. Cacao is the name applied to the beans of the tree named by Linnæus *Theobroma cacao*—the first word signifying "food of the Gods"—

and is the raw material from which cocoa and chocolate are manufactured. These beans were first introduced in Europe by Cortes, the conqueror of Mexico, having been cultivated in tropical America for centuries.

The cultivated tree grows to a height of from 12 to 25, and occasionally 40 feet, but in Trinidad averages from 15 to 20 feet. The trees may be grown either from seeds or from nursery stock, and are usually planted from 12 to 15 feet apart each way. Intervening shade trees are set out in Trinidad, the "*Bois Immortel*" or "*Madre de Cacao*" ("mother of cacao") being the most common. The castor oil plant, cassava, banana, and lately the *Heveas*, or Para rubber tree, are often employed as they yield a side product of commercial value. The flowers are small and bright red in colour, and grow singly or in clusters on the trunk and the main stems of the branches. These give way to large cucumber-shaped pods, which are at first green, then turn yellow and red on ripening. Within the outer shell, which is about half an inch thick, is a sweetish pulp enclosing from 20 to 40 almond-shaped seeds arranged in five longitudinal rows. These are the cacao beans of commerce.

Only about 1 per cent. of the flowers develop into mature fruit, the average number of pods to a tree being about 70. The trees produce leaves, flowers and fruit continuously throughout the year, but in the West Indies the principal crops are gathered twice a year, the first in May or June, the second in November or December. These periods correspond to those when the trees flower most profusely, about six months being required after flowering for the fruit to ripen.

The trees begin to bear in three or four years after planting, and bear continuously for fifty or more years if properly cared for. The ripened pods are picked by means of a hand knife when hanging within reach, while a cacao hook or pruning knife attached to a long pole or bamboo stalk is used for gathering those on the higher branches. They are then sorted on the ground into grades, according to quality, all over or under ripe or diseased fruit being thrown aside. The perfect pods are then cut open and the seeds removed by hand. The seeds, or beans as they are usually called, are then conveyed with the pulp still clinging to them to the "sweating house," where they are placed in large vats to ferment. The process of fermentation and curing, according to Whympier, usually requires from nine to twelve days, although fermentation may be complete in three days under ideal conditions of temperature. The bean is then found to have changed its colour from purple to a rich brown, while its skin has shrunk and become tougher. Various chemical changes take place during fermentation that are essential to rendering the finished product marketable, and its quality and price depend largely upon the care given to this important process.

"After fermentation is complete," to quote from Mr. Whympster, "and the required colour and aroma of the beans obtained, the cacao should be washed at once, or fermentation will proceed beyond the desired limits. The beans are placed in sieves or troughs and thoroughly stirred and scrubbed under water till all adhering organic matter is removed and the beans are clean and smooth, when they are ready for drying." The usual method of drying in Trinidad is by exposure to the sun on open wooden floors which are covered when it rains by movable roofs, or in trays which can be placed under shelter in wet weather. They are kept constantly turned to prevent overheating, and to accelerate the process of drying the planters in Trinidad often mix a fine dried earth with the beans. This is called "claying" and is especially used during damp weather. On some plantations drying is effected artificially under cover by exposing the beans to heat supplied by a system of hot water or steam pipes. In this case they are placed in a shallow circular vat and kept stirred by sets of revolving plows operated by some form of power. If earth has been used in the drying process the beans are generally given a final polish by treading or "dancing," as it is called in Trinidad, with the naked feet. This also removes any mildew that may have attached to the beans. Hand rubbing is sometimes employed instead of dancing. The beans are then ready for bagging, the Trinidad crop being put up for export in sacks containing from 160 to 200 pounds each.

SUGAR.

The era of beet sugar bounties produced a very disastrous effect on the cane sugar industry of Trinidad, the sum realized for the crop falling from about \$4,000,000 in the years from 1876 to 1880 by a steady series of declines to just half that sum in 1902-03. Since the latter date, however, the industry has gradually recovered some of its former importance, although a pest known as the "froghopper" has cut down the yield considerably for the last year or so. In 1911-12 the area planted to sugar was 62,600 acres, the number of plantations being 63, grouped under 16 proprietors. A development of great interest and importance in the Trinidad sugar industry is what is known as "cane farming." This is the raising of sugar cane by small independent farmers. This began about 1895 and developed very rapidly so that by 1902 nearly two fifths of the cane ground was raised by cane farmers. Since then the proportion has varied between a third and one-half and in 1912 the number of cane farmers was reported at 6,988 East Indians and 6,042 West Indians, each of these totals being the largest recorded. The quantity of

sugar made in recent years, with the total exports, are shown in the following table:—

SUGAR PRODUCTION AND EXPORTS.

Year.	Total Made. Tons.	Exports. Tons.	Year.	Total Made. Tons.	Exports. Tons.
1905	88,240	36,241	1909	52,972	45,330
1906	62,975	45,004	1910	51,950	46,248
1907	50,564	46,270	1911	46,718	37,937
1908	48,933	39,618	1912	40,936	*

In addition to sugar, this industry produces molasses and rum in moderate quantities, exports of the former aggregating 516,284 gallons in 1911, and of the latter 122,257 gallons. In former years exports of molasses were much larger, being purchased by the distilleries of Martinique. They now rarely exceed 500,000 gallons. Of rum, the domestic consumption calls for 800,000 gallons annually, only the surplus not required at home being exported. This has fluctuated widely in recent years, rising above 200,000 gallons in 1902 and 1906 and above 300,000 in 1909 and falling to less than 1,000 gallons in 1905.

COCOANUTS.

There are about 130 coconut plantations on the island, situated principally on the eastern and south-western coasts and for most part in the following wards—Mayaro, Cedros, Oropuche and Toco. The total acreage of these estates in 1911 was 18,700 acres, and the production 20,602,923 cocoanuts. During the last decade the annual production has varied from ten to twenty million, with a gradual increase during the last five years. Most of the cocoanuts are exported to the United States. The total exports of cocoanuts in 1911 were valued at \$369,670, besides, copra, valued at \$64,463, and coconut oil and meal, valued at \$1,137 and \$1,015, respectively. Trinidad cocoanuts are shipped to New York on chartered vessels (for the most part sailing ships), to American buyers purchasing the bulk of the crop. Prices, f. o. b. Trinidad, range from \$14 to \$25 per thousand, averaging about \$20.

OTHER AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.

A total of 4,120 acres in 1911 was planted to coffee trees, 9,522 acres to rice, 26,500 to ground products, 2,960 to rubber and 885 to oranges. A small quantity of coffee is exported annually, the total varying from less than 1,000 pounds to 75,000, and on one occasion 110,000. The rice crop in 1909 was 10,531,120 pounds, all of which was consumed locally, besides large importations. The rubber industry is thought to be very promising, but exports are small as yet, and the yield per tree less than in the East. There are also small exports of bananas and pineapples, the latter being canned by the company raising them. Cotton cultivation has been attempted, but with little success.

* Not yet reported.

ASPHALT.

The most remarkable natural feature of Trinidad is the deposit of asphalt at La Brea near the south-western extremity of the island. The Pitch Lake, as it is inaccurately called, is a veritable lake of asphalt about 140 acres in extent, of which 114 are entirely devoid of vegetation. The depth of the deposit is estimated at from 138 to 150 feet and at the present rate of extraction the supply will last about a century, the removal of 1,032,000 tons lowering the level of the lake only 4.75 feet. In appearance the surface of the lake is blackish gray, with many pools of black oily water formed upon it. At the center it is very soft, yielding slightly to the tread of those walking upon it. As the surface is removed the mass slowly presses back upon the orifice so that all traces of each day's diggings are obliterated overnight. Since 1888 the lake has been leased to the New Trinidad Lake Asphalt Company, which has quite an extensive plant for conveying the asphalt to its piers at Brighton by means of an aerial cable-way, while the buckets are drawn off from the surface of the lake by tram cars. In addition to the lake itself the company owns outright or controls a tract of 8,000 acres which comprises much land containing what is locally known as "ground pitch." These lands have brought as high as \$10,000 per acre and contain sub-surface deposits of asphalt of unknown extent. The concession of the lake to the company does not expire until 1930, and yields the Colonial Government an annual sum of £14,000 (\$68,110), with an additional royalty of \$1.60 per ton for crude and \$2.22 per ton for pure asphalt on any export in excess of 30,000 tons, making the total royalties received run as high as \$250,000 per annum. Asphalt can be conveyed from the lake direct on board the steamers taking it to Europe and the United States at the rate of 80 tons per hour.

The contents of the lake at La Brea are in constant motion owing to the ebullition of gas. Stakes driven into its surface move from one to twenty feet in three weeks, while logs or other large objects falling upon the surface are soon engulfed and eventually disappear. There are several islands in the lake, some of them with trees 60 feet high, and these are constantly shifting their location. Soundings made in 1893 and 1894 were carried down 135 feet at the center when the tube became so inclined, one foot in six, that the work had to be abandoned. The borings determined, however, that the lake is a bowl-like depression (possibly the crater of an extinct mud volcano) over 2,300 feet across and over 135 feet deep filled with a uniform mass of what Prof. Peckham has suggested should be called "Parianite," consisting of 54 to 55 per cent. bitumen mixed with mineral and organic matter. Altogether the total contents of the lake were at that time estimated at 9,000,000 tons. Experts

estimate that there is a constant influx of new material into the lake at the rate of 18,000 to 20,000 tons per year, while at some former time the walls of the crater or bowl containing the deposit have been broken down and vast masses overflowed across the adjoining country and into the sea. The area underlain by this overflow, which is called "ground pitch" as above stated, but is identical in composition with that in the lake, is over 3,000 acres. It is generally thought that an overflow through an underground crevice into the sea still continues. If this is the case, the material can no doubt eventually be recovered, while the underground deposits can for the most part be readily reached. The importance of this deposit to the United States is sufficiently indicated by the fact that of forty million square yards of asphalt pavement in the United States 85 per cent. are claimed to consist of a mixture in which Trinidad asphalt was used.

Trinidad asphalt is exported chiefly to the United Kingdom and to the United States. Total exports of crude and boiled asphalt were valued at \$947,386 in 1911. There is but one other asphalt lake like that at La Brea known, namely, the Bermudex Lake in Venezuela. The following table shows the exports of asphalt from Trinidad from 1898 to 1911:—

EXPORTS OF CRUDE AND BOILED ASPHALT.

Year.	Crude. Tons.	Boiled. Tons.	Year.	Crude. Tons.	Boiled. Tons.
1898	86,574	13,622	1905	91,733	11,975
1899	121,317	14,483	1906	97,387	18,488
1900	141,905	16,847	1907	122,881	18,125
1901	127,747	15,648	1908	118,069	15,139
1902	145,712	11,427	1909	124,420	13,360
1903	178,984	9,866	1910	143,249	15,734
1904	115,187	13,425	1911	149,744	19,383

The uses of asphalt at the present time are so numerous that it is likely the demand for Trinidad asphalt in the future will tend to steadily increase. Besides its employment as a paving material in scores of large American cities, as well as in London, Paris, Berlin, Hanover and many other important European centers, it is now extensively used as an essential element in waterproofing construction, 20,000,000 square feet being laid in the subways and railway tunnels of New York City alone by a single company in the last few years. It is also being employed to an increasing extent in modern building construction for foundations, sidewalks, courtyard pavements floors, balconies, etc. Large quantities are also used for making waterproof roofings and for insulating at least one standard brand of roofing using Trinidad asphalt exclusively. It is also largely used as an ingredient in various manufactures. There are many technical accounts of the Trinidad lake and its important product, notably Ch. XIV of "Lime, Mortar and Cement," by W. J. Dibdin; Ch. III. in "Asphalts," by T. Hugh Boorman; "Solid Bitumens," by S. F. Peckham, and "The Oil Fields of the Empire," by J. D. Henry.

PETROLEUM.

For many years it has been known that petroleum deposits existed under various parts of the Island of Trinidad, particularly in the vicinity of La Brea and in the south-eastern extremity of the island. The New Trinidad Lake Asphalt Company succeeded in opening up a "gusher" to the height of its derrick (60 feet) in 1908 and the Trinidad Petroleum Company had equal success the same year with a well at Guapo, near by. In 1912 one of the finest wells in the Colony was struck at the Perseverance Estate, Guapo, at a depth of 296 feet, the oil gushing through a 6-inch pipe about 60 feet in the air. Much of this oil flowed into the Gulf of Paria through lack of storage facilities. At Guayaguayare, on the south-eastern extremity of the island, oil was found by some borings made several years ago, but the development of this field has been very slow. Since 1910 a number of companies have been organized for the purpose of exploiting the oil resources of the island and drilling operations have been carried on at various points, although lack of capital resulted in the cessation of some of these enterprises. During the years 1911-12 the number of wells drilled was 46, with an aggregate depth of 40,418 feet, and the total number of wells drilled to March 21, 1912 was 90. That year was also notable for being the first in which petroleum was exported from the Colony, the total amounting to 7,685,374 gallons, valued at \$151,598. Over 60,000 gallons were supplied to vessels for bunker purposes. There appears to be every indication that eventually oil deposits of great value will be tapped, thus adding another important element to the economic wealth of the island.

MANJAK.

A small quantity of this mineral is mined every year in the Colony and two new shafts were sunk successfully in 1911-12. Exports for 1910 amounted to 1,986 tons, valued at \$17,938—and for 1911 to 1,552 tons, valued at \$15,085. These exports were shipped to the United States, Great Britain and Germany.

MANUFACTURES.

The principal manufacturing industry on the island, apart from the sugar mills and rum distilleries already referred to, is the preparation of the Angostura bitters, the exports of which exceed \$200,000 per annum, in addition to a large domestic demand. These bitters were first made at Angostura (now Ciudad Bolívar), in Venezuela, in 1824, and the industry was removed to Port-of-Spain in 1875 owing to the continual political disturbances in that country. There is also a local match manufactory, using bouboum, a native wood, and considerable furniture making, also from native woods. Other local industries include the manufacture of beer, soap, biscuits, and cigars and cigarettes

—all for domestic consumption—and cocoanut oil, cassava starch and citric acid for export.

PRINCIPAL PLACES.

The Island of Trinidad is divided into eight countries. Of these, two, St. George and St. David, are on the northern coast, the former being to the west, the latter to the east, and both comprising the entire breadth of the northern-mountain range. In the plain between this and the central range are Caroni, on the westward side and St. Andrew on the eastward; on both sides of the low-lying central range are Victoria to the west and Nariva to the east, while on the southern coast are St. Patrick at the west and Mayaro at the east. The island has been further divided into 41 wards, which in turn have been grouped for certain administrative purposes into unions, comprising from two to six wards each. These ward unions are: Diego Martin in the extreme north-west; St. Ann's, Tacarigua, Chaguanas, Couva, Naparima, Oropuche and Cedros on the west coast from north to south; the two last and Moraga on the south; Mayaro on the south-east; Manzanilla on the east; Blanchisseuse and Toco on the north; while down the centre from north to south are Arima, Montserrat and Savana Grande.

Port-of-Spain.—The capital of the Colony and the largest city in the British West Indies, Port-of-Spain, has a population estimated in 1912 at about 60,000. Situated on a level plain at the foot of the northern mountain range, it faces the Gulf of Paria, which washes the west coast of the island and forms virtually a land-locked harbour several hundred square miles in extent. The streets are laid out in rectangular blocks, one of which contains the imposing group of Government buildings erected since 1903 at a cost of over \$250,000. There are several fine squares and a beautiful public park. The city has a telephone system, electric light and power service, electric tramways and a modern system of sewerage and water-supply. The stores and business establishments on the leading streets are large and well appointed, including several department stores and numerous mercantile establishments that have been in existence half a century or more. All the steamship lines from foreign ports running to Trinidad arrive at Port-of-Spain, which is the headquarters and transfer station of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, and also the terminus of the Government railway system and of the insular steamer service to coast ports and Tobago. The total number of vessels entered and cleared at the various ports of the Colony during 1911 was 4,898, with an aggregate registered tonnage of 9,657,695. Of these, 2,065 were steamships, with a total tonnage of 3,569,089, and 2,833 were sailing vessels, with a total tonnage of 88,606. Of the latter, 1,104 were Venezuelan vessels of small size, aggregating 83,078 tons. Since 1907 there

has been a remarkable increase in the coaling trade at Port-of-Spain, as shown by the following table, taken from the latest Colonial Report:

Year.	Number of Steamers.	Coal supplied.
1907-08.....	75	16,473 Tons.
1908-09.....	123	22,603 "
1909-10.....	204	45,859 "
1910-11.....	284	67,510 "
1911-12.....	444	100,802 "

During the winter months tourist vessels from New York belonging to the Hamburg-American and White Star Lines, and ranging from 12,000 to 16,500 tons, arrive at Port-of-Spain in addition to the steamers of the regular lines. These vessels are obliged to anchor some three or four miles from shore, owing to the shallow water, and the smaller steamers of the regular lines anchor in the bay from one to two miles from shore, where they discharge and take on their cargo from lighters. A Government Committee has recommended the construction of a deep-water quay with a harbour frontage of 8,000 feet for the largest ocean steamers. This plan involves the dredging of the entire water front for this distance, and of the bay to a sufficient extent to permit steamers to dock and turn. The Committee also recommended abandoning the present Custom House warehouses and constructing new buildings for these purposes on a different site, with warehouse space of 84,000 square feet. The cost of this scheme is estimated at from \$3,280,000 to \$3,900,000. An alternative plan proposed by the Chamber of Commerce at Port-of-Spain provides for a continuation and enlargement of the present lighter system, extending the present wharf frontage to 3,200 feet and building three new jetties for the use of lighters for loading and unloading. The plan proposed by the Chamber also provides for building a new Colonial warehouse, the extension of the American warehouse, which has become inadequate to handle the American goods imported, and building a new jetty out from it for lighters; moving the petroleum warehouse to a safer place; placing new cranes of 30 tons and upwards on both new and existing jetties; and dredging the entire harbour from to a depth of at least ten feet. The cost of this plan is variously estimated at from \$780,000 to \$1,700,000. It is expected that one or the other of these two plans will be adopted shortly and work begun during the year 1914. An American Consulate is located at Port-of-Spain.

San Fernando.—Situated on the west coast, 35 miles from Port-of-Spain, with which it is connected by railway, San Fernando is the second town in size and importance on the island. Its population is 8,700 and it is the centre of a sugar and cacao growing district. The completion of the proposed extension of the railway to Siparia 18½ miles farther south, will make this town

still more important as a commercial centre. The largest sugar central on the island is situated near by, with other large mills in the vicinity.

Princes Town.—This is a picturesque town of 4,497 inhabitants, situated 12 miles from San Fernando by rail, or 7 by road. It derived its name from a visit in 1880 by Prince Albert Victor and Prince George, the present King. It is the present terminus of the main southern branch of the railway and is distant 48 miles from Port-of-Spain.

Couva.—A growing town of 3,090 inhabitants, the centre of an important sugar district, on the railway line from Port-of-Spain to San Fernando, 25 miles distant, from the capital. The Gran Couva road running through the fertile cacao district of Montserrat, together with a network of other roads, makes the town the outlet for an important district.

Tabaquite.—This is the terminus of a branch spur from the southern division of the railway which is soon to be extended 16 miles further to the south-east to Poole thus rendering the somewhat isolated Mayaro district more accessible. Several Government highways are also being built in this region.

Arima.—On the northern branch of the Government railway, the most important town is Arima, population 4,076. This is 16 miles from the capital, or 45 minutes by train, and is a very flourishing little place. There are more cacao estates in the Arima ward union than in any other on the island.

St. Joseph.—The capital during the period of Spanish occupation, St. Joseph has somewhat declined owing to the growth of Port-of-Spain, which is only 7 miles distant. It has a population of 2,424, is the residence of many business men from the capital, and a popular tourist resort.

Tacarigua and Tunapuna.—These two places form a continuous village situated nine or ten miles from Port-of-Spain on the southern railway line in the midst of an important sugar growing district. The population of Tunapuna is estimated at 6,000.

Brighton.—This is the port for La Brea, the Pitch Lake, from which export shipments of Trinidad asphalt are made to all parts of the world. There is a pier for ocean steamers and an American Consular Agent is located at this point, owing to the large monetary value of the direct shipments to the United States.

Sangre Grande.—The terminus of the northern division of the railway and the centre of an important cacao district. It is 29 miles from the capital.

Following is a partial list of the towns on the railway, other than those above mentioned, with the distance of each from Port-of-Spain:—

San Juan.....	4	Chaguanas.....	18
Guanapo.....	19	Claxton Bay.....	30
Caroni.....	11	Reform.....	37
Longdenville.....	18	Dabadie.....	14
Brasso Caparo.....	27	Guaico.....	28
California.....	27	Jerningham Junction.....	15
Union.....	35	Caparo.....	23
Arouca.....	12	Carapichaima.....	21
Cumuto.....	23	Point-a-Pierre.....	32
Cunupia.....	14	Williamsville.....	39
Todd's Road.....	21		

The following are reached by steamer from San Fernando: Brighton, Guapo, Cap-de-Ville, Irois, Cedros, Icacos.

These ports are reached by coasting steamer (R. M.S.P.Co.), from Port-of-Spain: Blanchisseuse, Matelot, Grande Riviere, Sans Souci, Toco, Scarborough (Tobago) Matura, Manzanilla, Mayaro, Gauyaguayare, Moruga, La Lune, Erin.

A PEEP INTO THE F.M.S.

BY SWAMI SHARVANANDA.

It was a warm summer evening in the year 1913, when I came to the Madras Harbour to take the boat, S.S. Tara, which was bound for the Straits. Nearing the wharf, the first sight that caught my attention was a huge concourse of men, women and children; all swarming near the steamer and pushing each other to wind their way up to the same steamer I was to sail in. Curiosity pressed me to enquire into the significance of the sight, and I was told by a friend of mine employed in the Port Office that these were the coolies that had been recruited from the Northern Parts of the Presidency for the rubber plantations and tin-mines of the Federated Malay States; they had been detained only a few minutes before I reached the harbour, and now they were on their way to their respective destinations. There is a recruiting camp, I was told, at Avadi, and these coolies gathered from the different places of the Telugu districts, are first brought down there, and when their number swells over thousands, they are dispatched and taken thus by the steamers of the British India Steam Navigation Company, every week.

There were about fourteen-thousands of these poor souls that boarded the steamer that day at the Madras harbour. And so we had to wait some minutes on the wharf to allow that big crowd to go up into the boat before we could ascend to it by a narrow foot-board. It must be mentioned here, that in spite of the warmth of the evening, the whole crowd looked gay and

healthy, and their countenances were almost shining with the subdued rays of hope for the better prospect in future life, though, it is true, those pitiable aspects of the parting scene were not absolutely absent among them. Coming up to the steamer and seeing my things put in the proper cabin and making other little arrangements necessary for the voyage, I went up to the first deck and took my stand near the bridge to get a clear and full view of those country-men of mine quartered below in the lower decks, who had been turned out of their land of birth by the dire hand of poverty and compelled to seek their livelihood in some distant unknown regions, and ah! who knows, perhaps only to meet a bitter disappointment to their bright hopes and eke out a more miserable existence there. The lower decks presented a very pitiable sight! They were literally packed by that huge crowd—a regular medley of human figures—men, women, children, all mixed up pell mell huddled together like a flock of sheep, without any consideration of distinction in age or sex, or any decency as to the matter shown to them. And ah! one's heart writhes in agony to see such sight and behold therein how these innocent folks are so much deprived of their birth-right as man and brought down to the level of brutes as not to resist such treatments.

The reason is not far to seek, their serfdom of untold ages under the tyranny of the higher classes, has made them forget that they are men; it has smothered within them all the noble pride and aspirations of the human life and degraded them to the mere animality without a redeeming light from the soul. And to make the matter worse, the present scarcity and stress of the competition in life have stranded them in an utter helpless condition, even so much as to fall an easy prey to the decoying baits held out by those recruiting agents known as Kangarnies and suffer afterwards sometimes indescribable miseries in the foreign countries. All these reflect mean selfishness and suicidal negligence on the part of the educated classes of this country as to their attitude towards the masses.

It was just six in the evening when the boat weighed anchor and everything was thrown into great bustle, and within a few minutes she cleared off the harbour. Then a bell was rung, a loud yell was raised and the upper deck of the steerage was filled with an animated scene. Half a dozen stout laskars brought baskets of steaming rice and filled two big wooden tubs with it, and then several buckets of split-pulse sauce were poured over the rice; four

persons with long wooden spoons were engaged to mix the rice with the sauce. When the mixture was thus completed, the coolies were called, and each was given a good lump of that sauced rice in a leaf. And mixed sweet water was distributed in tin tumblers. Thus when the miserable fare of that poor lot was served and consumed, they were all driven back again to the hold and lower decks, and the upper one was flushed clean with the sea-water. With the lowering shroud of dusk, a comparative calm began to prevail on the boat. But not many minutes were passed when that sweating crowd below packed up like sardines in the hold, rent the silence with the rude music of their drums and carols, perhaps in the way of making an attempt to obscure the inflictions of an indelible fate in the sweet rapture of their melody. And they went on with their music for a couple of hours, till their consciousness was actually stolen away by the touch of the magical want of sleep who, I am sure, was more liberal in lavishing her grace over these poor people than she could ever be to the kings or Kaisers. All the humming noise of the laskars and passengers being hushed, a complete calm was restored. The ship was gliding on on her smooth watery path, and that perfect stillness around forced itself into one's soul and made it feel the harmony that exist between man and the universe. Without giving much leisure to myself for further reflections I too crept down to my cabin to hull my tossing under the gentle hush of the sleep.

Our boat called at Negapatam at six in the next morning, and had to stand about two or three miles away from the beach, as there is no wharf in that port. As soon as the steamer stopped her motion and threw the anchor a number of country-boats came loaded with different kinds of cargo, among which onions and sheep were very conspicuous. Here the ship stayed for two days for the English mail, and during which time she took also some six hundred coolies that had been recruited from the Malabar and Tamil districts and kept at the Negapatam camp. At seven in the morning again a bell was rung and the same scene of the last evening was repeated and then the coolie was left to himself to manage with the heat and scanty room as best as he could for the rest of the day.

On the third day at midnight, the ship weighed anchor and sailed direct east across the Bay for Penang. Nothing very remarkable happened during the voyage except the repetition of the sailor's

monotonous life. Though there was not much seasickness among the coolies—as the sea was very calm then—yet, they seemed to feel the uncongeniality of the sea-life very keenly. They appeared so much exhausted and worn out for want of movement and fresh air, that by the end of the voyage a steady shadow of melancholy began to brood over their once jubilant face.

It took us four long days to cross the Bay, and on the 5th morning Penang harbour was sighted, and after slackening her pace gradually, she stopped at last and waited at anchor some three or four miles away from the Penang wharf for the Medical Officer, who came early by his motor boat and ascended the ship. All those coolies that were to be landed at Penang were called up and arranged in rows, and next the Medical Officer began to examine them one by one. It took him about an hour to examine all, and when it was finished he passed round the steamer and inspected the health of other passengers. As there was no cases of epidemic or any infectious disease, the doctor soon issued his permit for the coolies to land and sat in a corner on the deck to see their long lines pass before him to step into the tongas and large padaboats by the gangway. About seventeen of such big barges were waiting below and as soon as they were filled up, they were tugged by a steam launch and taken to the quarantine station. There the coolies, I am told, would be kept for a week and then they would be dispatched to the different States in the interior of the Peninsula. When this inspection business was over and the coolies were sent off, the doctor and his party left the ship, and she whistled and began to move towards the wharf. It was about eleven o'clock, when she reached it and moved herself there. Hundreds of people swarmed near the ship on various business, and the port presented a very busy scene. As the ship was to wait there till 5 o'clock in the evening, I was taken into the town by my friends and shown all the worth-seeing things of the place.

Penang is a nice little town in a small island, 15 miles long by 9 miles broad, and measures 107 square miles in extent. It is separated from the main land by a narrow channel of about 3 miles wide. The island has got exquisite natural scenery around. The town also is kept fairly neat; some of the groves and gardens are charming. The most noteworthy places for a traveller to see are the Botanical gardens and the Chinese temple. Both are situated on the hilly

parts of the island and have afforded mighty advantage to the human art to shine in its best in the picturesque setting of nature. There is also the Siamese temple with its display of the grandeur of gold which is also worth notice. The major portion of the population is Chinese, next comes the Europeans and Eurasians ; and recently there is a great influx of the Indians,—mainly the Tamilians of Madras and Jaffna—into the island, so the children of the soil—the Malayas—are dwindling into insignificant minority. As it is one of the important ports of call for the ships in the east, the town is kept fairly busy and crowded. The climate of the place is very temperate and most wholesome of the places in the Straits.

In the evening the ship whistled again and set her propellers in motion. Her whole course was now through the jig jag channel between myriads of tiny islands protruding their rocky heads above the surface of the water. But the whole surroundings looked charming when the setting sun threw his golden mantle over the scene. Next morning, when the sun rose pretty high above the horizon in his diurnal course, we reached Port Swettenham—the second port of call for the B.I.S.N. Steamers in the Straits. Here I was to get down, as also the remaining numbers of the coolies. So the scenes of the Penang harbour were enacted here again ; the Medical officer came and examined the coolies and then they were allowed to pass into the Tongas which carried them to the shore. We were taken next by a steam-launch (there being no wharf here, the ship had to stand a mile off the shore), and landed near the railway station on the bank of an estuary.

Now we had stepped into the soil of F.M.S. proper. The first sight that attracts the attention of a visitor is a vast expanse of dense forest of tall primeval trees hiding still the midnight gloom under their cloak of thick foliage and crickets creaking from their boughs, while the still meandering waters of the creek echoing the solemnity of the wilderness. And the small sheds of the Port Swettenham Railway Station looks fine as a relief on that green back ground. On our way to Clang which is situated about seven miles away from the port, we found the eve of the forest gloom had been taken up by the equally dense rubber plantations. But for the order in rows, the tall poplar like trees with their branches of digitated leaves and emitting around a peculiar kind of damp obnoxious odour, would impose upon the mind of the new comer that they were the cultured off-spring of the primeval forest. On each tree one would mark

straight scars on the bark along the girth and a tiny tin or porcelain cup tied on to it. Perhaps here and there a man or a woman would be seen standing near the tree and scraping the white juice that had come out of those scars or cuts on the trunk. On we proceeded by the road that pierced through the thickets of the rubber trees, till we reached Clang.

Clang is a pretty big town and is considered as one of the most important centres of rubber plantations. As there were only a few hours at our disposal we could not see much of the place except a glimpse of the much industrious but squalid life of the John Chinaman. Here we got into the train and started for Kuala Lumpur, the capital of F.M.S. The train moved sometimes through thick jungles, sometimes through the long extension of rubber plantations and again sometimes through small patches of open ground newly recovered from the forest by the aid of fire, perhaps for the rubber cultivation.

It was 7 o'clock in the evening, when our train steamed into the station platform of that metropolis of the Malay States, and a beautiful spectacle of a quite modern city opened upon our vision. Here is the seat of the Government and heart of the Malayan life; the energising impulse first pulsates here before it flows through different veins to enliven the distant parts of the peninsula. The natural scenery of the hills that protrudes their heads here and there, lend themselves magnificently to enhance the charm of the handi-work of man. Here you find the straight broad roads extending out into different quarters, with long rows of high buildings—Government offices banks, shops, etc.,—on their both sides, not infrequently branching into narrow lanes and alleys leading to the residential wooden buildings reared on low pillars ; there you notice beautiful European bungalows overhanging from their high seats on the well-laid streets that wind through the park and charming Botanical gardens of about 170 acres, and above all you mark a picturesque bungalow perching on a high peak like an arc, and from the deference shown to it you can understand that it must be owned by the highest person of the land, the Resident General, the august representative of the British crown.

The Federated Malay States of the Malay Peninsula consist of the four States of Perak Selangor, Negri, Sunbilan and Pahang. They adjoin each other and occupy an important portion of the Peninsula. The first three States above referred lie on the western side of the chain of mountains which run from North to

South of the Peninsula and are considered as more advanced than the other States; only Pahang is situated on the eastern side of the range, extending up to the shores of the China sea, and is covered widely with dense impenetrable forest. These four States which were governed severally before, were brought into the confederation in the year 1895, and the administration of the States is carried out in the following form: "Subject to the directions of His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies the Governor of the Straits Settlements also holds office as High Commissioner of the Federated Malay States. The principal civil officer resident in the States is the President-General, in whom is vested the direction of affairs in all States. He is assisted by a staff of Federal Officers, to whose hands is entrusted the supervision of the principal departments of the four States, such as those of Finance, Lands, Mines, Police, Prisons and Education. The Federal Staff also includes the Judicial Commissioner, in whom is vested the Supreme Judicial Authority, the Legal Adviser, the Commandant of the Regiment of the Malay States Guides, the Conservator of Forests, the General Manager for Railways, the Director of Public Works, the Director of the Institute for Medical Research and the Superintendent of the Government Experimental Gardens. Subject to the direction of the Resident-General and the supervision of the Federal officers, each State is administered by its own Resident. The revenue of each State is separately collected, and the expenditure is met therefrom so far as is possible."

The legislative power is invested in the State Council, of which the nominal Ruler of the State is the President and the members are the British Resident, the Secretary to the Resident, a few Malay Chiefs, and one or more of the most influential Chinese residents or merchants. All legislative enactments are subject to the approval of the High Commissioner and the Secretary of State.

(To be Continued.)

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

The following are extracts from the Annual Report on the Labour Department of the Straits Settlements for the year, 1913:—

INDIAN IMMIGRATION.

The total number of immigrants arriving at Penang from Southern India in 1913 was 118,583 as compared with 106,928 in 1912, an increase of 11,655. This is

the highest figure recorded, exceeding the previous record (1911) by 10,772. The assisted immigrants include 7,387 children and the other immigrants 1,609 children, a total of 8,996 as compared with 7,683 in 1912 and 7,253 in 1911. The number of other passengers remains fairly constant. It is estimated that about two-thirds of these are of the labouring classes and they should be taken into account in reckoning the amount of labour coming into the country. The number of Indians leaving the Colony for Southern India was 70,090, i.e., 66,695 adults and 3,395 children, as against 61,350 adults and 2,535 children in 1912. The excess of immigrants over emigrants amounts to 42,892 adults and 5,601 children, as against an excess of 37,894 adults and 5,149 children in the previous year.

The number of returning emigrants though the highest ever recorded was slightly less than might have been expected from the proportion of arrivals in the two preceding years. On the assumption, made from observation of the facts, that immigrants usually return to India after a stay of not more than two years in this country, it is estimated that the number returning in 1914 will amount to as many as 80,000.

AIDED IMMIGRANTS.

The aided immigrants consisted of 83,849 adults and 7,387 minors. Of the adults 67,957 were men and 15,892 women, giving a proportion of approximately 19 per cent. of women, and it is satisfactory to notice the steady increase in the proportion of females.

Five hundred and seventy-one labourers were recruited through the Government Agency in India and 2,750 were independent labourers supplied with free tickets on application. Of these latter 1,946 proceeded to the Federated Malay States, 790 remained in the Colony, and 14 went to Johore. In 1912 the number of independent immigrants was 1,467. The remaining 80,528 adult aided passengers were of the class known as "Kangani labourers." Nineteen of these redeemed themselves in Penang by refunding the expenses of their recruitment and the rest proceeded to the places of employment for which they were recruited. In 1907, the year before the Tamil Immigration Fund Ordinance came into force, the total number of Kangani labourers was 21,260, and of all State-aided immigrants (adult) 30,208.

It will be seen that there was a further decrease last year in the importations into Province Wellesley and the Dindings, but there were indications towards

the end of the year of increased activity in recruiting for those districts. Otherwise, except in the case of Negri Sembilan, where Tamil labour has on many estates been replaced by Chinese, there was practically an all-round increase.

RECRUITING IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

The recruiting of indentured labour, which was stopped at the end of 1910, used to be conducted entirely through professional agents. A small number of free labourers was recruited last year by professional recruiters through the Government Agency in India, but the number of these was only 571, as compared with 938 in 1912, and, a scheme having been inaugurated at the end of the year for improvement of recruiting through Kanganies for Government Departments, the question of entirely discontinuing the professional system is under consideration. The only justification for its continuance is that it enables this department to provide a nucleus of a labour force for those employers who have not hitherto employed Tamil labour and are not therefore in a position to employ their own Kanganies. The vast majority of labourers are now recruited by licensed Kanganies, and in 1913, 10,806 licences (for the Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States, Johore, Kedah, Kelantan and Perlis) were issued, as compared with 10,145 in 1912.

The results, both as regards the numbers and quality of labour recruited, and the infrequency of complaints of improper recruiting, must be considered most satisfactory.

STATUTE IMMIGRANTS.

The importation of indentured Indian labour having ceased at the end of 1910, this class of labour no longer exists. At the beginning of the year there were still 27 statute immigrants in Province Wellesley, 14 on Malakoff Estate and 13 on Prai, and in Malacca 49 under the Public Works Department, but these all gained their discharge during the year. No deaths, desertions or convictions occurred amongst them.

FREE TAMIL LABOUR.

All the Tamil labour now employed throughout the Colony is free.

The health on estates in Penang, Province Wellesley and the Dindings has again been most satisfactory. With an average population of 8,366 in Province Wellesley the death-rate has been only 17 per mille and in the Dindings 17.6 per mille on an average population of 1,249. The corresponding figures last

year were 18.7 and 14.8 per mille respectively. On two estates in Province Wellesley and one in the Dindings the Tamil death-rate exceeded 5 per cent., but in each case the numbers employed were comparatively small. In Malacca the health conditions, though still much less satisfactory than in the Northern Settlement, show a further marked improvement in 1913, the death-rate being reduced from 53.9 per mille to 41 per mille. This is all the more gratifying from the fact that the average population for which figures were obtainable was about 1,000 more in 1913 than in the previous year, and the number of newly imported immigrants also increased by 700.

Tamil schools are maintained on Prai, Batu. Kawan and Caledonia Estates. They all earned the Government Grant-in-aid.

The number of estates in Singapore employing Tamils is seven, and the number of labourers employed increased during the year from 591 to 942. Ten deaths were reported from these estates.

REPATRIATIONS.

Five hundred and ninety-three decrepit and destitute Indians were repatriated through this Department. These included 145 sent at the expense of estates and 91 vagrants sent by the Police.

Very generous assistance in this charitable work is afforded by the British India Steam Navigation Company, who issued during the year 271½ free tickets and 28 at reduced rates. Nine hundred and sixteen dollars and twenty-one cents were expended by this Department.

NETHERLANDS INDIAN LABOURERS.

The number of estates employing them is 20 and the contract labourers remaining at the end of the year were 2,705. The death-rate works out at 15.83 per mille. Only 268 fresh contracts of service were registered during the year as compared with 1,594 in 1912. The total number of Netherlands Indian labourers on estates employing contract Javanese in the Colony on the 31st December 1913, was 3,393. Of these 2,705 were on contract and 688 were free labourers. During the year two Malacca estates discharged all their contract labourers and one estate not formerly employing them obtained contract labourers. There was no change in the Dindings or Province Wellesley. All the estates in Province Wellesley employing contract labour were inspected during the year. They are, generally speaking, satisfactory, the accommodation for the labourers fairly good and the health conditions are not unsatisfactory.

There was some trouble with the labour force on two estates during the year, but it was not serious and quickly subsided. All the estates in Malacca employing contract Netherlands Indian labour belong to the Malacca Rubber Plantations. The general conditions on the estates are satisfactory, the arrangements for supplying food to the labourers are exceptionally good and the general health of the estates shows considerable improvement over that in 1912. The estates were all inspected during 1913. One hundred and

ninety-six labourers on the expiration of their contracts were provided with return passages to Java.

REVENUE

The Government revenue collected by the Department here and in India was 3,146.47 as compared with 1,889.38 in 1912. Mr. J. R. O. Aldworth, Protector of Labour, being on leave from 18th May, Mr. E. S. Hose acted in the appointment for the rest of the year under review.

Round the Indian Empire

BY POLITIQUE.

What has brought about the wonderful unity of the British Empire? That question now is on everybody's lips. Is it language? The British Empire speaks more languages than what brought down the walls of Babel. Is it the central Government? The voice of the Houses of Parliament does not reach the outlying portions of the Empire. Is it race? On a racial basis, the British Empire cannot stand a day. Attack the question any way you like, still it begs an answer. Perhaps, an indirect answer may be given. It is in the elimination of these dividing tendencies of race, language or custom that the British Empire may be said to exist to-day and show such remarkable unity. That crude form of imperialism founded on common race has had its day and been found wanting. Athens, Rome, Assyria attempted to weld an empire on the stock-breeders' principle of pure-strain culture and to-day their memory serves only as a warning. Another fatal attempt on the same lines is being tried by Germany under our eyes, with what result we can easily guess. The Teuton is the latest victim to the dream of building an Empire on the congenerical basis. Sir Francis Pigot in the current *Nineteenth Century and After*, dealing with the "German Colonial Blunder," quotes a characteristic remark of Mr. Yosaburo Takakoshi, a member of the Japanese Diet: "From the Colonial history of European Powers it is clear that those nations which have considered their Colonies as part and parcel of the home country have always failed in their system of Government, while, as a rule, those nations have succeeded which have looked upon their colonies as a kind of body politic quite distinct from the mother country. The truth fully explains the reason why England, among all Colonial Powers, has alone

scored so brilliant a success." We are made familiar with the Colonial policy of England and the factors that have contributed to the success of the British Empire. Now, what about India? She is not disqualified to attain to the position of the self-governing Colonies by reason of her caste, or custom, since the British Empire does not make a point of that. Her place in the Empire, then, is only a question of time and the presence of the Indian troops on the Continent, shedding their life-blood in the cause of the Empire, cannot but hasten it. From His Majesty, the King-Emperor, downwards, all have felt a deep debt of gratitude owing to India for the generous offer of her services in men and money. "The part played by India must have a great change on India's future and position in the Empire," is the opinion expressed by Lord Selborne and this coming from a conservative statesman is, indeed, indicative of the change that the war has effected in the Englishman's outlook on Indian affairs. In this connection, a letter which appeared over the signature of a Mr. Reed Makeham in a recent issue of the *Westminster Gazette*, is worth quoting:—

"We may take it as a logical, inescapable corollary of the immense new fact that our heroic Sepoys are fighting shoulder to shoulder with ourselves in equal comradeship in arms, that our Indian fellow subjects shall henceforth be in the largest, fullest sense of the word honoured citizens of the Empire, free to come and go and settle in any part of its wide Dominion. It can no longer be gainsaid in any quarter that India is now buying this elementary right with her blood and treasure, or rather making good at tremendous cost a right which has long been hers in common equity."

Whatever may have been the delusions under which Turkey was labouring, and the temporary advantage that Germany has sought to create for herself thereby, it is a source of intense relief to know that

Indian Moslems and the War.

Indian Moslems keep a clear conscience in respect to their duty towards the Government under which they have enjoyed peace and security and under whose beneficent rulers, they are making such striking advances towards culture. The determined attitude of Indian Moslems in support of the British *Raj* furnishes, by the way, the most cogent retort to the apparent success of German diplomacy at Constantinople. Everyone is convinced that this war has been forced on Britain, despite her strenuous endeavours for peace, and she wages battle to-day neither to satisfy political vengeance nor to prosecute a religious frenzy. The battlefield in France where Sikhs and Gurkhas fight side by side with Pathans and Rajputs, is not red with the fanaticism of Mohammedans or the zeal of Christians; but England has engaged herself in a righteous cause which knows no partisan except a vandal. This has been made abundantly clear by the British Premier in his speech at the recent Guildhall Banquet meeting. Mr. Asquith said: "We have no quarrel with the Mussalman subjects of the Sultan. Our Sovereign claims amongst his most loyal subjects millions of men of the Muslim faith, and nothing is further from our thoughts than to encourage a crusade against their creed and their holy places. We are prepared to defend them, should need arise, against all invaders and to maintain them inviolate" Fortunately, Moslems in India did not stand in need of this assurance, and lest an unjust suspicion is cast on their devotion to the Throne Mohammedans from all parts of this country have spontaneously expressed their abiding loyalty to the British Empire in unequivocal terms. Along with the rest of the Indian Empire, the seventy millions Indian Moslem subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor have placed unmistakable faith in the future of the Empire of which they form a substantial part. The continuance of the British Empire is the surest guarantee of Islamic solidarity and progress. The Nizam of Hyderabad who rules over the largest Native State in India and who is one of the most enlightened of Mahomedan rulers was inspired in his letter to the viceroy, placing all the influence at his command towards assisting the British Government, by the recognition of the fact that the British Government was the only friend and protector of Islam. His co-religionists in India are deeply aware of the friendship of Britain and by their remarkable gratitude to the Empire at this hour of crisis, they have made another bid for further progress in the scale of civilization.

War necessarily entails manifold sufferings and they are proportionate to the scale of its operations and the degree of development attained by the respective nations engaged in it. It would be fortunate

The Present Economic Crisis.

if the calamity extended only to the belligerents. But such unhappily can never be the case in a closely knit and highly centralised world such as we have built up by our modern civilization. Modern commerce has encircled all the inhabited portions of the globe, and the blow dealt at one centre is bound to be felt the world over with more or less severity and it is in the economic reactions of the war that many realise the intensity of the struggle carried on some thousands of miles away. It is impossible yet to calculate in material equivalents the loss forced over us in India by the war. The shock felt at two of the world's great financial centres, London and Berlin, is enough to devitalise the eastern markets who raise their raw products by the money advanced by foreign capitalists. A lull in the reproductive energies of western nations spells a similar, if not more acute, suspension of the agricultural activities of the eastern world. It is true that purely agricultural countries like India may be little affected by the ravages of the war, unless, indeed, men are taken away from the field of harvest. Agricultural power suffers much less than manufacturing power by war, for here there is wanton destruction of capital and the instruments of production. The agricultural industry could thrive on a comparatively small amount of capital and the natural resources of the land can not be impaired by any means within the power of war. But, it has to be confessed to our regret, that our agricultural industry has been built not with a view to self-sufficiency or as a means of internal exchange between the agricultural power and the manufacturing power inherent in the land, but solely with the view to keep the industrial mill going on in the west. People still express alarm at the rapid growth in the cultivation of non-food products in this country, which threaten to drag the spectre of final starvation, as long as they continue to be exported to foreign manufacturing nations. An effective justification of that well-grounded fear has now been provided by the war. Since the outbreak of hostilities and consequent suspension of transport facilities between the East and the West, the stocks of raw commercial products raised with so much labour and capital have been lying idle in our hands to rot. In jute, ground-nuts, cotton, etc., there has been nothing doing and acute distress has been caused in the labour released from the cultivation and transport of these commodities. Planting estates have considerably reduced their outlay of capital and labour, thereby bringing misery to many thousands of poor homes. The importation of manufactured articles from the West has practically

ceased, and the minor industries that thrive on artificial dyes from Germany have been well nigh ruined. The former have rapidly gone up in price, such as, sugar, paper, matches, glassware, etc., and have added greatly to the cost of living of the middle class. It is the labouring population engaged in the raising of commercial products that has the greatest suffering forced on them and unless an avenue of employment is created for the large remainder who cannot be absorbed by the agricultural industry, discontent is bound to grow more and more.

The present deadlock in the commercial activities of this country is the concomitant result of a long chain of factors, reaching its culmination in this cataclysmic war. The proximate causes

can be directly attributed to the commercial policy followed by the Government with regard to the disposal of India's vast resources and with regard to the centre of their ultimate utilisation, no less than to the fact that most of the western markets are now closed to Indian trade. Many fondly hope that the war has given India an economic advantage, in that it has returned to us our raw products which we might create into manufactured articles and market them for our benefit, now that we are free of any throttling western competition. The 'capture of German trade' has the smack of a constructive industrial programme and a long purse into the bargain, but conditions in India do not justify of that easy optimism. Here, capital is dear, if not non-existent; skilled labour dearer still; the favourable attitude of the Government to industrial enterprise being the dearest to purchase in spite of any amount of coaxing. Provided that money is forthcoming, where is the industrial captain with his army of trained workmen, ready to take up the industry favoured by the particular products of Indian origin? Supposing, these barriers are surmounted in the length of a short time, and while the war or its economic effects on other nations, continue to operate, where is the guarantee that India's unfledged industries will be protected from untimely extinction by the Government? When the flood-gates of western competition, English, German, Austrian and American are again thrown open after the war, Indian industry will be taken off its feet and vanish into thin air. The attitude of the Government is the determining factor in the situation and unless they throw overboard their vaunted 'open door' policy, the infant industries of India have not the chance of their life. A vigorous propaganda of thorough technical and commercial education for the masses, a liberal loosening of the purse-strings of the Indian exchequer, a systematic net-work of internal communications and a stiff face to foreign competition alone would brace up the industrial spirit of the

nation and the war would not have left without a lesson, if these circumstances are taken to heart and translated into action. As it is, a most distressing situation has been created. There is no outlet for our produce, either externally or internally. India, being still practically an agricultural country, needs every market which can be found for her raw produce. Consequently, our export trade lay widely distributed all over the world, wherever our raw materials are required and of which we are the chief source of supply. Hitherto, we have followed the policy of—drift, in our export trade and it is time that we concentrate the production of raw materials and their manufacture within our own country which enclose such a wide market.

While Commercial patriotism in the United Kingdom has seized the occasion to throttle German sea-borne trade and has secured such favourable concessions from the hands of the Government to

prosecute the campaign in full measure, it would be a sad commentary on the sense with which the Empire's responsibilities are understood at Home, if similar steps were not early taken in this great Dependency. Recently the London *Statist* wrote: "At the present moment there is one particular work which, we hope, will be undertaken by British capitalists and Administration in India. It is the endeavour to secure for India a considerable part of the trade which Germany is about to lose." We have no mind to under-rate the difficulties that stand in our way, but there are remedies that, if confidently tried, are sure to lead to ultimate success. The Press and the Public have ceaselessly urged the Government of India to step into the breach, not, however, as an act of grace, but as a part of solemn duty. In his recent work on "Indian Unrest," Sir Valentine Chirol, by no means an indiscriminating friend of India, wrote:—

"We are bound as trustees of the people of India to promote Indian trade and industry by all means in our power, and we are equally bound to help to open up new fields of activities for the young Indians whom our educational system has diverted from the old paths, and who no longer find for their rapidly increasing numbers any sufficient outlet in the public services and liberal professions which originally absorbed them."

So then, as a contemporary well put it, "the examples of Germany and Japan together with the present critical situation should now convince the Government of India that they, too, must come to the rescue of the industries and save the country from being ruined by foreign competition. They must now realise that where private enterprise is unable by itself to develop an industry it is the duty of the State to create such a condition of things as will set private

enterprise in motion and ensure its success." It is natural one should ask, what have the Government done at present? Of course, the Commercial Intelligence Department as well as the various local Governments have awoke to the fact that something must be done to advance the industrial possibilities of the various provinces concerned. But one fails to detect either the earnestness of a serious idea or a steady determination to launch on a wide industrial programme displayed in the preparations made by the Government. A certain haziness envelops the whole atmosphere and undoubtedly there is no unity in the range of activities undertaken. Short of rendering expert advice gratis and the exhibition of cheap German and Austrian goods that can be made in this country, the Government propose to do nothing. They have set their face against giving any sort of financial assistance nor would they modify their customs regulations so as to give any local preference. It is impossible to keep patience with the attitude assumed by the Government and high time to throw this back-sliding programme overboard. The Englishman in India must free himself from the conventional prejudices learnt in his Island against State assistance, and advance Indian Industries by any means in the power of the Government.

Professor Henry E. Armstrong, a whole-hearted advocate of natural indigo, once strongly deprecated those who allowed the Indian industry to be supplanted by the artificial product from Germany—a foolish if not criminal policy, in his words, resulting from indifference if not ignorance. He wrote: "It is nothing short of a disgrace to us that such an industry should be allowed to lapse in a country where the need of native industries is so great." The downfall of the natural indigo from the premier place it once occupied in the list of dye stuffs, is a crowning triumph of German industrial research and, we hope, a lasting warning against the supineness of the Indian Government in not placing adequate facilities for the development of this Empire product. The history of this ill-fated product is briefly told. In 1897 the manufacture of artificial indigo became a commercial success and since that date the cultivation of the natural product in India began to languish, unable to meet the severe competition with synthetic indigo as also with mineral dyes from Germany. The imports of synthetic indigo into India rose from 3,889 cwts., valued at about Rs. 6 lakhs, in 1911-12 to 6,051 cwts., worth over Rs. 9 lakhs in 1913-14. The year 1894-95 showed the highest production of the natural product, very nearly 288,000 cwts. from 1,688,000 acres. Up to that point the prosperity was almost phenomenal, but since then the record has been one of

continuous curtailments. The unremunerative level to which prices have been forced down by competition of synthetic indigo has considerably reduced the indigo plantations of India, particularly in Bengal and Behar. Now, the total stoppage of export of synthetic indigo from Germany is calculated to stimulate the Indian indigo market and it is reported that prices for the natural product has already shown a very considerable advance since the outbreak of the war. It is pointed out that the continued exclusion of the German product from the British possessions would, in the course of two or three years, result in the restoration of the Indian industry to its former prosperity. A revival of this vanishing industry would mean the re-opening of over 150 disused indigo estates. It seems to us, therefore, important that those concerned in the Indian indigo industry should take combined action in placing it on a scientific footing. The Government Quinine Factory and Cinchona Plantations near Darjeeling illustrate what scientific acumen can do for an industry which was once more or less a failure. The recent deputation that went to the India Office to plead the cause of the indigo-planting industry has placed various proposals for helping the Indian industry and we hope that tangible benefits will accrue. Even after the war, when German competition in synthetic dye-products would have once again begun on all fours, natural indigo would find an ample market. Persians in the manufacture of their carpets use only natural indigo. Suez ports are the chief buyers of Indian indigo, and there is always a strong demand for the natural product from Great Britain. The market in India itself is not inconsiderable, when once it gets free of the illusion of artificial dyes. If also the indigenous dyers are properly educated in the preparation and use of natural dyes, an ample opening would have been given to the once prosperous indigo industry of India.

In late years the Government of India and the various Local Governments opened themselves to grave criticisms with regard to their work in the sphere of excise administration. An important resolution has recently been published by the Government of India, together with the correspondence between the Government and the Secretary of State on the subject of Excise Administration in India. It is the result of the questions raised by Sir Herbert Roberts, Bart., M. P., and other members of the Temperance Deputation that waited upon the Secretary of State on July 18th, 1912. That our paternal Government should have been inactive so long in a matter which affects the welfare of whole classes of people, in spite of the vigorous protests of the public, would want an explanation had they not now, though a little late, awoke to

the full seriousness of the situation. They have evidently felt the pressure of public opinion at Home, such as expresses itself on Indian affairs, and not a little thanks are due to the Temperance Movement in England for bringing about a wholesome change in the methods that are to be applied to the problem of reducing the evil of the drinking habit in India. The sale of intoxicants is a monopoly of the Government and there is nothing in the administration to prevent the Government from securing more than the full profits accruing from the monopoly which the State itself has created. Public opinion is feeble and considerations of revenue, too tempting. For the last quarter of a century, there has been a rapid increase in the consumption of these excisable articles and the revenue under this head is going up by leaps and bounds. The check provided by the Government has proved ineffective, as the Secretary of State himself in his despatch admits: "The general conclusion that the action of Government has checked any widespread expansion of consumption over India, as a whole, is, unfortunately, qualified by the fact that in certain areas alluded to in the Local Government's exports, an increase alike of consumption and of intemperance must be admitted and faced." Apart from the action of Government, local increases of liquor consumption are accounted to be due to higher wages, and a rising standard of prosperity, the growth of industrial and urban conditions, the relaxation of social and religious restrictions and an imitation of western manners in an unfortunate direction. When we observe that in Madras three-fourths and in Bihar two-thirds, of the population are classed as drinkers of alcoholic liquors, it is impossible not to view with serious concern the growth of this cankerous evil. The policy of the Government of India has been well defined; their aim is, first, to discourage any extension of the habit of drinking, and secondly, within the limits prescribed by the necessity of suppressing unauthorised manufacture and sale, to raise a maximum revenue from a minimum consumption of intoxication liquors. Apart from the application of this economic check of an increased price consequent on the enhanced taxation upon consumption, the Government contemplate among the remedies discussed in the resolution, the moral checks of public opinion in the locality and an educational propaganda in the schools against the evil of drinking. There is resumption in the proposals put forward in favour of the idea of the fixed fee system in place of the existing auction system, which should go a far way in minimising the evil. It may be remembered that this system was recommended for adoption so long ago as 1905 by the Excise Committee. But unfortunately, the experience of England stood in the way of its adoption by the Government; but now that the practice is proving successful in

Bombay, there is no reason why it should not prove equally successful elsewhere. Interested political motives brought down the prestige of the fixed fee system in England, and it is extremely unlikely that vested interests will play the same part in this country, as in England. The spirit of the Government's policy, on the whole, appears to us to be sound, and there is promise in the resolution of Government devising suitable methods of its application to lessen the evil.

"The greater number of my most valued friendships were formed there (India); from almost everyone with whom I had been associated, whether European or Native civilian or soldier, I had experienced unfailing kindness, sympathy and support; and to the discipline, bravery and devotion of the Army in India, in peace and war, I felt that I owed whatever success it was in my power to achieve"—these were the parting words when he left India twenty-one years ago, full of honours and years, a country which Lord Roberts said he left with "heartfelt regret." And India mourns to-day, as the other parts of the Empire, the death of a great soldier, perhaps the greatest in his time. His career and the circumstances under which the late Earl Roberts met his death, from pneumonia after a chill caught while visiting the Indian troops in France, have deeply touched us all. The affection with which he regarded the Indian Army, whose prowess in the present battle is in no small measure due to his efficiency and discipline, while Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Forces, and which impelled him to see them in France and meet his death under tragic circumstances has endeared us all to keep his name in loving memory. He was born at Cawnpore on the 30th September 1832, educated at Eton, Sandhurst and Addiscombe and returned to India in 1852. Within the space of a few years, he rose from a Subaltern in the Bengal Artillery to the responsible post of the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, which he held for two more years than the usual time. In January 1892 he was raised to the Peerage of the United Kingdom as Lord Roberts of Waterford and Kandahar. The eighty-two years of his life, he spent in the service of the Empire and as a soldier from birth to death, he has left behind him the memory of many gallant deeds. To the Countess Roberts and her two daughters, the Empire from the King and Queen downwards, has extended its sympathy, and the late Roberts would not have lived in vain, if his patriotism inspires us to follow in the wake of his footsteps.

GENERAL ARTICLES.

VICEROY AND INDIAN EMIGRATION.

Indian opinion has not received with enthusiasm the plan suggested in the speech delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy, in his opening speech at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, for solving the problem presented by the attitude of the self-governing Colonies to the admission of Indian emigrants.

THE ROOT OF THE WRONG.

The *Bengali* observes: "The root of this wrong lies in the differential treatment which the Colonials receive in our own country, from our own Government. While our people are excluded not upon any special or specific grounds as happens in the case of the British or continental emigrants, but on the general ground that they are Asiatics, we allow every Colonial, whether desirable or undesirable, and without any consideration as to whether his residence here will hurt our own economic, political, or cultural interests. But we even do more. We give them special privileges that are not enjoyed by the people themselves. They can enter into all our public services, and can claim preferential treatment in our law-courts and receive it in every walk of life. They can possess arms and ammunition without licence and carry these about them as they please, which we are not entitled to do. It is these differences in our own country which makes our exclusion, *sui generis*, from the Colonies so offensive and irritating. And we would earnestly invite the attention of the Viceroy to these side issues that lend its real sting and complexity to this question of emigration from one part of the Empire to the other, to which His Excellency referred in his speech, and in regard to which his lordship desires to have the considered opinion of the Indian public."

NOT A FINAL SETTLEMENT.

The *Advocate* of Lucknow writes: "We are extremely unwilling to comment upon a proposal emanating from such a tried friend of India as Lord Hardinge is, but nevertheless we deem it our duty to point out that such an arrangement though it will concede something to Indian sentiments cannot be accepted by the people as a full and final settlement of the question. The people of India are not unreasonable enough to demand that they should have the right to free and unrestricted emigration into the Colonies, but what they want is that the restrictions in the case of Indians should be the same as those existing in the case of Englishmen belonging to the Mother country. If this is conceded, the grievances of the people will have been fully redressed. And surely the Colonists should not have a

reasonable objection to such an arrangement, seeing that they enjoy the unrestricted right to enter the Civil Service of this country."

DROP EMIGRATION BY PASSPORTS.

The *Tribune* of Lahore writes as follows: "We are grateful to His Excellency for the deep sympathy which he breathes throughout the speech. But Indians are far from accepting the official view of the *Komagata Maru* enterprise. Without endeavouring to criticise the well-meant proposal now offered we might be permitted to observe that it is not free from controversy and controversial matters are best held in abeyance till a more suitable opportunity offers itself for free and unhampered discussion of their merits and demerits. Any outspoken criticism offered is now liable to be misconstrued and we would earnestly beg the Government of India to drop for the present the proposed system of emigration by passports which has an un-English ring about it."

NOT EQUITABLE.

The *Mahratta* of Poona remarks: "We are sure that the suggestion which the Viceroy has made for the substitution of a policy of co-operation and reciprocity for that of isolation would be highly appreciated by Indians. It seems to be proposed that Indians should agree to certain restrictions on free emigration to the Colonies and that the Colonies should on their part agree to admit a certain number of Indians on the Japanese system. Such a solution has practicability to recommend itself, and we think that if it be distinctly understood that the solution is accepted only as a tentative practical measure to minimise the unhappy friction between the Colonies and India, the solution will be acceptable to most Indians. That India should keep an open door to any Colonist who cares to come and exploit the country and that the Colonies should insist on limiting by law the number of Indian immigrants is not every equitable. But looking facts squarely in the face, one would see the inadvisability of raising objections to a practical arrangement of the nature suggested by the Viceroy, however those objections may be based on justice or fair play. But the question is not a burning one and we need not pursue it further at present, especially when a common danger has made India and the Colonies alike forget differences, merge prejudices and concentrate all efforts towards one supreme end—the safeguarding of the honour and interests of the Empire."

WANTED AN OPEN MIND.

The *Indian Social Reformer* says:—There is no statesman living whose words will evoke more implicit acceptance among Indian publicists, but we are constrained to say that His Excellency's generous

endeavour to remove what he called the misapprehensions regarding the attitude of Colonial statesmen to India and her people, is not altogether convincing. No one says that the latter are actuated by feelings of "animosity" towards Indians. Animosity is a sentiment which people feel to those whom they regard as their equals. The average Colonial looks on the Indian as being unspeakably his inferior because the latter happens to be "coloured," and his feeling towards him is one of contempt. We know that European emigrants are rejected from the Colonies as well as Indian, but can it be maintained that the tests are the same in both cases? By the way, Mr. Roche's figures, which His Excellency cited, as to the numbers of English and Indian emigrants rejected by Canada, are misleading. During the last ten years 917 English persons are said to have been rejected at Canadian ports as compared with 376 Indians. What is the total number of the two races which sought admission? We have not the figures, but we fancy the English rejected will work out to a small fraction of the total as compared with the Indian.

His Excellency spoke of the agreements with the Colonies being on "a basis of complete reciprocity." If the reciprocity is really complete, that is to say, if the Colonials enjoy no more and certainly no less rights in India than Indians in the Colonies, the acceptance of such a scheme as that outlined by His Excellency may not be regarded as clashing with national honour. It is on this point that the country would like to have more information. For instance, would the Canadian or Australian be entitled to compete for Indian Civil Service, without the Indian enjoying a corresponding right in the Colonial Services? The best thing would perhaps be for the Government of India to issue a full statement of the scheme and to invite the opinion of the public thereon.

A STRONG WORD OF CAUTION.

The *Indian Opinion* writes: "Speaking generally, the virtues of gratitude and generosity are those that are most readily consigned to the limbo of oblivion when economic pressure exerts itself, and we are not so sanguine as to suppose that the present European crisis will alter human nature to the extent that some people suppose. Whilst we also agree with His Excellency, to a large extent that it is not the Dominion Governments that are unimperial so much as the population of the dominions, we think that it should be admitted that these Governments are very largely influenced by their populations; and whilst no doubt Lord Hardinge is quite justified in asking the people of India to realise the difficulties of the self-governing dominions, we feel also that a strong word of caution to these dominions would have been very well in

place, for if moderation is to be observed, it must be reciprocal, otherwise there is grave danger that harshness of treatment may also become reciprocal with highly undesirable results. We venture to urge that, before a definite reply is given by the leaders in India to His Excellency's suggestion, the *pros* and *cons* of the situation should be considered with the utmost scrupulousness, and men of experience in these problems should be intimately consulted in order that an authoritative statement of the Indian case may be placed before the Government of India."

ESSENTIAL FEATURES.

The idea of a reciprocity agreement certainly commends itself to us, says the *Leader* of Allahabad. We are entirely in favour of a reciprocity agreement such as His Excellency the Viceroy has suggested on terms that do not compromise the national self-respect of our countrymen or affect their status as equal subjects of the King in the eye of the law. The essential features of such an agreement, to fulfil these two indispensable conditions and to make it acceptable to our countrymen, should be, as we have argued—

- (1) that no distinction in law should be made between Indians and other subjects of the British King;
 - (2) that no statutory disability should be imposed on Indians *qua* Indians;
 - (3) that the number of Indian immigrants admitted into the dominions in any one year be limited by an administrative arrangement;
 - (4) that Indians should give up the claim of unrestricted migration to the Dominions;
 - (5) that, similarly, Colonials should have no right of unrestricted immigration into India;
 - (6) that no prohibition should be placed on temporary visits by Indians to the Dominions or by Colonials to India; and
 - (7) that Indians who are already settled in or who may in future migrate to the dominions should receive just and honourable treatment, as Colonials have invariably received and will receive in India.
- If such a reciprocity arrangement could be brought about, the Statesman who will have accomplished the task will be one of the greatest benefactors of India and be recognised as the most truly imperial-minded of men, to whom India and the whole Empire will be under lasting obligation. The present time is the most favourable for an attempt being made to achieve it, and Lord Hardinge most certainly the Statesman who, if any one, can hope to succeed in such an effort.

MAHARANI OF BARODA.**ADVENTURES IN CARLSBAD.**

His Highness the Maharaja Syajirao Gaekwar and the Maharani of Baroda with their staff arrived in Bombay from England by the P. & O. steamer *Salselle* on Friday morning. They were accorded a most cordial welcome by the nobles, the sardars and the officials of the State of Baroda, who had come to Bombay to receive them. The Maharaja and the Maharani left for Baroda last night by a special train from the Grant Road Station, where they were accorded a hearty send off.

When war broke out the Maharaja was at Vichy, in France, and he at once returned to England. The Maharani was at Carlsbad in Austria and great anxiety was felt for her as all communication with her was stopped and no news was received from her for days. The Maharaja managed to send his A.D.C. to Carlsbad and he was able to conduct her safely to England.

A few days after the outbreak of the war a Royal Proclamation was issued by the Austrian Government notifying that the foreigners should not feel apprehensive in any way and allow any consternation to be created among them, as they would be treated as Austrian subjects. This restored some confidence among foreigners. But Carlsbad was upset when an untoward incident suddenly occurred on the 7th August. At 6 o'clock that evening at the instigation of some fanatic leaders, a riot broke out. In this only the men of lower strata participated and as the officials were unprepared for it, it was not promptly quelled. This riot took place near the Savoy Hotel where Her Highness was staying. The cause of the riot was the intention of certain rioters to arrest a number of French cooks engaged in the hotel kitchens. The Police and the Military arrived on the spot and asked the rioters to disperse, but they declined to do so. At length when the Police took the French cooks in their custody and removed them from the hotel, the rioters dispersed and the disturbance ended. But a little later they mustered in strong force, and again created a disturbance.

JORNEY BY MOTOR.

After this, a calm reigned in the place, but the foreigners showed anxiety to quit the place. Railway communications had ceased and about 6,000 people were collected in Carlsbad itself. Special trains were arranged for the Americans and they were able to leave. Special trains were being arranged for the British subjects also and through the Foreign Minister of Austria, the American Consul was advised to remove all obstacles or inconveniences in connection with the Maharani's journey. But anticipating delay in completing railway arrangements for travelling the Maharani

decided to motor till she crossed the Austrian borders. The Maharani left the place on the 24th August by motor and about 500 miles were covered in three days. She stayed at two places at night. The train was taken from Switzerland and the British Consul having made all arrangements, she left for Paris on the 27th August. The Maharani started from Paris on the 1st September and reached the French Port of Havre as there was risk in attempting to reach Calais or Dover. At Havre, the British Consul, to whom a wire had been sent, met Her Highness and afforded her every assistance.

There were several British steamers carrying British passengers to England, but as there was a great rush of people, and the steamers were not expected to sail for a couple of days, the British Consul arranged to send the Maharani in a hospital ship for the wounded. The Military Officer in charge of the hospital ship was Major Stephen, who knew Her Highness and afforded her every facility and comfort.

EMIGRATION FROM BEHAR AND ORISSA.**GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION.**

The following Government Resolution on the Reports on Inland Emigration under the Assam Labour and Emigration Act, 1901 (VI of 1901), for the year ending on the 30th June 1914, has been published in the Bihar and Orissa Gazette:—

During the year the rule prescribing the routes by which emigrants shall travel on leaving a depot or place of accommodation has been recast as Dhubri has ceased to be a railway terminus. Consequential changes in certain other rules have also been made. Instructions have been issued to the effect that garden sardars recruiting under Section 90 of the Act shall supply the information required by Clause (f) in regard to the emigrants recruited by them, in the form appearing at page 174 of the Bengal Inland Emigration Manual of 1901.

2. No recruitment under any form took place during the year under report in the districts of Patna, Puri, Bhagalpur, Purina, Saran, Champaran, Muzaffarpur. The number of emigrants of all classes recruited in the other districts during the year was 27,996, as compared with 29,580 in the preceding year. Of this number, 27,173 were recruited by garden sardars of different classes and 823 by licensed contractors as against 28,527 and 1,053 respectively, in the year 1912-13. The number of emigrants shown as belonging to the Native States rose from 1,246 in 1911-12 and 1,972 in 1912-13 to 4,770 in 1913-14. No explanation of the increase has been furnished and Lieutenant-Governor in Council hopes that it indicates that a larger proportion of the

coolies belonging to the Native States are brought into the depots and places of accommodation for registration instead being sent forward as formerly to the labour districts as free or non-Act labourers. It is very desirable that the law should be so amended as to complete the registration of all emigrants passing through British India, whether they are British subjects or not and irrespective of the place of their recruitment, and it is hoped that the necessary legislation will be undertaken at an early date. There can be no question that the majority of the emigrants shown as belonging to the Native States are recruited in the States in spite of the fact that emigration therefrom is prohibited by the Chiefs. The recruiting agencies themselves admit that their sardars carry on their operations within the States and that they obtain certificates under sections 56-58 of Act VI of 1901 on statements made by the sardars to the Magistrate that they intend to conduct their recruiting operations within a recruiting district. In fact employers in Assam are directly enjoined to instruct the sardars whom they send down from the gardens to recruit in the Native States, to show as the area of recruitment in column 9 of the certificate the area in which the local agent resides. This procedure is open to serious objection and the attention of the Assam Administration will be drawn to the matter. It is necessary that measures should be taken to ensure that certificates are only granted under section 59-53 of Act VI of 1901 in connection with legitimate recruiting operations in area in which the Act is in force.

8. One thousand two hundred and seventy-eight emigrants as against nine hundred and seventy-five in the preceding year, were registered under Chapter IV, while 25,438 unindentured emigrants were engaged by garden sardars accredited to the local agents of approved Associations as against 27,423 in the year 1912-13. The decrease in the number of emigrants of the latter class was due chiefly to better crops and a consequent increase in the local demand for labour. There was a slight increase in the number of emigrants recruited under Chapter III of the Act in the district of Cuttack, but a decrease in the district of Balasore, Ranchi and Manbhum. The decline in the number of emigrants recruited under this Chapter tends to show that the system of recruitment through contractors is falling into disfavour. The Government of India have long held the view that recruitment for Assam will never be satisfactory as long as the agency of contractors is employed for the purpose, and they accordingly decided to put an end to this system of recruitment with effect from the 1st July 1915. The number of emigrants engaged by special sardars under section 90 of the Act was 457, or 329 more than the number recruited in the preceding year. Recruitment

under this system has not proved successful in the past and the Government of India are undertaking legislation to repeal section 90 of the Act.

4. The number of licensed contractors, sub-contractors, and recruiters working during the year were 8, 1 and 42 respectively, as against 13, 1, and 76 in the previous year. The licenses of four contractors were canceled for irregularities and misconduct. The total number of garden sardars employed in the province was 14,594, or 1461 more than in 1912-13. Of these 516 worked under the ordinary procedure of Chapter IV, 96 held special permits under section 90, and the remaining 13,952 worked under the control of approved associations. The keenness of the competition to secure labourers is evidenced by the fact that the 13,952 sardars accredited to the local agents of the Associations who visited the province succeeded in recruiting 25,438 persons only including dependents, or a little more than one cooly per sardar. Some cases of malpractice in connection with Sardari recruitment came to light during the year and several instances of false description of emigrants by garden sardars were also reported. The Lieutenant-Governor in Council desires that local agents should be made to realize their responsibility for supervising the work of the sardars and for co-operating with the District Officers in their efforts to prevent the use of any improper means of recruitment. The licenses of five local agents were cancelled during the year for irregularities and misconduct as against two in the previous year. The relaxation of the provisions of Chapter IV of the Act in favour of certain associations of employers and the consequent freedom from control enjoyed by the local agents of such associations was on the whole attended by satisfactory results.

5. The reports show that depots, places of accommodation, and rest houses for emigrants were properly inspected and maintained in good sanitary condition throughout the year. No out-break of epidemic disease was reported.

6. The number of criminal cases in connection with recruitment reported during the year under review was 92, or 7 less than in the previous year, and the number of persons convicted fell from 74 to 68. In the districts of Singhbhum and Sambalpur special efforts were made by the local authorities to detect cases of illegal recruitment and the reports generally show increased vigilance on the part of registering and other officers.

7. The receipts and charges for the province in connection with the transport of labour were Rs. 3,322-12-9 and Rs. 2,015-0-6 respectively, as against Rs. 3,434-0-0 and Rs. 3,475-0-3 in 1912-13.

8. The Lieutenant-Governor in Council, desires to thank the local officers for their valuable assistance in the administration of the Act.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

The "Komagata" Passengers in Japan.

In view of the subsequent ill-luck of the "Komagata" passengers, it would be interesting to know what a Japanese newspaper wrote regarding the origin of the enterprise and the pitiable condition of the passengers in Japan on their return voyage. According to the *Japan Herald* of August 27th.

Mr. Javahermal an Indian now on a visit to Japan, and an old friend of Mr. Gurdit Singh, the leader of the "Komagata-maru" party, gave a "Chronicle" representative some interesting particulars of the expedition and its various fortunes. Mr. Gurdit Singh, he explained, is a wealthy land-owner in the Punjab, worth about two lakhs of dollars—Y. 200,000—and a person of much influence in his district. He became imbued with an Emigration Scheme to Canada, which he decided to embark upon at his own experience. He was aware the Indian labourers were excluded from Canada, but there was, so far as he could ascertain, no law forbidding Indian merchants to settle in the dominion, and already a number of Indian merchants were doing business in British Columbia. He, therefore, decided to make his Emigration Scheme bear a commercial character. He proposed starting a steamship company which should carry iron and coal from India and Japan to Canada, and in return carry cargoes of timber, for Canadian wood was much in demand in India. In addition, he would engage in other forms of commerce in connection with his shipping scheme. He looked forward to a time however when the Indian emigrants might be able to purchase land in Canada and engage in farming. All the emigrants would go over to Canada as servants in his employ, and he undertook to bear all the expense.

Regarding the condition of the passengers in Japan the Japanese Journal says :—

Meanwhile the position of the Indians is pitiable. They are all destitute and have not even the money to buy fruit and fresh vegetables in Kobe. On boardship they have been refused light and steam for cooking purposes, though, through the instrumentality of the Consul-General, this grievance has been somewhat remedied. The food on board is of the poorest kind, and consists almost entirely of pulse. They have not even the means to telegraph to India for help. They are beginning to despair of ever getting back to their wives and children in India, of whom they have heard nothing for months, and who may be

as destitute as they are themselves. It is a most lamentable story and it is to be earnestly hoped that the British Government will do something for the unhappy men.

But according to Anglo-Indian Journals like the *Pioneer*, the *Times of India* and the *Englishman*, the Indians had with them a plentiful supply of arms and ammunition. They ought to have sold some of these "to buy fruit and fresh vegetables in Kobe" and "to telegraph to India for help.

A White Man's World.

Until less than a generation ago (writes A. G. G. in the *Daily News and Leader*) the right of the white man to inherit the earth belonged to the category of indisputable axioms. His adventurous spirit had carried him far and wide and he had raised his flag, usually the British flag, over all the great waste places of the globe, brushing the little peoples aside from his path in his masterful stride. The red man melted before him in America, the black man before him in Australasia. He laid India under tribute and cut up Africa as if he were cutting up a cake, allotting this section to the German, that to the French, another to the Portuguese, a fourth to the Belgian, the largest share to the Englishman.

There was no question in all this of asking leave of the natives. The white man would have as little thought of asking the natives whether they wanted him to take possession of their land as of asking the kangaroos or the buffaloes. He had the argument of force and he easily construed that into a Divine authority for his dominion over palm and pine. His attitude to the subject peoples was in keeping with this view. Here he enslaved them, there he tortured and slew them, elsewhere he sought to govern them justly and civilise them. He gave them sometimes the Bible and sometimes rum, his tastes and not seldom his diseases. He carried them in thousands from Africa to till the Virginian fields and incidentally to sow the seed of a great colour problem for himself in modern America. He brought them from India in thousands to enrich himself by their labour in Natal and incidentally sowed the seed of a great problem for himself in the South Africa of to-day. But behind all his varying methods there was one dominant unquestioned idea. Everywhere he proceeded upon the assumption that the white man was born to possess the earth and that the coloured man was born to be his hewer of wood and drawer of water, used if he needed him and thrown aside if he did not need him.

BOOK REVIEWS.

WAR LITERATURE.

Oxford Pamphlets, 1914: *Oxford University Press, Bombay.*

1. THE VALUE OF SMALL STATES, by H. A. L. Fisher, F. B. A., price 2d.
2. GERMANY AND 'THE FEAR OF RUSSIA,' by Sir Valentine Chirol, price 2d.
3. HOW CAN WAR EVER BE RIGHT, ? by Gilbert Murray, price 2d.
4. The Retreat from Mons, by H. W. C. Davis, with two maps, price 3d.

It was not mere rhetoric or a spurt of fanciful emotion that impelled Mr. Asquith to plead in behalf of the Small States. There may be a few sceptics who are still doubtful why England joined the war for, after all, 'only a scrap of paper.' Belgium neutrality seems but a small affair by the side of the big battalions ranged on either side of the Armageddon, but the issues involved vitally affect civilization and the sum of human culture. The neat little pamphlet on the subject is a vindication of the existence of Small States and a satisfying justification of their continuance in world politics. "Almost everything which is most precious in our civilization has come from small states, the Old Testament, the Homeric poems, the Attic and the Elizabethan Drama, the art of the Italian Renaissance, the common law of England. Nobody needs to be told what humanity owes to Athens, Florence, Geneva, or Weimar." The city state of old, as Mr. Fisher points out, served as a school of patriotic virtue; enabled the experiment of a free direct democratic Government to be made, with incalculable consequences for the political thinking of the world; and, finally, threw into a forced and fruitful communion minds of the most varied temper. In a largely imitative world such as ours, when habits of thought come to be stereotyped for generations after generations, the value of the small states in furnishing healthy diversions is immense. But Potsdam would have us learn a new system of philosophy. Do the disciples of Cæsarism believe that patriotism and civic virtues are possible only to large nations? The small states have come up for judgment and human freedom has spoken with one voice that their existence is vital for the interests of the Concord of Nations. The arguments have been ably set forth by Mr. Fisher in this pamphlet.

Sir Valentine Chirol gives a brief review of Russo-German relations and how Bismarck's wire from Berlin to St. Petersburg, after many breaking points, finally

vanished into thin air. Incidentally, it throws lurid light on the mendacious methods of German diplomacy and the low level of corruption to which Berlin could stoop, alike in times of stress and calm. Kaiser's shining armour did not blind anyone more than himself and in the last resort, as it always happens, the Bully has deceived himself. Russia is now our Ally, thanks to the fair-mindedness of British Statesmen. Sir Valentine Chirol shows "how little the present war has to do with any inexorable antagonism between German 'culture' and Russian 'barbarism.' He argues that so long as Germany could successfully exploit for her own purposes all the worst elements in the governing classes of Russia and deflect Russian ambitions into channels which did not impede her own, German Statesmen and the German Press laid eloquent stress upon the old dynastic friendship and the community of conservative principles and of political interests between the two countries. "But when the gradual movement towards progress in Russia itself began to undermine the buttresses of German influence, and when finally the exigencies of the Kaiser's World-Policy compelled him to make a frontal attack upon Russia's position as the great Slav Power of Europe, then German Statesmen and their scribes in the German Press suddenly discovered that it was no longer, as in the old days when Germany was helping to hypnotise Russia in the Far East, the Chinese and the Japanese that threatened the 'holiest possessions' of European civilization, but that terrible Slav barbarism of which Russia was the monstrous embodiment." Good God, save me from my friends, German 'culture,' and the modern Huns!

It is interesting to know what an Advocate of Peace, and that a Briton, thinks about the war in which his country is now deeply involved. An opportunity has been afforded by Gilbert Murray in this pamphlet on "How can War ever be Right?" After a conscientious analysis of the ethics underlying England's part in the war, he writes; " . . . I believe firmly that we were right to declare war against Germany on August 4, 1914, and that to have remained neutral in that crisis would have been a failure in public duty." Almost a direct question can be put to the average man: can he escape blood guiltiness by standing still while murder is committed before his eyes? The case for England has been made clearer by the wanton violation of Belgian neutrality by Germany. No one should judge of this war as a profit-and-loss-account and reckon only the more immediate consequences. It would leave out of sight the cardinal fact that in some causes it is better to fight and be broken than to yield peacefully; that sometimes the mere act of resisting to the death is in itself a victory. Thus has England secured victory and the approbation of man-

kind from the day it announced its decision. A reading of Gilbert Murray's pamphlet leaves one's conscience clear with regard to England's duty in the war.

The retreat from Mons has been admitted on all hands to be the finest British feat of arms since Waterloo. We are allowed in this pamphlet glimpses of that fine picture of British pluck and tactfulness, re-constructed out of several kinds of information, official despatches and eye-witnesses' accounts. The narrative illustrates with certain vividness, in spite of the veil of secrecy, the full operations of the British Expeditionary Force, under the command of that gallant Field Marshal, Sir John French, during the withdrawal from Mons to the line Noyon-Channy-Za Fiere (August 23-8, 1914). The theatre of the English operations is described in some notes added to the maps.

C. S. K.

ECONOMICS.

The History and Economics of Indian Famines.

by Mr. A. Loveday, G. Bell & Sons, London, price 2/6 d. net.

Within the modest compass of 134 pages Mr. Loveday has given us one of the neatest introductions to a study of the subject. Originally intended for the Le Bas Prize Essay in 1913, its object was to sketch the history of past famines in India. The essay has, for the purposes of the present book, been revised and elaborated in certain particulars so as to include some of the main features of the agricultural and industrial changes which have taken place in India within the last century. The writer deals also with the details of relief organisation and has further considered how the policy of relief has been modified by this economic evolution and the way in which the latter has been influenced by relief policies.

The history of famines is dealt with in three chapters. The first is devoted to the famines before the English obtained predominance in the country, the second to the period of the East India Company's rule, and the third to the period since the abolition of the East India Company. The history of the first period is described by Mr. Loveday as "a tale of infinite destruction of human life, sometimes resultant from, often aided by, wars and oppressive Government, and occasionally, spasmodically, restrained by the energy of a particular monarch or the generosity of the rich." He however finds that it is possible to trace "through all the turmoil of wars, and the rise and fall of dynasties, a development, however slow and indeterminate, in the methods adopted and the success attained in famine relief", despite the circumstance that there was no organised system of protection or alleviation.

A few items of interest about this period may be mentioned. The famines of 1527 and 1540 were artificially produced deliberately as measures of defensive policy, the former by Jam Ninda ordering the destruction of all standing corn in the country and the other by Mirza Shah Humayun forbidding the sowing of corn and prohibiting import. An instance is given of a famine having produced the beneficial effect of concluding a war. That was when Sultan Ahmad Shah was forced, by uprisings amongst his people as a consequence of famine, to come to terms with Dewal Roy in 1424. In the period of the East India Company the most noticeable famines were those of 1770, 1788, and 1803, the 1770 famine in Bengal being the first which they had to face after they ceased to be mere traders and had become administrators. Mr. Loveday says that the difficulties which the East India Company "had to face during this period were, it is true, immense. They had no choice but to abandon the heritage they had received or to march forward. War was inevitable were they to protect their possessions and neither the check which they gave to the predatory expeditions of Haider Ali nor the death blow which they dealt to the ascendancy of his son, nor the downfall of the Mahratta house, can be subjects of regret. But when every allowance is made for the difficulties which beset its path and for the lower standards of humanity at the time, it is still little exaggeration to say that the Company were more concerned with the dividends of its shareholders than with the lives of those from whom those dividends were drawn." Each famine was really an isolated and unexpected phenomenon with which the Company had to deal and they did so "hesitatingly and uncertainly, groping in the dark for some principle which they sought in vain." In fact there was no real policy at all and such of it there was was uncertain and tentative. After the country passed from the hands of the East India Company to the Government of the Queen the "method of alleviation grew from a rough system of temporarily and hurriedly organised employment to an infinitely elaborate and detailed permanent scheme." The writer first deals with the, 1860 famine in the North-Western Provinces and the relief methods then adopted. "The problem was one of distribution of food, not of supply. To the Government it meant how to obtain the greatest possible return for their money, with the least possible loss of life and involved two considerations, the remunerativeness of the work undertaken and the enforcement of work from those physically capable. In 1860 the problem and the responsibility was more fully realised." He then treats of the famous Orissa famine of 1866 and the inquiry which followed it. The report of this inquiry has been the model for all subsequent commissions and

the basis of all subsequent codes. In 1868 the Government published a memorandum on the measures to be adopted for relief in times of famine. A drought of this year in the Rajaputana States which spread to a limited degree over the British territory lying north-west gave an opportunity for testing these recommendations and this drought is noticeable for the determined adoption of the principle of making large grants of tucavee to the cultivators in order to give them immediate employment on their own farms and to capitalise sufficiently the harvest preparations for the succeeding year. The famine of 1873-74, known as the "Panic Famine," led to the initiation of the Famine Insurance Scheme. The most extensive famine that occurred since the predominance of British power was that in 1877. This was followed by Sir Richard Strachey's Commission who after a careful investigation of the whole economic problem submitted a series of recommendations which were in 1888 embodied in a provisional Famine Code, which has received modifications and additions as time went on.

In the Chapter on Relief Organisation Mr. Loveday attempts to trace in outline the growth of the system as it exists at present. He mentions why certain methods of relief failed in their object in the past and considers others that are no longer applicable to the changed condition of the present day and examines some of the difficulties which efficient relief has to face. He explains that the most important effects which the economic changes in India have had upon the general policy of reliefs have been the surrender of importation to private enterprise and the prevention of "wandering". He then proceeds to deal with the details of relief organisation.

Chapter V is the most important chapter of the book and deals with protective measures and the effect of these upon the general economic position of India. The whole chapter is worth careful reading and it shows the thorough equipment the author possesses to deal with the subject. We would suggest that the author may be induced to discuss the subject of this Chapter at fuller length in a separate volume. A comprehensive and adequate survey of this important subject still remains unwritten. It is not within the scope of this short notice to follow Mr. Loveday through this chapter. It would suffice to state that after the administration of the land came into the hands of the British Government the whole famine policy has been permeated with deep sympathy for the people and every famine that occurred has been made the basis for further study and further attempts to prevent such evils as were observed and to afford a greater measure of protection and relief when a subsequent famine did occur. Though the extension of railways and the

increase in irrigation works are not in themselves all, they have gone far to mitigate the effects of famines and we trust that the policy of extension under both heads—so marked since 1904—will be persisted in, though unprecedented and unparalled has been the extent and value of these works since the British Government assumed direct responsibility for administration.

EDUCATIONAL.

HANDBOOK OF INFORMATION FOR INDIAN STUDENTS:—Relating to University and Professional Studies, etc., in the United Kingdom, issued by the Committee of the National Indian Association, 21, Cromwell Road, London, price Re. 1.

There are certain general hints which every one should be familiar with before he attempts to travel to foreign countries for business, study or mere travel. Indian students, particularly those who wish to undergo a training in English Universities often experience the difficulty of finding out information on educational matters, the courses of study they wish to undergo, the expenses involved in undergoing a training in Law, Medicine or Engineering, the institutions they desire to join, and a host of other matters. The above book is intended mainly as a guide to such students who wish to have a training in Great Britain and Ireland. The book, besides giving a detailed account of all the Universities in the United Kingdom in the several branches of study, offers very useful suggestions even for a casual visitor to that country, regarding equipment, boarding, lodging and social relationships, of which the last forms an important point. For instance, punctuality either at meals or in keeping engagements, and above all in answering letters or acknowledging invitations ought to be rigidly observed. A great many of our leading gentries in this country may very well take this lesson to heart without losing much of the dignity or reputation and practice it even if they do not go abroad. The importance of this point may be gauged by quoting a sentence or two from the book. "To keep an invitation unanswered for several days, not only involves a great deal of inconvenience to the host or hostess, but probably means that the invitation will not be repeated. A shower of rain or a slight pain are not regarded as adequate excuses for failing to fulfil an engagement in England. Another important point is the attitude to be observed toward servants, not to speak peremptorily to them." There are also many other matters of interest in the book.

The INDIAN EMIGRANT BUREAU OF INFORMATION, 38, Broadway, will gladly supply all the required information to Indian Students as to their several requirements in Great Britain.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WANTED—GRIT.

In a spirited letter, a correspondent writes to us of the incalculable harm that this tamil proverb, "உழமாடு உஞ்ஞர் விலையில்லாவிட்டால் வேளியூரில் போகுமா," (An ox which does not sell in a local and near market, will it find sale in a remote one?) has had upon the mind of young Indians for generations.

"Is it not most unreasonable," he asks, "it should be bundled against the spirited attempts 'of the chainless mind' and the adventurous and restless youth who wishes to travel abroad, learn to live and benefit himself and others? That it should damp the ardour of a restlessness which loves freedom of action and embodies liberty of spirit? And is not such a bane all the more severe when we realize at present that, as a matter of fact, the chief factor essential for our national progress is the absolute necessity, nay the sacred duty—for our young men to go abroad and bring in the rich harvests of knowledge, experience and usefulness from fields afar?—and educate our masses upon them?"

"We want real work to be done," he proceeds—and quotes some characteristic remarks of the Late Swami Vivekananda.

In a letter from Yokhama written to an Indian friend, dated the 10th July 1893, the Swami, while describing the favorite incidents of a voyage, describes Japan in vivid terms of surpassing beauty and proceeds to say, "I can't write what I have in my mind about the Japs in one short letter. Only I want that numbers of our young men should pay a visit to Japan every year." — a request which yet remains shamefully unfulfilled! "To the Japanese, India is still the dreamland of everything high and good. And you, what are you? talking twaddle all your lives, vain talkers, what are you? Come, see these people and then go hide your faces in shame. A race of dotards, you lose your caste if your come out! Sitting these hundreds of years with an ever-increasing load of crystallized superstition on your heads, for hundreds of years spending all your energy upon discussing the touchableness or untouchableness of this food or that, with all humanity crushed out of you by the continuous social tyranny of ages—what are you? And what are you doing? promenading the seashores with books in your hands, repeating undigested stray bits of European brain-work, and the whole soul bent upon getting a thirty rupees clerkship or at best becoming a lawyer the height of young India's ambition—and every

student with a whole brood of hungry children cackling at his heels and asking for bread! Is there not water enough in the sea to drown you, books, gowns, university diplomas and all?" Such is the great burst of irrepressible anguish and righteous indignation with which the Swami is overcome when he realizes the root cause of his nation's backwardness.

The solution of the problem as afforded by the rest of the letter is characteristic of the practicality of the suggestion which is the keynote of the whole work and mission of this great Seer. "Come, be men! See how the nations are on the march. India wants the sacrifice of at least a thousand of her young men—men, mind, and not brutes!"

In one word, the correspondent asks Indians to possess 'grit', a wide vision, and abundant enthusiasm. P. V.

AN APPRECIATION.

The INDIAN EMIGRANT is a valuable addition to the English monthlies published in India. As is obvious from the name, the new magazine is meant to record what is happening to, and being done by, Indians in British colonies and foreign countries. The Editor, Mr. T. K. Swaminathan, is an advocate of "equal rights of British citizenship within the Empire" and judging from the issues before us, we can say that under his guidance the magazine will serve the very useful purpose of watching, and trying to safeguard, the interests of Indians in the colonies. Speaking of the birth of a Colonial Association from the egg of the South African Passive Resistance Relief Fund, we wrote two months ago, that it was scandalous that there was no body in India specially devoted to the consideration of the colonial problems of India, with a view to enlightening the public on India's colonial question and safe-guarding and promoting the interests of Indians in the colonies. We are glad to see that an All-India body is being formed for the purpose, and that the cause is taken up by a specialised and capable monthly organ. The Indian Colonial question though smothered for a time by the war is bound to be more and more pressing in the coming future and the existence of a specialised organ devoted to the purpose will be one of the valuable Indian assets, if conducted on the lines on which it appears to be conducted. By the bye, can or will, the new Colonial Association, being formed at Bombay, help this organ?—*The Mahratta*.

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SELECT OPINIONS.

Sir Sidney Lee, Editor of the Dictionary of the National Biography.—The articles seem to me to be very interesting and to cover a wide range of topics. It is an advantage for an Englishman to learn the Indian opinion on the many important matters with which the Magazine deals.

Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P.—The articles I have read seem to me to be very good and interesting. You keep the Review on a high intellectual level.

Sir Theodore Morrison, K.C.I.E.—The Modern World appears to me to be discharging a very useful function.

Sir Valentine Chirol, K.C.I.E.—The Modern World aims at giving publicity to a variety of honest and reasonable opinions about Indian affairs.

Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P.—I cordially wish you well in your career as Editor of Modern World. Too much light could not be let in upon Indian questions and your Magazine certainly contributes valuable aid to those who are seeking to know the truth about your great country.

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Photographic views and representations of Indian life in British Colonies and Foreign Countries will be thankfully received. They should be accompanied, in every case, with a short description.

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To begin first with the Asrama work, we are in need of Rs. 20,000 for securing the necessary grounds and buildings; and for engaging and maintaining a few teachers and students. We have arranged for the purchase of two houses for Rs. 10,000 and we have also made other arrangements on a small scale. We are also trying to open a centre of our work in Benares as soon as possible.

We therefore appeal for pecuniary help from our Rajahs, Nobles and other well-to-do and pious people to enable us to carry on this necessary regeneration work without unnecessary anxieties. Periodical contributions, annuities, grants, donations, etc., either in kind or money, will be welcomed and acknowledged with thanks.

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The Hon'ble Mr. P. D. Pattani, C.I.E., Executive Councillor, Bombay, writes under date, 22nd August 1913:—"Many thanks for your letter of the 13th instant, and the second part of Vedic Lore. I read the book with great interest and was very much impressed with the beneficial propaganda you have inaugurated. I wish to be a patron of the Vedic Mission Society and enclose herein Rs. 50 as my subscription. I shall feel obliged by your sending me the first part of Vedic Lore."

As the "Madras Mail" has rightly observed in its recent review of Vedic Lore, Part II—"even if a tithe" (of our ambitious programme) "is carried out much good will result to the advancement of religious education and Sanskrit literature."

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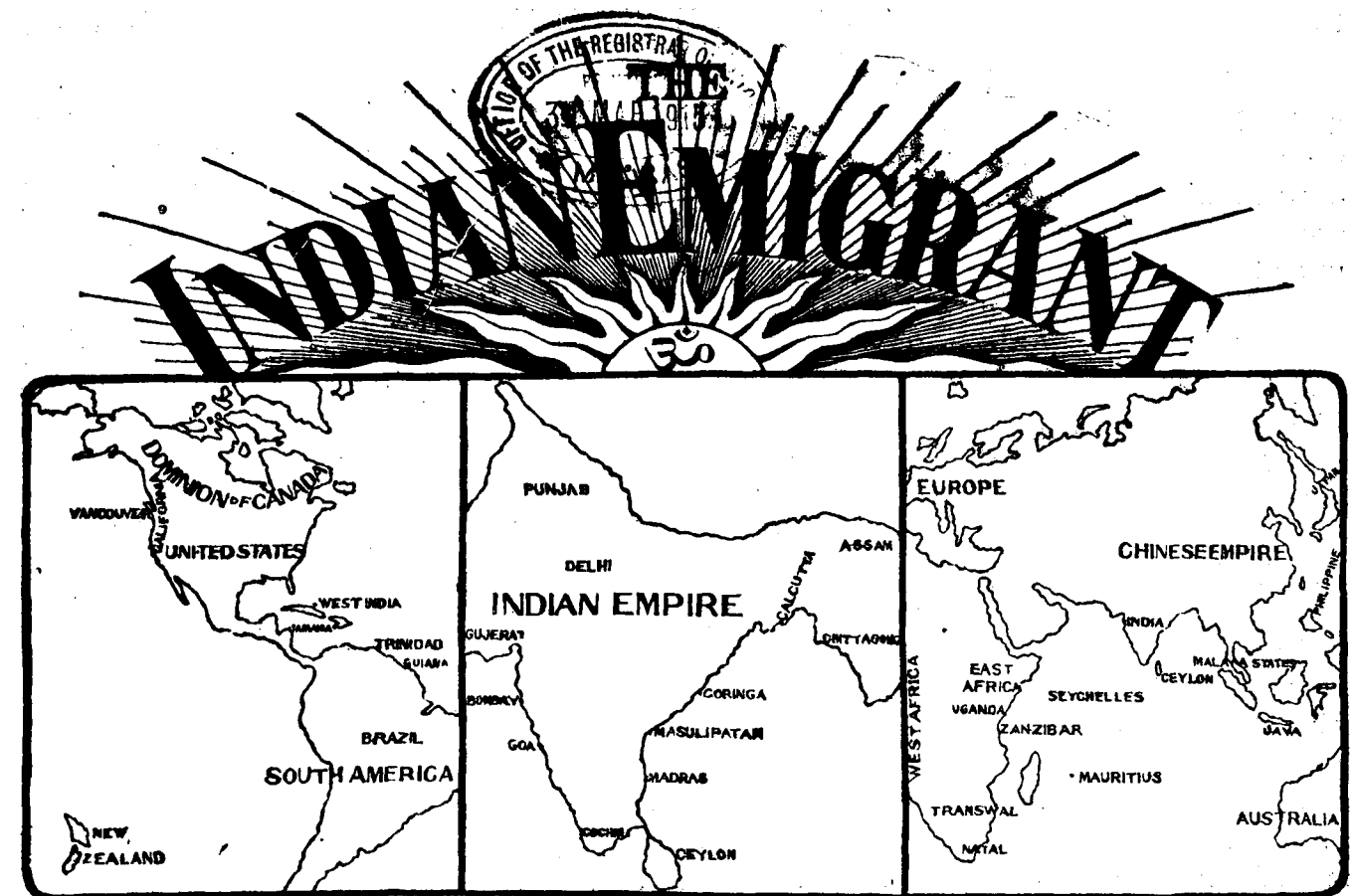
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Vol. I.

JANUARY 31, 1915.

No. 6.

The "Indian Emigrant."

A Monthly Record of the Status and Doings of Indians in British Colonies and Foreign Countries and an Advocate of Equal Rights of British Citizenship within the Empire.

WHAT IS MY DUTY

TO

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA?

THE duty of recognising that these immense masses of humanity are composed of our own brothers and sisters, each of whom is our equal in the eye of the Almighty. Not only so, but the differences which divide and cause us to be in a position of political ascendancy are trivial compared with the points upon which we are at one. Hence our first duty is to oppose all those suggestions of race pride and arrogance which are so potent in building impassable barriers to the quick and constant

flow of human sympathy between the white-skinned Lords of India and those millions who bear upon their features the impression of a fiercer sun than that which beats upon our temperate isle. Although we were born in a position of political superiority, we have neither the knowledge nor the local acquaintance with circumstances which alone can justify men in forming a definite judgment as to what is right and just. Our duty, therefore, towards our Indian fellow-subjects should be that of respectful learners, who require to be taught by the people whom they govern as to the methods by which their needs can best be satisfied. Our ultimate idea ought to be to make ourselves unnecessary. As a father endeavours to make his son an independent man, so English dominion in India ought to have as its ultimate aim the establishment of the principle of self-government among the millions who inhabit Hindustan. The realisation of that ideal may be a very long way off, but it is the ultimate

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goal which must never be lost sight of, and we shall be judged in history by the success with which we have trained, educated, and accustomed our Indian fellow-subjects to take upon their own shoulders the burden and responsibility of Government.

As a journalist, I have too often failed in my duty to India. Out of sight is often out of mind. The pressing demands of an importunate beggar at the door will often prevent your listening to the great chorus of myriad voices in the far distance. But with all shortcomings, which I do frankly and sorrowfully confess, I do feel that I can make an honest confession and say that, according to my light, so far as I have had opportunity, I have endeavoured to minimise what seemed to me the inevitable evils of such a position as that which we occupy in India, and have endeavoured also to promote, so far as I could in my small way, the feeling of mutual self-respect, sympathy, and fraternity between my own countrymen and my fellow-subjects in India."

These words were written almost fourteen years ago by the late W. T. Stead in *East and West*. Had he lived to-day, with what momentum he would not have charged them, seeing this subject-nation's "splendid" participation in the War! Would Englishmen at Home and in India listen to this voice, though now hushed in the grave, yet breathes a spirit that must be dear to the breast of every freedom-loving Englishman!—[Ed.]

INDIANS IN THE COLONIES.

REPORT ON THEIR CONDITION.

IT was the members of the Sanderson Commission of 1909 that suggested the idea of bringing into practice the suggestion made by the Viceroy and his Council in 1877, that "Indian officers should be deputed at regular intervals, say once in five or seven years, to visit the various colonies which receive Indian Immigrants and report upon their condition and on any arrangements which may be desirable to promote their welfare." The appointment of a Commission consisting of Messrs. McNeill and Chinaman Lal in 1913 and the publication of their Report accordingly, in time, are evidently the outcome

of that suggestion and we owe a debt of gratitude to the Government of India for the kind solicitude and concern they have shown for the poor and voiceless emigrants of this country. Also a good deal has to be said for the pains taken by the Commissioners in visiting the various parts of the Colonies much to their personal inconvenience and discomfort in their arduous task of trying to bring about a better condition of affairs in the life of poor Indians abroad.

AN IMPORTANT DOCUMENT.

It is impossible to overrate the importance of such a valuable document as this and it furnishes a mine of information and throws a good deal of light on the different aspects of life of the Indians in the four British Colonies of British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji and the Dutch Colony of Surinam.

The Commissioners were guided in their enquiries by the instructions contained in the memorandum (published elsewhere) forwarded to them by the Secretary of State for India and, as the scope of their enquiry was thus limited, the Report therefore stands on quite a different footing from that of 1909. It has, however, a value of its own which will serve the statistician in good stead and the chief interest of the Report lies in the Appendices.

VALUE TO INDIANS.

Apart from these considerations, reports such as this, published once in five or seven years, will set a thinking the vast body of our countrymen, who would otherwise remain ignorant, as to the very existence in such large numbers of Indians beyond the seas, to the emigrating powers of Indians in general and to the great contribution made by them to the industrial and agricultural prosperity of those British Colonies.

One cannot but look back without an unmixed feeling of pride and regret, pride because of the large number of our country men having been instrumental in opening up the vast resources of the various colonies of the British Empire and regret at the yet unsatisfactory condition of affairs prevailing there, so far as the treatment of Indians in those Colonies is concerned.

SCOPE OF THE ENQUIRY.

Varied are the points which the commissioners have discussed in the Report under review; such general matters as the housing of labourers, medical arrangements, relations between the employers and the employed, administration of justice, education

and, with special reference to, the position of free Indians, female indenture, prosecutions of labourers by the employers, suicides, immorality on the estates and other details which required careful investigation. We, however, believe that the value of the Report would be highly enhanced had it contained verbatim, the facts and suggestions of the "hundreds of Indians, representing every occupation and social status, including Indian employers of Indentured Indian labour, members of Indian Associations and representatives of the Domiciled Indian Community" with whom the Commissioners were said to have discussed for the purpose of eliciting first hand information, although it is probable that their suggestions have been incorporated in the body of their Report. From what we could gather from their volumes, it seems that the subject has been treated somewhat superficially making a suggestion here and a generalisation there without going into the very root of the question. Perhaps this is due to a restriction being placed in the subject matter of the enquiry.

INDENTURE SYSTEM JUSTIFIED.

In their closing words of the Report, they say "we venture to claim that their (proposals) adoption will justify the system (Indentured Immigration) being fairly described as one of protected Emigration, in which the protection ceases when no longer required" and "that the advantages of the existing system have far outweighed its disadvantages." It by no means follows that the system is good; and it was cried down by many, Indians and Englishmen alike, as a system bordering on Slavery. It is sometimes contended by those who recommend the system that the objection to it is based only on sentiment; but it is sentiment that goes a great way to advance or retard progress and civilisation. To what else could we ascribe the bitterness of race feeling, national prejudice and national hatred.

OUR ARM-CHAIR POLITICIANS.

But, so long as the Arm-Chair Politicians of our country do not interest themselves in this problem and bring about an organisation for taking practical steps, as suggested in the previous number of this journal, so long will the system of Indenture continue with what little improvements for the better condition of Indians that may be made by the Government of India from time to time. No amount of resolutions passed in the Congress platforms will improve the situation. This must be recognised early by our men of light and leading.

It is no easy task to examine the Report in detail in all its features in a single article; but it will be profitable if the Report is approached subject by subject making a comparative study of the conditions existing in the different colonies, so that the defects of any system in one colony may be readily seen or its better method brought home to us. We have however found it necessary to print in *extenso* the summary of the recommendations of the Commissioners in the latter part of the Journal.

We shall therefore analyse the Report under different headings and deal with them in detail in this and subsequent numbers.

We shall first take up the subject of "Free Indians."

I.

FREE INDIANS.

The position of free Indians in these British Colonies, will be better understood and appreciated if the early history of Emigration is traced.

ORIGINALLY FREE.

When Indians first entered these different Colonies, the system of Indenture was not in vogue, at any rate so far as British Guiana is concerned in 1838, and the immigrants were under no obligation beyond the statutory hiring of one month. It was then suddenly found, for reasons not best explained, that it was necessary to bring them under control. The term of contract was therefore limited to six months. Ten years after in 1848, three years' indenture was introduced with the condition of repatriation after five years. Six years later in 1854, the term of residence was extended to ten years, the original indenture period being still three years and the coolies being bound to reindenture under an employer of his own choice for two more years. In 1862, the term of first indenture was fixed at five years and in 1863 any number of subsequent five years' indenture was made legal.

SUBSEQUENTLY INDENTURED.

It seems therefore from the above facts that there was no indenture system at the outset, but this was imposed upon in subsequent years more rigorously than ever. There is also no denying the fact that there was a tendency in the colonists to keep the whole Indian population out of the labour market just after the abolition of slavery when the black labour was found to be too prohibitive. It has been said that several inducements were offered, even questionable means, for the purpose of per-

suading the labourers to reindenture themselves after their indenture period was over; and we cannot for a moment think that measures of this kind should ever be considered necessary to teach Indians, men, women and children the habits of regularity and train them to acclimatisation. Records are not wanting to show that free Immigration of labour has been the rule when it was first introduced.

FETTERS ARE FETTERS.

The philanthropic action of the British people in the abolition of slavery has only resulted in the evil assuming a different shape with no marked change in the injustice of the system. What Mr. Gandhi pointed out recently, that fetters are fetters, whether they be of gold or iron is an analogy which will apply equally to the systems of indenture and slavery. The one is the fetter of gold and the other is the fetter of iron.

DISPARITY OF WAGES.

The reason for traversing this portion of the subject is just to point out that wages have been at the bottom of a system which the Commissioners of the Report had not taken into consideration. An examination of the wages condition of free and indentured service for a moment, will bring out clearly the fact that high wages are paid to the former than to the latter. The Commissioners have, of course, pointed this out in page 22 of the Report. In Trinidad a higher wage is usually paid to a free man as regards *time work* by reason of his more efficiency and superior physique and he often gets daily 5 to 15 cents more. Their contention or apology for not recommending the same wages to both is, that "estates cannot be expected to pay the same rates for occasional labour as for labour engaged for a long period." A free Indian doing other occupations of life as drivers, cartmen and employees in the P. W. D., their daily earnings are stated at 30 to 50 cents, i.e., 15 annas to Rs. 1-9 and some even getting so much as 60 cents in British Guiana (p. 40).

INDIANS IN LEARNED PROFESSIONS.

While a great majority of Indians have not risen far above want, there have been a few who have made themselves the arbiters of their own fortune by their frugal and thrifty habits. Theirs was not the consideration of mere money making. They were actuated by a desire to rise in society to position and influence which is the common aim of every individual. It is therefore a great consolation to hear that such of them or their sons have, by their education in English Universities, taken to learned professions, and have

become barristers, solicitors and medical practitioners, in some of the Colonies, Trinidad, British Guiana and also in Fiji. In new Amsterdam, in British Guiana, an Indian gentleman has risen to the position of a Mayor and there is now an Indian Honourable Member in the Legislative Council of Trinidad. And whatever political activity there is in these Colonies, is mainly due to the educated colonial born Indian gentlemen. It is possible for many more Indians to attain to these distinctions had they not been disqualified by the single fact of want of education in the language of the country.

AGRICULTURAL SETTLERS.

In a study of the Free Indian population in these Colonies, one is naturally struck with the variety of occupations and independent walks of life chosen by our countrymen. It is principally as Agricultural Settlers that Indians have made their name and left their impress in the economic life of the Colony. In places as British Guiana where rice was not formerly grown, the Indians have taken lands, either on purchase or on lease and produced not only enough of it to meet the home consumption but also for export to other markets.

OBSTACLES TO SETTLEMENT.

In certain Colonies, however, facilities are not given to Indians; but, as a matter of fact, obstacles were thrown in the way of free Indians settling themselves down as agriculturists. In Trinidad, for instance, the payment of an occupancy price in one sum and the minimum grant of five acres of land, are difficulties which an aspiring labourer could not easily overcome. Either the minimum grant must be increased or the price should be recovered in instalments. Another obstacle in the way of Indian settlements is the costliness of medical attendance to free Indians in cases of necessity. Even the Commissioners have pointed it out as a drawback and a source of discontent. In Trinidad, the system of requiring a certificate of pauperism from poor persons unable to pay for medical relief, does not minimise expenses in any way.

The certificates are valid only for a fortnight or at the most a month, and a recipient of a poverty certificate must pay for advice and medicine one shilling which is about a day's income. It is therefore no wonder that the balance of movement of free Indian labour is gradually towards Dutch Guiana, where medical relief is free, where facilities for agricultural settlement are more inviting and where the Govern-

ment have provided irrigation and drainage schemes at their own cost.

The Commissioner have therefore suggested to the Trinidad Government that free medical relief as out-patients should be given to persons drawing incomes less than £30 a year and that certificates should be made valid for at least six months. We believe if such steps are taken by that Government towards medical assistance to the labouring classes, it will add greatly to the economic strength of the colony in the possession of a strong and robust labouring community.

GOVERNMENT SETTLEMENT.

The British Guiana Government has organised regular settlements of Indians in five localities and none of them seems to have been quite successful. In no colony except the Dutch Guiana, have the irrigation schemes been maintained by the Government and we thank the Commissioners for inviting the attention of the other Governments in this direction. The difference between the Government of the British colonies and the Dutch colony of Surinam is, that the latter stimulate and encourage colonisation of Indians which the other Governments are not willing to do but wanting only indentured labourers. This point is strikingly brought out by the fact that during the last fifteen years, the landed property of Indians in Dutch Guiana has increased tenfold.

ADVANTAGES IN DUTCH GUIANA.

Moreover, the Surinam Government during the Governorship of H. E. Van Ach Van Wyck revised the regulations regarding the grant of lands on Settlements.

The more important general regulations relating to Indians are these:—

I. Industrious Immigrants will be granted free of occupancy price drained and empoldered land on Settlement.

II. For six years, no land or personal taxes are payable by occupants. After the expiry of this period an annual assessment of from 6 to 10 guilders *per hectare* is levied (a rent of 8 guilders *per hectare* = Rs. 10 *per acre*). The occupant then becomes a lessee under terms of the agreement.

III. Occupants do not forfeit the right to return passages by taking up land, but an occupant who voluntarily commutes his right will receive a premium of 100 guilders (Rs. 125).

The consequence of item III is a steady increase in commutation and free settlement.

Besides these advantages offered to settlers, the Government takes a personal interest in and close supervision over these settlements. The most important

feature of the Surinam Government for the encouragement of agricultural settlers is the advance made direct to the settlers through the agency of the co-operative credit societies in addition to spending large sums on drainage and irrigation at its own cost. Indian settlers here were found to be contented and prosperous. It is a pity, however that the Surinam Government should take the initiative rather than the British Government of the colonies.

DIFFICULTIES IN OTHER COLONIES.

In Jamaica we are told, there is no good system for encouraging Settlement of Indians and the Commissioners recommend that 10 acres in lieu of return passages would have been proper inducement. The case of Fiji also is not encouraging.

Indians who have greatly contributed to the increase of the value of land in Fiji, as in other colonies, have not been given facilities for settlement in Government land at rents which will be considered fair and equitable. In the opinion of the Commissioners also it would seem, from the regulations of land settlements operating in Fiji, that allotments in Government settlement for Indians are to be granted on a very unsatisfactory and insecure tenure and they have proposed several alterations in the existing system of land tenure, suggesting that the "future need of the Indian immigrants will be adequately met if the rental value of land escapes taxation." Further, "if facilities for acquiring land on permanent leases are provided and the officers of the Immigration Department co-operate in the work of settlement the main drawback to emigration to Fiji will be removed."

It is therefore surprising that the Commissioners should still recommend the system under which labourers are recruited to these colonies in the face of such hardship for the free settlement of Indians.

NON-AGRICULTURISTS.

The majority of the Indian population have settled down as peaceful agriculturists and there are not a few who are engaged in other occupations besides agriculture. Of these, cart drivers, hucksterers, river and sea craft, provision and shop-keepers, liquor shop owners, minor druggist shop-keepers and cooks.

In British Guiana and Fiji, there are in each colony about a hundred clerks who are mostly interpreters and others in Government service are police constables.

THE FUTURE.

In our opinion, the future of the colonies lies on the facilities that may be afforded for the free settlement of Indians as agriculturists and the special privileges

they may acquire, as a matter of right in having contributed materially to the economic development of the colonies. There is also scope here for business men with small capital and a knowledge of the language of the country. The chief disadvantage against Indians freely sharing in the administration of the country and acquiring better rights of citizenship is their ignorance of the English language. If only they are able to take part in the discussions in that language, their share in the administration will be vouchsafed to them and the Indian community there will be a potent factor and a pillar of strength to the colonial Governments and to the British Empire.

MR. GANDHI'S HOME COMING

BY

MR. G. A. NATESAN,

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The return of Mr. Gandhi to India and the magnificent reception that has been accorded to him at Bombay on the day of his landing reminds us of the noble and inestimable services, which this singularly great man,—"Saint, Martyr and Patriot" he is—has rendered to his country. It recalls to our mind the story of the sufferings which thousands of our countrymen in South Africa underwent for a long number of years. It has been narrated by a thousand tongues and on a thousand occasions, and yet it would be impossible to cease to admire the intense patriotism, courage, and self-sacrifice shown by Mr. Gandhi and his comrades in South Africa—Mahomedans, Hindus, Zorastrians and Christians—who heroically suffering persecution carried on unceasingly, unremittingly and regardless of all consequences a great, spirited and strenuous struggle for asserting the elementary civil rights of British citizenship against heavy and overwhelming odds, and against power, prestige and authority. It is now well-known throughout the world that Mr. Gandhi and the Indians in South Africa were fighting for years against a law which classed them with undesirables and against a legislation which was meanly and mischievously designed "to brand them with the bar sinister of inferiority", to use the well-known phrase of Lord Morley. It is also well known how from the very beginning, under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi, the Indians of South Africa refused to submit to a legislation which marked out an Asiatic as an inferior human being. It is also well-known how in the beginning, our countrymen took strong and serious

objection to obeying a legislative measure which imposed upon them the most ignoble and humiliating conditions. Numerous were the peaceful representations made to the authorities to remove the unjust and unjustifiable legislation. Numerous were their protests and unceasing their agitation and yet none of these proved of any avail.

It was at a supreme moment and at a most critical juncture in the history of the South African Indian question that Mr. Gandhi, for the first time perhaps in the history of the world, resolved to employ the weapon of passive resistance to win the struggle in which he and his countrymen had thrown themselves heart and soul. It was a bold and unprecedented step which Mr. Gandhi undertook at the moment. He and his countrymen were to fight the plutocracy of gold hunters in South Africa not with vituperation, not with violence, not with organised riots and revolutions but by the supremacy of soul-force. The soul-resistance of Indians was pitted against the brute-force of the whites in South Africa. Indians who joined the struggle in hundreds and thousands refused to obey the law and suffered in their own persons, the consequences of such disobedience and the spectacle afforded India and the world a magnificent example of self-denial and suffering in their own persons for the sake of a peaceful and orderly agitation. For years the struggle went on, often, times under the most desperate conditions, and yet not one of the Indians were accused of using violence of any sort or employing methods of which any one need be ashamed. And throughout, it was a magnificent and heroic struggle for right and for justice, and success was bound to attend on it in the end. It was a sight for the Gods.

Mr. Gandhi and his brave band have succeeded in removing the racial bar, have asserted the rights of Indians in South Africa to be consulted in all matters affecting their welfare, and, more than all, have made the authorities remember that an Asiatic has and that the British Indian subject carries with him, the elementary rights of British citizenship, and even a selfish band of Colonials are bound to respect them to some extent at least. Mr. Gandhi, who ten years ago was hated and despised by the white population in South Africa, is now an object of veneration everywhere. He fought so hard and so steadfastly and yet so constitutionally. In his hands and in the hands of the handful of Indians who were living in far off South Africa, thousands and thousands of miles away from the home of their birth, was the honour and self-respect of their Motherland. Will

have they fought for it, suffered for it and preserved it untarnished. Aye, they have added to its glory. It is difficult to single out from the great and noble patriots of this land of ours, either from among the living or the dead, any who can be said to equal Mr. Gandhi. Patriots there have been and patriots there will be. It would be no exaggeration, however, to say that of no one can it be said except of Mr. Gandhi that in him patriotism was a living faith; patriotism was the real abnegation of the self and the surrender of all that was most near and dear to men in this world. "Mr. Gandhi is one of those men who, living an austere simple life themselves and devoted to all the highest principles of love to their fellow-beings and to truth and justice, touch the eyes of their weaker brethren as with magic and give them a new vision. He is a man who may be well described as a man among men, a hero among heroes, a patriot among patriots and we may well say that in him Indian humanity at the present time has really reached its high water mark." For the great cause of which he was the honoured representative, no suffering was too great to be borne. Was it necessary for the leader to go to jail, for the vindication of justice? Mr. Gandhi was ready. Inside and outside the prison walls under conditions the most wretched and humiliating, he showed the stuff of which the hero was made. Was it necessary that an Indian woman should follow the example? His honoured spouse, Mrs. Gandhi was ready. Was it necessary that young boys should also follow the lead? Mr. Gandhi's sons also obeyed the call of duty. Mr. Gandhi, a high caste Hindu, the son of a Prime-Minister of a great Native State, the thriving barrister, a man who had enjoyed all the comforts and luxuries of the world, had sacrificed his practice, his profession, his health, his wealth, his fortune, and everything at the altar of his country's cause and borne cheerfully even the felon's fetters for maintaining the honour and self-respect of his motherland.

The thousands of Indians who have obeyed him readily without a murmur and who were ready to follow him wherever he desired were not educated in any sense of the word. They were poor men, born of the people, brought up among the people, pursuing their peaceful and humble avocations among the people—as barbers, washermen, hawkers and traders. Neither B.A.'s nor M.A.'s of our Universities, knowing nothing of the liberalism of Lord Morley, the radicalism of John Stuart Mill, or even of the advanced socialism of Lloyd George, and indeed never having

read even a single syllable about the elementary rights of man or of liberty, equality and fraternity, at the call of duty and under the guidance of a singularly noble soul, they were ready to throw themselves in the midst of a struggle which involved untold sufferings and unmentionable humiliations. Several homes were rendered desolate, several trading concerns were closed or completely ruined. And yet nothing would daunt them, nothing would prevent them from pursuing the path of duty which had been pointed out to them by their honoured leader. Long, trying and painful was their suffering and yet how willingly they subjected themselves to every kind of trouble! The very thought of the heroism and fortitude displayed by these brave and simple people makes the proudest among us blush. They fought, they resolutely and bravely fought, for the honour and the good name of their race and their country. All honour therefore to Mr. Gandhi who "has moulded heroes out of clay." And even if the cause of the South African Indians had utterly failed and their heroic campaign had proved futile the legacy of the great spiritual asset given by Mr. Gandhi to his countrymen will be a proud possession indeed.

The present is perhaps not the fittest opportunity to discuss in detail the large and the still unsolved question of the position of Indians in the British Colonies. Does or does not the Indian carry the right of British Indian citizenship wherever the British flag floats? This is the problem to be faced boldly and honestly in the near future. In so far as the issue raised by Mr. Gandhi in South Africa has been settled amicably, in a manner honourable alike to both the parties, India has every reason to feel proud of the great and noble achievements of Mr. Gandhi and his brave band. For be it remembered that "the settlement has removed the possibility of racial legislation against Indians throughout the Empire. * * * The flag of legal racial equality has been kept flying and it is now recognised that Indians have rights and aspirations and ideals that cannot be ignored. The struggle has more than proved the immense superiority of right over might, of soul-force over brute-force, of love and reason over hate and passion. India has been raised in the scale of nations, her children in South Africa have been ennobled, and the way is now open to them to develop their capacities in peace and concord and thus contribute their quota to the building up of this great new nation that is arising in the South-African sub-continent." And the Hon'ble

Sir Pherozeshah Metha was in no way exaggerating when he reminded his audience at a great and representative gathering in Bombay that "the whole country has resounded with the tale of Mr. Gandhi's great deeds, his courage, his great moral qualities, his labours, and his sufferings in the cause of Indians in South Africa. So long as we have Indians like Mr. Gandhi and Indian women like Mrs. Gandhi we need

not despair of our country. They show that at the proper time and as occasion may arise they are possessed of the highest qualities of courage, heroism and capacity of endurance and suffering." No honour could be too great for this singularly self-sacrificing and the selfless Saint of Modern India. Well might Mr. Gokhale exclaim "a purer, a nobler, a more exalted spirit has never walked on this earth."

Round the Indian Empire

BY POLITIQUE.

THE war has cast a gloom over the year that is past —a year full of clouded passions and darkened counsels. A creeping fear has stolen upon our dreams, a crushing nightmare sat upon our breasts, as we told month after month, sailing through what would seem the troubled waters of a veritable Vale of Tears.

has stolen upon our dreams, a crushing nightmare sat upon our breasts, as we told month after month, sailing through what would seem the troubled waters of a veritable Vale of Tears. The curtain rose to the wailing protests of the South African Indians against the treatment accorded to the Indians resident in the Colony by the Union Government, which sent a wave of indignation throughout India. The odious £3 tax hung fire over the political horizon and this and the various other disabilities under which our South African brethren were suffering exacted almost martyrdom from the brave passive resisters under the able leadership of Mr. Gandhi. The ball rolled to melting point; but the last of a furious storm of fury was in part happily averted. Mr. Gandhi was set free from prison; the Solomon Commission was appointed and we succeeded in getting the £3 tax removed as well as some minor restrictions. But these do not go the full length of our claim as free citizens of the British Empire and the franchise which was taken away in 1896-97 has not yet been restored, and thus our countrymen have acquired as yet no status in the political machinery of the Union Government. The increasing contact of Indians with the various Self-Governing Colonies of the Empire has dragged in its train a tale of woe. These Colonies refuse our right to enter them, while the subjects of which have free access to this country. It is the denial of this claim that led to the regrettable incident of the *Komagata Maru* passengers who returned to India in the middle of the year, after unsuccessfully trying to land in Canada. Then, the condition of indentured Indian labourers into which there was a recent inquiry by a Commission appointed by the Government seems now more distant of alleviation. The practice of indenture has been roundly abused as a modified form of slavery, involving loss of freedom,

human degradation and degeneration of women. But the Commission has reported otherwise and see no reason to abolish the indenture system. So, again the tyrannous engine of Colonial capitalism will continue to grind on Indian labour's economic weakness and derive an exclusive enjoyment of the profits raised by combined efforts. Nearer home, we have to deplore what have become known as the Bomb Letter case and the Faridpur Conspiracy case and reclaim our few misguided young men from paths of anti-loyal activities. Then, we have to agitate for the removal of the Conspiracy Law which was amended and passed last year in the Viceroy's Council in the teeth of violent opposition from some elected members. Among those that have been gathered unto the majority during the past year, the names of Munshi Ganga Prasad Varma, Editor of the *Advocate* and the *Hindustani*, Mr. Sri Ram, the representative of the United Provinces in the Supreme Legislative Council, and Lala Baijanath would linger long in India's loving memory. Among English well-wishers of India, we have to record the loss of Lord Minto, Lord Roberts and Lady Hardinge, our Viceroy's beloved consort. And the year has ended still leaving us in the midst of the cruelest war that the world has yet suffered. The comparatively trivial Bosnian tragedy has lit up a vast European conflagration and involved powerful nations in a war of unparalleled scale. There, the brave and the strong are paying the toll in blood and lives, European as well as Indian, and if the Comity of Nations and the Concord of Races is to be purchased by blood, enough has been split to herald a bright era of Peace and Goodwill.

Since the regrettable Surat split in 1907 in the ranks of the Congress, the notion prevails in certain estimable quarters that the idea of a United Congress, voicing common aspirations and deliberating upon common

lines of work, has abrogated in its professions to represent all the varied peoples inhabiting this vast country. It is useless to inquire into the circumstances of this division, but when it inclines to destroy the very *raison d'être* of the movement in which many have pinned their political faith, the defection almost amounts to a crime beyond absolution by any amount of patriotism. The seceders are few in number when compared with the vast majority who still adhere to the Congress, as it is, and it is absurd that the former should try to impose their will on the movement and failing which, to throttle it. This is, however, no reflection upon the sincerity of their motives or even an insinuation into their character, both of which are highly commendable. For this very reason, we find it difficult to explain their action. Offers of a compromise have been discussed on both sides, but it has been found of no avail hitherto. The only course in the circumstances seems to us to be, to go on with our work, unembarrassed by the absence or the presence of the few who have chosen to keep aloof. We have particularly refrained from adopting the use of the labels that these have given to themselves, since they affirm a difference in view which in reality does not exist. We believe that the Indian National Congress still represents all the enduring elements in our political faith and voicing, as it does, the reasoned and legitimate aspirations of educated India is the one People's Assembly in India which can advance our cause and lead us on to higher and higher destinies within the orbit of the British Empire. At the same time we should not blind ourselves to the fact of our minor weaknesses in the matter of the organisation of the Congress. The increasing responsibilities that will be thrown on our shoulders by the altered conditions of the times may outgrow the flexibility of our organisation. As we advance in popular education, political self-government, as our political and economic horizon grow wider and wider, as they are bound to, we may have to carry on work all through the year and the Congress should provide a constitution elastic enough to cope with it all. The subject has been amply discussed in the Press and the Platform and some dissatisfaction expressed at the present composition of the Congress. This prevailing sentiment has received striking testimony from at the hands of our venerable countryman, Sir S. Subramania Iyer, who, as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Twentieth Session of the Indian National Congress held in December last, voiced the general feeling when he said that: "While therefore the institution must continue to live and flourish in spite of those who would end it prematurely, it is time that its machinery is remoulded and improved so as to make it really effective for the expression of thoughtful Indian opinion on matters bearing upon the well-being of the whole community, and

as an instrument for the dissemination of sound knowledge among the masses." It is necessary therefore to retouch the old structure to suit new conditions and make the Congress the ideal it is.

Political insight is rarely called in the administration of Indian affairs which at best manage themselves as if by rule of thumb. No Viceroy dare lay down a far-seeing policy for the political development of the people, if he cares to leave these shores unscathed in name and reputation. The sprinkling of European residents and the hide-bound bureaucratic Civil Service of this country erect a high tariff wall against the infusion of any liberal element in the administration of this vast Empire. We are led into these observations, though things are far better now, when we reflect upon the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon (1880-84), whose administration brought into full play all the reactionary elements in Indian official atmosphere, because it sought to justify British rule in India on lines at variance with the accepted understanding. He has excited by his liberal policy the peculiar gratitude and admiration of a whole people who have now signalled their feeling by erecting his statue in Madras. The statue was unveiled on December 29, 1914, by His Excellency the Governor of Madras who is of the same political persuasion as Lord Ripon. It was in the fitness of things that His Excellency should have performed this exalted function, as he was able to and as he did, testify to Lord Ripon's "never-failing kindness, unfaltering courage and generous and noble character." As His Excellency also pointed out, Lord Ripon's term of office as Governor-General of India was memorable for his efforts to encourage the development of self-government, and to give equal treatment before the law to Europeans and Indians. Further, "his general administration was excellent, and will ever be remembered by the spirit of sympathy with Indian feelings and aspirations which it invariably displayed: and by his confidence in the future of India." Lord Ripon has justly been called the father of Local Self-Government in India, and if to-day we have attained to any political status in the Councils of the Empire and argue our aspirations in terms of self-government, they are in a large measure due to the far-sighted policy laid down by Lord Ripon in his memorable resolution of 1882, embodying that principle. No more eloquent tribute could be paid to Lord Ripon than in the words of Sir C. Sankaran Nair, C.I.E., who was the Chairman of the Ripon Memorial Committee, delivered on the occasion of unveiling the statue. Speaking of the regard with which Indians looked upon him, Sir C. Sankaran Nair said that that regard which the country showed has deepened with time. "It has deepened with the

increasing knowledge of the scope and beneficence of his policy. Everybody realises that in India's interests, not only must Englishmen remain in India, but there must be co-operation between the two races for India's progress. Everybody before him had said so, and every one after him had said so. But what was scarcely realised before Lord Ripon's time was that such co-operation to be friendly and enduring, must be on terms of equality. When he spoke of co-operation we knew that is what he meant and not the co-operation of master and servant. His sympathy did not evaporate in expressions of good will but found expression in his conduct. The result is his Government marks an era and there is a gulf between the India of to-day and the India as he found it. It is enough to say that the people of India now think in the language of self-government."

One of the most disquieting factors in the economic development of India is the increasing attraction possessed by the few towns, which exercise an unhealthy influence over our rural life and activities. This is very much to be deplored in view of the fact that the mainstay of the people is and will be agriculture whose prosperity is bound up with that of the village and the hamlet. One out of every four persons still leaves for the towns, such as exist in our midst, and complaints are made by all, agriculturists, labourers and farm hands that the modern village is not as it used to be. The neglect of rural life can be directly attributed to three modern tendencies which are growing stronger and stronger every day. One cause is the disdain cultivated by our youngsters to old, or in other words, "orthodox" grooves of thought and action and consequently they migrate to the towns which seem to offer satisfaction to their "modern" ideas. Here they fancy to live in tolerable ease and comfort, untrammelled by superstition and mossy, modes of thought. A fifteen rupees clerkship in a brown-walled office where he can salaam to a few European faces or a life-long weariness before a typewriter in a mercantile house in a town is easily exchanged for a quiet country life rich with the variegated beauties of nature. The towns alone breathe in the young man that sort of personal independence which is but the imitation of western manners in unfortunate directions. The ruin involved in such cases of purse and character works a double havoc, both on himself and on the village, where if he had stayed he would have turned a useful sod which would have gone to enrich his country materially. This movement from the village to the town is not confined to the middle class alone. The wealthy Zemindars and Mirasadars spend all their life and money in the big cities. The lure here too is a servile imitation of occidental manners

and customs. They seldom, if ever, employ their leisure in the villages which contribute in the main the wherewithal of their enjoyment in the towns. The political, social and other activities of the towns, the entertainments, dinners and theatrical amusements provided therein, completely wipe out the idea of the native village from their vision, and chain them to a giddy life in the towns. Their lands are consigned to the care of agents who have often a double interest to serve; consequently, they deteriorate in yield and value. By his migration and for the most part of the year, sojourn in the town, the Zemindar becomes in effect an absentee landlord and no wonder the village with its wealth of pastoral pleasures goes to rack and ruin. The labouring classes too are not untouched by the superior claims of cities. The increase offered in money wages is their first attraction and when they have roughed it for some time in the towns, getting used to cheap credit and hilarious comradery, big processions and cheap amusements, the increased cost of living is borne with a perpetual grumble and his life thereafter is one endless complaint cast in the slums, and outside, as he trudges to his workshop along wide thoroughfare and glistening carriages, one of sweet forgetfulness. This wholesale emigration to towns of the artisan, the middle class and the wealthy men of the villages is an evil which if not early checked is bound to affect our country, morally, mentally and materially. The proper remedy to cure this internal emigration, seems to be the improvement of the claims of the villages, better conditions of rural labour and the creation of wholesome enjoyments to divert the monotony and dull routine of an otherwise stagnant village life.

Until the substantial grievances of the South African Indians were brought home to the public, thanks to the exertions of Messrs. Gandhi and Polak, public conscience in this country was not sufficiently aroused to the problem of Indian emigration to the outlying parts of the Empire. The subject is one which bristles with many difficulties and the root of the trouble cannot be reached by any superficial remedies. The question trenches upon the vital points in the economic and political organisation of this vast Dependency and the function and part it plays in the wider organization of the whole of the British Empire. This is not the place to discourse upon the inter-imperial obligations raised by this topic and we confine ourselves to one aspect of the problem which has become increasingly prominent latterly. We refer to the subject discussed in an interesting paper on "Indian Emigration" contributed to the last session of the Industrial Conference held in Madras, by the Editor of this journal. As early as 1898, the late Mr. Justice Ranade called

attention to the importance of the subject of Indian foreign emigration and to the practical utility of the movement and its close relations to the social, economic and the political development of this country. That sufficient interest has not attached to the question is, perhaps, explained by the fact mentioned in the paper under reference, that most of the Indian emigrants belong to a class by no means rich or educated. "The Indian rustic or the field labourer that goes out of the country driven either by a sheer want for the necessities of life or out of a mere spirit of enterprise or adventure," is not the kind of individual to evoke the sympathy of the *soi disant* politician at home. Perhaps, this partly explains the other fact also, namely, the permissive and neutral attitude adopted by the Government of India towards the whole question of Indian foreign emigration. But, whatever the causes of this luke warmness may be, both on the part of the public and the Government, it is time to put the whole movement on a sound and efficient basis compatible with the requirements of the new countries to which emigration takes place and the social conditions of the old one. The Government have bestirred themselves a little and the speech of the Viceroy in the Supreme Legislative Council last year signalises a change of policy distinctly for the good of the movement. The Editor of this journal has suggested unofficial action to work concurrently with the altered outlook of the Government. Two excellent suggestions have been made by him which are worthy of consideration. One refers to the organisation of a Committee to interest the people in and supervise the whole task of emigration. Similar associations formed in other parts of the world ought to set an example and whose procedure we may well follow. Such a Committee must be able to "report the sufferings and the disabilities of our countrymen in foreign lands and thereby evoke" sympathy in the land. In the second place, by inviting discussion on the question, its broader aspects in relation to the socio-political development of the country will be brought home to men's minds and bosoms. Another suggestion is in respect to the appointment of an Indian Protector of Emigrants in the various Colonies which import coolie labour from this country. This strikes us to be an urgent reform worthy of immediate adoption by the Government. We regret to note that the abolition of the indenture system which is a blot on the British Empire, pledged to see fair-play between individuals and nations, urged for in the paper seems distant of realisation, in view of the Commission composed of Messrs. J. McNeill and Chimman Lal having reported otherwise. Anyhow, we have hopes that things are taking a bright turn for the future and the active co-operation of the public is bound to hasten the fruition of all that is good in Indian emigration and to cut off all that is evil in it.

From a statement issued by the Government of Madras during the first week of January, showing the several railway lines projected in this Presidency, we find on a rough calculation that there are about 730 miles of railways included under District Board lines, and about 750 miles under "other lines." The former is estimated to cost about 350 lakhs of rupees and the latter about 330 lakhs. The railway lines already under construction either under the ægis of the District Boards or by the Government of India are infinitesimal when compared with those projected and under consideration. It may be remembered that this Presidency led the way in utilizing the enterprise of District Boards in financing some feeder lines, much to the chagrin of private capitalists and a little to the mollification, it must be admitted, of the Government. Too much cannot be said in favour of the policy of exploiting local resources for the construction of feeder lines, and the carrying out of this falls within the peculiar scope of District Boards which have in one or two notable instances, have risen equal to the task. The railway cess raised by the District Boards is favourably viewed by the people as a profitable investment in a productive enterprise and any obstacle thrown in their way of continuing the work is likely to cause much irritation. For the development of local enterprise and shaking out the shyness of "hoarded" capital, a chance is offered here and it seems to us, therefore, necessary that the powers that be should give all possible encouragement to these Local Boards. The railway lines that fall in the Imperial programme should offer a tempting proposition to London capitalists, but it must be asked that whether capital for the construction of these cannot be raised in India. While the Delhi loan has been so successful, we fail to see why a railway loan backed up by the guarantee of the Government cannot be equally so. All those who have the economic welfare of the country at heart should see that local enterprise has the best chance for the utilisation of local resources.

We hail with pleasure the movement which was explained by Captain J. Petavel in a recent lecture delivered at Calcutta, to start in that place a strong branch of the Indian Educational Colonies Association. The presence at the meeting of the Maharaja of Cossimbazar who presided, and a large audience of educated aristocracy signalises the financial success of such a laudable object. The Association, Mr. Petavel pointed out, was working for social reform through educational reform. Its plan was to organise boys in agricultural and industrial establishment where with

the help of good organisation and modern methods they would produce the main necessities of life for themselves in a short day's work and have time to devote to their education. These educational establishments would be co-operative in their working and thus would lead to the solution of the most important economic problem. The Maharaja, we learn, is starting at once an establishment where young men will be trained to be managers of these educational Colonies as they are termed and a good start has been made in Bombay where several of the foremost business men have formed themselves into a Committee. The scheme has the sympathetic interest of the very foremost public men in England, including Lord Crewe, the late Lord Robert, Lord Milner, H. E. the Governor of Bombay, Sir Robert Baden Powell, the Headmaster of Eta and in India, Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, Mr. Dinshah E. Wacha, and Mr. Surendra Nath Banarjee. In a poor country like India, education that would pay its way is to be encouraged by all. The idea is not new being tried with success in America and elsewhere. We urge the other parts of India to imitate the example set up in Calcutta.

The Burman schoolboy, whatever his other faults may be, cannot be said to be impervious to western education. We note with gratification the steady progress made in all directions regarding English education in that province and not a little thanks are due to the Director of Public Instruction of Burma for having brought about this welcome result. In the latest report on Public Instruction in that province for the year 1913-14, we note that schools, public and private, have increased by three per cent. and pupils by ten per cent. The number of public institutions increased from 6,662 to 7,066, and the attendance from 282,433 to 324,085. Collegiate education shows what might be called a phenomenal advance, the attendance having increased from 844 to 453; while under the various heads, Secondary Education, Primary Education, Training Schools and Special Schools, very satisfactory progress has been recorded both in the number of schools and pupils. Secondary Schools have increased from 1,022 to 1,088 and the attendance from 93,683 to 105,524. This includes High Schools and Middle Schools, for boys and girls, European Anglo-Vernacular and Vernacular, and under all these heads there are substantial increases in attendance except for a slight falling off in girls attending European Middle Schools, and boys attending Anglo-Vernacular Middle Schools. Anglo-Vernacular High Schools for boys increased from 28 to 29 due to the carrying out of the policy to establish a High School at the headquarters of every district. Vernacular High Schools increased from 10 to 12, a small

advance, but one showing that higher vernacular education has its attractions. Vernacular Middle Schools rose from 868 to 921, an indication of steady progress in the raising of Primary Schools. At the Upper Primary stage schools have increased from 2,956 to 3,124 and pupils from 119,365 to 137,988. At the Lower Primary stage schools number 2,521 and pupils 75,758 as compared with 2,365 and 64,991 last year. Among the Special Schools, Commercial Schools appear for the first time, three having been registered in Rangoon during the year with 203 pupils. Training Schools for teachers, though stationary in point of numbers, show an increased attendance of 589 as compared with 494 last year. In view of these striking advances in education in the province, the scheme for the founding of a University referred to in last year's report is sure to be favourably received by the Secretary of State. The funds placed at the disposal of the province by the Government of India have been well utilised and were of the greatest service in extending education. Good school buildings and hostels have been erected. Assistance has not been confined to Government institutions alone. Aided schools have received help in buildings and equipment. Additional teachers have been provided where necessary, and thus many schools have been able to raise their grade to the high school stage. With all this extension, the Director says that much more is urgently required, especially in Rangoon, where the existing schools are overcrowded. With regard to the cost of education in the province, we learn that the average expenditure per head of population rose from As. 7 to As. 8-2. The average cost of educating each pupil in "Arts Colleges" fell from Rs. 416-6-4 to Rs. 378-8-1; in "Secondary Schools" it has risen from Rs. 28-7-8 to Rs. 24-1-9 and in "Primary Schools" from Rs. 4-9-7 to Rs. 4-9-8, whereas in "Training Schools" it fell from Rs. 377-5-7 to Rs. 316-6-7. The Director of Public Instruction observes that the Burman parent is light-hearted in respect to the educational equipment of his children. If this were really so, the only remedy seems to be to take the responsibility of educating his children out of his hands. We believe that the same may be said of many an Indian parent and these remarks of the Director will equally apply to the Burman as well as the Indian parent. He says, "Burman parents do not realise their duties either towards the children or towards the school. Many of them are not sufficiently interested in their children's progress even to attend the school prize-giving. As for training them in obedience, punctuality and the ordinary virtues which any good home would inculcate, that is rarely attempted. Little or no interest is taken in the religious teaching given in schools. That his boy should attend this teaching is a matter which the parent does not consider to be his affair.

GENERAL ARTICLES.

MALAYA.

By J. N. FRASER.*

THE scenery of the Malaya Peninsula is that of all volcanic regions in the moist area near the equator. It is not marked by the sharp contrast of cliff and plain that strikes one in Java; there is little of the Malaya Peninsula that is flat. At any rate from the railway one sees little flat country, though there is a plain near Ipoh. The mountains run due north and south. They are covered with majestic forests of great primeval trees. I spent a day amongst them near Kuala Lumpur on the summit of Gunong Angsai. There was a winding path from the station, cut along the hillside, where one could notice in the face of the section the rock disintegrating into soil enriched by the decaying leaves that fell on it. To call this soil a skin upon the earth would be to give it too much of a name, so little there is of it, yet from this is drawn almost all the nourishment of the vegetable and animal worlds. From this ascend and out of this are built—almost wholly, I suppose—those massive trunks whose verdure sweeps the sky, whose consolidated strength seems unconcerned with the flight of time.

Not time, however, but civilisation is the enemy of the forest world. As a rule it is newspapers and railway sleepers that swallow it up; in the Malay States more than anything else, it is the motor car. For this, it seems, above all regions of the earth, is adapted to the growth of rubber. And hence it is that the forests of Malaya to-day are vanishing by hungry flames, that laugh and roar them out of being and leave nothing but blackened ashes for the young rubber trees to feed on.

These rubber trees are exotics in Malaya. Their home is in South America, where the Para rubber is itself a stately tree and a glory of the forest. In Malaya, however, the rubber trees as yet are young, mere saplings, that neither please nor interest the aesthetic eye. Industry of course looks on them more favourably. No plant has obeyed the call of the capitalist more readily or yields with such regular generosity an article essential to modern life. Not twenty years ago all the rubber in use was collected from wild plants; the British Government had introduced them into various botanical gardens, but professional planters had taken little notice of them. Then came over-production and disease in coffee; rubber was tried and the rubber boom began.

The Para rubber yields from its fourth or fifth year. A neat little V-shaped cut is made in the bark, a stream of milk flows down into the centre of it, and drops through a zinc funnel into a cup. The flow continues for

* From the Students' Brotherhood Quarterly.

an hour or two; it then ceases and the juice naturally thickening closes the wound on the tree. Next day, if the surface of the cut is slightly scraped, the flow begins again, and this may be continued for many months together. The tree then needs a rest, but after the rest it is ready to begin again.

Neither wet nor dry weather suits these operations. In dry weather the flow of latex ceases; in wet weather the latex cannot be collected. This is why the Malaya Peninsula is so favourable to the purposes of the rubber planter. There is no dry season and no wet season, but almost every day there is rain in the afternoon or at night. Hence the rubber trees flourish and yield their increase, and the cups are filled and the buckets are filled, and the milk in the rubber dairy settles down into great plump slabs like pieces of cream cheese, which are smoked with the smoke of cocoanut husks and rolled by machinery into tough translucent sheets for the London market. Everyone does his part, the tree and the owner thereof, the cooly and the Malay girls who wash the rubber; and the finished article looks so clean and tough and undeniable that we may well suppose the planter views it with satisfaction and confident hopes of a tip-top price. Alas! alas! somewhere in the jungles of South America there are savages at work who are going to beat that planter. Somewhere there a band of them hacking the trunks of old rubber trees, collecting their juice in leaves and smoking it and twisting it into ill-favoured little balls that fetch a higher price in London than the best plantation rubber. O injustice of Fate! Can it be? How can it be? Is there a conspiracy of London dealers? Mere fancy? Or is there something in this savage process that does actually produce a better rubber than the heir of all the ages can make with civilised machinery? Much debated was this problem by the puzzled and indignant planter, but he never solved it, and in the fullness of time, it was driven from his thoughts by the penalty of over-production, the fearful slumps in rubber prices.

This was in the height of its dismal apogee when I reached Malaya, and, for the moment, the best of the rubber estates were only just able to pay their way. Young estates and their shares were mere dust in the balance; you could have had them almost at a gift. Such has always been the planter's chequered lot; a few make fortunes, not a few fortunes are lost, many in pursuit of fortune perish. All plants have their enemies—especially when they are brought together artificially in large masses—; all products are exposed to changes of taste and unforeseen chances of the market. Coffee, tea, indigo,—within our own days what vicissitudes their production has displayed! In connection with it, if some money has been made, how many hopes have been shattered, how many lives blasted and thrown away! I must confess, I think, this planter's life a dreary one. At any rate, such it was in the older days,

THE CARE OF COOLIES.

The Times of Ceylon reported an interesting case recently, in which the superintendent of a plantation in Ceylon charged some 60 or 70 coolies with quitting service. The magistrate, Mr. A. L. Crossman, acquitted the coolies, and his judgment is interesting, inasmuch as it emphasises an employer's responsibility in regard to the health of his workmen. The magistrate says that one of the coolies, when he was brought into court, was "too ill to stand and was a pitiable sight." The medical officer who examined him stated that he had multiple ulcers in both legs, eczema, anaemia, and general weakness, and that he must have been in that condition for a fortnight—too bad to be treated by an estate dispenser, and that he ought to have been sent to hospital. The superintendent, however, had stated his belief that the man was "humbugging," and the magistrate accordingly thinks that it is therefore "quite clear that his coolies are being shamefully neglected and that he does not take the trouble to ascertain whether they are ill or not." Other cases led the magistrate to similar conclusions, and the magistrate concludes that the superintendent "has failed to fulfil his duty of giving his coolies proper treatment when ill." About a third of the number of the coolies who were prosecuted were ill, and the magistrate considers that when such of the coolies as were not ill saw the way in which coolies who were ill were treated, it was a sufficient cause for quitting service. He accordingly acquitted and discharged them all.

The magistrate's procedure was of a somewhat wholesale order, but it will no doubt have a good effect in ensuring that coolies who are induced to leave their homes to spend months together on an estate shall be carefully looked after when they are out of sorts. It must no doubt, be an annoyance to a superintendent to find himself—as he is so often is—landed with a number of sickly coolies from the plains, who need to go on the sick list almost directly they arrive. Many of them arrive with sores; and sores indeed are so common that a hale and hearty young superintendent, if he finds a man wanting to get off work on account of a sore, may in all honesty imagine that the man is "humbugging," when as a matter of fact he is seriously ill. Any way, the judgment will bring home to employers their responsibilities in the matter of their employees' health, and the necessity of seeing that the estate dresser is a man who can tell whether a coolie is fit for work or is not.—*Madras Times*.

SLAVERY IN ASSAM.

"I do not look on emigration as an unmixed blessing. I find myself in a District where agricultural operations are hampered by insufficient labour and where there are huge areas of excellent land lying fallow and I cannot

view without regret the permanent removal of any part of the population." (Note by the Deputy Commissioner of Raipur, 1907.) In my preceding articles on this subject I have discussed how labourers are decoyed, what means are adopted, whether fair or foul, and what a plight they are put to after they are sent to Assam. As proposed already I should have now given the history of this slavery. But the said history and the laws enacted from time to time in connection with this indentured labour are so peculiar that any single article on this subject would be found to be insufficient to give your readers a full idea of it. So it is better to reserve the legislation matter for a future occasion if it should arise. Suffice it to say for the present that this slavery dates as far back as 1859 and that it has been in vogue for the last 55 years. Your readers may be struck to learn how within British India itself this slavery has been going on for more than half a century.

Says the President of the Behar Provincial Conference: "The fact of the matter is that the justification of the system is usually the child of the wish to have it and can no more in the twentieth century stand the test of reason or morality than slavery did in the nineteenth." Besides of what good it is to take the Government to task for it! So long as the Indians do not understand what their rights are and how to enforce them there is nothing wonderful or unusual if human nature enforces such labour upon others and subjects them to innumerable miseries. Sometime ago it used to be said on behalf of Government that the labour class in India is such that it would die of starvation rather than work and earn wages and that there was nothing wrong if members of such a class were sent to Assam for labour. But that is not the case at present as the extract put at the heading will show. Every District in C. P. has been suffering for want of labourers in point of agriculture and other industries. Fertile land has been lying fallow for want of men who can cultivate. Wages to be earned on the spot are far higher than those actually earned in Assam. In spite of all this a Chief Commissioner like Mr. Craddock says that Government need not interfere in the matter.

The Commission appointed says that time has not yet arrived for putting a stop to the indenture system and the Government of India supports the Commission in their opinion! Is it not one of the wonders that a Government which could pass enactments from time to time since 1859 for an indenture of labourers to Assam, could appoint Commissions five or seven times, could appoint salaried officers in different places, in short, could do anything for the convenience of the white planters whose ways of procuring the labour has been the cause of so many victims from the C. P., should take nearly 26 years from 1888 to 1914 simply to hatch out a Board of Advisors for the sole purpose of considering what measures should be undertaken for the industrial

advancement of the Central Provinces? Says the "Central Provinces Gazette" of 6th April 1914: "Though the matter was brought to notice as far back as 1888, it was not till the Queen Victoria Memorial Fund was raised in 1907 that any practical steps were taken in this direction. . . . The Chief Commissioner considers that the time has now come when the Board should be brought into existence." The history that has been dealt with so long only relates to the labourers sent to Assam Tea Plantations from the C. P. only. But the same practice applies to those sent from Chota-Nagpur, Bengal, United Provinces and Madras, etc.

From what the Dalals say, it appears that just as labourers are sent to work on the tea-plantations so they are sent to work in mines also and that the Dalals are paid for it. Labourers are sent to other parts of the empire too. But it is unnecessary to deal with all those. What one may wish in the end is, let by-gones be by-gones, let us bury the past and let the bureaucracy and the people work hand in hand and stamp out this dismal figure of slavery in the land! Let us banish this demon of slavery from the British empire altogether and allow it to work in no form and in whatever part of the British Dominions. May we hope that members of the Viceregal Council will rise as one man and lay their emphatic protest before His Excellency the Viceroy who is fortunately as kind-hearted as a Viceroy could ever be! Without meaning to belittle the efforts of any of the Societies in the country, I may question what serious business worth the name is "The Servants of India Society doing?" It has simply dwindled into a quasi-department of Government, self-supporting, still mainly serving the ends of Government. It may be good to assist the Government in movements like the establishment of co-operative credit societies, starting of famine relief funds, etc. To bear a big name like a "Servant of India," individual members of the Society would do better if they would dare to undertake such works as the people badly want but which the Government do not want for one reason or another. But I am sorry to say that they have hardly ever shown themselves possessed of courage enough to put their shoulders to wheels like these. With due deference to all the members of the Society, I may say what they have been doing is mere smooth-sailing. They are fortunately in the good books of the Government and India expects them to do their duties by themselves in a matter like the abolition of the indenture system which is mere slavery in disguise. May Shri Krishna grant and let Gopal Krishna undertake this arduous task either himself or by his several deputies in the different Provinces!

"A Loyalist" in the
Amrita Bazar Patrika.

INDIA AND THE DOMINIONS.

MR. Richard Jebb writes to the *Morning Post* :—

Your Sydney correspondent reports that the Secretary of State for the Colonies "has sent to various Australian Governments a communication relating to the entrance of Indians in the British Dominions." Its tenour is, apparently, that "the support offered by the Princes and peoples of the Indian Empire shows the strong war feeling in India and indicates that the embargo against the immigration of Indian natives to Canada and Australia should be removed." Allusion is also made to a recent statement by Lord Hardinge in the Indian Legislative Council to the effect that, if negotiations were opened with the Dominion Governments, no doubt, their Imperial instinct would meet India half way.

There is some obscurity as to the form of the "communication." If it was official, why was it sent to "various Australian Governments," seeing that the Commonwealth Government is the only one which has power to deal with the matter? Whatever may be the explanation on that point, the alleged substance of the communication is disquieting. It seems to betray a failure to appreciate either the motive of the White Australia policy or the extraordinary sacrifices which the Australians have already made to maintain it. White Australia is not a product of racial prejudice, but of sociological and political reasonings, which are well founded in experience, and cannot be changed by the war. To modify the policy to any substantial extent would be to destroy it. If it is destroyed it will only be by *force majeure* of some kind. Conceivably, English opinion, as affected by India's magnificent part in this war, might become the *force majeure* to which the Australian people would submit. More probably, it would only drive Australia from Britannic to American alliance, and eventually reduce the British Empire to Britain-cum-India and some tropical dependencies. At any rate, before exerting their opinion, let Englishmen remember that there is an alternative way of recognising India's claims.

There are to-day two conceptions of the British Empire. The alleged "communication" reflects the old idea that there is, or ought to be, a British citizenship, implying the reciprocal right of (e.g.), Australians and Indians to enter and reside in each other's country at will, regardless of what effect the exercise of his right might have upon the social or political structure of the recipient country. This notion of British citizenship has no foundation in existing law; and it conflicts with the well established usage, as regards immigration, which the modern British Empire has evolved in response to the vital principle of its own being, which is liberty. There is not and never has been, any such thing as British citizenship, which

is only a rhetorical expression. What there has been, and is, is the common status of British subjecthood. But that has never carried any right of immunity from the local restrictions on immigration which any Dominion, equally with Britain herself, may impose for social self protection. And why not? If we deny the right of Germany to Prussianise Belgium, shall we assert the right of India to destroy the polity of Australia? Truly, a strange result of our war, assisted by Australia, is "the right of small nations to exist."

SELF GOVERNMENT.

The alternative conception is that the British Empire is based, not upon the rights of individuals, but on the rights of nation-States—the same principle for which we are now fighting. The nation-State being thus the unit of the Empire, the way to recognise India's just claim is to concede from time to time a larger measure of autonomy to His Majesty's Government of India, so as gradually to raise India to the status of a self-governing Dominion. This implies, as the next step forward, that the Government of India should have just the same power as the Government of Australia to regulate immigration, and also trade, with a view primarily to the domestic interests of the Indian people. If that concession would really mean the rigid exclusion of Australians, India being willing to cut off her nose, economically speaking, to spite her face, the Australians could be trusted to accept the penalty as the price of a national ideal for which they have already sacrificed much. More probably, the first use which India would make of her new power would be to adopt from the Dominions their Britannic fiscal system, i.e., National Protection modified by Imperial Preference. If this hit any part of the Empire—though the Dominion examples have already discredited that fear—it would not be Australia so much as Britain. But, presumably, Englishmen are not unwilling to do justice to India at their own expense. They would have to sacrifice nothing more valuable than the shattered remnant of a fiscal fetish, which has already done much more damage than White Australia to Imperial sentiment, not to speak of the value of economic self-sufficiency, which we can now appraise. On the other hand Australia would be required to sacrifice a great moral ideal, of which the first monuments have been the democratic self-discipline of National Service and the money-scorning achievement of the Australian Navy.

THE "KOMAGATA MARU" RIOTS.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA RESOLUTION.

A *Gazette of India Extraordinary*, issued on the 11th instant, contains the Report of the *Komagata Maru* enquiry. The Government of India Resolution on it states:—

The Government of India do not propose to attempt a summary or review of the conclusions arrived at. The whole Report merits perusal and the Governor-General in Council regards it as an eminently fair and judicial pronouncement, the findings in which he accepts as just and reasonable. He wishes to convey an expression of his warm appreciation and cordial thanks to all members of the Committee for the ability and industry which they have brought to bear on their task, and to the two non-official members, in particular, for the time they have bestowed in this public duty.

GOVERNMENT'S CONSIDERATION.

It is not expedient in this connection to enter into a discussion of the merits of the ill-starred voyage to Canada of the *Komagata Maru*. The facts are already known to the public and an examination of the larger issues involved is a separate matter. It will suffice to say that in dealing with these men on their return to India, the Government of India desired to treat them with sympathy and consideration, as many of them had been misled and deluded by their leaders, and had suffered various hardships in the course of their protracted voyage. Their violent attitude at Vancouver was condoned, the Canadian Government supplied them freely with provisions for their return journey, while the Government of India assisted them generously.

REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS.

From Kobe onwards undoubtedly there existed a minority imbued with revolutionary ideas and feelings of active hostility to the British Government, but the majority, though in a dangerous state of mind, were probably not actuated by similar motives. In the face of considerable provocation, the officers deputed to meet the passengers exhausted the resources of persuasion in attempting to secure compliance with the order of Government, without resorting to force, but it is clear from the Report that this attitude was misinterpreted. The Report, indeed, discloses that the generosity and clemency of Government towards these emigrants were deliberately misrepresented by the ringleaders, whose ascendancy over their followers was greater than had been supposed. Consequently, the well-meant efforts of the officials were of no avail. The passengers met conciliation by violence, necessitating forcible measures for its suppression, with the resulting loss of life, which the Governor-General in Council greatly deplores.

EVIL INFLUENCES.

It is regrettable that the evil influence of a few led to the death of so many of their foolish and ignorant fellow passengers. It is still more regrettable that innocent passengers close by and officers in the discharge of their duties should have been killed and injured.

GOVERNMENT'S CLEMENCY.

It is not the intention of the Government to institute prosecutions in respect of this occurrence. The men arrested have necessarily been detained pending enquiry, but 90 have already been permitted to return to their villages and 87 others will now be similarly treated. The individual cases of the rest demand further consideration—the classification attempted in Paragraph 47 of the Committee's Report is admittedly incomplete, and they will be dealt with as circumstances may require. The Report makes mention of certain incidents connected with the riot at Budge Budge, which appear to demand further enquiry and this will be made, but the Government of India are anxious that the findings of the Committee should be made known as soon as possible and the publication of Report is not therefore, further delayed on this account.

THE COMMITTEES REPORT.

The Report of the Committee commences with a lengthy account of the circumstances under which Gurdit Singh organised the voyage. Regarding the questions of German intrigue and the revolutionary aspects, the Report states:—"In connection with this journey from Hongkong, we have also had to consider how far the undertaking might have been engineered at the instigation of Germany. We are aware of the fact that it is generally believed that German influence has for some time been at work in various parts of the British Empire to create disaffection to Government, but, beyond the fact that this ship was chartered from a German Agent at Hongkong, we have not been able to secure any evidence of German influence in respect of this voyage. There are, however, suspicious circumstances in connection with the undertaking, and it is quite possible that even if German influence had been at work, we should be unable to secure direct evidence of it.

SUSPICIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES.

Thus it is worthy of note that, until Gurdit Singh met Mr. Bune, he was entirely unable to hire any vessel to convey these emigrants to Canada, and this is not surprising, in view of the provision of the Canadian Law regarding the duty of Companies to reconvey rejected immigrants to the country of their birth, and the penalties to which such Companies are subject if these provisions of the Law are not complied with. It is also possible that Mr. Bune, in aiding Gurdit Singh to secure the charter of the *Komagata Maru*, acted with the intention of causing embarrassment to the Canadian authorities, and indirectly to the British Government, as he was aware that the passengers would not be allowed to land at Vancouver, but of this there is no direct evidence. It is also noteworthy that the *Komagata Maru* was owned by a German Company before she became the property of the Shinei Kishen

Goshi Kaisha and that the first intimation as to the departure from Hongkong reached London through Germany, the news being published in the Berlin papers eleven days after the vessel left that port. That the Indian residents in Vancouver were intimately connected with the venture of the *Komagata Maru* is clear, and it is also believed that the Indian Revolutionary Societies in America are in close connection with certain Societies in Germany. It is only fair, on the other hand, to state that some of the passengers alleged that Mr. Bune attempted to dissuade Gurdit Singh from starting on this venture, and there is no trace in the accounts of Gurdit Singh having received any pecuniary assistance from Germany or from Mr. Bune. Indeed, the accounts filed show, on the other hand, that Mr. Bune received the small sum of \$2,500 as commission for his services in connection with the charter of this vessel.

NO EVIDENCE.

We observe that it has been stated in the Press that the Canadian Government have direct proof to show that the *Komagata Maru* enterprise was engineered by Germany, but no evidence to this effect has been placed before us.

SEDITION AND DISLOYALTY.

The only other matter in which attention need be invited at this stage of the voyage of the *Komagata Maru* is in respect of the attempts made to promote sedition and disloyalty to the British Government at various ports at which the ship touched. There is some evidence that on the outward voyage Gurdit Singh delivered lectures in which disloyal and seditious language was used, and according to other witnesses Gurdit Singh was received with considerable sympathy in Japan for the cause which he advocated. We are not, however, prepared to accept these statements as entirely trustworthy. We have more credible testimony that consignments of the *Ghadr* newspaper were received on board at Shanghai, Moji and Yokohama. This paper, specimen copies of which we have seen and have been translated, is published by a revolutionary organisation in America and openly advocated mutiny against the British Government of India. It appears that it was circulated freely in the Far East and America, and we think that it was introduced into the *Komagata Maru* through the agency of these Revolutionary Societies, in order to promote disloyalty and disaffection among those on board.

It is also in evidence that at Yokohama two reputed revolutionaries, Bhagwan Singh and Barkatulla, visited the ship, and that Bhagawan Singh, a deported priest of the Sikh temple at Vancouver, delivered a spirited lecture to the passengers in which he instigated them to rise against the British Government in India. It is difficult to believe that Gurdit Singh would have allowed newspapers like the *Ghadr* to be introduced on board, and lectures of this kind to be delivered, if he had not,

even at that time, any considerable sympathy with the American revolutionary movement.

The Report points out the inadequacy of action taken by the Consul General at Kobe to warn the Indian authorities, etc.

THE BUDGE-BUDGE RIOT.

After describing the riot and analysing the cause of death of the two Punjab Police Officers, one of whom was killed by the rioters and one by misapprehension of the soldiers, the Committee records the opinion that, with the exception of the latter case, the conduct of the troops was satisfactory. They did not fire till it was absolutely necessary and there was no wild or unnecessary firing. One hundred and seventy-seven cartridges were fired by the troops.

UNFOUNDED REPORTS.

It was untrue that the number of Sikhs killed was larger than was reported, not that many innocent men and women were shot. The story that Sikhs were shot after the riot and thrown into the river was untrue.

NECESSITY OF THE ACTION TAKEN.

The Report continues :—"It is desirable that we should place on record our views as to the necessity of taking action under the Ingress into India Ordinance, in respect of these passengers. We consider that, in the circumstances, the Government of Bengal were justified in having recourse to the provisions of this Law. We believe that in deciding to provide a special train for these passengers Government were to some extent actuated by charitable motives, as the information before it was to the effect that these returned emigrants were in a destitute condition. But, independently of this, the character of many of these passengers and their violent conduct at Vancouver, Kobe and Singapore, and subsequently at Budge-Budge, indicates that many of them were men of dangerous character. If they had been allowed at large in Calcutta they would have endangered the public peace, and we think that the Government of Bengal acted wisely in deciding to send them direct to the Punjab and give them no opportunity of disturbing public tranquillity during the present state of war.

LACK OF INFORMATION.

As to the methods adopted for enforcing these measures, there is perhaps more room for criticism, but it is always easy to be wise after the event, and it appears to us that Government decided to adopt the measures actually taken, partly owing to lack of information and more particularly from misapprehension as to the real position of affairs on the ship. From information received at the time the vessel arrived at Vancouver, Government had been led to believe that there were two factions on board the ship, that the party opposed to Gurdit Singh was considerably stronger than

that of his adherents. It was believed that sufferings on the voyage, disputes as to food and the discovery of the worthless nature of the promises made by Gurdit Singh had engendered bitter feelings against him. The facts, however, were that whatever the feelings of the passengers towards Gurdit Singh were when they first arrived at Vancouver, he subsequently regained the whole of his influence over them. There was a number of fire arms on board, of which the authorities had no information. It seems to us probable that if the real facts had been before Government, the measures taken would have been of a different character, but, in the circumstances, and having regard to the information of the Local Government as to the position of affairs on the ship, we do not think we should be justified in coming to the conclusion that the measures taken were, save in one respect, unsuitable.

ACTIVE SEARCHES.

There is one point, however, regarding which we are not satisfied that the measures were either appropriate or adequate and that is the measures taken for searching the passengers. We think that if it was considered necessary to search these passengers, it would have been better to have had effective searches made. As it was the luggage was searched on more than one occasion and the persons of some were examined, and there can be no doubt that passengers were irritated at these prolonged examinations. Both evidence and actual results indicate moreover that the searches were entirely ineffective.

SIR FREDERICK HALIDAY.

As to Sir Frederick Haliday giving the order to fire, it appears that the troops were not within his jurisdiction as Commissioner of Police when he gave this order. The boundaries of the Calcutta Police jurisdiction and those of the District Railway Police, are however, complicated and confused in that vicinity. We think that any order to fire would have come properly from Mr. Donald, but the Officer Commanding the troops was, in our opinion, justified in opening fire when he did as the circumstances were such that this course was necessary to save the lives of those present.

FIREARMS ON THE SHIP.

The Committee considers that the Sikhs had at least twenty revolvers distributed by Gurdit Singh on the morning of the riot. The Captain of the ship speaks of 200 pistols being smuggled on board at Yokohama, but his evidence is very vague, and we think that the figure is probably exaggerated. There is again a suggestion that part of the money advanced by the Consul at Kobe was used for the purchase of firearms there. We cannot say that this is satisfactorily proved but we think it is probable that a number of these firearms were obtained in Japan.

WHO OPENED FIRE.

Regarding the question of who began the firing at Budge-Budge, and whether any of the Punjabis who used fire arms were identified, to the first point there is abundant evidence to show that the Sikhs opened fire. The Police used their revolvers to defend themselves and the troops only opened fire at a subsequent period when it was absolutely necessary to do so, and after the Sikhs had fired about 20 or 30 shots. An attempt has been made by many of the Sikh prisoners and some residents at Budge-Budge, as also by one Indian Railway Official, to make out that the Sikhs on return to Budge-Budge were ordered to halt near the level crossing and the troops opened fire on them, for no reason whatever. This story is inherently improbable, and there is ample evidence of the most trustworthy character to prove that it is false. There is no satisfactory evidence to show which of the Sikhs actually used revolvers.

CAUSE OF THE RIOT.

The immediate cause of this attack by the Sikhs upon the Police was the action taken by Superintendent Eastwood to bring Gurdit Singh out of the crowd, for an interview with Mr. Donald. There is no evidence to indicate that Superintendent Eastwood deliberately provoked the attack on him that he behaved improperly, or used violence to any of the Sikhs, and in the circumstances there was in our opinion no justification whatever for the violent attack of the Sikhs or for the use of firearms. The Sikhs were in a state of acute discontent and irritation, by the fruits of the voyage, by their march of eight or ten miles and by the action of some of the Police Sergeants towards stragglers.

CONDUCT OF THE POLICE.

In regard to the conduct of the Police who were present at Budge-Budge on the occasion of the riot, we find that there is nothing which leads us to suspect that they used unnecessary violence in the performance of their duty, save the instance just referred to. We think that at that time some of the European Police Sergeants were somewhat rough, and in the circumstances this, perhaps, is not surprising. As to the officers, both European and Indian, it is proved by the evidence of nearly all the witnesses, including a great majority of the passengers on board the ship, that they treated the passengers with the greatest courtesy and consideration. On the other hand, there is convincing testimony to prove that many of these returning Punjabi emigrants, after the arrival of the ship at Budge-Budge, behaved in a very insolent and discourteous manner. In the circumstances, we consider that the conduct of the officers was most praiseworthy, and that they showed great tact and forbearance in dealing with a troublesome body of men.

INDIANS IN CROWN COLONIES.

The Memorandum of Instructions for the guidance of Messrs. McNeill and Chimmanlal deputed to the Colonies importing Indian labour was as follows :—

The general object of the enquiry is to report upon the conditions of life of the Indian Immigrants in the Colonies. The officers should also submit recommendations as to any arrangement which may be considered desirable to promote their welfare.

This general object will involve an enquiry into the following matters *inter alia* :—

(1) The housing of the labourers and the sanitary conditions in which they live.

(2) The adequacy of medical arrangements. In this connection the birth and death rates should be examined.

(3) Whether tasks are moderate, hours of work suitable and wages adequate. A comparison should be made between the earnings of indentured labourers and those of free labourers, taking into account the advantages derived by the former in the matter of free quarters, medical attendance, etc.

(4) Whether the administration of justice is fairly conducted and whether labourers meet with any difficulties in prosecuting employers or defending themselves. Whether the penalties imposed by the labour laws are in any case excessive or unsuitable.

(5) Whether the labourers are subjected to undue restrictions, outside working hours, in visiting their friends or places outside their estates, and whether they enjoy sufficient facilities for proceeding to the Protector of Immigrants or to the Magistrate to lodge complaints.

(6) The relations generally between employers and labourers.

(7) Whether facilities are afforded to Indian labourers in the performance of marriage or other ceremonies and in the observance of their religious rites and festivals.

(8) Whether repatriations are promptly made and whether immigrants experience any difficulty in obtaining repatriation.

II. In addition to the general questions enumerated above special consideration should be given to the following subjects :—

(a) The excessive number of prosecutions of labourers by employers. It should in particular be considered whether the special measures that are being taken in the different Colonies to reduce the number of prosecutions are adequate or what further measures can be suggested.

In this connection the desirability of repealing the laws in Trinidad and British Guiana which make the

prosecution of deserters obligatory should also be considered.

(b) The position of the Protector of Immigrants. Enquiry should be made whether this officer performs his duties satisfactorily and whether the inspectorial staff is sufficient.

(c) The terms of agreement which the emigrant is required to sign. It should be ascertained whether the labourers sufficiently understand the conditions of service before they leave India.

(d) The use or abuse of the power conferred on employers and police officers by the labour laws to arrest labourers found away from the estates.

(e) The position of free Indians. It should in particular be considered whether they receive equal treatment with the rest of the population of the Colony and whether there is sufficient employment open to them. In this connection attention should be paid to the question of the grant of land to Indians on the expiration of their period of indenture. It should be ascertained whether land is generally available for all labourers who wish to settle in the Colony and what extra facilities in this direction can be recommended. Another matter which should be considered is whether in Jamaica the employment of free Indians is checked by section 13 of the Immigration Act of 1891 which requires the payment by employers of 1s. a week to the Protector for every free labourer employed by him who has not completed a continuous residence of ten years in the Colony.

(f) Are adequate facilities afforded to emigrants to carry on correspondence with their friends and relatives in India?

(g) Are sufficient facilities afforded for the education of Indian children?

(h) Female indenture. Enquiry should be made as to the working of the system in force in Trinidad and British Guiana under which women are indentured for 5 years but are required to work for 3 years only. If the system is found to be unsatisfactory, it should be considered whether the best solution would be to retain the same period for both sexes, but to relieve woman from the obligation to labour for any part of the period.

(i) Suicides and immorality on the estates. The allegations made to the effect that the large number of suicides and the prevalence of immorality on the estates are due to the indentured system should be enquired into.

(j) Proposed insertion in the terms of service of penal liabilities imposed upon indentured emigrants by the special labour law.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

The Commissioners have summarized their recommendations thus :—While dealing in detail with each of the matters to which our attention was specially

directed we have unavoidably laid more stress on what appeared to be remediable defects in the existing system of emigration than on the advantages which have accrued to emigrants. As we consider that the removal of defects would be the most satisfactory result of our inquiries both for emigrants and for the Colonies to which they emigrate, we think it desirable to recapitulate briefly the more important general remedies which we have recommended in the preceding paragraphs. They are as follows :—

I. Unsuitable emigrants, men or women, should be excluded. The agreements should state clearly how misconduct will be punished. The proportion of female to male emigrants should be raised from 40 to 50 per cent. and the present minimum age limit should be abolished.

II. In all Colonies, provisions, whether operative or inoperative in practice, which are unduly rigorous or restrictive, should be expunged from the Ordinances. The punishments prescribed should in most cases be reduced and fines imposed should be recoverable in small instalments.

III. The intemperate use of the disciplinary provisions of the Ordinance should be prevented by empowering the officers of the Immigration Department in each Colony to control employers in this respect.

IV. The officers of the Immigration Department in each Colony should be empowered to adjudicate in cases brought by employers against labourers so that the concern of Courts of Criminal Jurisdiction with the enforcement of contracts may be minimised if not extinguished.

V. Separate places of detention should be provided for labourers who, notwithstanding the revision proposed in II, may be sentenced to imprisonment for breaches of the disciplinary provisions of the Ordinance.

VI. Subject to a limitation of the proportion of labourers on an individual estate who may commute their indentures within a single year, the labourer should be entitled at any time to commute his indentures by payment of a graduated redemption fee.

VII. Facilities for occupying land on a satisfactorily secure tenure should be provided.

VIII. The registration of marriages should be facilitated.

IX. The special needs of Indian children in the matter of primary education should receive consideration.

X. The regulations affecting the grant of medical relief to the poorer class of Indians not residing on estates should be revised.

XI. The annual reports of the Immigration Department of each Colony should give more intelligible and

precise information regarding the health of indentured immigrants. They should also show not only the average earnings of immigrants but the cost of living and the surplus.

We are convinced that, notwithstanding our possibly disproportionate presentation of the unsatisfactory features of the existing system, a careful study of the facts elicited during our inquiry will result in the conclusion that its advantages have far outweighed its disadvantages. The great majority of emigrants exchanged grinding poverty with practically no hope of betterment for a condition varying from simple but secure comfort to solid prosperity. Emigrants live under very much better conditions than their relatives in India, and have had opportunities of prospering which exceeded their own wildest hopes. They became citizens of the Colonies to which they emigrated and both they and their descendants have attained to positions commanding general respect and consideration. Though liable to be prosecuted for disciplinary offences while under indenture they realised also that in everything affecting their daily lives their legal rights were not merely defined but firmly maintained. Employers also were liable to judicial punishment and to still more severe punishment, namely, disqualification for employment in the Colony in the only occupation at which they could expect to earn a livelihood. Nor should it be forgotten that both employers who were too prone to invoke judicial assistance in the management of their labourers and employers whose authority was exercised with more skill, temper, and self-reliance, have in many ways tempered the exercise of authority with manifestations of kindness and generosity. It is not an uncommon thing for an emigrant who has settled down after the expiry of his indenture at a distance from an employer by whom he has been formerly prosecuted to pay occasional friendly visits to his accuser who has not forfeited his good will. If too many labourers were judicially punished all but the most worthless were gainers in skill, enterprise, and self-respect. The savings or remittances of the industrious represent only the material gain to emigrants. They are as a body probably more conscious of the far-reaching legal protection which they enjoy than of the legal liabilities to which they are exposed. Our proposals involve the recognition of further rights and the reduction of liabilities, and we venture to claim that their adoption will justify the system being fairly described as one of protected emigration, in which the protection ceases when no longer required. We do not regard the system as solely or mainly concerned with securing fair wages and fair treatment for Indian labourers who are content to emigrate for a few years, save a few hundred rupees, and return to their homes. Following the example of the great majority of the emigrants themselves and their descendants, we regard

it rather as a system of colonisation under which poor but industrious Indians, whether landless labourers or the sons of poor cultivating landowners, who are content to be trained and acclimatised under private employers in need of a steady supply of labour, are offered prospects much more favourable than they could hope to realise at home. While an emigrant's freedom of choice between settling down in a colony or demanding repatriation should be maintained, it is obviously necessary to recognise the manner in which the choice has been exercised in the past. If our proposals are accepted, we are reasonably confident that those who elect to return will in all Colonies be an insignificant minority of those emigrating under indenture. We are conscious that the acceptance of our proposals will increase the cost of indentured Indian labourers to their employers and may in consequence lessen the demand but it may also have the effect of raising the standard of capacity expected from employees.

NORTHERN AUSTRALIA AND THE INDIAN.

The futility of the "White Australian" policy was strikingly illustrated in a comprehensive memorandum on the Northern Territory published in Melbourne last year. We give below a critical estimate of same taken from the *Pioneer* :—

Prepared by the Minister of External Affairs, it opened with a statement to the effect that the development of the Northern Territory must involve for a time, a draft without direct or immediate return, upon the resources of the Commonwealth. The attempts at settlement made so far, and the extent and direction of the incidental expenditure, cannot, it is remarked, be ignored in considering what should be done. At the same time the policy may take a new direction, and be on lines that will be and more capable of systematic development without at once writing down as unproductive all that has been done up to date. Something approximating three and a half millions sterling represents the indebtedness of the Territory to the Commonwealth, though it is only three years since it was taken over, and the taxpayers have become anxious that the expenditure should be reasonable in respect to the necessity and with a probability of its being reproductive. A perfect battalion of officials was let loose over the territory and these with little more to do than to draw their salaries are now to be reduced in number and their offices amalgamated and readjusted in many cases, so that a saving of some three thousand a year may be effected.

But that of itself will prove a small matter. For, excluding the host of Government servants domiciled in Darwin, the number of persons attracted to the vast empty territory during the three years was not more

than forty-one. Up to the end of 1913 only eighteen settlers had definitely taken up agricultural blocks under the Lands Ordinance of 1912, all except two being in the Daly River district. The majority of the Stapleton applicants did not take up the blocks which had been allotted to them "in view of the doubts generally expressed as to the possibility of successful agriculture in the tropics by white labour." So in the new policy, while application for land by persons of adequate means is to be encouraged, it is intended, during the experimental period, not to force agricultural settlement. Meanwhile, assistance to existing settlers and to successful applicants will be accorded under the present regulations. The cautious policy of the Minister for External Affairs is applauded by the Australian Press, for it is pointed out that while agriculturists in the temperate and more closely settled portions of Australia have to struggle to make ends meet, even when comparatively near to a railway, their prospects of success in the isolated and tropical territory must be anything but rosy for many years to come. Moreover it is recognised that agriculture must not be forced on the settlers until its possibilities with white labour have been demonstrated more effectually. The idea of the responsible Minister is that the employment offered by the contemplated railway construction should be a means of establishing the means of permanent occupation. He suggests that by paying wages on a scale prescribed for tropical Queensland by a State or Commonwealth industrial tribunal and by enabling the railway workers to take up land near the railways a large number of efficient white workers, including a proportion of married men, may be induced to make their homes in the empty north.

It is feared, however, by the Minister's critics that wages considerably in excess of the highest rates offered in the States will be required to secure an adequate supply of efficient labour and something more than granting holdings on liberal terms will be necessary to establish agriculture or mixed farming, for the Northern Territory is not at all tempting to those interested in these pursuits. The country is well adapted for pastoral pursuits and the growing world-wide demand for meat and wool suggest that the production of cattle and sheep will be the chief industry of the territory for many years. Under present conditions, however it is felt that the pastoral industry is a negligible factor in peopling the vacant areas of the north. Thirteen leases are held at a rent of £2,162, covering 38,713 square miles on which 280,000 cattle are run. Fourteen persons hold 11,091 square miles, carrying only five hundred cattle and about one white person per thousand miles is employed in the whole district. To get over the labour difficulty to some extent, it is proposed to establish a new aboriginal station near Alice Springs, but it is pointed out that no matter what steps are taken

to improve the condition of the blacks, it may be regarded as certain that the moral question involved in their association with the whites will never be settled so long as the settlement of the Territory is chiefly in the hands of single men. Every possible effort is being made to induce married white settlers to take up allotments. There are vast tracts of promising grazing and cultivable land, railway communications are to be constructed, bores to be sunk, but the fact remains that the white man cannot toil in tropical countries and that, no matter how favourable may be the conditions offered, the Northern Territory will not prove attractive to the white cultivator. The Commonwealth is told by its own sons that if an adequate population is to be settled permanently in the tropical north the Government must be bold in its policy and generous to those who are willing to endure the discomforts and the isolation inseparable from pioneering in the wilds. But so long as the All-White policy is so blindly adhered to, the Northern Territory will remain a drain upon the Commonwealth, no matter how bold or how generous the Government may be to the pioneers. Nothing but Indian—or Asiatic—labour can develop tropical regions of Australia. The fact is becoming more widely recognised though not more freely admitted. Yet with the aid of indentured Asiatic labour the land might be transformed into one literally flowing with milk and honey.

Fair-play never strikes our contemporary. Instead of suggesting the wise course of providing facilities for agricultural settlements by Indians, it insinuates the aid of indentured Asiatic labour to make the promised land flow with milk and honey, perhaps to create another South Africa in North Australia.—(Ed).

TWO VIEWS OF EMIGRATION.

Emigration has been the means of building up the British Oversea Dominions and to people the vast spaces of the earth. But up till within a recent period no properly organised efforts were made in Great Britain to promote it, so that the bulk, if not all, the emigrants of British nationality should be attracted to the British Colonies. Take for instance the year 1910, when the emigrants from the British Isles numbered 283,700, no less than 78,569 went to the United States, 115,681 to British North America, 32,725 to Australia and New Zealand, 8,814 to South Africa and 3,420 to other destinations. The general idea in connection with emigration is to help the poor and needy in an over-populated country, where there is hardly elbow room, to find new homes in the Colonies. Now, however, that a new scheme has been put forward for assisting and increasing emigration to Australia, the basis of the project being to form a company for the

purchase of suitable land near existing railways to be prepared and cut up into lots or holdings for new settlers in the rural districts. Mr. Jesse Collings, M. P., has written a letter to the Printing House "Thunderer" warning the British public that the Societies for the promotion of emigration from the United Kingdom were taking the life-blood of England from her. He pointed to the fact that while in 1900, the emigrants numbered 78,000, in 1912 they had increased to 268,000 a year and finally, that between 1900 and 1909 inclusive, the numbers of British emigrants were no fewer than 1,812,669.

He termed this a steady and continuous drain of the very life blood of England, because the emigrants were not the needy and shiftless men who wanted work and could not get it, but the steady careful workmen who had means, the very "pith and lustihood" of the population. They would be a loss to the country which could ill spare them. Each of these emigrants would take away with him on an average £15 of capital and a constitution free of disease—a *sine qua non* now strictly insisted on by the Colonial Emigration Agents. Thus the 268,000 emigrants, who left in 1912, would represent a loss of British capital of over 4 millions sterling, while the 1,812,669 men who left in 1900-1909, would deprive the country of over 20 million pounds. This yearly emigration, Mr. Collings asserts, is equal to the rural population of a county. The money loss, he contends, is a secondary consideration as compared with the denuding rural England of the bone and muscle of her agricultural population. "Our country sides," says this President of the Rural League and Founder of Allotments and Small Holdings Association "are already denuded of population" and must become almost a desert. The emigrants are not of the destitute class but farmers, market gardeners, and bailiffs, all with means.

There is, Mr. Collings holds, room and to spare for all the agriculturists who are leaving our shores if we would adopt a policy of land improvement and apply the land to agricultural purposes. They could, on the vast areas, now uncultivated, raise the food supplies which have to be imported in such enormous quantities from abroad. We have little doubt that there is a considerable amount of truth in what Mr. Collings says; but we fear he takes too pessimistic a view of the effects of emigration. The competition from foreign markets, of agricultural produce, and the high price of land, to say nothing of labour, make it harder every year for agriculturists at home to get a living, or more than a bare living. It is not surprising then that when lands are offered them free in Canada for instance, and almost for next to nothing in Australia and New Zealand, with high wages and a free table thrown in, our able bodied agriculturists should boldly venture to accept the chance placed so alluringly before them. Increasing as the British population is by four or five millions every ten years, a million and a half of emigrants every decade can be well spared to better their own prospects in life and at the same time strengthen the links of the British Empire.—*Rangoon Times*.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

The Englishman.

He slams his door in the face of the world,
If he thinks the world too bold.
He will even curse; but he opens his purse
To the poor, and the sick, and the old.
He is slow in giving to woman the vote,
And slow to pick up her fan;
But he gives her room in the hour of doom,
And dies—like an Englishman.—*Jamaica Times*.

Up to the Fighting Line.

A Ceylon merchant who has been up to the fighting line and has visited Senlis, Soissons and other bombarded places says that some French and German trenches are so close that the combatants shout across to each other and arrange for the cessation of fire while making coffee in the morning and for dinner time at night.

Australian Indian Contingent.

Two hundred Sikhs and Gurkhas, who have settled in Western Australia, have offered to form a contingent for the front (says a Central News message from Melbourne).

Lord Kitchener's Recruit.

The interesting statement is made by 'Reynold's Newspaper' that an Indian student is to be found among the recruits who joined Lord Kitchener's new army in that city.

An Unprecedented Success.

We learn with pleasure that Mr. Jivaraj Mehta of Bombay has been placed first on the list and awarded a gold medal in the London University, M. D. examination. He ought to try to extend the bounds of the world's knowledge of tropical medicine.

No Peace Prize this Year.

Reuter reports from Christiania, Wednesday, December 9th, that M. Lövlund, President of the Storting, has announced that the Nobel Committee has decided not to sit for the distribution of the Nobel Peace Prize this year.

This is most alarming. Is the Peace Cause dead then? It is not due to the war either, for the award would have been on the nominations of February last for the previous year.

England's Colonies.

In Australia only about 117 persons in 10,000 are other than white in color. Canada is nearly as white, but in New Zealand the number of Maoris and half-breeds reduces the proportions of whites to below 94 per cent. In South Africa the 1,250,000 Africans and Europeans live side by side with 78 per cent. of colored races, while in India the European element, including the army, officials, merchants, women and children, amounts to only six persons in each 10,000.

War and the Race Problem.

"What of the race problem," asks a writer in an English Magazine. "After India's generous offering of her sons, who have come to the battle not as mercenaries hailed thither by their masters, but in free-will service, can England rest content with her old attitude to India? To many men, who never realised the existence of the problem of Race, the fact of the interrelation of different races of mankind has been dramatically set forth by the entry into this war of Indians, Japanese and Africans. There are problems here which cry aloud for solution."

The Imperial Conference.

The Central News learns that, despite the desire of the Colonies for an Imperial Conference, it is unlikely that it will be held before next year, if at all, before the end of the war. Among the reasons given is the present occupation of General Botha and his lieutenants. In this connection *The Times* publishes an editorial article headed "Consult Dominions" in which the paper urges the convocation of the Imperial Conference in 1915. The journal observes that the Conference would be of immense benefit to Imperial unity and the opportunity should be taken of co-ordinating what has been done in each widely separated centre in connection with the war. It would be interesting to know if *The Times* include India among the 'dominions' for participation in the Conference.

Colour Prejudice.

Speaking at a private Conference on the slavery question in Portuguese East Africa, held recently in London, Lord Selborne referred to South Africa as follows:—

"In Portuguese Colonies, one was confronted with a very strange conflict of conceptions. Every one knew the attitude of the white man to the black man in South Africa. There could be no question of a mixture of the two races. One never found a white man and a black man sitting side by side, or white and black children attending the same schools. In Portuguese

Colonies, however, there was absolutely no colour prejudice. In the schools one found white and black children mixed; in Government offices one found clerks of every hue sitting side by side. The Portuguese had no more prejudice against the Natives than the Natives' own chiefs' and treated them in much the same manner as their chiefs would do. It was important to remember that a very large proportion of the Portuguese Officials were not of pure European descent."

Coloured French Subjects.

France has gained the distinction as the best colonizing power, observes a contemporary, it is common knowledge that the true-blooded Frenchman knows no color prejudice. French, unlike England and other colonizing powers will never decline to recognise the just claims of her colored subjects in order to satisfy the prejudice of her Colonists or White aliens. Such acts as the persecution of Indians by our City Council will never be tolerated in a French Colony. French colored subjects are given the opportunity of qualifying for the highest positions in the State and on no account are they barred or disregarded on the grounds of color. France alone among the colonizing powers finds a place in the Imperial Legislature for representatives of her dominions beyond the seas. Most of her Colonies are represented by a senator and one or more deputies. It has just been reported that a pure-blooded Joloff has been elected as the deputy for French Senegal. The Anti Slavery Reporter states that this is probably the most important landmark in African history since Moshesh built up the Basuto Kingdom in South Africa.

The Ethics of Emigration.

Writing in a recent issue of *The Nineteenth Century and after*, Sir Clement Kinloch-Cooke, the Chairman of the Central Emigration Board in England, strongly urges the importance of an Imperial Policy of Emigration and immigration, affecting adults and children alike, to be conducted and financed by the Home Government in conjunction with the Governments of the British Dominions Oversea. Emigration would increase the solidarity of British labour, and when proceeded with in the right way, it would not be possible to change Colonial labour with a desire to keep out the Home worker, nor the mother-country with ranking itself officially against emigration. Moreover this would afford a useful object-lesson for preachers of Imperial unity and would remove much of the misunderstanding now existing in the labour mind as to the true meaning of imperialism. "Empire labour would succeed Home and Colonial labour, and an important and useful step would have been taken towards the consummation of Imperial Federation."

"If the justice of the claim of Indian labour to emigrate to any part of the Empire, without restriction either legal or social were to be realised by the Colonial leaders and agents of immigration, how much will the difficulty of the Imperial problem vanish away!"

An American on Indenture.

Dr. Charles W. Eliot, a distinguished American, who recently undertook a tour in the Far East at the instance of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, has some very pertinent remarks to make on the subject of the regulation of the migration of labourers: "The regulation of emigration and immigration," he says, "should be the object of anxious care with all the Oriental Governments, whether alien or native; and great pains should be taken to prevent emigrants from leaving their own country under conditions that will involve them in serious moral and physical deterioration and economic loss. Wherever large bodies of unmarried men emigrate to a strange land in search of work under conditions imperfectly known to them, the chances are that they will live in barracks on isolated plantations, or near isolated mines or factories, and that family life will be impossible for them. Under such circumstances, labourers degenerate rapidly, both morally and physically, and out of their wretchedness come inter-colonial, international and inter-racial disputes."

It is certain that the Indian Government will deny that the labour they allow to emigrate experiences conditions such as those quoted above. For instance, it is usual to find in the reports of the Protector of Emigrants that particular care is taken to ensure that the proper proportion of married couples formed part of each shipment to the emigrating Colonies. But the fact remains that by far the larger proportion of labourers are unmarried men; or men who have left wives behind, and no wonder that their conditions of life are not far different from those described above.

The Budge Budge Riot.

We publish in this issue a Summary of the Report of the Committee appointed to enquire into the affair of the *Komagata Maru* by the Government and their resolution thereon. It is needless to point out that the report as well as the Government resolution is of a piece in justifying what has been generally considered to be a high-handed act of the executive. We have no space to enter into the details in this issue, but they will be considered in the subsequent number.

The Congress Ideal.

We do not quite agree with "Politique" in his strictures on those who have kept away from the Congress. They have no mind to wreck the movement as the writer imagines; in fact, what little of political free thinking there is in this country owes its inspiration to them. The whole movement has been in the hands of the moderates since the Surat Split, but we fail to see any appreciable strength added to the movement by them till now. On the other hand, it is an open secret that the last Congress which was entirely bossed by these "moderates" is generally considered to be a failure.

The Twelve Greatest Bengalis.

The current number of the Bengali magazine *Prabasi* contains the results of plebiscites on two questions (I) Who are the 12 most representative Bengalis since the beginning of British rule? and, (II) Who is the best Bengali authoress? The answers are:—(1) Rammohun Ray, (2) Rabindranath Tagore, (3) Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and Jagadish Chunder Bose, (5) Swami Vivekananda, (6) Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, (7) Keshub Chandra Sen, (8) Praphulla Chandra Ray, (9) Surendranath Banerjee, (10) Romesh Chunder Dutt, (11) Debendranath Tagore, (12) Arabinda Ghosh and Brajendranath Seal, Mrs. Swarna Kumari Ghoshal, and Mrs. Kamini Ray, both getting equal votes.

Indian Students in England.

In his report on the working of the Indian Students' Department in Great Britain during the year ending 30th June 1914, Mr. C. E. Mallet says: "The true view is that the Students' Department exists for no sinister political purposes but simply to help students who want its assistance here that in one way or another the majority of students do; that new comers from India are thankful to find some organisation which will welcome them on their arrival, introduce them to lodgings and tutors and friends, advise them in regard to certificates and examinations, consult with them about their studies and help them with kindness and knowledge in the thousand and one things, big and small, in which strangers are glad of assistance in an unfamiliar land. It cannot be made too clear that the Students' Department possesses and desires no compulsory or disciplinary powers. All students who wish to consult it can, but no one need come near unless they want its help. With politics and religion it has nothing to do. It neither cares nor enquires what a student's opinion may be ... It would be a thousand pities, for the students' sake alone, if from any motive of antagonism to the India Office or from any mistaken notion that the Department wanted to control their freedom, they were to cut themselves off from the assistance which it is able to give to them."

BOOK REVIEWS.

POLITICS.

"World Politics" by Paul S. Reinsch, MacMillan & Co., Ltd., London, Price 5 sh. nett.

THE NEW THEORY OF IMPERIALISM.

Messrs. MacMillan & Co. have, with their usual enterprise and foresight designed a Library of Economics and Sociology, the volumes being published under the General Editorship of Richard T. Ely.

One of the most noteworthy contributions made towards the study of the American Empire and its future is the well-known work by Professor Giddings on "Democracy and Empire," which is one of the best reasoned books on the expansion of Empire and its consequences on the growth of Democracy. In fact, amongst all recent utterances on politics, Dr. Woodrow Wilson's Congressional Government and Professor Giddings book named above, stand out as revealing the largest amount of political insight and breadth of vision. It was therefore not without high hopes that we took up the latest addition to this library, viz., Paul Reinsch's "World Politics" at the end of the Nineteenth Century and it is needless to say that our hopes have been more than fulfilled.

As its name indicates, it is an attempt to gather the threads which go to make up the fabric of international politics. It is the author's view that the forces, which operate to-day and are moulding the politics of the world, are forces of entirely new origin. To quote his own words "there has been a complete change of ideals during the past hundred years." The theme of the author is that all the great nations of the world have passed through their historical evolution and at present are finding their territorial basis too narrow. Expansion in population has necessitated in most cases expansion in territory; and we are face to face with the phenomenon of what is called Imperialism. The author justly points out that, of old, the colonies were treated as so many estates from which large incomes might be derived. It was only recently that, in England, there dawned the idea of making the possession in the Colonies a part of its national life. Even until the middle of the last century, there were not wanting English politicians who seriously took up the position that the Colonies were not an unmixed blessing and might easily be dispensed with. It is unnecessary for illustrations to go further afield than John Bright's famous

speech on Canada and Macaulay's dictum that, given the choice of rejecting India and Shakespeare, he would unhesitatingly vote in favour of giving up India. At the time when the author wrote the book under review, though he sounded a note of warning as to the dangers of the growth of the nationalistic principle, he could not have foreseen that the danger would so soon assume such a tremendous significance as it has obtained during the war. It is the principle of combined Nationalism and Imperialism that is at the bottom of the present struggle in Europe. The former expression has ceased to denote what it must mean, a proper desire to express in conduct and in life the inherited characteristics of the people, whether in the world of politics or in those of literature and art.

It has come to connote the cry that everything outside the nation is barbarous or decadent. A study of Bernhardi's book is enough to convince any one of the rise of this phenomenon. Each nation now in Europe imagines that she is the only true civiliser and it asserts its title to be the only true herald of civilization; and this tendency has spread beyond the dominions of politics into those of the peaceful arts. What are the reasons on which the modern nations justify their culture of Imperialism or expansion? Expressed with brutal frankness, it is just this. That all the powerful nations believe that large portions of the earth are in the hands of the people who cannot develop their own resources as much as they can. It is therefore agreed that the wealth of all the distant regions should be utilised for the benefit of mankind and, in order to achieve this purpose, the forward nations must guard those regions so that industrial expansion can go on. Gradually the idea comes to prevail that the world is a natural inheritance of the most powerful races and it is especially in Germany that the theory has been elaborated that the so called superior nations are under an obligation to civilise the inferior ones if necessary by force. The logic of Treitsche run mad is really the cause of the present war. The great difference, however, of Imperialism of to-day and the Roman Imperialism is that the present World Empire is conceived of consistently with the respect for the political existence of other nationalities. The spirit of Rome was against the recognition of separate Nationalism.

The growth of this world force which the author designates as the national Imperialism is most accurately traced by the author, who points out that the real force at the back of the movement is a glorified Machiavellism. Not otherwise, according to the

author, can such events as the Rhodes raid or incidents of the Dreyfus trial can be explained. Even such a calm constitutionalist as Professor Dicey has stated that whenever British interests are at stake, he is in favour of upholding them even at the cost of annexation and at the risk of war.

This unceasing struggle among the nations, each to advance itself as a world power, who shall say where it will end. The author's complacent benediction on the Peace Conference on page 20 of his book sounds to us to-day like bitter mockery and it can no longer be able to say, as the author was able to say, that the habitual regularity of international relations has been promoted by the Hague Conference. This new National Imperialism has been the real cause, according to the author, for the outburst of feverish activity among all the nations in the direction of increasing their sea power; for it is only by aiding commerce with the aid of a powerful navy and establishing powerful sea communications can colonial domination be effectively won. The author's remarks on the importance of missions in the spread of Empire are rounded by a saying that the flag follows the missionary and trade follows the flag. Dr. Reinsch, whilst pointing out that Commerce and Industry often do flourish without annexation, demonstrates the great advantage of political control such as is exercised by Germany in certain parts of Asia and by France in Indo-China. The idea is growing up in England and in other States that Europe is to be a kind of financial centre from which the industrial operations of the whole world are to be controlled and the selfishness of the individuals has operated in conjunction with the demand that stable and responsible governments should be established in far off places so that resources may be developed against the will of the inhabitants. The next step to the supplying of capital is the expansion of Railways with their vast political importance. They lead in turn to the formation of small industrial colonies as in the case of South America which at various spots has been unobtrusively conquered by Germany. Dr. Reinsch's great contribution really has been to contrast the methods and aims of the great powers as colonising forces. Russian colonisation is according to the author the most successful, so far as Asiatic countries are concerned; but it is not possible to agree with the author in his conclusions that the splendour of the Russian political system or use of corruption and diplomacy is the cause of their success. The real cause is to be sought elsewhere viz., that in no Russian possessions is the difference made between

the conquerors and the conquered. The executive and military officials often fraternise with the leaders of the conquered races and it is within the knowledge of every political student that a talented Turk can rise to the highest military or ministerial offices in Petrograd. The Germans have until now been prominent only as emigrants and not as establishers of Dependencies. Real colonisation has not yet started in Germany, because the only places which they have attempted to colonise viz., the Pacific Islands and the East Africa, are unsuited from the point of view of climate. The French have never been good colonisers and they have always had too much of a love of home to do well in this sphere. We find it difficult to agree with the author in his congratulations on the Dutch in their colonising efforts, being too vividly aware of the perpetual rebellions at Achio and elsewhere. On the whole it will be admitted that England has been the most successful colonising power of recent times. Their comparative success having been due to leaving the men on the spot to work out the destinies of the colonies without too much of bureaucratic restrictions. Egypt and Hongkong are conspicuous examples of their success; but it will be conceded that as agricultural colonisers, they are no where in comparison with the Dutch or the Germans.

Chapter IV and V are devoted to tracing the varied Developments of Imperialism and indicating the connection between spheres of interest and expansion. The line of thought suggested by the Doctor as to the connection between Imperial expansion and the individual initiations is a very profitable one. The author shows that without any great encouragement from home authorities, men like Rhodes have constructed valuable Colonial Protectorates.

At present, therefore, it may be stated that all great powers are trying to monopolise the earth and the unappropriated portions are becoming smaller and smaller. In this national contest, Asia is the great prize. Its resources and its population are bound, in the opinion of the author, to make her the centre of the industry of the future. Dr. Reinsch, in this connection, emphasises that in this struggle, the existence of one man's power in the government offers a great advantage to the state and it shows that at present the only systematic methods of expansion are adopted by Russia and Germany. It is however in Part II of the Volume that the real interest of the book lies. In it, he attempts to forecast what the contact with the Orient may bring about in the West. He takes China as typical of the Eastern State trying to come into line with the West. It is in China that

the vested interest in the world are in contention. After examining the social and political organisation of China and pointing out how there is an utter absence of patriotism in China due to the isolation in the past, he examines with great acuteness the prospect of Chinese reform and the new theories of education that have gained the ascendancy in the Empire. Various foreign nations have acquired spheres of interest and are attempting to monopolise the trade of the Empire; but it must be granted that up to the present moment the chief obstacle has been the lack of security in the country. The position of the great powers in China at the present moment aptly illustrates the connection that always exist between commerce and politics. So far as Britain is concerned, her position in China is entirely subordinate to Russia; to Germany or even France. It is impossible to minimise the growing influence of Japan in its relations with this country. To sum up the situation, China cannot be conquered or held by any European power and the function of European combinations will only be to direct its industries. The possible consequences to the world of the possible opening up of China is next dealt with by the author and he foresees that there would shortly be a conflict between the Orient and the Occident and a struggle for predominance. The author we think rightly recognises the impossibility of the forcible imposition of European civilisation on the great Eastern races and though we cannot agree with the author in his contention on India, no real connection has been established between the Indian and the European; yet there is no gainsaying that the difference of national ideals is bound to be permanent. The Yellow Peril which was such a scare some 20 or 30 years ago seems also to be ever present in the mind of the author and he spells in the growth of China the obliteration of European and American.

In the matter of Industrial predominance, we are afraid that he has not gone beyond the conventional view of things as he has not gone beyond it in the picture he draws of the happy and peaceful states policing the world and increasing the trade and commerce of friendly nations. The present war will put an end to this dream as many other dreams and to the readjustment of ideas as to the mission of western civilisation and as to its usefulness, a resurvey of the utility of the western outlook upon life will have to be made.

The policy of equal opportunities which has been commended to the German Government by the author has vanished and it is hard to believe that the

author was not influenced by his obviously German origin in his concept of the peaceful character of Germanys' attempts. In regard to the U. S. A. and Great Britain, we are indebted to the author for pointing out what has been often debated viz., the comparative uselessness of Party Governments in dealing with Colonial and foreign problems.

Such little progress as has been made in the good Government of India has been due to the sinking of the ideas of party in the governance of this country. More and more is it recognised that in external matters the nation ought to take unanimous action and we are afraid that if European countries still persist in the ideas of colonisation and World Empire, the Executive will gain the upper hand more and more and autocracy become the rule.

On the other hand the danger has also been foreseen by the author of the neglect of Home affairs in the nation's pre-occupation with the vast imperial concerns.

We cannot pass from a consideration of this book without confessing a sense of disappointment that the author has not indicated the lines on which colonisation in the future will have to proceed. We are amongst those who hold that the colonist should look primarily to the Colony which he inhabits and only next to his home.

While retaining the national spirit and the national ideals, success in colonisation will be marked only in proportion to the Emigrants' subordination of the self to the interests of the country of their adoption. It is in this matter that Britain has showed her genius. Where Britain has not succeeded is in this viz., that the Englishman has not striven to fraternise with the coloured races or to make them feel that his interest and theirs are one.

The failure being due not to any perversity or but rather to a temperament which is apt to be narrowed in its outlook in view of colour. Signs are not however wanting that a spirit of federation is growing up amongst the races of the world and it is particularly noticeable among the British people. Is it too much to hope that with its various miseries, the present European war will bring in its train, the recognition of the essential equality of the white and coloured races and the fruitfulness of the ideas of peace and harmony as contrasted with shadowy theories of world power.

C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR

IMMIGRATION.

With Poor Immigrants to America by Stephen Graham, MacMillan & Co., Ltd., London, Price 8s. 6d. net.

Mr. Stephen Graham accompanied a party of Emigrants from Russia to America, from the most backward to the most forward country in the world, to quote his own phrase; from the place when machinery is imported to the place where it is invented, from the most mystical to the most material. To us in India especially the study of America which this book presents is full of revelation. We are apt to imagine in our day dreams that America is a nation of sordid outlook; but we forget that the American habit of hoarding and millionaire-making is only one phase of a new ideal. America does not mind taking great risks. It plays a large game sacrificing small things, hurrying on in its resistless course destroying and building. The defects of America are due to its being the youngest and the most impulsive of the nations and we are indebted to Mr. Stephens for presenting to us the obverse of the medal, the reverse of which has been obtruded on our attention by Upton Sinclair in his *Jungle*. Reading that book one would imagine that Industrial America was so bad that there was no hope except in ruthless revolution. It is due to Mr. Stephen Graham that he points out how America trains her children, how the newly come immigrant is Americanised to the back-bone in an incredibly short time. The vastness of the country and its riches are infectious. The country gives everyone an opportunity, the drunkard and the thief of Europe soon become the democrats of the State. This is the reason for some of the crudity of American life. But it also explains the development of a newer and larger consciousness than has been evolved elsewhere.

The book under review not only explains the influence of America and its traditions on the immigrants, but is also useful to every student of comparative history as illustrating the influence of machinery and machine-made life on the heart and brains of a people. In the midst of the details and the shrewd criticism that is present everywhere in the book, is an ever-present feeling of the psychologist who traces in America the harmony arising out of a welter of races. We invite our readers' attention specially to Chapter XVI of the book, headed the Choir Dance of the Races. The author with his strong Russian sympathies believes that the New America will not lack the Russian elements which appeal so strongly to him.

The book is on the whole both scholarly and suggestive.

C. P. R.

ANNUALS.

The Golden Number of "Indian Opinion" issued by the Proprietors of "Indian Opinion," Phoenix, Natal.

We have been favoured with a copy of the Golden Number which contains the History of the Passive Resistance Movement in South Africa from its inception to the end, covering a period of eight years. It is common knowledge, however, to everyone that the central figure of the movement was Mr. Gandhi, who is fortunately now in our midst, in the land of his birth, to inspire into us the same courage and heroism which characterised his struggle in South Africa.

As to the meaning of Passive Resistance itself, it is defined as Truth-Force or to speak in the language of Tolstoy, Soul-Force, a spiritual weapon eschewing all forms of violence. Although this law has been proclaimed by all the sages of the world, Indian and Chinese, Greek and Roman, it is hardly ever practised. "In this general movement," to quote the appropriate words of Harriet Beecher Stowe, "unhappy Africa is at last remembered; Africa, who began the race of civilisation and human progress in the dim, gray dawn of early time, but who for centuries has lain bound and bleeding at the foot of civilised and Christianised humanity, imploring compassion in vain. But the heart of the dominant race, who have been her conquerors, her hard masters, has at length been turned toward her in mercy; and it has been seen how far nobler it is in nations to protect the feeble than to oppress them."

It was at last left to the Indians in South Africa under the saintly leadership of Mr. Gandhi to prove to the world beyond doubt, that the use of force is incompatible with Love and that it is Love alone that conquers in the end. सत्यमेव जयते. If there is one thing more than another that is clearly brought out from a perusal of the book, it is that Indians, men, women and children have a national honour and self-respect; and in all cases where these are at stake, they will fight for them to the end not with weapons of destruction as is being done now by the civilised Christian nations of the West, but with the mighty Soul-Force of Truth and Justice. This is the guiding principle of Passive Resistance.

Another noteworthy feature of the movement is the part played by our Indian women in the struggle. It is remarkable and it speaks volumes for the brave daughters of India who have gone abroad with a courage to take their stand side by side with their husbands with babies in their arms for the righting of the wrongs and injustice levelled against them and their country.

Miss Mille Graham Polak writing on "Women and the struggle," remarks, "These women, without any training for public life accustomed to the retirement of women in India, not versed in the science of sociology,

just, patient, dutiful wives, mothers and daughters of a struggling class of workers, in an hour of need moved by the spirit of larger life, took up their duty to their country and served it with that heroism of which such women alone are capable." In the opinion of the writer, but for the early work of these brave women, the wonderful response to the call of honour and country might never have taken place. We confess we must be ashamed before such a roll of honoured women.

The volume contains several beautiful illustrations which speak more eloquently than the letter-press of the Passive Resistance. Articles in Gujarati and Tamil are also added.

The book is of special interest to us and we shall have occasion to refer to it now and then.

T. K. S.

"The Indian and Eastern Engineer" Year Book 1915, Vol XXIII, The Indian and Eastern Engineer Co., Ltd., 50, French Church Street, London, E. C. and 6, Mangoe Lane, Calcutta.

We have to acknowledge with thanks this beautiful and well-bound annual which is now in its twenty-third year of existence—a fact which goes to show the immense value and popularity of this production. It contains a mine of information specially of importance to merchants, mechanics and engineers and to the public as well. For instance, the section under "Customs Tariffs" includes those of Ceylon, Corea, England, India, Japan, Netherland India, Siam and Straits Settlements; similarly each section contains such varied and useful information. A diary with four days to a page and interleaved with blotting is added at the end of the book; and as a work of reference and a memorandum to note down events, this publication comes handy. It is free to subscribers of the "Indian and Eastern Engineer."

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE WHITE AUSTRALIA POLICY.

Having read, at various times in your columns, articles and paragraphs, condemning the policy of "A White Australia," I trust you will permit one who is in agreement with that policy and a student of Theosophy to submit some ideas for your attention and that of your readers.

The policy in question is dictated almost wholly by economic considerations. It is true that the desire to avoid mixed marriages is an important factor with many, and there may be individuals in whom racial hatred is well developed, but I am convinced that those reasons alone would be insufficient, and that it is the economic aspect which is the determining factor.

The position is that in Australia, those who do the necessary work have, by their own efforts, attained a certain standard of living.

The experience of other countries has convinced the workers of Australia, that the introduction of cheap labour will jeopardise their standard of living, reduce their wages, and make unemployment more rife.

It has not been shown, so far as I know, how Australia or the world will benefit by the importation of coolies, and consequently we are under no obligation to disorganise further an industrial system which is far from perfect.

Now a few words in respect of the coolie, on whose behalf your correspondents wax indignant.

It appears to me that this is a case in which the mote in Australia's eye is plainly discernible, but the beam in India's eye passes unnoticed.

For instance, India is, in general, a fertile country; its inhabitants are frugal and industrious; and it is quite certain that with the aid of simple machinery, every one of its people could easily produce more wealth than would suffice to keep him.

This being the case, one may ask, why is it necessary for hundreds of thousands of Hindus to be expatriated, because they cannot exist in their native land? Why have men to be torn from their natural surroundings and their religious environment and sent into a form of semi-slavery? Is India so wealthy that she can afford to lose the labour of all these men? or is she so sparsely endowed by nature that she cannot support them?

The facts seem to be that in India, as elsewhere, the private ownership of Land and Capital has produced an unemployed problem, and thousands of men, who, if given an opportunity, could easily support themselves, are compelled either to be idle, or to be shipped abroad like so many cattle. The solution of the colored labour problem is so to organise the productive activities of the community, that each individual born into it can find a sphere of useful work, commensurate with his abilities, and will thus receive the social value of his labour. It is *not* a solution to starve the people into accepting work in foreign countries, and then complain because the other lands faced with similar difficulties, decline to aggravate them. So much for the material aspect. Spiritually, I think when a nation takes up an uncompromising attitude on a certain question, when it cannot be shown that the attitude mentioned is contrary to the evolutionary process, but rather the opposite, as tending to maintain a high standard of living and to preserve racial purity; when this occurs, one may be forgiven for believing that its action springs from sources of which even the actors may be unconscious, but which may nevertheless be in harmony with the Eternal Purpose.

H. W. LEIGHTON—in the *Commonweal*,
Perth, Western Australia.

THE "KOMAGATA MARU"

AN IMPERIAL QUESTION.

THE adventurous but unfortunate voyage of a party of Sikh emigrants to British Columbia under the leadership of Gurdit Singh and others, calls forth for a careful criticism from all students of Political History. Much of the criticisms that have appeared recently in the press on the subject were mainly directed against what may be called the after-effects of the Komagata Maru voyage which ended in the serious riots at Budge Budge; while the great principles involved in this organised attempt for an entry into one of the self-governing Colonies of the Empire have altogether been ignored. When we consider this question, apart from the Report of the Committee of Enquiry, we are at once brought face to face with several issues more or less vitally concerned with the whole administration of the country, internal and external. To the best of our knowledge, the Report does not seem to have said even a word about the great issues involved in it; nor do we in the least think that a Special Committee of Enquiry would have been sufficient to settle a matter of such supreme importance. Every one is of course fully aware of the existence of a law enacted by the Colonies to prevent free immigration of "aliens" and "undesirables" into their country. And here is a body of men believed to be engaged in breaking that law designed ostensibly to exclude those classes of men from entering that territory. What may and must happen, under the circumstances, is this. If the law is just and good, then to those who transgress the law is meted out the punishment that is enjoined for violating it. On the other hand, where the law is defective and bad, a test case is made out by those who deliberately oppose it with a view to get the law amended. In all cases of violation of Civil Law, it is always left for the Judiciary to sit on judgment on those who violate it. But in cases like the latter, the question often arises what the law then *ought to be* and if the question happens to be of international interest, more complications arise which lead to a discussion between the two or more Governments concerned for a satisfactory settlement of the law. The Komagata Maru is one of this kind.

In the first place, that which strikes us as, the most outstanding question suggested by this organised endeavour is, whether we, Indians, as equal subjects of the British Crown, have the right to enter any self-

governing Colony of the Empire and whether the new existing Immigration Acts of the Colonies mainly directed against "aliens" could apply with equal force against "British Subjects" themselves and whether these Laws could stand the test of law and reason in modern times. There may have been a time when, perhaps, restrictions of the nature against free immigration contemplated by the Colonies may have served a purpose; but these have now outlived their usefulness and it is high time that they are modified or repealed to suit modern conditions. In the earlier days of political unions in the newly-formed States, a certain amount of freedom was left to each Colony to manage its own affairs. At that period consciously or unconsciously, these invidious laws against free immigration were passed. It cannot be conceded now, in modern civilised times, that a British Colony possessing large tracts of waste and unoccupied land should have the exclusive right of enjoyment and development of its resources by themselves. This method of exclusion of "aliens" is primarily indefensible and unsound even from the economic point of view. We know what the position of the British Colonies of British Guiana, Trinidad, Fiji and others including the S. African Colony of Natal, was before the advent of Indian labour. Now, after receiving it, these Colonies are enjoying an amount of commercial prosperity undreamt of before, exciting the jealousy and envy of other nations. To cite a single instance in point, "At one time British Guiana imported all her rice. That importation has almost ceased now, and in its place there has developed an export which in eight years increased in value from £ 60 to £ 60,000." Or take again the instance of one of the most enlightened and forward nations of the world—the United States of America. Its present greatness is attributed in main to no other cause than the commingling of the nations. Each nation there,—the Irish and the French, the Jew and the German—contributes its share to the sum total of its commercial and industrial prosperity. So that, freedom of immigration seems a recognised principle in the international relations of the modern countries. Should it not, therefore, be the only principle in the inter-relations of a common Empire?

Secondly the question of free immigration, if viewed from the political standpoint also, must appeal more strongly than ever. It is strange, that British people who have long been accustomed to the principles of free trade and the benefits to be derived from its adoption should fail to countenance a system more

or less similar in its policy for the welfare of themselves and of others. If the *free exchange of goods* from one country to another is deemed beneficial to both, how much more so should be the *free exchange of labour* between different countries and particularly the new and undeveloped countries of the world?

In this matter of world wide importance-immigration, each nation makes its own friendly arrangement direct through its Consular Representatives with other nations as to who should enter the country and who not. This principle is adhered to even between the Colonial Governments of the British Empire and other foreign powers direct for, e.g., the treaty between Japan and the Australian Commonwealth, between China and the Dominion Government respecting Immigration. But, when the matter becomes in any sense of the word a question of international interest, the foreign powers have recourse to the Imperial Government of Britain and not to the Colonial Government. Thus, for instance, when the Vancouver riots in September 1907 resulted in damage to Japanese and Chinese property, the formal request for redress was made not direct to the Dominion Government but to the Imperial Government, so also in 1905 and the following years when the Government of Newfoundland interfered with the rights claimed by U. S. A., the Government of that country addressed its representations to the Imperial Government. And cases of this kind could be multiplied. The fact is, that so long as the Empire is held together by one Imperial Government and the Colonial Governments do not intend to become independent powers, the unity of the British Empire must be accepted as essential for its welfare. But in all cases where the disabilities of Indians and redress for their grievances are concerned, the Imperial Government have not been willing till now to take up their cause or extend their sympathy to them.

Brighter days are, however, dawning on India, and the sympathetic action taken by H. E. Lord Hardinge with regard to the settlement of South African question augurs well for the future relations of India with the self-governing Colonies.

The statesmanlike attitude taken by our sympathetic Viceroy in opening up communications with the Colonial Governments for a Reciprocity in Immigration between India and the Colonies is quite in agreement with the famous despatch of Nov. 25, 1886, for a Colonial Conference summoned for the first time by Mr. Stanhope, the Secretary of State for the

Colonies. In that despatch, he quoted the remarks contained in the Queen's Speech on the prorogation of Parliament, which referred to her Colonial and Indian possessions in the following terms:—

"I have observed with much satisfaction the interest which, in an increasing degree, is evinced by the people of this country in the welfare of the Colonial and Indian fellow subjects; and I am told to the conviction that there is a growing desire to draw closer in every practicable way the bonds which unite the various portions of the Empire. I have authorised communications to be entered into with the principal Colonial Governments with a view to the fuller consideration of matters of common interest."

The fact that "Emigration within the Empire" is one of "Common Interest" will be obvious if we remember that one of the Resolutions of the Imperial Conference of 1907 was on Emigration and that an Agenda of the Conference of 1911 proposed by Australia was that of reaffirming the same Resolution, which was as follows:—

"That it is desirable to encourage British Emigrants to proceed to British Colonies rather than foreign countries."

That the Imperial Government be requested to co-operate with any Colonies desiring Immigrants in assisting suitable persons to emigrate....."

Mr. Fisher, who moved the Resolution and Mr. Burns, representing the Local Government Board, have pointed out with statistics for force of argument the necessity for a revision in the law on "Emigration."

According to the figures, the emigrant population who went to the Colonies from Britain formed in 1900, 33 per cent. of the total population; in 1906, the percentage rose to 54; in 1910, to 68 per cent; and within the first four months of 1911 the proportion had risen to 80 per cent.

The tendency of Indians to emigrate to foreign countries has also of late increased in equal proportion and with equal pace. The numbers that left Indian Ports in native passenger ships under Act X of 1887, i.e., who left as passengers, being neither emigrants to the Colonies or elsewhere, nor pilgrims to the holy places in Arabia, was 2,526,248 in 1911-12, and including regular emigrants to other places the percentage should be very high indeed. Under such conditions, it is impossible to stem the tide of Indian Emigration and more instances of the Komagata Maru are likely to recur in future if no settlement is brought about through the intervention of the Imperial Government, based on fairer and more humane considerations.

As for the Report itself, we are unable to pass any judgment over it inasmuch as the Committee's

Supplement to
THE "INDIAN EMIGRANT," MADRAS.



THE LATE HON'BLE MR. G. K. GOKHALE, C.I.E.

"Whose Life was a little Holding
Lent to do a Mighty Labour."

The Indian Emigrant

AN IMPERIAL MEDIUM OF

EMIGRATION, COLONISATION, TRAVEL, SOCIOLOGY AND POLITICS.

The only Journal advocating the cause of Indians abroad, recording their life, thought and activities and safeguarding their interests in the Colonies.

Vol. I.

FEBRUARY 28, 1915.

No. 7.

THE LATE HON'BLE MR. GOKHALE.

India has sustained an irreparable loss in the death of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, which sad event took place at Poona on the 19th February 1915. He has left behind him the priceless legacy of a memorable though brief career spent in loving service to the Motherland, such as would be treasured in every land as the enduring heirloom of its departed heroes. The late Mr. Gokhale was one of the most cultured politicians of our times and one of the trusted friends of India. In that transitional period of India's history a lesser personality than his would have been effaced, did it not embody the highest ideals of national advancement. These have been made more spacious in intent by the life-work of the late illustrious patriot. His method was unique. He symbolised the ideals in deeds, not words; he sensed their advent in action, not thought. The late Mr. Gokhale was a prophet of nationalism in the plane of action, and a poet of patriotism in the paths of duty. He combined the austere simplicity of personal life with the august grandeurs of public reward. To a sterling character, Mr. Gokhale added a rich and well-informed mind, to a purposive life the winning attributes of an affable temper. In the political sphere, he unsparingly criticised the Government, yet commanded their complete confidence; in public service, he set the pace of the people's will, yet won their unqualified esteem.

Gopala Krishna Gokhale was born in the year 1866 at Kolhapur, in rather humble circumstances. He was educated at the local College, in the Elphinstone College in Bombay and in the Deccan College at Poona. He graduated in 1884 and joined the Deccan Education Society, spending twenty years in doing disinterested educational work on a bare living wage. He was Secretary to the Bombay Provincial Conference, and, in 1895, was one of the Secretaries of the Indian National Congress. In 1897 he proceeded to England as a witness before Lord Welby's Commission on Indian Finance, where he distinguished himself by the knowledge and grasp he displayed of Indian financial questions. In 1900 he was elected to the Bombay Legislative Council. Two years later he entered the Viceroy's Legislative Council, where he was a persistent critic of Lord Curzon's policy. Ever since he began public work, his whole life was dedicated to the cause of the commonweal. In practical politics, he counselled moderation, in public life he instilled advanced views and in political agitation advocated constitutional means. The cause of Elementary Education in India is associated with his name and by bringing to bear upon the problem a far-seeing statesmanship he evoked the enthusiasm of all in its behalf. The influence of his tactful personality and skilled reasoning won for the South African Indians a more sympathetic hearing from the Union Government. He was engaged in every work that tended to better the cause of the Motherland, and all bear the impress of his masterful personality and inspiring force. Public life in India has few rewards, if not perils, but in his last days Mr. Gokhale must have been cheered in his heart by the whole-hearted affection and loyalty with which his countrymen have rallied round the flag of Great Britain at this stupendous crisis in its history. It has also been vouchsafed to our late illustrious countryman to discern a brighter political outlook for his Motherland turned on from a new angle of vision and the tightening of a brotherly bond between Indians and Englishmen.

enquiry is, in our opinion, one-sided and their finding on it can only be considered an *ex parte* decree in which the other side to the party (we mean the leaders of the organisation) have not been given any fair hearing.

WAR AND CITIZENSHIP

A STUDY IN IDEALS.

BY

CHITTUR S. KRISHNA IYER.

There are many viewpoints from which one may judge of a war and the impression will generally be according to the angularity of the individual temperament. To the soldier on the field, war presents a stern duty: he has not to debate in mind, but do the action. To the statesman in his closet, war is a dubious move on the checkered board of national destiny. A roll of the tide might lift him into glory or sink him into the abject depths of misery. In the citizen, war stimulates breathless efforts to keep intact the body *politic* by every means in his power. Those who have a nation to serve, guide or own, essay the war in accordance with the different ties by which they feel themselves attached to the country. There is still room for more minds to play upon the event—for the humanitarian, the pacifist, the brigand, the thief and the coward—but their voices of sorrowing pity or silencing guilt are simply not heard during the time of war!

I have been often asked about the impression that the war has produced on my mind. It is a question not easy of answer, as anyone similarly interrogated can understand. It is no reply that you desire peace and a sudden stoppage of all this terrible carnage. This is simply begging the question and refusing to project your mind on the war. Peace, however eagerly and instinctively sought, comes only after war and the one, indeed, as mysteriously closes up as the other breaks out. We may not as often know why a nation went to war as why it concluded peace.

To the Indian mind, the question, it must be admitted, is peculiarly difficult of analysis. Waiving aside the egotistic and out-of-way valuations of the hour, we shall try to bring a national conscience to bear upon the war. At the very outset, we are confronted with what seems to be an insuperable difficulty. There appears nothing relevant to go upon, no basal lines from which we may view the war, as we should. Have we a national conscience, are

we, to put it bluntly, a nation? If these questions could be answered, it is easy to cope with the argument how far our nation has been exercised by the war. Of course, since the outbreak of hostilities in Europe between our Emperor and his enemies, we have heard a good deal of zealous Indians calling themselves a nation and addressing themselves as patriots called to defend their hearth and homesteads. Certainly, vast and varied enthusiasm has been displayed; and, in some cases, commendable and soldier-like determination to face the crisis, both of which are highly praiseworthy, and deserving of high reward.

But the fact remains that we, Indians, are neither citizens, nor soldiers, nor statesmen, and the war, a cynic might say, is still only a distant event to us. It is impossible to answer the objection, for we cannot show all the mettle we are possessed of. In war a nation truly shows when it is in arms and, judged by this only standard, we can never be called a nation, if things remain as they are at present. We are no patriots, in the *actual* sense of the term, for we cannot wield the weapons wherewith we may protect our country and person when they are threatened.

A subject nation, like ours, can only be loyal. And we are loyal. Loyalty and patriotism, however, are two quite different things: the one springs from gratitude, the other from self-preservation. Mr. H. N. Brailsford in one of his articles in a contemporary brilliantly hit the state of the national mind in times of war, when he wrote that "War is to a nation a time of enhanced vitality". It is the dynamic force of patriotism that impells all hands young and old to the fiery wheel of a nation's fate in war. Now, is that feeling possible with us? Do we realise the war, as it is sure to be realised in Paris, London, or Antwerp or even in Australia, Canada or New Zealand? If not, why not? Gratitude, or, translated into its political phraseology, loyalty, certainly has not the power to call in us as much self-sacrifice as patriotism, nor does the former endure as long or as hard as love of one's country.

The fact is undoubted that Indians are going the full length of their gratitude and naturally they want to do more, so that they may rise to the level of patriots which their forefathers were. Here, then, is the psychological moment for the national conscience to be born and the certain impatience of young India to go to the front of the battle is evidence of the change that is coming over our national mind. It is probably unwise to give it full vent in the direction indicated by the hour, as there is always risk in sending an undisciplined force to take part in a

modern European warfare. But the frame of mind befitting a nation is there, and it needs only to be drilled and disciplined by purely civic modes of thought. I may add that it will be supremely foolish on the part of the Government, if they do not recognise the aspiration and assiduously foster it into adolescence. In the long run, Indian patriotism will be an element of strength to the safety of the Empire, for just as a man's affections go by his early attachments, India's patriotism will go by India's previous gratitude.

This takes us to the culture of citizenship in an individual, and of nationality in a country. Both are the same thing, a nation is only the enlarged mentality of the citizen. A citizenship, moreover, is an exclusive privilege, recognising the friendship, neutrality or enmity of similar nationalities. During the continuance of this war, we have been taught to look at the German and the Austrian as our 'enemy' and the Allies as our 'friends.' Who among us, thereafter, does not feel an elation of the mind as we fondly linger name over name (unheard of before) of those who now call us their friends! Why should we contribute to the Belgian Relief Fund, who are the Belgians to us, yet why do we do so, if we have not been fired with a sense of civic patriotism, co-extensive with that of the Briton, though not capable (that is the fault of the Government, not ours) of that intensive manifestation? To-day the whole British Empire is ready to take up arms, except we in India! Do we not belong to the Empire, after all? The present war strikes me with this anomaly. It is for the honest Britisher to furnish the answer.

ON PILGRIMAGE : ITS HISTORY AND PSYCHOLOGY.

By T. K. S.

THERE are certain social and religious institutions common to all ages and countries of the world and one amongst them is the practice of performing pilgrimages to Holy Places. The idea of the expiation of sins and the deliverance of the soul from hellish influences by a resort to the chief centres of sanctity is a matter of universal acknowledgment by all the religionists of the world. The fact that this notion did exist in the earliest ages of the Christian era and that it was the privilege of all ancient religions cannot be gainsaid. In modern times, two different schools of thought have recently sprung up, the one

upholding the tenets and doctrines of the ancients and the other decrying all that is not modern or scientific, as though the ancients had no Science. The latter idea had gained such strong ground in the minds of English educated Indians, both young and old, that this practice had almost died out of the country, lingering on only among the old and pious members of the Hindu community. We, who boast of the benefits of English education, have not paused to consider the advantages of a system dating back from prehistoric ages and whose votaries we see now in all sacred spots of India. Though the subject of pilgrimage may seem peculiarly familiar to every Hindu member, it must be admitted that it is no less so to every individual, whatever may be his religion, to a Jew, a Mahomedan or a Christian, to a Chinese and to a Japanese,—and it is curious to note that the current of thought on this subject has been so universal. We, Indians, who have been pre-eminently a pilgrim race imbued with a strong sense of religious temperament, should bring into disuse a system and organisation believed to absolve one's sin and calculated to enlarge the minds and widen the outlook of all those that undertake it, only betrays a sense of ignorance as to the merits of that ancient system. This important subject may therefore be considered both from the religious and the scientific points of view.

We shall, in the first place, point out from its early history how this subject happens to be universally recognised.

Pilgrimage, properly defined, is the act of journeying to some holy place with the object of performing a sacred rite or of propitiating a deity. In the early stages of history, religious worship at a common place was the only tie that bound the people of the same tribes together. In course of time as they multiplied and were, in consequence, scattered away from the original settlement, they paid occasional visits to the localised deity with a view to keep up the tribal connection with the original settlers and join the common worship and festivity. Thus, it is a sign of the consciousness of the unity of the tribe. This idea must be plain to every one who has studied ancient Greek and Roman history:—how the consultation of the oracles of Apollo at Delphi, of Zeus at Dodona in times of grave crises in Greek history and that of Fainus of Albunea and of the Sibyls in Roman history changed the course of events.

The first pilgrimages of which we have any historical account are those of Egypt mentioned by

Herodotus and Plutarch, for whom we are obliged for a description of the national feasts and observances of the Egyptians. It is said that Egyptians have yearly six instead of one national festival to which 700,000 people flock together from all different parts of the country. The ancient Medes and Persians, the Phoenicians and Syrians had their own pilgrimages, that of Ash to the pilgrimage in Syria being frequented by votaries from all the Semitic races except the Jews.

Even among the nations of the Western hemisphere, the Mexicans, the Peruvians and others, we are told, there are huge temples and holy cities to which pilgrims resort and in Peru "the great temple of the sun at Cuzco with its encircling girdle of chapels dedicated to minor deities was visited by pilgrims from all parts of the Empire; nay, it was even regarded as a misfortune to fail in accomplishing the journey."

The Buddhist creeds of the Chinese and the Japanese necessitated the formation of several sanctuaries and pilgrimages for the atonement of sins. In China, Wutaishan in Shan-si is the chief resort of Buddhist pilgrims and Caishan, the mountain sacred to Confucius, that of Confucianists. In Japan, the principal Shinto pilgrimages are those to Ise in the department of Watarai, and to the sacred mountain Fuji. There are two temples at Ise, Shinto Shrines, and the special seat of the worship of Ten-Shokodaigin, the sun Goddess from whom the Mikado is held to descend.

Two great festivals are held at Ise, in the 6th and 12th months, and are known as *O-barai no matsuri* "great purification feast," being held to effect the purifying of the whole nation from the sins of the previous half year. The pilgrims to Ise number many thousands yearly and the pilgrimage to Tugitakes place in summer, and the pilgrims go clad in white, carrying bells. They ascend the mountain so as to reach the summit before sunrise, when they turn to the East, clap their hands and chant a hymn to the sun Goddess. There are also many local shinto pilgrimages of less note.

Passing on now from the ancient to the more vital and modern Hebrew religion and its two derivatives, *viz.*, Islam and Christianity, we find that even there the obligation of making pilgrimages to the tombs of saints and martyrs is enjoined in the religions. "The legislation in the Pentateuch is precise in making resort to one central shrine a positive and fundamental precept, binding on the whole nation obviously with the double object of cementing national unity and of

guarding against the erection of local sanctuaries, which were liable to be diverted to idolatrous cults. (See Pentateuch). It is almost a sacred duty devolved on every Mahomedan to make a pilgrimage to Mecca and the place still draws an annual contingent of 70 to 80,000 pilgrims. Among the chief sacred shrines of Mahomedan pilgrimages is Medina where stands the tomb of Mahomed. The Abraham's tomb at Hebron is also honoured by all Mahomedan sects. Minor sanctuaries abound in Moslem countries, that of Kairwan in Junis, and Wazan in Morocco, Meshed in Khorasan: the most famous after the Pan-Islamic pilgrimages, with the tomb and mosque of Iman Riza is said to attract as many yearly pilgrims as Mecca itself. There is also the sacred tomb Kerbela in Mesopotamia and the mosque of Iman Hosein, grandson of Mahomed in the Turkish Dominions about 26 miles N.W. of the ruins of Babylon. There is a passion-play performed there at the yearly commemoration which draws enormous crowds from all parts of Persia and other shvite regions and the title Haji attaches to all who make the journey. It is mentioned that in Damascus alone there are about 194 places of pilgrimage resorted to by Moslems, and we may therefore infer what an amount of influence this must have had in the religious life of the Mahomedans. And even to-day Haj pilgrims are keeping up the practice with more vigour than ever. The systems of the Hindus and the Christians will be described in another article.

SOME ASPECTS OF INDIAN EMIGRATION.

(Contributed)

THE subject of emigration involves a reference to more than one factor of national importance and raises complicated issues outside local interests. The movement, organised or otherwise, of human labour from one part of the Empire to another, would in itself be a simple matter, did not the requirements of the new countries and the social conditions in the old one impose difficulties in the way. The problem of Indian emigration is a peculiarly thorny one and the difficulty is no transient one, since it is inseparable from the conditions in an Empire made up partly of self-governing and partly of subject races. The Colonies are fast becoming self-governing with complete autonomy in the management of their internal concerns and their pronounced partiality to white colonists seeks aggressive legislation which they easily obtain to restrict the immigration of coloured

races, even though the latter may have raised them to economic prosperity. In Western eyes the sin of the Asiatic is his colour and contented living, and even political unity is not above this prejudice. The colonists point out: "Within the fortified *enceinte* of the British Empire there are many houses and many families, each inhabited by its own family. These households have common interests; but each manages its own affairs—wisely or unwisely—without interference from others, and no one is entitled to enter any house not his own except on invitation, and even then he must submit to the conditions which may be imposed." Indians would not grumble at this magniloquent imperialism if the same dictum were made applicable in their own households also, which is as much a part of the British Empire as the Colonies. Again, what about those Indians who have already settled in the Colonies and contributed to their growth and material prosperity? Do they not deserve honourable and just treatment, equal rights and status, equal privileges and responsibilities as the white settlers in the governance and defence of the Colony? In this connection South Africa presents an interesting problem in imperial unity. It is a curious irony of circumstance that South Africa, which was once regarded as a convenient half-way house to the Indian Empire, should have thought of excluding the Indian. Regarded from the imperial point of view, this feeling is subversive of the true interests of the Empire. The subject of Indian emigration has raised what is styled the colour problem within an Empire whose strongest foundations are sought to be laid on democratic principles.

So far with regard to outside interests. Do considerations in India justify emigration on a large scale, and what is our policy towards this question? The attitude of the Government of India has been in the past timourously permissive. Consequently, the colonial agents have long had an easy time of it in exploiting Indian labour and in flinging it back after crushing it of all worth in the colonies. The Indian Government should no longer kowtow to the imperious colonies.

Now circumstances in India have vastly changed. It is no longer possible to maintain a purely neutral attitude in respect to this question. From the economic standpoint we have to consider whether the labour market in India allows of a depletion of a certain portion of the labour force by withdrawal outside. Latterly, complaints have been only too frequent from nearly all sections

of the industrial community regarding the shortage of labour in the home market. The needs of the agricultural industry all over India as well as those of the manufacturing industries particularly in Bombay, demand the conservation of the available labour supply within. So long as ago as 1905, a Conference of the Indian Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution which deserves to be quoted. It said: "Whereas the supply of rank and file labour for organised industries is inadequate in many districts, and whereas the deficiency is seriously restricting the productive power of a large section of the manufacturing concerns of the country, it seems imperatively necessary to this Conference that, in order to devise a remedy, measures should be taken by a Government Commission, or otherwise to investigate the causes which have led to a state of affairs inconsistent with the relative conditions of life of the factory operative on the one hand, and the agricultural classes generally on the other." The shortness of the supply of labour is not confined to the manufacturing industries alone. The demand for labour in Indian mining districts far exceeds the supply, and the drifting of Indians to the South African mines in increasing numbers involves serious possibilities so far as India is concerned. India, therefore, cannot afford to be drained of any part of its labour and the increasing emigration of labourers from India is calculated to emphasise the acknowledged needs of its industries.

The evils inherent in the system of indentured emigration have been persistently brought to the notice of the public as well as the Government of India. The practice since its inception has been roundly condemned as a modified form of slavery, involving loss of freedom, human degradation, and degeneration of women. Contract labour is everywhere open to these abuses, but under a weak Government or where there is not a conscientious Civil Service, it closely resembles slavery. The system of indenture imposes obligations and confers rights both on employer and labourer, but the variable immigration laws in different colonies operates in a way to release the former of at least some of his obligations and cheat the latter of a part of his rights. Indeed, it is seldom, that the illiterate and poor Indian can be expected to know his rights fully, and since he belongs to no organisation to back up his claims against his employer the enforcement of his rights is entirely at the mercy of the Protector of Immigrants who is paid by the Colonies. The

condition of Indians whose term of indenture has expired and who may desire to settle in the colony as free citizens is far worse, since their freedom is an illusion. It is, however, understood that after the first five years' period of indentured service the immigrant is free to engage in any occupation open to the rest of the inhabitants, and is given facilities for settling in an independent position on the land. In his despatch of 1875, the late marquess of Salisbury, then Secretary of State for India, expressed the view that it should be an indispensable condition of indentured emigration that Indians who have completed their term of indenture should be in all respects free men, subject to no labour Ordinances and with personal privileges no whit inferior to those of any other class of His Majesty's subjects resident in the colony. This cannot obviously be put into practice, since it clashes with the idea of a "white colony". Though statutorily indenture expired Indians are free citizens of the colonies, the exercise of that citizenship is circumvented by restrictive Ordinances promulgated in the colonies.

Nothing but the wholesale abolition of the system would mitigate the disabilities under which Indian emigrants live in the colonies, but the recent report of Messrs. J. McNeill and Chimman Lal has curiously enough reported otherwise and the only remedy of this cankerous evil has been put off by a mere stroke of the pen.

Again, with regard to emigration to the crown colonies of the Empire, it is to be borne in mind that any one of the more important of the crown colonies may eventually become self-governing. The difficulties arising from the emigration of Indians to colonies that are now self-governing have increased enormously and we are only too painfully aware of the serious crisis with which we were faced recently in at any rate one portion of the Empire, owing to the methods of self-governing colonies in dealing with the status and rights of British Indians whom they had allowed and actively encouraged to settle within their borders. The history of the Anti-Asiatic legislation in Natal and the Transvaal may at any time be repeated in other colonies. The Government of India are powerless in the matter of dealing with self-governing Colonies and this weakness of our Government coupled with the arrogant attitude of the colonials tend to accentuate racial animosity among peoples living under the same flag.

We shall now consider how far the Viceroy's plan of controlling Indian emigration at "both ends"

would meet all the circumstances of the case. His Excellency suggested agreements with the colonies on "a basis of complete reciprocity." If this means that colonials enjoy no more or no less rights in India than Indians in the Colonies, the arrangement is to be welcomed. But we have not full particulars of the scheme and it is premature to entertain hopeful expectations in the absence of a full statement of the Viceroy's proposal.

We, therefore, anxiously await the Viceroy's proposal, which, judging by the spirit of the times, will not, we trust, be too niggardly.

RISE OF PRICES IN INDIA.

BY G. HARISARVOTHAMA ROW, M.A.

OUR readers have known too well that the report the Government has published on the question of Rise of Prices in India is very voluminous and very instructive. Mr. Datta who was in charge of the inquiry has laboured hard at it for a number of years and produced what is really a remarkable array of statistics relative to a great many subjects. He has received recognition at the hands of the Government, who however have not agreed with him in some of his conclusions, as well as by the entire Press of India—Indian and Anglo-Indian—for his splendid patience and devotion to work. All this is very good in itself and it has our heartiest acceptance. We shall be failing in our duty if we do not give the Government and Mr. Datta our heartfelt thanks for the interest they have evinced in the question of questions for poor India—the question of Prices—and the labour they have bestowed in bringing together the very useful information contained in the ponderous volumes before us.

The Government has reviewed Mr. Datta's work in its own way and other reviews also have appeared from time to time. But enough attention does not seem to have been directed to a criticism or elucidation of the report on account of several reasons of which the war seems to be the most important. The discussion of a question involving the consideration of a very many varied relations between the Government and the people is probably considered in certain quarters as inopportune and unwise. Economists of a particular description are afraid that because the Prices Enquiry question includes the discussion of the currency system their conclusions during the times of war may be falsified by the turn economic events may take as the war draws to a close and later. Both

these points of view are however erroneous. Though no doubt Mr. Datta's enquiry relates to the Rise of Prices which still operates, the period under review extends from 1890 to 1912—a period that is now past and that can lend itself to a scientific investigation which shall certainly have its lessons for the present and the future. A discussion is the more important now than ever before or ever hereafter because the present war is bound to be so mighty in its after effects that prices of commodities will certainly be affected very materially all over the world. Therefore a just appreciation of our position in regard to the rise of the general price-level of the world is the most necessary equipment to face a situation which promises to be well-nigh catastrophic. The destruction of wealth by the tens of million everyday and the prospect of the continuance of such destruction over a long period even according to so high an authority as Lord Kitchener must induce every nation, which has the least claim to understanding, to review its economic condition and be ready to receive the shock, that must ultimately come, with the smallest amount of discomfiture. From another stand-point also the present seems the most opportune for the discussion of the Prices Enquiry Report. To-day all Indian hearts beat in full harmony with the British and all local considerations are subsidiary to a higher cause. As such there is absolutely no danger of the report being viewed from too political a point of view which most probably will be the case in times of peace. A sanity of disposition obtains in India to-day which is not possible at other times. The best chances therefore for a real scientific discussion are the greatest now and they must be taken advantage of by all lovers of the country. As to the point attempted to be made by the instability of economic conditions only one reply is possible. Economic laws are not all physical laws. The science of economy is so intimately connected with human motives and human conduct that it has very often to modify its conclusions in the light of fresher facts created by the ever-developing career of man. Therefore in economic science there is very little hope for experiments under exactly similar conditions and observation thereof. What is really possible is a critical analysis of past experiences and a modified application of its results to conditions that may be. Since this is the truth with regard to the economic science there is no need to falter or cry halt when for other considerations a period appears best suited for an investigation of a particular problem.

Though the Government in its resolution disposes of in one subordinate clause the reasons for the enquiry, Mr. Datta in the opening paragraph of his report makes it plain that the demand from the press and the people's representatives in the Legislative Councils led at last to the institution of this enquiry. That the mere satisfaction of scientific curiosity or usefulness was not all that was required of this enquiry is plain enough. Prices had gone on rising enormously and a state of perpetual famine rates had begun to obtain before people thought it necessary to press the Government for definite action. A country accustomed to cheap living found, in the course of almost a decade, that it had become practically impossible to dream of old days once again. The writer clearly remembers how a community, which threatened to break the peace when *cholam* went down from 26 to 18 measures a rupee in the early nineties of the last century when he was a boy, had meekly to bow later on to a standard level of 12 measures per rupee. In this connection we may draw attention to a problem which Mr. Datta has by analogy brought in to explain discontent. He seems to suggest that there is a parallel to our situation in the discontent of the wage-earner of the west. It may be useful for further discussion of the report to say at once here that to imply any such suggestion is totally erroneous except probably in one or two big industrial cities. One or two cities in India do not make up India and here there is no question of an intelligent wage-earner comparing his own situation with that of his entrepreneur and competing with him for at any rate a few of the conveniences of life. Want of convenient living is not what has raised discontent against an unbearable price level. It is poverty pure and simple, it is an inability to resist the encroachments of staring privation. From this perspective it is evident Mr. Datta's enquiry into the rise of prices had at its back the acute suffering of the populace of India under pressing conditions of life that started up almost all at once. A realisation of this nature is essential if we have to take into account the consideration that the report must have been intended to serve some real purpose. Primarily the report will have to be studied from this aspect, *i.e.*, whether it has served its original purpose of bringing forward practical suggestions for the amelioration of those affected by enormous rise in prices though of course there is no doubt that any study worth the name must always airily estimate the scientific value of the material under review.

The report of Mr. Datta in the sections relative to the scope of the enquiry and collection of material certainly shows that a great deal of thought was bestowed upon the question with a view to cover as much ground as possible. It is remarkably true also that out of this pre-thought has arisen the opportunity of bringing together interesting statistics which the student of Indian Political Economy will find absolutely trustworthy and eminently useful. One point of view Mr. Datta seems to have brought too prominently to dominate his enquiries and the pre-determination he appears to have had that after all the world's prices must be responsible for a great deal of the rise of Indian prices as well has evidently narrowed down his vision and prevented him from looking always squarely into the face of Indian facts. The one instance where he has undoubtedly struck the right note has been attempted to be discredited by the Government Resolution. When we are dealing with India we have to remember that only a very little fraction of its population has yet been appreciably affected by the world forces which contact with Great Britain has brought. A large majority of the population lives

still the comparatively old simple life in rural areas and does not aspire to many conveniences of the so-called modern life of the city. If Mr. Datta had paid more attention to this majority, if the Government and he had remembered that they were called upon to enquire into the possible manner in which steps might be taken to better the conditions for the sake of the poor Indian, Mr. Datta would probably have arrived at more definite results. Though his collection of facts has been thorough and admirable, failure to appreciate the real reasons for the enquiry has led Mr. Datta into bestowing more thought on the fluctuations of wholesale prices. This tendency on his part has carried him away into vast generalisations and an ultimate decision that the rise of Indian prices is due to world factors. A scrutiny into local causes and a classification of causes arising from such scrutiny are the most important purposes of an enquiry of the sort Mr. Datta has carried on. He has attempted such a scrutiny and such a classification no doubt on a very elaborate scale but in his summing up he has always forgotten his original purpose. As we proceed we shall show how this has happened.

Round the Indian Empire

BY POLITIQUE.

A brief review of the main features of the past year is all that is possible here. **1914—A Retrospect.** Among the outstanding activities which took place during that period were the sitting of three Commissions—the Public Services Commission presided over by Lord Islington, the Indian Finance and Currency Commission, otherwise known as the Chamberlain Commission, and the Co-operative Commission. The first and the last were appointed by the Imperial Government, and as Commissions go, we cannot be said to have been particularly happy or fortunate in the various labours which they undertook and are still undertaking. The Currency Commission alone has reported hitherto, the Public Services Commission is still hatching its report and the Co-operative Commission has not concluded its task. The report of the Currency Commission is regarded as a mere *apologia* of official practices at White Hall in all their devious manipulations of Indian currency and financial arrangements. A drastic change in the currency policy and a thorough overhauling of the Secre-

tary of State's methods of adjusting Indian Finance are what would cure the monetary ills of this vast Empire, but the Chamberlain Commission has set a seal of approval over a practice, which included among its violent critics not a few tender-hearted officials. This is all the more to be regretted, as the labours of a Commission have come to be regarded in certain quarters as possessing the stamp of finality for a long time to come. They have however made a few suggestions which are undoubtedly to the good of the country and these are now under the contemplation of the Government of India and their action thereon is awaited. As regards the Public Services Commission, their labours have dragged on an interminable length. They cheated us of the expectation of an interim report in last September, and taking all things into consideration, it is early if we get their report before next July. The primary duty of the Imperial Committee on the Co-operative movement, which is touring in various parts of India, is to examine whether the movement, especially in its

higher stages and financial aspect, is progressing on approved lines and to suggest any measures of improvement which seem to be required for this purpose. We hope that the evidence collected on such matters as the constitution and working of Central and Provincial banks, the financial connection between the various parts of the Co-operative organization, the audit, inspection and management of all classes of societies, the utilisation and the manners of exhibition in the annual accounts of the reserve amounts, will lead to placing the movement on a more efficient and sound basis and be made to touch the weak spots in India's economic organisation. In the domain of education, we have the report of Sir Alfred Hopkinson, Vice-Chancellor of the Manchester University, who visited Bombay to investigate into the present condition of its University. He deplored the absence of contact between the English professors and Indian students and laid stress on the necessity for a more cordial relationship between the two. It was the wholesale ignorance of this piece of sagacity that led to the regrettable strike of the Lahore Medical Students early in the year. Another point which he emphasised was that men should be imported from England to teach only those subjects 'to which European Scholars have naturally devoted themselves at home and in which they have achieved distinction, for example, English literature, English and European History and perhaps some branches of Science.' The year also saw a breath of the "atmosphere of pure study" wafted from the Government archives, chilling like frost all ardour of scholarship except that reared in Government hot-houses. The Congress Deputation left for England on April 18th and was able to considerably influence English opinion in favour of many Indian reforms. This takes us to the crowded events of the last week of the year, in other words the Congress Week, which, it is hoped, would alter the angle of vision in looking at Indian affairs.

We are familiar with the nature of the reforms urged by the Congress year after year for the consideration of the Government. But **The Congress Reforms.** it would be wrong to think that they have become hackneyed on that account and none should be disheartened if the Government are slow in giving effect to the just demands of the Congress. In one or two instances in the past, the Government have acted on the lines laid down by the Congress; for no Government could for ever ignore a line of policy which has a considerable body of public opinion behind. The last Congress held in the city of Madras under the presidency of the Hon'ble Bhupendra Nath Basu, was more fortunate than its predecessors, in

that it had the unique distinction of receiving a visit from the Governor of the presidency. Apart from that fact, memorable in itself, the Congress met last year under unusual circumstances in the annals of the British Empire. The proceedings of that body would now have been read both by the people in India and England and the thorough loyalty with which the whole of the proceedings was characterised throughout the three days of the session, cannot fail to be appreciated in England and, indeed, throughout the Empire. Restrictions of space forbid us from touching on all the reforms urged by that body, but a few of pressing importance may here be pointed out. The despatch of the Indian Expeditionary force to the main theatre of the war has gladdened the hearts of all Indians; and in view of the strongly expressed desire of all classes and grades in India to bear arms in the service of the Crown and of the Empire, the Congress rightly urged upon the Government the necessity of reorganising and extending the present system of volunteering so as to enable Indians to enlist themselves as citizen-soldiers of the Empire. The modification of the Arms Act so as to remove the hardships involved in it, as it is at present administered, is a reform of urgent importance, as pointed out by the Congress. The Viceroy's sympathetic attitude towards the questions connected with the emigration of Indians abroad has induced hopes in the public mind as to bringing about a right understanding between the Colonies and India on this vexed question. The Viceroy has suggested a policy of reciprocity and the Congress is convinced that such a policy to be agreeable to Indians must proceed on the basis that the Government of India should possess and exercise the same power of dealing with the Colonies as they have in regard to India. The existence of many invidious distinctions between the different classes of His Majesty's subjects goes right against the grain of many Royal Proclamations, and these can be permanently removed if only India were put on an equal status with the self-governing Dominions. The Congress, therefore, appealed to the Government to redeem the pledge of provincial autonomy contained in the despatch of the 25th August, 1911, as a first step towards the recognition of India as a component part of a federated Empire in the full enjoyment of all rights belonging to that status.

There is a well-expressed expectation in all circles all over India of a happier and better future for her after the conclusion of the war. **The Angle of Vision.** There is nothing unnatural in the desire of Indians for a closer participation in the governance of their country and the splendid service it is rendering Great Britain, both by maintaining un-

equivocal loyalty and otherwise directly taking part in the hostilities, at a time when the British Empire is so sorely tested as now, invites generous sentiments favourable to Indian aspirations. We do not exactly mean that India's political destiny is being fought on the European continent; nor would it be true to say, that India had more to fear from German aggression than she had to hope for from British Liberalism. We do not also believe that the measure of India's political advancement is the measure of her loyalty. On the other hand, India's fitness to play an ampler role in the scheme of the Empire and be looked on as a sister nation by the self-governing colonies was abundantly made clear to these by her whole-hearted and active loyalty—a virtue found difficult to call forth in at least one self-governing colony in the Empire. In the early days of the war there was, a fear in the minds of some that the withdrawal of Indian troops from these shores might be followed by disastrous consequences to the internal peace of the Indian Empire. The fact was that the idea of sending an Indian Expeditionary force to fight with European nations on the European continent was deemed irreconcilable with the notions of occidental prestige towards Asiatic races. For one thing, a cold shiver ran through the breasts of Australia when the fact was definitely announced by the Viceroy. But events have falsified all these gloomy predictions which, in any case, could never come true. We have dwelt at length on these facts merely to indicate the depth of ignorance in which the colonists wallow when they approach Indian questions. But the war has come as an eye-opener and restored, in the happy phrase of Mr. Roberts, the Under-Secretary of State of India, the "angle of vision" in looking at Indian affairs. To many right-thinking colonials, it will now be hard to believe that the Indian comrades who fight side by side with their own troops occupy in their country as well over the rest of the Empire a subordinate political status and are not on that account looked on as free citizens of the British Empire. It is this anomalous position that the war is hoped to remove and no cheese-paring policy will do away with this invidious inequality. India must be made a self-governing colony under the paramountcy of Great Britain; only that is calculated to satisfy her just ambitions. She has qualified herself for that by word and deed all these long years, and she should now deserve what she has long desired.

The United Provinces Congress Committee have submitted an able representation to the Government of India, embodying its views on the position of Indians in Canada, extracts from which are published elsewhere

in this journal. We are in complete agreement with the committee in thinking that an opportunity has arrived to press for a just solution of the problem of allowing Indians the fullest freedom to establish themselves in any part of the Empire as fellow-subjects of the King-Emperor. "Colonial as well as English statesmen, pondering over the significance of the unique outburst of loyalty evoked in India by the war in the sacrifices willingly incurred to bring it to a successful issue, would, we believe, be willing to concede to her a position worthy of her dignity and thus to utilise the existing enthusiasm, which is pregnant with immense possibilities for the future, for the good of the Empire." It rests with us, therefore, at this time to urge the problem for the consideration of the Government whose head, the present Viceroy, has expressed his sympathy with the lot of Indians in the colonies, and has so generously recognised the necessity to better their condition. Without going into details, we may here examine one or two broad features of the question. The Government of India have no definite or far-seeing policy with regard to inter-imperial Indian emigration. They look upon the whole movement as the transference of mere labour from one part of the Empire to another and restrict their policy to seeing fair-play between the contracting parties to a commercial transaction. Now, this must give place to a less commercial and more liberal interpretation of the affair, and Indians who have assisted in the economic development of the colonies should be given a political status in their governance. Indians who are now resident in the colony should be made to feel that they are part and parcel of the colonies' life along with the white colonists. A second thing is that Indians should have the right of free entry into colonies the subjects of which are admitted free into India. As it is, the galling restrictions imposed on the admission of Indians into some of the colonies are, it seems to us, a confession of failure on the part of the Government of India to retaliate. Supposing the latter have the power, but only do not use it, would amount to saying that they are cheating Indians of their due right as citizens of the British Empire. "But if equality cannot be secured for Indians on the basis of equal rights, it is possible at least on the basis of common disabilities." As the U. P. Congress Committee say, "if Indians are received on a footing of inferiority in the colonies, the Government of India should impose corresponding restrictions and disabilities on colonial immigrants into this country." Enough bad blood has already been created by the toleration of such inequalities within the Empire, and it is time that they are removed once and for all.

GENERAL ARTICLES.

INDIANS IN CANADA.

THE United Provinces Congress Committee have submitted a representation to the Government of India embodying its views on the position of Indians in Canada. The following are extracts therefrom:—

The grievances of the Indians residing in Canada were placed before the Government of India by their delegates at the beginning of the current year and are otherwise well-known to it; nevertheless, it would be better to summarise the main facts before indicating the policy which should be followed in regard to Indian emigration. Indian immigration into Canada began in 1905, and in the course of a year about 6000 Indians landed on Canadian soil. Their number at present however, is about 4500. They live almost entirely in the province of British Columbia and all of them are males with the exception of three women who have been allowed to enter as an act of grace. Ninety per cent. of them are Sikhs, many of whom are retired soldiers. Their occupations are manual labour and agriculture, and by their sobriety and industry they have come to own property worth about 2½ crores in less than a decade.

They were allowed to live in peace till 1907. In 1908 Mr. Mackenzie King, Deputy Minister of Labour, was deputed to confer with the authorities in England regarding the measures that should be adopted to restrict the entry of certain classes of immigrants, "in particular British East Indians." Two reasons were given for the desire to put a stop to Indian immigration. The first was that, "accustomed as many of them are to the conditions of a tropical climate,.....their inability to readily adapt themselves to surroundings entirely different could not do other than entail.....privation and suffering." This fear the economic prosperity of the Canadian Indian has proved to be baseless. The second was a regard for the welfare of the white working man. "It was recognized too", says Mr. King in his report, "that the competition of this class of labour, though not likely to prove effective if left to itself, might none the less, were the numbers to become considerable (as conceivably could happen were self-interest on the part of individuals to be allowed to override considerations of humanity and national well-being and the importation of this class of labour under contract permitted), occasion considerable unrest among working men whose standard of comfort is of a higher order." But later on in the same report Mr. King admits that this danger is purely imaginary, as under the Indian Emigration Act indentured labour can be

sent only to such countries as are notified for that purpose by the Governor-General of India in Council, and adds, "It will, therefore, be seen, that of itself the Indian Emigration Act solves the problem, so far as it relates to the importation of contract labour from India to Canada, and this is the one class to be feared, since without some agreement to labour it is hardly to be expected that the number of immigrants will be large." As regards the free Indian settler, he cannot be accused of cheapening labour. The Indian labourer has not disorganised the labour market by lowering wages. On the contrary, he demands as high wages as his European compeer.

The opposition to the Indian settler, nevertheless, continued to grow. At first a scheme was proposed which opened to him alluring prospects in British Honduras, but which would have reduced him to the position of an indentured labourer. And when the Indians were not taken in by the scheme, two orders of the Privy Council were promulgated on the 9th May, 1910, which in theory, affected all Asiatics, but which are in reality aimed against Indians only, for the rights of the Chinese and Japanese are safeguarded by the treaties entered into with their respective governments. These orders prohibited the landing of all immigrants who reach Canada "otherwise than by Continuous Journey from the country of which they are natives or citizens, and upon through tickets purchased in that country or purchased or prepaid in Canada," and the entry of an Asiatic immigrant "unless in actual and personal possession in his or her own right of 200 dollars." Thus even if an Indian manages to purchase a through ticket, which is practically impossible as there is no direct passenger service between India and Canada, he cannot enter the colony unless he has 200 dollars on his person. As these restrictions apply not only to those who go there in search of a livelihood, but also to the wives and children of domiciled Indians, they render it impossible for the latter to send for their families from India. The intention may be gathered from the obvious object which is to force them to leave Canada, and considering that their number has fallen from 6000 to 4500 it seems that the object has been partially gained. It may be said that Canada, so far from being hostile to Indians as such, has freely used its powers to reject undesirable British immigrants and that between 1901-02 and 1912-13, 1080 Britishers were sent away as compared with 868 Indians, who were not allowed to land. But during the same period about a million men from the United Kingdom settled there, while practically speaking not a single Indian has been allowed to enter Canada since it first embarked on the policy of racial exclusion.

It is painful to compare the stringency of the laws against Indians with the consideration shown to the

Chinese and Japanese who somehow do not produce any of the evils that are supposed to flow from oriental immigration. No Indian may enter Canada, but four hundred Japanese are admitted annually on showing that they possess 50 dollars each in specie or negotiable securities, while the Chinese can gain admission in unlimited numbers on payment of a tax of 500 dollars per head. Again, after complying with the requirements of the law they can easily obtain naturalisation certificates, but, strange to say, no Indian has yet been able to do so. Further they possess the right, equally with European immigrants, of taking their wives, children and other relations with them, but in the case of Indians only three women have so far been allowed to enter and that too as an act of grace. The South African Government refused to recognise Indian marriages celebrated in accordance with the religious tenets of the contracting parties because Hinduism and Mohammedanism permit polygamy, but in Canada the Chinaman may have several wives and may live in polygamous relations with all of them without any protest on the part of the white inhabitants, while the Indian who is a "monogamist by tradition" is not permitted to ask his wife and children to come near him. The result is that the Japanese and Chinese, who are the subjects of a foreign Government, are admitted on easy terms, while Indians who own allegiance to the same King-Emperor are, in practice, entirely excluded. It is a cruel irony of fate that British citizenship should be a disqualification in Canada.

A deputation waited on the Minister of the Interior on behalf of the Indians in 1911 to bring to his notice the serious disabilities under which they laboured. The Minister promised that their representation regarding the admission of their wives "shall be immediately attended to, and the other parts also settled in a just and straightforward manner." But so far nothing has been done to redeem this pledge, nor is there any sign of any action in the direction promised being taken in the near future.

Having proved unsuccessful in securing an amelioration of the condition of their brethren in Canada by their own unaided efforts, Indians naturally turn to the Government of their country for help at this juncture.

There is a feeling among Indians that the Colonies have been influenced in their conduct towards Indians by the idea that the Government of India, being subordinate to the Government of England, has no power to protect the interests of Indians and to obtain for them a recognition of their just rights as fellow-citizens of the common Empire. India is a dependency whose affairs must be managed in accordance with the wishes of Great Britain, and, until lately the Indian public was ignorant of the humiliations Indians were subjected to outside their country. The Government of India

was therefore unable to secure a proper hearing for its representations. The Colonies, on the other hand, are self-governing units with a strong and well-developed public opinion behind them, and consequently with the freedom to enact such laws as that public opinion demands and the power to make their voice effectively heard in the mother country. And conscious of this advantage and the great influence they wield thereby, in the counsels of the Empire, they have until very recently, steadfastly ignored the wishes and sentiments of the Government of India. But Indian public opinion has in the meantime been growing, and, happily for India, her noble Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, has read the signs of the times aright and recognized the necessity of pressing for a just solution.

The baleful results of the short-sighted policy pursued by the Colonies are not confined to the Empire but extend far beyond its limits. Encouraged by the attitude of the colonies, other countries, for instance, Portuguese East Africa and the United States of America, are refusing admission to Indians and in some cases imposing humiliating restrictions on them. Formerly England might have protested against such legislation, but, having passively permitted racial discrimination in her own colonies, she cannot now object to it in other countries. Till a few years back Indians were the outcasts of the Empire, to-day they are the outcasts of the world.

Immediate relief can and should be given to the Canadian Indians by permitting their wives and children to join them, but the only true and just solution of the larger question involved would be to allow that all fellow-subjects who own allegiance to the King-Emperor should have the fullest freedom to establish themselves in any part of the Empire. This right is at present enjoyed by European subjects alone, and all that is necessary is that it should be extended to Indians also.

Lord Hardinge, while personally sympathising with this view, saw no chance of its being accepted by the Colonists. But, in view of the altered circumstances in which we find ourselves now, my committee ventures to hope that such a proposal will meet with a better reception at the hands of the Colonies. Indian and Colonial troops are now engaged in fighting a common enemy in defence of a common cause, and comradeship on the battle-field and the sense of dangers shared together will, it is hoped, inspire the Colonies with a higher feeling and a juster appreciation of the qualities of their fellow-subjects. Colonial as well as English statesmen pondering over the significance of the unique outburst, of loyalty evoked in India by the war and the sacrifices willingly incurred to bring it to a successful issue, would, we believe, be willing to concede to her a position worthy of her dignity and thus to utilize the existing enthusiasm,

which is pregnant with immense possibilities for the future, for the good of the Empire. But if equality cannot be secured for Indians on the basis of equal rights, it is possible at least on the basis of common disabilities. If Indians are received on a footing of inferiority in the Colonies the Government of India should impose corresponding restrictions and disabilities on Colonial immigrants into this country. They should, for instance, be subjected to the same tests as Indian immigrants into the colonies, and declared ineligible for employment in the public services or in private concerns, and debarred from owning land in India. There are several other ways of securing the object in view, which is to vindicate the self-respect of India, and the Government of India should not hesitate to use any or all of the means to the desired end.

It is no pleasure to my committee to propose the curtailment of the freedom of any citizen of the British Empire, but it is reluctantly driven to that alternative as a result of past experience. It is not asking for the reciprocal imposition of disabilities on sentimental grounds only. Such a course will undoubtedly give legitimate satisfaction to Indian sentiment, but, above all other things, it will dispel the false and mischievous notion that the Government of India is powerless to protect the interests of the inhabitants of this country. It will have a great moral effect within and without the Empire, and will in its results prove a powerful lever in raising the ideal of Imperial Citizenship. It will allay discontent in India and can be a lasting solution of the vexed question of Indian emigration. And it is in the full confidence that it will serve the best interests of the Empire that my committee would recommend the adoption of such a course by the Government of India.

THE COLONIAL-BORN INDIAN.

THE SETTLEMENT AND HIS FUTURE.

By A. CHRISTOPHER.

THE writer purposes to view "the settlement" born of the Passive Resistance Movement initiated by that great Indian leader Mr. Gandhi, and brought to a head by the unparalleled event in the life of the Indian Community in South Africa, huge strike demonstration by which assumed the form of a thousands of Indian labourers and others—(these have now become matters of history)—and, incidentally, to consider an aspect or two of the future of the Colonial-born Indian. It is but fair to preface the introduction with the qualification that whilst Mr. Gandhi has declared "the settlement" to constitute the Magna Charta of the Indians in South Africa, he has been

careful to add that it would give the Indians a breathing space of time, thereby leaving it to be inferred that, as the Magna Charta signed by King John at Runnymede was but the beginning of what to-day are the liberties, privileges, and responsibilities of the Briton, so from the endeavours of the Indian Community following upon "the settlement," yept the Magna Charta of South African Indians by Mr. Gandhi, must come the eventual complete recognition of the Indian in the life of the State here. But to speak of the redress in a fuller or lesser measure of Indian grievances as a settlement of the Indian Question is a misnomer, and can but be true in a restricted sense. The abolition of that iniquitous tax of £3 on ex-indentured Indian immigrants is a settlement, and its effect especially upon the future Indian population will be tremendous and for the good. The legislation upon the marriage question is as much as can be reasonably expected in a country like South Africa, particularly when it is remembered that some provision has been made for the safeguarding of plural wives where such already exist. The removal of the racial bar is a matter of paramount importance to the future of Indians. The just administration of the laws of the country has been promised. Regulations have been framed under the Indians' Relief Act, but so short a time has elapsed since these things have happened that it would be speculative to express dogmatic views upon the details of "the settlement." But the restoration of the right of South African-born Indians to enter the Cape Colony is in a sense a settlement, though it carries with it the reservation, that in the event of that Province being "flooded" with Indians born in the other Provinces, that that right may be administratively withdrawn. Whether such a reservation was expressed or not, it is in the power of the Legislature to do whatsoever it wills, and where, as in human affairs, there is ever change, there can be no finality, though the settlement of a question at the time it is effected and so long as no developments take place therein, may be viewed as final. This observation on the changes to which man is ever subject is especially applicable to the Colonial-born Indian, who, it has been admitted from the statesman, the Public Commission economist, to the veriest scribbler in the dailies of the country, is a problem in himself, and the solution of this problem will be the end of what is known locally as the Indian Question. The Hon. Mr. Gokhale, when here, advised Colonial-born Indians to seek their own salvation, as to them this land was their home, however much they might look to India as their motherland. Patriotic they might be, and there can be no doubt that they are, but immediately they were concerned with the affairs of South Africa, and their efforts should be directed to their acceptance in its polity; but this

phase of the question is so vast that it permits not a cursory discussion here. Mr. Gandhi, on the eve of his departure from South Africa, was emphatic in his advice that, as the salvation of the Indian Community was in the hands of the Colonial-born Indians, if they who had come to this country were to cut themselves away from them, they would surely be driving a nail into their coffin. These expressions are worthy of remark. They suggest that with the stoppage of Indian immigration—free, restricted or conditional—and with the elimination of the India-born Indian by the hand of death or by return to India, gradually, in the course of a number of years, the entire character of the future Indian population here would be South African. To the South African-born Indian, then, must they who would solve the Indian Question turn, and in him they will find material worthy of a part in the structure of South Africa. He is in a state of transition from the East to the West, and, if it were possible that the virtues of the Occident and the Orient could be blended in him, then the prediction of Kipling, that the East and the West will never meet, will have been falsified. And there is hope for the Colonial-born Indian, given the opportunities of trade, calling, occupation and freedom of locomotion, with facilities for academic, technical, agricultural, and industrial education, that he will hold his own; but his condition will be cribbed, cabined and confined, so long as the proverbial barriers remain in the country with a Union which cannot for ever keep the Indians born in South Africa from realising their oneness of interests and aspirations in life; and this must happen sooner than most people would expect, as the Colonial-born Indian must, by the force of his circumstances and environment, become more and more anglicised. If, though the Jew, than whom none is more tenacious of the language, religion, customs, traditions and history of his nation, be anglicised and yet remain a Jew, it is probable that the Indian may become anglicised and yet be not denationalised. Evidences of this are not wanting, for, with the absorption of much that is English, such as, for instance, certain sports, there goes along with these their national games, and this process is noticeable in almost everything connected with them. But at the same time, the attractions of the West appear to be gaining in strength, and the risk of the Colonial-born Indian eventually in the course of generations losing his power to withstand them even partially is very great indeed. The position, however, is not hopeless, if the communication that existed between India and South Africa by the immigration and emigration of Indians is restored, in any case for the present, by the organisation of a means by which Colonial-born Indian boys and girls may spend some years of their life in India,

learning as much as is possible during those years of something of India, its wealth of intellectual and spiritual knowledge, its greatness and its resources, past and present, and, if he or she dare, peep into its future.

And this leads one to consider the means by which the Colonial-born Indian, irrespective of sex—for the education of the girls, the mothers of the nation, is as important as that for the boys—may live and study in India, and the means that suggest themselves are scholarships tenable in India, enabling the student to return from thence the better qualified to earn, and learned in the lore of India to serve his community in a distant land and be patriotic to the country of his fathers. Education doled out to the Colonial-born Indian leaves much to be desired. Mr. Gandhi has already indicated his willingness to assist in the education of Colonial-born Indians in India and may not the colonial born-Indian ask the nation-builders of India: Have we not a place in the structure of the national edifice you contemplate, and will you not assist us, so that we may assist you in your patriotic work?—*Indian Opinion, Golden Number.*

THE CHOIR DANCE OF RACES.

AMERICA IN THE MAKING.

AMERICA may be aptly called the immigrants' Land of Promise. On account of that very reason, it propounds a most interesting riddle to the student of sociology in race culture. The New World is a boiling cauldron, fed by the fire of Hope and its contents are extracted from the whole European continent. What is to be the resultant type of humanity that is to survive this jostling of races in America? Mr. Stephen Graham, that shrewd observer of national characteristics, furnishes this answer in his recently published book, "With Poor Immigrants to America."

Here is the fascinating pen picture of the struggle as depicted by Stephen Graham:—

The great heterogeneous mass of peoples wants to become one nation. There is a power which works through the peoples for that end. The people are ready to mingle; they are already mingling; they are going to and fro and in twos and threes, and every step and every transaction is something essential in the making of the coming homogeneous nation.

It is a choir dance, a dance of molecules or atoms, if you will, but a dance of human atoms, and one that yields a mystic music that can be heard by the poet's ear. Leading the peoples in the involutions and evolutions of the choir dance is a masked figure, not itself one of the people. What is that figure? Not trade, I think, though it helps; not common interest,

though it is perhaps a rule of the dance; not even the American idea. The masked figure that leads is a fate; it is an instinct of Destiny.

The dance is being played out on a vast stage with much scenery—the three-thousand-mile stretch of America, East to West: the Industrial East, with its hills; the corn plains and forests of the middle West; the wild West; the luxuriant and wonderful South.

There are waiting throngs cooped up in cities and at temporary standing-places.

The welter of Negroes and Spaniards and half-castes in the South, in the black pale; the Swedes and Norwegians and Finns in the middle West; the million Jews in New York; the millions of them elsewhere, saying, as Mary Antin, that America and not Judea is the Promised Land, the place where the tribes will be gathered together again and form a nation; the great Anglo-Saxon stock of America, who would feel themselves to be the leaven, the ruling principle in the choir dance; the Dutch-Americans of Pennsylvania; the Irish, of whom there tend to be more in America than in Ireland; the Slovaks and Ruthinians on the Pennsylvanian collieries; the Italian gangs on the road and the Italian quarters of a thousand towns; the Poles, of whom in New York alone there are more than in any city in Poland; the enormous number of Germans living on the land; the hundred thousand Russian working men in Pennsylvania alone; the Molokan Russians in California, and the Russian gold-washers; the Red Indians on the Reservations; the composite gangs of all nations in the world going up and down the country doing jobs.

The Jews bring music, mathematical instinct, a sense of justice, industry, commercial organisation and commercial tyranny, national wealth, material prosperity, restlessness.

The English bring ignorance, pluck, and honour; the Scottish bring their brains and their morals; the Irish bring generosity, cleverness, laziness, hatred of Jews and of meanness.

The Germans bring the idea of growth and development, evolution, and with it their own music. They also bring an instinct for efficiency and shining armour.

The negro brings sensual music and dancing, a taste for barbaric splendour, the gentleness of little children, and the wildness of the beasts of the forest at night; and he brings imitateness, subserviency, a taste for slavery.

The Red Indians bring the remembrance of the Virgin Continent—litheness of limb, subtler ear and nose and eyes for the things of the earth.

The Italians bring their emotionalism and excitability, their songs, their passion, their fighting spirit.

The Little Russians, Slovaks, Poles, Great Russians bring patience to endure suffering, but withal a spirit of anarchism which prompts them to do astonishing things without apparent cause, mystical piety, charity, much sin, much intemperance, much love and human tenderness. They bring also the Tartar commercial spirit, and a zest for haggling over prices and for making deals.

The French bring economy, vivacity, journalistic genius.

But what do they not bring, all these peoples? There are marvellous gifts closed in all of them, mysterious potentialities that it were folly to attempt to name.

Each race has its special function, its organic suitability and psychic value. There are male races like the Jews; female races like the Germans. There are races that bring spirit, races that bring body.

German goes down the middle with English; Swedish with Irish; Russian with Pole; Jew with each and all. It is not always with the negro that the negro dances, not always with the Italian that the Italian is partnered, nor Hungarian with Hungarian, nor Lithuanian with Lithuanian. Secretively, unexpectedly, on unanticipated impulses, strangers obey the magic wand and rhythmical gestures of the Great Conductor of the dance, and become one with another in the evolution of America. The dance has been open some time, but it is only now becoming general. The waiting throngs on all sides are just beginning to break up and go mingling up and down and in and out, carrying messages, making sacrifices, performing rites. The victims are blindfolded; the conquerors have the light of destiny on their brows.

A spectacle for the gods! In the Old World the heavenly powers have looked down more or less on the antagonism of the races, war and enmity and all that results from great battles, the rout of armies, the sacking of cities, the sinking of ships.....in the New World the peoples are joined in co-operation and friendship, working out in peace and trade the synthesis of a new race.

It is like a kaleidoscope, and at each successive revolution the peoples change their aspects and their pattern; but there is no reverting to the original pattern, as in the kaleidoscope. The constituents of the pattern are divining what the next pattern will be, and it is always a new pattern, something nearer to the great coming unity, the new American nation. In no one particular bosom is the destiny of America; one man by himself means nothing there. It is a whole people that is living or will live.

And as it is with men so it is with the rites they perform. There are myriads of rites in the movement

of the dance, but not one of them is charged with absolute significance. Thus in the mazes of evolution there stands impregnable, as it would seem, the historic open Bible of America. Around it, marking time, is a massed host of Americans, now reinforced by newcomers, now diminished by secessions, swayed to this way and to that by streams of Catholics, streams of Hebrews, streams of pleasure-lovers, but as yet holding its own, and claiming in sonorous choruses that the Bible shall be the heaven of the New America.

At another point of vantage on the stage you may see the Jews proclaiming by vote that America is no longer a Christian country, and calling the intellectuals and pleasure-wanters to support, if not Judaism, at least rationalism and "intelligent" materialism.

At another point you see the menace of the half-civilised negro, the spectacle of the rapid multiplication of a people over whom there is no control, and in whose nature lies, apparently, an enormous physical power to degrade the type of the whites.

There is the phenomenon of the wholesale slaughter and sacrifice of blindfolded foreigners exploited in industrial cities; forests of men used up as the forests of wood are worn away into daily newspapers and rubbish.

You see the booths where dancers make voluntary abdication of European nationality and take the oaths of American citizenship.

You see the prizes for which, in the dance, whole crowds seem to be straining and yearning and even struggling, the prize of wealth, of even a little wealth, of a name printed in a newspaper, of a name printed in all newspapers, the prize of fame of political position, of premiership. You see the wild political campaigns.

You see the places where the ambitious laze by the way, the baseball races where men are shouting themselves and others mad for an empty game, the halls of rag-time and trotting. You see in thousands of instances actions which seem to disgrace the name of America and to augur ill for her future,—women sold into evil, negroes burned at the stake, heinous crimes committed against children. But the destiny of the great choric dance cannot be thwarted by any of these things. Death is useful to life, darkness to brightness, sin to virtue—useful in a way which it is not necessary for the individual to penetrate. Each man fulfils his destiny, guides others according to his light, acts according to his inclination, temptation, and conscience. The whole nation takes care of itself.

Wherever I went in the States I was asked by journalists to say what I thought the resultant type of American was going to be. America seemed feverishly anxious to get an answer to that question. No one can answer it, but it is exciting to speculate.

"Are you aware that in a few years we shall come to such a pass that it will be a stand-up fight, Americans *versus* Jews?" said one man to me. "The influence of the other races goes for nothing besides the influences of the Jews. The Jews are buying up all the real estate, they make any sacrifice for education, they get the better of Christians nine times out of ten. A Jewish pedlar comes past this door one day, and I think, 'Poor wretch!' Next year he comes past in a buggy! next year I find he owns a big general store in the town; next year he owns a department store, and employs a thousand hands. He is too much for us."

What is to be the emerging American? At New York I was inclined to answer, "A sort of English-speaking Russian Jew who believes in dollars and sensual pleasures before all else, who, however, reads advanced literature, and whilst he is poor is an anarchist, and when he is rich is more tyrannous than the Tsar—more tyrannous, but never illegally so." But when I escaped into the country I found that New York was not America, but only a great hostelry on the threshold of that country. I learned the great control power of the Anglo-Saxon and Dutch Americans, the subtle influence of the Russian people, who after all not only dominate the Jews in Russia, but give them many traits of the Russian national character, making out of a materialist something which is almost a sentimentalist. There are many Jews in Russia who have become de-judaised by the Russians, and indeed the Christian Jew has become part of the very fabric of that bureaucracy which the poor persecuted mob of Hebrews hate and fear. The Russians are a strong influence in the development of the American. And the Germans and Norwegians and Swedes and Danes, who swiftly change to a species of American hardly distinguishable from the old Anglo-Saxon and Dutch type? They cannot go for nothing; they are not simply raw material, but are moulders and fashioners as well. The coming American will be a very recognisable relation of the Teutonic peoples. But he will, nevertheless, be clearly and decidedly different from any one race on the Continent.—*With apologies to Messrs. Macmillan & Co.*

BRITISH COLUMBIA.

We abstract the following from an address given by Mr. W. E. Scott, Deputy Minister of Agriculture, British Columbia, before the Royal Colonial Institute and published in its Journal, describing the resources and opportunities offered by British Columbia which contains nearly 5000 Indian immigrants:—

When Mr. Scott first saw Vancouver, twenty-three years ago, it had a population of 20,000. To-day it was 175,000. The city was still growing, and he had not the slightest doubt in his own mind that this Pacific port of the Dominion would rival San Francisco in size. He had been in many parts of the world, including Australia, New Zealand, and the United States, and nowhere had he seen a more beautiful city than Victoria, the capital of British Columbia. Prince Rupert he first saw six years ago, and he had no hesitation in saying that it was destined to become a formidable rival to Vancouver, since it was the terminus of the Grand Trunk Railway. It was anticipated that through trains would be running from Montreal to Prince Rupert by November next year, thus providing another link between the Atlantic and the Pacific. British Columbia is 700 miles long by 400 miles wide, and covers an area of 252,000,000 acres. The value of its production in 1912 was \$102,000,000, including minerals \$32,600,000, fisheries \$20,000,000, timber \$28,000,000 (of which pulp figured for \$3,250,000), and agriculture \$20,400,000. Its population was 400,000, and the *per capita* production \$255. As executive head of the Department of Agriculture he desired to lay stress on the importance of selection. There was plenty of land in the Province not good for farming. No one would choose the Peace River country for fruit culture, and conversely no one would choose high-priced lands contiguous to the cities for extensive stock-ranching or grain-growing. Settlement to any material extent could not precede but must follow railway construction. The opening of the Panama Canal would throw open the European markets to their produce.

Mr. Scott threw out several suggestions to those contemplating investment or engaging in agricultural pursuits in British Columbia. "Don't put your money into anything without a careful investigation of its merits. Don't expect 100 per cent. profit in a short time without risk. Don't buy agricultural lands without first seeing them and satisfying yourself that they are as represented; if impossible to see the land yourself, secure the services of some one well qualified to judge, and then instruct him to examine the lands and report on them for you. Don't expect to get the best results from farming or fruit-growing if you have no knowledge of the business. Don't accept all the statements you hear as to the profits to be made out of either. Don't rush in and buy land as soon as you arrive in the Province—take time to look round. Don't think that money can be made out of farming without hard work. Don't attempt to farm more land than your capital will allow; and don't put all your capital into land." After these admonitions Mr. Scott went on to point out that there was a fine opportunity in British Columbia for those who had the capacity for work, and the brains to carry

on agriculture on scientific lines. British Columbia was no place for the idle but for men with a natural liking for a country life, and possessed of a sufficient income, who wished to leave the stress and turmoil of our cities and live a peaceful life in a matchless climate. Mechanics, artisans, and clerks were not wanted, and would find it extremely difficult at present to get employment.

In conclusion Mr. Scott said: "What we want is to see our great country developed by British muscle, British brains, and British capital. The American is quick to see opportunities, and a very large amount of capital from America is invested in our timber, minerals and fisheries. Nothing can keep us back. We are at the gateway of what is destined to become the greatest highway of the world. Up-to-date luxurious vessels plough the waters of the blue Pacific to China, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. Victoria and Prince Rupert are increasing by leaps and bounds, and each of these cities is destined in the near future to become a very important manufacturing, shipping, and distributing centre. The completion of that gigantic undertaking, the Panama Canal, will open to us the European markets for our timber, fisheries, products, fruits, &c. Our wealth of natural resources—with the intelligent supervision and protection it is now receiving from our Government—is inexhaustible. The finest big-game shooting in the world can be secured in British Columbia; in fact our Province, with its seas, rivers, and lakes swarming with fish, has well been called the 'Sportsman's Paradise.' We in the West are called optimists, and we have reason for our optimism and faith in our province. Optimism has built up Western Canada, and optimism will make of British Columbia what it is destined to become—the brightest jewel in the Crown of Empire."

AS AN AMERICAN SEES A TURBAND HINDU.

By HARI SINGH CHIMA, M.A., B.Sc.,
(CORNELL, ITHACA, N. Y.)

One feature of American life which impressed me more than another is the desire on the part of an average Yankee to greet foreigners with the sincere motive of increasing his information. I was taking the air on the campus of the Oregon State Agricultural College when I was accosted by a man who introduced himself to me by saying.

"Well, I guess you have travelled far."

"I nodded assent that he had 'guessed' correctly.

"If you don't mind," said he, "I would like to have you sit down under the shade of this apple tree and let me know something about your country."

We took our seats on the grass, and the make-friend-quick American put a volley of questions which I answered as quickly as they were asked, my companion looking at his fobbed watch half a dozen times in the course of the conversation. After I had gone through this ordeal my friend said.

"Well, I wish you a happy stay in this country. I am very glad to have met you. I have learned quite a little about your people. Good-bye!"

On another occasion on my way back from college I was greeted by one of half a dozen millhands, each of whom was carrying a rain coat and lunch box on his back with the words.

"Hello, mister, I would like to trade hats with you."

This Indian head-gear looks as funny as a camel to an American who has never been out of his country, a country which he styles "greatest" and invariably speaks of in the superlative degree; and I think, not "Guess," that for certain things he can justly use the superlative degree. The measure of astonishment which a turban evokes may be judged from the following personal experience which I had the privilege of having in that country where every man from the President down to the street-sweeper is "Misters."

I was passing in front of the Cascadilla Palace, a dormitory in Cornell University when I was accosted rather abruptly by a man, who, to judge by his dress, was a "hobe" (an idle wanderer).

"Hello, mister, what is the matter with your head? Does it hurt?" was his greeting.

One afternoon I was going to the University when a "kid" (a small boy), after watching me for a time, shouted that he had seen me "down town." He addressed me thus:—

"You have got a funny hat, haven't you? It is a sort of table cloth doubled up I saw you last exuding beating the band "down town."

I humored him up and passed on. The youngster, "I guess," was thinking of seeing studen at a mask dance when the dancers put on imitation turbans and false beards, or a parade,—a procession in which young Americans are seen in the height of spirit making noise, to beat the band" to use expressive American.

I was taking post graduate work in Cornell University at Ithaca, New York, where it snows for a large part of six months in winter and the weather becomes biting cold. There is a lot of skating, tobogganing, sliding, slipping and some falling, too. Every once in a while you hear some "short horn" (students taking a short course in agriculture) exclaiming, "God d.....n, this is the sixth time I have fallen this morning," when he is doing stunts on the slippery steps of a cafe.

I used to pass in front of a lodging house, and after I had taken up my loding there I was told by the

daughters of the land-lady that I was not so old as I appeared to be, and that when I had passed by they had said to their mother.

"It is alright for boys and young nien to go to College, but we don't see why this man should, in his old age, bother about struggling to make his way though snow a foot deep four times a day in order to get an education!" I was only twenty-four at the time.

While crossing the Continent I halted at Niagara Falls, as every traveller makes it a point to see the grand spectacle of the enormous rapids of the Niagara River dropping over a precipice of 160 feet. After automobiling around to see the different points of interest at the falls I crossed the river by tram and got up on the roof of the Canadian office which visitors generally use as an observation point in order to have a better view of the Falls. No sooner had I climbed to the top than I saw sitting there a woman who was probably resting after running up the steps which seemed to have proved too much for her dimensions as she was unusually heavy. My whiskered face and large turban scared her out of her wits and she exclaimed.

"What are you anyway?"

By this time I had been in America for a couple of years and I never minded being questioned, rather welcomed exchanging views in fact, for it is of mutual benefit. But this unmannerly question I resented, although I knew it came from an illiterate woman who meant no rudeness. I hesitatingly said.

"Well, I am a human being." I beg your pardon. I did not mean that; I mean, what country do you belong to?" she replied.

"I quite understand you now; it is becoming intelligible," I answered. "I come from India; I am a Hindoo."

"O, that India in the West Indies," she said with a look of satisfaction in her face.

"You have guessed right," I remarked and turned my face to the Horse Shoe Falls which, perhaps, was more profitable than so help the lady in dislocating India out of the West Indies. I am sure she must have gone home with the gratification of having her knowledge of ethnology and geography greatly enhanced.

There is nothing unusual in the curiosity aroused by the sight of Oriental dress. This is exactly the way in which any strange person in any strange land is regarded. It is caused by our sticking to some national characteristics and yet, leaving aside the attention attracted by it, which is only a trifling matter, these external indications of race serve a good purpose for they are the only means of commanding respect from many Americans. If they are not worn there is great danger that a dark coloured Hindoo with American

hat and clean shaven face may be taken for a Mullatto or even a Negro. A large number of Americans do not discriminate among persons of dark colour but thoughtlessly class all as "Negroes," and submit them to the insults and indignities of which the poor African, especially, in the Southern States, is the victim and which forms the darkest stain on the democracy and religion of America. It is a vast field for work for the religiously inclined Americans to stir things up on a larger scale along these lines in their country and to elevate the poor Negro from his degraded condition.—*The Sikh Review.*

SUICIDE AND IMMORALITY AMONG INDENTURED INDIANS IN THE CROWN COLONIES.

The following paragraphs are reproduced from the Report submitted to the Government of India by Messrs. Macneill and Chimman Lal who were appointed to enquire into the condition of indentured and ex-indentured Indians and their descendants in the British Crown Colonies of Trinidad, Guiana, Jamaica and Fiji, and in Dutch Guiana which adjoins the British colony of that name.

In Trinidad particulars of suicides among the indentured are not given either in the Protector's annual report or in the separate annual return of mortality on estates. Apparently no report regarding the occurrence of a suicide is received by the Protector, and the causes assigned for these suicides are not recorded in his office. In the annual report on vital statistics suicides among Indians are included in the general figures. The Registrar General was, however, good enough to have the original records searched for ten years and communicated the number of suicides amongst Indians. Since our return to India information regarding suicides amongst the indentured has been supplied. The mean Indian population was 1,06,000 during the decade, and the mean indentured population 10,700. The suicide rate for the total Indian population was 184 per million and for the indentured 400 per million.

BRITISH GUIANA.

In British Guiana the total number of suicides in ten years among the indentured was 12. In four of the cases amongst indentured immigrants the motive seems to have been domestic trouble, and in two of these cases jealousy. In other cases ordinary quarrels, depression owing to illness, or unknown motives were assigned. During the period the indentured population varied from 15,000 to 9,500. Twelve cases occurred in ten years amongst a mean population of upwards of 12,000,

giving an average annual rate per million of 100. Of the twelve cases five occurred in a single year. During the last five years the rate was lower than in the provinces from which the labourers emigrated, but the whole population concerned was of course very small. Amongst the unindentured, with a mean population of 1,08,000, there were 56 cases in ten years, giving an annual rate of nearly 52 per million.

JAMAICA.

In Jamaica the number of suicides amongst the indentured labourers in the last ten years was 10. The rate is 896 per million throughout the ten years. In two of the cases the motive assigned was jealousy and in one case grief for a wife's death. Depression owing to ill-health, quarrels with other labourers, and unknown motives were assigned in other cases. As the Government of India is concerned to know how far the suicides are the consequence of the indentured system it seems hazardous to draw confident conclusion in this case from calculations of rates. The population is very small and in four out of the last six years no suicides occurred. For these six years the rate per million is 215. The suicides amongst the unindentured, as distinguished from the rest of the population, are nowhere separately recorded.

DUTCH GUIANA.

The number of suicides amongst the indentured and unindentured Indians in Dutch Guiana for ten years was 4 and 9 respectively. In one of these cases the motive assigned was domestic trouble, and in another jealousy. In the majority of the remainder quarrels with friends or neighbours were found to be immediate causes. In two cases depression owing to illness was assigned. Here again the figures are small. The average rates per million are for indentured 91 and for unindentured 49. While it may be prudent to abstain from positive conclusions passed on results recorded amongst a few thousand persons the absence of suicides for several years in succession amongst indentured immigrants in British Guiana and Dutch Guiana will at least suggest doubts as to the consequential connection between the indentured system and the suicide rate.

FII.

The suicides in Fiji during each of the last ten years were 109 among indentured and 27 among the free Indians. We were informed that the Madras labourers were much more prone to commit suicide than other Indians. In 1911 special instructions were on this account issued to employers to treat these immigrants with special care particularly during the first few months after their arrival. Cases arising out of domestic quarrels and jealousy were the largest class, next

to these coming cases in which the deceased had been accused of a serious crime, and cases in which chronic ill-health had produced despondency. In two cases the deceased had been struck by a Sirdar a short time previously. In many cases no probable motive was ascertainable. The rate amongst free Indians is high and amongst indentured Indians very high in this colony. Yet for some years the conditions under which the indentured people work have compared favourably with those in other colonies. Prosecutions have been fewer, and sentences of imprisonment much fewer. The health conditions are unusually good owing to the absence of malarial fever and to good sanitary and medical arrangements. Wages are higher than in any other colony and the standard of task is lower. A circumstance peculiar to the colony is that the sale of alcoholic liquor to Indians is forbidden. Doubtless occasional evasions of the prohibition occur but broadly speaking alcoholic liquor in any form is unobtainable. The colony is being newly opened up and comparatively large communities of Indians such as are found all over West Indian colonies do not exist. Immigrants find themselves in small groups in a strange and very sparsely populated country. Labourers on many estates cannot during holidays or week-ends exchange the monotony of their daily lives for the social attractions of an Indian town or village in the vicinity. The few Fijian villages could have no attraction for Indians, who regard their amiable and interesting but rather primitive inhabitants as 'junglies.'

SUICIDE RATES IN FIJI AND INDIA.

The rate amongst indentured was 926 per million of adult population in the last five years, and among other Indians 147 per million. In comparing this high rate with rates recorded in India or elsewhere some allowances must be made. In the first place there is in the colony no tendency to minimise the number of cases. The record may even be increased by the inclusion of cases which would be classed elsewhere as doubtful. The Immigration Department has happily allowed no bias to affect the result of inquiries and is concerned mainly with the possibility of any ill-treatment or neglect being responsible for the fatality. In his annual report for 1911, the Hon'ble Mr. Coates, the Agent General for Immigration, referring to the suicides recorded states:—" * * * and in five other cases immigrants were found dead after a lapse of time under circumstances which permitted of the theory of suicide but without sufficient evidence of the cause." There is no tendency to give undue weight to remote possibilities or to base verdicts on considerations disconnected with the conduct and motives of the deceased. Again, suicide rates for a country or province, especially where the majority

of the people are engaged in ordinary agricultural pursuits, differ from rates in centres to which people immigrate for work under what are to them abnormal, social and economic conditions. The rate for a population normally constituted as regards the distribution over age-periods differs from that of a population with an abnormal age-distribution. We endeavoured to obtain figures for purposes of comparison after our return to India. The statement printed as Appendix 46 was obtained from the Commerce and Industry Department records. It shows that in the Bombay Presidency as a whole the average rate is 28.8 per million while that of the United Provinces whence most emigrants are drawn, is 68, and that of Madras, the other chief source of supply to Fiji, is 45. The only source from which we could obtain carefully compiled statistics was Bombay City, where suicides have been tabulated analytically by the Bombay Anthropological Society. In the years 1901-06, during which the suicide rate was lower than in the previous quinquennium the general rate averaged 75 per million, that is nearly three times the rate for the whole Presidency. Further, if the rate for the age-period '20-30' is extracted the rate per million was 107 taking the average population of this age at 2,80,008, which is probably in excess of the actual. This rate is approximately four times higher than the Presidency rate. On estates more than three-fourths of the immigrants are between 20 and 30 years of age. We have no data as regards suicide rates for varying age-periods, or in centres attracting industrial immigrants in the provinces of India from which labourers emigrate to the colonies.

CONDITIONS IN FIJI CONDUCIVE TO SUICIDE.

But when all allowances are made the suicide rate in Fiji is very high and it is impossible not to conclude that the conditions under which indentured labourers live conduce to a high suicide rate. Whether this consequence results solely or mainly from the fact that the labourers are under indenture must be left to the judgment of the individual. If the same labourers emigrated to a distant and sparsely populated country but lived and worked as they liked the suicide rate might be lower, but the conclusion can only be speculative. The period of indenture not only comprise the dangerous age-period of emigrants but is also the period immediately following emigration when home sickness is experienced by the great majority. After his indenture has expired the immigrant is free to work where and when he likes. He is also a trained worker, acclimatised and accustomed to the conditions of the country, and he has passed the most dangerous age-period. The Fiji estates have neither Indian settlers within their border nor in most cases, Indian communities in the immediate vicinity. The life on estates would be much

more cheerful if more land on and near estates was occupied by Indians. The largest employer of indentured labour, the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, is now endeavoring to establish settlements on what may be called a wholesale plan and we think it highly probable that the creation of a number of compact centres of Indian social life will react markedly on the suicide rate. We have recommended more active organisation of settlements by the Government of the colony. The experience of other colonies will at least suggest caution in concluding that the condition of being indentured in itself influences the suicide rate amongst immigrants. The fact that there are in Fiji only 48 adult females to every 100 males may possibly have some effect, but this is not noticeable in the case of Surinam. We have elsewhere made recommendations for accelerating the reduction of the discrepancy between the sexes. From the record of inquiries it appears that in 15 out of 190 cases sexual jealousy was recognised as responsible, assuming all domestic quarrels to originate in this way. Even if these cases are eliminated a high rate remains to be explained. If, as we gathered, a lower standard of physical fitness was formerly accepted in emigrants from Madras the fact would much more seriously influence the suicide rate. Despondency owing to ill-health was one of the motives frequently assigned. The reasons for the high rate in Fiji might more readily be deduced if the cases were tabulated with reference to localities, age-periods, duration of indentured service, caste and province (and preferably districts of origin. The motives so far as they are ascertained with reasonable probability, should also be classified.

IMMORALITY AMONG THE INDENTURED POPULATION.

As regards immorality on estates we have, in dealing with the question of indentured women, stated that the majority of women are not married to the men with whom they cohabit on estates. Of these unmarried women a few live as prostitutes, whether nominally under the protection of a man or not. The majority remain with the man with whom they form an irregular union. They are, however, exposed to a good deal of temptation as there are on all estates a number of young unmarried men with much more money than is needed for their personal wants. A few women change their protectors and out of these desertions trouble not infrequently arises. In each colony a few cases of homicide or grievous hurt annually result from quarrels about women. Probably the best guarantee against infidelity to regular or irregular unions is the birth of children. We have in another paragraph made recommendations which will both minimise the risk of restricting births and render the rearing of children a burden on the estate or the colony

as well as on the indentured parent. There is no doubt the morality of estate population compares very unfavourably with that of an Indian village, and that the trouble originates in the class of women who emigrate. We have recommended that as married women are a minority of the adult women who emigrate and as the remainder are women who are or would become prostitutes in India the proportion of female emigrants should be increased but at the same time no minimum limit of age be imposed. We anticipate that a larger number of girls will emigrate with their parents and that a much larger number of married couples will shortly be found on estates while disreputable women will be reduced to a minimum. The only practical remedy for the evils existing is to increase the proportion of marriageable women and, therefore, the number of marriages. Under any system of emigration there will always be a large proportion of young unmarried males. Of the men who return from these colonies more than half are still unmarried, and the proportion of females steadily rises in the resident population.

A SCHOOL FOR EMIGRANTS.

At Woking, near London, there is a farm in which people who intend to emigrate to Canada can learn something of Canadian life before they start. It was established in 1911 by the Hon. Rupert Guinness. The farm covers about 700 acres, and since it was established about 250 pupils have passed through, and quite 90 per cent. are now in Canada.

The training is thorough and business-like. Every man has practical experience in ploughing, harrowing, drilling, sowing, reaping, and the care of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs and poultry. He learns how to fit Canadian harness to a horse, how to drive a Canadian buggy or wagon, how to ride a Canadian stock saddle, and how to perform a hundred other duties of farm life. Thus he very soon ascertains whether he is fitted or unfitted for the calling he proposes to adopt. It is high testimony to the influence of the working training that very few past pupils have deserted farming for other pursuits.

But the curriculum is by no means confined to the ordinary and prosaic duties which fall to the lot of the farmer. Having proprietorship in view, the pupil is tutored in the higher corollary arts of the land. The farm is supplied with a sunshine register, a rainfall gauge, and a barometer, and each student is required to accustom himself to the teaching of these instruments and regularly to take readings. Further, if he is so minded, to employ his hours of leisure, he may receive botanical and laboratory instruction that will be of infinite value to him as a practical farmer.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Estate Coolies and Starvation.

Dr. Ratnam's letter appearing elsewhere deals with the remarks made by a coroner on the culpability of estates for the coolies who die of starvation in our streets. An inquest was held a short time ago up-country at which it transpired that the deceased had been an estate cooly, and though the medical officer was of opinion that the cooly had been suffering from cirrhosis of the liver, the coroner, Mr. Naganathan Mudaliyar thought it his duty to emphasise the fact that the deceased had been a starving beggar unfit to continue as a labourer on the estate where he had been working, and that in such a case the estate had a distinct duty to discharge towards a labourer incapacitated by illness. The Dimbula P. A. however took exception to the coroner's corollary and now they would like to see the coroner superseded by another who would not be so rash as to express opinions that would make the planting community feel in any way uncomfortable. There need be no fear that the coroner is going to suffer for being conscientious and outspoken and for saying what he felt was his duty. The importance of the criticism lies in its bringing into prominent notice the large number of beggars who gravitate into towns from estates. This is a matter that has come up before the City Council and should now be brought to the notice of Government. The Tamil cooly is a necessity in Ceylon. His labour brings us our prosperity. It is therefore unreasonable, unfair, nay cruel, to let him starve to death in our streets without any effort even to repatriate him, and then blame the man who brings our callousness to public notice at the right moment and in an official way.—*Ceylon Mail.*

Hedjaz Pilgrims.

The Text was recently issued of the Bill proposed to be introduced at the next meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council. The object of the Bill is to improve conditions under which pilgrims to Mecca sail from Bombay and Karachi. It has been found by experience that Sections 11 and 12 as at present worded do not prevent shipping companies from advertising earlier dates of sailing than those which they really intend to adopt, and from deliberately postponing the departure of ships with the object of securing as full a complement of passengers as possible. The postponement of the date of sailing results in great inconvenience and expense to pilgrims who have travelled down to Bombay or Karachi in time for the advertised date

of departure. The conditions under which they have to live in Bombay are such that any large aggregation of pilgrims is a serious menace to the health of the city. Occurrences of repeated and avoidable delays in the departure of pilgrim ships have caused grave trouble both to the pilgrims themselves and to the authorities in Bombay. Under the new Section, the Master, owner, or agent of the ship is bound to supply all the requisite particulars in proper time and without waiting for the express demand for particulars from the Protector of pilgrims. Power is given to the Commissioner to give permission for the postponement of the departure of pilgrim ship in unavoidable circumstances. Any unauthorised and unreasonable delay in the departure of pilgrim ships is rendered punishable with a fine. The remaining clauses of the Bill serve to correct references to certain provisions of the Native Passenger Ships Act of 1876, repealed by the Native Passenger Ships Act of 1887.

The Act now applying to pilgrim ship, however, is the Pilgrim Ships Act of 1895.

Australia and Indian Emigration.

In the January number of the *Indian Emigrant*, page 179, we published the communication of Mr. Richard Jebb to the *Morning Post* with reference to Mr. Harcourt's letter to various Australian Governments urging that the embargo against the emigration of Indians to Australia should be removed. We publish below another opinion, namely, that of the *British Australasian* (London) regarding the same, reserving our comments thereon to a subsequent issue:—Mr. Harcourt's action is, of course, due to the admiration which he knows must be felt in Australia, as it is else where, for the spirited and patriotic conduct of the Indian Princes and peoples in coming forward unasked to help the rest of the Empire in the present war. Many Australians looked with disfavour upon the acceptance of this offer by the British Government, in the belief that it would result in pressure being brought to bear upon the Commonwealth to forgo its white Australia policy, at least, as far as Indians are concerned. For our part, while welcoming the assistance of the magnificent Indian Contingent, we do not think that willingness on the part of Australian soldiers to fight side by side with the Indians, or even pride and satisfaction at association with them in the field, is any valid reason for changing our policy with regard to immigration. The white Australia policy, as understood by its most reasonable and steadfast supporters, is not founded upon any contempt for, or dislike to the coloured races, but upon the profound conviction that their association with Europeans, especially, in a new and sparsely populated country, is thoroughly bad for

both of them. Australia has certain social and economic standards which it is determined at all costs to maintain. If Indians are admitted to the country it must either be as citizens with full rights, or as indentured labourers. If they come in the former capacity their presence inevitably tends to lower the wage standard and the rate of profit in all those industries which they enter, either as labourers or small traders. If they come under indentures they create a semi-servile class, who practically make white labour impossible in the industries wherein they are employed; and experience in numerous countries has shown that they are treated in many ways, in a manner which no humane civilised community has a right to treat any person who lives within its borders. There may, and probably will, come a time when economic and social standards are so firmly fixed at a high level that the presence of a number of Asiatics, who have been accustomed to lower wages and differing social codes, can be permitted in Australia without injury either to the Australian citizen or the Asiatic emigrant. We do not believe that such a time has yet arrived, and, therefore, hope that Australia will not yet see its way to modify in any substantial manner its policy with regard to Indian immigrants.

Certificates of Identity.

In supersession of the orders contained in the Resolution of the Government of India in the Home Department, No. 2831-2842, dated the 8th December 1899, the Governor-General in Council is pleased to issue the following instructions with regard to certificates of identity:—

Every native of India who contemplates proceeding out of India to foreign countries is strongly urged before leaving to furnish himself with an authoritative certificate of identity, in the form appended to this Resolution, signed by the head of the district (in a Presidency Town, the Commissioner of Police) in the case of residents of British India, and by the Political Officer in that of residents of Native States. In the case of a student the certificate should be signed by the head of his last school or college and countersigned by the District Officer (in a Presidency Town, the Commissioner of Police) or Political Officer, as the case may be.

Appeals for assistance by destitute Indians who desire repatriation and by students who, owing to embarrassed circumstances, are unable to complete their course of education cannot be dealt with satisfactorily unless the parties are in a position to produce evidence of identity. The possession of a certificate of identity will be specially useful to young men of good family, as it may enable the Secretary of State to obtain for them social and other attentions.

Those who are desirous, however, of travelling in countries where a passport will be necessary are advised to furnish themselves with such a document also before leaving India, in lieu of, or in addition to, a certificate of identity. It should be remembered that no person is entitled to a passport, as of right, on the ground that he is a British subject, and the production before authorities outside India of a certificate of identity, unless supplemented by documentary evidence of respectability is not sufficient to ensure that a passport will be granted.

Form of Certificate of Identity.

- 1 Name of applicant.
- 2 Father's name and caste.
- 3 Residence.
- 4 Age of applicant.
- 5 * Nationality of applicant.
- 6 Social or pecuniary status of father (or guardian).
- 7 Date of probable departure of applicant from India.
- 8 Object of applicant's visit to England (Europe).

Signature of District Officer (in a Presidency Town, the Commissioner of Police) or Political Officer, or head of school or college.†

Date,

Holders of certificates of identity intending to apply subsequently in England or elsewhere for a passport to visit a foreign country are warned that no person is entitled to a passport as of right on the sole ground that he is a British subject. The production of a certificate of identity, therefore, will not ordinarily be sufficient to secure the grant of a passport, unless it is supplemented by documentary evidence of respectability, endorsed by a Local Government or other authority competent to issue passports in India, certifying that the holder is a fit and proper person to receive a passport.

THE CONGRESS ON THE PROBLEMS OF EMIGRATION.

The South African Indian Question.

THE Madras Congress dealt with the Indian problem in South Africa in a Resolution of thanksgiving to the Viceroy which was accepted with acclamation by the whole assembly.

The Resolution ran as follows:—

"This Congress begs to offer to H. E. the Viceroy its respectful thanks for the noble and courageous stand made by him in the cause of our people in South Africa.

* I.e., Whether a British subject by birth or by naturalization (or a subject of a Native State).

† Countersignature of the District or Political Officer should be obtained on certificates signed by heads of schools or colleges.

And, while expressing its grateful appreciation of the efforts of the Government of India in obtaining relief in respect of some of the most pressing grievances of our Indian fellow-subjects and of the firm advocacy in the cause of Indians of Sir Benjamin Robertson, this Congress begs to place on record that no settlement can be wholly satisfactory or be deemed final which does not secure equality of treatment between his Majesty's Indian and other subjects in South Africa, and respectfully urges on the Government of India that steps may be taken as early as circumstances will permit to bring about such equality of treatment. And this Congress places on record its warm appreciation of and admiration for the heroic endeavours of Mr. Gandhi and his followers, and their unparalleled sacrifice in their struggle for the maintenance of the self-respect of India and the redress of Indian grievances. And this Congress further expresses its gratitude to Messrs. Polak and Kallenbach for their voluntary sacrifice and suffering in the cause of India, and the Rev. C. F. Andrews, for his help under circumstances of great difficulty. And lastly this Congress records its appreciation of the invaluable services of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale through the struggle in bringing about the present settlement."

India and The Dominions.

One of the important Resolutions passed by the Madras Congress had reference to the reciprocity rights between the Colonies and India. Mrs. Annie Besant who made an eloquent speech on the subject moved:—

"This Congress begs to convey to His Excellency the Viceroy the profound gratitude of the people of India for the sympathetic manner in which he has handled the question connected with the emigration of Indians abroad. And while welcoming His Excellency's suggestion of reciprocity as the underlying basis of negotiations with the Colonies, this Congress desires to record its conviction that any policy of reciprocity to be effective and acceptable to the people of India must proceed on the basis that the Government of India should possess and exercise the same power of dealing with the Colonies as they possess in regard to India."

In moving the Resolution to the acceptance of the Congress, she pointed out that "What India wants is absolute equality of right with any one of the self-governing colonies. If Canada says that Indians can only go direct from India to Canada where there is no direct line of steamer from India to America, India should say that no Canadian shall come to India unless he comes to India along a direct line of steamer from Canada. Similarly with regard to the evil service in India of Colonists. When an Indian goes to Australia they give him modern Greek which he cannot at all know. If a

white emigrant goes there, they give him French or German which he knows. If an Australian comes to India, he must be made to translate Bengali, Tamil, Telugu or Malayalam. What India wants is equality on every point insisted by the self-governing colonies. Indians are now invited to colonise Queensland (a tropical climate) which cannot be cultivated by white men. If all the facilities given to whitemen for colonisation are given to Indians, if Indians are asked to colonise Queensland under favourable conditions and without derogation to their rights as citizens of the Empire, Indians might colonise Australia. It is true that Australians may not come here as labourers and that Indians might want to go to Australia as labourers. So the best way of retaliation in the case of Australia is to exclude every kind of imports from that country, if they exclude our people. The imports from Australia to Madras annually amount to more than 18 lakhs of rupees. If that is done a moral effect will be created which nothing else can do. Some sort of prohibitory duty should be inflicted as a moral protest against wrongs inflicted upon Indians in the colonies."

She then referred to the indenture system and asked the Congress to remember that India is growing conscious of her dignity. "Indians," she said in conclusion "are showing themselves as men in Europe and they want to be given the freedom of men in India." The resolution was seconded and supported by Messrs P. Kesava Pillay and Mr. H. Kurzen of Allahabad respectively and passed.

Recruitment Under Indenture.

The Madras Congress passed the following Resolution prohibiting the recruitment of labour under indenture:—

"Owing to the scarcity of labour in India, and the grave consequences resulting from the system of indentured labour, which reduces the labourers, during the period of their indenture, practically to the position of slaves, this Congress strongly urges the total prohibition of recruitment of labour under indenture, either for work in India or elsewhere."

Mr. Abdul Wade.

The well-known Afghan, Mr. Abdul Wade, of Wangamana Station, Bourke, (New South Wales) has placed the use of his 500 camels as transports for defence purposes, free of charge, and says that he is confident that other Asiatic residents of Australia will do their utmost in the same direction, should the occasion arise. In forwarding his offer to Senator Pearce, Mr. Abdul Wade adds that he has already promised the Pastoralists' Union of New South Wales one

or two horses, which are all he has fit for military service, and that if his personal service or those of his countrymen are acceptable he will be glad to give them in the defence of Australia.

Serving a Great Cause.

We (*Jamaica Times*) have received the second number of the "Indian Emigrant" published in Madras. It is a monthly record, which has the excellent object of noting the status and doings of Indians in British Colonies and foreign countries, and advocating equal rights of British Citizenship within the Empire. Its sixty-four pages are filled with interesting matter, and the tone of the publication is manly and sane. The Editorial on the present Viceroy is particularly so.

One object of the journal is to discourage by organized work the system of Indentured Labour of Indians to foreign countries, while it seeks to encourage the emigration of educated men and skilled labourers.

Execution of Labour Contracts.

Under section 4 of the Madras Planters Labour Act, 1908 (I of 1908), the Governor in Council is pleased to authorize the following persons to witness the execution of labour contracts:—(1) Mr. Aylmer Ffulke Martin, Director of the Labour Department, U. P. A. S. I., Bangalore, (2) Mr. Edward Henry Francis Day, Deputy Director of Labour Department, U. P. A. S. I., Coimbatore. (3) Mr. Christopher Eric Ley Ward, Superintendent of the Labour Department, U. P. A. S. I., Martinpuram Srivilliputtur and (4) Mr. Charles Symonds Prince, Superintendent of the Labour Department, U. P. A. S. I., Nagarcoil.

Nippon Yusen Kaisha.

The Nippon Yusen Kaisha notify that five new steamers—three of 12,000 tons and two of 10,500 tons—have been placed on the company's European service, which will be accelerated from the present month onwards, and Shanghai will be made a regular port of call from London and Marseilles.

Labour Conditions in Canada.

Large numbers of skilled and unskilled labourers are out of work in Canada at the present time, and it is undesirable for any emigrant to go there now. Manufacturing conditions have shown some further improvement, and some establishments which had been closed down have resumed operations, but many factory employees still remain out of work. Wages in many places have been reduced. The business establishments have been cotton, woollen, and flour

mills. Coal mining has been fairly active, and the number of miners at the metal mines at Cobalt and in British Columbia has increased. Some thousands of extra labourers have been employed on railroad construction.

Canadian Trade and India.

A member of the Department of Agriculture under the Government of India who recently visited Canada, stated that India offers a field of almost unparalleled opportunity for the Canadian manufacturer. In view of the rapid agricultural development of that country, implements of all kinds are very much in demand, while Canada has still another opportunity in the matter of small wares, which have hitherto been imported to India from Germany and Austria on a large scale.

Jamaica, 1913-14.

In the course of his report to the Colonial Office for the year 1913-14, General Sir W. H. Manning, the Governor of Jamaica, states that the year was one of stress for the colony, due to the after effects of the hurricane of November, 1912, and to droughts which occurred in certain portions of the island, rendering relief works necessary. Prosperity was diminished by short crops and a lessened tourist traffic, and this was reflected in an increase of crime and a larger prison population. The exports diminished in the past two years by £517,860, or about 17½ per cent. As the year drew to its close, however, this condition was gradually becoming ameliorated, and a hopeful tone prevailed. The indications were that if no untoward event occurred trade would regain most, if not all, the lost ground. The public revenue did not suffer to the extent which had been anticipated, as the receipts were £20,370 above the estimate, due to railway receipts and stamp duties exceeding the forecast. Customs duties, however, were less than anticipated.

After the hurricane of 1908, and the earthquake of 1907, the Government came to the relief of the sufferers with loans of money. A few bad debts were incurred in 1903, but these were much more than covered by the interests received. The transactions in connection with earthquake loans have so far not been attended by any losses, the instalments of principals which have fallen due and the interest having been paid and a substantial reserve against any future loss built up. During the year there has been manifested considerable desire to extend the railway system, with the object of opening up land suited to fruit cultivation; preliminary surveys have been made in certain districts to determine the practicability of these projects. With the completion of the Panama Canal many Jamaica labourers who had been engaged on that work have been thrown out of employment.

The Uses of Banana.

Mr. J. B. Percival writing in the *Dun's Review* on the plantain and banana as furnishing food to million of inhabitants remarks as follows :—

"The Indians in Guiana manufacture a kind of spirit from the banana. When the fruit is fully ripe, the Indian gathers it, peels off the skin and throws the fruit into a dish, where it remains for some days. After fermenting, he draws off the liquor and puts it in his home-made bottle for future use. The liquor, or as the Indian terms it, "rum," is said to be strong and very intoxicating. When drunk to excess the effects remain for two or three days.

The flour of the plantain, known in many parts of the West Indies and Guiana as *conquintary*, is highly esteemed and extensively used as a food for invalids and children. It is prepared by stripping off the husk of the plantain, slicing the core and drying it in the sun. When thoroughly dry it is powdered and sifted. It has a fragrant odour, acquired in drying. As food for children and convalescents it would, probably, be much esteemed in the United States, and it deserves a trial on account of its fragrance and its being exceedingly easy of digestion. It is very nutritive on account of the protein compounds it contains. This plantain meal would probably be best and freshest were the sliced and dried banana cores exported, leaving the grinding and sifting to be done in the United States. The flavour of the meal depends a good deal on the rapidity with which the slices are dried, hence the operation requires dry weather, unless recourse may be had to a kiln or stove.

Vinegar from the plantain is obtained by a very simple process. When there is a glut of the fruit in the market the surplus, when yellow, is thrown into baskets supported on open barrels; there it liquefies and the juice drops into a receiver where it ferments and speedily becomes vinegar. No water is used in the process. The stalk is filled with an abundant pith enveloped in fibrous cases, and containing much starch. Boiled, it might serve as human food, while animals like it very much, cattle, and especially pigs, relishing this kind of sustenance.

The banana plant is used in Annam, Cochin China and the Philippines in the process of refining sugar. Masses of raw sugar are placed in layers, one inch thick and ten wide, which are covered by a layer of stalks of this plant, cut into small pieces. According to Grosie, however, it is the ashes of the *Musa paradisiaca* which they use in this process. The aqueous liquor that flows from the stalks filtrates through the sugar, carrying away with it all impurities, and leaving the sugar in a crystalized state.

The sap is also of great value as a mordant in dyeing; the Malays, by means of it, fix the green colour of the *Dolichos Lablab*. When employed alone the sap of the cochin banana communicates to fabrics a purple tint, which is durable. The sap has also medicinal properties.

MORE APPRECIATIONS.

Since we began our humble work, we have been the recipients of innumerable encomiums from both the Press and the Public of India and some encouraging letters from friends in England and other portions of the Empire. We thank each and all of our well-wishers for the kind sentiments. The attention that has been directed towards this great Imperial problem of Indian emigration is sure to grow in volume and intensity, as time goes on, and the reward of our work will have come when India takes her rightful place shoulder to shoulder with the Self-governing Dominions of the British Empire.

THE ONLY ORGAN.

The *Hindusthan Review* for January writes :—It is the chief and the only organ which aims at bringing about a closer and more intelligent acquaintance on the part of Indians at home with Indians abroad, by recording and reviewing all questions of the day relating to the educational, social, political, economic, commercial, industrial and agricultural problems pertaining to India and greater India consisting of the Indian Colonies. Its pages furnish most authentic intelligence on foreign subjects of interest to Indians at home and abroad. It further records the experiences of Indians travelling in foreign lands for study or for business. Judging from the numbers issued so far, the INDIAN EMIGRANT which is well conducted and carefully edited, is an acquisition to the ranks of useful periodicals in this country.

EMIGRANTS' MOUTHPIECE.

The *Bombay Chronicle* says :—India's emigrant population has by now become so large and widespread in all parts of the world, and the problems concerning their status in the different countries have become of such vital importance to the Mother-country that an organ of public opinion, devoted exclusively to recording their activities abroad and voicing their grievances, should be a welcome addition to journalism in India. "THE INDIAN EMIGRANT" should very well serve the purpose of a mouthpiece of the emigrant population. Madras contributes a large proportion of this population and is as vitally concerned in the status and welfare of the emigrant as Bombay or the Punjab. We welcome the enterprise of our contemporary in its laudable desire to serve the interests of India's sons abroad.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

ECONOMICS.

"*The Land Hunger*", with an introduction by Mrs. Cobden Unwin, T. Fisher Unwin, London, price 2 sh. nett.

This book is the result of the issue of a letter to newspapers throughout England and Scotland, asking the readers their experiences of land renting and land buying, rack renting, land going out of cultivation, arbitrary ejections and other numerous ills to which the English and Scottish peasantry are known to be subject under their present land laws. Thus a large and widely gathered correspondence has been conveniently put under one cover. The letters have been carefully edited so as to present a unity in theme, without at the same time detracting from their value as an authentic exposition of personal views. The publishers deserve all praise for bringing about this happy result.

Those who are accustomed to the land laws of British India will courageously take up this little book and may, perhaps, feel justifiable pride in living under conditions far different from those described in it. It is a curious phenomenon, not difficult of explanation, however, that the English free-trader is the last to apply that doctrine found so efficacious for his commodities and commerce, to land. Statesmen before Lloyd George have raised their voices against the land on which the English people live, and from which their food might be obtained being still "in bondage;" but the fox-hunting squire has proved an insurmountable obstacle to all previous Land Reformers. But, we believe, the last chapter of the hunt is being written by Mr. Lloyd George, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, and it is hoped that time is not long ere feudalism will pass away and the free democracy in England be restored to its land rights.

We shall next enquire into the significance of the cry, "Back to the Land", heard all over England. We are not unfamiliar with the complaint in India too, but the circumstances in the two countries are different and are differently brought about. With us land doesn't pay; in England there is not enough land for people to move about and live comfortably and such as exists has enormously risen in value owing to the pressure of modern times, so as to exclude the farm labourer from making a happy settlement in the rural parts. "It is too sadly true that the peasantry of this country (England) have less hold on the soil than those of any other land under the sun. The fact itself is the cause of bitter hardship; the manner in which it has been brought about has bred a slumbering resentment from the slow Saxon labourers of the South and the fiery

crofters of the north." This is a sad confession of the backwardness of land legislation in England.

Of this resentment, letters printed in the book, written by thinkers of various schools of land reform, furnish ample proof. The writers speak from actual experience of the land hunger and point out how much more could be done in their country under happier land laws and thus contribute their ideas, not only on the nature of, but on the remedies for, a difficult problem.

"As man's need for land is a varied need, so the land hunger itself is varied, and is felt in various manners by country-man and towns-man, by manufacturers, householders, and labourers." It is, it must be admitted, difficult to reconcile these conflicting interests, and to strike at a satisfactory solution acceptable to all parties concerned.

In tracing the land movement in England, we get a clear notion of the utter conservatism of the English landed aristocracy and the sharp opposition it has always meted out to the infusion of any democratic ideas on land reform in that country. Students of contemporary history will remember the malevolent vindictiveness with which Lloyd George's proposals were pursued in only quite recent times. Half a century ago Richard Cobden said: "We have always felt that in England Free Trade has not had a fair opportunity of being a complete success whilst the land on which the people live, and from which the food of the country might be obtained, is still in bondage. To-day we need Free Land to give Free Trade its full scope." Since the days of its exponent, the Cobdenite idea has gathered volume and force but reached its eventual, though partial consummation, at the hands of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer. The book contains an excellent chapter on the various schools of land reform in England, but it is not possible to indicate here more than a mere mention of their systems of thought on the subject. Earlier land reformers in England concerned themselves mainly with the "absurdities" of the laws of primogeniture and entail, with the attendant expense and difficulty on sale and transfer of land and also with the abuses of game preserving and the like. It is remarked that the English land laws "offended almost as much against the *laissez-faire* individualism of the seventies, as against the more socialistic conception of our own day." Next we come to another school of thought arguing "free trade" coupled with private ownership in land. Then, as the labourer got more and more voice in the country, we get the "three acres and a cow" policy dear to Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Jesse Collins. The front bench politicians have now begun to take an interest in the question and we have thereafter a lively and long sustained agitation for better conditions on the land. A high pitch of enthusiasm was again apparent when Lloyd George raised the land

question in the Budget of 1909, with what results we well know. But the main purpose of the book under review is not to play the arbiter between the different schools of thought, between Single Taxers and socialists or between Land Nationalisers or their opponents. The moving force behind the whole movement, namely Land Hunger, is clearly laid before the reader, evidenced by those who feel that hunger themselves.

C. S. K.

BIOGRAPHY.

"Bismarck's Letters from the Seat of War" 1870-1871, newly translated into English, Farrold and Sons, London, price 8sh. 6d. net.

Bismarck's is a name to conjure with in Germany or, to be more accurate, in modern Prussia. He has left an indelible impression on the country of his creation and whatever our quarrel may be with his fire-eating tendencies, he cannot cease to be interesting to us in other ways. Popular imagination has been filled with his world-policy, and the concomitant instruments of his will, fire and blood. But there is an utter absence of the braggadocio of the vain swash-buckler in the letters contained in this book. Perhaps it is explained by the fact that the correspondent was his wife and that such tender home memories found room to rise in his breast during the Franco-German War when these letters were penned, goes, indeed, to his credit. The letters furnish ample proof of his being a loving husband, a kind father, and after all, a humane man. Not a letter there is in this book where there is not a tender thought expressed for the welfare of his children. In fact, it is impossible to suppress a tear, when after briefly describing a bloody campaign in France, he concludes a letter, "Farewell my dear heart, embrace Marie and fear nothing." Again, "yesterday many Guards were left on the field, heroic men far too brave to live. This grieves far more than victory rejoices me." This speaks a humane General and the humour with which he touches up all his descriptions of the hardships incidental to camp life is pathetic, if it were not meant to cover the separation he must feel from his wife. Thus, "..... I can only write in flying haste. Negotiations of all lands hold me by the coat tails like Jews hold a dealer in the market place, and the messenger must leave this minute. We are hungry.....and there is nothing to buy. Kindest regards. Yours." The yearning of a husband and father must have risen in Bismarck's heart many a time during the campaign and the wistfulness with which he marks its conclusion is evident in his letters. Thus, in one of them, he writes: "For eight days now it has been spring weather. Buds on the bushes, white snow drops (enclosed in the letter) in the garden, and violets under

glass. Kindest regards to Marie. In three weeks I hope to be with you, my heart, if it is God's will." The two grievances of which he has complained in his letters were the omission of his name from the Birthday decorations of the Bavarian King and the delaying in the award of the Iron Cross to his son. The book contains seven illustrations, five of Bismarck in various periods of his life, another of the Princess Bismarck and count Von Moltke.

C. S. K.

"Autobiography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore," Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, Price 7sh. 6d. net.

That "the child is the father of the man" is as much true of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore as of anybody else. The first impression that is made on the plastic mind of a child is often the most indelible. So strong was the home influence (through the teachings and example of his grand-mother) on Devendranath in the matter of religion that from childhood to his death, he evinced a thirst for spiritual knowledge and a yearning for the Life Eternal. His life is full of absorbing interest to those who wish to study the evolution of the religious tendencies of the Indian mind, in the agitated periods of the early part of the 19th century, of which Tagore's is typical. Devendranath Tagore, son of Dwarakanath Tagore was born in May 1817 and was brought up in very affluent circumstances. If we judge his career in life by the way of the world, we should have thought that he like many others in his position would have surely led the life of the idle-rich. But even at the early age of eighteen, he felt a strong aversion to wealth and its attendant evils, luxury and pleasure.

To him the attractions of the world had ceased and life become dreary. His mind was active only with these philosophic questions: what was God and what was religion, and he would never satisfy himself until he found a solution to these questions. The answer never came to him intuitively or by the mystic process of revelation. He made a regular effort to study, in original Sanskrit, the Hindu Scriptures and religious works, influenced as he was by the traditions of an orthodox Hindu household. With that serious study, following a development through well marked stages, came to him the realisation that "with the knowledge of the outer world comes the knowledge of the inner self." For a regular discourse on various religious subjects, he established in 1889 a society called the Tatwabodhini Sabha which held regular meetings for theological discussions and for expounding the texts of the Upanishads for gaining a knowledge of God. A Journal was also started, under the same name and under the able editorship of Akshay Kumar Datta, and through it Devendranath

rendered very useful service to liberal theology and Bengali literature.

After a careful and critical study of all Hindu scriptures, he was able to say that he found the echo of the idea of God in the Upanishads, which he regarded with profound reverence. A passion then came over him, which the mystic writers of the West sometimes call "communion with God" or "self revelation," to disseminate this truth contained in the Upanishads throughout India and induce everybody to worship Him in the manner prescribed in the Upanishads. Thus was laid the axe at the root of Idolatry and the spreading of this gospel became the aim of his life.

After some time the Sabha which he started was incorporated with the Brahmo-samaj for the worship of one Brahma or God. There is nothing new or remarkable in the various reforms he brought about in the Brahmo-samaj, an institution for which there is at present hardly any necessity.

The introduction of the Gayatri Mantra which he speaks of in chapters IX, X and XI for the bond of a common religious feeling among the Samajists, is a familiar solemn service for Brahmin youths at the time of Upanayanam (thread wearing ceremony).

Of course, as he points out, the task of worshipping God by mastering the Gayatri Mantra requires strenuous endeavour, so much so that, perhaps, only one in a thousand succeeds. That this Mantra or incantation is hardly now practised as a matter of fact it should be is significant of the want of strenuousness, patience and fortitude.

As pointed out at the outset, the early part of the 19th century was in a disturbed state. It was about the period most propitious for Christian missionaries to propagate through their schools and colleges their ideas of religion and worship in the minds of half English educated youths and it was during this agitated period when most Hindu youths were brought under Christian influences and were largely converted to that faith, that a special religion was found necessary, bringing freedom to the mind purged of all blind faith and superstition. Tagore was one of those who felt greatly indignant at this and who put forth strenuous efforts to defend the Hindu Religion against the attacks of the Christian Missionaries. A spirited article appeared in the *Tatwa Bodhini Patrika*. A sentence or two from it will be enough to make one understand its tone. "Behold, our religion is being altogether destroyed, our country is on the road to ruin, and our very Hindu name is about to be wiped out for ever. Therefore, if you desire your own welfare and that of your family, if you hope for the advancement of your country and have regard for truth then keep your boys aloof from all contact with missionaries." One result of this attack was the founding of

an educational institution called the "*Hindu-hilharthi*" where Hindu children may be taught Hindu ideals free of charge. Thenceforward the tide of Christian conversion was stemmed in and the cause of the missionaries received a serious blow.

The latter part of his life was wholly engaged in renouncing the world. To renounce everything and wander about alone, was the desire that reigned in his heart. He visited Burdwan, Gauhati, Benares, Muttra, Lahore Simla, and the Himalayas—the beauty of the scenery, the fragrance of the flowers of the forests, the rippling of the lowly brook, the Sun and the Moon, all had revealed to him the life-force of that conscious Being by whose will the world moves but Whom we cannot see. We get an insight into his philosophy when he says, "I saw God, not with fleshly eyes, but with the inner vision, from these Himalayan hills, the holy land of Brahma. Now I have come to know that great sun-coloured Being beyond this Darkness.

Hence forward, I shall radiate light from my heart upon the world;

For I have reached the Sun,
and darkness has vanished."

The book has an interesting introduction written by Evelyn Underhill and affords a psychological study into a phase of oriental mysticism as felt and lived by a great religious thinker, whose claims to our gratitude are greater on account of the illustrious poet-mystic he has given us in his son—Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.

T. K. S.

MISCELLANEOUS.

"Practical Tropical Sanitation" by W. Alex. Muirhead, John Murray London, Price 10 sh. 6d. net.

A book intended not only for those actually engaged in the work of Sanitation, but also for all those interested in the prevention of those diseases peculiar to Tropical and Sub-Tropical countries. Written, as it is, by one who had Tropical experience, the book is characterised by practical measures, fitted for Tropical countries like India. Neither too elementary in its treatise nor too technical as those manuals intended for Medical Officers, the book singularly meets the requirements for the adequate training of sanitary subordinates in practical subjects connected with his duties.

The book is well illustrated with diagrams, some of them original, and there are several reproductions of photographs from actual tropical life.

Fevers in one form or other are always present in the Tropics, which every new arrival sooner or later catches. But none need despair as the remedy is in our hands. The fevers can all be avoided. The best and most certain cure is prevention. The author gives

these warnings in certain 'Scientific Golden Rules' as laid down by Sir Ronald Ross—the Apostle of Tropical sanitation.

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A. I.

Indian Agriculture.

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Photographic views and representations of Indian life in British Colonies and Foreign Countries will be thankfully received. They should be accompanied, in every case, with a short description.

CANADA AND ASIATIC IMMIGRATION.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE bold and beneficent attitude taken up by Canada recently regarding the question of Asiatic immigration will be received in India with an agreeable surprise and unmixed satisfaction. A recent telegram of Reuters' gave out that the Anti-Asiatic motion pending in the British Columbian Legislative Assembly has, at the request of the Premier, been withdrawn. From its telegraphic character, we are unable to say what the exact nature of the motion is or how far it affects permanently the immigration laws of the country. The statutes which are at present in force are too many to admit of any scrutiny. The main clauses which are meant to apply against Indians and Asiatics are those by which the Governor General in Council may by proclamation or order whenever he deems it necessary or expedient:

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Besides these, there are other objections, but it was on the above two clauses that the Canadians based their arguments in the Komagata Maru incident. But the liberal and generous spirit with which these restrictive measures are interpreted and acted upon by Canadian officials may be gathered from the following extract of a memorandum given to the Inspector of Immigrants: "Inspectors appointed to enforce the provisions of the Immigration Act and the regulations made thereunder in respect to immigrants arriving in Canada by Railway or other means are expected to use fair discretion in carrying out their duties, bearing in mind that the policy of the Department is not one of exclusion of immigrants, excepting in cases where their admission is directly provided against in the Act." So that much depends upon the official rather than on the embargo itself.

However, we have every reason to feel doubly thankful for the Canadian Government, not only for forgetting so soon the injustice they have done to a party of Indian British subjects in their attempt to land in the Canadian toil, but for their readiness in doing away with an unwholesome measure directed against the Asiatics.

To what is this rapid change in sentiment due, and how has it been brought about.

This is evidently the result of a consciousness of Imperial unity so broadly manifested by all the British Dominions and Dependencies at this turning point in the history of Britain. Sir Robert Borden, the Prime Minister of Canada, was the first to recognise that a crisis like the present, when every part of the Empire is vying with each other for a contribution in men and money for the defence of the common Empire, must mark a great epoch in the history of Inter-imperial relations. "It is impossible to believe," he continues, "that the status of the Dominions so far as concerns the control of foreign policy and extra Imperial relations, can remain as it is to-day." Australia and New Zealand have also followed suit in voicing this sentiment. Poor India too is not forgotten in this Federation of the Empire.

It has been reverberated on all sides that India's reward for her splendid participation in this grave crisis for the free and willing sacrifice of her men and money, will be the elevation of her present position of a Dependency to that of a self-governing country. *The British Empire Review* in a leading article remarks that "a new and strong feeling of affection towards our Indian fellow-subjects should grow up. The removal of disabilities should be provided for in generous spirit." The British people have now begun to look upon India with a better vision and a more liberal heart. No better official recognition of this view could be received than from the Under-Secretary of State when he said in the House of Commons "it was clear that India claimed to be not a mere dependent of, but a partner in the Empire, and her partnership with us in spirit and on the battlefield could not but alter the angle from which we should all henceforward look at the problems of the Government of India." The praises that are now showered on the Indian troops are beyond all comparison and India's loyalty is no more to be impugned and while we hope for a better recognition of India as a self-respecting component of the Empire, there comes the prophetic news across the Atlantic from a country which only a few months ago was decidedly hostile to India; hence her words are all the more to be heeded and valued. *The Montreal Star*, a leading newspaper of Canada, writing about India and her place in the British Empire writes in unmistakable terms thus:—

"They have made our cause their own—we must reciprocate by making their cause our own. India

must cease to be a Dependency, and must become—as rapidly as it can be managed—an overseas Dominion in which the machinery of local Government will be adapted to the special need of the population of that great country. If in this way we take full advantage of the tide of sentiment, now flowing in our favour, we ought to succeed in making of India as sure and contented a member of the British Empire as any of its other parts. And should the miracle be accomplished, we will have immensely strengthened our hold upon the future. India, instead of being a source of weakness as our enemies even now have hoped, will become one of our greatest and firmest pillars of strength."

This is a hope which when realised either during the war or after, will prove to the world that India stands by England in her hour of need and England is after all true to her traditions of Truth, Justice and Liberty.

INDIANS IN BURMA.

BY MR. R. G. SAMBANDAM, B.A., B.L.

THERE is an increasing exodus of Indians every year to Burma where they go principally in search of employment. One has only to study the promiscuous population of Burma to feel convinced that all parts of India, including places so far apart as remote Kashmir and hithermost Ceylon, are liberally represented in that country. This will continue to be so until the economic conditions now prevailing in Burma are reduced to those that exist in India, that is, so long as Burma is able to relieve the pressure that is now being felt in India due principally to want of sufficient work to Indians at home. Such a state of things should not have been possible if our rulers have had more at heart the real interests of our countrymen. If the industries of India which are, in spite of so many years of "prosperous" British rule, still in their primitive condition, were only to be properly developed and if only all the raw materials that are now being freely exported to England and other countries, were to be turned into economic products with the employment of Indian labour and Indian capital and with just enough foreign capital and foreign skilled labour that are absolutely necessary for the purpose, India would not only be in a position to afford employment to her teeming millions, but also could advantageously attract men and money necessary for the development of special

industries which are at present the coveted monopolies of foreign countries. Though Nature has been very prodigal in her gifts to India, much more so than in the case of Japan or for that matter, any other country in the world, India has been destined to occupy only the subordinate position of a mere Dependency, while her less gifted neighbour shines in the eastern horizon as a luminary of the first magnitude, from whom even the foremost nations in the world are proud to learn lessons of great international importance. We, who were once as high as our Himalayas in the eyes of the world, are now content to sit at the feet of the West to learn such things as our rulers are disposed to teach us, while the little Japan, till recently shrouded in obscurity, excels in every art and science that modern civilization can boast of, simply because her great industry is illumined and actuated by a supreme sense of patriotism. Lulled into a lethargic repose by the spiritual hashish of her Shastras and Gitas, India has not yet realised how much of her precious patrimony she has lost now.

This is only a digression, but a digression which the subject of this article almost inevitably leads one to. We have just referred to the large migration of Indians every year to the shores of Burma. Though as we shall presently see this influx of Indians into Burma fulfils a real want and contributes to the wealth of that country, still there have not been wanting individual Burmans who, unable to stand the stress of modern competition, have thought it fit to attribute to Indians all the evils, fancied as well as real, from which they are at present suffering. Fortunately, this feeling of dissatisfaction is confined only to certain Burmans, or, at any rate, has not deeply permeated the rural districts and with the co-operation of Government, could and should have been long ago quelled forever. However, there are members of the Indian Civil Service itself who, having for their prototype the imperious Lord Curzon, have on public occasions given vent to the idea that Indians are not only an undesirable alien population but also are despised and disliked by the natives of the land. Here is a portion of the evidence said to have been given by Mr. G. B. H. Fell, I.C.S., C.I.E., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Burma before the Public Service Commission, on the 5th February 1913:—

Q.—You said that a Burman could understand the English being here, as they conquered the

country, but not Indians. Is that your opinion, or the opinion of Burmans?

A.—I think that is the opinion of Burmans.

At any rate, that is the impression left in my mind.

Q.—What is your opinion?

A.—I think that is a very reasonable point of view for the Burman.

Q.—Was it not the Government of India who paid the cost of the conquest? Who bore the deficit of Burma year after year?

A.—I know Burma paid it back.

Q. Now, Mr. Fell, you have said that the Burman dislikes and despises the Indian. That is rather a strong statement to make. What do you mean by "despises"? Why does the Burman despise the Indian?

A.—I am not really able to say that. I am merely stating what I am afraid I must regard as a fact. The Burman has very wrongly, no doubt, a feeling of contempt for the Indians.

Q.—On what grounds?

A.—I cannot say. I might suggest grounds, but not being a Burman I cannot say.

Q.—Can you suggest any grounds?

A.—I do not think it would serve any good purpose if I were to do so.

It is to the tender care of people like those who, in the words of an experienced member of the same Civil Service, "suffer from an incurable political myopia," that our Indian Empire is confided by the British Government!

Instead of treating the Indian as a necessary member who occupies a very useful sphere in the economy of life in Burma, the bureaucrats always take good care to instil into the minds of the credulous Burman the totally false notion that the mere geographical cleavage between India and Burma marks a racial gulf which can never be bridged over at any time. Still, what Burma would be in the absence of the enterprising Indian it is not difficult to see. From the Secretariat Clerk who incessantly tries to lighten the burden of the Under-Secretary under whom he works to the Madrassee gardener who replenishes the bazaar every morning with fresh green vegetables, almost every walk of life absorbs into it a large number of Indians whom it has not been found possible for Burmans to displace. Even the Indian cooly is such an indispensable atom in the vast organization of English industry carried on in Burma

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that it would be extreme folly in the patriotic Burman to wage a crusade against his kind.

After all, what is the cause of the dislike which the Burman is said to entertain for the Indian? It is merely the jealousy, if the dislike is a real one, which an incapable man harbours towards his more fortunate brother. It is because the industrious, I need not say intelligent, Indian always tries his best to far outrun the ease-loving Burman in the race for life, that he is to be despised and disliked. Let us see, however, whether there is any real cause for such estrangement of feelings between these two neighbouring races. The Census Report for the year 1911 says: "The Indian comes to Burma to supply an economic demand which the Burman has failed to supply. The Burman has been so occupied in filling up the waste places of his country that he has never competed for a large number of town and city occupations. In so far as the demand for Indian labour is a demand for cheap, docile, disciplined labour, the Burman has not yet needed to enter into competition with the contract labour from Madras. It is true that there are higher forms of skilled industry, the mechanical, the engineering, the building, the transport, the distributive and the commercial which the Burman has abandoned largely to foreign lands." Where is the need then for the Burman to "dislike and despise" the Indian?

Whenever the economic forces at work draw or throw together two races belonging to two different stocks of men, some conflict is inevitable. But under the wise guidance and control of a thoughtful government the conflict will, as time passes by, grow less and less acute till both of the contending races have learnt to understand and adapt themselves to each other's needs and requirements. Thus, so long as there is room for further exploitation of land and industries and the races that are drawn or thrown together have in them the power, besides of conserving whatever is best in them, of supplying each other's wants good is bound to result to both of them in course of time. This exactly is the case of Burma to-day. The country is only sparsely populated by the native races, and there are large extensive tracts of hill and valley which have not as yet yielded up their treasures and fruits to man's hand, and the cheap, organized labour so readily brought by the Indian to the very doors of the Burmans ought to be welcomed by the most squeamish of them. There is no real rivalry between the two races. The Burman does not really care for that kind of work that is at present supplied by the

Indian, and the argument which presupposes as its major premise that the presence of Indians in Burma can only result in impoverishment of the country really begs the whole question. It is a truism that the supply of Indian labour has not yet outreached its margin of utility in Burma. Such being the case, the duty of Government is plain and cannot possibly be misconceived unless its sense is warped by selfish considerations. It must create and maintain every facility for the peaceful settlement of Indians and treat them as elder members of an Empire with whose destiny that of Burma is yoked both geographically and politically. Recognizing the fact that each of the two historic races has an important role to play in the industrial development of the country, it must see that no unnecessary prejudices harboured by either of them bar the way to further progress or mar the chance of an amicable settlement of their differences. Instead of acting in this manner, the Government of Burma, with the stolid shortsightedness which has characterized it since the unhappy days of Lord Curzon's satrapy, insists in putting on the way of the Indian every conceivable obstacle to his acquisition of permanent interests in the country he has adopted. This is one of the unhappy results of the political career so unflinchingly pursued by the great satrap under whose regime the Indian horizon flared up with formidable portents. To show how the aid of even the local Legislature has been invoked to keep away the Indian from Burma one has only to remember the drastic provisions of the Burma Tenancy Bill and the Burma Land Alienation Bill, the policy of both of which was to treat the Indian in Burma as an undesirable alien and to throw round the person of the Burman a sort of protective prophylactic. Great was the scare created among Indians when these two Bills were on the anvil of the legislative forge, and even to-day the mere idea that the bureaucratic Government might any day pass them into Acts keeps out many an honest Indian from large tracts of virgin soil still untouched by the tillers toil.

The legal profession in Burma affords another instance of how a sharp distinction is maintained between the Indian and the Burman by means of artificial, technical rules. Whereas every person qualified to practise as a High Court Vakil in any one of the Indian High Courts is *ipso facto* allowed to practise as such in any other High Court, the Educational syndicate of Burma have ruled that no Indian High Court Vakil shall practise in the

Rangoon Chief Courts and the Courts subordinate to it, unless he also passes certain high grade Burmese language test, not to mention a test in some local Acts and Regulations. The result is that whereas a High Court Vakil *qua* such is allowed to practise freely in all Upper Burma Courts, where one should think that a practical knowledge of the Burmese language will be useful to the practitioner, he is unnecessarily burdened with the passing of the vernacular for practising in a place like Rangoon where the want is not very much felt.

Of course, no such restrictions are imposed upon Barristers-at-law who necessarily happen to be mostly Burmans and Europeans. Indians do not grudge (on the other hand, welcome the idea) that certain places should be specially reserved for Burmans in recognition of the fact that the country is theirs by birth of right and that unless Indians can justify their existence in the country they have no right to live there at all. But there is a limitation to this kind of protection. How long is the Burman to be treated as a green-house plant and to be considered merely as a recipient of privileges and not as a bearer of rights? By geographical position, tradition, religion, history and philosophy, India and Burma are inextricably connected, and it was not a mere accident that their lots have been thrown together under the aegis of a common Sovereign. Unless, therefore, Government wants to bring into existence another Transvaal motee, it should curb its pernicious tendency to create distinctions and differences between the two races which albeit are characterized by certain common qualities comprehensively styled Oriental—a term which, it should be borne in mind in discussing this thorny question, is more than ethnologically significant.

While descanting upon the various disabilities we are subject to in a foreign country, we must not at the same time forget that we are as a nation beset with a great vice which is bound to retard us at every step of our progress whatever may be the sphere of activity we may chalk out in life. The measure of our intellectual freedom is the tether with which we are bound to the time-worn Shastras. The Himalayas, with their teeming gods, smile at every endeavour we make to free ourselves from their shackles which we have voluntarily put on our hands. The *Kalapani* scare still haunts us and many of the even so-called educated consult their old *Manu* and hordes of ancient law-givers and *Smriti*-writers to see how far they are allowed, if at all, to travel by sea and whether they

are permitted to mix with other races. The Shastras seem to be a veritable demon, whose very touch is enough to paralyse us into inactivity and turn us into a nation of cowards who waste a precious deal of their time in devising reasons for neglecting certain duties which their conscience imperiously commands them to carry out. Look at the sad spectacle of the educated Madrasses—some of them prominent leaders of society—seriously discussing that silly drivel of the Post-Puberty Marriage Bill, as if the whole face of the world is going to be changed by that innocent Bill being passed into Act. What has become of all our liberal education, our vaunted civilization, our freedom of thought, if we are capable of producing only such poor specimens of logic as we have displayed in opposing a Bill, which is more worthy of our antediluvian ancestors than beings who have benefited by the teachings of modern science. What ever resourceful Arch-Theosophist, Mrs. Annie Besant, is now holding a marionette dance under the grandiloquent appellation of the Madras Parliament, where the puppets are no less personages than some of the best leaders of society. The pantomimic farce is neither worthy of the operator nor of the operated. The sense of our leaders seems to have suddenly deserted them and their gullibility is so great that they are being bemused by the lady wire-puller to the perennial amusement of all on-lookers. When will our great men turn from such baubles to things of vital interest to the nation? One sure remedy for these oddities will be sea-travel. Our stay-at-home policy is greatly responsible for such extravagant and eccentric outbursts of redundant or unspent energy. Instead of lavishing this very useful commodity in puerile ways like this, we can very well visit foreign shores and advantageously copy or assimilate all those institutions and processes which conduce to the greatness of our neighbouring nations. Unless we are obsessed by a false notion of patriotism or are believers in the virtues of Chaucerism, we must ever be ready to exchange ideas with our neighbours and to profit by their good example. True patriotism, while conserving whatever is best in one's people, should also endeavour to improve the stock by engrafting on to it qualities which are unquestionably beneficial but which we can only learn from a foreign population. In this sense, there would be no more wrong even in a free fusion of nations than in that of individuals. There are many amiable qualities which are peculiar to the Burman race which we can very well, if possible, strive to make our own. Until they were sophisticated by the touch of modern civilization

which has made them to some extent false to their old beautiful ideals, they were Nature's sons and daughters knowing no guile, harbouring no ill-will, and distracted by no corroding care for the morrow. To the extent these and other excellent traits of our neighbours are assimilated by us. We shall be better prepared to meet Life's buffets in our onward journey on the earth. Complacent Burma will always be able to give points to even philosophic India, but before this is possible India must pass through an ordeal which will alike purify and elevate her and will once more make her as of yore the cynosure of a wondering world.

THE RATNAPURA LABOUR COMMISSION.

BY MR. V. K. RAJANAYAGAM, AVISAWELLA, CEYLON.

THE above commission appointed by H. E. the Governor of Ceylon, Sir Robert Chalmers, to inquire into the condition of the labour force in the Ratnapura District, commenced their work on the 1st ultimo, and their report is awaited with anxiety.

The gentlemen who form the Commission are (1) Mr. R. N. Thaine, (Chairman), the Government Agent of the Sabaragamuwa Province of which Ratnapura is the capital; (2) F. L. Clements, the representing of the Estate Agents' Association; (3) Dr. E. Langley Hunt, C.M.G., one of the two itinerating Inspectors recently appointed by the Ceylon Government for the Medical Department and (4) Mr. G. C. Bliss, who represents of the Planters' Association of Ceylon.

I know only the Chairman, Mr. R. N. Thaine, who is undoubtedly a sympathetic gentleman, but I fear his experience of the labour Districts is comparatively limited and therefore he will have to be guided to a great extent by the other members of the Commission.

Dr. Langley Hunt is a recent recruit to the Colony, and he might help the Commission to arrive at a decision regarding the sanitation in Estates, if at all, and nothing more.

The other two are the representatives of the proprietary planters or, in other words, the mouthpieces of the Superintendents of Estates—an inquiry into the conduct of these Superintendents is also, it is understood, within the scope of the Commission.

Now, before proceeding further, it will be well to give an idea of how this Commission came to be appointed. From an Estate called Pinkande of Nivitigala Group in the Ratnapura District, about 90 coolies left the Estate and came straight to Court; the Superintendent of the Estate followed them and charged them in that Court for quitting service. The coolies were defended by Mr. Asirvatham, Proctor, Supreme Court; and, after inquiry, the Police Magistrate, Mr. Crossman, acquitted all of them on the ground that they had reasonable cause for quitting service, viz., non-payment of wages and non-issue of their usual weekly rice. The learned Police Magistrate evidently was also moved at the starving sight of the skeleton coolies who are generally found among the Ceylon labour force.

The Editor of the *Ceylon Morning Leader* took up the cause, and the learned Magistrate of Ratnapura discouraged prosecutions of the above type. The coolies who were seething with discontent, when they heard of this rushed to the Court in gangs, the labour force was naturally disorganised in the District and the Commission was appointed.

It will be seen from the above that the main grievances, which the Commission sat to investigate, are the coolies', viz., non-payment of wages and non-issue of rice, and it is noteworthy that not one gentleman even was appointed to represent the dumb-driven cooly although there are already two Tamil representatives in the Legislative Council, viz., the Hon'ble Messrs. Kanagasabay and Balasingham and also three Tamil Proctors, two in Ratnapura and the other in Avisawella, a district which has concurrent judicial jurisdiction with Ratnapura.

The appointment of the members forming the Commission has caused great dissatisfaction among all the Kanganies and coolies who have lost all their confidence now, although they expected, at the time just before the appointment of the members, that they will be adequately represented in the Commission.

I propose, in my next, to deal with the system of recruiting, and now, in concluding, I must make an earnest appeal to THE INDIAN EMIGRANT to champion the cause of the poor Indian labourer and fight for a Representative of the Indian Labourers in the Ceylon Legislative Council to protect their interests if they want to continue recruiting, or to put a stop altogether to this pernicious system of buying and selling coolies. It may be mentioned, in this

connection that there is already a European representative of the Planters in the Ceylon Legislative Council.

INDIAN CURRENCY AND FINANCE.*

BY MR. G. HARISARVOTHAMA ROW, M.A.

The work is not a comprehensive survey of the whole monetary history of India, nor is it a review of all the conditions prevailing to-day. As the author himself points out in the introduction, the work mainly concerns itself with the development of Indian Finance and Currency from 1898 onwards after the mints were closed to the free coinage of silver. In the first chapter which is introductory Mr. Keynes traces the gradual evolution of the present standard value of the rupee, and in doing so attempts to point out that though the value of the rupee has been the outcome of regulation, it does not lie with the Government to increase or decrease the volume of currency. He points out how the legal position of our currency is complicated and peculiar, and his plea for a new Act defining our situation seems really reasonable. The second chapter is devoted to a general discussion of the development of the Gold Exchange Standard in European as well as Asiatic countries. An endeavour has been made to show that after all the Indian system is in keeping with world-traditions, and if well carried out, is likely to be the best under the circumstances. There does not appear to be any room for doubt that as in other things so in the matter of Currency we are powerfully running with the world-stream. Mr. Keynes, as a theorist, believes that the ideal Currency of the future contains as one essential element, the use of a cheap local Currency artificially maintained at par with the international Currency or standard of value. He seems to believe, in addition to other means, in the efficacy of holding resources available in foreign countries to be used for maintaining the gold parity of the local Currency when there is the need for it. The ideal and the means both presume a state of perfect confidence in international relations, which, alas, appears to be too distant, to judge by the tragic panorama presented to us by to-day's world war! The third and fourth chapters take up Indian paper Currency and gold in India and consistently with his ideal the author comes to the conclusion that the place for the gold Reserves is London the seat of clearances and that there is no necessity for a gold Currency. It is however refreshing to note that the author believes that the time has arrived when a portion of the Paper Currency Reserve were made available for investment in India. Passing over the fifth chapter

* By John Maynard Keynes, published by Messrs. Macmillan and Co., London, price 6 sh. net.

which discusses in detail 'Council Bills and Remittances' we come to the Chapter of the book dealing with Reserves and Cash balances. The author himself summarises it in the following passage:—

"All countries, since the practice has been generally adopted of employing a medium of exchange composed of some cheaper material than the standard of value, must keep a monetary reserve. Where there is a State Bank the bank is usually entrusted with this duty. Where the state regulates the Currency and the note issue without the intervention of a bank, the state must itself undertake it. The proper magnitude of the reserve must depend upon the particular circumstances of each country. In India the reserve must be unusually large, first because India is a great country specially liable to wide fluctuations in her prosperity and trade on account of climatic conditions, the character of which cannot be easily foreseen; and second, because a large amount of foreign capital is employed, not only in permanent investment, but in temporary loans withdrawable at short notice, and because against these foreign liabilities India holds no appreciable amount of international stock-exchange securities capable of easy realisation. I have argued that £40,000,000 may be perhaps at present a suitable amount to be held by Government in its sterling reserves. These reserves are most useful if they are held in London, where they must necessarily be wanted whenever there is need to make use of them. In deference to a public opinion which does not clearly understand the purpose of the reserves or the limitations under which the Secretary of State must needs act in managing his sterling resources, it may be worth while to allay a groundless suspicion by the compromise of holding a fair proportion of the reserve of actual gold coin in India herself. When a reserve of some such amount as the above has been firmly established, the diversion of further funds into any form of sterling or into the London Market should be deliberately avoided. The history of the last 12 years has been transitional. The authorities have been—wisely—building up the reserves they ought to have. This process has necessarily diverted funds from the Indian Money Market and has naturally excited some measure of opposition. But the fruits of cautious growth may soon be reaped."

The summary shows how perfectly fair Mr. Keynes wishes to be consistent with his ideal of a cheap Exchange Standard Currency. He considers £40,000,000 to be the safe maximum to be held in sterling reserves, and in fairness to the Indian tax-payer he urges that anything above that maximum must be made available in India to the Indian trader for his needs and conveniences. He is also prepared to allow of a portion of the sterling reserve to be maintained

in India in deference to public opinion, "which does not clearly understand the purpose of the reserves or the limitations under which the Secretary of State must needs act in managing his sterling resources." It may be interesting to point out at this stage that at the end of 1912 the sterling reserves aggregated to £52,000,000. From the details Mr. Keynes gives Currency reserve in gold in India amounted to £17,500,000. It is clear therefore that even from the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Keynes, there is a good deal of room for improvement. We must also feel indebted to Mr. Keynes for the pointed attention he has drawn in his last two chapters on Indian banking to the hopelessly small reserves the Exchange banks and the Indian joint-stock banks keep in relation to the enormous deposits they have been able to attract from the general public. His prophetic remarks have proved true in the case of Indian joint stock banks with whose failure in shoals India is most painfully acquainted. The Exchange banks are however enigmas as all their history is not quite available to us. It is to be hoped that those Banks will be compelled to give the necessary consideration to Mr. Keynes' recommendations. Mr. Keynes is

for the establishment of a state bank of some kind. A detailed discussion of the subject is not possible in this review. But one observation may be very safely made. A bank, and that a bank on the scale of a state bank, is a considerable machine of utility for purposes of trade and commerce. The impression in India of state aided Presidency banks is that they are too autocratic and that they look to the interests of foreign trade and commerce more than to the development of India's effective resources. It is therefore right that the idea of the state bank should be postponed till such time as is required to create in India the confidence that the Government is perfectly nationalized and that in economic and financial matters the outlook of both the people and the Government is entirely identical.

The work under review raises many other issues which may very profitably be discussed, but a reviewer has no right to transgress too much on the domain of a detailed critic. We have all to be grateful certainly to Mr. Keynes for the very lucid exposition of many intricate problems of Indian finance. It is to be hoped that with the increasing interest taken by Indian economists in the subject, Mr. Keynes' work will be a source of guidance and inspiration.

Round the Indian Empire

BY POLITIQUE.

For once in their history, the political or other secular allegiance of Mahomedans has got the better of their religious sympathies, in determining conduct. Turkey led the way in joining Germany, knowing her to be Great Britain's enemy, ignoring the consideration that Great Britain has seventy million loyal Mohomedan subjects in India who are one with her in religious sympathy. Egypt, another great Mahomedan country, acclaimed with open hands British occupation, while only a few miles off Turkey was engaged in deadly combat with Britain's ally, Russia. And the remarkable loyalty of Indian Mohomedans to the flag of the Empire at a critical period in its history and before such a tempting example as Turkey, drives home the pleasant conclusion that Indian Mahomedans have a well-developed political conscience apart from the religious conscience, ready to dictate a line of policy compatible with the requirements of a solid national feeling among the various peoples inhabiting this Indian Continental Empire. India may well be proud and intensely hopeful of the future, if only for the unanimity that her two great peoples can show at a critical time such as this. On the other hand, Britain's policy was throughout consistent with her declared policy of not interfering with the religious

susceptibilities of her subjects. Britain's war against Turkey is not a caste war; though Germany strives hard to make it so appear. As a contemporary remarks, it takes two to make a quarrel, especially a religious quarrel, and Britain's answer to the German Jihad has been to reiterate the sanctity of the Holy Places. "This point cannot be emphasised too strongly in explaining to Indian Moslems what the Turkish war really means. Any doubt that might be felt on this vital matter can be dispelled by a reference to the attitude of the Amir of Kabul, the great champion of Islam in Central Asia, and by an account of the actual conduct of the Turkish War by the Germans." It only remains to be explained how Great Britain was dealing with Turkey in her political relations so as to alienate the latter's sympathies at this time. In the first place, the quarrel, it must be remembered, was not of Great Britain's own seeking. She was against her will drawn into it; and, consequently, no blame can be attached to her for her present conduct. How Great Britain allied with Russia is another matter; in fact, British Near Eastern policy was always determined with regard to the safety of the Indian Empire. Great Britain could not tolerate Russian expansion in Asia, as it might tend to jeopardise the safety of India. But Russia has chosen to alter her line of advance, and what she now aims at is an opening into the sea in

Europe. Great Britain can have no complaint to make against Russian ambition in this direction, and so long as the latter confines her ambition to Europe, England will always remain her ally.

In presenting the Indian Budget for 1915-1916 in the Imperial Legislative Council early this month, the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer, the Finance Member of the Government of India, took a comprehensive review of the financial situation in which this country found itself immediately after the declaration of hostilities on the European Continent. In matters of currency and the adjustment of international trade obligations, India is as a country apart, and any monetary crisis occurring in the West is bound to have a peculiarly trying effect on Indian finance. The maintenance of exchange between the Indian rupee and gold is even in normal times a matter of serious concern, and one can well imagine the anxiety of the Government to prevent a threatened break in exchange, which dire possibility had begun to loom large even before Great Britain was actually drawn into the European War. It is open to doubt whether the steps taken by the Government to tide over the difficulty were the ideal in the circumstances, and in one or two instances they have been completely defeated from achieving their object at the first start. Perhaps, it is the whole financial machinery and the currency system of the country that is at fault, and we have only to thank the Chamberlain Commission for perpetuating the obvious error. The measures taken by the Government may here be briefly summarised. Following the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Indian Finance and Currency, the Government of India undertook to support exchange by all means in their power and decided to sell sterling bills on London or "reverse bills" up to a maximum limit of £1 million a week until further notice. This was an innovation on previous policy, for, in the exchange crisis of 1907-08, the amount sold has usually been only £½ million a week and only occasionally £1 million. As the Finance Member explained, this was the first occasion on which the Government of India undertook beforehand to maintain sales on an ample scale. Combined with the sale of Council Bills the practice of selling telegraphic transfers also was continued, with a view to provide a guarantee of immediate remittance when required. These arrangements were explained by the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer to have had the desired effect of promoting confidence by assuring the banking and commercial public of adequate facilities for remittance. In all the Government expect, by the end of this year, to have sold bills and transfers to the total extent of

about £8½ million. This has gone to considerably strengthen the Gold Standard Reserve, which has been recently added to by another £4 million from the Paper Currency Reserve in the early days of the crisis. At the same time, steps were also taken to restrict the dissipation of gold in India by laying down that no gold should be issued unless for a maximum of £10,000. This purpose was defeated by the formation of gold-rings who cleverly eased the Government of nearly £2 million within the 1st and 4th of August. The Government, however, have now refused the issue of gold altogether to private persons. If, on the other hand, the Government had laid down a minimum instead of a maximum, perhaps this extreme step of stopping gold to the public need not have been taken, nor would the dissipation have occurred.

The second great difficulty with which the Government of India was faced was with regard to Savings Banks deposits and currency notes. The deposits in the Post Office Savings Banks amounted to Rs. 2½ crores at the end of last July before the war, but from the second week of August there was such a heavy and excited run on those banks, that in the month of August and September together, there was a net withdrawal of about Rs. 6 crores of these deposits, "due to misguided apprehension in regard to the effects of the war upon the stability of the Government of India, which was every now and then fanned by wild stories of imaginary reverses sustained by our allies or ourselves, and by the untoward incidents connected with the career of the late *Emden*." Since then, the Government have infused confidence in the public with commendable promptitude by putting the Post-Offices in possession of adequate funds and enjoining the prompt encashment of all claims and "it is perhaps," says the Hon'ble Finance Member with quaint humour, "a welcome indication of the way in which the strength of our financial position is really viewed by our enemies that a number of German prisoners at Ahmednagar have themselves opened accounts with the Government savings-banks." It is stated that the demand for the encashment of currency notes was most serious in Bombay, and the total encashment in that Presidency has been estimated to have reached the abnormal figure at about Rs. 2½ crores in August and September out of Rs. 4½ crores in respect of India as a whole. Next to Bombay, come Burma and the Punjab, but it is remarked that in these cases the increase might be due as much to the special trade conditions of the year as to uneasiness arising directly from the crisis. The Government at once took steps to allay the panic by issuing instructions to meet all demands for

encashment of currency notes at district treasuries, whereas, ordinarily, a note is encashable as of right only at a currency centre. These measures are rightly expected after the crisis is over to increase the popularity of the currency notes, leading to an extension in their use. As a result of these measures, the Finance member remarked: "the fact that we were obliged to strengthen the cash resources of district treasuries and of the savings banks, besides adding to our deposits with mufsal branches of Presidency banks, imposed an extra strain on our balances by preventing the economy which we usually obtain by their concentration, so far as possible, at the Presidency towns and other important commercial centres." A critical period in the finances of this country has been more or less wisely met and a meed of praise is due to the Government of India and the Finance Member for the strength and steadiness they have displayed in the face of a grave situation. Then, the effects of the war on Indian trade remain to be mentioned before we proceed to examine the Budget for the forthcoming financial year.

It is impossible that Indian trade and commerce could be immune from the consequences of the war in which the foremost Western nations are belligerents, including Great Britain. We indicated in a previous note the trend of Indian commerce, which lay principally with the countries on the European continent, and a blow dealt at this centre is bound to be felt in India. The Hon'ble Sir William said on the occasion of presenting his last Financial statement: "All her (India) recent development has been on lines of diminished isolation. Her currency system connects her with the money markets of London and the world. She relies for internal development largely upon borrowings in London. Her prosperity is increasingly bound up from year to year, with her rapidly growing foreign trade." It follows, therefore, that India should feel the effects of the war from top to bottom of her economic system; indeed, "they are written large" over the Budget statement. Receipts show a considerable falling off, especially under Customs and Railways, as is only to be expected on account of the complete closure of both the export and import trade of India. The large slice of trade we have been doing with Germany and Austria has been cut off by the war, and credit has been generally weakened on account of the dislocation in the markets all over India. What with the late mischief-making *Emden* and the pusillanimous Marwari, "who (albeit) plays such an important role in conducting and financing the trade of the country," credit was withdrawn from operation in the markets. The situation in Bombay and the Punjab

was made worse by the bank failures, in the previous year and two more closed their doors during the war, namely, the Punjab Co-operative Bank, established in 1905 and the Bank of Upper India established as far back as 1862. During the current financial year, the largest decline in revenue is that under State Railways; and having regard to the continued depression of trade, the gross receipts for the year is estimated to be £35.6 million, or about £2 million less than the Budget. Under customs a total revenue at £6,820,000 is expected, which is £917,000 less than the Budget anticipation. The most important decreases occur under manufactured articles, sugar, export duty on rice, cotton manufactures, and metals (other than silver) and manufactures thereof. A large fall amounting to £361,000 is indicated under Interest receipts, due to the depletion of balances in London on which in normal times the Secretary of State would have been earning money, pending their eventual employment. Opium is held responsible for a loss of £288,000. Stagnation of business, and interference with telegraphic communication entailed by war conditions, account for a fall of £218,000 under Posts and Telegraphs. There is likewise diminution in revenue under other heads also. "The only head of revenue," said the Finance member, "in which an important betterment on budget anticipations has occurred is Salt; and here, I regret to say, the improvement is almost wholly illusory, as it represents advance payments of duty effected in the expectation of increased salt taxation." The current financial year is thus faced with deficits in all directions, and the war-budget of 1915-16 will go down in Indian history as a remarkable one in many respects.

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer has courageously given the go-by to the cherished traditions of the Indian Budget. He has pleasantly defeated the anticipations of us all about a coming taxation to tide over the wind-falls. In spite of the war and weather, and the deficits, there will be no new taxation. The time-honoured custom of budgeting for surpluses and reducing the margin of taxation narrower and narrower, so beloved of Anglo-Indian critics, has been thrown overboard and we hope, for good and all. There were many a hard fight before in the Supreme Council over this policy of 'caution' and 'surpluses.' As a contemporary remarks, "Sir William is evidently no believer in surpluses. It will be remembered that when the late Mr. Gokhale first entered the Imperial Council, Lord Curzon was the Viceroy and Sir Edward Law was the finance member. His first budget speech was a strong condemnation of the policy of surpluses. During the two following years surpluses continued to be the order of the day and Mr. Gokhale repeated his condemnation

of it. The finance portfolio changed hands in 1905 and the new member, (the then) Mr. Edward Baker, introduced a new policy, accepting the views of Mr. Gokhale. Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson too erred on the side of caution, though he was so sympathetic towards the people of the country." And we agree, with our contemporary from whom we just quoted, in thinking that Sir William Meyer's is decidedly the most popular budget that is possible to think of during the present time. The Budget of 1915-16 estimates for a deficit of about £3.8 million, on the assumption that the war will continue throughout the year. We do not propose to go into the details, but it may be noted that there is to be a reduction in military expenditure and a curtailment of the Railway programme for 1915-16. No additional taxation is to be resorted to, and it speaks volumes for the skilful handling of a difficult situation by the Finance member. He said, "we do not propose on this occasion to raise any money by increased taxation. We should not hesitate to do so to meet a deficiency in revenue which promised to be of a more or less abiding character. We know that, ordinarily, we can count on surpluses. India too has a very small unproductive debt; and with trade conditions depressed, and the present abnormal rise in food prices in a large part of the country, we have come to the conclusion that we ought not to add to existing taxation, unless it is absolutely necessary." On the other hand, the needs of the coming year are to be financed by borrowing from the Gold Standard reserve and the Paper Currency reserve. It is to be regretted that Government have found themselves unable this year to spend largely on the material and social development of the country, and it may not be difficult to suggest ways and means wherewith this object too may be achieved, even in the present state of the finances of the country. The Railway programme may still be curtailed to give room for education and sanitation, and various other adjustments easily effected to make the Budget more popular and touch the real needs of the people at more points.

The Annual Report on the working of Co-operative Societies in Madras for the year 1913-14 is full of critical observations on the progress of the movement. That the stage has been attained when quality more than quantity should be aimed at is now generally recognised, and one should not feel sorry if one meets with sharp criticism here and there. The Board, in its review on the report, has, however, we are afraid, taken rather a doleful view of the situation, and it is doubtful whether the errors and irregularities it has been at pains to point out furnish sufficient excuse for it. It also strikes us

that the Board has altogether an inadequate conception of the scope of Co-operative Societies; as when it says, referring to the habits of orderliness, and good citizenship certain to be induced by well-directed co-operation, that the employment of societies as contractors for petty sanitary works can teach but little. We know of scores of instances where Co-operative Societies have done splendid service for sanitation, the upkeep and maintenance of minor canals and roads, etc. in less backward provinces than Madras. Before we proceed to examine the shortcomings of the movement we shall take stock of its progress in Madras during the year under review. The main features of the year's progress were the addition of 240 Agricultural Credit societies on the basis of unlimited liability to the previously existing 995 societies of this type; the growth of the non-agricultural credit movement, now represented by 50 town-banks with a total working capital of Rs. 12.37 lakhs and of a strong reserve fund which now stands at Rs. 6.19 lakhs as against Rs. 4.43 lakhs in the previous year. The addition of several societies not belonging to the familiar types of "credit" and store is also a notable feature. The departure in this case is marked to be in favour of building societies. In the same year was also decided by the Government, the levy of an audit fee from co-operative societies, a step of the first importance towards making the movement self-supporting. A satisfactory feature in the year's progress is the increase in the number of societies formed for purely agricultural purposes, such as the cultivation of improved varieties of crops and the wholesale purchase of agricultural requisites. This development naturally entails a close understanding between the Agricultural Department and the co-operative movement and should afford an excellent opportunity for bringing to the notice of the ryots the improvements advocated by the former to their benefit. So far as it goes, the movement has proceeded on sound lines, but the Registrar notes with some concern certain unsatisfactory signs which we shall next examine.

A tendency that has been adversely commented upon by the Board is that exhibited by agricultural societies to prefer mortgages to personal security. In the year under report the percentage of such loans rose to 46.50, as against 43.59 in the previous year. Here is danger of agricultural credit defeating its object in getting itself immobilised in land. Credit to be efficiently applied must always be kept in a fluid form and more than one such credit society has had to come to grief during the recent crash in Germany, owing to the fact that the loans advanced were locked up in land,

buildings and other immovable property. Another consideration that is of equal importance is that loans taken on personal security are calculated to keep alive the sense of his obligation in the mind of the borrower. Another serious evil that has been discovered in the working of the co-operative credit societies is the growing proportion of unproductive loans granted by non-agricultural societies. The percentage of such loans issued by non-agricultural societies rose from 12.77 in the previous year to 17.18 in the year under report. It is desirable that this tendency also should be discouraged. The Board has some strong words to say regarding the present "unsatisfactory" system under which extensions of time are granted for the repayment of loans. In the case of all classes of societies, and especially of central banks, the percentage of balance to demand was greater than that of the previous year. An increasing tendency is noted of societies and members failing to meet their responsibilities in due time. The effect is to hold out an inducement to borrowers to try to get the day of repayment postponed. It cannot be too strongly urged that societies have need to be particularly careful in the matter of long loans and it is possible that too large a proportion of the available funds may become locked up in long loans with the result that a few members benefit at the expense of the majority who are unable to get short loans. Again, there is much truth in what the Registrar says, namely, unless client societies discharge their dues to central banks with punctuality, it is evident that the latter must sooner or later fail to discharge their dues to their own creditors. The disparity between demand and collection of loans from members is explained by the Registrar as being due to laxity on the part of the inspecting staff as well as of the pauchayats of agricultural societies. He thinks that the sudden influx of societies and of members brought into full play the traditional evil of unpunctuality which in India is the growth of ages. How deep-seated the evil is will be apparent from the fact that while the Indian people have changed for the better in many respects, unpunctuality is as prevalent as ever. The money-lender in present day India has, consequently, no longer to reckon as did his forbears, with the risks of invasion, or the low value of securities, but with the unpunctuality of the borrower who will, to a certainty, not pay at the stipulated time and whose default may oblige the lender himself to borrow money when he wants money. It is no doubt due to unpunctuality that the rate of interest in India still rules so high, notwithstanding the advantages of a highly organized government. From this point of view the co-operative battle has to be waged hereafter not so much against the usury of the lender as against the unpunctuality of the borrower.

A good deal of misapprehension exists in the public mind with regard to the question, **Who should Emigrate?** who should emigrate out of the mother-country. A popular view of the problem is that those who cannot take care of themselves in their native land might well betake themselves off to foreign places. This suggestion, which looks upon emigration as a safety-value to rid the country of its 'undesirables' and 'ne'er-do-wells,' has contributed more than any other to the difficulties that surround the question of Indian emigration. It is needless to point out that we entirely dissent from this narrow and mischievous view. Our policy is to discourage the emigration of unskilled and uneducated labourers, as this section of the community is bound to produce the worst impression on foreigners. We believe that a considerable part of the prejudice against Asiatics is fed by the fact that those whom it possesses are acquainted only with the poorer types and specimens of our races. We also believe that the indenture system would not have come into such rigorous operation, if only educated and really skilled labourers were allowed to leave India. In this connection, we quote a letter printed in the *Modern Review*, sent by Mr. Manilal M. Doctor in response to his Indian correspondents. "Most of the correspondents," he writes, "are unfortunately persons who have no qualifications for earning their livelihood independently of the Government or of the white merchants. In fact a majority have asked me to find out if they can get a billet somewhere in this colony. (Fiji.) About half-a-dozen have some claims to take up independent work as surveyors—but even here there may be hardly one or two who may have a good chance, to satisfy the commissioner of Lands that they possess decent qualifications for this kind of work'. He writes that they are in need of :—

(1) Independent professional men such as doctors, solicitors, barristers, surveyors and the like with sufficient money to start.

(2) General merchants with sufficient capital for import and export business capable of finding agents for themselves in Australia.

(3) Carpenters, blacksmiths, cabinet-makers, photographers, and the like with good qualifications and experience. And

(4) Real missionaries and teachers, with moderate needs and humility enough to serve their country-men, without creating religious feuds or factions in futile attempts to increase their own importance, men, who regardless of praise or blame would only persist in doing their duty with dignity and courage.

GENERAL ARTICLES.

NATIONALITY.

BY PROFESSOR J. A. SMITH.

SINCE the days in which I first began to take an interest in politics, a great and general change appears to me to have taken place in the importance attached to the idea of Nationality. At that time the word was associated with the ideals of Mazzini, the prophet of Italian freedom, who extending his vision beyond his own country, dreamt of a kind of federation of the nations of Europe, in which each was to have a recognised place, as each had a special contribution to make to the whole work and life of civilisation. The principle of Nationality seemed to give a clue to the nature of the federation which was the ultimate aim of political organisation and activity.

Our outlook is not now confined, as it was then, to Europe, but includes the whole world in its scope. This and other changes have weakened in most men's mind, the thought of Nationalities and their special missions as a guide to political action; the right of them to recognition is no longer so clearly acknowledged or treated as beyond question. It looks almost as if the ideal had spent its force or had sufficiently done its work, and in most younger minds its place has been taken by ideals of the economic reconstruction of society or of the consolidation of nations into larger political wholes of a new type. The problems connected with the claims of Nationalities to recognition have begun to wear a somewhat old-fashioned air. There is a certain impatience with those peoples who have been late in putting in their claim to recognition as Nationalities and a disposition to think that by "missing their tide" they have almost put themselves out of court. Indeed, the enthusiasm for the nationalist ideal, which in those days was regarded as among the noblest and most ennobling of human passions, is now apt to be thought of as an anachronism, perhaps as a disease, or at the least as an inordinate passion, needing to be kept carefully under observation and control. The word has all but lost its association with patriotism and, where it has not acquired a new association with anarchism, often signifies something to be deprecated as the survival of a narrow and purblind localism. As an observer of changes in political theory and practice, I note the decay of the conviction that it is good for a people to feel themselves a separate nationality, to claim as such rights for themselves, to be allowed such rights and to be confirmed, and, if need be, protected in their enjoyment and exercise of them, of the idea that self-government is in itself a good thing, and that it is better for a people that feels itself a nation to manage its own

affairs, better even though they make rather a mess of them, than that an outside power, however benevolent, should undertake and discharge the task for them. Yet these are the ideas in which I was brought up, and they are ideas whose value I do not yet think exhausted, and from which I feel I shall never part.

What is this ideal? What do we mean by Nationality as a principle of politics? Valuable as are some of the considerations urged recently by Lord Haldane, I cannot but dissent from his express or implied definition of it as consisting in a more or less instinctive conformity to a set of common customs or social traditions. This is rather the natural basis of it than the spiritual reality itself. For it is a spiritual reality, a spiritual force or energy which seeks as its historical expression an embodiment or organism of a distinctly political type, with freedom as its main characteristic, freedom within it and freedom from external interference. It can exist as a determinate form of unity, binding together a collection of men *in advance of any such organisation*. It is no mere passive or instinctive adherence to a common set of customs, it is no mere aspiration or utopian dream, but a formed and positive determination of will, a resolve to live in a certain way and under certain conditions. The essence of it is that it is a volition formed with thought or based upon judgment and fixedly maintained. It is not enough that it should be directed to the pursuit of material welfare even on a large scale through some form of economic co-operation; on the other hand, it is not necessary that it should set before itself any definite moral end, or acknowledge some special vocation in the service of the civilised world. It is simply and solely the will of a certain group of human beings to be a Nation, to make their Laws for themselves and to be governed by them. The will is a will to be self-governed, and to abide by the consequences. There is involved in it accordingly a certain consciousness—a fellowship in judgment as well as in feeling—and thus it has to grow through discussion, and it is impossible without a general diffusion of education and a general freedom of thought and speech. The mere absence of foreign interference and control certainly does not constitute it, and in some cases the continuance for a time of such control may be necessary in order to enable this consciousness to develop itself. The claim to nationhood would certainly not be justified if there were a probable danger that, with the removal of foreign control, the people might fall under the power of a tyrannous authority resident within its own bounds.

If this be its essence, it must be looked on as an historical, not a natural, product. It must not be conceived as capable of being constituted by mere kinship or identity of race. Indeed, the idea that there

is such a thing as a self-identical race is a mere illusion ; it is only through ignorance that men nowadays speak of single *races*. Mere community or similarity of racial type will not make a Nationality, and the possession of a common language is not indispensable to it. Nor, though war has often been the school in which its lesson has been learned, is it necessarily dependent upon a partnership in suffering ? Indeed, excessive suffering actually prevents its formation or disintegrates it. It were a desperate venture to *seek* such a school for it. Yet a common experience of some full varied and continued kind is required for its coming into existence and power.

In regard to the size of the group within which the spirit of Nationality thus conceived can appear, what has been said seems to import certain limits both of numbers and of space. Any given group of men may be either too large or too small to be its vehicle. Personally, I have a preference or prejudice in favour of small unities than seem at present to be contemplated by most contemporary thinkers.

This is perhaps enough, and more than enough, by way of abstract definition of the idea of Nationality. In touching upon some points in the possible application of the general doctrine to actual cases, I have to apologise for the two contrary faults of over-vagueness and over-definiteness. Some may feel disposed to regard what I have to say as too general in scope to be helpful, while others may feel that my remarks are too particular in their implied or suspected application. Perhaps the confession that as a Highland Celt I am one of a "*race*" which has failed to develop a concrete Nationality, may give me a title to say certain things without offence which would perhaps be unbecoming in the mouth of an Englishman. I belong by blood and affection to a race who had their chance and failed ; as it has been said by one of themselves, "They went out to battle, but they always fell." They had to yield to a race which had earlier formed and more solidly established the national sense, and they have become within the organism which it created only as it were a tissue, perhaps eventually to pass away indistinguishably into its structure. If it is galling to those in process of such absorption to think of such a fate, the justice of it can scarcely be gainsaid.

No set of people would seem to be by nature disqualified from developing such a joint will to be a nation, and we must remember that the spirit of Nationality "cometh not with observation." But it would, on the other hand, be unwise not to acknowledge that its prenatal history may belong, and that the time of gestation may last longer in some cases than in others. Nor, to change the figure, is a state of pupillage one only to be borne with impatience. Even if the guardians seem to prolong it overmuch, it is wise to

remember that much is to be learned from them by the way. In any case, it is probable that the nascent spirit of Nationality must learn to express itself first on a small scale. The determinate will is sure to reach maturity first in a few individuals only and these will find that the process of raising others to the same level as themselves is one which grinds the individual down and involves the sacrifice of personal success. If such individuals are not willing to make these sacrifices and possess their souls in hope, it shows that the spirit of Nationality in them is but a flickering flame. Many must be prepared to die without entering the promised land.

As regards the duty of a superior power which finds itself in the position of helping, either by positive action or by abstention from interference the realisation of Nationhood by some subordinate group, I can only repeat my view that it should make its decisions under the conviction that Nationality is not only a good thing worth promoting, but that it is something which has definite rights.

To deny it, where it exists, expression, is unwise and injustice. It ought rather to be helped forward to definite embodiment in a political system. To do so is, I repeat, both wise and just. Nor can either aim be realised without taking considerable risks. "Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom," and it is too often forgotten that the opposite of magnanimity is pusillanimity, the temper that always finds 'a lion in the path.'

As I analyse my own feelings on the subject, I find that my sense of the inherent rights belonging to the spirit of Nationality is quite unconnected with the belief that any and every group of men in whom it is found have some special and irreplaceable contribution to make to the spiritual wealth of mankind. Nor can I see that, were there is such a gift that it necessarily depends upon the organisation of those among whom that gift is parted into an autonomous body politic. No, my desire to see groups of men collected and segregated in separate political units is not connected with the recognition of a distinctive genius in each group but solely with the feeling that if a group of men have formed the *will* to govern themselves, I ought to let them do so and have no right to prevent them, and specially where that will is to live by a system of laws which they themselves are resolved to obey, the duty of non-interference or even assistance is peremptory. For myself I trust that, where I am reasonably satisfied that such a will is matured, I shall have the courage and disinterestedness to act or vote accordingly and, that while it is, still struggling towards maturity, I shall accompany its struggles with sympathy and hope.—*Oxford Indian Magazine*.

MORAL AND RACIAL PREJUDICE.

MR. Wilson^oD. Wallis, University of Pennsylvania writes, in the course of an interesting article in the *Journal of Race Development*, published under the auspices of the Clerke University, Worcester, Mass., U. S. A.

Somewhere in my reading I have met with a passage that goes about as follows : Now when I speak of religion I, of course, mean Christianity ; and by Christianity I refer, of course, to Protestantism ; while as every one knows the only Church is the good old Scotch Presbyterian. In the following paragraphs I wish to inquire whether we as members of a localized and so-called civilized social group are each and all of us 'good old Presbyterians' in our moral and ethical prepossessions and prejudices ; finally, to consider the psychology of the situation and inquire whether we may hope eventually to escape from these limitations of judgment. To make the question concrete and 'practical.' Am I as a member of civilized society in America able to pronounce an unprejudiced and therefore a true judgment as to the relative worth of life in the Arunta tribe of Australia, the Eskimo of Hudson Bay and an American Municipality ? Am I able properly to estimate the relative values of these several ethical codes ? There are prejudices and prepossessions known to all of us, though not usually thought of as having a bearing upon this particular problem, which make satisfactory solution difficult.

Our initial prejudice toward people not of our civilization is well reflected in our terminology when speaking of them—a terminology that is a historical psychological record and even to-day represents in the main our attitude toward savages. We speak of them, for example, as "lower"—when we should have to answer with considerable discrimination were we asked "lower in what?" We call them "primitive," whereas—unless we be polygenists—we must admit that they are as old as we ; an advocate of the pre-Adamite theory would have to confess that they are even older !

We speak of them as 'rudimentary' although in many respects they are far more advanced than we and their so called *simplicity* on closer study often gives us a most astounding complexity. We speak of them as "savages"—whatever else they may be, they are "savages." Even so, some of them are as gentlemanly and as kindly disposed as any philosopher or anthropologist. To be quite fair to him, however, we must forget all of the connotation in the term 'savage' 'primitive,' or whatever, and accept it merely in its denotative or referential sense. At the same time the inconsistency of asking civilised man to be fair to the savage must seem as ludicrous as it is unusual and

bootless. We frequently hear it said that there is a great deal of the savage in all of us ; but we seldom think of its counterpart : there is a great deal of civilized man in the savage. The one is as true as the other for there is a great deal of human nature in all of us. "Scratch a Russian and you will find a Tartar," is a saying that could have emanated only from a Russian view-point ; the Tartar's version would have been "scratch a Tartar and you will find a Russian." Which is the truer is a question that will be answered according to your nationality and sympathies. After all perhaps the Tartar would have suggested a more polite test. It would be safe to conjecture even prior to experiment that according to the manner and degree of scratching most of us are Tartars of a correspondingly more or less pronounced type.

The confusion of thought between survival and ability to survive as a question of fact and as a question of desirability or ethical value, the confusion between dynamic biology and metaphysical ethics, has not troubled philosophers since the deliverance of Huxley's Romanes lecture. But it does dominate the ethical consciousness of the ordinary man. Even Leslie Stephan could not question the fact for him that it is immensely better to have Europeans exterminating Indians and a continent supporting 50 millions where it formerly supported ten millions, rather than that the Indian should still be in possession of things here. For the ordinary man the mere fact that Americans were able to exterminate or drive out the Indian is in itself proof of the former's superiority in an ethical as well as in a social and materialistic sense. Illustrations of this the world over, wherever the stronger civilized race has met the weaker savage, would fill the empty shelves of any library.

Those who have not become acquainted with the savage through some of the more recent literature which is becoming every year at once more critical and more sympathetic, are surprised to hear that the savage almost uniformly views the white man with as much condescension as we view him. Except for the white man's superior force with the respect it commands, the savage no more likes or respects our civilization and ethics than we like or respect his.

In this connection, the quaint account of Coryat telling how he was gently ridiculed by his friend for introducing into England the use of a fork, such article being then (beginning of the seventeenth century) unknown is much to the point.

In some parts of Europe forks were considered a useless luxury and sinful indulgence, and were for a long time under the ban of the clerics. In Germany the ordinary people regarded the innovation as an absurd affectation, while the clerics considered them an insult to providence who had given man wholesome

food which he ought not to be ashamed to touch with his fingers.

Is there no way out of this difficulty? Is it impossible to judge fairly of a culture other than our own and to judge the value of our own without over-estimating it? Closer contact, better understanding lessens the prejudice as well as imparts new concepts to the society or individual in question. Even savages show themselves capable of enlarging their world and readjusting their scale of values when they come into contact with another culture and grasp something of its principles.

What takes place in the case of the savage has its counter part in the transition that takes place when the white man acquaints himself with other cultures than his own. He is forced to account in some way for the validity or invalidity of the others; this turns his thought back upon his own culture. In this way he succeeds to an extent in isolating himself from his social and historical setting, he objectifies it in comparing it with some other culture. In just so far as he is able to separate himself from his social setting can he understand his culture as an outsider and view it from the same standpoint from which he views cultures that are external to his own. Of course the supreme difficulty is to judge without using standards that have developed in the group culture and which of themselves prejudice the case of competing cultures.

This is the psychological difficulty. Is it, however, in the nature of things, an insuperable difficulty, or merely one incidental to our present and past social and psychic life and thus an accident of our nature rather than essential to our make-up? Are we sufficiently ethical to prefer the higher life of another culture—higher when judged by our own standards—if this mean the sacrifice of our own, or is patriotism, a magnified local group prejudice, the highest flight of which our ethical nature is capable?

It is true generally, that when we are dealing with human beings, a thorough intellectual grasp of the situation will, in most cases, actually modify the disapprobation of our moral nature; whereas if our initial judgment were substantially correct, further familiarity with the conditions should serve to deepen and intensify rather than to modify it. So it comes about that those who understand least are most prone to criticise without restraint; while those who have a more penetrating as well as more comprehensive grasp of the situation with its untoward circumstances and its circumscribing conditions are more lenient in their judgment of a given deed or character. In the oft quoted saying of Pascal that 'to understand all is to forgive all,' there is much truth: if we knew the exact conditions, psychic and social in which the individual or group in question lives, the problems of

environment, heredity, social setting and the ability to cope with these, our criticism would perhaps, not be so severe. After all, which one of our Western civilizations is fit to cast the first stone?

THE OTHER SIDE OF A SOLDIER.

By "JOHN TRAVERS" (Mrs. Bell).

THE professional life of the Indian officer, sowar, and sepoy brings him into very close contact with Englishmen. His British officer and his doctor sahib are familiar figures; he sees them week after week and year after year; he shares work, games, sport, and danger with them. All that the regiment claims from the lives of each makes common cause. There is clanship in it, and much personal service. But the social life of the Indian officer and his British officer lies far apart; in many years it meets some score of times, but does not mingle even then. Calcutta, or other big places, presents them as social figures now and again: grave groups of Indian officers moving across the lawns together at Government House garden parties, exchanging greetings with a few British officers, having no acquaintances seemingly, or insignificantly few and slight, among the other Indian gentlemen. Courteous, not obviously shy, inscrutably bored, the couple of hours pass in the brilliant sunshine, and the little group never breaks up; together they come and together depart again to the lines. Once the group strings itself out perhaps, and a British officer presents each Indian officer in turn to the Viceroy or the Lieutenant-Governor, the most gratifying moment in the afternoon—a social recognition of a military man's *izat*.

In the North, among Punjab regiments, the cantonment must be the dullest place in the world to a native officer's eyes, one would imagine. He seldom or never enters one of the bungalows that border its dusty roads except in his official capacity as an Indian officer who has business with a British officer; the club lies altogether outside his existence. The hockey ground knows him and the polo ground, but all through the cold weather, when the Englishwomen are present watching the games, he will probably come and go without any greeting or word between him and them. A sky of brazen blue, a sun-baked ground of pale earth without a blade of grass, the lines in the background—a fringe of sepoy sitting and standing all round the boundaries of the hockey ground—big, untidy Pathans, white-clad Sikhs, smart Dogras, dark-turbaned Punjab Mohammedans—the two contending teams, a striped dhurrie and a tent and chairs, half-a-dozen Englishwomen, a dozen Englishmen, numerous dogs, and at a little distance two benches and the Indian officers. Such a rough sketch depicts in outline the scene that canton-

ments provide winter after winter: a nothing in itself, but kindly, working well, the easiest adjustment of relations between the unveiled white woman and the East, the educated ruling race and the uneducated old subadar, with moreover "the regiment" providing a mutual interest to them all when the 127th Punjab takes the 145th Sikhs on at hockey.

I have seen the Indian officers approach nearer to the lives of the English officers than the parade ground and the hockey and polo grounds on Christmas Day. Clad in uniform the group of Indian officers visits first the mess and then the married officers' bungalows, and there is ten minutes of congratulations and seasonable talk. Ten minutes during which the Englishwoman tries to make herself understood in halting Urdu, and her guests show her flawless courtesy and deference. They sit in her home, and yet her husband may never enter in the same way the unveiled presence of any Indian officer's "house" (wife), and therein lies the crux of the whole social situation. Social, as apart from personal—for the personal attachment of an Indian officer to his British officer is often extraordinarily binding and deep. In the lines are to be seen the children of the regiment, grave little boys and toddling maidens. The band is generally accompanied in its hours of practice by half-a-dozen youngsters, who listen solemnly and with a curious air of surveying an inheritance; some day very certainly they will be "the people of the band." Not a few of the boys go to school, for the necessity of education even for such honourable men as soldiers is slowly dawning upon reluctant Indian officers, but for the most part the little fellows come and go in the lines as their fathers' shadows, polite, seemingly docile, and evincing every now and then a preference for this sahib or that. Occasionally there is a regimental orphan, the son of a sepoy who has died, who remains with some kinsmen, or the child of a bhisti, to whom is extended the large unquestioning charity of the East. Sometimes Indian officers' sons, or the sons of the sepoy, will be taken to the bungalow of a British officer to salaam to the memsahib—seen thus they are shy youngsters, anxious to end the interview as soon as may be, but it is amusing to watch them walking down the compound drive again all swagger and elation, for the memsahib has been gracious, and the honour has been great. Their fathers have much satisfaction in the possession of these boys, but their pride and affection are carefully restrained in the presence of the Sahiblog, and only the unsympathetic can fail to detect it.

Behind these children are the unseen wives of the Indian soldiers, who find for a few months in the year a temporary home in the seclusion of the married quarters in the lines. No one who has been in India can have failed to remark the coming or the going of these very

helpless ladies—the shapeless white "burkha" moving a little blindly across the crowded platform of the railway station a few paces behind her man, threading her way in his shadow past the vendor of sweetmeats and the water carrier, past the prowling pi-dogs, and the throng of coolies, into a country she sees but dimly as she wends her way across it once, and never sees again till she leaves the lines and enters once more the sheeted tonga—covered up in rough-and-ready fashion to afford her a seemly and dignified seclusion—on her way back to the "te-rain" and her distant village. Such wives are almost invariably uneducated women, but, though they are invisible to the world which lies beyond their threshold, that world has its hidden roots within their sphere of influence. Never doubt but that their discontents could nourish discontents, their satisfaction give satisfaction. They are hidden persons and accorded the respect of silence, but they are manifestly a responsibility and a thousand things proclaim a consideration for them. They cannot travel unaccompanied by a father, a brother, a husband, or a son, and the escort entails the expense of double fares; they cannot market, and the man must provide his household with its requirements. The wife cooks two simple meals a day, embroiders in orange and white silk on a coarsely woven brown cloth, sits for interminable hours talking to other women, and may be watches over her baby. Thus, in her youth, in the bright days, within four narrow walls—and happy withal. For the matron no greater liberty and not more to do when in the lines, but as the prosperity of the man increases she becomes the moving spirit of a larger household in the village, and many an Indian officer's wife gives the impression of a shrewd manager of domestic affairs. They are ladies with fine manners, the high caste Dogra and Sikh wives of soldiers, and they treat each other with a ceremony that is marked by a deference to age and to the official rank of the husband. The wives of Mohammedans see nothing of the wives of Hindus, though their menfolk meet daily in the life of a class company regiment. The big upstanding Pathan women are quickly homesick, and make very short visits to the lines. All the wives show a great appreciation of success in the professional advancement of their soldier husbands, and they speak with pride of their medals, but one may well doubt if they put such matters first in importance when it comes to the terribly expensive matter of a daughter's or son's wedding, and the claims of a pilgrimage upon which their hearts are set. When a regiment goes on service, such wives as happen to be in the married quarters are quickly despatched to their homes, and to all intents and purposes, the Indian officers, sowars, and sepoy are the freest married men in the world, thanks to a family system which guards their womenkind. Yet on the eve

of war the men take thought for their wives, post cards innumerable go forth to them and say, "Have no fear." Never, I think, for all the years the Army claims, for all the far wanderings, for all the active life in a world of men, does the touch of the domestic life of India lose its hold on the Indian soldiers.—*Indiaman.*

THE EXPANSION OF BRITAIN'S IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

BY HENRY A. ELLIS, M.B.

THE subject of Imperial Federation is to me really a religion; for it I have made many sacrifices—as who would not, could they realise it? To a Britisher Imperialism is racial idealism. Patriotism is a much more vital force at the edge of the Empire than apparently it is at the centre. As Kipling says: "What do they know of England who only England know."

War brings everything to relief. It makes us desire to bind the crimson thread of kinship tighter. It makes us more sympathetic and more desirous of a closer understanding. In spite of all this, at its termination it must force into consideration the relations between the Mother Country and the Overseas Dominions. The Dominions will ask the question: "Where do we come in?" Manifestly it is not equitable that the Overseas Dominions, forming a quarter of the white population of the Empire, should have their homes jeopardised for a policy they have no part in making. Their loyalty up to now has filled the breach, but this state of affairs is not right, it is not fair, and consequently cannot continue indefinitely. Thank God, we, in the Colonies, have learned thoroughly the principles of mateship. We act first and inquire into the question afterwards. Even had we not known and approved of the reasons of the War, as we do, we would have, as we will now, put our last man and our last shilling at the disposal of the Empire; and that is not overstating our feelings.

And might I, without trenching on political questions, say we trust you will adopt some similar scheme to that which Lord Kitchener devised for us, giving every one in the community an opportunity of learning how to defend his country, and give to each an opportunity of displaying his real patriotism; and I have no doubt you will find, as we have, that its educational value alone more than compensates for any expense involved. Anyone who knew Australia before the operation of our Defence Acts could hardly recognise it for the same country; so much has it improved the mental, moral, and intellectual condition of our youths that there is no section of the community of any size who would for a moment consider its repeal.

The great problem of the British Empire is the question of differentiation and co-ordination. Both are

conditions in the highest degree requisite for a successful growth. If we fail to solve this problem, it means another civilisation must take our place. Nature does not care how many races she destroys to get there, nor does she care what time is occupied. Professor Cramb, in his book on "Germany and England," makes a statement which, if I had not composed this Paper before I had read it, would have compelled me to do so. He says:—

England's task now—that is to say, if there were no other Power than England—is the evolution not of an exterior uniformity, but of an inner harmony; the organisation of this Empire that we already possess, the founding of an imperially representative Government. New problems of every kind arising from within her own bounds are pressing for solution in India, in Egypt, in Canada, and in the Southern Seas. How is the central government of this vast and complex structure of Empire ultimately to be organised? Who are to compose the Imperial Council or the Imperial Parliament? Upon what principle are its members to be elected, and from whom and by whom? It seems as if the political genius of the nation or the Empire were to be strained to create not only a new school of statesmen but almost a new statesmanship. The problem of armaments, due to the transformation which the art of War is undergoing, is not less pressing. If free communities, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, create their own armies and build their own fleets, who is to have the supreme command of those armies? In what docks are those fleets to be built? By whom are they to be manned? And what is to be the part of each separate State or unit of government in their control? Is it conceivable, if those very principles which have made England an Empire are to persist—the larger freedom, the higher justice—is it conceivable that these organised countries, these States already numbering some fifteen or sixteen million inhabitants, will be content to supply the means of peace and war and yet have no voice whatever in the decision of peace and war? It is absolutely inconceivable. And, again, there is that wider and still more intricate problem of India. How and by what stretch of the imagination is that freedom and justice, in any conscious or self-governing sense, to be extended to India? And to that problem you can also add the like problem in Egypt. These are nearly the central strands of a complex ganglion of questions which, with every year and every decade, will become more pressing.

No feasible scheme has yet been propounded which would give the requisite individual freedom to the part and the necessary unity to the whole. Therefore, before specifying the particular view enunciated here with the object of bringing about that closer union, it may be well to clear the ground by stating definitely the objects which must be achieved, and the principal

difficulties in the way. I had better start by quoting the passage in Freeman's "History of Federal Government" describing Ideal Federation:—

The name of Federal Government may, in this wider sense, be applied to any union of component members where the degree of union between the members surpasses that of mere alliance, however intimate, and where the degree of independence possessed by each member surpasses anything which can fairly come under the head of merely Municipal Freedom. Such unions have been common in many ages and countries, and many of them have been far from realising the full ideal of a Federal Government. That ideal, in its highest and most elaborate development, is the most finished and the most artificial production of political ingenuity. It is hardly possible that Federal Government can attain its perfect form except in a highly refined age, and among a people whose political education has already stretched over many generations. Two requisites seem necessary to constitute a Federal Government in this, its most perfect form. On the one hand, each of the members of the Union must be wholly independent in those matters which concern each member only. On the other hand, all must be subject to a common power in those matters which concern the whole body of members collectively.

The problems we desire to consider here are the absolutely necessary essentials in which we must be united, remembering that our principles are co-ordination and differentiation for the better security of our freedom in shaping our own destinies. Security being the real keystone of a Federation, we have to consider in what direction that security demands that we shall unite, and how we can achieve the freedom which is so absolutely necessary in all other directions. Having laid down the essential lines, the subsidiary questions will naturally be left to those who have the making of the instrument.

Putting aside every other consideration, we find that, when we come down to bedrock, the co-ordinate portion of our Imperialism is really surrounded by our external relations with other States. The first necessity is, therefore, that our foreign policy shall be dictated by the whole Empire. This is necessary, because in shaping that course the integrity of the community may be endangered by anterior acts, and the home and hearth of each may have to be defended; therefore, all contributing parts of the Empire have a right to demand to have some controlling voice in the shaping of that policy, the result of which may mean disaster or even annihilation. As in the past, so in the future, the Navy will be our Imperial instrument of power, and it will be by the Navy that our foreign policy will be supported.

The Empire must still be Empire of the sea, for that is as vital to our Dominions as it is to the Mother Country herself; it is equally important to all parts, therefore the Navy must be one of the essential co-ordinations. As regards the Army, that would be Imperial where employed on Imperial territories or during a state of war in the Empire; but as an army means territorial expression, at other times it could be left to the individual States to raise and administer their forces on some agreed-upon plan, the general advisory staff being of course Imperial. The next essential must be a power to raise finance independent of the parts, or individual federals; as without an inherent financial ability no federation up to the present time has been truly successful. This fact is generally admitted, and if further study is desired both Professor Freeman and "The Federalist" (American) can be referred to, who both demonstrate conclusively that stable finance is the one thing that makes for permanence and efficiency in federal government.

Now, to consider the differentiating points which are necessities. First comes the freedom of all parts to carry on their government as they please in all other essentials to those stated, and they must have complete territorial integrity. They must have liberty to manage their own affairs and to arrange for fiscal policies in a manner to suit their own financial arrangements. They must have power to arrange their own individual citizenships, and to dictate who shall and who shall not enter their territory, and upon what conditions; to regulate their own labour questions to suit themselves; and to regulate their import and export taxes, it being understood that in a question of overlapping of taxation Imperial federal taxes must have precedence. In addition to this, there is one other grave problem which must be discussed, as it has up to the present time been an unsolved difficulty—that is, the question of the inclusion of India. India is not a self-governing Colony, but is an Imperial asset which cannot be overlooked, and should we fail in solving that problem serious difficulties would ensue. The crux of the whole question really hangs on that point. Can we devise a federation which can include India and also Australia, Canada, and South Africa? The difficulty lies in the fact that India contains peoples of other civilisations, and is controlled by ideas and factors to which we are opposed—superstition, fatalism, priestcraft, polygamy, caste, tradition, cheap labour, over-population. On the other hand, the people of the Colonies have little respect for tradition, have no belief in preordination, are monggamous even in their unofficial relations, are intolerant of religious interference, idolise personal liberty even sometimes to license, have dear labour, are deficient in population, and maintain a very high average standard of living.

It must be recognised that these races cannot mingle. Each must be free to carry on its own ideas. In fact, self-governing Colonies have been formed from the most progressive stock in the world under ideal conditions for development. The Australian Colonies have made it clear that they do not intend in any way to jeopardise their population with admixtures; not that they look down on India, but they consider that an Indian cross is not advantageous. Crosses are rarely successful and are nearly always abhorrent to nature. It is no slur on India that she belongs to another and older civilisation with which they could not be advantageously intermixed. The scheme propounded, to be successful, must be able to include these two opposing factors. It must be strong enough to ensure security of each co-ordinated part so as to enable their differential development.

Having stated our difficulties and our objects, the next matter is to state the various methods of obtaining co-ordination. There are roughly three methods: (1) Complete union, (2) Federation, and (3) Confederation. To these I desire to add a fourth, which I shall presently describe, and to which I intend to give the term "Composite Federation." It will come in between Federation and Confederation. It will come very close to Professor Freeman's Ideal Federation. It will have the freedom of Confederation and the financial powers of a Federation, and is really the union created by an alliance of separate Federations in a larger Federation, hence composite. Complete union is clearly precluded by the foregoing proposition, and could under no condition be attained. The present union is really a kind of Confederation with no power by the dominant section to obtain help in her responsibilities, and no power on the part of the sub-dominant section to control or modify the action of the dominant, even should the results be disastrous. This method acted, well in the past when the sub-dominants were weak and the dominant could bear all the Imperial burdens as well as the Imperial responsibility. But the position became unsatisfactory when the dominant part desired the sub-dominant to share the burden without sharing the responsibility. Confederations in the past have always been a failure, because that form of government attempts to separate responsibility and power. To appreciate the danger of this method, one cannot do better than call to mind the United States of America before the Union, or the recent naval crisis which occurred in Canada, and which showed all the grave disadvantages which have always been present, and always must be present, in the confederal form of government.

This brings me to the various ideals concerning the issue and relationship of the Mother Country and the Colonies. There have been two prevailing ideas in the

past; one can be called the ripe-fruit theory, suggesting the necessity for a separation when the proper time arrives: this theory is exemplified by the separation of the United States. The other theory was of a family relation as between parents and children, which would allow for continued union in a subordinate condition. This view seems also inapplicable, and would from its nature exclude India, Egypt, and parts of South Africa, which have had very little, proportionately, of the Mother-blood in their veins. The real relations are not properly described by either of these views. The true ideal of the relationship is of an advantageous business partnership in which we are united and bound in our external relations, but free to carry on our own homes in whatever way we please. Naturally, courtesy will dictate cordial relations, but there can be no compulsion as to whom should be received outside business hours. The essence of the Federation is conjoined action, whereby community of interest desires to acquire a greater security—that security being for a freer development; and therefore security is the keystone of the Imperial arch community of interests, and British ideals would be the pillars, which in their nature would be clustered columns of various interests and ideals. Up to the present time, so far as I know, no suggestion has been made to give effect to that federal union which would be feasible in view of these considerations.

All difficulties disappear when the sea is considered the bond of union and the legitimate place for the exercise of Imperial conjoined authority. The control of the sea in the interests of all is the kernel of the whole question. Our foreign relations are largely bound by the sea. The Imperial body would govern the sea and carry the Imperial will with it. Imperial Federation, the source of revenue, would be the sea, and seaborne commerce, and the ships using the sea, independent of the individual revenue of the State. The Empire would have the right of control in all shipping outside the territorial waters of each State, which would be allowed to be independent in their local traffic alone where the interests of two States were not involved. In this way England would be free, and the Overseas Dominions would be free each to carry out its own destiny in its own way, independent of the Imperial Parliament.

By considering the sea the co-ordinated portion of the Empire, the essentials of the co-ordination could be carried out in this manner: Foreign Policy, Navy, Finance.

The central place of Empire co-ordination would naturally be London. The United Kingdom would naturally have a fundamental voice, as at least three to one, while present conditions prevailed. Taxation could be on a maritime or trade basis or shipping dues. The Imperial Parliaments would be formed from re-

presentatives of all self-governing portions of the Empire on probably a population basis, say, five to a million for illustration; and as foreign affairs, naval supremacy, Imperial Colonial Government could never be truly popular questions, the representatives should be experts elected by the representative parliamentary groups of each Federation, probably on a proportionate basis, so as to allow for a fair minority representation, and these elections should be for a certain number of years, which should not be co-terminous, as both foreign and naval policies—their special business—should be as continuous as possible, not altering to temporary waves. The Imperial Cabinet should be elected, if possible, and the international affairs and naval policy conducted by agreement, not by contradiction.

The parliamentary representatives themselves would probably be somewhat similar to some of our Agents-General in the past, who, having been distinguished politicians, have frequently been appointed to their high office by their opponents on account of their suitability and experience.

The Indian Empire would have their representatives by special arrangement as to number, and would come directly under the Imperial Government, but would be an essential part of the Empire and able to develop her civilisation in the method most suitable to her races. This would be then a real Imperial Parliament under the Crown. It would be supreme in foreign relations, war, peace, and have naval control at all times, as well as control of armies during time of war and the troops occupying Imperial administrative territory in times of peace. Egypt and other sections, not represented, would be Crown Colonies for the present, and administered under the Imperial Parliament. There would be no difficulty in making special arrangements about India, as we know our Australian Federation made special arrangements for Tasmania and Western Australia. The English Parliament would then be the representative of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and would be considered the Federal Parliament of the United Kingdom.

Imperial authority would cease with the sea coast in each Dominion, except by the consent of local Government. The Imperial Executive would, in addition, create an appellate judiciary, which would be a final Court of Appeal on Imperial questions, and not only on Imperial questions but on all other questions of the Empire which it was desirous for them to solve.

This great Empire would thus have one front, one power, one objective externally. Internally the various Federations comprising it would have complete independence, without any interference in their own internal development. The main point at present is not detail, but to grasp the central fact that the sea is the

keystone of the British Empire. The sea created and maintains the British Empire; without the sea there would be no British Empire. We are Imperial in spite of ourselves by the force of the sea.

Let us look on it, then, as eternally indivisible, as a liquid bond which laps all our shores. It shall carry all our aspirations by our fleet and authority in all those places which we would definitely influence, and as long as our Navy was supreme on the sea the Empire would be unassailable. In our own territory we should each be individually able to carry out our customs in the way that seems most fitted to ourselves, but on the sea we should be collectively Imperial, with one thought, one policy, one future. So to us it would become the bond of union of our commerce, our intercourse, and our power, and would be used as in the past to maintain those great principles upon which our Empire is founded—Liberty, Right, Justice, and Freedom of Conscience.

We, who are slowly becoming conscious of our Imperial destiny, although we may not desire it, must be Imperial or perish. Time has placed the sceptre of destiny in our hands, and future ages will judge whether we have handled it well or ill. Sufficeth it for us to do our part. If successful—Well. If unsuccessful—Well, also; but not so well.

GERMANY'S GREATEST COLONY.

THE SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT OF GERMAN EAST AFRICA.

THE story of the acquisition and development of the Anglo-German territories in East Africa forms one of the most romantic chapters in the History of Africa. It is also a story of striking contrast in the different colonizing methods of the two great powers principally concerned. While the British have zigzagged in an uncertain direction, the Germans have resolutely progressed in an almost direct course towards the realisation of a great Central African Empire.

It may be inadvisable to labour that comparison in view of the happenings in Europe, but it may be instructive and profitable to give an outline of significant railway construction, intended extensions, and also to endeavour to indicate the trend of modern German Colonial thought in so far as their East African territory and spheres of influence are concerned.

THE ACQUISITION OF GERMAN EAST AFRICA.

When Dr. Carl Peters and two companions crept into Zanzibar thirty years ago disguised as needy mechanics, the Germans typically began a great scheme of Colonial expansion, which they have since pursued in a calculating and very determined manner. In the autumn of 1884 the three "Ma Duchi," political agents

disguised as out-of-works embarked at Venice for Zanzibar, and proceeding thence to the mainland, succeeded in securing a series of treaty rights from local Chiefs. These rights were promptly confirmed by an Imperial Schutzbrief, or Charter of Protection, which led in 1890 to the signatures to a treaty in London delimiting the respective spheres of influence in East Africa of England and Germany. Agreements were also concluded by Germany with Portugal and the Congo Free State, by which their spheres of influence were extended to their present boundaries. The rise of Germany in East Africa was resented by the Sultan of Zanzibar but through pressure by the British Government this resentment culminated in the absolute disposal of the coast belt to Germany for the sum of £200,000—a very inadequate compensation according to many influential Arabs. The revolt by the dispossessed Arabs against the German East African Company, who were exploiting the country showed that the Arabs thoroughly hated the newcomers. This detestation has not been entirely eradicated, although the bullying Germans have, of necessity, learnt better manners since 1888. Hermann Von Wissman—a name honoured by the Germans in East Africa—began his administration by bloodshed. He thoroughly subdued the Arabs, and broke their powerful influence, but afterwards was sensible enough to treat them rationally and with some consideration. His eighteen years of administrative work is typical of the purposeful manner in which the Germans have pursued the forceful policy of Colonial expansion and development which has dominated the Imperial School of Thought since the inception of the idea of an overseas German Empire. If that development was slow during the Wissman regime, it was not the fault of the colonists in East Africa, but of the Reichstag, who had not been thoroughly educated in Empire-building by the Deutscher Kolonial Verein, due, no doubt, to the slowness of the conversion of Bismarck. Probably the many setbacks in the shape of native rebellions, labour troubles, diseases among cattle, and in the plantations, made the Imperial Reichstag disinclined to spend much money. The statement that "80 per cent. of the territory was barren, almost uninhabited steppe, sevanah, and bush" died very hard and was responsible for much of the vigorous opposition in the Reichstag, when the idea of constructing a Railway from the East Coast to Lake Tanganyika was first mooted in 1891. It took fourteen years for this idea to materialize, but since 1905 the Germans have actively pursued a calculating, consistent and courageous policy. They have disregarded England, from whom they once feared formidable obstruction and have worked resourcefully, if not relentlessly, for the mastery of Central and Eastern Africa. This purposeful policy is best indicated by the significant railway construction

and in outlining the projected railway systems, which have closely occupied the attention of the German Imperial Government.

SIGNIFICANT RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION.

The German East African Railway, running from Dar-es-Salaam to Lake Tanganyika is a great tribute to the architects of the German Colonial Empire and it will have, irrespective of its future owners, a far-reaching effect on the prosperity of Central Africa and the East Coast. This railway, which was officially known as the Deutsche Ostafrikanisch Centralbahn, was completed in January of last year instead of last June, as was generally expected. Like the British Railway in the adjoining Protectorate, it is a metre gauge and a single line. In view of the happenings since June, the acceleration of the constructive work is worthy of comment.

The first sod was cut by Prince Adalbert of Prussia on February 9th, 1905. During the first three years of construction the progress was very slow, but with the object of tapping the richer districts of the Congo, the ensuring of military and political prestige, consequent upon the activities of Belgium in the Congo Belge and the suspicion regarding England's objective in this part of Africa, the railway was pushed on with all possible speed from June, 1908. The first section of 132 miles from Dar-es-Salaam to Morogoro, which inclines gradually to 1,640 ft. from the coast-lands, took nearly two years to complete. The next stage, (from Morogoro to Tabora) trebled the first in four years, 398 miles being constructed in the highest elevation of the line. Before dipping into the great Rift Valley the railway reached an altitude of 8,670 ft. at Dodoma, then it descends to Bahi station some 950 ft. above sea level. The distance between Dodoma and Bahi is about 85 miles. The line then leaves the Rift Valley and climbs the Western edge to its highest point at Itigi, an altitude of 4,460 ft. The railway then gradually descends to the important centre of Tabora, passing through a rich forest belt on the plateau. The rails entered this town on February 26th, 1912, instead of July 1st, 1914, as was originally intended.

DEFENCE CENTRES AND ADMINISTRATIVE COMMUNICATIONS.

In the construction of the line the Germans have not been unmindful of its defence. There are cunningly built forts at Dar-es-Salaam and a massive modern fort at Tabora. There are extensive goods-sheds and large workshops, which are equipped with the very latest improvements for the refitting and repairing of locomotives, trucks and carriages. The Germans have also erected huge coal, locomotive and wagon sheds.

Tabora is the most important centre in the interior, and is of considerable strategical importance. It was once the stronghold of the Arabs, who commanded the important caravan routes which converge here; besides being the converging point of the old trade roads from the great lakes of Central Africa, the Germans intended it to be the central junction of a railway system traversing the Colony north, south, east and west. Besides the usual telegraph lines, they have erected powerful wireless stations which were linked up with Berlin. The British have, however, dislocated this wireless system by destroying the wireless installations at Lome (in Togoland) and at Dar-es-Salaam. From Tabora, the Germans are still in constant wireless communication with the provincial administration centres. One is tempted to contrast the telegraphic communications of the British in her East African Protectorates, but it would not be very palatable. It is sufficient to record the fact that the only British post on the Anglo-German frontier, when war broke out, was in charge of an Assistant District Commissioner with a Goanese Clerk and some 25 askaris (Native soldiers) and the only means of communicating with the nearest centre, Voi, was by marching across the intervening desert, there being no telegraph or telephone.

THE RAPID COMPLETION OF THE CENTRAL RAILWAY.

The thoroughness and consistency of the German colonizing methods are emphasized by the rapid completion of the Dar-es-Salaam-Tanganyika Railway. The last section from Tabora to Kigoma on Lake Tanganyika was built at almost frantic speed, 25½ miles being constructed in the face of serious obstacles in just under two years. The terminus was reached in January of 1914 instead of June as had been estimated when the third stage was begun. The chief obstacle was in the great salt producing district around the Malagarassi River. A bridge 870 feet long with 21 spans was constructed, the chief span being 16½ feet. The line descends from Tabora, which is 3,965 feet above sea level to about 2,600 feet, where it stops at the beautiful harbour of Kigoma. A landing quay three hundred yards long, a series of cranes, and extensive goods sheds were under construction at Kigoma, when war broke out. On the deep waters of Tanganyika the Germans intended to run a fleet of steamers, the first was in course of construction and was of 1,300 tons displacement. The harbour was to have contained a dry dock for the building and launching of ships. Incidentally, Kigoma is near Ujiji, the meeting place of Livingstone and Stanley. This historic spot will, in future, be reached in a three weeks' journey from London.

FURTHER RAILWAY EXTENSIONS AND PROJECTED SYSTEMS.

The one-time reluctance of the Reichstag to vote moneys for the Railway development of German East

Africa gave place to a remarkable readiness to vote large sums for further extensions. Last March the Reichstag approved of a vote of £1,570,000 for the extension of the Tabora Railway through the Ruanda Province. This railway would have probably been built further west, being nearer to Lake Kivu. When completed, this line would have powerfully affected the economic development of the Central African Lake system and brought civilization to a very thickly populated and wealthy province. It would not have so seriously threatened the Uganda Railway as the projected extension of the existing Railway from the Port of Tanga to New Moschi. This system was to have run across the Gimbu Steppe to the shores of Victoria Nyanza in Speke Gulf. The Germans were about to commence this important extension by continuing the Northern Railway (Tanga-Moschi Line) further west to Aruscha, a place comparable with Nairobi, (the capital of British East Africa), in climate and altitude. New Moschi—was not likely, therefore, to become an important centre, moreover, it was considered to be unhealthy. A glance at the map will show that this projected extension would have inevitably clashed with British trade in the northern lake district and when constructed would have certainly diverted the German trade of the Uganda Railway, which amounts to roughly £400,000 per annum. It will be apparent that Germany has made not only very determined efforts to open up and develop the northern half of their territory, but to have systematically aimed at the control of the Central African trade; altogether they have spent about £7,000,000 on the construction of the existing portion in a great scheme for a network of railways running to the four points of the compass from Tabora.

In the southern portion of German East Africa, the Railway development has been held up for want of funds, but railways were projected from Tabora southwards to Lake Nyassa, and from the shores of these waters to Kilwa. The southern portion of Lake Tanganyika was to have been linked up with Nyassa and thence to the sea. It will be seen, therefore, that the Germans would have dominated the economic development of the Southern Central African lake system and controlled one of the greatest and wealthiest markets, from which England simply could not risk exclusion.

The great war in Europe absorbs practically all the attention of the average newspaper reader and the political and economic situation in East and Central Africa is not, perhaps, fully realised. Despite the deplorable state of Belgium and the mighty issues at stake on the European battlefields, the future of Africa appears to be bright. Germany must never again be allowed to acquire such a hold upon Africa as they lately possessed. The other European nations, who still exercise authority in the central

portion of the African continent, will best serve these lands by co operation rather than by hostility. International jealousies have hitherto been the greatest barrier to progress and it is hoped that England, France and Belgium, despite the difficulties of the task, will work hand in hand. If they do, great things will be accomplished; new market places of great potentialities will be opened up; and the blessings of civilization will be brought to lands where they are now very dimly comprehended.

To-day the signs are promising.—*Indian Industries and Power.*

UPLIFTING THE AMERICAN NEGRO.

By SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

No community in any part of the world is becoming literate more rapidly than the Negroes of the United States of America. During the half-century that has elapsed since President Abraham Lincoln issued his famous Proclamation, which emancipated the Afro-Americans and abolished slavery from the United States once for all, over fifty per cent. of them have become literate, and it is confidently predicted by those familiar with the conditions existing amongst them that another generation will find illiteracy practically stamped out of their ranks. Not a few of those who were born in slavery, and thousands of those who are the offspring of former slaves, now are not only able to read and write English, but are distinguishing themselves in various lines, as *litterateurs*, poets, artists, musicians, physicians, surgeons, lawyers, engineers, mechanics, and business men. In fifty years the Negroes, beginning with nothing, have amassed property whose total value runs into millions of pounds. Hundreds of thousands of them have become owners of the plots they till and the houses they occupy, while many now own large and lucrative concerns.

THE HAMPTON INSTITUTE.

Amongst the agencies responsible for all this progress, a high place must be accorded the "Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute," of Hampton, Virginia, U.S.A. This institution was founded by General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, who had fought to shatter the shackles of the Negroes, and who felt that to carry the work of emancipation to its logical end, the freed slaves must be prepared to take their proper place in life. General Armstrong decided, in the very beginning, that they could well get along without Greek and Latin; but that they required an education that would simultaneously develop their bodies, minds, and souls, and that would enable them to look after their material, moral, and spiritual interests. He also decided that Negro girls and women needed education as much as, if not

more than, the boys and men of their race. Knowing that the people he wanted to help had only recently been freed, and were, as a rule, propertyless, and even penniless, he determined to work out a scheme whereby any one could receive training without having to pay anything for fees or board and lodging, so long as the pupil was willing to labour part of the day on the farm and in the shops attached to the school, for the purpose of teaching practical work.

ITS GREAT SUCCESS.

The institution was a success from the very beginning. It attracted more pupils than it could possibly take care of. General Armstrong found enthusiastic and able men and women to assist him in his chosen work, and philanthropists gave him large sums of money to buy land, put up buildings, equip them with furniture, and defray incidental expenses. At present the institution has over 100 buildings, worth over £50,000, standing on a plantation of about 200 acres. It employs over 120 officers and teachers, and has an average attendance of over 1,200 students, who come from all the States in the American Union, and even from lands across the seas.

It takes over £40,000 to pay the yearly expenses, which amount is made up from fees, receipts from students' labour, interest from the permanent endowment fund (which now amounts to over £300,000), supplemented with donations collected largely through the instrumentality of Dr. Hollis Burke Frissell, who, since the death of General Armstrong, has been Principal of Hampton Institute.

ITS PUPILS AND EX-PUPILS.

The institution is about as much the work of its ex-pupils and pupils as it has been their maker. The ground has been cleared, and the buildings have been put up by them, from bricks which they manufactured. All the carpentry, iron work, plumbing, &c., about the place has been carried out by them. Practically all the furniture on the premises has been made by their hands. They have turned out all the vehicles employed in the service of the institution, shod all the animals, and made all the harness. They have grown, prepared, and served practically all the food consumed by the teachers and pupils. The instructors, who are experts in their chosen trades and professions, merely watch and guide their pupils in these multifarious operations, allowing their charges to do everything themselves. The Hampton method is to prepare the young men and women for life by making them actually do the work they will have to do when grown to manhood and womanhood. Thus engineering, architecture, brick-making, masonry, mechanics, black-smithing, wheel making and repairing, carpentering, cabinet-making, joinery, tailoring, dress-making, agriculture, gardening,

dairying, shoemaking, cooking, serving, laundry-work, housework of all kinds, sewing, &c., are taught to boys and girls, each electing to become an adept in his, or her chosen calling.

EVENLY BALANCED TRAINING.

Manual occupation is not allowed to encroach upon intellectual and spiritual work. As a rule, training in trade occupies half the day. The other half is devoted to reading, writing, arithmetic, history, geography, and Bible study.

Over 7,000 men and women have graduated from Hampton and gone to different parts of the United States of America, many to pursue various trades and professions, a few to devote themselves to promoting the welfare of Negroes, and practically all, in one way or another, to lead their race forward in the path of progress. Two of the most distinguished graduates are Dr. Booker T. Washington and Major R. Moton. Dr. Washington founded and now conducts an institution at Tuskegee, Alabama, which works along the same lines as Hampton, and which, in point of endowment fund, buildings, land, instructors, and pupils, vies with the parent institute. Major Moton has given his life to Hampton, is in responsible charge of the physical and military training of the students, and does much to uplift his race by lecturing and organizing conferences.

THE NEGRO COLLEGE MAN.

It remains to be mentioned that there is a school of thinkers among Afro-Americans which considers that the Hampton, Tuskegee, and other similar institutes do wrong in not insisting that the negro shall secure college education, in order that his knowledge may become liberalized. The chief exponent of this is Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Ph. D., of the Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia, who has many followers. According to a survey carried out by the Atlanta University, there are now thirty-two institutions which make a specialty of imparting college education to Afro-Americans, with a total enrolment of about 1,200 students. About 4,000 men and women of Negro descent have graduated from American colleges.—*W. M. Church Record.*

THE KOMAGATA MARU.

The *Natal Mercury* presents the extreme colonial point-of-view in commenting upon the report of the Committee of Inquiry appointed to investigate into the Komagata Maru affair, thus:—

The Komagata Maru affair receives an unexpectedly summary quietus from the report of the Commission of Inquiry which has recently sat at Delhi to investigate

it. The incident arose, it may be remembered, out of an attempt made in the early months of last year to land a shipload of emigrant Indian coolies at Vancouver. The Indians were restricted by the Canadian authorities, and there were possibilities of a political question being raised similar to that which was current in South Africa about the same time, when through one cause or another, but principally the resolute attitude taken up by the Canadian Government, the enterprise was abandoned, and the whole of the Indians were returned without one of them landing. According to the cabled summary of its report, the Commission not only entirely justifies the Canadian authorities in the steps they took in order to resist what was an undoubtedly organised political incursion, designed to complicate Indian issues which were in activity elsewhere, but it also indemnifies the Calcutta Police Department in prohibiting the men from entering the port. There was a riot in Calcutta as a consequence, the coolies, by some means, having obtained possession of firearms; and the Indian Government, in a covering memorandum, attached to the Commission's report, ascribes the disturbance to "the following of a few." None the less, the danger of political experiments like these with such material is strongly suggested by recalling the evidence of Sir Benjamin Robertson, the official representative from India before the South African Commission almost exactly a year ago. Asked what was the incentive for the men to leave their country for abroad, Sir Benjamin replied: "Most of them do not care. They only want to get away out of India. Perhaps they have had domestic or caste trouble, for the majority of the people come away under these circumstances and they do not care where they are going, or anything else. It is extraordinary what they will believe when it is thoroughly pumped into them." The Delhi Commission shows it is of the same way of thinking with Sir Benjamin Robertson. They place it on record that the Canadian episode was the work of agitators, and that the rank and file of the coolies were misled by leaders who had adequate knowledge of what they were doing. The Delhi report may provide an instructive document for reference here in the future.

An Appreciation.

We have received a copy of the *Indian Emigrant*, a journal recently established with the aim of "bringing about a closer and more intelligent acquaintance on the part of Indians at home with Indians abroad." In so far as the paper fulfils its object it will be sure of a welcome and encouragement at our hands, and we recognise that the material contained in the informative articles in the issue before us is lucidly set out and of real value.—*Indianman.*

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

The Indian Emigration Question.

The Times, in its review of 1914, says:—"The settlement of the main grievances of the South African Indians in the early part of the year, as the result of the Union Commission, provides ground for hope that in the case of the other self-governing Dominions the war will greatly help to bring some settlement of the Indian emigration question consonant with the common interests and self-respect of both sides."

Indian Troops Abroad.

There are 200,000 in Europe. A mixed force of 80,000 is stationed in Egypt. Over 1,500 have encamped in British East Africa. These figures point out what India has done up to date in men alone. Not a doubt of it, 3,000,000 would be forthcoming if required.

The New Australian Capital.

We read the name of the new capital of Australia the other day as Yass-Canberra. It is now known as Canberra simply. A correspondent informs us that work had not progressed very far when he visited the new city last Easter. Only some preliminary work on the water-supply power-station had been then put in hand, and the railway line had just been completed to the city site. Building-work had not been begun, nor the laying out of the streets and roadways.

An Indian Restaurant in London.

A native of Delhi keeps a small restaurant on the first floor of a shop opposite Central London Tube terminus at Shepherd's Bush Green, and, given a short notice, any Indian Curry, and pillau, kickari, julabis, can be had, and enjoyed.

Lectures on Indian Subjects.

The Literary Committee of the *East India Association* has arranged for the following papers at its forthcoming meetings:—"India after the War, from the Economic Standpoint," by Sir Daniel M. Hamilton; "Indian India and its Rajas," by Mr. Saint Nihal Singh; "India Railways," by Mr. Neville George Priestley, late India Public Works Department; "Akbar," by Mr. Vincent Arthur Smith, I.C.S. (retired); and "Indian Legislation," by Mr. F. G. Wigley, c.r.e.

India after the War.

Mr. Theodore Roosevelt has been unburdening himself to a special correspondent of the *Morning Post* on the subject of the war. He is reported to have expressed great admiration for the work of the Indian troops: "When the war is over you must readjust

some of your ideas about India and define more clearly what British citizenship means. Of course the only people competent to deal with black races are those who live among them and understand them. Keep clear of your Exeter Halls and your Aboriginal Protection Societies and you may yet solve the most difficult question which confronts British statesmen to-day."

German East Africa for Indians.

John Bull puts forward the suggestion, not for the first time, that it would be a "gracious act" to reserve or throw open German East Africa to Indian emigrants when the great settlement takes place at the close of the war: "That an outlet is required for the surplus Hindu population cannot be denied, and in view of the loyal fashion in which our Indian fellow-subjects have rallied to the flag, our appreciation could not be better expressed than by providing scope in a land climatically suitable, fertile, and sparsely inhabited, for the industry and enterprise of thousands of Hindus who are at present chafed by the limitations in which they are forced to live. Germany must be shorn of her colonial possessions for all time, and no better start could be made towards that purpose than by reserving German East Africa for the Indians."

A description of this Colony appears elsewhere in this journal.

Indians in British Guiana.

During the past fortnight or so, writes our East Coast correspondent, upwards of six hundred free and indentured immigrants (from East India) of Cane Grove and Virginia villages approached Corporal Campbell, in charge of the Cane Grove Police Station, with a view to having their names enrolled for service in the war.

Some of them went so far in their loyalty as to bring their bank-books and other securities to the corporal, with the request that they be sent to His Excellency the Governor to be safely kept during their absence, and in case of their death to be handed over to the Government of the Colony.

While their countrymen in France and Belgium are rendering such gallant service to the Empire, it is gratifying to see such sincere and simple loyalty existing among the East Indian people of the Colony. Although the possibility of their services being required is very remote, they may rest assured that their expression of loyalty is fully appreciated.—*Argosy of Demerara*.

Limping Civis Britannicus.

The British Nationality Act, which came into force on January 1st, has been described by Mr. Churchill as the establishment of "a world-wide status of British citizenship." The phrase recalls the Roman system, under which every free subject of the Empire was a

citizen of Rome; but it is, unfortunately, misleading in its application to the new Act (says *India*). It is true that the American who desires to adopt British nationality can now do so by residing in Canada, and will retain his new status within the Empire. But the Sikh who emigrates to British Columbia will still find his way to Canadian citizenship barred by special legislation against Asiatics; and things are no better in the other self-governing dominions. The "reform" may be notable, but it is so partial that it will not be worthy of British traditions until *civis Britannicus* comes to mean exactly what *civis Romanus* meant.

The Indian Army

By MR. H. T. MONTAGUE BELL.

The Indian Army consists in peace time of 75,000, British troops, 160,000 Indian troops, together with 22,000 Imperial Service Troops, and 35,000 Native Reservists.

The embargo placed by the War Office on the publication of the exact composition of the Indian Expeditionary Force has not yet been removed. From the casualty list.....the names of some of the units comprised in the Force may be learned, and the list unfortunately is long enough to indicate the care which the military authorities gave to a selection that should be representative of the Indian Army and cause as little disappointment as possible to the troops, who were all eager to be chosen for active service.

Three expeditionary forces, apart from the supplementary troops sent to France since the arrival of the first force, have been despatched from India since the outbreak of war. One is operating from the Persian Gulf up the Tigris. It includes, with a battalion of the Norfolk and Dorsetshire Regiments, the 20th Infantry Regiment, the 48th Pioneers, the 104th Wellesley's Rifles, the 105th and 110th Mahratta Light Infantry and the 117th Mahrattas. To East Africa have been sent in company with the 2nd Battalion of the Loyal North Lancashire Regiment, the 18th Rajputs, the 38th Dogras, the 61st Pioneers, the 83rd Wallajahbad Light Infantry, the 83rd Palamcottah Light Infantry, the 98th Infantry, and the 101st Grenadiers.

In view of the fact that all artillery in India, with the exception of twelve mountain batteries, is British, each field-force sent from India has to be composite; but from the composition of the two minor expeditions it will be noticed that in both cases the principle of giving the native regiments a "stiffening" of British Infantry troops has been adopted. British troops formed part also of the Indian Expeditionary Force to Europe, although the thirty-nine regiments of cavalry

and the 140 regiments of Infantry (with nineteen companies of Sappers and Miners) of the Indian Army provided ample material for as fine a fighting force of the two arms as could be desired.

The Indian Army, like the British Army, has a fighting tradition. All the cavalry regiments, with two exceptions, have seen service in Afghanistan and on the Punjab frontier; several have distinguished themselves in Egypt, Burmah, Abyssinia, and in the Terah expedition. The 2nd Lancers (Gardner's Horse), the 6th King Edward's Own Cavalry, and the 13th Duke of Connaught's Lancers took part in the Egyptian campaign in 1882 and were conspicuous at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir. The 34th Poona Horse, which has already been in action on the Continent, was formed in 1817 and has a distinguished record. In 1900 the cavalry sent to China included the 33rd Queen's Own Light Cavalry which has taken part in nearly every expedition in which Indian troops have been engaged since 1842, the 11th King Edward's Own Lancers (some officers of which have been in Belgium), the 16th Cavalry Regiment, and the 19th Lancers. Wherever he has been used, the Indian cavalryman has proved his usefulness time and again. When opportunity once more favours our mounted troops in this war, the Indian cavalry will be found a worthy collaborator with the British cavalry, which has already established its superiority over the enemy.

If the Indian cavalry is able to supplement the spectacular appeal it makes to the senses by sterling merits, it is certain that the Indian infantryman is not a whit behind his mounted colleague. As a soldier the Sikh is unsurpassed in his own country, and few people can look upon a company of these men, whether soldiers or policemen, without being impressed by their fine physique and martial bearing. The Gurkha, is, perhaps, a more popular figure with the reading public by reason of his traditional friendship with our own Highlanders. He belongs to the independent Kingdom of Nepal, and is recruited for the Indian Army on the strength of a treaty a hundred years old, the first Gurkha Regiments dating from 1815. Akin to the Nepalese are the inhabitants of British Garhwal. Gurkha regiments formerly contained many Garhwalis, and the regiment now known as the 39th Garhwal Rifles, to which one of the first Indian V.C.s has gone, was originally the 2nd battalion of the 3rd Gurkhas. Rajputs, Brahmans, Pathans, and so on through all the different types of the Indian Army, one and all are warriors by descent and profession. It is this feature that gives the Indian Army its strength.—*United Empire*.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Story of Yone Noguchi, Chalto and Windus, London, price 6 sh., net.

It is as if one had felt a tear-drop fallen from the eyes of a weeping Angel or bathed his soul in the dew-drops of an early dawn, that one comes away after a communion with this—one of the greatest poet—mystic of the East. Here is a tear-stained soul, "a ghost from the unknown air, a fay from the mist into the mist" straying down the torrent of life, with a mournful song in its mouth, crying for the Infinite. This is the supreme fascination of the East, pouring an unceasing melody in the last cadences of life's struggle. Thereafter, the soul retreats into dream and poetry, into the world of silence where, there is neither breath nor speech, but only the aloneness that is the soul of Nature.

"Across the song of night and moon,
(oh, perfume of perfumes!)
My soul, as a wind
Whose heart's too full to sing
Only roams astray....."

That is Yone Noguchi whose soul sensed its first awakening amidst the wilderness of the West, in California at the home of Joaquin Miller, "an eccentric American bard," in his nineteenth year.

Yone Noguchi devotes a whole long chapter to this American bard and the reminiscences of this period when he was in constant intercourse with Joaquin Miller, are replete with a child-like veneration for the latter. Yone Noguchi thus describes him: "I must not forget to tell you that he wore top-boots and, wonder of all, a bear-skin over his shoulders even while eating; a red crepe sash was tied round his waist most carelessly. His dress was of corduroy. But I noticed that there was a large diamond ring on a finger of his right hand, which threw an almost menacing brilliancy. He was six feet tall; his white beard fully covered his breast. Had I ever seen before, I asked myself, any more striking person than this Miller, the poet of the Sierras? Indeed, I accepted him without any question for the very symbol of romance and poetry, of which my young mind often dreamed; I congratulated myself that the most happy accident had brought me to the right spot, where my real soul would surely grow."

Yone Noguchi's second spiritual awakening came in London some eight or nine years later, when he realised that poetry and art were the great force of life. At first, he says, London did not

take kindly to him and naively admits that the art he had learnt of making himself at home even in an impossible place by long sojourn in strange lands, (for he was a Japanese) seemed to fail him flatly in London. He writes: "I stood silent in thought that my slight movement of affection might make her more disagreeable.....I slowly felt that I was out of place, when I imagined a certain hostility between myself and London." But one day, after a long hunt after a "hidden affinity," everything changed at once. The greatest city in the world at last turned her face to him. "And after a Western fashion, I kissed her. We became one." How thereafter the beauty of London dawned on the poet's soul, is told with artless candour, and he pays just tribute to the many enduring qualities in the English character.

During his second visit to London after an absence of a decade, he writes that the entire city had changed. The biggest change he saw was that nearly all the English women were found turning into French women, "in all sorts of ways, from their mane to their dress." And the men were growing Americanised. He notes a difference in every aspect of London life, and stealing into St. Paul's Cathedral one day, like "a tired ghost or a piece of leaf fallen from the city's noise," he breaks out, oh, what a difference between the within and without!

"A sanctum of shadows were dusk-robed solitude
Steps from thought to thought, a breeze forgotten
by Life and Song."

The third and final awakening came to Yone Noguchi in his own native land at the Temple of Silence, when he awoke from sleep, as he says, with a book of poems entitled *The Pilgrimage*. There he communed with the solemn majesty of silence and realised how little after all is human intellect. He writes: "In the desolation of the Temple of Silence, Enkakuji of famous Kamakura, that completely awakened Temple, under the blessing of dusk; it is at evening that the temple tragically soars into the magnificence of loneliness under a chill-air stirred up from mountain and glade by the roll of the evening bell. I had journeyed from Tokyo, that hive of noise, here to read a page or two of the whole language of silence, which, far from mocking you with all sorts of interrogation marks, soothes you with the song of prayer. In truth, I came here to confess how little is our human intellect." How much Yone Noguchi imbibed the spirit of Zen Buddhism is evident from these pages and what lasting consolation it imparted to his anguished soul.

The stories contained in this book are written by himself, which had appeared from time to time in the form of articles in the *Fortnightly Review*, *Quest*, *Nation*, etc. The chapters on "Joaquin Miller," "the Lantern Carnival," "a Japanese Temple of Silence" deserve

to be read over and over again, as they give an insight into the mind of the author, who without in any sense being a recluse imbibed the very spirit of Oriental idealism. As a friend addressed him, his songs are tear-stained, and he sings only the song of the exile—a lament for the Garden of Spices, and all the joys that were. The book is distinguished by eight clear portraits, including that of Yone Noguchi.

C. S. K.

Stead: The Man, by Edith K. Harper, William Rider and Son, Ltd., price 7sh. 6d. net.

I believe it blasphemous to pry too closely into the religious beliefs of any individual and impudent to make them a matter for public discussion even when the author wears them on his sleeves. The late W. T. Stead's was in many ways an interesting personality and while the world has abundant other materials to adjudge the praise that is due to this 'prince of journalists', it is not irrelevant to make mention of a side of his character without being a partisan of his views. Any one who takes up this book with such a detached mind, will have no cause except for satisfaction at the amount of fare placed at the reader's disposal by Miss Edith K. Harper, whose close intimacy with the late W. T. Stead, especially in collaboration with his work connected with 'Julia's bureau,' invests all that she writes of him with authority. Just admiration is due to the authoress for being singularly free from the spiritual jargon and table-turning technology of the occult hierarchy; her pen plays freely and with refreshing candour through the many "rooms of her late Chief's mind." She writes enough to interest us in this side of his character, without importing into her pen any proselytising zeal, or caring to convert the reader to her belief. The book is appropriately dedicated to the "Union of All who Love, in the Service of All who Suffer," whose high-priest was, undoubtedly, the late W. T. Stead. Every unbiassed reader will feel thankful to Miss Edith K. Harper for stringing her personal reminiscences of the late W. T. Stead, whom she calls her Chief, in the psychic realm of his work, in the form of a connected narrative.

A man is known by the message that he gives to the world, and what was Stead's mission in life? Miss E. K. Harper sums up her late Chief's work under three distinct heads. Here is what she writes: "He (W. T. Stead) called it Peace, Woman, Spirit,—terms for him synonymous, in their deepest meaning, with Love, Life, and Light. In the name of the first, long years ago, he forced England to remodel her Navy, for: "On the strength of the British Navy rests the peace of the whole world".....In the name of Peace... he preached his invincible gospel of Imperialism, the

Imperialism of Responsibility.....In the name of Woman he faced obloquy and persecution, and won his proud guerdon of prison garb and cell.....And in the name of Spirit—the three-in-one—he waged his ceaseless warfare on materialism, and proclaimed his glad tidings of Life eternal and Love for evermore."

But important as these are, indicating the varied activities of the late Mr. Stead, entitling him to the remembrance of posterity, he himself desired that if he is remembered at all a hundred years hence, it would be as Julia's amanuensis. Miss E. K. Harper herself testifies "that to those who really knew him it is certain that the much beloved, much derided, much reviled 'Julia's Bureau' dearest to him of his many practical ideals for the benefit of humanity—will ever stand as typical of the essential spirituality of all his activities."

It is clear that Stead's occultism was not motivated by any mean or selfish charlatanry to impose upon a gullible public. His ardent love for his fellow-men was quickened by an intense realisation of the constant presence of a spiritual world, and he believed that consolation for all our earthly ills can be had by direct communion with those Unseen Powers. His investigations in the field of psychical research have satisfied him that the gulf between the seen and the unseen can be bridged, and that "personality persists beyond death." Miss Harper mentions that the late W. T. Stead was the recipient of many "signposts" with regard to his earthly career; indeed, he never undertook any important piece of work without receiving one from the Spirit-world. It was only in his later years that Mr. Stead seemed to have got this "Sixth-sense," for we read that in his youthful village days at Howden-on-Tyne, he had no conscious awareness of possessing this rare faculty, nor are any stories on record, according to Miss Harper, of such precocious developments as abound in the *Anecdotes of Pious Children*. "He neither spoke Hebrew at the age of three, nor translated the Scriptures at the age of six." But, Miss Harper says that he had a hypersensitive imagination and admitted to being an adept in the art of self-torture. Whatever it be, Mr. Stead in his later life became more than a journalist, more than a politician, more than a philanthropist: he was "prince among journalists;" "he was the most remarkable union of mysticism and politics, next to Cromwell; and he worked more than any body for the "Union of All who Love, in the Service of All who Suffer." Jean Finot wrote in his French appreciation of W. T. Stead, "Would Stead have purified Spiritualism, or would Spiritualism have contributed to the aggrandisement of his soul? What does it matter? Such as it was, his soul was one of the most beautiful reflections of the divine upon earth".

C. S. K.

SOCIOLOGY.

The Social Worker and Modern Charity, by William Foss and Julius West, *Adam, and Charles Black, London.*

The book forms one of the social workers' series edited by Mr. William Foss who was the General Secretary of the Bradford City Guild of Help, one of the accredited Charity Associations in England.

The enlightened twentieth century presents to every thinker of Social Politics an enigma which is somewhat difficult to answer. With the advancement of wealth and progress, there is found squalor and misery. Science and invention have brought in their train unemployment and struggle for existence. The economic forces at work in life have only made the rich richer, and the poor poorer. In such a state of things, the social worker is left to devise for himself, ways and means for the amelioration of the condition of the labouring classes, the sick and the needy, the aged and the poor. Two methods, positive and negative, for combating such evil tendencies are suggested by the writers in the book under review. The one is the consideration of the causes that lie at the root of the social problems and the shaping of the very condition of our life accordingly, and the other is to take things as they are and by a combined charitable effort work out methods, by which relief could be brought to our less fortunate fellow citizens. The aim of the book, or rather the problem of the social worker, as depicted in the book, is not the former but the latter; not *how* this man became poor but by what means can we assist this man to help him from his poverty. In taking up the latter method, the authors have done full justice to the work before them, by bringing their great practical experience gained in the Guild of Help, to bear on the problem and by defining charity in its broadest sense, to cover all efforts made by the Government, local authorities, and private individuals, to alleviate and assuage the poverty of the people.

The early history of charity is graphically traced from the beginning up to the present time in chapters II to V, pointing out clearly the "history of philanthropy in England in order to illustrate the gradual widening of philanthropic activities (viewed from the economic standpoint) and the accompanying movement of the State" not, of course, to the exclusion of private charity. However much the State may intervene in problems of this kind and remedy the evils, no lasting benefit will ever result to any country, if, as the result of the development of the state, there does not follow a change in the forms charity should take, and the people in general do not possess better notions of duty, towards their poorer and suffering fellowmen.

From 1884 onwards, voluntary charitable organisations began to play a large part in the social history of England, and every conceivable trade or profession had its voluntary associations, to secure mutual aid for its members, as Trade unions and employers' combination, co-operative societies, clerical pension funds, friendly societies, and political organisations of every shade of political opinion, all numbering many thousands, with a total membership greater than the population of the United Kingdom. This increase in the charities for diverse purposes necessitated the formation of a central society, viz., Charity Organisation Society in 1867, for the purpose of co-ordinating the efforts of the manifold activities of some of them, and the success of the society is mainly due to the centralisation of energy, and the co-ordinating principle of work with the Municipalities and County Councils. For the harmonious working of the social reform, there was also the necessity for trained men and careful investigators, who will approach social problems in a humble and enquiring spirit. The idea that "the rich man from his lofty position holding out benefits and stretching down his hand to the weaker brethren is the gigantic rock on which the whole fabric of charitable effort wrecks itself time and time again."

On the other hand the true social worker is he who recognises that there are sinners besides himself "whether they wear a crown, a wig, or some dirt."

Possessed of this attitude, the social thinker and worker has several opportunities of doing good in various fields of work, the Unemployment, Public Health Problem, Infant Education, Prison Reform, Reclamation of Criminals, the Aged Poor, the Blind and the Insane.

The authors in presenting to us the basis upon which one of the best organised charity, Bradford City Guild of Help works, viz., the Elberfeld system of Germany, have only brought home to us the broad significance of the old saying "charity begins at home," but never ends there. It extends to everything affecting the life of the poor. It expands from the family centre to the ever-widening circumference of friends and strangers of communities and nations. And finally what makes a nation great? "It is the realisation of the fact that in a State every life is dependant upon every other life, that there is no logical distribution of chance, opportunity and money, and that the well-being of the state exists not only by the well-being of a small number of those inhabitants but by the general welfare of every member of that state. And the general welfare of the community does not rest upon the distribution of doles, but upon the uprising in each man of the consciousness of his own importance to himself and to the community."

We hope that the other volumes under preparation in the same series will really move the readers to bring the better side of their nature to do some real service for the poor working classes.

T. K. S.

ECONOMICS.

The Co-operative Credit Movement in India, by Panchanandas Mukhopadhyaya, M.A., F.R.E.S., *Rai Bahadur Sirdar & Sons, 75-1-1 Harrison Road, Calcutta.*

The citizen of India has need to keep himself informed of the various movements that are afoot in the country, of which, undoubtedly, the Co-operative Credit movement touches its development at so many points. The advantages of well-directed Co-operation are, indeed, inestimable to the masses of agriculturists, to free them from the economic evils to which they are subject. His Gracious Majesty, the King Emperor on the 18th December, 1911, said: "If the system of Co-operation can be introduced and utilised to the full I foresee a great and glorious future for the agricultural interests of this country." Literature on the subject of Co-operation in India is meagre, if we except the Government resolutions and reports on the working of societies in different parts of the country, and we welcome this latest addition to the subject contributed by the well-known economist, Prof. Panchanandas Mukhopadhyaya of the Calcutta University. The book apparently forms the first of the "Indian Citizen Series." Though we have not seen any other volumes of this series, which the publishers presumably intend to bring out soon, judged by the one before us, we have no hesitation in saying that the whole series when published, will provide excellent material for the intellectual training of the future Indian Citizen.

The book under review deals with the various topics connected with Co-operation, and the author has not omitted to touch upon even a single phase of the problem. There are separate chapters on "Rural Indebtedness in India," "Progress of the Credit Movement in India," "Effect of the Movement," etc., which sufficiently indicate the vast scope of the book. Some controversial questions such as "Finance and Control," "the Proposed All-India Agricultural Bank," "State-Aid to Co-operative Societies," "Attitude of the Government towards the Co-operative Credit Movement," its future relation to it and the utilisation of reserve funds, are ably and impartially discussed and the author has brought a reasoned judgment to bear upon the discussion.

The book comprises in all 156 pages and its value is enhanced by the addition of a judiciously selected appendix, containing relevant statistics relating to the progress of the movement, some model by-laws relating to its working, and the recent Resolutions of the Government of India on the movement.

EMIGRATION.

A History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, 1763-1912, by Stanley C. Johnson, M.A., *George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., price 6 s. net.*

A thesis approved for the diploma of Doctor of Science (in Economics) in the University of London is now presented to us in a book form under the above title, and forms one of the interesting series of books on political and economic subjects edited by the Director of the London School of Economics.

Emigration from the United Kingdom across the Atlantic to the U. S. A. began about the year 1620, when certain extreme members of the Puritan party known as Brownists or Separatists, who were dissatisfied with the religious restrictions in England, sailed for America in the *Mayflower* and formed the New England Colony. Thenceforward a regular stream of emigrants began to flow to N. America, though on a limited scale in the 17th century, in a greater volume during the 18th owing to the means of transportation having become cheap and has grown until to-day it has developed into a science worthy of the consideration of the eminent economists and politicians of the twentieth century.

This interesting problem of economic and social science has no doubt been often times discussed officially in the publications of the House of Commons, and unofficially it had been the subject of debate in numerous political controversies, appearing as articles in several periodicals. However, differences of opinion still exist as to the relative values of emigration and immigration. Some economists of the early part of the nineteenth century have often expressed the view that if free emigration were allowed to proceed to the Colonies, the country giving the emigrants will be confronted with ills which usually visit a degenerate nation. To Mr. Jesse Collins belongs the recent idea that emigration is a national danger in as much as it takes away the pick and flower of our men from the country of their birth leaving behind only a less capable and less sturdy class of people in the country. Mr. Johnson is one of those who believes that this migratory force has been productive of much good and in the book under review he meets every one of the arguments of his opponents. The book is divided into well-defined chapters numbering about fifteen, with two very useful appendices. After tracing the development of emigration in its various aspects, general and special, so far as it relates to N. America, the author has struck the keynote of his views in the last two chapters of the book.

In considering the value of emigration which has been the cause of much legislation and party strife on both sides, it has to be viewed from three different stand-

points: firstly that affecting the mother country; secondly, that affecting the receiving country; thirdly, that which influences the individual personally. These points are dealt with in detail and with clearness by the author in Chapter XIII.

Lastly he concludes that emigration in its broadest sense, such as it proceeds to the colonies is a force of greater power than any other in the economy of the Empire. It has helped to build up an empire consisting of the colonies and the dependencies, and has made Britain what it is, one of the first class powers of the world, bringing about a potential increase of Imperial strength.

It is therefore impossible to minimise the importance of a book of this kind, because no authoritative data concerning the statistics of this movement were preserved or even collected, and the difficulty of treatment of the subject by restricting the scope to that special class of emigrants, leaving the United Kingdom to North America, is more readily imagined than described. A work of this kind would never have been conceived had not the author taken a good deal of pains to unearth all the documents, official publications, and important articles on the subject published from time to time.

It therefore forms a standard work of reference and authority, and we hasten to congratulate the author on his producing this work.

T. K. S.

WAR LITERATURE.

1. The Origins of the Great War, by H. N. Brailsford: *The Union of Democratic Control*, London, price 1d.

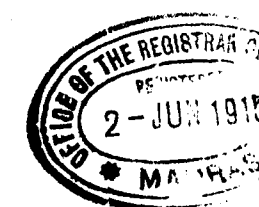
2. How the War Came. *The Independent Labour Party*, London, price 1d.

In a general excitement of national moods, it is difficult to get at the view points of the opposite party, and it is imaginable that a collision may be precipitated owing to this very lack of ability to understand each other. Introspection may not be of much help at such moments when the powers of self-examination may be completely overpowered, by the sense of the nearness of the danger. How a war arose is at times as much a mystery as how it ended finally. We can understand, therefore, Mr. H. N. Brailsford, when he characterises this war as a co-operative crime. When the guilt is shared by all the combatants, the next question is who is the most guilty. According to Mr. Brailsford, it would be as just to say that the real aggressor was the Power which stood behind Serbia, as it would be to say that it was the Power which first lit the conflagration by hurling its shells at Belgrade. To the making of the war, then, have gone Russian ambitions and German fears. Mr. Brailsford concludes, "the moral responsibility for the universal war must be

shared between Germany and Russia." "We must realise," he says, "that it was the fear of Russia which drove German diplomacy into a preventive war, and in the end mobilised even the social democrats behind German diplomacy." Wherein does Great Britain come in in this general scheme of hostilities? Mr. Brailsford has no doubt that it was its secret naval commitment to France, and its fatal entanglement through ten years in the struggle for a European balance of power, which sent its fleets to sea. France is, in any case, bound to support Russia and France could not have joined the war without dragging Great Britain. In such a ganglion of factors, it may be difficult to see the connection of the last link with the original one. Thus, "for Englishmen this war is primarily a struggle between Germany and France. For the Germans it is emphatically a Russo-German War." Mr. Brailsford writes that we are taking a parochial view of Armageddon, if we allow ourselves to imagine that it is primarily a struggle for the independence of Belgium and the future of France. Having disposed of Great Britain's responsibility thuswise, Mr. Brailsford sees clearly that a settlement with Germany is possible while yet there is time to turn from all this terrible carnage. About crushing German militarism, which is said to be the great mission of Great Britain in this war, Mr. Brailsford argues that since militarism is born of fear, it can be destroyed only by the Germans themselves. He hopes to bring about a settlement by inter-national arbitration.

"How the War Came", recites the course of events which led up to the war and the authorities relied upon are the various national official publications. It is mentioned that the White Paper issued by the British Government is the best, and the most recently published French Yellow Book is the most unreliable, its dispatches being mainly expressions of biased opinion, and lacking the fullness of detail which they ought to supply. The pamphlet quaintly argues that the British people are being misled and much hatred and ignorance are being engendered by diatribes against German "Kultur," German militarism and the German Kaiser, which are held up as the sole causes of the war. The chronicle begins with the alliance with Austria formed by Bismarck in 1879, and traces the diplomatic events up to the meeting of the Reichstag on the 4th of August 1914, and the German Chancellor's "Scrap of Paper" interview with the British Ambassador, culminating in the sending up of a war ultimatum by Great Britain to Germany. The statement is made with a view to "restore some balance and accuracy to popular criticism, some knowledge of reality to supplant absurdities about Germany and silence about Russia," so that when peace is concluded, the triumph of the Allies may mean peace and liberty to Europe.

C. S. K.



The Indian Emigrant

AN IMPERIAL MEDIUM OF

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EDITORIAL NOTICES.

The Editor solicits contributions from Colonial residents, English or Indian, and others on problems relating to the Empire, particularly those directly bearing on India. Articles should not ordinarily exceed two thousand words. Indians living abroad are specially requested to write to us of their experiences in foreign lands. Such correspondence should be informative. The "Indian Emigrant" is not responsible for opinions expressed by writers or statements made by correspondents.

Photographic views and representations of Indian life in British Colonies and Foreign Countries will be thankfully received. They should be accompanied, in every case, with a short description.

CEYLON TRAVEL AND QUARANTINE HARDSHIPS AT MANDAPAM.

BY THE EDITOR.

IN a previous number of our journal, we had occasion to publish an account of the immigrants' difficulties at Mandapam concerning the branding and overcharging of coolie passengers to Ceylon. Various other difficulties have now begun to be felt somewhat acutely by all classes of people, before they are allowed to land in the beautiful island of Ceylon. Situated as it is in close contiguity to the mainland of India, Ceylon afforded and still offers a splendid field for the mobilisation of Indian labour. No wonder then that to-day the total number of Indian population of the Island exceeds a million and about a half of them have almost permanently settled in that Colony for many centuries and about a hundred thousand of them are the offspring of recent settlers. With the growth of business and the advancement of commerce afforded by the improved means of

communication between Ceylon and India opened by the recent Talaimannar route, a large amount of labour force and passenger traffic has flowed between these two places. The latter formed mostly respectable Indian shopkeepers and petty traders who have made Ceylon their home and whose life there was one of independent means. In so far as the labour force is concerned, it is one of an organised endeavour to take into the Island Indian labour of men, women and children to work out the tea and rubber plantations, owned in a large measure by European capitalists. Believing as they do that the prosperity of the Island is due to the poor Indian coolie, it is strange that the authorities of Ceylon should not have thought it necessary to make the life of the coolie there one of less monotony and of less hardship. The coolie camp at Mandapam is enough to sicken the hearts of even the heartless.

Originally intended probably as a sifting ground to select, by a severe medical test, the pick and the best of the labourers who could stand the malarial fever and other diseases peculiar to plantations, it can be said, without the least exaggeration, that it has now degenerated into a perfect prison camp. The subject of coolie emigration to the Ceylon plantations has its own gruesome tale to tell. For the present, we shall confine ourselves to the scandalous treatment at Mandapam meted out to coolies and other classes of people.

We are glad that an Hon'ble Member of the Legislative Council has at last thought it necessary to bring the question before the Government of Madras, and we understand that the latter are about to address the Ceylon Government on the subject. We, therefore, hope that the interference of the Madras Government

will secure to Indian passengers better treatment and more comfortable travelling from the mainland.

The writer of the present article has himself recently been to Ceylon, and the following account therefore partakes of the nature of a personal experience and observation.

WANT OF DEFINITE INFORMATION.

To those who wish to proceed to Ceylon from South India, either on business or for pleasure, two routes are open; the one from Dhanushkodi and the other from Tuticorin. The former is by far the more convenient route and the journey can be performed daily and is entirely by rail except for a couple of hours in the ferry when crossing the Gulf of Mannar. From Tuticorin it is twelve hours' journey by boat, the sailings being only twice a week, Tuesdays and Saturdays.

The Government of Ceylon have ruled wisely enough that no person should be allowed to land in the Colony without being medically examined lest people should bring into the Island infectious diseases. With this sane view, they have established two Quarantine Stations one at Mandapam and another at Thattaparai for the medical examination of passengers proceeding to Ceylon.

What the nature of these medical Regulations is, no one is aware of except for wild rumours that are afloat circulated by those who had personal experiences, which are of course different with different people; so that a definite system has not yet been adopted nor are the regulations widely circulated for the benefit of the travelling public. At present everything is left to the discretion of the Medical Officer or to speak more practically to the noted and well-experienced Assistant Medical Officer, who is the real boss of the situation.

WHAT IS QUARANTINE.

The necessity of a permanent quarantine establishment at these places for preventing the importation of contagious diseases from India to Ceylon, as if India is the home of plague and other diseases from which Ceylon is immune, shows beyond a doubt that there is something wrong in the very system of our emigration or that is most carelessly administered.

The idea of Quarantine in any country is to prevent immigrants, suffering from what may be called "quarantinable diseases" such as small-pox, typhus fever, leprosy, plague and other infectious diseases, from landing into that country. The diseased persons

are segregated and stationed in a hospital until they are cured, while those immigrants not affected with any of these diseases are landed without difficulty subject, of course, to certain restrictions.

But the system as now practised at Mandapam is something very peculiar, the compelling of every able-bodied healthy passenger, specially 3rd class passengers, to undergo the ordeal of a camp life for about a week irrespective of the health of the individual.

MAIN GRIEVANCES.

The main grievances experienced at Mandapam Station are drawn up below serially:—

- (1) Detention in the camp of respectable third-class passengers and sometimes of even second-class.
- (2) Monopoly of Messrs. Spencer & Co., Madras for the supply of food and provisions.
- (3) The deposit system of Rs. 50.
- (4) Vaccination.
- (5) Disinfection.

DETENTION IN THE CAMP.

(1) In the first place, the contempt shown by the Immigration Department and the medical staff to all third class passengers and in a degree to some of the second class passengers who are ignorant of English is something indefensible. The fact that a person travels in the third class does not itself constitute that he is fit to live only with coolies and other low class people. Men far above ordinary means travel only by third class. Even great men—like Mr. Gandhi—take a pleasure and a pride in travelling by the lowest class, and it is a travesty that such men should be huddled together with estate coolies.

No greater injury than this could be done to respectable people and to the public in general. Even rich men travelling by second class are sometimes put to the same humiliation of a camp life as third class passengers. This is mostly the case with well-to-do persons of the Chetty community; but I had occasion to know a case of a family of Brahmins—men and women in perfectly healthy conditions travelling by second class from Palghat, driven to the camp for seven days, vaccinated, disinfected and allowed to proceed to Ceylon, requiring a further medical observation for eighteen days at their destination. This is because they do not happen to know the English language. All their remonstrance with the authorities to accept the required deposit just to avoid camp life was of no avail. This is a deliberate mischief played on the innocent people by some of the unscrupulous members of the medical staff.

As a rule all third class passengers are compelled to live in the camp for seven days at Mandapam as a preliminary to proceeding to Ceylon. In my opinion, this seems a superfluous arrangement in as much as they are required to undergo observation for a week or eighteen days, as the case may be at their destination in Ceylon.

SPENCER'S MONOPOLY.

(2) Closely connected with the camp life is the question of food supply which requires greater consideration from the authorities than any other. The regulations concerning provisions are unnecessarily severe and the food that is supplied in the camp is not of a wholesome nature. There are supposed to be three different kinds of meal, costing respectively 6 as., 4 as., 2½ as. each and what is actually supplied is not worth half of its value. The highest for a good meal ever charged in South Indian hotels is four annas, so that there is a clear gain of 2 As. in a meal. This high rate is due to the sole monopoly given to Messrs. Spencer and Co., for the supplying of food to the Camp, and it is a grave injustice done to private hotel keepers who are not allowed to sell food and provisions to the people. If this is allowed, under proper supervision of the Medical Officer, it will be considered more an act of charity than anything else, enabling outside passengers to lead a more comfortable life during observation days than make them have recourse to starvation in the town. Thus a healthy competition would set in leading to the improvement of the passengers health. The meals supplied in the camp, besides being unwholesome, are supplied at very untimely hours. The morning meal is given at 9 A.M. and the evening at 5 P.M. Between these periods nothing is allowed to be eaten by the people. No one is allowed to buy his provisions and cook his own food. I am doubtful whether they are allowed to take any tiffin in the interval; but I am informed that passengers generally bribe the peons to bring secretly coffee and other light refreshments from the Brahmin cooks in the kitchen. As a matter of fact one of the disinfecting peons was dismissed on the 9th March for accepting illegal gratification from an estate cooly; so that it is presumed that there is a great deal of truth in the spread of such rumours.

DEPOSIT.

(3) Europeans travelling by first class are wholly exempt from the operation of this rule. Eurasians travelling by 2nd class are generally exempt and it is only when Indian second class passengers are concerned that the system of deposit is insisted on.

If this is one of the Immigration Laws of the Ceylon Government, it should apply to all immigrants irrespective of white or black, whether they travel in cabins and saloons or in the steerage. If the deposit system is a provision against pauperism or against public charge, does it mean that there are no paupers amongst the whites, howsoever they may manage to travel by first class.

This money provision is generally adopted by the Government of distant countries such as Canada, U. S. A. and Australia to which men resort from distant places; and even then, this is no hard and fast rule as to the amount of money an immigrant should bring with him.

The Immigration authorities there consider among other matters, the occupation, the chances of securing a particular employment, the mental capacity of each individual.

At all events, the man must have enough to provide for his reasonable wants until such time as he is likely to find employment. A deposit, if there should be this system at all, of Rs. 10 or 15 is a sufficient guarantee against pauperism. But there is absolutely no meaning in the Government of Ceylon having the deposit system which gives rise to several abuses in demanding the money. Already an extra sum of Rs. 1-5 is demanded along with the deposit of Rs. 50, for which no satisfactory explanation is given to the depositors. Even if they are demanded an extra rupee for the pocket money of the clerk, they have to pay because it is the clerk's order.

There is also the further difficulty of securing back the deposit money from the Government. I have heard of a case in which the deposit was returned only after four months. Considering these difficulties, the Ceylon Government will do well to abolish this system altogether as all money transactions are likely to create unscrupulous practices.

VACCINATION.

(4) This is one of those technical questions the efficacy of which against infection has often been questioned even by experts. An article on "Small-pox and Vaccination" published in the *Indian Daily News* stated that Lord Lister admitted in the House of Lords that *it was possible to infect healthy persons with various filthy diseases through vaccination*. The British Parliament appointed a Royal Commission to enquire into the effects of Vaccination upon human health and as the result, amended the Vaccination Law in favour of conscientious objectors. The result of the amendment, is that

"considerably more than half the children born in this country (England) are now unvaccinated, and small-pox has never been so rare as it has been for years past." This is the present theory of Vaccination, but so long as the system has unfortunately come to stay in this country as a necessity in medical matters, its abuses only remain to be rectified.

The curious point to be noted regarding this matter at Mandapam is the frequency with which people are teased with this process. As many times as a passenger travels by this line to Ceylon, he should get vaccinated no matter how long before he got vaccinated. The Mandapam Medical authorities have thought it fit make to vaccination valid only for a month. If any person happens to travel half a dozen times in a year, he should be vaccinated also half a dozen times, although as a matter of fact it is considered proof against infection by experts for five or six years. I had occasion to see a man in Kandy with several marks of vaccination complaining bitterly against this system. Further if people should go to the camp with marks of recent vaccination by other Medical Officers, it was not accepted as the vaccination was not done in the camp itself. These abuses of the staff should be checked by the Medical Officer who se duty it should be to see that these petty tricks are not imposed chiefly on the illiterate people.

Another fact which was brought to my notice is a kind the vaccination or as the people put it "deep scratching by a peculiar instrument resembling the fork." What amount of truth there is in this rumour I am unable to verify.

DISINFECTION.

(5) A short personal experience with reference to this matter in the camp will be somewhat interesting.

After depositing Rs. 50, I took the receipt to the Medical Officer for getting the passport. The Assistant Medical Officer closely followed me; but I could not guess his object in so doing. Lest the Medical Officer should on seeing the deposit receipt, grant the pass, the Assistant Medical Officer standing by my side at once suggested to the Medical Officer that my luggage and linen should be disinfected. The Medical Officer asked me whether I had brought any luggage. I said they were kept in the waiting room of the station. He then ordered me to get them to the camp to be disinfected. I explained that my linen were all clean and fresh from the dhoby. He could not agree to anything of the sort

and left me to the mercy of his Assistant. The latter's order was more peremptory than the Medical Officer's. I argued with the Assistant that it was nearing 11-30 A.M., that I had no coffee or breakfast till then, that no cooly or carriage was available to bring the luggage from the station to the camp, and that my luggage was already disinfected, by its being away from infection. He would not yield; but said that I must bring the luggage before 12, by which time the infection process closes. I then thought that I had no hope of visiting Ceylon but only return back to Madras. With this impression I left the camp, starving and walking two miles in the hot sun. I was so tired that I never cared to go to the camp again for disinfection, preparing all the time for the worst to happen.

An hour or two later I sent a letter to the Head Clerk of the camp asking him to return to me the deposit receipt, and to my great surprise and satisfaction the Assistant Medical Officer comes to me with the passport and the Deposit Receipt about the train time. Then I praised the Lord in Heaven for allowing me to pass to Ceylon without being infected.

This is the kind of trouble and petty annoyances which the Medical satellites are bent on giving the poor people like us. If I had not openly defied their orders, I could not have gone to Colombo by that evening train but, would have to wait another day in that desert place.

Thus I had not the good fortune of observing what disinfection is really about. The general complaint is that old rotten dirty cloths used by several others are given to people for temporary wear till their clothes are disinfected. If one should require a fresh cloth, he has to pay 7 annas, the price of a new one. What an absurdity it is that a man should not be allowed to wear his own clean cloth, but to wear only the dirty ones given by the authorities. These, in brief, are the main grievances.

MINOR GRIEVANCES—A LEGION.

Space forbids my traversing in detail other grievances which are a legion. I shall only recount them serially with a short explanation.

(1) *Ten Minutes time at Mandapam insufficient to issue passes to all.* The South Indian Railway Boat Mail arrives at Mandapam at 3-20 and leaves at 3-30. Within these ten minutes the Medical Officer tries to issue passports to all. As he could not within that time, issue passes to all passengers, (only 1st and 2nd class) some of them have to stop there and start the next day. To avoid such inconvenience the Medical

Officer is given a first class passage as far as Dhanushkoti to see that passports are issued to all. This is never taken advantage of, but only the passengers are inconvenienced.

Originally passengers are allowed to deposit the amount with the Madura Co. as soon as the train arrives. This method was found to save much time both to the passengers and the Medical Officer. The latter after satisfying that the deposit is made, issues passes immediately. But now the Medical Officer has issued an Edict that no deposits should be received by the representative of the Madura Co. without the Medical Officer's permission. The effect of this order must be obvious. Some of the passengers are detained for want of time to get the passes which happens in this way. As soon as the train arrives the Medical Officer boards the first class compartments and issues passes to Europeans. In the meanwhile deposits are made by second class passengers to Madura Co. and the receipts got ready. Now no body could pay the amount until the Medical Officer gives a written order and he could not be disturbed for a permit while issuing pass-ports to the first class passengers. Much time is thus wasted and all are not able to pay the deposit, get the receipt and then the pass.

(a) Medical Officer's order *re* deposit is therefore arbitrary and should be done away with.

(b) Medical Officer should not for want of time inconvenience passengers and unnecessarily delay them by not legitimately doing his work.

(2) Third class passengers after camp life are not allowed to go by the boat mail to Dhanushkoti but carried in a special cooly train. This is unjust.

(3) So also third class passengers returning from Ceylon are not allowed to proceed by the same mail train at 8 A.M. They are detained at Dhanushkoti for customs examination and then taken by a special train at 12 noon. More customs officers should be appointed to examine all passengers.

(4) In the Thattaparai Camp all third class passengers are compelled to take second class tickets by the boat whether there is cabin or not. This matter is very serious and should at once be put an end to.

(5) It is rumoured that all private hotels and stall keepers at Mandapam and Dhanushkoti are to be abolished from the 25th instant and Messrs. Spencer & Co., should take the entire monopoly. Will the Government interere in the matter and see that there is healthy competition and no favouritism.

(6) Travelling diet for coolies on the last day of departure is a loaf of bread and little sugar costing As. 4. This is quite insufficient.

It is not to be supposed that I have exhausted all the ills and hardships, but I hope that the enumeration of some of these grievances will also be taken as recommendations for their removal.

BE UP-TO-DATE.

AN EPISTLE TO THE YOUNG MEN OF INDIA.
BY MR. SAGAR CHAND, of the Middle Temple London.

THOUSANDS of young men and women leave Russia every year for the centres of education in Switzerland, Germany, Sweden, Norway, and other neighbouring lands. They work hard all day long in fields and factories, and attend schools and colleges during the night. Thus they live on their own earnings while storing their minds with the best knowledge that the most advanced Universities of the world can afford them. They learn useful arts and sciences and mix with the noblest men and women they find in those countries. The girls attend lectures on nursing, care of the sick, sewing, and the art of teaching. They then return to their fatherland and spread themselves all over the country, among the villages preferably. There they impart useful knowledge to their countrymen, tend the sick and the suffering, help the needy, and bring love and consolation to those that are groaning and moaning under the oppression of the most barbarous Government in the world. As, in the domain of the Tsar, they are not allowed any really good books on History, Politics, or Economics, these brave Russian boys and girls import life-giving ideas about liberty, equality, and fraternity into the benighted kingdom of the Czar. The vehicle used by them to convey these ideas into Russia is that wonderful box which nature has fixed on our shoulders and which no police in the world can search.

And now turning to my own country, what do I find? Only the sons of rich men leave India, and as they are not very likely to feel for the teeming millions of India, they spend a good deal of their country's money on luxuries and enjoyment in foreign countries. At the end of, say, three or four years these prodigals return home as Barristers or civil servants only to fleece their poor compatriots as of yore. And as to our women (don't talk of their leaving India), poor things, they are toiling and moiling, week-in and week-out, slaving for their lords and husbands until kind Death lays them to rest in the bosom of mother earth. Whereas the one thing needful (which is lost sight of) for the working men and women is to travel abroad so that with the experience gained there, on their return home they may strive to better the condition of their fellow-sufferers.

If any working man happens to read this epistle, I appeal to him (and I appeal to you, well-wishers of India, that by translating and publishing this my

humble message in the vernacular journals you bring it to the notice of the working men) to travel abroad with a view to gain knowledge in order that he may thereby serve his fatherland. No matter if you have not a shilling in your pocket. Risk it all and trust in Him who is the helper of the helpless. At the utmost you can die of starvation abroad. But millions die of starvation in India every year. So, is it not better to die serving your country? Go abroad, dear brothers and sisters, and obtain saving-knowledge for your compatriots.

Where are you to go—do you ask? Go anywhere. Go to Japan, to Sweden, to France, to Italy, to Germany, to Switzerland, to Norway, to Holland, to China, to Turkey, to Afghanistan or to the United States of America. In England and the English Colonies you will be called "blacks" and spurned, so do not go there. But then you must not waste your time in learning English. You must learn Dutch, French, German, Swedish or Italian. The people in those countries will welcome you like brothers and the contact will benefit both you and them.

I recently purchased a book called German self-taught and with its help learnt German in a few days. The series of books include:—

German Self-taught.	Spanish Self-taught.
French Self-taught.	Japanese Self-taught.
Italian Self-taught.	Swedish Self-taught, etc., etc.

In short, there is no language which is not included. The price of each book is only one shilling and two pence for postage. So if you send a "postal order" for 14 annas to Messrs. Marlborough & Co., 51, Old Bailey, London, they will send you whichever of these books you want. If you have even a slight knowledge of English, you can learn any of these foreign languages in less than a month and without any difficulty.

Young men of India, you must be up-to-date. Do not be content with reading up Macaulay and Tennyson. Learn the languages of the other nations of Europe and the language of Japan, travel abroad, fertilise your minds with the waters of modern sciences and then go home and devote yourself to the service of your fatherland. Those who can afford to spend sixty or seventy rupees a month ought to come and live in some European centre of education at least for the space of two or three years. Instead of making pilgrimages to Mecca, Benares and Kashi, make pilgrimages to Paris, Rome, Berlin, New York, Tokio and Stockholm. Do you know these lines of the poet:—

New occasions teach new duties
Time makes ancient good uncouth
We must still be up and onward
If we'll keep abreast of truth.

MASTER BUILDERS OF GREATER INDIA.

Mr. M. K. GANDHI

Mr. Gandhi has attained a name and a great fame both fragrant and not awe-inspiring. He is only forty-five, looks some what older but he feels himself quite young. He is a rebel; but a glorified master rebel with a great power of self-restraint—a rebel greater than a Hampden or a Cromwell. He has ever been a vigorous fighter, but he will not jump the fence. Standing in the dock years ago, he pleaded with the Magistrate in convincing eloquence to impose the same penalty imposed upon his followers as he had been the acknowledged leader and the prime-mover of the Opposition against the law of the land. Hence his unbounded sympathy with the wants of the working classes, a sympathy that is ever ready to make itself felt in action. But that only partly explains his influence over the people he is addressing whether it be railway-men, miners, tailors, confectionery girls. The secret of his tremendous power is that he is entirely disinterested. He is thus able to throw his whole amazing force and influence into whatever cause he takes up. He has a wide knowledge of "the best that has been thought and known in the world," and he speaks upon the question of the moment not only from a practical acquaintance with the facts, but out of a profound study of the authorities who stand on his carefully ordered book shelves. His industry is unwearied. He has no time to be ill. And what is the incentive of his work? His whole life, from the moment he set his foot on the soil of the Transvaal down to this moment is eloquently expressive of his incentive to do and to suffer. There is nothing ascetic or visionary in the composition of Mr. Gandhi who is full of life and joy. His singularly handsome face seldom lacks a pleasant smile emanating, one might say, from an agreeable sense of all that is good and noble in this world, and looking upon the man as he moves and works among his friends, one would be tempted to regard him as a man approaching to the old ideal of a healthy mind in a healthy body. His soft and dreamy eyes are extremely expressive and bespeak now a simplicity bordering on humility, and now pent-up fire and energy. His bearing is dignified and graceful even in times of utmost stress and tension. His sympathy for the people places him on the level

of the simplest peasant. He can be found very often visiting the congested districts, tramping day after day from one wretched collection of hovels to another, stooping to enter at their low doors in dense reek of smoke, sitting there among the hens and children, while the cow, if the family be rich enough to possess one, wanders in and out of its own sweet will, encouraging, advising, and striving to inspire hope and faith in the place of apathy and despair.

HIS FATHER AND MOTHER.

Mr. Gandhi's father as Dewan of the State of Kathiawar, gained there some local prominence, and further he seems to have accumulated decent wealth. Tender, warm-hearted and devoted as his mother was she exercised a potent and chastening influence on her children by her unique devotional temperament. Considerable part of the talent the young man possesses came to him like his good looks from the mother whose words of advice given to him years ago have to-day the charm and potency of the sacred words of our scriptural texts. Her devotional temperament has evidently impressed on Mr. Gandhi's mind, during the most impressionable period of his life, and that impression has become not only a cherished possession of his but a part and parcel of his life. Gandhi was born in October second one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine.

HIS TRAINING.

A little school in Kathiawar first claimed him as a student and here he began to spell his letters. He never seems to have displayed in his earlier days, in a marked manner those adorning qualities of his, which to-day are so well known and so widely spread. After passing the Matriculation Examination from the Kathiawar High School he went to England, entered the Inner Temple, and emerged from the temple of learning as a Barrister-at-Law. By the time he had attained manhood the future leader of the Indians in the Transvaal, was an advocate in the High Court of Bombay. Early in life the youth learned the art, clearness of conception and that readiness of exposition which to this day characterize his petitions, memorials, and public utterances. It cannot be said that his rise was rapid at the Bar, but it was certainly steady. He displayed here that aptitude for cementing personal friendship which remains his most wonderful asset as a political leader. The severest critic of Mr. Gandhi has yet to accuse him of concealing beneath a polished manner the real sentiments of his heart. A man may smile and be grave and be a

Gandhi without imputations discreditable to his candour.

THE POLICY OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

It would be impossible to narrate and to expatiate on the lasting and memorable services of Mr. Gandhi in the Transvaal. He has sacrificed everything, house, home, friends, comforts and went cheerfully to Africa to serve his countrymen who were in need of capable and efficient help. It is enough to say that he is the life and soul of the Indian community in the Transvaal. The great object of Mr. Gandhi is to secure the enjoyment of ordinary human rights, the natural rights to his countrymen in Africa. His earnest endeavours in this cause have proved futile and fruitless. When he found that the imposition on and exactions from the people were growing more and more acute, when he found the life of the labourers was becoming unbearable and intolerable, he unfurled the flag of passive resistance round which all flocked and round which are enacted stirring scenes which are published from day to day in the public prints, scenes cruel, unedifying, and revolting. The point to be remembered is this. The Indians in the Transvaal do not ask powers to vote and of franchise. What they press for is the enjoyment of ordinary rights, rights of freedom of locomotion, freedom of habitation, freedom of trade and commerce. This campaign of passive resistance is nothing but an earnest endeavour to keep themselves in the limits of law, and by this self-restraint, by this very regard in their determination to oppose the despotic will of the Transvaal, by this very regard for the laws of that Government, they want to restore sanity to Government. This course the Indians have adopted because the executive irresponsibility in the Transvaal has perversely encroached upon the natural, God-given rights of man.

THE MODERN CIVILIZATION—A CANT.

Civilization. A great word. It reads well and it is used everywhere. It bears itself proudly in the language and sounds full well in the mouth. It indicates a big mouthful of arrogance and self-sufficiency. They boast of civilization as if the modern nations were really civilized, just as they talk of Christianity as if Christian nations were really Christians. There are savage nations, under the visor of civilization, savage in the lust of the eye, and pride of life, savages in national prejudices, and animosities, and jealousies and greed and malice, savages in relentless efforts to over-reach or pull down the helpless in social,

political, and business relations. The modern mock-civilization is not fit to occupy even a line in the volume of true civilization. To-day nations are masquerading on the theatre of the world in the name of civilization hiding with a virtuous visor foul guile. Why more!

PERSONALIA.

Mr. Gandhi has qualities deliciously endearing. His mind has search-light luminosity. He is full of ambition. Of the ordinary selfish ambition he has none. Of the ambition to achieve noble ends by noble means; of that ambition he is all compact. He is the embodiment of that maxim, 'never complain and never explain.' He has realised the three crystal laws of life; to resist the tyranny of the self; to recognise the rule of duty; to maintain the supremacy of the higher over the lower parts of nature. These golden laws are to him like pointer-stars guiding a traveller's life to the celestial pole by which he steers. He never allows himself in regard to public life to realise, i.e., to dwell upon the fact that a thing is painful. Such steadiness, such under-sense and feeling of the whole is Mr. Gandhi's gift, and inspiration never expanding itself in pensive musings upon the vain ambitions, illusions, cheats, regrets of human life such moods of half morbid moralising are not in his temperament, but ever stirring him to duty and manful hope, to intrepid self-denial and iron effort. His generosity is carried to the verge of prodigality. He is the initiator and organiser of the movement of passive resistance. The thing that makes so huge an enterprise possible to him is as much a matter of the heart as of the head. He loves his country and his brethren wisely and well. This fact is the root of it all. So gentle are his methods that they are easily misunderstood and mistaken. He is a human creature true to his friends adored by his wife, incapable of playing foul in politics or in anything else.

FINALE.

What is the motive that converts this masterful man of the world into a passive resister? Why does he cheerfully court prison walls? It is not expediency. Nor is it even love of notoriety. It is patriotism pure and simple. The motive is the honour of his country and the well-being of his countrymen. For about a century the South Africans have been treading the Indians under their heels. With freedom and pride behind them, with color-sense before them, they have treated Indians as beasts of burden. From this injustice, cruelty and wrong the Indians are trying to emerge from the dust. Indians plead for justice,

kind treatment, the removal of an odious and obnoxious tax, and for ordinary human rights. Against these reasonable and just, and natural claims the whole fabric of the Transvaal assembly is up with the stern determination to bend and break the spirits of the Indians. A dark cabal-cloud is in view on the horizon of that dark continent. And against this darkness stands a radiant figure magnanimous and heroic, the talk of three continents challenging this dead darkness, a figure formed in the prodigality of nature; and that figure is Mr. Gandhi the great heart.

II

Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe contributed the following character sketch of Mr. Gandhi to the *Manchester Guardian* :—

Five years ago, when the ripening Union of South Africa was under discussion, you might have met at many gatherings in London a quiet-mannered Indian, a man of forty, small and slight; unobtrusive, but always ready to talk; deeply in earnest (you could see with half a glance), but conspicuously reasonable, patient, persuasive; never ruffled or combative, always kindly, sweet-tempered—and, as you would guess, tenacious almost beyond anybody you had ever known. This was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Barrister-at-Law, Attorney of the Supreme Court in the Transvaal, and leader of the South African Indians in their struggle for civil rights; organiser of passive resistance; a man you cannot checkmate or get round, though you can, of course, put him for a time out of the way.

GANDHI'S ORIGIN.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi comes from Western India. He is by race (or, to speak more precisely, by language) a Gujarati, by religion a Hindu, and by caste a Bania or merchant. He comes of an old Bania family connected for generations with Porbandar, a little Native State in Kathiawar, north of Bombay, where for a quarter of a century his father was Dewan or Chief Minister. Though profoundly impressed by the religious character of his mother, an old-fashioned Hindu of the strictest way of life, the youth was not of the home-keeping kind. His ambition went out towards the West. With the greatest difficulty he obtained his mother's permission for the journey to Europe, and then only, it is said, after a Jain priest had, in solemn ceremony, administered a triple vow of chastity and abstinence from flesh food and alcohol. Mr. Gandhi was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple, and on returning to India was admitted an advocate of the Bombay High Court.

Just twenty years ago a case in the Natal Courts took him to South Africa, not in the first place with any idea of remaining there. The Law Society opposed his enrolment as an advocate, but the Supreme Court of Natal admitted his claim, and Mr. Gandhi, already aware of the outcast condition of the Indians in the colony, settled down in Durban to practise his profession and to organise his countrymen. He founded (in 1894) the Natal Indian Congress, which began its career with an agitation—an unsuccessful agitation—against the disfranchisement of Asiatic settlers. The two decades of almost unbroken conflict have been full enough of varied incident for Mr. Gandhi. Twice he has had experience of warfare—in the early stages of the Boer war when he was at the head of the Indian Ambulance Corps which did good service on the Natal battlefields, and in 1906, when he organised a Corps of Indian stretcher-bearers during the native rebellion in Natal.

Twice at least his life has been in danger—once when he was set upon in the streets of Durban on landing from India (the report having got about that he was introducing skilled Indian labour into the colony), and when he had, like more famous men in similar circumstances, to escape in a policeman's garb; and another time when an infuriated Pathan tried to kill him under the impression that he was betraying the Indian cause to the Transvaal Government.

GIFTS OF LEADERSHIP.

He is an expert in scientific agitation. Never was there a popular leader more uncompromisingly hostile to militancy. There is no tolerance in him for anything even remotely resembling violence. Passive resistance—or, as he prefers to call it, soul force—is his single weapon, and he never sanctions its use until every conceivable means of negotiation and persuasion has failed. He founded a weekly paper *Indian Opinion* as the organ of his movement (at first printed in four languages, now in two, English and Gujarati). To begin with, the paper was published in Durban, but after few months Mr. Gandhi bought an estate of about 100 acres some twelve miles to the north, upon which was planted the Phoenix Settlement whence *Indian Opinion* has continued to be issued. The settlement is peopled by Indians associated with the paper and others of Mr. Gandhi's helpers the leaders among whom, in true Indian fashion, take a vow of poverty, binding themselves not to accept more than £3 a month for their services to the journal or to the educational schemes of the community.

Mr. Gandhi's quality as a leader was tested during the four years' struggle with the Transvaal Government (1906-10), when the Indians were fighting, passively of course, against the finger-print ordinance and other measures for which General Smuts was in the main responsible. Victory it was thought (such victory as is possible upon a basis of avowed compromise), had been achieved three years ago; but the undertaking made by General Smuts was not ratified, and, as we know, even Mr. Gokhale's mission of peace last autumn, so far as the essential point at issue is concerned—the securing of admitted right of domicile,—has been unfruitful. With the resumption of hostilities Mr. Gandhi has gone, as his way is, to prison; and it remains to be proved whether the Union Government can afford to keep him there. For his influence in the keeping of the peace is unrivalled. The South African Indians give him an unlimited allegiance. His character commands their reverence; they obey him like children; they believe in his wisdom. With Mr. Gandhi on the field, the struggle proceeds without bloodshed. Remove him, and the furies are abroad.

He has shown astonishing gifts of leadership and diplomacy, and an equally astonishing grasp of affairs and knowledge of men. But fundamentally M. K. Gandhi is a recluse, a devotee, a mystic. His speculative standpoint is unreservedly Tolstoyan. He is an alien in the modern world, an enemy of what we call Western civilisation. It is not, he will tell you, the British people, but Western civilisation, mechanical and material, that is governing India, and cities like Calcutta and Bombay are merely plague-centres. Increase of material wealth and of comfort is inimical of moral growth. East and West can never meet until the West has thrown over its civilisation, and India's only way to salvation is to unlearn all that she has been learning under the tutelage of the West during the past half-century. To this uncompromising apostle of non-resistance even the organisation of scientific aid for suffering humanity is essentially immoral. The hospitals (and this from a devotee of the Red Cross!) are but instruments of the devil, for if they did not exist mankind would stand a chance of freeing itself from the physical wages of sin. Our modern world is the Inferno, and the only right thing for man to do is to get out of it into silence, solitude, poverty, and peace. And yet with it, here is Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the spiritual Nihilist, sacrificing himself wholly in order to secure for his compatriots a little measure of civil rights in a dominion which will never willingly accept them as free citizens. You must admit that it is strange.

Round the Indian Empire

BY POLITIQUE.

In all discussions about the reconstruction of the Imperial fabric, brought in to prominence by the war, the question of India is, as it were, studiously avoided. It would seem that the last of India is to remain ever a Dependency, under the effete form of a bureaucratic Government. The governed are to have no responsible concern in the internal administration of their country and Imperial affairs occupy too giddy a height for them to aspire to. India is not represented in the successive Imperial Conferences, though she might fight the Empire's battles at all points of the compass. On every side, the Empire is gradually taking into its confidence the self-governing Colonies and the Dominions Oversea, always relegating India to the kitchen, as the Cinderella of the British Empire. The Union of South Africa following three years after the grant of self-governing powers to the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies marks an important landmark in the Empire's history. The Union represents the reconciliation of the British and Dutch races, which only a decade earlier had been engaged in war. The danger to Imperial unity of perpetually keeping the Dutch element in South Africa discontented was overcome by admitting the rebel into partnership and thus political unity was secured in the Union by the disregard of racial considerations. India presents a parallel case. Representative Indians must be taken into full and unqualified partnership in the administration of Indian as well as Imperial affairs, so as to give consistency to the various parts of the Empire as well as to give a co-ordinated aim to Imperial policy. In 1911, that is, the year after the consummation of the South African Union, which also saw a thawing in the rigidity of the Imperial atmosphere, at the Imperial Conference held in London, Sir Joseph Ward (then Premier of New Zealand) is to have moved a resolution that representatives from all the constituent parts of the Empire, *whether self-governing or not*, are to compose an Imperial Council of State in theory and fact advisory to the Imperial Government on all questions affecting the interests of His Majesty's Oversea Dominions. But when Sir Joseph Ward actually moved the resolution, it was vitally altered by the omission of the words "whether self-governing or not," and the substitution of the word "self-governing" for "constituent." This cut off at one stroke the hope of India to participate in Imperial concerns and made her keep out of the central organisation of the Empire. Is this possible any longer?

The question is sure to be forced on our consideration after the war. In any scheme for the reconstruction of the Empire, in any assembly for the discussion of its problems, it is ungenerous and unwise to leave India out of mind, unheard. Both in the interests of closer Imperial union and her own, India with its teeming population and extensive area, has a right to be taken into confidence, and if this is impossible, so long as India is dubbed a Dependency, let her be made self-governing, as the time is ripe to grant her this form of government.

The Railway Board was appointed by Lord Curzon's Government in 1903, and the benefits that were hoped for from the work of this body in the transportation facilities of the country are yet to be reaped by the different communities. There is almost a unanimous opinion held by both Indian and Anglo-Indian publicists that the Railway Board could be more vigilant in the discharge of its functions than it has been hitherto. The Board, as at present constituted, is lacking in independence and powerless to exercise authority over private companies, since the latter are ready to give comfortable berths in their London directorates to retiring members of the Board who might show consideration to these while in office in India. In the face of such inducements offered by private companies, it is impossible to expect that members of the Railway Board would show the needed impartiality in adjusting the claims of the public and the companies. As a result, a host of evils have been brought to the surface in the administration of railways by private companies who, for all the check imposed on them by the Board, are really masters of the situation. A detailed examination of the shortcomings is impossible within this short space, but it is unmistakable that the whole organisation has to be remodelled on a more efficient plan so as to make it touch the economic needs of the country and the comfort of the travelling public at all points. To specify one or two of the more glaring evils. The shortage of railway wagons is a standing complaint with the mercantile community: an allusion was made to the hardship inflicted thereby upon trading interests and the consequent loss in revenue to the Government in last year's report of the Trade of India by Mr. Findlay Shirras. The Board has further failed to deter companies from showing racial preferences as between the Indian and Anglo-Indian:

or European travelling public by meting out effective punishment when cases of that nature were time and again brought to its notice. It is well known that the backbone of the railway companies is the third class passenger public who contribute every year 17 to 18 crores of rupees to their coffers; and it is notorious that this class is treated worse than cattle, in the accommodation provided for them during ordinary times as well as during fairs and festivals when passenger traffic is thicker than normal. The whole railway management seems to have concentrated their evil temper upon the luckless third class passenger—a game which can be compared for its perversity only with the killing of the goose that lays the golden eggs. "But he (the third class passenger) is human and there is a limit to all finite properties. The railways of India would be unwise especially in these days of unrest if they do not anticipate and forestall the resentment of wrong which slow to arise may be equally difficult to put out. The whole treatment of third class passengers throughout the country is indefensible in any serious reckoning of railway administration." We fully join the *Indian Engineering*, from which the above is quoted, in its severe indictment of the railway management of the country.

We have received from the Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Indian Sanitary Education, a copy of their resolution dated the 23rd May 1914, on the Indian Sanitary policy. As we have had no occasion to review the resolution before, we shall briefly refer to it here in the light of additional facts presented to us subsequent to that date. It cannot be said now that the Government are unmindful of the sanitary needs of the country, though a great deal yet remains to be accomplished before they can claim full satisfaction on the subject. The policy of the Government of India is to leave to the discretion of the local Governments all detailed control and executive action regarding public health, reserving for themselves the general direction of affairs. They intend at the same time to encourage the organisation of voluntary agencies by making grants to these and in other ways. The control of research is directly under their supervision and the local Governments are allowed ample freedom in making sanitary arrangements for the different provinces. The policy laid down sounds well enough, but the complaint is that it is not backed up by adequate finances. The successive debates, in the Imperial Council on the annual budgets lay bare the meagre allowances set apart for sanitation year after year. Another charge levelled against the Government in this respect has reference to their total disregard of

rural sanitation. No doubt, in the resolution under review, they seem to appreciate the enormous importance of the subject in a mainly agricultural country such as India and have informed local Governments that these may spend a portion of the Imperial grants for urban sanitation on rural sanitation. Unless, the Government of India bifurcate sanitary grants to local Governments into rural and urban, distinctively enjoining upon them the expenditure of rural grants on rural areas and withholding them in the event of failure on the part of local Governments to do so, the grants are not likely to go beyond the needs of urban sanitation and consequently throwing into neglect the claims of rural parts. For the present, the Co-operative Societies may be entrusted to look after the proper expenditure of funds earmarked for rural sanitation and it is high time that a beginning is made in this direction in villages where there are already Co-operative Societies. Sanitation is intimately connected with education and the Government recognise that "the diffusion of sound education will remain the most potent and penetrating instrument of sanitation" among the masses of the population. Recognising this principle, as they do, it seems strange that the Government should still seek to curtail grants for elementary education, a spread of which alone will act as "the most potent and penetrating instrument of sanitation." The resolution seems to us to be a most complete and unassailable document from the academic stand-point and if the different policies adumbrated in it are carried out in detail, the needs of Indian sanitation will have been satisfactorily met for sometime to come, but, as we pointed out already, there's many a slip between the cup and the lip.

It is difficult to speak with any restraint of language against the action of the House of Lords headed by Lords MacDonnell and Curzon, in opposing the creation of an Executive Council in the United Provinces. The mischief however, cannot last long, as both the local Government concerned as well as the Government of India, including the Secretary of State, are committed already to provide the United Provinces with Council Government, sooner or later. The action of the Lords only indicates an obsolete phase of the existence of the Upper Chamber, galvanised into life at this, their only opportunity, when the war has calmed all controversial and even some non-controversial questions within the Empire—but let that pass. The most astounding thing in the debate that took place on the motion of Lord MacDonnell, in which both Lord Curzon and Lord Sydenham took part, was the amazing stupidity of the ex-Viceroy in destroying the very *raison d'être* of Council Government for India and

his equally arrogant pretension to an accurate knowledge of the state of affairs in India, which he left nearly a decade ago. The speakers also aired a little their views on the form of Government suitable to India and Lords Morley and Minto would shake in their shoes if they only chance to read their speeches. Lord Curzon said, "By the end of my time, I should have been disposed to say that the best form of Government, that which brought the Governor into closest contact with the people, was that of Chief Commissioner. But one knows that as a province develops a stage is reached at which it is entitled to a Lieutenant-Governor. If it were a question of Government by a Lieutenant-Governor alone, or by a Lieutenant-Governor with a Council, I should be inclined to pronounce for the former as being more prompt, more efficacious, and, I believe, more popular with every section of the people." "For many years to come," said Lord Sydenham, "the masses of India would not attach the least importance to these bodies (Provincial Executive Councils) and would continue to look over their heads to the Lieutenant-Governor." It is a pity that these estimable gentlemen have not more discretion at their command, for when the Council is added to the United Provinces, as it is soon bound to be, they will look only the more foolish for all the violence of their opinion. It is clear to all right thinking men that Council Government is broader based than one man rule, and Lord Morley has made it one better by introducing the Indian element in such administration by appointing one Indian member to our Provincial Executive Councils. That the United Provinces by their increase of business are ripe for such a form of Government have been testified to by both the Government and the governed and taking all these things into consideration, we can only say that the action of the House of Lords was perverse to the last degree. Are they the final authority on Indian matters or the man on the spot?

At the last meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, Mr. Harcourt Butler, the Education Member of the Government of India, introduced the Hindu University Bill, which marks the beginning of the conclusion of the labours of the Hindu University Committee to create a teaching and residential University at Benares. The Hindu University scheme has been before the country for the past ten years, and in spite of the volume of opposition which greeted its inception and subsequent growth, the proposal has attained a degree of maturity which now takes it outside the pale of controversy. The perseverance of the Committee in pressing this none-too-well spoken of University before the

Government, and the compliance of the latter to meet their wishes with certain reservations, are noteworthy. The Benares University is to be distinguished from existing Universities in that it will be teaching and residential, insist upon religious instruction for Hindu youths and will be conducted and managed by the Hindu community. From a perusal of the constitution of the new University outlined in the speech of the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler in the Supreme Council, there is reason to be assured that these claims are well sustained and the few minor defects that may be pointed out may be removed when the constitution comes to be considered in detail. The institution is to be an All-India University open for students from every province and Native State. It will start with five Faculties at present, Arts, Science, Law, Oriental Studies and Theology and a faculty of Technology will be added later on as funds permit. We feel that some needless and quite avoidable complications have been introduced into the constitution of the University. The rules provide for an excess of official interference which cannot, in any case, conduce to the healthy growth of the University. The extraordinary powers vested in the Visitor and the somewhat stringent regulations regarding supervision, etc., are apt to damp the enthusiasm of the governing body, who should be allowed more freedom in the management of the internal affairs of the University. The Government, of course, bind themselves to accept the degrees, etc. of the Benares University as equivalent to those of the existing ones. But there is still marked disparity between the liberal constitution asked for by the University Committee and that conceded by the Government. The Hindu University is after all a sectarian institution and the expediency of creating denominational Universities in a land of many religions such as India, is of doubtful wisdom. We do not propose at this stage to renew the controversy, but only desire to indicate the delicate situation in which the proposed University has placed itself in attempting to teach a religion like Hinduism whose spirit is as protein in form as its accepted tenets. It may be generally assumed that the Government were drawn into the scheme owing to the attraction provided by the teaching and residential character of the University, as it eminently falls into line with their own altered educational policy in recent times. We also believe that the supporters of the Bill inside the Council, both official and non official, were influenced in their unarnuous decision by the same consideration. Whether the Hindu community stands to benefit by turning out theologians clothed in academical robes, is an open question, but the proposed addition of another University to this country, poorly endowed as it is in educational attainments, is certainly to be welcomed for this, if for no other reason.

BURMAN GRIEVANCES.

THE CHAMBER'S MEMORIAL.

[The following are extracts from the memorial recently submitted by the Burma Chamber of Commerce to His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Charles Baron Hardinge of Penshurst, Viceroy and Governor-General of India.]

RAILWAY EXTENSION.

YOUR Excellency will have seen that this is a young country, almost completely devoid of the most elementary and much-needed means of communication in the form of ordinary metalled roads, and likewise lacking, not only in means of communication by rail, but also in public or Government buildings of every kind. Taking, for example, the question of railway extension, it will be found that, out of the funds allotted for this purpose in India during the last ten years, only sufficient to build 270 miles of extension has been given to Burma, that is, for an average of only 27 miles per annum, and this includes a large portion of the extension known as the Southern Shan States Railway, the sanction for the completion of which has been lately withdrawn.

The history of this project is well known and has quite recently been laid before the Government of India by this Chamber, but it is necessary to emphasize the fact that the sanction to build the line was not received until a period of twenty years had elapsed after the date on which the promise to build the line had been made to the Chiefs and people of the Shan States.

When it is realized that this long promised railway had at last been constructed to a point within forty miles of the town of Yawngwe, the terminus originally planned for it, and the general public had come to regard its speedy completion as a practical certainty, it is easy to appreciate the great disappointment caused at this stage to everyone interested in the scheme on the publication of the orders for the postponement of the completion of the line. Unless it is speedily extended to Yawngwe, the railway in its present unfinished state may be described as suspended in mid air on the top of a hill, and the whole object of the scheme frustrated. We would, therefore, respectfully urge on Your Excellency the political and commercial importance of its speedy completion.

THE FINANCIAL SETTLEMENT.

We also desire to bring to Your Excellency's notice the highly unsatisfactory working, from the Provincial standpoint, of the Financial Settlement which regulates

the distribution between the Imperial and Provincial Budgets of the revenues raised in this Province. It is unnecessary to specify in this Memorial the details of the Settlement, but it may be briefly described as crediting the Local Government with only half the revenue receipts, whilst debiting it with nine-tenths of the cost of the administration. What deeply concerns your Memorialists is the disastrous effect the Settlement has on the development of the Province (especially as regards the construction of new roads), and its equipment with adequate public buildings.

THE QUASI-PERMANENT SETTLEMENT.

The quasi-permanent settlement, which was the precursor of the present Settlement, came into force on the 1st of April, 1907. During the four years prior to that date the average annual expenditure on new roads and bridges had been the inadequate sum of 19.81 lakhs of rupees. The result of its introduction was that, in the next four years, this fell to 8.48 lakhs of rupees, or less than half the previous inadequate amount; and the reduction in expenditure on public buildings was almost equally marked; whilst, at the same time, necessary reforms in all branches of the public service had to be postponed owing to lack of funds. Yet, despite the unsatisfactory results of these four years, the quasi-permanent settlement of 1907 was made permanent from the 1st April, 1911, with practically no change, save that the greater part of the fixed assignment from the Imperial to the Provincial Budget was taken away and was replaced by a larger share of the revenue raised in the Province. Though the past two years have witnessed an improvement, this is due to the unusually favourable nature of the harvests and the grants allotted to the Province from the Imperial surplus.

But Imperial grants, welcome as they are, form a poor substitute for an adequate income secured by a permanent settlement, and the Chamber of Commerce trust that Your Excellency will take the opportunity before leaving India for good to make some favourable pronouncement on the subject. An assured annual surplus is essential to enable the Local Government to carry through a comprehensive programme for the removal of the greatest blot on the British Administration of this Province, namely, the failure to construct and maintain suitable roads.

CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS.

Your Memorialists attach such importance to the removal of this reproach, that they willingly approved of a scheme, put forward in 1912 by the Local Government for the purpose of raising the necessary funds by fresh Provincial taxation—a scheme which they understand is now under the consideration of the Imperial Government.

In the more densely populated Provinces of India the main trunk roads have been in existence for a great many years, and the construction of feeder roads is for the most part met from local taxation. In Burma, save in a few of the richer districts in Lower Burma, the receipts from local taxation are very small, and the cost of construction not only of the main roads, but also of most of the feeder roads, must for years to come be met from Provincial revenues. The incidence of the present Imperial and Provincial taxation in Burma is already high, as compared with other provinces of India, and the Chamber doubt whether any appreciable enhancement of local taxation is possible.

THE RICE DUTY.

Your Memorialists would also respectfully point out that the Imperial revenues benefit annually to the extent of 1½ crores of rupees from three sources of revenue which are peculiar to Burma, namely, capitation tax, *thalhameda* tax, and the export duty on rice. It is true that the last-named tax is levied also in other maritime Provinces, but the receipts outside Burma are so insignificant, in comparison with the receipts from this tax in Burma, that it is not unfair to describe the tax as peculiar to this Province. Your Memorialists consider that, quite apart from other weighty considerations, this special taxation in itself gives the Province a special claim to more generous treatment.

PUBLIC WORKS.

Next in importance come public buildings, which in most parts of the Province are very inadequate. The Chamber believe that the lack of suitable house accommodation for the rank and file of the Police is one of the chief reasons for the difficulty experienced in recruiting a sufficient and satisfactory force, and is consequently in a great measure responsible for the prevalence of crime in some parts of this Province.

Intimately connected with the above subjects is the supervision of such works by the Public Works Department. During the last thirteen years there have been no less than twelve incumbents of the head appointment of this Department in Burma, some of whom were transferred from other Provinces to Burma, though possessing no knowledge of the language of the people of this Province or of its special requirements and circumstances; whilst others have, after a very short period of control of the Burma Department, been transferred to appointment in other parts of India. Your Memorialists believe that the system is wrong and one naturally tending to retard the development of the Province, and would respectfully suggest that it should be left in the hands of the Local Government to fill the appointment from men experienced in the ways and necessities of the country.

WANTED—A HIGH COURT.

The urgent representations made from time to time by the Mercantile Community for the establishment of a High Court in Rangoon have, up till now, received but scanty consideration at the hands of Government. A High Court is to be established in Behar, and it is understood that a High Court is also to be established at Lahore. Rangoon is the third most important city in the Indian Empire, and the trade of the Province, in spite of the lack of facilities already referred to, is advancing.

Your Memorialists respectfully submit that the establishing of a High Court in Rangoon can no longer be deferred without imprinting in the minds of the Commercial Community a sense of injustice, and without deepening an impression that, owing to the distance of Burma from the seat of Government, its claims are apt to be overlooked by the Government of India.

Among the Commercial Community it is also strongly held that the Chief Judge should always be a Barrister Judge. To have as head of the Judiciary a Civilian, who has not had the advantage of actual practice at the Bar, is looked upon as a mistake. When a Civilian is Chief Judge, it frequently happens that a Bench of Civilian Judges determine in appeal important mercantile cases, which is not conducive to efficiency in the administration or to lucidity in the interpretation of commercial law.

In Burma the post of Chief Judge is cadred as a Civilian appointment, but, at the same time, it is understood that there is a rule that the best man is to be appointed. When the Chief Court was established in 1900, a Civilian Chief Judge, Mr. Coplestone, was appointed, who retired two years later. Since then, the present Chief Judge, Sir Charles Fox (who is a Barrister) was, as a Judge of the Court, twice superseded by Civilians brought from Upper Burma for the purpose, both of whom subsequently became Lieutenant Governors.

Your Memorialists earnestly pray that a High Court be established for the Province of Burma, and, in the meantime, that the following rules be adopted and adhered to:—

- (1) That the Chief Judge is to be a Barrister Judge.
- (2) That Judges of the Chief Court are not to be eligible for promotion in the Executive Service.
- (3) That the Civilian Judges of the Chief Court are to be selected from the Judicial Service.

It is understood that Sir Charles Fox will retire sometime in 1915, and this opportunity is taken of suggesting that the vacancy to be caused by his retirement be

filled by the appointment of a Barrister from the local Bar who has enjoyed a good practice, commercial and otherwise, for several years.

Your Memorialists consider it important that at least one Barrister of wide experience of local commercial conditions should be on the Bench, and Sir Charles Fox is the only Judge with such a qualification appointed from the local Bar. The difficulty of appointing a practising Barrister from the local Bar to fill a temporary vacancy in the Chief Court is fully recognised, but this difficulty should not prevent his being appointed to fill a permanent post, and your Memorialists submit that the efficiency of the Court should be the first consideration when making a permanent appointment to the Bench.

INDIA WALKS IN.

By U. N. C. DUDLEY.

INDIA walked in. Not the India you read of in missionary literature; but a browned white man, whose features a belted earl might envy, and the liquid light of whose eyes might move a southern belle to jealousy. If there is anything in omens, think of this as a harbinger of the time when our ideas of re-alignment within the Empire will be revised by events—that the Hindu was the first man who came to the office of the *Canadian War* as a result of what he had heard upon the street.

When I was told that he was there, asking only for the paper, it was a second's idea to ask for his closer presence. As he came there was nothing different from what one would have expected from a governor's aide, except the swarthy skin.

WHO WAS EMBARRASSED?

That is not quite correct, either, for governor's aides have a knack of quiet aggressiveness which you do not mistake for deference. The Hindu has a quiet deference that is too shrewd to be aggressive. The soft light of his dark eyes may seem to shadow some of the languor of the East; but there is always a keen, not to say inscrutable mind behind those eyes with which you cannot keep pace if you should chance to nod.

India walked in, with his bowler hat in hand, a comfortable looking scarf around his neck, rubbers on his feet. His handshake was neither intimate in grasp nor warm in temperature. India was on guard—almost meekly; quite politely; but still on guard.

Among the people who drove Hindus from their shores with the aid of a warship threateningly riding at anchor and then escorting the intrusive steamer out to sea as a policeman escorts a suspect from the course, it is not wise, perhaps, to assume that every man one meets is willing to accord unrestricted freedom of speech to a

Hindu; or to exhibit any sympathy for the point of view of a representative of three hundred millions of the most law-abiding subjects of the Emperor of India, who is also King of Canada.

Though I had talked with Hindus before, there was some embarrassment on my side, for which those steady eyes looking at me, and that skin which spoke eloquently of the fellow-citizenship which the three hundred millions who have sent their warriors to stand and fall beside my kith and kin in the Channel littoral, I felt like a man on trial.

OF RANJITSINHJI.

Though he said not a word about it, I knew he was here to learn what Canadians were saying about a Canadian war in which his fellows were in the trenches months before the Canadians reached the fighting line. I knew just a little that was at the back of his mind, as he sat there waiting for me to break the ice, and to give him an idea of where he might expect to find me—a receptive, a supercilious, an ignorant, a prejudiced or a fair-minded Briton, with whom he could use the word Empire without fear and without reproach.

I had read, a few moments before, in the *Toronto Daily News* a Willisonian sentence: "The war is driving the policies of racial domination and forcible assimilation into moral bankruptcy." It was written against the idea of Deutschland Uber Alles. But there is a racial domination in India; and, so far as the Hindus know Canada, there is a racial domination in Canada. When it comes back for reconsideration, it will not wear quite the same aspect as it did last July.

His name, he told me, was Akali. Two separate words? I asked. No, one word. What initial might I use? Oh, he said, "K. S." would do. I was tempted to ask what K. S. stood for; but inquisitiveness is a sin. There came to mind the picture of the lithest figure that has stood before the wickets at the Oval and Old Trafford in a generation; the figure of the idol of the crowd—you know him for Ranjitsinhji.

The initials before his name were K. S. And, if I be not mistaken they stood for Kumar Shri, which being interpreted means a prince of no inferior degree. That same great cricketer is now the ruler of his principality under the endless sun of the wondrous land whence K. S. Akali had come into the office of the *Canadian War*.

K. S. Akali had been a month in Toronto, he said. He was in Vancouver two months ago. How were things there? Very quiet. How were the Hindus of the coast getting along? The same as the other people—very little to do.

"One of those Sikhs," he said, "showed me a letter from his father in the north of India, telling him that as

part of the army had gone to France he must come home to resume his place in the ranks as a guard against the fierce men in the Afghan country, who might attack the Empire at any time."

"And did the Vancouver Sikh go?" I asked.

K. S. Akali smiled, and his white teeth, symmetrical as a dove's eye, gleamed pleasantly, as he saw that I comprehended the idea—I had almost said the remonstrance—that was behind his passing story. "I don't know," he said.

In that answer there was the tone of one who should ask, "Do you not think it strange that there should be difficulty in the movement of a subject of the King within the Empire, when he is liable to be moved anywhere for the defence of the Empire?"

But Akali uttered nothing that could repel the most self-satisfied British racist. The East is very shrewd as well as very gentle in its deportment.

I asked him if he knew Dr. Sundar Singh, with whom I discussed immigration some years ago.

"Oh, yes," was the answer. "He is in Toronto now. Would you like him to call upon you?"

No American drummer could be quicker to seize an opening to push his goods than K. S. Akali was to secure India's story a hearing. But K. S. Akali was not aggressive; oh, dear no. The idea struck me that the Hindus who have borne the heat of their race's toil for recognition as free and unsuspected units within the Empire, are all in the same devoted company. I tried another question upon K. S. Akali. "I met one of your countrymen in Johannesburg a dozen years ago," I said; "you may possibly know him?"

He looked at me as though he read my thoughts.

"It was Mr. Gandhi, a very clever barrister," I said.

"Oh, yes," very quietly.

GANDHI FOR THE EMPIRE.

"He had great trouble in Africa," I said. "He had hard fighting to be allowed to practise at the Natal Bar, and won out because he was a barrister of Lincoln's Inn. I believe he has been in jail since then?"

"Several times," said K. S. Akali, gently.

"I was very much struck with his ability, and his devotion to his people," said I. "He was in South Africa entirely because he wanted to serve them."

"Quite so. You know they were not allowed to walk on the sidewalk there," said K. S. Akali, as quietly as before, "and Mr. Gandhi, the barrister of Lincoln's Inn, had to get a permit before he was safe from arrest for committing that offence." This without a trace of feeling. The East is calm, restrained.

"I wonder if he is in Africa now?" I hazarded.

"He is in London," replied K. S. Akali.

"Has he abandoned Africa?" I enquired.

"Oh, no. He was getting ready to return to Africa when the war broke out. He changed his plans and organized a corps of Indian medical students for the front in France. He is keeping up the organization from London now."

Once more, you see a man who has been sentenced for "sedition," working by the trenches where the fate of the Empire is being decided, long, long before any of the men who have sent him to prison could even reach the country in which the fight is being waged. Was there ever anything like this British Empire, this problem of the brown man whose civilization was venerable before ours began to be?

I went back to the talk with Gandhi in his little office in Johannesburg in the spring of 1908, and recalled how dispassionately he talked of the grievances of his brethren; this Cambridge graduate; this gold medalist; this barrister of Lincoln's Inn, whom the barristers of Natal had tried to keep from the presence of His Majesty's judges, but who would have been welcomed by the Privy Council.

NEVER THE SAME AGAIN.

Gandhi was a little man, as so many heroic defenders of the weak are. He spoke with philosophic calm, in exquisite English that was only made more fascinating by a fluttering hesitancy of his lips as he articulated it. And here in this steam-heated office in the Northern zone, 10,000 miles from the Transvaal, was another Hindu, equally dispassionate, equally certain of the ground on which he stood; and, though not so rich in his English, or so clear in his enunciation—he said "hab" for "have"—obviously a man of richer culture and far wider experience than many who suppose they can dismiss the Hindu relation to the rest of the Imperial brood by a mass meeting on the Pacific coast.

The talk of K. S. Akali flowed more easily when he found that I could appreciate Gandhi, and when I asked how he sensed the changes which the war would make in India, his reply was full enough for any average comprehension. Listen to it.

"The question can never be quite the same again. At present a missionary, a historian, a professor, cannot lawfully land in Canada without humiliation. All we have asked is that we should be treated as if we were in the Empire. The Chinaman, the Japanese, the man from the heart of Africa who own no allegiance to the King, can get into Canada more easily than one of the Sikhs who are dying for the Empire in France. Those questions will stand over till Germany is beaten. The beginning of the war made a great change in

India itself, which you can judge for yourself if you will read some of the newspapers I will gladly bring to you.

"We have sixty million Mahomedans in India, who have not got along very well with the Hindus. They have always had a great respect for Muhammadan powers outside of India—the Persian and Turkish influences that are not India at all. The Hindus have said to them, 'This is your country; you ought to love India more than anything else in the world. But when you put some outside power first you are a Muhammadan before you are an Indian; and that is not for the best good of India.'"

"Some fear was expressed that the Mahomedans in India would want to side with the Turks who are fighting against the Empire. They will not. Already before the war leaders of the Mahomedans were doing things that they did not use to do, and they would say, 'Well if I am a Mahomedan, the things I do are allowed to the Mahomedans.' The war has united the Mahomedans and the Hindus as they were never united. They see that by fighting for the Empire they can do more to win their own place in it than by fighting among themselves. The presence of seventy thousand Indian troops in France will do more for India than anything that has ever happened."

"More than could be accomplished by seventy thousand Indian troops fighting in India?" I ventured.

K. S. Akali smiled his quiet smile, as he said, "Exactly."

Then he went on: "You must know that the National problems of India are economic, as they are everywhere."

I assented; for this was an old preachment with me, even in the days of Canada's unexampled "prosperity."

MADE IN INDIA IDEA.

"The economic problems developed two parties in India, one of which became extreme and was called seditious. It was not sedition, but the crushing out of Indian industries by the British policy that made the bitterness."

"Still," I ventured, "is not there a good deal of sentiment of 'India for the Indians?'"

"Certainly," admitted K. S. Akali, his quiet smile reappearing, "and I have heard something of 'Canada for the Canadians.' When men believe that a political policy is driving millions of people to starvation, do you wonder if they become extreme, and talk as if there is need to change the politicians as well as the policies? In Canada you have elections to decide what in India can only be impressed upon the governing powers by other forms of agitation."

It seemed likely that K. S. Akali would presently land in the company of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and sure enough he did. I almost expected him to produce from an Indian paper a 'Made in India' advertisement. But he contented himself with stating more of his facts and leaving me to draw the conclusions.

"The Germans have been sending enormous quantities of goods into India free of duty. So have the Austrians. After the war there will be no more of that. We need protection from goods that come in and crush our industries, as they have been crushed for many years. How can our people, who cannot equip themselves with all that the German mills have, compete against all the best machineries in the world? So their industries have had to go to the wall. Though our population has increased fifty millions in fifty years, we are less able to support ourselves than we were before I was born. We need protection from the Germans."

"You want to apply to your ancient industries the policy that we applied to our infant industries?" I suggested.

Again the quiet smile, and again the "Exactly."

PROVE LOYALTY AND THEN—?

"But you see," K. S. Akali went on, and you will observe how effectively he had set his facts in array, "they could not very well give us a duty against German goods unless some duty were put on the cotton goods of Lancashire, which have destroyed the cotton industry in India. But the war will put that in a different light. We shall have to state the claim for the protection of our own industries somewhat as you have enforced your claim to fiscal independence. Is not that fair?"

How could a denial of such logic be made? I didn't try to make it, but asked another question: "How has the war affected the extreme economists and the moderates?"

"The leader of the extremists," K. S. Akali answered, "has joined with the leaders of the moderates, who used to counsel patience. He says: 'This is the last and greatest opportunity to prove our loyalty to the Empire, while we contend for our own economic freedom. Let us all join together for the duty of the war and by uniting together for the war, we shall be able to unite after the war to obtain what India must have if she is to prosper as a part of the Empire, instead of being pushed steadily towards economic disaster.'"

It seemed that K. S. Akali had given me enough for one day's rumination, and I let him go, with this summing up of what he had said: "What you tell me then, is that India has a two-fold problem—politico-religious

and economic. The first is by way of being solved because the war has already developed an unexpected national unity in which Mahomedans as well as Hindus will agree to put India first.

"The second and more pressing, purely economic, problem has been hurried towards solution by the war which, through sending Indian soldiers to Europe, has united the opposing factions of Hindu opinion in a Made in-India policy, which will win because the union of India with the rest of the Empire, having been sealed by the shedding of Hindu blood in Europe to preserve the Empire's existence, ensures an advance towards the sort of Home Rule for India that we have in Canada? Is that your position?"

"Precisely," said K. S. Akali. This time his very quiet smile was followed by an equally quiet bow. He left with me the same impression with which I left Gandhi in far away Johannesburg—that the Hindus are a somewhat clever people.

I forgot to say that K. S. Akali mentioned that his brother went to France among the seventy thousand, and that he doesn't know whether he has been killed for the Empire's sake.—*Canadian War.*

THE ABORS.

A TRIBE IN THE BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY.

BY SIR GEORGE DUFF DUMBER.

Photographs give the best idea of the appearance of the people. As their complexion varies, from a very dark brown near Assam to almost white, high up the valley, and as some clans such as the Padam Abors and Memong Galongs, are frequently of an unusual height for hillmen, it is difficult to generalise in describing them. But one can say—generally—that they are a sturdy race, with straight black hair and dark brown eyes. Infanticide has never been admitted to me, but on only one occasion (if I exclude a headman with six toes) have I come across any deformities. These were two women dwarfs in Membu, a Padam village, both of whom were fully developed and healthy.

There are among the more southern clans two methods of hair-dressing. The typical Abor cut for both sexes is to shave all round the lower part of the skull, leaving a thick cap on the top of the head with a straight cut edge above the ears. The Galong men generally cut their hair more or less short all over, while their women part theirs in the middle, and tie it in a bun at the back, plaiting the tresses nearest the forehead. This is similar to the way in which some Kongbo women whom we met did their hair. The wildest hillmen we saw wore their hair quite long and loose.

There is not time to give details of their clothing. To take the men first: it ranges from the grass sporan,

that is frequently deemed sufficient on a wet and muggy day, to thick woollen chocolate-coloured coats and skins of deer or takin. All the woollen stuff are imported from Tibet. Cotton fields were seen the whole way up the Dihang, and the cloth made from this is dyed black by the northern clans; it is left white in the southern districts. The thicker skirt-cloths that the women wear are woven in blue, red, white, green and sometimes yellow, by the communities closest to the plains. The men of one clan almost universally wear an excellent short coat of what looks like blue serge. One article of dress remains constant, the "bowler" shaped hat, generally of fine cane-work, but sometimes of hide. This is gaudily bedecked with bunches of hair dyed red, feathers, or hornbill beaks, according to the wearer's fancy.

Little boys and youths frequently go about in a state of nature. Little girls always wear a disc or two as a beyop. The beyop is a girdle of a varying number of white metal disc (they are rarely of brass) of graduated sizes, that is worn exclusively by Abor and Galong girls until the birth of their first child. The legend of its origin, the gift of a god, recalls certain tales of Greek mythology.

Apart from this, the costume of the ladies has been seen to range from the Arcadian simplicity of a skirt of leaves to a couple of gaily-coloured cloths, one worn as a petticoat, the other wound tightly round the upper part of the body. In very wet weather they may throw a small cloth over their heads, but no woman has ever been seen wearing the cane hat, which is in fact an article of kit for the fighting man.

In the way of ornaments both men and women wear strings of blue or green porcelain beads. Some of these necklaces contain bits of shell, or metal work, from Tibet. The best necklaces are handed down as heirlooms, and are of considerable age. Ear-rings of white metal or bamboo are worn by men and women alike. Both sexes wear rings of cane round their legs below the knee, and plaited cane belts that are occasionally worked in neat conventional designs, in white and black. Abor women wear anklets of plaited cane work bands. Galong women wear broad flat band of brass round the ankles. These are put on in childhood, and are not taken off again, except as a mark of disgrace. The Galong matron consequently regards her hideously mishapen leg with equanimity, and will endure considerable pain from an over tight anklet with composure.

Cicatrization is unknown. Only some of the tribes tattoo. This is, moreover, a decaying practice, and is chiefly followed by the women. Skilled artists in tattooing, if one can apply the term to a people almost entirely devoid of the artistic sense, are given a definite wage, either in kind or in labour. The designs, which

take the form of lines, circles, and crosses on the mouth, cheeks and forehead, and something like the hieroglyph for the Nile on the calves of the leg, are made in charcoal with a sharp bamboo needle.—*Journal of the Royal Society of Arts.*

RAM SINGH IN THE TRENCHES.

BY GAFFER BEY.

This new-fangled manner of fighting
Goes sorely against my grain;
I loathe being down in these trenches,
Like a bandicoot-rat in a drain.

Not thus were the ways of my fathers,
When they fought for their country with
Gough;

It was "Charge!" and a thousand brave fellows,
With a scream of defiance, were off.

I hate all this peeping and peering,
For a shot now and then at a head;
For me the fierce fight to a finish,
With thousands of wounded and dead.

The shells are screaming above me,
Like demons at odds for my soul;
I'm mad for a rush at the gunners,
But I'm buried alive in this hole.

Yet amid all the roar and confusion
The moon shines as sweetly on high
As it shone that last evening at Jhelum,
When Mothi bade me good-bye.

Mothi, my beautiful Mothi!
I remember her pitiful face,
With the glistening tears in the moonlight,
As she held me in loving embrace.

I shrank from the journey before me,
I was held to the spot by her charms;
The bugle! I summoned my courage,
And tore myself out of her arms.

A letter has reached me from Jhelum,
And the light has gone out of my life,
My Mothi's dark hour was luckless,
And now I've nor babe nor wife.

I see her out there in the moonlight,
Down there by the temple-tank—
What's this in my hand? It's a rifle!
Where am I? My mind seems a blank.

What's that? It's a shell? I've been dreaming,
Another? Lall Singhi lies dumb!
But Mothi's out there in the moonlight!
She's calling me! Mothi, I come.

I leap with a scream from the trenches;
Like a fiend through the bullets I go.
Mothi!!! They think I'm a devil
As I leap in the midst of the foe.

Ah, this is real war—to be stabbing,
And screaming, and panting for breath;
The seventh! My Mothi, I'm coming!
Ah, this is real fighting; it's—
Truth.

BRITAIN'S IMPERIAL RULE.

BY HENRY E. BANNARD.

The looseness of British Imperial organisation has long been a standing cause of wonder. For, theoretically haphazard as it is, it has always been a practical success.

STATES OF THE EMPIRE.

The various States of the Empire may be divided into the following classes:—

1. *The United Kingdom*, the seat of the Imperial Parliament, which is in the anomalous position of being solely responsible for Imperial decisions, while at the same time it bears the burden of the domestic legislation of the British Isles, from the population of which alone is its representation drawn.

The Self-Governing Dominions, including the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Colony of Newfoundland, and the Union of South Africa. Each of these has its own responsible Government, under a Governor representing the Sovereign, and in the cases of Canada and Australia, there are besides the Dominion Parliament of Canada and the Commonwealth Parliament of Australia; there are also subordinate Provincial Legislatures in the former case and State Legislatures in the latter.

To all intents and purposes these Dominions are independent States, having complete autonomous control of their own administration, legislation, and taxation. The Crown is the sole visible link by which they are bound to each other and to the Mother Country, and their communications with the Imperial Government are made through the Colonial Office.

3. *The Indian Empire*.—The vast Dependency of India is in literal truth an Empire in itself, maintaining a famous army and conducting its business with neighbouring States by means of a Foreign Department of its own.

The Viceroy, whose term of office is usually for five years, represents the Sovereign, and is assisted in his administration by a Council, which includes the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army and Ministers of Finance, Revenue, Education, Commerce, Industry, and Railways, Law and Home.

There are fifteen local governments—namely, those of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal, which have Governors; Bihar and Orissa, under Lieutenant-Governors;

the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the Punjab and Burma, under Chief Commissioners; while under the direct authority of the Governor-General in Council are the Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, Ajmer-Merwara, Coorg, British Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier Province, Delhi, and the Andaman Islands. The India Councils Act of 1909 which embodied reforms devised by Lord Morley and Lord Minto was a great, though cautious, step in the direction of associating the people of India more closely with the government of their own country. It provided for the Governor-General's Legislative Council to consist of twenty-eight official and thirty-two non official members (including twenty-seven elected), in addition to the *ex-officio* members. There are similar Provincial Legislative Councils in Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, the Punjab, Burma, Assam, and the Central Provinces. There is this notable difference, however, in the constitution of the Governor-General's Legislative Council, as compared with the Councils of the Provinces, in that the former always has an official majority, while in the latter the majority are non-official members. India's communications with the Imperial Government are, of course, made through the India Office.

4. *The Crown Colonies.*—These, which have not direct popular self-government, but are controlled from the Colonial Office, each having a Governor and in some cases a Legislative Council with limited powers, include Ceylon, Cyprus, the British West Indies, British Guiana, British Honduras, the Falkland Islands, Fiji, Gambia, Gibraltar, the Gold Coast Colony, Hong Kong, the Leeward Islands, Malta, Southern Nigeria, the Pacific Islands, St. Helena, Sarawak, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Basutoland, Rhodesia, the Federated Malay Straits, Trinidad and Tobago, Tristan da Cunha, Turks and Caicos Islands, Wei-hai-Wei, the Windward Islands, the Bahamas, Bermudos, Barbados, and Borneo. These are all lumped together as not being Dominion States, but they exhibit many varieties of control, from self-government almost as free as in the great Dominions to something akin to a paternal despotism. Rhodesia is an example of the former; Basutoland of the latter. Malta and Gibraltar come in the status of Crown Colonies and are under the direction of the Colonial Office, but they are primarily held by Britain for naval and military purposes, and their Governors are practically always distinguished generals.

The Island of Ascension is in a category by itself, being under the control of the Board of Admiralty.

The military station of Aden, on the Red Sea, forms part of the Province of Bombay in India.

5. *Protectorates.*—These include Bechuanaland, East Africa, Northern Nigeria, Nyassaland, Somaliland, Uganda, and Zanzibar. In these cases the territories

are administered by the native rulers, in accordance with the main with native customs, but under the advice of a British Resident.

6. *Egypt and the Sudan.*—These are neither Dominions, Dependencies, Crown Colonies, nor Protectorates, being actually semi-independent States under the nominal suzerainty of Turkey, but Britain's voice in Egyptian affairs is so predominant, and her share in the toil of administration is so large, that it would be pedantic to exclude them from our purview when we are considering the nature of our Imperial responsibilities.

Since the above was written the war has already produced one great change, in that Egypt has been severed from the nominal suzerainty of Turkey, and has been made a British Protectorate. The Soudanese provinces had held a similar status to that now newly adopted for Lower Egypt ever since their reconquest in 1898.

THE GUIDING PRINCIPLE.

Amid these varieties of forms of administration in the Empire, the one guiding principle that runs like a thread through all is that of government for the benefit of the governed, and to the farthest extent possible with the consent of the governed. As a corollary of this follows also the wholesome rule, "Trust the man on the spot," and when difficulties have arisen between the Imperial Government and distant parts of the King's Dominions they have usually been due to some temporary forgetfulness of that rule. This union of diverse States, each with more or less fulness of independence, has been the peculiar and characteristic glory of the British Empire. As with all other human things, it has the defects of its qualities, and these have led far-seeing thinkers and statesmen of many schools to endeavour to devise some means of increasing the essential unity of Imperial action, whilst maintaining unimpaired the cherished freedom of all the Empire's party.

THE TREND TOWARDS UNITY.

To understand the exact position the Empire has now reached in this regard, it is needful to trace in outline the steps which have been taken in the last three decades to reach it. This is a convenient period to take, because it is just thirty years since a group of British political thinkers, headed by Lord Rosebery and the late Mr. W. E. Forster, founded the old Imperial Federation League. This body met at irregular intervals during ten years and did much useful spadework in considering the possibilities of a closer organic union of the Empire. The League, however, dissolved eventually, as it was found impossible to agree on a definite method of effecting the desired end. One main difference arose between the party which looked to

union of Parliamentary efforts in Imperial affairs and that which sought rather a fiscal union.

But although the Imperial Federation League had no very tangible result, it did fulfil a distinctly useful educative purpose. It cleared the ground of many plausible but unworkable schemes, and to that extent secured the proper conditions for a more fruitful handling of the great problem. This decade also was greatly affected by the controversy which arose on Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule scheme, and this, whatever view may be taken of the merits or demerits of Home Rule, undoubtedly aroused, almost for the first time, the interest of the general British public in questions bordering on federalism. A section of Liberal Home Rule opinion began to look in a federal direction, and the Unionists, on their part, dwelt much on the bearing of the question on the future of the Empire as a whole.

In 1894 the Ottawa Conference was held. This was a conference of representatives of the self-governing Dominions, called by the Canadian Government to discuss problems of inter-Imperial trade, and it marked the victory in Canada of the party which favoured Imperial fiscal union over that which advocated reciprocity with the United States. The result of the Conference was a declaration in favour of a preferential fiscal arrangement between the Mother Country and the Overseas Dominions.

In the following year the British Empire League, the objects and history of which are, of course, familiar to all readers of this REVIEW, was founded, and the Duke of Devonshire became its first president.

In 1897, the year of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, the first of the great London Conferences took place. There had been visits of Colonial Ministers at the former Jubilee of 1887, when Lord Knutsford was Colonial Secretary, but it was Mr. Chamberlain who, in 1897, was completing his second year at the Colonial Office, who had the happy inspiration to invite the Dominion Premiers to attend the Diamond Jubilee celebrations as the guests of the Government, and to take part in a Conference with him on Imperial affairs. The idea caught the popular imagination and awoke the Mother Country to an understanding of the attainment to maturity of her daughter States.

At this Conference Mr. Seddon, the New Zealand Premier, suggested a scheme for the representation of the Colonies in the Imperial Parliament, involving the addition of about 160 members to the House of Commons. This was not accepted by the other delegates.

The one definite policy agreed upon was the denunciation of any treaties which stood in the way of a special commercial arrangement between different parts of the Empire.

The interval between the Conference of 1897 and that of 1902 was full of great events that played an enormous part in influencing the direction in which the union of the Empire was to develop.

First of all, in 1899 the long-drawn-out negotiations between Great Britain and the Transvaal Republic came to an abrupt termination with President Kruger's ultimatum on October 9, 1899, and South Africa began to be devastated by a terrible war.

It is no part of our task to describe the war or the causes which led up to it, to justify or to condemn it. It may suffice us to note that it was a great factor in bringing about the union of South Africa under the British Flag, and also in promoting the sense of a common Imperial feeling, for from all the self-governing Dominions came gallant reinforcements to help the forces of the Mother Country in the great struggle in which they were engaged.

In Australia, too, the long negotiations between the different Colonies had resulted at last in a confederation with a Commonwealth Parliament. Last, but not least, the common sorrow of the peoples of the Empire at the death of Queen Victoria forged yet another link in the chain which was binding them all closer together.

It had been understood, at the conclusion of the Diamond Jubilee Conference, that efforts would be made to arrange for such Conferences to take place periodically. A five years' interval between each was thought of as likely. It so happened that the end of the five years following the Conference of 1897 synchronised with the date fixed for the Coronation of King Edward VII. in 1902.

By a fortunate coincidence Mr. Chamberlain, who had impressed his powerful personality so much upon the minds of the people of the Dominions, was still at the Colonial Office when the Imperial Conference of 1902 assembled. Further, the gathering occurred only a few weeks after the happy conclusion of the South African War by the Peace of Vereeniging.

This Conference came to the following definite decisions:

1. That similar Conferences should be held every four years.
2. That increased contributions to the Navy should be made by Newfoundland, Cape Colony, Australia, Natal and New Zealand.
3. That it should be made easier for young Colonials who desired to do so to obtain commissions in the Army or cadetships in the Navy.
4. That before any treaty was signed between the Mother Country and a foreign Power the views of Colonies affected thereby should be ascertained.

5. That the principle of preferential trade between Great Britain and the overseas Dominions would stimulate mutual commercial intercourse, but any hard-and-fast rules thereon were at present impracticable.

6. That the position of the mail services of the Empire should be considered by the respective Governments.

7. That the metric system of weights and measures should be adopted as soon as possible.

8. That cheap postage should be provided throughout the Empire.

9. That contributions should be made by the various Dominions to the Queen Victoria Memorial.

Probably the most notable and dramatic result of this Conference was one that did not appear in official records at all, being the conversion of Mr. Chamberlain to the policy of Imperial Preference, a conversion which caused a great upheaval of opinion in Great Britain, and which being still, *so to speak, sub judice*, in the sense that it is one of the principal bones of party contention, cannot suitably be dealt with in an article of this character, which rather seeks to find the common denominator of imperial union on which all parties can find some measure of agreement.

Whatever views we may hold on the fiscal question, it seems certain that its discussion, like the earlier one on Irish Home Rule, has tended to promote interest in the problems of Imperial Union. While Tariff Reformers have proclaimed their policy as the only real policy of Union, Free Traders have, on the contrary endeavoured to show that there were other and better methods of promoting the consolidation of the Empire.

The character of the next Conference, that of 1907, was determined, as far as fiscal questions were concerned, by the result of the General Election in the United Kingdom in January 1906. This resulting in an overwhelming majority for a Government pledged to maintain Free Trade, it was, of course, obvious that any discussion on Preference, in the sense indicated by Mr. Chamberlain in his declaration of the policy of Tariff Reform, was bound to be largely academic in character. By the wishes of the representatives of the self-governing Dominions the question of Preference was placed on the agenda of the Conference, and a whole day's full-dress discussion was given to it. The point of view of the Home Government was expressed by Mr. Asquith, who at that time was Chancellor of the Exchequer. The greater question on which the discussions of the Conference were entirely practical were Imperial Defence, the "All Red Route," and the Imperial Secretariat. The work that was done in connection with Imperial Defence was of a most useful character in that it prepared the ground for the practical agreement on the subject produced at the

Conference specially convened on this one question in 1909.

The project of the "All Red Route," which, being interpreted, meant the conveyance of mails by British lines of steamships or by railways through British territory, met with pretty general approval, though various practical difficulties came to light in the course of discussion, and it was eventually left to the Governments concerned to endeavour to frame a practical scheme.

The policy of the Imperial Secretariat was devised to provide a permanent connecting link between successive Conferences, and likewise to make the machinery for expediting the carrying out of the recommendations of the Conference. Mr. Deakin, Dr. Jameson, and Mr. Moor tried hard to get the Secretariat made responsible to the Conference, but Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the home representatives opposed this, and it was made responsible to the Colonial Office. There is little doubt, however, that one of the next steps in the advance to Imperial union will be the making of the Secretariat truly representative of all parts of the Empire and responsible to the Empire as a whole.

It should be remembered, to the honour of the late Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, that shortly before he left the Colonial Office in 1905 he wrote a dispatch urging the formation of a permanent Commission, with advisory powers, to meet in the intervals, dividing each Conference from its successor.

Between the Conferences of 1907 and 1911 some events of great moment in Imperial Union occurred, one being the Conference of Ministers of the Empire on Imperial Defence in 1909, and another the consummation of South African Union in 1910.

The former event secured the interchange of opinions and service, in reference to the defence of the Empire, between the Mother Country and the self-governing Dominions, and also established the precedent that, as and when opportunity should serve, Ministers from the Dominions should take part in the deliberations of the Committee of Imperial Defence.

The creation of this Committee was the most far-reaching constructive work carried out by Mr. Balfour when Prime Minister, and its importance was appreciated, and its usefulness has been yet further increased during the Premierships of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. Asquith. By it a continuous opportunity is given for the discussion of problems of defence by naval and military representatives with members of the Government of the day and with such Ministers of the Dominions as may be available from time to time, and last, but not least, with representatives of the Opposition, for at the present time Mr. Balfour is a member of the Committee. Thus provision

is made for the co-ordination of naval and military strategy with the policy of the Empire.

The other important feature was the Union of South Africa, which followed three years after the passing of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's measure giving self-government to the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies. The Union represented the reconciliation of the British and Dutch races, which only a decade earlier had been engaged in war. Thus to the Conference of 1911 South Africa as one unit for the first time sent representatives.

One very notable event of this Conference was the confidential exposition of foreign policy to the delegates by Sir Edward Grey. This was the first occasion on which the Ministers of all parts of the Empire were unitedly taken into the confidence of the Foreign Office with regard to the foreign policy of the Empire as a whole, and it opens up a noble vista of future possibilities.

A further very important discussion was that which took place, on the motion of Sir Joseph Ward (then Premier of New Zealand), in favour of a Representative Advisory Council for the Empire.

As originally published in the White Paper which was issued before the Conference, the New Zealand Premier's suggestion was:

"That the Empire has now reached a stage of Imperial development which renders it expedient that there should be an Imperial Council of State, with representatives from all the constituent parts of the Empire, whether self-governing or not, in theory and in fact advisory to the Imperial Government on all questions affecting the interests of His Majesty's Dominions Oversea."

When Sir Joseph Ward moved his resolution, however, on Empire Day, it was vitally altered by the omission of the words "whether self-governing or not," and the substitution of the word "self-governing" for "constituent." He explained that the grounds on which he urged his resolution were:

"(1) Imperial unity; (2) organised Imperial defence; (3) the equal distribution of the burdens of defence throughout the Empire; (4) the representation of self-governing Oversea Dominions in an Imperial Parliament of Defence for the purpose of determining peace or war, the contributions to Imperial defence, foreign policy, as far as it affects the Empire, international treaties, so far as they affect the Empire, and such other Imperial matters as might by agreement be transferred to such Parliament."

Opinion, however, was hardly ripe for Sir Joseph Ward's plan, and, realising that he could hope for little support from the other Prime Ministers, he withdrew his resolution.

Then Mr. Harcourt (Colonial Secretary) moved, on behalf of the Imperial Government:

"That upon matters of importance requiring consultation between two or more Governments which cannot conveniently be postponed until the next Conference, or involving subjects of a minor character, or such as call for detailed consideration, subsidiary Conferences should be held between representatives of the Governments concerned specially chosen for the purpose."

The Standing Committee, he suggested, should consist of:

The Secretary of State for the Colonies;
Parliamentary Under-Secretary;
Permanent Under-Secretary;
Assistant Under-Secretary for the Dominions;
Secretary to the Imperial Conference;
High Commissioner, or other representative, for Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa; a representative of Newfoundland.

Secretary to the Committee (one of the Assistant Secretaries to the Imperial Conference).

Mr. Harcourt's Memorandum went on to say:

It does not seem to me desirable at the outset to define too precisely the duties of such a Committee, but it is very necessary to lay down certain conditions and limitations.

1. It must be *advisory* and not *executive*, and there would, therefore, be no necessity to confer a power to vote.

2. It should be advisory to the Secretary of State.

3. Being a Committee of the Imperial Conference, it must deal only with matters which concern the past Conference, or have to do with the preparations for the approaching one, or for any other matters which seem to be appropriate questions between both.

4. In all cases, the Dominions' Governments will be consulted through the Governors-General as to their willingness for the submission of questions to this Committee.

5. The advice of the Committee would be given to the Secretary of State and communicated to the Dominions' Governments, though the Governors-General through the High Commissioners' or Dominions' representatives would, of course, be free to inform their Governments of the proceedings at the Committee.

6. It would be unnecessary to make or keep any detailed minutes of the proceedings of this Committee. A sufficient record of the business considered would be a minute containing the advice given to the Secretary of State.

7. Apart from "Conference Questions" the ordinary and confidential communications of the Secretary of

State with the Governors-General of Dominions would continue as at present. The Secretary of State might communicate to the Committee any facts or documents he thought proper.

8. It is possible that some Dominions might wish to appoint special representatives *ad hoc* to sit on this Committee instead of the High Commissioner.

This scheme also met with but little support, and was withdrawn by Mr. Harcourt, who, however, gave an undertaking that he would give effect to the various decisions of the Conference in the interval before the next one.

This, then, is the situation reached, an advance to a certain point, and then a period of doubt. There is no element of doubtfulness as to the end at which to aim, that of closer Imperial union, but there is a distinct hesitation as to what is the most desirable next step towards that goal. The main objection that was felt to Mr. Harcourt's proposal was that it made the proposed Committee an appanage of the Colonial Office, while with regard to Sir Joseph Ward's plan there seemed to be some nervousness in some of the Dominion Governments as well as in the Imperial Government lest a Council of the Character he adumbrated might interfere in some way with the authority of Ministries and Parliament.

It required a great common need to bring all parties and classes to realise the immediate importance of closer organisation, and that common need has been suddenly revealed by the greater world-war.—*The British Empire Review*.

THE SOCIAL AND RACIAL UNREST IN INDIA.

By THE REV. JOHN P. JONES, D. D.

IN that ultra conservative land we are permitted to see constant, unexpected and striking manifestations of development on lines that are social and racial. The spirit of progress is in the air. Yes, it is penetrating the innermost recesses of the Indian soul. Kipling portrayed British impatience at the immobility of the East when he wrote:

It is bad for the Christian's peace of mind,
To hustle the Aryan brown.
For the Aryan smiles and the Christian riles,
And it weareth the Christian down.
And the end of the fight is a tombstone white
With the name of the late deceased,
And an epitaph drear, "a fool lies here
Who tried to hustle the East."

The need of hustling the man of India, by the man of the West, is much less than it used to be. His immobility is gradually disappearing. He is now moving forward voluntarily with ever increasing momentum.

Let us consider recent developments on two lines in India.

1. SOCIAL.

Striking social progress is there evidenced on all sides, and the advance is so un-Hindu and so peculiarly Christian in its type that no one can doubt as to the forces which have produced it. We see it first in the new rebellion against the dictates and punishment of the caste system. Hitherto Hindus have regarded caste laws as supreme, an appeal from the decisions of which was impossible because there was no higher court of appeal. This situation has changed. Recently a Hindu woman in the Bombay Presidency was arraigned before the highest tribunal of her caste because of alleged infidelity to her marriage-vows. The caste *punchayat* not only fined her, but ordered her to shave her head. She felt the indignity of this latter so much that she at once committed suicide. Whereupon the caste committee was hauled before a court of justice and punished for its cruelty to the woman. This happened notwithstanding the fact that they were the mouth-piece of that organization which was to them the highest authority.

Later, in Benares, a cultured gentleman, who had recently returned from England, was called upon, through the instigation of a neighbour, to meet the tribunals of his caste and to perform the offensive rites of *prayaschitt* which is generally incumbent upon one who has returned from a sea voyage. He charged, in the civil court, the man who had thus roused his caste against him, and the man was punished by the court for this castely act.

It is a revelation to the people that there is a higher law of the land to which they can appeal to secure redress against the acts of their own caste. This is one of the most important steps in advance toward the overthrow of perhaps the most debasing social and religious system in the world.

Movements for the alleviation of the condition of women in India are multiplying, and are very significant. The vernacular proverb, in more languages than one, declares that "to educate a woman is like putting a knife in the hands of a monkey." Yet a strong movement for the education of woman is found all over India at the present time. During the last five years nearly 50 per cent. has been added to the female school population of India. One million girls are being trained in the schools of India to-day, and, what is more significant than this is that there are 10 colleges for woman in that land in which

400 women are being prepared for B.A. One hundred and ten of these are Christian women, a striking fact when we remember that the Christian community is only about 1 per cent. of the population of the country. Another suggestive fact is this, that from the Brahman community, of whom there are 15,000,000 in India, there are only 32 women in college; and yet the men of the Brahman caste are the most advanced of all Indians in education. The common people of India also are increasingly seeking education for their daughters.

The spirit of service has also recently begun to take possession of that people. Hinduism is essentially a selfish faith. It reveals no altruism. As one has said, it requires but two, the man and his God, for the fulfilment of Hinduism; while Christianity requires three, man and God and the other man. Altruistic service has been almost entirely wanting in Hinduism from the first. The realization of its ideals is found in the monk in the loneliness of the wilderness. Philanthropy—the love of man as such—was hardly known in that land until the Buddha came; and when that faith left India, as a separate faith, the ideal again returned and centered in the individual himself until Christianity arrived with its social humanitarian passion. It is now bearing fruit in the new organizations recently created among Hindus for service. A beautiful illustration of this is the "*Seva Sadan*" in Bombay, an institution which aims to train women for service—women of many faiths—among their fellow Indians. It is a noble institution in a land and among a people who have always regarded woman as capable only of dependence and of menial service.

Witness also the "Social Service League" of Bombay which is specially designed to prepare its members for service among men. Likewise the "Students Brotherhood" of Bombay, whose aims are similar to those of the other leagues. There is a fine ring to the motto of the Brotherhood:

Let us work as brothers
And let us work for good.

Then comes "the Servants of India Society," which is flourishing under the direction of its leader, the late Hon. Mr. Gokhale, who was the most distinguished Indian statesman of the day. These "servants" distinguished themselves during the recent famine, in going from house to house, collecting money to relieve the sufferings of the people. They wrought much good in that way. Then behold the "Society for the Depressed Classes," through which Brahmans and others are endeavouring to help the outcastes (those people who have been debased, and banned through the centuries) to attain unto education and other progressive blessings.

These and many other similar organizations in India are very significant of the new India, which is abandoning more and more its selfishness and taking unto itself the great lesson, altruism, through Christian teaching and example. The whole organized social service idea is the most striking note of India to-day, and the most remarkable deviation from the orthodox self-centered individualistic system of the land.

2. THE RACIAL TENSION.

The race conflict is to-day world-wide in its sweep. Never was it so tense and never did it threaten so much to create national and international difficulty as at the present time. It is not only the German people who are clamouring for a place "in the sun." All the yellow and brown races are coming to a racial self-consciousness and are demanding larger rights and, in most cases, equal rights with the white man. The arrogant claims of the man of the West to rule the world by his own prowess in his own way and for his own interest is defiantly challenged by the colored races. They now rise in a new consciousness of racial dignity and of moral worth, and are asking the white man, "Who made thee ruler and judge over us?" I have never known this tension to be so great or the sentiment so strong and universal in India as it has been recently, owing to the unjust treatment of Indians in South Africa and, more recently, in Canada. They do indeed definitely say that they "do not fight for equal political rights, they recognize that in view of the existing prejudices, immigration from India should be strictly limited, provisions being made for entrance of a sufficient number annually for reason of the wear and tear." These quoted words were written by an Indian authority.

This race conflict is not only acute, it is also unique in that land. It is to the everlasting credit of Great Britain that she has taught the people of India to claim as men these rights which are so dear to all. In all her 200 colleges the 37,000 students are inspired constantly by their English teachers to realize their manhood and to hold most dear all rights incident to that manhood.

In that land the racial difficulty is different from that in other countries. It is unique and peculiar in two particulars. (a) In the first place, it is not the conflict between superior and inferior races, as we are apt to characterize the racial conflict in this country. It is rather the meeting and the conflict of two long separated Aryan brothers, whose common home was somewhere, either in Central Asia or in Europe (authorities disagree). These two brothers were reared in the same home. They prospered and multiplied and finally, say, some four thousand year ago, separated; each to seek his fortune elsewhere. One found his promised land in Western Europe, the other in Southern Asia, in the

peninsula of India. Each triumphed over his enemies in the new land and built for himself a home and founded a civilization all his own. By a strange and unique Providence these two brothers, after millenniums of separation, have come together and are jostling each other upon the plains and mountains of India. (b) In the second place, the bitterness of the present race problem in India is affected by another element. India is a part of the British Empire. She has now become a willing member of, and desires to remain permanently in the union. She appreciates the dignity and value of this union with the white man in many ways; but under the training and through the instigation of the white man himself she is insisting that it be on honourable terms, that even if she enjoy not equal rights and privileges with the Anglo-Saxon she at least be treated with respect and dignity.

India is no longer willing that she, who constitutes three-fourths of the population of the Empire, be denied the same prerogatives as the other fourth.

But, unfortunately, this other fourth is not willing to grant her this request. The white man of England, of Canada, of Australia and of South Africa enjoys, and claims the right to enjoy, equally with the inhabitants of India, all the social, political and commercial blessings of that land. Yes, the white man can, and does, exercise prerogatives and enjoy privileges and opportunities in India which are denied to the native. What, however, chiefly exercises the Indian at this time, and what so annoys him, is that he is not permitted to enter the other countries of the Empire. Australia is a closed door to him as an immigrant. Canada has recently ruthlessly slammed her doors in his face. South Africa is willing to deal with him only as an inferior in semibondage, though she badly needs his services. Even in England he is made to feel that he is a *persona non grata* to be patronized as a ward, it may be, but not to be welcomed as an honored fellow-citizen of the common Empire.

The sinister events of the last two years have roused all the people of India to resentment and indignation beyond anything I have ever known in that land. The recent treatment of Indians in South Africa and in Canada has stirred her to her depth and constitutes in itself a more serious menace to the integrity of the Empire than anything else I know.

Great Britain deplores this narrowness and racial prejudice of her colonies, but is helpless to remove them, since they claim absolute independence and are ready constantly to cry "hands off" whenever the mother country appeals to them on lines of Imperial union and harmony. The situation represents a similar *impasse* to that between state and federal authority in this land in reference to the reception of

the Eastern peoples. The people of India are loyal to the Empire; but with increasing vehemence they demand that justice and right be dealt evenly between them and the white man, at least within the borders of the Empire. If the other sections of the Empire deny to them the right of entrance, it is but right that those sections also should be denied the right to come to India; and when this is accomplished, we shall witness the absurd and impossible vision of an Empire, which is made up of mutually independent and antagonistic elements, whose only common law and aspiration is that of mutual exclusion and repugnance!

The only redeeming feature to the situation was the effort of the Viceroy to demand from South Africa humane, if not equal, treatment to the Indian. And this brought forth concessions from the South African government. But that the Viceroy, who is eminently conciliatory and ambitious to help his Indian people in this struggle, is nevertheless a white man, possessed of the weakness and foibles of his arrogant race, is evident from his futile attempt to defend Canada in her recent expulsion of the shipload of Indian subjects from her coasts.

At the present time and stress of war India may be willing to hold these fundamental claims and rights in abeyance; but from this time forward Great Britain must count with this new aspiration and deepening purpose of India to find an honourable place in that great Empire. She has no desire whatever to leave the Empire; she knows that her highest interests are connected with it, and she now gladly and unreservedly throws herself into the great war, not only to demonstrate her loyalty, but also to prove herself worthy of the confidence of the West.

I anticipate that through this war India will reveal, as never before, and in a new aspect, the strength of her character and her value as an integral part of the Empire; so that at the close of the war, Great Britain will not hesitate to reward her with more confidence and power and will purge out that bitter racial leaven which must otherwise soon produce undying hatred and a permanent rupture between them.—*Journal of Race Development*.

DREAM CITY OF CEYLON.

By TYLER DENNETT.

THE ROMANTIC HISTORY OF ANURADHAPURA.

CEYLON, whose history leads one back through the mazes of a dim antiquity, is the garden spot of the world. What wonder that the Tamils, who lived on that dry, hard strip of Southern India across the strait from the Island, were always jealous of their prosperous neighbours? Repeated and often successful attacks

from the mainland partly explain why the north-eastern end of Ceylon is literally full of buried, forgotten and ruined cities. Anuradhapura was built, destroyed and rebuilt half a dozen times. Since the twelfth century it has been a complete ruin.

The Brazen Palace, with its nine floors, a hundred rooms to a floor, rested on sixteen hundred roughly-cut stone pillars. The Brazen Palace was destroyed by fire a few years after it was first erected. It was immediately rebuilt, destroyed many times more in the course of its history, and now is marked only by this forest of upright, broken and fallen pillars in the jungle.

Tissa, a great king of this same pre-Christian era, introduced Buddhism into the land. The great Asoka, monarch of all Northern India, the man who drove out the Greeks, sent his son, Prince Mahinda, to the court of Tissa as a missionary of Buddhism. The king and 40,000 people were converted in a single day. Tissa became a zealous convert to the new faith. He created a great temple, the Mahapali Almhouses, the ruins of which have been almost entirely obliterated, and planned the slip from the original sacred Bo tree.

This tree flourished to the same extent as did the new religion and the city which afforded it a home. The Thuparama dagaba, a huge mausoleum and shrine for the left collar-bone of Buddha, the oldest building in Ceylon—now a high mound of sod-covered brick, with trees growing halfway up the slope—is a witness to the enthusiasm of Tissa and to his ambitious plans. In its ruins it stands 250 ft high and 350 ft. in diameter at the base. Originally it was hundred feet higher than now. Another dagaba of this period had a canopy resting on stone pillars sufficiently large to shelter a thousand worshippers.

RELICS OF A PRE-CHRISTIAN ERA.

Anuradhapura became an object of pride and admiration. The Singalese people became united around the great city and the new religion. It was Gamani who, at the beginning of the third century before the Christian era, built the Brazen Palace and turned it over to the priest-hood for a monastery. The upper 400 rooms were reserved for those who had already attained entire sanctification. It is said that the palace was surrounded by a highly polished wall which glistened in the sun "like the palace in the Tavatinsa heavens." It was covered with brazen tiles, from which it takes its name. Gamani built over ninety other viharas, or monastic establishments.

Silver, gold and copper were mined on the Island in those and employed to embellish the palaces. Roman coins—a few gold ones and many of copper—have been found in the ruins of other cities. Doubtless the Singalese maintained close commercial relations with the Romans for centuries after Constantinople was

established. Relics accumulated in Anuradhapura, Buddha's left collar-band and the sacred Bo tree were already there. The great teacher's belt was enshrined in another dagaba, and his bowl in still another.

The relic with the most interesting history is the Sacred Tooth, which once rested in the Dalida Maligawa. The original sacred tooth is supposed to have been rescued from the flames at the cremation of Buddha in 543 B.C. It was brought to Anuradhapura in the fourth century of the Christian Era, captured by the Malabars in 1315, but later returned to Ceylon. After being carried about from city to city during successive wars, it was again captured in 1560, and taken up to Goa by the Portuguese. The Archbishop is known to have burned it in the presence of the Viceroy, but the Singalese hold that it met another fate.

LUXURIOUS BATHS.

Having been ground to powder, they say it was cast upon the waters of a lotus pond; where it was miraculously re-created, and eventually returned to Ceylon. In the beautiful Temple of the Tooth, at Kandy, there is now a tooth an inch and a half long and half an inch wide. It rests on carved ivory lotus flowers, and in a richly jewelled shrine. The Buddhists still bring their offerings to it, but to the superficial observer this relic now strangely resembles a crocodile's tooth. However, either this tooth or the one which it replaces has been the cause of more than half the wars which vexed this unhappy island for so many centuries.

Generally speaking, there are two kinds of ruins to be seen in Anuradhapura—the viharas and the dagaba. The viharas, or palaces, are completely fallen. Only their foundations remain. There is a typical group of these ruins scattered among the trees out near the ancient Thuparama dagaba. Five palaces were grouped together, evidently as parts of a single monastic establishment. The beautifully moulded slabs of granite which composed the foundations are for the most part, still in their original places.

Some of the stones are thirty feet long, five feet wide, and nearly as high. Before one of these foundations a magnificent set of "moonstone steps" leads up to the door. Before another entrance one may see some finely carved figures of Indian mythology, tutelary deities set up to guard the door.

A feature of these establishments was the baths, large rectangular bathing pools, from fifty to two hundred feet long. The granite sides of mammoth stones were built back from each other like shelves, so that the monks could enter the water one step at a time. The water for these baths was conveyed from the mountains 150 miles away, in aqueducts which even to-day supply the village with its water.

Standing amid these ancient ruins, under the welcome shade of the jungle one has only to conjure up in imagination the forms of these huge structures, and see them in their original brilliant colours to realise that Anuradhapura in its pristine grandeur must have been a veritable dream city.—*The New York Tribune*.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Prospects in Assam.

The salary offered you is about a usual one for such a position. The cost of living in Assam for Europeans is higher than in this country (England), but much depends upon the personal tastes of the individual as to the sum he can comfortably live on, so that it is always difficult to lay down any general rule in this connection. If you are desirous of obtaining a situation of this nature the present would seem a favourable opportunity for you. The climate of Assam is generally hot and damp, but fairly equable. The rainfall is prolonged and generally heavy, especially on the southern slopes of the hills. The dry season prevails from December to May, when the wind is mostly north-east, whilst the rains occur between June and November with the south-westerly monsoon. The cold season includes the months of January and February, immediately followed by the hot season, comprising March, April, and May. It is in the cold season, with its usual accompaniments of brilliant, cloudless skies, and cool, dry weather, that Northern India is at its best, and at this season of the year the diurnal range of temperature is much greater than during the wet season. Assam is liable to earthquakes. Assam is a very fertile province with a rich soil. It consists of a series of valleys watered by the Brahmaputra and a number of other rivers of lesser importance. Some three-fourths of the tea grown in India is the produce of Assam, the tea plant being indigenous. The Surma Valley produces one of the heaviest crops of tea. There are close upon a thousand tea gardens, the majority of which are owned by Europeans. Assam is very rich in animal life. Elephants abound, as do also tigers. There is a Government reward for the destruction of this latter animal, in spite of which, however, their numbers do not seem to diminish much. Amongst other animals which are very numerous may be mentioned leopards, bears, the wild buffalo, or gaur (a formidable animal of great size, strength, and fierceness), wild hogs, foxes, goats, deer and some antelope, hares, porcupines, squirrels, etc., whilst there are monkeys in great variety. There is a plentiful supply of wild game, including pheasants, partridges, snipe, and water-fowl of many descriptions. The most destructive of all the wild animals, however, are snakes, with which Assam is largely infested. The most deadly species found are the cobra and karait, the bite from either of which is nearly always fatal. Large numbers of people (chiefly native) lose their lives annually from snake-bites. The python also abounds, but this is a species of non-poisonous serpent that seldom attacks human

beings unless in self-defence. Pythons are boa-constrictors of enormous length and weight, which drop upon their prey from the branches of trees, or steal upon it in the thick jungle grass. The method of killing their victims is by squeezing them to death, generally round the throat or ribs. A good book on this part of India is E. A. Gait's "The History of Assam," published in 1906. —*The Colonizer*.

West Bound Passengers.

The following order, dated the 30th March 1915, has been issued by the Government of Madras :—

Information having been received that the local authorities at Marseilles are desirous that British travellers from the East should, in future, produce on landing at Marseilles passports for Consular passes, all persons proceeding to England *via* France are hereby warned to take passports. Applications for passports should be addressed to Government, to whom they should be forwarded through the District Magistrate of the district in which the applicant resides, or through the Commissioner of Police, Madras, if in Madras. The applicant should invariably furnish two small unmounted photographs of himself and of any other person or persons proposed to be included in the same passport. One of these photographs will be affixed to the passport and the other to the application.

In continuation of the above, British subjects proposing to travel through Italy are also warned to take similar passports which should be vised by an Italian Consular officer in India.

How Stupid and Mean.

Canon Scott Holland pays this eulogy to India in his *Commonwealth*: "As for India, it is impossible to secure words adequate for the stupendous occasion, which will not seem to minister to vain glory. We had hoped that, in spite of much shortcoming, our work in India had not been without some ideal of service rendered. But he had never dared to believe that it would have won this amazing response. We find ourselves trusted beyond our wildest dreams. We have actually won their hearts. They will die for us. Oh! the unspeakable shame of remembering the cold racial pride with which we have treated those who would spend their lives for us! How stupid, and mean, and disgusting it all looks now! In spite of it they have understood. They have taken us at our best. They have recognised the principles on which we acted, yet to which we were so often false. It is too good to be true. We can but confess how little we have deserved such a transcendent reward; and pledge ourselves to treat India henceforward on the level of this her splendid offer to England in her hour of need."

Indian Students in England.

According to the latest report of the Indian Students' Department it appears that there are at the present time 1,600 or 1,700 young Indians studying at English educational institutions, and there are little signs of a decrease in this number. The Bar continues, as in former years, to draw many Indians to England, though the total number in the past year was not quite so great as in some previous periods.

Emigration from U. K. in 1914.

The figures issued by the Board of Trade show that in 1914 emigration was on a much smaller scale than in the immediately preceding years. The total number of British subjects who emigrated from the United Kingdom was 214,188; the greatest number, 78,805, went to Canada, 69,705 to the United States, 32,888 to Australia, 7,871 to New Zealand, and 7,785 to South Africa. Of these 92,214 were men, 86,063 women, and 35,861 children. The number of British subjects who arrived from abroad to reside in the United Kingdom was 104,995, so that the actual excess of emigrants over immigrants was 109,143. The number of emigrants to Canada show a particularly large decrease, the figures for 1913 having been 190,854.

An Empire Trade Index.

An Empire trade index is being compiled by the Empire Trade and Industry Committee of the Royal Colonial Institute. This record is kept in conjunction with the files of special reports on the trade of various parts of the Empire, and has been prepared from the point of view of the man of business and also of the student of economics.

OUR MARCH NUMBER.

The *Indian Emigrant* for March has come out with remarkable punctuality and maintains its level of excellence. The Editor has an article on "Canada and Asiatic Immigration." Mr. R. G. Sambandam, B.A., B.L., has an article on "Indians in Burma," and Mr. V. K. Rajanayagam on the "Ratanapura Labour Commission." "Indian Currency and Finance" is an article by Mr. S. Harisarvohama Row. The interesting feature of "Round the Indian Empire" is kept up. Some extracts and reviews of books bring the March number to the front of monthlies in India.—

Indian Patriot.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

WAR LITERATURE.

1. *Armageddon—and After* by W. L. Courtney.
2. *Belgium and the Scrap of Paper* by H. N. Brailsford, *The Union of Democratic Control*, London, W.C. Price 1d.

Armageddon, in the Hebrew tongue, is the name of the place where the kings of the earth were asked to collect all their people to celebrate the great day of the God Almighty. The author aptly compares this to the modern assemblage of troops in which nearly all the countries of Europe have to play their part. The strife between the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance is a mighty event, and may take years to end. This war is, moreover, to decide the destiny of Europe. As this war is spoken of as "the war that will end war," never again must spiritual, moral and artistic culture be submerged under a wave of barbarism. The author gives the proximate and ultimate causes of the war in a connected and intelligent manner, and deals at length about the fiery, martial pamphlets of Bernhardt. He then gives a sketch of the ambitious and hazardous policy of Kaiser Wilhelm; and traces from very early days, the restless spirit that was watching for an opportunity to set all Europe in a conflagration.

One of the most interesting chapters, is one on "German Militarism." It refers to Bernhardt's "Germany and the Next War" and quotes from it such mischievous and ludicrous sentences as, "the main object of human life is war, and the higher the nation, the more persistently must it pursue preparations for war." The opinion of Bernhardt upon this point is first the suppression of every other State except Germany; second the suppression of the whole civilian element in the population under the heel of the German drill-sergeant.

Mr. Courtney denounces autocracy and opines that it is pernicious to the welfare of a country. One ought to banish for ever the horrible idea that whole nations can be massacred and civilization indefinitely postponed to suit the individual caprice of a bragging and self-opinionated despot who calls himself "God's elect."

Mr. Courtney gives us wholesome lessons from the past, and writes that our chief mission in this war should be the abolishment of militarism and the establishment of a United States of Europe—each country co-operating with others and working for the public weal and prosperity. In this connection, it would be an instructive lesson if we go back a century. Europe was in many respects similar to what it is now. But gradually the spirit of nationality grew upon

England, Germany, Austria and Italy; the result was the overthrow of Napoleon. The Kaiser is the Napoleon of this century and the allies working with heart and soul are sure to overthrow the Kaiser, even as they did Napoleon. Thus when the Triple Entente is dissolved, there is no necessity for a Triple Alliance to confront it. There may remain in some minds a certain fear about Russia as to whether she would not try to extend her territories at the expense of the enemies.

But the same wise Czar, who with one stroke of the pen, sacrificed 93 millions of revenue in order that Russia may be sober, will not be ambitious enough to do what we fear.

Huge armaments are to be pulled down and the path should be paved for commercial prosperity. Germany should sever the relations between her and Krupp; France should likewise do the same with Messrs. Schneider. Our object in entering this war should not only be the abolishment of the militarism of Germany, but also the securing of respect for treaties and the like. And we have got to solve that most difficult problem of creating a "Public Will" and a "Common Conscience" in Europe that would act as a corrective of national defects and as a support of international morality. This "common conscience" is a conscience which would be sensitive to the demands of ethics, and would have a will to enforce its decrees against obstructives and recalcitrants.

This interesting pamphlet gives a connected and comprehensive view of the events that led up to the invasion of Belgium by Germany. This act, we know, is a flagrant violation of the terms of the Hague Conference by which the independence of Belgium was guaranteed by the various Powers, including Germany. We also know the historic scene between the German Chancellor and the British Ambassador about the "scrap of paper," that took place a few days before the sending up of the ultimatum of Britain to Germany. These events are succinctly described by the author. Mr. Brailsford attributes the failure of Britain to check German advance on Belgium soil to the fact that British diplomacy was not thinking primarily of the interests of Belgium, but was absorbed in the vast rivalries of the continental system. Not content with this charge against British diplomacy, Mr. Brailsford writes that Sir Edward Grey had secretly developed the "Entente Cordiale" into a "loose alliance" and that he had "pledged the British navy to France"—thus rendering Britain, unable to back up Belgian independence by tying up her navy. He quaintly opines that by the pursuit of the policy of Balance of Power, by entering into the Triple Entente, and by naval ties to France, the British nation had lost the one weapon which would certainly have saved Belgium. In a paragraph entitled "Towards Interna-

tional Morality", Mr. Brailsford insists upon the fact that we would lose the moral of the Belgian tragedy, if we see in it nothing but a German crime. He is of opinion, that if little States are to be made secure, if treaties are to gain the force of law, we must take a forward step from national patriotism towards international morality. He concludes by saying that each country ought to abolish militarism, and a narrow imperialism, and truly join together into a Federation of Europe.

This small pamphlet is full of detailed and authenticated information about Belgium and the attitude of the powers towards her. The arguments advanced by the author are of so straightforward and convincing a manner that the reader is sure to be impressed by their truth.

S. P.

POLITICS.

"**Bureaucratic Government**" by Bernard Houghton, *late Indian Civil Service*. Publishers: P. S. King & Son, Westminster, London. Price 2s. 6d.

The perfect candour by which this book is characterized is a virtue which cannot be over-estimated. It is a frank statement of the Imperial Question as it affects Indian polity, by an experienced member of the Indian Civil Service who, the writer understands, was at the head of the administration of a large Division of British Burma on his retirement, and who, but for his outspoken democratic views, might have become the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma itself. "Quo vadis, domine?" What is the mission of the Englishman in India? And what is the message of the British conqueror to the conquered races of India? Is it to help India in its onward movement to an honourable place among self-governing countries of the world, or is it simply to "keep the natives in their place?" These are some of the questions which readily suggest themselves as one reads this excellent book. The typical bureaucrat is lost in his admiration for the administrative machinery which keeps in order, with a handful of white men, more than 300 millions of dark men of all creeds and castes. The smoothness with which the political mill grinds men into moving automata—"loyal" men, docilely obedient and abjectly subservient,—makes him apotheosise as the very ideal of his life, the system which has made such a state of things not only possible but also actual. The bewildering series of wheels and cogwheels of the system, from the huge fly-wheel to the smallest crank-pin all working noiselessly in their respective places to his bidding, occupies his whole attention and he forgets the pernicious effect which this system has upon the lives of men who are unhappily for them regulated by it. Does anyone grumble at his lot? Why, what does he know of the art of Government or of the secrets of diplomacy?

His duty is simply to obey, endure and smile. This is the view which almost every member of the Indian Civil Service, from the moment he lands in India, is taught to take of the innumerable human lives entrusted to his care, and our author than whom there can be no greater authority, well depicts the stultifying effects of this cruel system in his two chapters on "Bureaucracy." He concludes the first of these chapters with the following words: "In addition to the necessary bane of a foreign domination and the gratuitous evils arising from its system of repression and tutelage, it is destitute of the human touch that can link the sympathies of the ruled to their rulers, and that atones for so many shortcomings. Can we wonder at the more emancipated spirits beating themselves against the granite works of their prison with bitterness and despair, aye, sometimes with crime and dark iniquity?" So long as this system is allowed to work, slowly but steadily killing in the subject races even the far-off hope of seeing the Promised Land from the top of Pisgah, there is no use of merely attempting patchwork, of applying half-hearted and reluctant remedies wherever the system fails to work, by securing for Indians a few posts in the Executive and Legislative Councils. By the time an Indian succeeds in getting into one of these councils, he will have lost a large part of his original virility and manliness and what little is left will be of no avail to him in the face of overwhelming members representing official opinion.

We regret we have no space for extensively quoting the many beautiful passages with which the book under review abounds. The whole book is worth reading many times as it is the result of a thoughtful member of the Civil Service, who after spending the prime of his life in it, is giving out to the world what he honestly thinks of it.

The closing chapter of the book "Towards Democracy" contains the political creed of the author. He belongs to the advance vanguard of the Liberal Party and though we cannot be so sanguine now as to expect the wholesale adoption of the creed by the present Government, it is refreshing to read the last sentences of this interesting book: "Though the Indian Civil Service were manned by angels from heaven, the incurable defects of a bureaucratic Government must pervert their best intentions and make them foes to political progress. It must now stand aside, and, in the interest of that country it has served so long and so truly, make over the dominion to other hands." We can only wish that our rulers are imbued with such sense of responsibility and such enlightened understanding of the wants and hopes of the Indian nation as is evinced by the author. At any rate, an official recognition of the wholesome lessons he teaches will be a boon to our countrymen. "A people hungering for self-government will not be placated by good government, however intricate, how-

ever conscientious, however benevolent. Not thus can you quench the fires of patriotism, or efface the stigma with which men shut off from high posts, debarred from all power of self-government, feel themselves branded before the face of Asia." A day shall come when the English will have to render an account of their stewardship of India, and we can only hope that the judgment which Mr. Houghton passes on the administration of India by Lord Curzon, will not be equally applicable to the Government of India by the British as a whole. "It was through this blindness to the living realities of an organic growth, this rigid outlook, that his tenure of office, which dawned with such roseate promise of success, ended in a depressing sense of failure, a failure that narrowly escaped becoming a disaster."

R. G. S.

"**Clear Thinking or an Englishman's Creed** by L. Cecil Smith. Publishers: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., 3s. 6d. net.

This book is the exposition of an Imperialist's creed—the creed of a Conservative of Conservatives, whose "criterion of virtue is a whole-hearted belief in the English race." Though thus whenever the destinies of other races besides the English are concerned, the views of the author cannot be just or impartial. We must confess that he is quite sincere and obsessed with the passion of preserving and perpetuating the insular qualities of the English race. People like Tolstoy who preach pacificism are mere visionaries and are dangerous when they pose themselves as the world's teachers. Even the introduction of education among the less cultured races he condemns as "the insane haste of Missionaries." Though he avers that his ideal is "England for the English," his strong English or rather Anglo-Saxon proclivities make us suspect that he is actuated at heart by the more comprehensive ideal of "The World for the English." "The downfall of our Empire . . . would mean the downfall of the mechanical civilisation of the Western World." We fail to understand the full significance of the word "mechanical." Does he mean "material?" Well, whatever the word means, it is plain that Indians can never admire a system or creed which omits out of its routine the education of mind as opposed to mere material prosperity. The author continues, "Russia alone could in part take our place, and she is not purely European." Strange comradeship! A man who seems to think that to be qualified to rule men, one ought to be a European, is not likely to win our approbation, and much less our affections, and we are not therefore much surprised when he hints in a footnote that but for the clever boys (members of Military and Civil Departments) who serve oversea, India will lapse into barbarism. In his roving into the domains of Ethics and Philosophy, he incidentally defines "an immoral act:"

"We shall not go far astray if we say that an immoral act is an act which impairs the citizenship of the doer. Thus suicide is immoral in the case of a sane and healthy man, though it may be a moral duty in the case of one who is a burden or possible source of infection to other citizens, and who only hesitates through selfish fears for his own soul." Is not then the savage who clubs to death his old, decrepit mother because she is a burden to him, doing a moral act, according to the enlightened ethics of our twenty-first century author? Are not the hospitals and sick-homes which look after the sick and the infirm and apply the inventions of modern science for the preservation of their worthless lives, guilty of hundreds of immoral acts every day? Our author easily brushes aside as so many unmeaning shibboleths some of the watchwords of modern progress and civilization, and this makes us all the more admire the courage and sincerity with which he examines some of the thorny problems of international politics, though we are by nature and training bound to differ from his conclusions, ideals and theories.

R. G. S.

ECONOMICS.

Protection Paves the Path of Prosperity, by Thomas Penn Gaskell, M.I.C.E. P. S. King and Son, London, price 3s. 6d. net.

The book is a spirited attack on the present fiscal policy of the Liberal Government of the United Kingdom. The author has meant it as an 'exposure of free feed folly and fiction' and demonstrates the benefits that would accrue to the United Kingdom through Protection, in a decrease of food prices, increase of employment, and a well-sized addition to the revenues of the country. He traces the decay of agriculture in the United Kingdom since the establishment of Free Trade in 1846 and opposes the Cobdenite idea as being contrary to the doctrines of Malthus and the primary interests of agriculture. The condition of agriculture in the United Kingdom as compared with that of France and Germany shows to poor advantage, and the author is convinced that the remedy lies in Protection. He advocates the establishment of national granaries of British and Irish wheat, to afford security for food supplies in time of war and to encourage home agriculture. He argues protection for British industries, preference for British Colonies, and advantageous commercial treaties with foreign countries. The author concludes the interesting book with an estimate of the revenue to be derived from protective duties, and those that are of the persuasion of Penn Gaskell will feel their case strengthened by this addition to the literature on Protection.

ANNUALS.

Hazell's Annual, 1915, 52, Long Acre, London, W. C.

The 1915 edition of HAZELL'S ANNUAL (now in its thirtieth year of issue) makes another remarkable stride forward as the most comprehensive of existing works of reference. To summarise the additional features which have been added to the present issue would in itself make a serious demand upon our space. Some idea, however, of the extraordinary extent and variety of the information compressed into this wonderful book may be conveyed when we state that its index (easily the most efficient index in any annual work of reference) now contains close upon 20,000 entries.

Naturally, this ever memorable year claims for its wonderful happenings a proper share of attention. The articles devoted to the "Great War" occupy some thirty pages. The graphic description of the incidents which led up to the outbreak and the subsequent march of events make of HAZELL'S ANNUAL for 1915 a valuable historic document. From the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand to the failure of the march to Calais, every occurrence of note is duly marshalled in proper sequence. To add to the value of the historical portion there is an excellent article on the "Financial Crisis and how it was overcome." Another special article deals with the International Treaties and with the main points of international law; while yet another sums up the present and future position of the Labour Movement to the War.

NOTICES.

The Life and Life Work of J. N. Tata by D. E. Wacha, (second edition). Messrs. Ganesh & Co., Madras. Price Re. 1.

The second edition of this excellent and well-written book is decidedly an improvement over the first. About a dozen blocks illustrative of the Tata Hydro-Electric Power Supply Co., Ltd., Bombay, form the frontispiece to this edition. Also an added chapter on the views entertained by Mr. Tata on the still unsettled problems of India relating to Agriculture, Irrigation, Land Revenue and Currency Questions will be found to be extremely interesting. The coming of the second edition so soon after a space of four months' publication of the first, adds greatly to the popularity of the book.

2. **Stray Thoughts on the Literature and Religion of India** by Swami Saradananda. Published by the Ramakrishna Mission, Madras. Price Re. 1.

The volume is compiled from papers written at intervals during a period of fourteen years since 1896, on Religion and Sanskrit Literature.

3. **Domestic Economy—Tamil Science Primer** Series No. 2.

Indian National Congress and the Industrial Conference of 1914—Impressions of a Journalist.

The Industrial Development of Ceylon—A Plea.

We received the above Tamil book and the pamphlets from Mr. T. P. Masilamony, M. R. A. S. Colombo. The author is a believer in sound Vernacular education without neglecting English. The above Tamil work on Domestic Economy is mainly intended for our girls and women to make them good housewives, ideal wives and efficient mothers.

The Indian Emigrant

AN IMPERIAL MEDIUM OF

EMIGRATION, COLONISATION, TRAVEL, SOCIOLOGY AND POLITICS.

The only Journal advocating the cause of Indians abroad, recording their life, thought and activities and safeguarding their interests in the Colonies.

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No. 10.

EDITORIAL NOTICES.

The Editor solicits contributions from Colonial residents, English or Indian, and others on problems relating to the Empire, particularly those directly bearing on India. Articles should not ordinarily exceed two thousand words. Indians living abroad are specially requested to write to us of their experiences in foreign lands. Such correspondence should be informative. The *Indian Emigrant* is not responsible for opinions expressed by writers or statements made by correspondents.

Photographic views and representations of Indian life in British Colonies and Foreign Countries will be thankfully received. They should be accompanied, in every case, with a short description.

FOREIGN TRAVEL IN ANCIENT AND MODERN INDIA.

By R. G. SAMBANDAM, B.A., B.L.

TIME was when India was sending out waves of her sons to emigrate to and settle in foreign countries. The hoary civilization of India, almost the most ancient that is now extant, could not have failed to have its influence felt in the remotest parts of the earth. Quite unlike their modern compatriots, the Indians of yore carried extensive trade with other countries of the world, both by land and sea, and this fact in itself should have afforded a sufficient impetus to an adventurous people like the dwellers of ancient India, to emigrate to various countries in search of wealth and enjoyment.

At any rate, in those palmy days when India was secure from foreign molestation and was enjoying continual repose and peace, there were no unnecessary restraints which prevented Indians from leaving the country on long commercial tours round the world for the purpose of enriching themselves by trading or

treating with other nations. Both the ancient and modern literature of India is full of references to rich merchants and mariners who were thus prompted to emigrate to other countries. "The Hindus," says Mr. Elphinstone in his History of India at page 166, "navigated the ocean as early as the age of Manu's Code, because we read in it they were acquainted with sea-voyages." We also read in the Bible that Solomon and Hiram (also spelt Hiram) of Tyre sent ships to the Indian coast whence they returned laden with ivory, sandalwood, apes, peacocks, gold, silver and precious stones. It would be a matter for surprise if this were not the case. Indians were famous for their knowledge of the great sciences and arts, and being luckily born in a country where Nature appeared in her gayest garb and disported herself in her most winsome smiles, they could not have resisted the temptation to travel far and wide to make themselves richer and happier.

This is the picture presented by Ancient India. We find free colonization taking place wherever possible, and emigration to foreign countries a matter of usual occurrence. If any further proof is necessary to show that there was no restraint on emigration, the following extract from an almost modern writer gives it. "The commerce of Arabia Felix is entirely in the hands of Banias of Gujerat, who from father to son have established themselves in the country, and are protected by the Government in consideration of a certain import levied upon their estimated property." Now turn to the modern side of the picture. What do learned Brahmins and "orthodox" Hindus say about foreign travel and emigration to-day? They positively interdict it in the most unmistakable terms. Crossing the *kalapani* (sea), according to them, is a sin which is not easily washed off even by the most elaborately conducted expiatory ceremony

(*prayaschit*). Whence is this difference—so diametrically opposed—in the attitude towards sea-travel as entertained by the early Aryan and the modern Indian? It is to the institution of caste—that cursed octopus whose tentacles bind so fiendishly the limbs of modern India—that we must look for an explanation for what otherwise appears like an abrupt change in the growth of social ideas in India. Nowhere else on the face of the earth do we find another institution or system so puissant in its influence for evil and so fatal for the progress of a nation. The beauty of no other country is blighted and the advancement of no other race blasted by this plague, and yet the “orthodox” India fondly revels in the idea that it is to this singular social edifice that Hindus owe the preservation of all that is good and great in them. It is a sad case of voluntary blindness, the case of one having eyes yet seeing not. Even external forces which drive men sometimes to see things in their true light and proportions, make these people, whose fatalistic creed points in the direction of resignation but not adjustment, only to exult the more in their sad plight and to cling the closer to the remnant of the caste system in the hope that it will still act as a panacea in the cure of all social distempers. They forget that if there was any good in the system when it was first devised or came into conscious existence it has long since lost it and that it is to-day not only effete but also positively injurious to a healthy development of society. They still think that it is a crime to travel to a foreign country separated from India even by a small limb of the sea because a Hindu by doing so loses his characteristics, his birth-right as a Hindu.

Judged by the religious sanction, the only sanction by which the so-called strict Hindu is governed in daily life, and confirmed by a uniform practice successively followed by men esteemed to be religiously great, sea-travel is sinful to a modern Brahmin who is a Hindu *par excellence*. Sometimes, as in the present case, the uniform practice or custom having the force of law, gets the upper hand of even written religious authority, because the spirit of conservatism inherited by modern Hindus for countless generations, has made them complete slaves to mere custom. In acting thus, the Hindu forgets that he is attempting to do a feat which is both psychologically and historically impossible. He tries to get into a frame of mind which he imagines was that of the early Aryan when he first settled on the banks of the Indus, or wandered along those of the Ganges, and tries to set at nought all that Time has wrought since that remote past and to plant himself among the surroundings which should, according to his present fancy, have enveloped the daily life of his pre-historic ancestor. He is so self-contained as to believe that the soil of no other country is so sacred as that of his own, and is so self-deluded as to entertain the idea that to travel by sea even to Burma is to forsake the pure for the impure. Is not this a form of megalomania which, masquerading under the name of patriotism, leads men to self-stupefaction and self-stultification? Is it not strange that foreign travel, instead of being

looked up to as a necessary apparel in man's mental equipment, a sort of liberal education by means of which his angularities and obliquities get corrected, should actually be condemned as polluting the *so-disant* sanctity of the Hindu? It is no less arguing with him that even the ancient law-givers have spoken with approval of sea-travel and that even the venerable Gautama, one of such law-givers, had no objection even to a Brahmin going to a foreign country for the purpose of studying (*vide* the Sacred Books of the East, edited by Max Muller, Vol. II, p. 269). The retort will readily come that in the face of the uniform practice now obtaining among the members of the sacerdotal caste, we cannot presume to know the import of sacred laws.

So, right and wrong are determined by these pandits not with reference to what is best for individual and society under the existing circumstances, but solely with reference to a state of society that has long passed away never to be recalled. For the sake of fossil religion and petrified custom they sacrifice life. Belief and Sentiment are allowed to usurp the place of Reason and to act as its deputies. The result is inevitable. That portion of the cerebral organ which is responsible for the proper regulation of human conduct gets atrophied. We know that our orthodox Brahmin friends will think that our strictures are undeserved. We heartily wish that we were mistaken in our views. But if there is one thing that is certain it is that the best of Hindus are simply living upon the past and that if this is continued for sometime more, the nation will soon come to a state of bankruptcy. Hindus and non-Hindus alike are governed by the same laws of Nature, one of which is that unless a nation keeps pace with time and knows how best to utilize the results of modern science, it would be impossible for it to get on. There is nothing stationary in life. To hark back is simply to slide back into a condition of intellectual lethargy—a condition where there is more exercise for the servile faculty of memory and mimicry than for stirring original thought and volition. A nation which is too proud to learn new things and to adjust itself to changing environments will soon be counted with those of the past.

Let us now go a little further and see whether the pick of the cultured classes, the *elite* of the educated public, whether these men of light and leading fare better. We do not deny that there is a small minority among these, who happily grow in number every year, who are not prevented by custom or religion from seeking their fortunes in foreign lands. But the large majority are still haunted by the fear of losing caste by taking a sea-trip, and even such of them as are stout-hearted enough to justify sea-travel apologetically buttress up their arguments in its favour by appealing to all sorts of extraneous considerations and finally to the sacred Vedas! *Parishads* or Convocations of the learned in the Vedas or scriptures are held in certain important strongholds of orthodoxy (sic!) under the presidency of men of acknowledged eminence and talents, and it is seriously

discussed in such assemblies whether and if so to what extent, it is proper in a high-born Hindu to cross the main and go to a foreign land, and whether there is anything in sea-travel which is inconsistent with the tenets of the Vedas. According to these Pharisees, the Vedas have said the last word on human progress, and form the furthestmost limit of human knowledge and learning. If the Vedas unmistakably say that sea-travel is deleterious, we must all strike sail and obey them. Can the drugging of human intellect go farther than this? An uninterrupted series of insensate acts has so benumbed the reasoning faculty that it refuses to help its possessor even when he honestly endeavours to work out his own salvation.

Recently there has been formed in the heart of Madras a society whose avowed object is to preserve orthodoxy or rather the so-called orthodox Hindu observances and ceremonies, and though among its members are counted some distinguished Brahmin lawyers one cannot expect from a hyper-conservative body like this any countenancing of foreign travel. By origin it is a reactionary society, founded purposely to counteract the disintegrating influences of modern learning and civilization, and they would naturally be the last persons on earth to sanction a practice which goes clear against the grain of current orthodoxy. The creed of these Conservators of Faith seems very simple. Unless one is born a Brahmin in the Holy Land of India, wears the sacred thread, besmears his forehead with ashes or paints on it his caste mark and performs his morning and evening ablutions correctly and punctually, it is impossible for one to have admission into heaven. We may dismiss this brotherhood with the remark that if there is a heaven whose portals can be gained only in this manner it is not worth a rap.

It is interesting to note here that the modern cult of the Brahmo Samaj, the parent of other Samajas which are all so many protestant forms of the old Hindu faith, mainly owes its existence or at any rate its popularity to the secession of certain England-returned Bengalis who successfully rebelled against their being excommunicated from orthodox Hindu society for the crime of having gone to Europe for purposes of study. To-day the Brahmo Samaj claims as its members some of the most intellectual men who feel the freer for their breaking away from the thralldom of caste and custom. There are also in the country other organizations such as Social Reform Associations and Conferences whose chief work consists as their names import in reforming Hindu Society and as one of the crying needs of the time in encouraging travel by sea to foreign lands and climates. But these feeble protests of a minority are simply a far cry in the wilderness unheeded and unheard. Nobody seems seriously to concern himself about the need of foreign travel and it is left to individuals who are immediately to be benefited by it to take the risks of visiting a foreign land. We have already said enough in the beginning of this article to indicate that

the only caste chiefly concerned in solving this thorny problem is the Brahmin caste. But the evil example set by these “gods on earth” is very contagious and men of other castes in their eagerness to be considered high-born men, viley imitate the Brahmins and with such men the idea is growing that foreign travel is a sin, prohibited by the Vedas and Shastras, and tabooed by uniform observance among men considered sacrosanct. When such a war is to be waged for the revival of foreign travel by sea among the degenerate successors of the sturdy Aryans, one shudders in silence at the thought of the dark destiny that threatens to await the ancient land of Aryavarta.

BRITISH GUIANA.

THE REPORT.

WE are in receipt of the Annual Report of the Immigration Agent General of British Guiana, for the year 1913-14—a document of some considerable importance, as the Colony has already an Indian population totalling over 131,871 souls engaged in various occupations. There, in that far off Colony at the top of South America, the Indian cooly is jostling with the native whites, Negroes, the aboriginal Indians and the Chinese, together making the land of his adoption, a rich and fertile tract where once it was a marshy waste. Few, indeed, follow the sufferings and hardships, the hopes and aspirations of this enterprising band of our countrymen, except, probably, the handful of officers on the spot and still few realise the extent of their economic contribution to the solidarity of the British Empire. We learn from the report under review that, as a consequence of the terrible struggle of the great Nations in Europe, the Colony like the rest of the world, is experiencing its share of suffering and hardships; but it is hoped that it will assist the bearing of it, if increased acreage in sugar with increased immigration and increased prosperity for all follows to the Colony in the wake of the Great War. May we, therefore, hope that better relations and more cordial understanding will be the rule hereafter, and that the Indian cooly will be looked upon as a potential citizen of the Colony instead of as a hired labourer for the nonce.

STATISTICS OF IMMIGRATION.

During the year 1913-14, four ships arrived from Calcutta, bringing to the Colony a total of 1,846 Indian immigrants. Of these, one man, two women and one male infant paid their passages. The report of the Surgeons Superintendent in regard to the state of health of the emigrants on embarkation, during voyage and when landed, shows that except for some minor cases of simple fever, malaria, mumps on board the ships, the immigrants when landed showed a clean bill of health. We note that among those who landed in the Colony in the middle of December 1913, were 64 Tamils and Telugus from Madras and these, we learn, were all indentured to Plantation Diamond; and in reply to an enquiry, the authorities of the

estate are reported to have stated that "these immigrants are healthy and obedient and give practically no trouble; also appear happy and contented. A considerable number are reported to be saving money." There were also during the year under report 24 cases of immigrants introduced under indenture who had formerly resided in this or some other Colony.

The number of immigrants who returned to India in 1913-14 amounted to 681 all told and the remittances to India and jewellery brought by them are valued at over £6,094 and £1,015 respectively. The largest individual sum remitted was \$ 792 equal to £165.

SOCIAL CONDITION.

There were in all 359 marriages under the provisions of the Immigration Ordinance, among the East Indian population in the Colony as against 431 in the previous year. One would have thought that the proportion would increase year by year, but some unnecessary restrictions exist on marital relationships among the immigrants in the Colony. In the report for last year, it was noted that certain aspects of the marriage question had attracted the attention of the gentlemen delegated by the Indian Government to enquire into conditions relating to East Indian immigrants in British Colonies. It is pointed out that most difficulty arises as regards marriages under Section 151 of the Ordinance, i.e., marriage according to "religion and personal law," (there were only 18 such marriages during the year 1913-14), and the trouble is said to consist through the neglect of the parties concerned to comply with all the requirements of the Ordinance, with the result that the great majority of such unions are unrecorded; and so, being unrecognised under the law, the fruits of such marriages have to be registered as illegitimate. This is, indeed, unsatisfactory and subversive of the interests of morality among the population. The matter, we understand, is receiving attention and suggestions for amendment are under consideration. It is to be hoped that a way out, agreeable to all concerned, will be found.

Three cases of suicide among the indentured people are reported, "but there appears to have been an absence of motive in each case, judging from external evidence." We are dissatisfied at the summary fashion in which this fact is disposed of in the report. It is necessary to make a full investigation in each case, discover the root causes, and remove, if possible, such factors as promote this cynical outlook on life among estate coolies.

CONVICTIONS UNDER LABOUR LAWS.

One of the most common and unsatisfactory features observable in Immigration Reports is the growing number of convictions of indentured immigrants for breaches of the Labour laws. In this Colony, the number of convictions during the year was 1272 out of a mean indentured population of 9575, which is 13.2 of the total population, an increase by 1.5 on the figures of the previous year.

The offences for which convictions followed were largely for absence from or neglect to begin work, desertion and habitual idleness, and form a little over $\frac{1}{3}$ of the total convictions. Such a state of things indicates the readiness with which employers resort to Criminal Courts to enforce the obligations of the labourers, while the entire absence of charges against employers or of their convictions stands in clear contrast, as to the inability of labourers to prefer complaints in courts of law against any injustice of the employers. Apart from the immoral influence resulting from promiscuous convictions of the labourers, there lies the serious disadvantage of the indenture period being also extended unduly to such periods for which they were sentenced. This has also an indirect effect on the wages question. While we therefore deprecate this tendency to prosecute on the part of the employers on the above grounds, we would draw the attention of the Government to the recommendations made by the Commissioners Messrs. MacNeill and Chimman Lal on this complex question.

EDUCATION AND POLITICAL STATUS.

We learn from the return of attendance furnished by the Inspector of Schools and embodied in the Report that there was a total of 6,615 names on the register and the daily average attendance was only 4,065. There is no Government provision for the education of East Indian children other than the State-aided Schools. We are glad to note, however, that the desirability of providing for the teaching of Hindustani or Hindi in localities where there is a substantial East Indian population has been mooted and the matter is under consideration.

It appears that the number of East Indians entitled to vote under the Political Constitution Ordinance of 1891 was for the period 1st October 1913 to 30th September 1914, 223.

GENERAL CONDITION OF FREE INDIANS.

At the close of the year there were 57,336 free East Indians resident on sugar estates or 47 per cent. of the total free population while immigrants under indenture numbered 9,114.

The general condition of the unindentured East Indian immigrants during the year under review continued to be as described in the last Annual Report of this Department. The immigrants are encouraged to remain on the sugar estates after the expiry of the term of their indenture, not the least valued inducement being the continued personal interest of the managers in them. Those who prefer the greater freedom of life in the villages, or on their holdings, are yet careful to keep in touch with the neighbouring estates so as to enjoy the security of feeling work, and consequently ready cash, available practically at their pleasure.

CONCLUSION.

A significant sentence occurs at the end of the report. It runs, there seems little hope that these latter indolent and somewhat parasitic people will ever pass

beyond what Sir Charles Bruce, writing of East Indian Settlements nearly a quarter of a century ago termed "the period of transition from position of hired labourer to that of independent occupier or trader," but the settlers in the Pomeroon, in the North-Western District, as well as some other adventurous spirits at Wismar about 60 miles up the Demarara River are more promising. At the request of those in the Pomeroon, an Immigration Agent paid a visit to the District to enquire into certain grievances of which they complained. This was found a satisfactory arrangement and was so much appreciated by the people that a vote to provide for a quarterly visit was proposed but the elective members of the Combined Court did not think that sufficient justification was shown for the expenditure. We are glad to note that the idea of Indian colonisation is gaining ground where once Indian immigration was looked upon as a necessary evil, a sentiment bound to produce the best of results.

WHITE MAN'S COUNTRY.

A heated and somewhat interesting controversy took place recently between the Administrator of the Cape Province of South Africa and Dr. Abdurahman, one of the elected members of the Provincial Council of the same Colony. The subject of the controversy was a statement made by the former that "South Africa was a white man's Colony and it was his duty to guard against its being flooded by Asiatics", in the course of a discussion in the Provincial Council on the General Dealers' and other Licenses (further) Amendment Draft Ordinance. A passing or a deliberate remark like the above by Sir Frederick de Waal (the Administrator) clearly indicates the amount of bad blood that is still running in the veins of the authorities, especially, in their dealings with Asiatic questions. Such expressions of racial animosity would have passed unnoticed had they been uttered by irresponsible whites with no status or qualifications or by persons placed in less responsible positions under the Government. But Sir Frederick is the head of the Administration of the Cape of Good Hope Colony, a Province in which there is the largest number of domiciled Indian population, and hence his words should have been tempered with good sense, moderation and wisdom. A bigoted and shortsighted Administrator of this type is the most unwelcome person at the present crisis. Rightly did the Doctor

retort when he asked whether Indians are to be treated as desirables or undesirables in France which is now being flooded with Indians. "They were despatched in thousands to France and received with open arms, while in South Africa they were persecuted".

We are, however, obliged to Dr. Rahman for correcting the view of the Administrator, at any rate to this extent that "in any case, this was not a black man's country." Even there the Administrator found out his fault and finally took refuge in the fact that what he meant by "a white man's country" was that "the white race was the dominant race and must rule and the Union Government laid it down that coloured men were excluded from the legislature." If there is any meaning at all in this quibble it is this; how narrow and selfish are the views and actions of the Colonials in framing their laws and how different they are from the noble and statesmanlike policy of the mother country in allowing any male of full age to represent an electorate of the House of Commons. We have had more than one instance of a black man being elected to represent an English constituency and it was found to their credit that they were never found wanting or lacked the confidence of their constituents. Look at this picture and that!

But the most interesting portion of the duel is the strong hit of the Doctor which should have made the Administrator blush for shame. The Doctor asked, "Why should a man who was not even born in this country say to me, who was born here, that this is a white man's country."

All that we could do under the circumstances is to pity the poor Administrator for his tactless behaviour in the combat.

The discussion referred to above was regarding an amendment to the General Dealers' Ordinance of 1914. Under the Ordinance general dealers who have been refused by a Municipality a removal permit may appeal to the Administrator; and, on several occasions the Municipalities have refused permits to move their licenses to other premises. In all these cases the Administrators' interference set matters right. But in cases of transfer of a business either by purchase or otherwise, the person effecting the transfer must apply to the Municipality for permission. If this permit is refused great injustice is done to the party, because he cannot sell the business as a going concern, but has to dispose of the stock by public auction. The object of the amendment was to secure the same privilege to the party by appealing to the Administrator as in the case of removals.

While refusing this privilege, the "Administrator appealed to the lowest prejudices of white men."

We publish below the full text of the controversy as published in the South African Press:—

When the General Dealers' and other Licenses (further) Amendment Draft Ordinance was under discussion in the Cape Provincial Council, Mr. Goodwin moved to insert the following words at the end of sub-clause (2) of clause (6): "Provided, however, that if any Council, Board or Magistrate refuse to grant a license to any such purchaser, he shall have the right of appeal to the Administrator, who may, if satisfied that no good reason has been given for refusing to grant such license, issue same to the purchaser."

The mover pointed out that at every fortnightly meeting of the Cape Town City Council applications for transfers by purchasers of businesses are refused without any reason whatever except that the applicant is an Asiatic. A very grave injustice was done to British subjects, who were law-abiding and rendering the Empire incalculable service at present. The Administrator, continued Mr. Goodwin, knew that in the case of removal permits a safeguard similar to that now proposed already existed. All he asked was that when an Indian thought he had been unjustly treated in the matter of transfers he should also have the right to appeal to the Administrator and his Executive.

The Administrator (Sir Frederic de Waal) said that local authorities had the power to refuse or grant licenses. Under certain powers which had been reserved to him and his Executive he had been able to see that justice was done in the matter of granting and refusing removal permits. He instanced cases where traders were told that they could not remove to other shops, and this left them at the mercy of landlords, who could put up the rent. The Act of 1908 did not anticipate such cases, but it did aim at a certain class of trader.

South Africa, he continued, was a white man's country, and it was their duty to guard against its being flooded with Asiatics. He was astounded to notice the number of Chinese traders in Port Elizabeth. The fruit trade in Cape Town was in the hands of another nationality. Asiatics were ousting the white traders. Indians were acting nobly in France. Nevertheless, the present was not the time to raise the question, and he could not accept the amendment.

Mr. Ginsberg thought appeals should be allowed in cases of transfers of licenses as well as removals.

Dr. Abdurahman said that two remarks of the Administrator's impelled him to speak, namely, "this is a white man's country," and "this is not the time to raise the Asiatic question."

"What," asked the Doctor, "did the Administrator mean by saying this is a white man's country?"

The Administrator: I will tell you.

Well, whatever the meaning the Administrator attached to the phrase, continued the doctor, it was unwise for anyone, let alone the Administrator, to make use of that expression without clearly and lucidly defining what it meant. He (the speaker) was born in this country, and resented strongly such a remark. He had never heard it used before.

The Administrator: You have heard it now.

Dr. Abdurahman: Yes, and I know now how it sounds. It goes deep down into my soul. Why should a man who was not even born in this country say to me, who was born here, that "this is a white man's country"?

The Administrator, continued the doctor, spoke of flooding the country with Asiatics. No one advocated that. It would be futile to do so in the face of the very stringent immigration law. But France was being flooded with Indians, and no questions were asked whether they would be desirables or undesirables in South Africa, as long as they could shoulder a rifle, thrust straight with a bayonet, and were prepared to shed their blood for their King and Country and the Empire. They were despatched in thousands to France, and received with open arms, while in South Africa they were persecuted. He could not conceive of a more fitting time than the present to show to India their gratitude for the noble services rendered by her sons in fighting in France for the Empire and Western civilization. The Council had before it an Ordinance which was causing grave injustice to Indians. That was the time to amend that Ordinance. The Administrator knew that he himself had to intervene on more than one occasion. He, the speaker, had been nine years in the Cape Town City Council, and instanced several cases of injustice which had occurred in the matter of transfers of licenses, simply because the applicants were Asiatics. When they had a Town Council such as they had, and he knew the Council well, it was time that the Administrator stepped in and interfered in the interests of a people whose brothers had proved themselves worthy. And if ever there was a time when it was possible to deal justly with a people who had shown

their worth it was the present. Let them show their gratitude to Indians, and grant them the right of appeal.

The Administrator, speaking somewhat heatedly, said the hon. member for Woodstock was young in the House, otherwise he would not have spoken as he did. It was a mistake to go into heroics and hysterics. It was absurd to say that he had never before heard that this country was called "a white man's country."

Dr. Abdurahman: Never in my presence.

The Administrator: What does it mean?

Dr. Abdurahman: I know now how it sounds.

Well, proceeded the Administrator, in any case this was not a black man's country. What he meant by a "white man's country" was that the white race was

the dominant race and must rule. The Union had laid it down that coloured men were excluded from the legislature—a principle with which he agreed whole-heartedly. The white race would not allow the black man a seat in the Union Parliament, and the hon. member who had the privilege of sitting in that Council should appreciate it. This was a white man's country—if it were not so he would pack his trunks and leave to-morrow. They had had enough of Liberia and Hayti, and they did not want such experiences here. They did not want to inflict injustice on Indians already here, but they did want to stop them coming here in millions to the detriment of the white man. The Asiatic question was fraught with grave danger, and the House was not in a mood to deal with it.

Round the Indian Empire.

BY POLITIQUE.

A bill has been recently introduced in the Governor-General's Council to revise in certain particulars and for supplementing the existing legislation in connection with the recruitment of labour for Assam. This subject has been under the consideration of the Government of India for some time and they were materially assisted in coming to a conclusion by the recommendations of the Assam Labour Inquiry Committee as well as by the suggestions of the planting interests affected by the legislation. In the absence of any authoritative representation made to Government on behalf of the labour force which is also equally concerned in the legislation, we have to take it that the Government Bill is the outcome of an even holding of the scales between the two commercial parties interested in the measure. The enactment at present governing this matter, namely, Act VI of 1901, has been found defective, among other minor particulars, in that it provides no safeguard against the practice of procuring labourers from Native States and thus affords opportunities for evasion of the statutory control of recruitment. The Bill, therefore, proposes certain amendments, so as to put the matter beyond doubt and also deals with two other matters relating to applications for, and cancellations of, Local Agents Licenses. Apart from this, the Bill contemplates further legislation in connection with the changes in the methods of recruitment and its supervision. The Government, in their Statement of Objects and Reasons, say:—

The changes in question are the abolition of recruitment by contractors and of the unsatisfactory mode of procedure provided by section 90 of the Act, and the extension of the system of sardari recruitment under the control of Local Agents. Legislation is required only in the case of the two first-named of these changes which are provided for by repealing the chapter and section in the present Act relating respectively to those forms of recruitment, namely, chapter III and section 90. A further object of the Bill is to provide for the creation of a Tea Labour Board, which will assist in the supervision of recruitment and in securing that it is carried on only on proper and sound lines. This purpose is intended to be achieved by the provisions of clause 5 of the Bill, which provides for the creation of a Board, on which Government and the Tea Industry will be represented.

We are afraid that the system of sardari recruitment is apt to unnecessarily restrict the freedom of the labourer, and is directly calculated to benefit the employer at the expense of the labourer. Under this system, greater pressure will be put upon the coolie to remain in the same garden for which he was originally recruited even after conditions there have ceased to satisfy him. In so far as the Tea Labour Board discharge their functions without fear or favour of the planting interests, they may be the channel of some good to the dumb labour population. But we are not encouraged to cherish this hope from the constitution provided for the Board.

A resolution defining the policy of the Government of India with regard to Local Self-Government was issued from Simla early this month. We had hoped that the delay made by the authorities in explaining their attitude towards this important question, would be compensated by a liberality of outlook and a large-hearted faith in the capacity of the people to assimilate progressive measures of Self-Government. But it is regrettable to find from a study of the resolution no sign of anxiety on the part of the Government to hasten administrative devolution or spread political education broadcast among the people. Lord Morley, in his Reforms Dispatch, urged that it was desirable "to present our reformed constitutional system as a whole," and remarked that "from this point of view it seems necessary to attempt without delay an effectual advance in the direction of Local Self-Government." This was written more than six years ago and the changes that have since taken place have had, judging from the resolution, no influence on the bureaucratic mind with respect either to the expediency of extending Local Self-Government earlier or making it touch more points in our polity. The Government, we are afraid, betray a nervous fear in charging District Councils with real powers of autonomous administration and on the whole seem to consider the policy to extend their functions in the way of Self-Government quite a leap in the dark at the present stage of the country's progress. Though the Government agree with the general principles laid down by the Decentralisation Commission and "see signs of vitality and growth" in Local Self-Government "on all sides," their policy as laid down in this, their latest resolution on the subject, is said to be framed in "a spirit of prudent boldness, calculating risks but not afraid to take them in the cause of progress," which means that the time is not yet arrived to place Local Self-Government in India beyond the peril of bureaucratic interference. In their general summary of the progress hitherto achieved, the Government note that the degree of success varies from province to province and from one part of a province to another, but they also remark that there is definite and satisfactory evidence of the growth of a feeling of good citizenship, particularly in the towns. The Government have, therefore, wisely decided to accept in almost every case the conclusion of the Local Governments or administration as to the degree of progress possible at the present time. This policy of the Government of India in withholding interference in local affairs of which they could have no satisfactory knowledge is, indeed, a step in the right direction. The Local Governments are left to do as they like, but in the absence of definite instructions to these as to the lines in which the latter should advance the cause of Local Self-Government in their respective areas, it is doubtful

whether these would give scope to the people to make much headway. This apprehension is not groundless. Invariably most of the local administrations whose opinion was consulted on the subject-matter of the resolution have expressed themselves less enthusiastic and more conservative, than circumstances would allow or the spirit of the Government would warrant. Where the Government of India are willing to follow the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission, the Local Governments have been unable to see eye to eye with them; in fact, the local administrations have varied from the conclusions of the Decentralisation Commission in several essential particulars. The Government are aware of the obstacles in the way of making great progress in the way of Local Self-Government: the smallness and inelasticity of local revenues, the difficulty of devising further forms of taxation, in some cases the apathy of the educated public towards Self-Government—all these are impediments in the way of development. But the Government of India have suggested no way out of the difficulty and the Local Governments are less likely to hestitate themselves than the confidence placed in them would appear to indicate.

The Government recognise that the line of development of Local Bodies lies in securing for them the elective principle in their composition, financial independence and freedom from official interference, so far as the carrying out of their legitimate functions are concerned. The resolution states with some fulness of detail the present drawbacks in the constitution and functions of Local Bodies, but we find it impossible to believe that these are inherent in the character of the people rather than in the system imposed on them. We consider it, therefore, out of place to suggest any note of caution in delegating powers to such non-official bodies and by a false reasoning scare ourselves into the belief that Local Bodies should still be spoon-fed. If the right conditions are created, as they should be, the right sort of persons will increasingly come forward to participate in Local Self Government. The Local Governments have, indeed, accepted to expand the electoral element in the constitution of Local Bodies, to leave them more or less freedom in the management of local funds and to restrict official interference to a minimum. While such relaxation is welcome, it must be said that the proposals do not amount to a radical change in the present position of Local Bodies, such as would ensure for them their full development. Seeing that Municipal Councils have attained a stage of growth when the official element can easily be dispensed with, it is a little surprising that Government should still hesitate to give effect to the step. The Decentralisation Commission recommended

that there should be a substantial elective majority and that nominated members should be limited to a number sufficient to provide for the due representation of minorities and official experience, and this has been approved of by the Government. Again, the position with regard to non-official Chairmen to these Councils is unsatisfactory. The question is left to be solved by the discretion of Local Governments and the Government lay down in halting terms that the change should be made gradually. Out of 695 Chairmen in India, we note that only 222 or less than a third, are elected non-officials, the rest being elected or nominated officials or nominated non-officials. It is only by a stretch of the imagination that one can say that what Government propose is the minimum of official interference in the working of these Local Bodies. The formation of Sub-District Boards in all Provinces was a primary condition of success of Local Board Administration, according to Lord Ripon and the Commission, as such Boards would be able to enlist the help of men of local knowledge and local influence. But the Government of India have allowed the Governments of the United Provinces and the Punjab and the Chief Commissioner of the N.-W. Frontier Province freedom to abstain from constituting such bodies. This step, needless to say, is not calculated to render the Administration of the District Boards efficient or widely popular. While the Commission suggested that District and Sub-District Boards should contain a large preponderance of elected members, just as in Municipalities, the Government of India have again agreed to allow Provincial Governments to do what they like. The resolution says:—

"In the United Provinces, the number of nominated members on a District Board cannot exceed one-third of the elected members, while in the Central Provinces the number of such members cannot exceed one-third of the total number. The Government of Madras are prepared to raise the proportion of elected members to two-thirds and one-half of the maximum strength on District and Sub District Boards, respectively. In Bombay, the Governor-in-Council regards it as inadvisable, in present conditions, to provide for an elected majority on the Boards. There is already a substantial majority of elected members both in District and Sub-District Boards in Bengal, and in Bihar and Orissa. In the Punjab, the elective system has been applied to many districts and the Local Government has expressed its readiness to extend it. The Chief Commissioner of Assam has adopted the principle of granting an elective majority. In the North-West Frontier Province, the change is not yet practicable owing to factional and tribal feeling. It will be seen that Local Governments in general are in sympathy with the Commission's proposals

The sympathy, if any, of Local Governments referred to in the above passage is very much watered. Real Local Self-Government would have been secured, if the Government had laid down that no official should stand for election to these Rural Boards, and that these should have non-official Chairmen. As it is, the inevitable official Chairmen that dominate these Rural and District Boards are not calculated to create the conditions that will give the "political education", which it is the aim of the Government to impart to the people. Again, with regard to powers of local taxation and the management of local funds, these Rural Boards are still to remain in the leading strings of the Local Governments. No substantial progress towards Local Self-Government can be attained unless these Boards are allowed to spend the money they raise. On the whole, it must be remarked that the policy of the Government with regard to this important branch of Local Self-government is extremely narrow and where they have shown a little liberality, the Local Governments are blindly allowed to discount its value in practice.

Perhaps the most unsatisfactory part of the resolution dealing with Local Self-Government is that which relates to village organisations. In any proper devolution of authority, the most compact and least extensive area would naturally form the unit of administration—in India, the village has been long recognised as starting the chain of administration. Agreeably to this view, the Decentralisation Commission recommended the constitution and development of village panchayats with power to try petty civil and criminal cases. This was endorsed by the Government of India, who even went so far as to express their readiness to acquiesce in some form of permissive taxation, if need be, resorted to by these village panchayats. Nothing is better calculated to interest the people in the communal affairs of the village than their participation in their management, nothing would train them in methods of Local Self-Government so well as the institution of village panchayats. But the bureaucracy cannot brook such a large rent in its shroud and now we read in the resolution that "practical difficulties are felt to be very great in many parts of India."

Thus, the Government of Burma and the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces deprecate the introduction of a system which, in their judgment, is alien to the customs of the people, and will not command public confidence. Other Governments are willing to experiment but on different lines. The Punjab Government has already established Panchayats for civil cases only and of a voluntary character. Sir Leslie Porter, when officiating as Lieutenant-Governor of the

United Provinces, expressed his willingness to entrust selected panchayats with criminal as well as civil jurisdiction. The Madras Government are desirous of experimenting in the establishment of Panchayats, but consider that action should be confined for the present to the encouragement of voluntary self-contained organisms independent of statutory sanction and consisting of village elders conferring together for common village purposes. So far as judicial functions are concerned, they are content to rely on the provisions of the Madras Village Panchayats Regulation, 1878, and the Madras Village Courts Act, 1888, which authorise the assembling of Panchayats and the convening of Village Bench-Courts for the settlement of particular Civil suits on the application of the parties and to encourage the operation of these enactments wherever practicable. The Governments of Bengal and of Behar and Orissa are of opinion that their existing laws sufficiently provide for the establishment of Panchayats with administrative duties, while powers to dispose of Criminal cases could be given under the Existing Acts dealing with these matters. The Chief Commissioner of Assam has expressed his readiness to develop Village Government, and the Local Self-Government Bill, which has recently passed the Legislative Council of that Province permits the constitution of village authorities, the grant of funds by Local Boards and from other sources, and the delegation of minor powers of Local Control.

It would appear from these statements of Local Governments, that the panchayat system is still to be regarded as an experimental measure. The panchayat form of managing local affairs has taken deep root in India and the authorities should experience no difficulty in initiating the system. We fail to find the significance therefore, of the caution expressed by the Government with regard to this matter. The Government lay down the following pious lines on which advance may be made, and their adoption is left to the discretion of Local administrations:—

(1) The experiments should be made in selected villages or areas larger than a village where the people in general agree.

(2) Legislation, where necessary, should be permissive and general. The powers and duties of Panchayats, whether administrative or judicial, need not and, indeed, should not be identical in every village.

(3) In areas where it is considered desirable to confer judicial as well as administrative functions upon panchayats the same body should exercise both functions.

(4) Existing Village Administrative Committees, such as Village Sanitation and Education Committees should

be merged in the Village Panchayats where these are established.

(5) The jurisdiction of Panchayats in judicial cases should ordinarily be permissive, but in order to provide inducement to litigants reasonable facilities might be allowed to persons wishing to have their cases decided by Panchayats. For instance, court-fees, if levied, should be small, technicalities, in procedure should be avoided and possibly a speedier execution of decrees permitted.

(6) Powers of permissive taxation may be conferred on panchayats, where desired, subject to the control of the Local Government or Administration, but the development of the panchayat system should not be prejudiced by an excessive association with taxation.

(7) The relations of panchayats on the administrative side with other administrative bodies should be clearly defined. If they are financed by district or sub-District Boards, there can be no objection to some supervision by such Boards.

In the end, we must express our bitter disappointment in the resolution. The admission of cynical ignorance on the part of the Government of India in the conduct of certain affairs where the Local Governments conceivably might be better informed, need not have, in our opinion, deterred them from enunciating a definite policy of advance in Local Self-Government, to be followed by Local administrations. Knowing as the Government do, the narrow views that are sometimes held by the Local Governments with regard to this problem, they ought to have solved it at one bound. On the other hand, they have left the whole matter to the caprice of the minor deities, from whom, according to the time honoured custom, no mercies will flow.

The *Modern Review* for April contains an interesting note written by the Editor, on "Misleading Educational Statistics and Assumptions," which deserves more than passing notice. The writer proves that the fixing of the population of school-going age at 15 per cent. of the total population is "arbitrary and is an obvious under estimate," by a comparative test of similar figures from other countries. In the United States of America we find the proportion generally varying from 20 to 27.28 per cent. and in only one case has an exception been noted—namely, an enrolment below 15 per cent. Again, "the latest statistics of elementary schools available for Norway pertain to the year 1909, at which time the enrolment was equivalent to 15.6 per cent. of the population." The percentage of the total population receiving

elementary education is in Austria 15.80, the German Empire 16.80, England and Wales 16.84, Scotland 17.74, Ireland 16.16, Holland 15.42, Cape of Good Hope 15.66, Natal 16.53, Alberta (Canada) 16.53, British Columbia 15.10, Manitoba 15.17, New Brunswick 19.66, Nova Scotia 21.12, Ontario 18.22, Quebec 21.13, New South Wales 15.13, Queensland 16.91, Victoria 17.86, New Zealand 1.77, and British India 1.89. These figures, which, it should be borne in mind, relate only to pupils in the elementary grade, are generally of the year 1911; none are later than 1912-13. Since then further progress must have been made. Among European countries the most backward is Russia; it is partly Asiatic. Its percentage for the elementary grade is 8.77. Among the large South American countries the percentage of Brazil is the lowest, being 2.96. But education is more widely spread even in these countries than in India. The figure for Japan, 1910-11, is 13.16, for elementary education alone. Marked progress has been made since then.

We agree, therefore, in thinking with the Editor that the Indian Education Department greatly underestimates the possible maximum of persons who may be under instruction in assuming it to be only 15 per cent. of the total population. Such assumption, it is to be feared, will lead to an easy self-satisfaction, on the part of the authorities with regard to the facilities provided for education in the country. As the Editor of the *Modern Review* states, the "underestimate, by the Education Department, of the possible maximum of scholars, enables it to feel and show that it is doing its duty by the people to a much greater extent than is really the case. It may thus be the cause of lukewarmness in the cause of education." Evidently, there is ample proof of the "lukewarmness" of Government in their persistent refusal to advance the claims of primary education broadcast in the country.

The Seventeenth Bombay Provincial Conference passed an important resolution urging upon the Government of Bombay to represent to the Government of India the urgent necessity of putting down the practice of the supply in and out of India of labour under a system of statutory indenture in any shape or form, as, in the words of the resolution, the system virtually continues slavery under legal cover and entails terrible suffering and misery and leads to the debasement of human nature. We are glad that the Bombay Provincial Conference has also added the weight of its opinion against a practice which has been roundly abused as subverting the very foundations of individual liberty and national morality. The mover of the resolution, Mr. Javadekar, who spoke in Marathi, laid special stress on indentured labour in India, particularly that of

Assam. He quoted a passage from the report of the Commissioner of Labour, wherein that authority is stated to have described in piteous terms of the indentured labourer as one "who was to be sold to one whom he knew not." The position is, as Mr. Javadekar said, as if the labourer were a 'thing and not a person.' Such a trade in the commodity 'man' was being carried for sixty years in British India. Mr. Javadekar said that some persons might object that the indentured labourer was not a slave, for he entered into the contract of his own free will. But the objection, the speaker rightly thought, did not stand to reason, for an Act of the Government had laid down the rates of pay which ranged from Rs. 4 to Rs. 6 and the speaker could not believe that a labourer from the United Provinces or the Central Provinces would go to Assam of his free choice to work almost as a slave for the meagre pittance of four or six rupees, when as one Commissioner said, those Provinces had to complain of lack of adequate labour supply. Incidentally, Mr. Javadekar observed that even that meagre pay did not always fully reach the hands of the labourer. He described the indignity of the 'depot' system and the evils attendant upon promiscuous intermarriages among indentured labourers. He, moreover, stated on authority that in some cases the Government officials whose duty it was to protect the interests of the labourers, were as it were in league with the agents or planters and that the labourer did not sometimes obtain justice. It is high time that such abuses are removed and it is not a little surprising that the authorities, knowing the evils, should shut their eyes to the remedies proposed to remove them. This is a question which can be solved with the co-operation of Government alone, as powerful interests and some deep moral issues are involved in the matter. We hope that the voice of the Bombay Conference will be heard and that the authorities concerned will move in the matter.

The report of the Bombay Millowners' Association for the year 1914 contains an interesting record of the growth of the cotton industry in India, particularly in the Island of Bombay, as well as certain general observations regarding the future policy that the Government of India should follow towards indigenous industries. Taking the last point first, there is a general feeling of distrust in the strength of Government not to subordinate the claims of India before those of the powerful interests of the United Kingdom. This feeling finds strong expression in the report of the Millowners and is further accentuated by the recent restrictions imposed by the

Government on the cotton industry consequent on the war. The chemicals and dyes employed in the cotton industry were used to be imported from Germany, but when this source of supply was cut off, the report says that "it is a matter of regret that the many limitations and restrictions which the Home Government have by proclamation placed on the raw materials for use by cotton manufacturers in India have greatly hampered and are still hampering the industry," though the Report admits that all that prudence and business foresight could suggest was done. The Committee of the Association have wisely refrained at this stage from making any representation on the matter to Government, but they recognise the prejudicial effects of the embargo which, though disguised, is in reality a protective measure for the benefit of the cotton manufacturers of the United Kingdom. The report, thereafter, cryptically adds: "Fiscal autonomy for India has become inevitable. For it is only by such autonomy that staple Indian industries, of which cotton is not the least, can have free and full play." We are firmly convinced that indigenous industries should be developed, but it is an open question whether a change in the policy of the Government is all that is necessary in this

direction. The question of fiscal autonomy for India is a large question and cannot be argued from the interests of a single industry such as cotton or any other product of manufacture, but the report starts a line of economic thought which should receive increasing attention from our hands after the conclusion of the war. We are glad to note that the cotton industry has stood the crisis of the recent bank failures and the more recent unhappy conditions brought about by the war. In this connection it is remarked that "it is a source of gratification that all through the crisis the cotton industry was carried on with a calmness, courage and a spirit of hopefulness which have demonstrated its inherent soundness in spite of the unprecedented depression and the many economic difficulties caused by the war in all parts of the world." More than a third share of the cotton industry of India is concentrated in Bombay and the vigilant watchfulness with which the interests of the industry are looked after by the Bombay Millowners' Association, of which the report under review affords ample evidence, is a pleasing fact to every patriotic Indian. The proportion and growth of the industry in Bombay and in India respectively are shown by the following figures compiled from the Report:—

Year ending 30th June.					BOMBAY ISLAND.			ALL-INDIA.		
					Number of Mills.	Number of Spindles.	Number of Looms.	Number of Mills.	Number of Spindles.	Number of Looms.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1897	75	2,187,425	21,287	173	4,065,618	37,584				
1898	82	2,228,982	21,879	185	4,259,720	38,018				
1899	82	2,410,861	22,209	188	4,728,333	39,069				
1900	82	2,586,891	22,215	193	4,945,788	40,124				
1901	81	2,571,092	22,414	193	5,006,985	41,180				
1902	80	2,523,769	22,845	192	5,006,965	42,584				
1903	80	2,533,382	23,125	192	5,043,297	44,092				
1904	79	2,581,280	24,136	191	5,118,121	45,337				
1905	81	2,560,916	24,073	197	5,163,486	50,139				
1906	84	2,614,323	24,778	217	5,273,595	52,668				
1907	85	2,613,483	24,982	224	5,333,275	58,436				
1908	86	2,734,688	25,967	241	5,756,020	67,920				
1909	89	2,800,345	26,264	259	6,053,231	76,898				
1910	89	2,824,046	26,931	263	6,195,671	82,725				
1911	87	2,890,590	27,467	263	6,357,460	85,852				
1912	86	2,885,452	28,388	268	6,463,929	88,951				
1913	90	2,925,968	28,250	272	6,596,862	94,136				
1914 (Year ending 31st August) ...	85	3,009,172	28,845	271	6,778,895	1,04,179				

GENERAL ARTICLES.

A WORD WITH YOUNG INDIA.

By PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY.

THE following address was delivered by Professor Gilbert Murray at an evening party arranged by the Indian Hospitality Committee, and held (by kind permission of Earl Brassey) at 24, Park Lane, on Friday March, 12, under the presidency of the Lord Chancellor.

My task to-night is anything but an easy one. I wish to speak to one half of my audience only, though I am more than pleased that the other half should overhear all I say. I want to speak to the Indian students, and to speak to them as frankly as possible.

It would be easy and very pleasant to expatiate on the achievements of the Indian troops in the war and the loyalty shown by the Indian people to the Empire. But I know that, if I did so, some Indians would be tempted to smile sardonically, and suspect that we have taken this loyalty too much as our due, as a mere testimonial to our good Government. "We are loyal," an Indian friend of mine once said to me, "but our loyalty is to India, not England." He spoke only for himself, and I do not feel sure he was right, even for himself.

THE BOND BETWEEN INDIA AND ENGLAND.

Loyalty is not a thing that is owed. It is a thing that grows, or does not grow. When people have been comrades and worked together for a long time—even with quarrels, there rises normally among decent human beings a bond of trust—a mutual expectation. Now, I believe that between India and England that bond exists. We have had a long experience together and, mostly, we have not failed one another. In your times of need, in plague or famine, you confidently expect us to help, and you find even our roughest subalterns and haughtiest officials working their fingers to the bone to help your people. In our times of need—well, you have not often had the full chance of showing what you could do. It is one of your grievances, and one with which I warmly sympathise. But now, when we are threatened to our very life, you have helped. You have given us more than we ever dared expect. That message of the Indian kings and princes which Mr. Roberts read out in the House of Commons will not easily be forgotten.

We shall, I believe, win this war. India will share our glory. The same battles will be emblazoned on the banners of Indian and British regiments. But as you share our glory, you will share our dangers—and it

is a time of extreme gravity that fronts us when we look into the future. Before the war we were disturbed by an uncertain and treacherous neighbour. After the war we shall have a deadly enemy. It seems to me that the irony of history has been at work with Great Britain. As a nation we emphatically believe in peace. We are a people of traders and manufacturers who live by peace. Our ideals and philosophies are all peaceful. Yet here we stand in the centre of an enormous war. Again we believe in freedom, democracy, government by consent. We have largely been the teachers of those ideals to the world. And here we have climbed or slipped, steered or drifted, into the administration of a vast empire where we are governing dozens of other races by a system imposed from without and not dependent on the consent of the governed. No doubt we govern well. Some of you will have criticisms to make, but on the whole most people admit that we bring to the art of Government unrivalled experience and a great tradition of public spirit. But, granted that we govern well, we are still governing from outside, not by means of free institutions and not in the spirit that we normally consider British. And more, we do not see—I believe no one in the world sees—how any other method of Government is possible, except, indeed, as a goal to work towards by progressive and careful change. That was the policy laid down by the Liberal statesmen of the nineteenth century, and to that I hope we shall always hold.

WHAT IS THE END TO BE?

What is the end to be? Not now, but hereafter, when you and I are in our grave to east or west of the great ocean, and the disputes, and grievances, and schemes of policy that divided us are forgotten or remembered as curious puzzles for future historians to make sense of. Is the great Empire—I wish there was another word for it—of which you and I are part, for which your brothers and mine are shedding their blood together in Flanders, in Egypt, on the shores of the Persian Gulf, to grow to be, indeed, a Commonwealth, the greatest community of free men and women that the world has seen? Or is it to fail, to end in bloodshed and ruin? Or, again, to establish and stereotype itself as one more in the great world list of despotic empires, Babylon, Egypt, Rome, Byzantium, which have sometimes lasted so long and passed away so unregretted?

That is the problem on which you and we are set. Neither of us can reject it. From the ends of the earth, two utterly different civilisations, which yet were closely akin thousands of years ago, have been caught again by the process of world history and set together to this enormous task. Of course, we may cut the problem: we may rush upon failure by mere fratricide.

We may shirk it by abandoning our deepest ideals. We may, by great labour and heroic patience, by constant hard thinking and facing of facts, solve it successfully by building up the great Commonwealth of which I spoke.

DIFFICULTIES AND DIFFERENCES.

I do not underrate the difficulties that lie before us, or the differences that separate us. One of them was brought home to me suddenly and vividly sometime ago. There was a meeting to discuss our Government's policy in Persia; one speaker, defending the Government, suggested that our ministers knowing that Germany was ready to spring at the throat of her rivals at the first sign of difference between them, thought the disintegration of Persia not too high a price to pay for European peace. The plea was, I will not say accepted, but considered reasonable by the meeting. Then there rose an Indian—not a Parsee. He spoke quietly, not like a foreigner or one speaking a language strange to him. He seemed essentially one of us. And with an emotion that vibrated through the room he said that to him and his European peace was as dust in the balance compared with the disintegration of Persia. Many of those who applauded him must have done so with a certain sense of guilt, a feeling that Persia had been to them a remote, unknown, half-civilised place, which might, in a great crisis, be legitimately sacrificed to the peace of Europe. We must try to feel as an Indian would about such things as this; or at least to understand how he would feel.

We shall have clashes of that sort, arising chiefly from facts of geography. We shall have interminable clashes of habit and national character; clashes of sentiment. An instance is our present war with Turkey. There has been a strain there, and both sides have met it with great forbearance. Indian Moslems have to look on while we batter down the door of a great Moslem Empire.

We, because of our relations to you, have stood a great deal more from Turkey than we should naturally be inclined to stand. Yes: as the Germans have pointed out, there are between you and us the seeds of disunion. Of course there are, any one can see them. But there are seeds of brotherhood as well. And it does not follow that bad seeds need grow more than other seeds. There is no nation so uniform, no small society, no band of friends, which has not seeds of disunion in it. It rests with men themselves, with their good-will and strength of character, whether amid the million seeds which life scatters one kind or another come to maturity. We must see to it that the seeds of disunion die while the others ripen.

THE NEED FOR TOLERATION.

Again, we shall have clashes arising out of our differences of religion. The situation needs toleration, forbearance; yes, but it needs more than that. It needs active, mutual appreciation. If Christian and Moslem, Christian and Hindu, are to form a real Commonwealth, it is not enough for one of them to say of the others: "Such and such is a good fellow in spite of his religion." You must see that he is good because of his religion. There is some inherent religious quality, some piety, or devotion, which comes out in one religion as in another and deserves respect. There are, doubtless, also some special qualities which are fostered specially by each separate religion. I speak from a point of view which some of you will share, some not; though I have heard a missionary say nearly as much. To me it seems to the last degree improbable that any one religion, or any one form of culture, has the monopoly of truth, and I expect Christianity would be improved by contact and comparison of thought with other great religions.

And, further, if this is true in religion, it must be true also in civilisation. Look at any single civilisation as it now exists. Look at it with plenty of common sense, but also a little imagination. England's is a fine civilisation, it is both stable and progressive. Every department of it, if you ask the experts, is improving. Yet look through England. Go to the hotels, and boarding-houses and notice the people you see: walk the streets of the great manufacturing towns: go to the places of amusement, the theatres and music-halls, and observe the audiences. Is it a civilisation with which one can feel content? Is it a civilisation to impose, untempered, upon the world? And your own civilisation? I will not be impolite to it, I will leave you yourselves to think it over, to ask if it is satisfactory, if it is free from characteristics that fill you with discouragement and even some sense of shame, if it can possibly hold up its head as an equal among the great moving forces of the modern world except by drawing abundantly on the enlightenment of the West.

I do not know what your various answers will be. But for my own part I believe that the true development of this vast heterogeneous mass of strong life, which we call the British Empire, will involve utilising all the different elements and contributions which our various races and societies can bring to the common stock. The process is already going on. It lies with us to make it into a good process or a bad. It is very easy to choose the bad and cheap and vulgar things in each other's habits. The way to do that is to begin by despising each other and looking out for the contemptible things. If we respect one another we shall tend more to notice and cultivate what is good.

MR. GOKHALE AND LORD HALDANE.

One great permanent difficulty—you see all my speech is made up of difficulties—is the vastness and variety of our respective nations. Many a time it must happen that an Englishman and Indian, talking as friends over their national differences, feel that if the matter lay with them, if they, too, were their respective nations, it would not be hard to come to an understanding. But behind each is a trail of innumerable human beings, utterly unlike the two supposed principals. I can think of many pairs of sensible people who would do for my purpose; several statesmen, a great many writers and historians. But imagine, for example, Lord Haldane and the late Mr. Gokhale. Clearly they would understand each other; they might or might not agree on some special point, but the basis of common action and agreement and mutual respect would be there. But as you look at England, doubtless you see behind Lord Haldane masses of people less understanding and less sympathetic, cheerful, ignorant subalterns, common soldiers who talk contemptuously about "black men;" determined old gentlemen, most falsely called "imperialists," who cry out that India was taken by the sword and must be held by the sword. You see in your indignant imagination the squalid crowds that reel out of our public-houses and music-halls and race-courses, and ask with secret rage if these are your born masters; if these are the people who claim by blood and birth and colour to be your inherent superiors! Is that overstated? No; I think not. Though we must always remember in a well-ordered, modern State how little the baser elements of a population direct its policy. But there they are. And on the other side, behind Mr. Gokhale? You can imagine better than I can describe the extraordinary combination of peoples, of different habits and ethics, different religions and superstitions, different levels of culture from almost the highest to the lowest. "One nation governing another" put at its crudest, such a principle implies putting the whole of one of these vast incoherent heterogeneous masses on top of the other to govern it. Any such process would be clearly wrong. It is a principle which even the stoutest old-fashioned Imperialist has abandoned. The only possible plan is by one method or another, to select out of both masses those capable of governing best and of best understanding and learning from one another.

For the rest, we, in our home politics, have a large task before us in levelling up the conditions of our poorer classes to something worthier of our place in the world, in material conditions, in education, in outlook on the whole of life. Our task will be heavy; but a task of the same character lies before you, and yours will be colossal. You have a far larger field to plough;

you have to cut your way through a far deeper and wilder jungle. To raise the level of life in Great Britain; to raise the level of life in India; the more they are both raised to the level of their best people, the more they will be ready to understand and help one another, the more all the unnecessary difficulties between the two parties will tend to disappear.

DEVOTION TO "THE MOTHER."

Bande Mataram. I attended lately an Indian dinner, where that motto met one's eye at every turn. You will work in devotion to your Mother. It is well that you should. And no one who knows you can doubt that you have among you the spirit of martyrs. That is a fine thing in some emergencies of life; an indispensable thing. But there is something far finer, and that is the spirit of a statesman. A martyr sacrifices himself rather than be false to some principle. A statesman, without thinking of himself one way or another, when he finds some evil or dangerous state of affairs, seeks how to make it safe or good. Let us serve our Mothers, you yours and we ours, as far as we can in the spirit of statesman.

But is there not—I put this question quite practically—a greater Mother, whose children we all are, whose day is coming but not yet come? Cannot you and we work together in the service of this Greater Commonwealth, which is also the service of humanity? We must be together. I can see no future for an isolated India; no happy future for a Great Britain which is content to boast that she holds India merely by the sword. Working together we have formidable obstacles to face, but we have wonderful and unique gifts to contribute. Nations are apt to see vividly enough one another's faults, but they would do better to remember, as J. S. Mill puts it, their "reciprocal superiorities." I will not try now to define them. My own respect for England—if for the moment I may speak as one who has hardly any English blood in his veins, being an Australian—Irishman of Scotch descent—has grown steadily with experience. But I will not dwell on the special virtues of England nor yet on those of India, on your wonderful intellectual aptitude and readiness for the thought; on your people's characteristic aloofness from the vulgarity of modern Western life, on the qualities shown in your Moslem architecture, your Hindu religious thought.

A NOTE OF CAUTION.

But here I would venture, if I may, to suggest a caution. Some writers, I know, hold up for your admiration and example that famous episode in the *Bhagavata* in which even the noise of battle has to wait unregarded, while the stream of philosophic thinking runs its course. That spirit is a fine element in life;

but, if I may for once give advice, I will say : Beware of letting it be more than an element. To an Indian who wishes to make India great I would say : Beware of losing yourself in reverie, while others are fighting the battles of life. Beware altogether of dreams and dreamlike passions. Face facts ; get knowledge ; cultivate common sense ; learn to trust and be trusted ; serve your community. Do not lose yourselves in admiration of your own past or your own racial peculiarities ; think of your future, and be not afraid to uproot from your culture every element which prevents India taking her place among free and progressive nations.

You need never be afraid that your own special qualities will not remain and exercise their valuable influence on the world. You will teach us and we you. And other nations will be near bringing their help and their lessons. America is not far off, with her generous swiftness of movement and her loving kindness towards all in suffering ; not very far, perhaps, even our present enemies with their great powers of discipline, of self-devotion and of remorseless effectiveness. Let us preserve our national characters. Let us use our feelings of patriotism and nationalism to inspire us and to give strength to our hands ; but at the back of our minds let us always remember our wider Commonwealth, our Greater Mother, and think of the time when we brother nations may bring our various gifts to her feet and say together our "Bande Mataram.—India."

INDIA AFTER THE WAR, FROM THE ECONOMIC STANDPOINT.

By SIR DANIEL M. HAMILTON.

THE following are extracts from the speech of Sir Daniel M. Hamilton delivered recently before the East India Association, London :—

Speaking in the House of Commons on November 26th last, Mr. Roberts, Under-Secretary for India, made the following remark :—

"It was premature to attempt to anticipate the consequences that might follow from the striking and historic event—the participation of India in force in the world war of the Empire. The results would not be fully seen until the war was over. But it was clear that India claimed to be not a mere dependent of, but a partner in, the Empire, and her partnership with us in spirit and on the battlefields could not but alter the angle from which we should all henceforward look at the problems of the Government of India."

ECONOMIC FREEDOM.

Now, I do not know what may be in the mind of Mr. Roberts, but what I am going to suggest this afternoon

for your consideration is, whether, after the war is over, the Government of India might be given economic independence—freedom from the control of the Secretary of State in financial and economic affairs, with a view to the training of India for political independence, ultimately, within the Empire. I place economic freedom first, because economics are solid food, wheat and rice, whereas politics are chiefly chaff. I hope, then, that when Mr. Roberts views India from a different angle after the war, he will fix one eye, and that the better of the two, on the economic side of Indian life, for upon the strength of the economic base depends the strength of the political structure. And I may say that one of the objects which I have had in view in penning this paper is, to enlist the interest of the young men of India who are resident in London in economic questions affecting India, in the hope that they will follow the lead of that master of Indian economics, Mr. Gokhale, and the young men in Bombay who form the Friends of India Society.

UNITY AND A BANKING SYSTEM.

What is it, then, that Mr. Gokhale's young men are doing ? They are helping to rebuild India, by creating what are among the greatest of India's needs—*viz.*, UNITY AND A BANKING SYSTEM FOR THE PEOPLE ; and to destroy what are among the greatest stumbling-blocks in the path of India's progress—*viz.*, the SEPARATENESS OF THE PEOPLE AND THE POWER OF THE MAHAJAN. And how are they doing it ? By training the people among whom they are working—*viz.*, the mill-hands and the depressed classes of Bombay, in co-operative methods and co-operative finance. So good has been their work that the interest on the small loans required by the people has been reduced from 75 and 150 per cent. to 18½ per cent. Now, these poor people in Bombay are more or less typical of the great bulk of the people of India. Financial bondage means spiritual bondage, and spiritual bondage is incompatible with political freedom. Financial freedom, must therefore, of necessity, precede political freedom, and for this reason I would suggest that if any changes in the existing relations between the Secretary of State and the Government of India are in contemplation, precedence be given to economics.

THE MAHAJAN'S GRIP.

Now, while the blessings of British rule have been many and great, and will, I doubt not, be greater still in the future, the improvement in the economic condition of the people has not been as great as one might have expected after 150 years of British rule. The explanation of this is that the beneficent rule of the Government is destroyed, largely, by the power of the Mahajan, and when I speak of the Mahajan, I should

like you to understand it is not so much the individual I refer to as the system he represents. India is in the Mahajan's grip. That grip is on the throat of the people, and until it is relaxed India will not breathe the breadth of life and freedom.

How do I gauge the prosperity of the people, and how do I know that their economic progress is not what it might have been ? I do so by an infallible economic test—that of the rate of interest payable by the people when they want to borrow, as they always do. The other evening I was reading Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations." There I found this written :

"In Bengal money is frequently lent to farmers at 40, 50, and 60 per cent., and the succeeding crop is mortgaged for the payment. As the profits which can afford such an interest must eat up almost the whole rent of the landlord, so such enormous usury must in its turn eat up the greater part of the profits."

That was written 138 years ago, and that is the condition of things in Bengal to-day. I speak from personal knowledge, for that was the rate of interest payable by the people on my property in Bengal until lately, when I turned the Mahajan out of my place in the Sunderbans. The same rate holds good on the other side of India, and there, too, I speak from personal knowledge. The rate of interest is a sure index of the solvency of a people, and the rates prevalent over the greater part of India to-day are clear proof that the economic condition of the people is not what it might be, and the man mainly responsible is that irresponsible ruler of India, the Mahajan.

How, then, is the power of the Mahajan to be broken ? There is only one proved way of doing it and that is by introducing into the life of India a still stronger power—*viz.*, the spirit of unity.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

Well, a beginning, and an excellent beginning, has been made by Government in the creation of that spirit of unity without which freedom of any kind is an idle dream. With the passing of the Co-operative Credit Societies Act of 1904, the spirit began to move on the face of the waters, and the blighting shadow of the Mahajan began to lift.

I want you specially to notice how many of the problems which have baffled Government from the beginning are being solved by the spirit of unity working among the people, and without any expense to Government excepting the salaries of the co-operative staff. These are some of them : the famine problem, the financing of the people, the drink problem, primary education, medicine, sanitation, police, litigation ; and to these I would add that other pressing problem, well irrigation, while the song

and the Bhajan have drowned the discord of the Mahajan.

Those are the fruits of the Spirit of Unity, and the opposite are the fruits of the Mahajan's garden—*viz.*, famine, suffering of men and cattle, insolvency, illiteracy, ill-health, insanitation, drunkenness, gambling, extravagance, want of irrigation, and want of growth, spiritual, moral, political and material.

MEN, MORE MEN.

I have said that an excellent beginning has been made in the development of the co-operative spirit, but it is still only a beginning. The cry of India is the cry of the trenches—"Men, more men." All over India the Mahajan is still strongly entrenched behind his silver heaps, and he must be dug out. Of the 7,50,000 villages of India which are calling for help, only 12,000 have yet been entered. Why ? Because Government is waiting for honorary workers who do not come. But India cannot wait ; she has waited far too long already. Russia has organized co-operative credit for 40,000,000 of her people, including their families, mainly within the last five years. India, with only 4,000,000 lags far behind. The Russian co-operative credit societies have at their command £ 63,000,000 of capital ; the Indian about £ 4,000,000. When will India catch up ? As regards honorary workers, hear what Sir Horace Plunkett, the Irish co-operative leader, wrote the other day :

"The pioneers could do all that was required in its early stages. We were then dealing more with principles than with practical details. We had to get public opinion to support the co-operative principle in agriculture. Now the main work is the application of the principle to the actual business of the people, and only trained professional organizers can do this."

INDIA'S FINANCIAL BATTLE FIELDS.

By all means let us have all the honorary workers we can get for this great work, and all honor to those who come forward ; but honorary workers will never organize the finances of 315,000,000 people. A work of this magnitude can only be done by Government. While squaring its own accounts, Government ought also to show the people how to square theirs. While Government borrows at 4 per cent. for itself, it ought not to leave the people who are dependent upon it to pay 40 per cent. as they did in the days of Adam Smith. Finance Ministers come and go, but the 40 per cent. remains, and until the gulf between the 40 per cent. and the 4 per cent. is bridged by a banking system, the people cannot pass from poverty to plenty, but will remain what they now are—the dependents of Government whenever the rains fail. On the battlefields of Europe, India has shown her loyalty to the Empire ;

but India, too, has her battlefields, and the Empire can best show its loyalty to India by helping her on that financial field on which so many of her sons still struggle and fall. The help that India wants will cost the Empire nothing. India will pay her own way. All she asks for is a banking system for the people, and an increased co-operative staff—an enlarged Servants of India Society composed of picked men with a talent for finance—men who will work with a single eye for the advancement of their country, and who will not enter the service only for the sake of an appointment. If you allot 100 villages to each of these young men, 7,000 will ultimately be wanted—7,000 preachers of unity and co-operation, 7,000 Indian Empire builders. An increase of 1,000 yearly will take seven years to complete the staff; therefore the sooner the increase begins, the better for India.

What salary ought these young men to have? One in keeping with the quality and training of the men. If we assume an average of £200 a year, this would mean £200,000 to begin with, and £1,400,000 ultimately. Where is the money to come from? Great Britain is spending a million and a half *a day* for destructive purposes—for destroying the enemy of the race—Prussian militarism. Can India not afford a million and a half *a year* for constructive purposes, for destroying the enemy of India—the Mahajan? The rural debt of India is estimated at £250,000,000 sterling. A saving of even 10 per cent. on this would be £25,000,000 a year. Would this not be a good return on the investment? The cost would later be passed on to the villages, and the villages would gladly pay, for it would be only Rs. 2.8 a month. To begin with, however, Government would have to find the money, and I shall now show you where the money for this and a great deal more is to be found without additional cost to the Government or the people.

CURRENCY PROFITS.

The money to pay the salaries of the enlarged co-operative credit department, and for a good deal more besides, is to be had from the profit, coined and uncoined, on the currency. Twenty-five million pounds sterling have already accumulated and are lying in the Bank of England and in the vaults of the Government of India. Up till now it has been considered necessary to keep this large stock of gold handy in order to pay off an adverse trade balance which occurs once in ten or fifteen years in times of stress like the present, or in famine when India cannot pay her debt in produce. The war has, however, taught us the value of good paper money, and that the credit of the State is more powerful than gold or silver. Therefore, instead of keeping this large stock of gold lying more or less idle for the purpose mentioned, India may pay her very

occasional trade debt with gold Treasury bills at sixteen pence per rupee plus interest, the bills being redeemed in gold after the trade balance turns in India's favour, as it always does when the bad time is over. India's occasional adverse balance ought to be treated simply as a temporary overdraft to a valuable client who can be trusted to pay it off in gold very shortly. At the present moment the British Government has £100,000,000 of Treasury bills afloat, and how many millions the other nations have I do not know; but I know that India's Treasury bills would be better than all others in this respect—that they would be paid off in gold within a very short time, whereas, it is doubtful if those of other nations will ever be paid off at all. More than likely they will become part of their permanent debt.

To hold up £25,000,000 sterling for all time as security against a deficit of only one-third of that sum, which may or may not occur once in ten or fifteen years, is not good business. The wholesale locking-up of the money received for India's produce, against a fall in exchange which need never occur, besides being unfair to India, is financially unsound and economically wasteful, and ought now to give way to more modern finance.

PAPER MONEY.

In utilizing the gold reserves, however, I do not propose to waste the money by issuing it in the form of gold currency in India. What I propose to do is to leave the gold where it is, and to issue paper money against it, and to use the paper money in paying the salaries of the increased co-operative staff—that is to say, in the development of credit and of a banking system for the people, also in the construction of irrigation canals, and in the provision of wells through the media of the co-operative societies, and to spend the money in such other ways as will best promote the advancement of India.

The difference between India's paper money and the paper money of other nations which is now being used for war purposes would be the difference between life and death. By increasing the food-supply, India's paper currency would create life, which Ruskin rightly says is the only wealth; whereas war paper currency destroys both life and property. India's paper currency would be *constructive*, while that which is issued in payment of war debts is *destructive*.

GUARANTEE EXCHANGE.

There is another suggestion connected with the exchange question which I should like to make—*vis.*, that in return for the money belonging to the Gold Standard Reserve which India lends to the British Government, the British Government should now

guarantee the exchangeability of the rupee at sixteen pence. As the rupee has proved its invulnerability, the guarantee would be only a nominal thing, but it would have the effect of inspiring confidence in timid investors who might be disposed to send capital to India, but who are doubtful about getting it back at sixteen pence per rupee. From the annexed statement, which shows the money lent last year to our Colonies and Dependencies and foreign countries by the London money market, it is evident that India is not getting her fair share of capital. For the seven months January to July, 1914, Canada borrowed £35,000,000 from the outside world, most of it from London. India, I suppose, borrowed about £3,000,000 in the same time. Canada borrowed £4 per head of her population; India 2½d. If Canada is going ahead too fast, it is fairly evident that India is going too slow. The guarantee I have suggested would be a graceful compliment to India, and India might return the compliment by guaranteeing the British Exchequer against loss, for there neither could nor would be any.

STATE BANKING.

And what has the war to teach India regarding banking? She stands on the threshold of a new era. While she looks ahead she must also look back and learn the lessons of the past, and the greatest of the lessons is that she must not build a banking system on a foundation of sand, not even on golden sand, but on the solid rock of the State, for the many are stronger than the few.

The English system of banking, resting as it does on a few shareholders and a phantom base of gold, will not do for India. It is out of date, and the gold can never be found in a time of stress when it is most wanted. When war broke out, all the bankers of England went off for a long holiday because they could not pay their debts in the legal tender coin of the realm. When we looked for gold, we were given postal orders, and from the golden dream of the millennium we awakened to the moratorium. The strength of a capitalist bank is the strength of a few of the people. The strength of a State Bank is the strength of the nation.

What was it saved the Empire when the English banking system broke down? It was the introduction of State banking and the £1 note bearing the impress of the King's head. No other power was equal to the task. India wants a bank with the King-Emperor as head, and after the experience of the last two years, she will trust no other with her money. The way is now open to India to have the greatest bank in the world, and she must not miss the chance. It can be worked by the machinery of the existing Presidency banks, linking up the people with these by means of

the co-operative unions which are now coming into being. India wants expansion, and must have an expansive banking system—one which will not be limited to the funds at the disposal of a limited body of limited share-holders, nor rest on a phantom base of gold, but on the solid rock of the State, and which will reach out a helping hand to the meanest of her subjects.

PAPER MONEY AND DEPOSITS.

You will observe that the diffusion of notes can most quickly and efficiently be accomplished by an agent living in and familiar with the district and its people. The village co-operative society, working under the supervision of the Government, is the unit which fulfils this condition, and is therefore the best medium for the diffusion of paper money with its sequel, deposit banking. The faster, therefore, the co-operative movement is developed, the faster will the note issue develop. As the societies increase, and confidence in them grows, they will more and more draw into their coffers as deposits the money now lying dead in the districts. The money will flow into the Treasuries or State Bank, and flow out again as wanted. The reserves will be full of gold and silver. The silver purchases of Government will automatically decrease, and the gold reserves will grow automatically with the growing exports. The development of deposit banking will provide the antidote to the wastage which the silver purchases of Government now involve; and, by the teaching of Bagehot, all the elements required will be present for the building up in India of another great financial centre of the Empire.

THE DEAD SEA OF THE MAHAJAN.

Secured by gold and silver behind, and by canals and wells and crops in front, India's paper currency would be the finest currency in the world. It could never become inconvertible into silver, nor could her Treasury bills ever become inconvertible into gold; but what is more serious for the people, her currency, whether gold, or silver, or paper, is becoming inconvertible into food. A rupee and a half now buy what one rupee bought formerly; the eight annas have become inconvertible. This is the currency lesson which every man who has to buy food has learnt. Government has constructed a railway system which has linked up the villages with the produce markets of the world, and the high prices ruling outside draw out India's products. There is thus more money in the country, but relatively less food, hence the rupee buys less than before. To preserve the balance, Government must also construct a banking system which will link up the villages with the money markets of the world, and so ensure that the man who grows the produce retains the price, and is thus encouraged to grow more. Without a banking system the

railways may prove a curse as well as a blessing, by draining the country of its produce, while the money which comes in payment passes on to the Mahajan, and the people are left bare of both money and food. The gold and silver currents which flow into India fall chiefly into the Dead Sea of the Mahajan. There is many a dead pool in India, many a dry channel, but few silver streams. There is plenty of money in India, but it is mostly dead, like the profit on the currency. Wring out of the dead gold in the stagnant pools of the Government the power which lies dormant there, apply it by means of paper currency to the development of credit and of the productive powers of the country, and the face of India will change; the fields will double the food-supply, and the mills will doubly hum in the manufacture of clothing and of bags for the bumper crops. No longer will so many of India's young men be looking for posts, for the posts will be looking for them. Plant the golden grain which is now lying dormant, and it will yield a hundredfold.

England has a bank agency for every 5,000 of her people; India has no bank for 250,000,000 of hers. Where the Mahajan flourishes the people decay and their cattle die of famine. Replace the Mahajan by the greatest bank in the world, its foundations well and truly laid, 2,000 miles long by 1,500 miles broad, and with its 315,000,000 of shareholders, India will lead the world. Credit is India's missing link, and until the link is fitted India will remain low in the scale of civilization. Credit is the banking name of that spiritual element called faith. The great bank will be a Temple of Faith between man and man, uniting all India in one great caste—the caste of human brotherhood.

INDIA'S PLACE IN FUTURE

The world is changing. What will India's place be in the future? Though the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong, there is nothing more certain than this—that a people which has round its neck the burden of a 40 per cent. finance will never win the race nor draw the breath of spiritual or political freedom. Only in unity will India find her soul, and the germ of Indian unity has been found nowhere but in co-operative finance. Reformed councils have their value in the economy of India; but a gilded dome is of less value than a sound foundation. Lay India's foundations strong in the unity of her people, and she will take her place in the forefront of the nations. The money is at hand to do it, and India may no longer wait. In recognition of her loyalty and of the blood she has shed for the Empire, give India the royal boon of financial and economic freedom, and she will move more quickly than she has done in the past towards that goal for which she is destined, in the centre of the British Empire.

INFORMATION ABOUT AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES.

BY MR. GIRINDRA MUKERJI, M. Sc.

THE increased demand for information about the American Universities and their facilities evinces a strong desire on the part of our countrymen for the right kind of education, needed for our national regeneration. The nation looks to her children for her salvation which demands of them unselfishness of purpose, deep sincerity of heart and the merging of themselves into the nation. To accomplish this end, to prove themselves worthy of the responsibility our young men should take action at once.

It is sad to note the small number of the Indian students in these great educational centres of the world. As yet their number is distressingly small in view of their great needs and the vastness of the work to be done in India. It is earnestly hoped that our young men will realize the great and urgent necessity of comparing notes with foreign countries and their institutions.

In issuing this circular I earnestly hope to dispel the ignorance about the educational systems of this country which is keeping many willing and able men and women from availing themselves of their opportunities.

THE SYSTEM IN GENERAL.

The prevailing system in the United States is a liberal one, allowing the student an option in his studies, by virtue of which he makes his choice of the subjects taught. A certain minimum of courses must be chosen, and the student is required to attend regularly the exercises of his courses. American educators do not seek to impose a superficial omniscience upon their students, but require that they shall know well a certain number of prescribed or elective studies.

In the United States the term university is generally used to describe a collection of colleges having different courses of study and leading to different degrees, but with one president and faculty, and usually on the same grounds, or campus. The colleges of an American University are not always so designated, but nearly all of the American Universities have in some form or other the same general plan: a number of well-defined courses of studies leading to well-defined ends. The commonest division of courses is those in Letters or Arts, and those in Science. Further divisions are often found into colleges, or courses of Political Science, Natural Science, Commerce, Classics, or, on the technical side, of Chemistry, Agriculture, Forestry, or Engineering in all its branches (Mechanical, Mining Electrical, etc.). The larger Universities of the country have also schools or colleges of Medicine, Pharmacy, Dentistry, Law, Theology, and other professions. These professional schools are often in a different town or

city from the other departments of the University to which they belong, and again many independent professional schools exist, not identified with an institution giving other courses of study. There are also many independent technical schools or colleges.

The universities of the United States are also divided into those that are State Institutions, and those that are controlled by private corporations. It is generally characteristic of the State Universities that no tuition fees are charged, except in some of the professional departments, and of the others an annual fee of \$100 to \$200 is required. On the other hand, a few of the State Universities have tuition fees, and there are some of the private institutions in which there are no fees for tuition, or very small ones. In nearly every case fees are required for the use of laboratories, but these are not large, and are often returned at the end of the year after the deduction of the cost of material used, and of the use of apparatus, etc.

For an industrial or technical education a student should select an institution especially equipped for technical instruction. The scientific or technical departments of the leading Universities are generally so equipped, but the student may find it advantageous to select a purely technical school, such as (1) The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in Boston, Mass.; (2) The Lowell Textile School, in Lowell, Mass.; (3) The Carnegie Technical School, in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania; or (4) The Pratt Institute, in Brooklyn, New York, all devoted exclusively to instruction in technical subjects. In the scientific and engineering departments of the Universities, three to four years is required for the work leading to graduation. A year or two spent afterwards in practical work will probably insure success in industrial undertakings in the Orient.

In a university, after finishing the usual scientific course, the student can take up some special work of his own selection. It should be remembered that mere instruction in technical industries will be of no advantage if a thorough scientific knowledge is not acquired. Students on their return home will meet with many new conditions, and a thorough scientific training is necessary to enable them to re-adjust and to modify these conditions.

REQUIREMENTS FOR ADMISSION.

Students desiring to enter an American University for a regular course, leading to a degree, must show evidences of preparation in certain elementary lines. The requirements differ widely for the different institutions, and for the different departments of the same institution. These requirements can best be learned from the catalogues of the several institutions, which in most cases will be sent for the asking. In general,

the entering student is expected to be familiar with the English language, with the elements of mathematics (algebra, geometry, etc.), with some foreign language, the history of the United States and some elementary science. It is nearly always possible to enter with a deficiency which can be made up later in the course. Students over the age of twenty-one are in many cases allowed to enter as special students. The entrance requirements are less rigid for a special course, but the student is expected to confine himself to one or two special lines of study, and no degree can be secured unless the student afterwards complies with the requirements of a regular course. These requirements are soon understood, and are not difficult to meet. Graduates of Oriental Universities can in some cases be admitted as graduate students. There are few restrictions upon special and graduate students as to their selection of studies, the chief disadvantage of the special student being that he cannot receive a degree.

THE COLLEGE YEAR.

At most of the Universities and Colleges of the United States, the college year begins in September and closes in June. At the University of California the session begins in August and closes in May. The session is divided into two or three terms, varying at different institutions, with occasional short vacations, all having a vacation of from one week to three in December and January ("Christmas vacation"), and many having a vacation of a week in the Spring. The long Summer vacation, from June to September (in Harvard, July 1st to August 15th; Cornell, July 6th to August 14th; Ohio, June 22nd to August 14th; Wisconsin, June 22nd to August 1st; in California, May to August) affords opportunity for rest and recreation, or for earning money for the following college year. At the University of Chicago alone is the year divided into four terms, the university work continuing the year round, the student being allowed to take his vacation in any of the four quarters, or, if he prefers, to work straight on and complete his course in less time.

The larger universities have Summer Sessions, in which short courses of six or eight weeks are given. These courses can often be used to supplement the work of the regular session, or to make up deficiencies.

THE COLLEGE DAY.

The College Man's Day may be from 8 A. M. to 5 P. M., with an intermission of an hour at noon. There is a half-holiday on Saturdays, and no work is done on Sundays or legal holidays. It is often possible to arrange one's course so that the bulk of one's recitations or lectures will come in the forenoon or afternoon, as desired, leaving regular portions of each

day for study, laboratory work, recreation, or employment.

Examinations are held two or three times a year, to test progress.

THE PACIFIC OR WESTERN COAST.

The University of California, at Berkeley, Cal., and Stanford University at Palo Alto, Cal., forty miles distant from San Francisco, are the largest institutions in the West. The State of California has many climatic and soil similarities to the Indo-Gangetic valley. The general agricultural conditions, especially for fruit and vine growing, are particularly advantageous. One or two years post-graduate course, or some practical experience in farming will be of great benefit to the student. California has also one of the best Mining Colleges in this country.

The State of Oregon has the State Agricultural College at Corvallis and the State University at Eugene, North of Oregon, the State of Washington has a State University at Seattle, and a State Agricultural College at Pullman.

The middle State of Utah, Colorado, and Illinois, have each according to particular conditions and resources, its special features; e.g., Utah gives a splendid opportunity for learning the methods of "Dry Farming in Desert Districts;" Illinois for Stock-breeding, Dairy Industry and so on.

The Southern States, like Georgia, North Carolina and South Carolina, are well adapted for rice, cotton, and sugar cultivation.

The Eastern or Atlantic Coast is about 3000 miles from the Western or Pacific Coast. The soil of most of the States here is similar to that of the Brahmaputra valley. There are several agricultural and industrial colleges and schools, which have both a day and a night session. The States of the Eastern Coast give especial advantages for industrial and factory training as most of the large manufacturing establishments are located here. The instructional facilities also are much greater on this side.

INDUSTRIAL TRAINING.

Opportunities for practical industrial training in a factory or shop are not so readily found, for various reasons. Many of the difficulties can be obviated by the student selecting the particular craft he wishes to study and securing full information and experience regarding it before leaving home. This will enable him to know definitely what he wants and to work directly for it. For instance, one desiring to study the manufacture of glass should have information concerning the present conditions of glass manufacture at home, the available supplies of the raw materials,

the prospects for the development of the industry there, the labour conditions, available workmen, etc., and also the shortcomings of the industry at home. The same with agriculture,—the student should visit the existing experimental farms, study the conditions there and also the place where he is likely to be located on his return. In this way the student will come thoroughly equipped for easily securing the desired information. Such preparedness will prevent discouragement arising out of uncertain knowledge of conditions at home and from doubts of success in future undertakings. Also it gives a better chance to enter a factory and in a short time can secure the desired knowledge when opportunities do offer. This groping in darkness and uncertainty has made our young men pursue their work half-heartedly, and change the objects of their study several times, at great cost of time and energy. Guardians and societies should by no means overlook this fact—that those who come here should have a definite object in view, and some definite information about what they can do with the results of their work when they return.

It will be wise for parents and societies sending young men for a technical course to see that their wards have a thorough training at home in the elements of mathematics, analytical chemistry and drawing. Such training can be secured at home by arrangements with available technical schools, such as the Science Association of Calcutta, the technical schools of Bombay and Madras, the National Council of Education, etc. By this procedure the student will be saved much time, money, and energy, and more time can be devoted here to their advanced special studies. Of course those who wish to prepare for work in education, politics, literature, etc., will find their preparations in securing the several degrees of the Oriental Universities sufficient for entering similar courses here.

Those who are responsible for the support or encouragement of students coming to this country should satisfy themselves of the physical efficiency of their wards. While there is little to be feared for men of sound health, the work is not suited for invalids, who are obliged to lose valuable time through illness. Those who come to institutions in the eastern part of the United States should be able to stand the cold weather of the winters.

FUNDS.

In this connection it should be mentioned also, that the lack of sufficient funds, and a failure of punctuality in remittances, have caused serious loss to some of the students here. Our experience fully justifies the statement that young men should not attempt to lead the life of a student here without proper allowance of money. The opportunities for self-support are

limited, and not so easy to secure, particularly for a stranger and a foreigner, as our young men may imagine.

SEASON FOR TRAVEL.

The best time for coming to the United States is May. Newcomers would then have time enough to adjust themselves somewhat to their surroundings and to find suitable accommodations. They will also have opportunity to enter the Summer Session of one of the Universities giving Summer courses, either to make up deficiencies, or to take up some special line of work as preparation for the regular session. In coming to the United States at this season, little apprehension need be felt about the weather conditions on the voyage across the ocean.

PASSAGE, BAGGAGE, ETC.

For detailed information and rates, one should apply to the agents of the "Maritime Messageries," the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, Messrs. Thomas Cook & Sons, Royal Oriental Steamship Co., etc. For the Pacific Coast of the United States, and particularly for California, one should take the steamers of the Pacific Mail, or the Toyo Kisen Kaisha, which make the passage directly from Hong Kong to San Francisco. In passing through Japan students should become acquainted with the Japanese educational institutions and factory systems.

Baggage should be packed in handy and convenient form, in trunks, boxes, or in hand valises. Prospective students in the United States should not attempt to bring bedding, or Oriental clothing. Two woollen suits with shirts and underwear will meet all requirements during the voyage. One should come prepared to dress in the manner of this country. It should be mentioned here that those of our students who hold to wearing the turban or other distinctive costumes of the Orient find themselves at a serious disadvantage.

EXPENSES OF LIVING.

Living expenses depend much upon the individual. In general as a moderate estimate I can state that altogether an average monthly allowance of \$80 and \$50 will be absolutely necessary, including college fees and expenses. Upon arriving here the prospective student must have with him at least means sufficient to meet the expenses of three full months. Remittances of money can be made by postal money order or by bank drafts.

HINDU IMMIGRATION.

MR. Indu Prakash Bamerji of the Princeton University writes on the above subject to the May Modern Review. The article has special reference to the United States of America.

A topic of world-wide interest is this of Hindu Immigration. Head tax, quarantine, social boycott, organised racial tyranny proved inadequate until at last absolute exclusion of the Hindu has been proposed and partly carried on in some parts of the world. The plea for such exclusion is said to be partly economic and partly social. "Hindu Immigration", as it is now styled in America, is a thing of recent date. "Crossing the waters" is a great sin for the common Hindu, and yet he has crossed the sea. Many highly cultured Hindus even to-day are known to be deadly opposed to the idea. But when a people is always on the borderland of starvation, no speculation of the opulent or sophistry of the cultured can prevent the stronger among them from acting against the time-honored traditions of their country. What the Hindu social reformer could not bring about, what the sturdy Christian missionary failed to effect, has been made partly possible through the workings of deep-seated economic causes.

CAUSES OF HINDU EMIGRATION.

The causes of Hindu emigration are however not only economic, but also social and to some extent political.

The abject poverty of the people of India stands out in striking contrast with the opulence of not a few sparsely settled and prosperous countries of the world. That land taxes are too heavy in India where agriculture is the almost exclusive pursuit and industry of the native population, and that prohibitive taxes, direct or indirect, on other indigenous industries excepting those that produce raw materials are rigorously imposed, are facts too well known to students of world-economics. By being in constant touch with the British people whose "Union Jack" waves in the wind even in the uttermost parts of the world, the bolder among the Hindus have found an outlet from the land of their birth to seek jobs elsewhere, thus to enable themselves to keep body and soul together. A hopelessly uneven distribution of what wealth there is, over-population in some tracts, and the constant pricking sense of belonging to the lower class, are social evils that have lent great strength to such emigration. Some migrate to foreign lands to enjoy, permanently or for a time, political equality with free men. These seem to be briefly the fundamental causes of the so-called Hindu immigration.

ITS EFFECTS ON INDIA.

What is the history of such immigration and the nature of its effect on India and the several countries to which her people have migrated?

The earliest record of Hindu emigration of any note in modern times was in November, 1880, when Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, the founder of the Brahma Samaj in India, sailed for England. It has, however, been

supposed that even before that date merchants and traders of the East India Company had brought home with them servants who were natives of India. It is also on record that two Deccanis went to London in quest of justice in the days of Edmund Burke. The Rajah died in England in September, 1833. He was soon followed by Prince Dwarkanath Tagore, grandfather of the renowned Hindu poet Rabindranath. The Prince met the same fate as his predecessor and never returned home. Not with the worst but with the best of men India had her start in emigration. The maker of Modern India lies buried in Bristol, and England will remain a land of pilgrimage for Hindus for all time on that score, if not for anything else.

Though England has always received Hindu immigrants in larger and larger numbers with the advance of years, her economic conditions are such as have no inducement for the ordinary labourer to settle down in that country. It is only some men of the wealthier class and highly paid British Indian officials who have made their home in England. In this group will be found Indian Members of Parliament, Lawyers, Medical men, Professors, Merchants, Traders, Journalists, Authors and the like. The number of Hindu students only residing in Great Britain to-day is over 1,800. So with wide-open gates for the Indian, England is not confronted with an "Immigration Problem," like many newly and sparsely settled countries with immense possibilities.

NATAL.

In the year 1911 the Indian population of Natal was estimated at upwards of 130,000, of which probably 20,000 to 30,000 have been born in that country. The history of this immigration is this: They went there for the most part not as individual immigrants but in pursuance of a definite policy of providing labour for the sugar-fields of Natal. The Indian labourer was brought in under indenture bound to work out his contract under penalties of the Criminal Law. His term of indenture being completed he showed a tendency to stay on in Natal as a free man, whereas the planter's idea was that he should either re-indenture or go back to India. Natal did not want the Indians, but only their labour, and accordingly from time to time efforts were made to secure that those who did not re-indenture should perforce be returned to India. The Government of India, however, has consistently set its face against this, and as the controllers of the sugar industry and the coal mines and other industries which were springing up in Natal on the basis of the imported labour were persuaded that they could not dispense with the Indian Immigrant, the Natal Government was driven to look for expedients which, while not making it obligatory on the Indian to return on

the expiration of his indenture, would yet put some pressure on him to do so. This was the origin of the £ 3 tax, of which a great deal has been heard lately. By an Act passed in 1895 (No. xvii of 1895) it was provided that the indenture to be entered into by the immigrant should contain a clause by which he undertook at the expiration of his contract either to return to India or to remain under indentures. If he failed to carry out this part of the contract, and remained in Natal unindentured, he was required to take out a yearly pass or license at a cost of £ 3. In 1903 an amending Act was passed by which the children of the indentured immigrant, whether born before or after his arrival in Natal, were made subject to the necessity of going to India or of serving under indenture in Natal, or in the alternative of taking out the annual pass or license and paying the tax of £3. The Act did not apply to children who had reached the age of sixteen in the case of boys and thirteen in the case of girls before it took effect, or to the grandchildren or later descendants of the indentured man.

Shortly after the establishment of the Union, the Indian Government, being dissatisfied with the opportunities permitted to Indian immigrants to settle in the country after the expiration of their indentures, refused to allow any further recruiting of indentured labourers, and the supply was therefore stopped. On the other hand, the conditions imposed upon the South African Indian in various forms, including one that held his marriage in South Africa as illegal, were growing too heavy on him and redress was repeatedly entreated and demanded by men like Mr. Gandhi, a Hindu Lawyer with a vast practice in Johannesburg, and Mr. Cachalia, a Mohamedan Leader and Chairman of the Transvaal, British Indian Association.

Several attempts were made by the Government with the assistance of the leaders of the Opposition in the Transvaal Parliament to arrive at an amicable settlement with the Indian Leaders. One of these appeared to have succeeded. The Government agreed to certain concessions asked for by the Indian Leaders and they on their part advised their people to comply with the requirements of the law as to registration and all but a few did so. Afterwards, however, Mr Gandhi on behalf of the Indians repudiated the agreement, on the ground that the Government had not fulfilled its undertaking, and he now definitely put forward the demand for equal treatment under the Immigration Law for Asiatics with Europeans, i.e., they should not be excluded by name, or as Asiatics, but should be subject to the same tests, educational or other, as Europeans.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Indian Population in Crown Colonies.

* The following return showing the total Population and the Indian Population separately in various Colonies and Protectorates, was recently published by the Imperial Government:—

Colonies.	Total Population.	Indian Population.	Adult Indian Population.
British Guiana	809,041	126,517	{ Males ... 53,088 } { Females ... 34,779 } 87,862
Ceylon	4,110,867	470,651	.....
East Africa Protectorate	4,000,000	11,886	.....
Fiji Islands	139,541	40,286	{ Males ... 20,062 } { Females ... 8,785 } 28,847
Jamaica... ..	831,888	17,380	{ Males ... 7,137 } { Females ... 4,775 } 11,912
Leeward Islands:—			
Antigua (with Barbuda and Redonda)	32,296	3	.....
Dominica	33,863	8	.....
Montserrat	12,196	2	.....
St. Christopher and Nevis	43,308	38	.....
Virgin Islands	5,562	.....	.....
Malay States (Federated)	1,036,999	172,465	{ Males ... 116,626 } { Females ... 28,868 } 144,994
Mauritius	877,083	*257,697	{ Males ... 89,996 } { Females ... 71,833 } 161,829
Seychelles	22,691	420	.....
Straits Settlements... ..	714,069	82,055	.....
Trinidad and Tobago	333,552	50,585	{ Males ... 31,989 } { Females ... 17,159 } 49,148
Uganda... ..	2,843,325	1,622	.....
Windward Islands:—			
Grenada	66,750	406	.....
St. Lucia	48,637	2,064	.....
St. Vincent	41,877	376	.....

*Indo-Mauritian, 222,301 ; other Indians, 35,396.

The above Return is compiled from the 1911 Census Reports of the various Colonies and Protectorates. Where no figures are furnished none are available.

Adults have been regarded as persons aged 16 years and upwards as the quinquennial grouping of ages in the Census Returns makes 15 and 16 the maximum and minimum respectively of two groups.

Burma Emigration and Immigration.

The total number of immigrants and emigrants recorded at the ports of Rangoon, Akyab, Moulmein, Kyaukpau, Tavoy, and Mergui were respectively 880,216 and 855,397, showing increases of 52,634 and 28,877 over the figures for 1912. We do not know why no records are maintained at the Port of Bassein, but as they are not the total is to some extent deficient. The port of Rangoon returned 31,039 immigrants and 271,687

emigrants, a large increase on the return of the previous year. Two hundred and forty-two thousand six hundred and seventy-nine emigrants left from this port for Indian ports during the year, exceeding the figures for 1912 by 26,374. It is highly probable that no one left Burma with savings of under Rs. 100, many of them probably took much more. This large traffic may be said to be entirely voluntary, and shows that the sea has ceased to be a terror to Indian labourers. The *Burma Critic*,

from which the above figures are quoted, pertinently asks in this connection :—

Does it not seem strange that Assam, which can be reached by land, requires an indenture system to get Indian labour, whilst Burma can get what she requires without any curtailment of liberty?

Passengers to England via France.

The following Order, dated the 30th March 1915, has been issued by the Government of Madras.

Information having been received that the local authorities at Marseilles are desirous that British travellers from the East should, in future, produce on landing at Marseilles passports or Consular passes, all persons proceeding to England via France are hereby warned to take passports. Applications for passports should be addressed to Government, to whom they should be forwarded through the District Magistrate of the district in which the applicant resides, or through the Commissioner of Police, Madras, if in Madras. The applicant should invariably furnish two small unmounted photographs of himself and of any other person or persons proposed to be included in the same passport. One of these photographs will be affixed to the passport and the other to the application.

A similar order has been issued with regard to passengers proceeding to Italy, *mutatis mutandis*.

German Scholars and India.

In the days when Germany pursued culture for its own sake, as Mr. W. Archer reminds us in an article in the *Daily News*, on "Germany and India," German scholars were fulsome in their acknowledgment of the debt they owed India in fields of learning. That was before "The Day" became a fetish, and every utterance studied to produce some insidious effect. If German scholars of a century past appreciated Indian literature for its own sake, self-interest has prompted their praise since 1870.

The treasures of Indian literature and philosophy were brought to the knowledge of Germany by British scholars in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Germany greeted them with instant enthusiasm, and was soon plunged over head and ears in the study of the Vedas, the Upanishads, the mighty epics, and the drama. The "Sakuntala" of Kalidasa elicited from Goethe the famous quatrain :—

"Would'st thou the young year's blossoms and the fruits of its decline,

And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed?

Would'st thou the earth and heaven itself in one sole name combine?

I name thee, O Sakuntala, and all at once is said."

Wilhelm von Humboldt wrote to Goethe that he

thanked God, who had allowed him to live long enough to read the "Bhagavad Gita." The romantic school welcomed the epics in particular with fervour. Friedrich Schlegel published an "epoch-making" book "On the Speech and Wisdom of the Indians." A. W. Schlegel edited the "Ramayana" and the "Bhagavad Gita." We all know how India haunted the imagination of Heine and Rueckert. The science of Comparative Philology may be said to have originated in the Sanskrit studies of Bopp, Grimm, and Pott, which were continued by Lassen, Benfey, Max Muller and a host of other scholars.

Turning to philosophy, we find Schopenhauer "steeped in the spirit of India."

Of the Upanishads he wrote :—They are the most profitable and elevating reading that can possibly be in the world. They have been my consolation in life, they will be my consolation in death."

Nietzsche, too, speaks with the highest respect of Indian philosophy; and I quoted the panegyric upon the Vedanta with which Nietzsche's friend Duessen bade farewell to India. This is only a very rapid summary of the inspiration and stimulus which Germany owes to the literature of the "dusky barbarians" whom she is now so busy denouncing.

The U.S.A. Neutrality Question.

With regard to the much-discussed question of American neutrality in the present great European conflict, the following figures showing the origin of the alien white inhabitants of the United States, and taken from the figures of the 1910 Census, may be of interest :—

United Kingdom and Her Allies :—

Ireland	...	...	4,504,360
Canada	...	...	2,754,610
England	...	...	2,322,442
Scotland	...	...	659,660
Wales	...	...	248,947

Total British	...	...	10,490,024
Russia and Finland	...	...	2,752,675
France	...	...	292,389
Belgium	...	...	89,264
Total	...	...	13,624,352

Germany and Her Dupes :—

Germany	...	...	8,282,618
Austria	...	...	2,001,559
Hungary	...	...	700,227
Turkey (Asia)	...	...	74,681
Turkey (Europe)	...	...	35,314
Total	...	...	11,098,349

Reciprocity with the Colonies.

Dr. Satish Chandra Banerji, M.A., L.L.D., in the course of an article on the above subject, in the April *Indian Review*, remarks :—

The great European war most people now understand to be a conflict between two opposing ideals of citizenship. The Prussian statesman believes, in the words of Prince Von Bulow, that "members of different nationalities, with different language and customs, and with an intellectual life of a different kind, cannot live side by side in one state without succumbing to the temptation of each trying to force his own nationality on the other." The British statesman, on the other hand, is coming to hold, says Professor Sadler, "that it is possible for members of different nationalities, varying even in language and still more in temperament and in social tradition, to live side by side under one flag, proud of their common citizenship, eager in its defence, mutually respectful each of the other's convictions, and working out by discussion and experiment a fuller and freer conception of national or Imperial well-being." We all hope that the war will end in the triumph of the liberalising forces of civilization over the cult of Might and Power and that the narrow and unjust Prussian ideal will be killed for ever. May we not then hope that the problem will be solved in future very much as Indians wish and aspire?

Regarding the practical difficulties, no doubt, they are immense but H. E. the Viceroy has suggested a solution out of the difficulty.

If the self-governing colonies do not admit freely men from the mother-country, they are not likely to concede to the Indian an unrestricted right of emigration. It is also easy to understand that, if we agree to send only a limited number of our men under prescribed conditions to these colonies, they may admit them. But will that secure to us all that we are fairly entitled to? What has embittered feelings very much in the past is the differential treatment accorded to the Indian. Other Orientals are treated better. Being a member of the British Empire is apparently a disqualification. I do not wish to speak of retaliation, but, in my humble opinion, no so-called reciprocity will be worth anything if the colonist be not taught to respect the golden rule and to realise that the Indian's country is not for him to exploit at his sweet will. I have every hope that since out of evil cometh good, one beneficial result of this war will be that racial antagonism will to a large extent die out, and the white man will recognise that the brown or black man who has fought side by side with him and shed his blood without stint does not deserve to be and cannot be despised.

The writer, thus, fairly represents the prevailing current of thought on the subject, and we agree with him in thinking that the Viceroy's expedient of controlling emigration at both ends cannot meet all the requirements of the case. The problem is sure to be forced on our consideration after the war, when we shall deal with it at more length.

Grievances of Returned Emigrants.

The *Tribune* learns that at the instance of the Punjab Government Deputy Commissioners of Lahore, Amritsar and Ludhiana, and possibly also of Ferozepore and Jullundur, have formed district *jirgas* of about thirty members, mainly composed of Zaildars, Lumbar-dars and principal Sardars of the district, to inquire into the grievances of the returned emigrants. Under the district *jirgas* there are small *jirgas* for each one of the smaller units or *ilagas* composed of the Zaildar, the Lumbar-dar and a leading Sardar of the *ilaga* who will enter into friendly intercourse with the returned emigrants and ascertain their difficulties, hardships and grievances. These will be brought forward for discussion in the district *jirgas* presided over by the Deputy Commissioner and recommendations made to the Government to ameliorate their lot. These conciliatory and generous measures were recommended by us soon after the ill-fated riot at Budge Budge. Much of the recent trouble could have been prevented if the Local Government had adopted the present plan about the time of announcing the result of the "Komagata Maru" enquiry. The Government did not take in the co-operation of non-officials in receiving and settling quietly the returned emigrants. Who can say that with a little more foresight the Government could not have organised these district and local *jirgas* four or five months ago? We welcome the present arrangement on the principle of better late than never, and hope that the *jirgas* will help both the Government and the distressed among the returned emigrants.

Preparing Immigrants for American Citizenship.

The public library is one of the effective agencies engaged in preparing for 'American citizenship the great number of adult immigrants settled in various sections of the country, chiefly in large cities. This department of library work, we learn from a contemporary, had developed during the last decade from small beginnings to a point where now the library of nearly every city in the country having a noticeable proportion of foreign-born residents has at least a few volumes and a newspaper or two in the native tongue of these patrons, while some public libraries maintain large foreign collections under special custodians. Special

attention is given to supplying the need of the immigrant for literature in his own language regarding America. Many libraries provide rooms for meetings of societies of foreigners and maintain lectures and evening classes for instruction in American conditions.

Some of the State Library Commissions circulate travelling libraries of books in foreign languages especially for the benefit of the immigrant population.

Since the bulk of the foreign population is massed in the larger cities, the task of making provision for the immigrant falls upon the various city libraries. The general policy is to supply adult foreigners with literature in their own languages, but to offer to children and young people interesting books as a reward for learning to read English. The efforts of the libraries are fully appreciated by the immigrants who want books firstly as a cure for homesickness, secondly, as an aid to advancement in their own occupation and, thirdly, for pleasure.

The German Colonial System.

Writing in the March number of the *United Empire* on the "Value of the German Colonies," which is found to be "exceedingly precious" Mr. T. Ellis Barker has the following to say of the colonial policy of Germany.

It is quite true that Germany has run her colonies at a loss, but this is largely due to the fact that she has not tried to run them for gain. In her colonial policy Germany has not looked to immediate profit. She has managed her colonies for the benefit of future generations, regardless of immediate returns, and she has done so with excellent intentions but with very little skill. The Germans are generally considered to be good business men. They have spent in their colonies about £100,000,000. That enormous capital has been sunk in them in the expectation that it would fructify in a more or less remote future. The colonies were laid out regardless of expense. The German Government endeavoured not only to create model colonies but to found a New Germany across the sea. Where an English Government would have been satisfied with a straggling village and a shanty, the Germans built up a substantial town and a Governor's palace surrounded by a park. In its colonial policy the German Government pursued a twofold aim. It endeavoured, in developing the country, to act wisely, magnificently and lavishly. At the same time it strove to prevent speculators from exploiting the colonies to their own advantage and to the harm of future generations. Exactly as the German officials strove to create in every colonial town a little Berlin with wide and straight avenues and substantial permanent buildings, they strove to prevent the exploitation of the people and the waste of the colonial resources by the most minute regulations. Traders, planters, prospectors and industrialists were restrained in their

activity at every turn by Government regulations which were rather adapted to the limited natural resources of Germany and to the docility of the German population, than to the vast expanses and the bracing atmosphere of the colonies. Moreover the Reichstag was dissatisfied that the colonies were run at a loss, and clamoured that the colonies, not the mother-land, should find the money necessary for their development. Endeavouring to make the colonies self-supporting, unduly high taxes were imposed in order to provide roomy towns, magnificent Government offices, broad high-roads, railways, schools, and a numerous body of officials. The consequence was that those who intended to settle in the German Colonies found their activities circumscribed at every step by well-intentioned but unsuitable Government regulations, and at the same time they were grossly over-taxed. Men who went out to exploit the agricultural or mineral wealth of the German Colonies had to wait months and often years for permission to work. Intensive exploitation was made impossible by the Government policy of preserving the natural resources of the country unimpaired, and frequently the tax-collectors demanded high taxes from men who had invested their whole capital, who derived no income from their investment and who were waiting for returns. Moreover, the development of the German Colonies was hampered by a high-handed policy towards the natives. Serious revolts broke out and prevented peaceful work. Lastly the settlers were disappointed with the social conditions prevailing.

Indo-Ceylon New Connection.

We are glad that the question of the quarantine hardships at Mandapam, detailed in the last number of this Journal, is taken up in right earnest by the Press as well as the Public. Referring to our article, the *Indian Patriot* (Madras) describes the sufferings to which passengers are subjected at Mandapam, under the scathing title "Another South Africa." The *Madras Times*, the *Beharee*, and other papers are equally moved in protest against the injustice of the regulations. The *Railways* of Calcutta by no means unfriendly to the Railway management, expresses in strong language its disapproval of the system. The last-mentioned Journal adds:

"Another grievance is, that the 3rd class passenger, whether he is a cooly or a gentleman, bare-backed or clothed, is stamped with a rubber stamp as a sign that he has been passed out of the camp, very much in the way meat is passed in markets as being fit for human consumption. We can imagine what would happen to anybody who attempted to rubber stamp a passenger crossing from Dover to Calais or vice versa, and if such an offensive method of identifying passengers is not permissible in Europe, why should it be permissible in India? It appears to us that it would be a more rational plan to give each passenger a small identity ticket withdrawn from a book with counterfoils.

We learn that the matter is to form the subject of an interpellation in the Local Legislative Council.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

POLITICS.

A Political History of Contemporary Europe since 1814. By CHARLES SEIGNOBOS, of the University of Paris, William Heinemann, London, price 6 sh. net.

This remarkable book is destined to take the lead among the present-day authoritative books on the political evolution of Europe during the nineteenth century. Within the small compass of twenty-eight chapters the author deals, in a masterly and comprehensive manner, with the essential phenomena of the political life of Europe over the last one hundred years by explaining the organization of continental governments, the political parties and other cognate questions which have arisen in the course of the century and the solutions they have received.

The book is divided into three parts. Part 1, comprising the first twenty-one chapters, is taken up with the domestic political history, in the form of a series of national and independent histories, of the European States, arranged roughly in the order of seniority in the gradual evolution of their political and public life. The second part, comprising chapters 22 to 24, treats, in an instructive form, of the material conditions of political life and the phenomena common to the various European communities. The third part, which takes up to the end of the book (excepting the concluding chapter, which is a sort of the author's epilogue), deals chronologically with the chief features of the evolution of the foreign policies of the various European Governments, explaining the relations between the States and of the distribution of territory and influence. The book, as a whole, combining, as it does, all the three aspects in which a contemporary history should be treated, viz., from the geographical, logical and chronological points of view, is originally thought out. The style adopted and I daresay the present book should not have had any material defects in the translation from the original French—is clear and accurate. The author seems to regret, in his preface, the acknowledged want of a vocabulary of technique in historical science and seems, hence, to feel more straightforward and catching in giving a popular name to the popular notions and theories and in avoiding abstract ideas, which he humorously terms to be mystic forces.

The date for beginning is the year 1814—the year of the general restoration of the old Governments of Europe and the territorial settlements of the Congress of Vienna and the beginning of the party-struggle which forms the backbone of the political history of Europe in the 19th century. In chapters 2 to 4 the author deals with the evolution of constitutional monarchy, parliamentary

government and with the safeguards for personal liberty in England which have served as political models for Europe. He traces the circumstances and methods by which England passed from constitutional to parliamentary government, which is "developing towards that of the French convention, a republic governed by an assembly chosen by popular vote;" and now the remains of ancient institutions have mingled with the foundations of the new in a contradictory whole, where it is impossible to decide what will survive and what will disappear—the cause of the confused character of modern English politics. Chapters 5 to 7 explain the otherwise unaccountable revolutions in France during the nineteenth century as an entirely intelligible development; how "each revolution did away with some feature of the former system which could not be restored;" and how, with very few exceptions, the evolution has been mainly the introduction of foreign institutions into its political history. In France, "the political development of the 19th century has been a series of ebbs and flows, but the tendency has been towards republicanism. By repeated seizures of the government and an agitation more and more effective, the democratic republicans have finally conquered France." Dealing next with the evolution of Swiss history the author points out how every Canton has been the scene of political experiences, under varying conditions, "embodying the most instructive practical example of the principles of popular sovereignty" with such persuasive force that "it would be a mistake to measure the interest of Switzerland's history by the size of her country." The last paragraph in this chapter on the transformation of the political parties since 1848, the date of the decisive victory of the Radicals, shows the wonderful capacity of the author to shove into a small space a volume of searching study in party politics. In the first half of Chapter 11, the events that led up to the formation of the Kingdom of Italy in 1859-60 are traced out gradually while, in the latter half, it is shown how Italian foreign policy has always determined the outcome of affairs at home and how she has preserved her constitution which has developed into a parliamentary and democratic system under the direction of the Southern Radicals. Chapters 12 to 16, tracing the political development of Germany in the nineteenth century, form an important and very interesting portion of the book under review. The author explains how the double clash between the democratic West and the aristocratic East checked the progress towards national unity and a liberal system; how "when the absolutist and anti-union reaction came to an end in 1859, political life began again in two parallel movements," which were abruptly checked in the personal action of Bismarck who, by way of compromise between the popular wishes and

the royal power, "imposed on Prussia the monarchical solution of the parliamentary struggle and on Germany the Prussian solution of German unity formulated in 1849." Speaking of German society, the author remarks that it is subjected to two conflicting tendencies—"the one, monarchical, ecclesiastical and military incarnate in William II; the other, democratic, anti-clerical and industrial—between which the contradiction is so evident that it brings on the whole political life of Germany a confused but undeniable unrest"—which recalls to our mind the many anti-war socialist demonstrations in Germany during the present war. Chapter 17 shows how Austria, under the pressure of financial distress, worked out a constitutional system with aristocratic suffrage; how she went through a crisis of conflicts between her various nationalities, the final settlement of which was accomplished by separation into two States united towards foreign nations: Hungary, which revived the aristocratic parliamentary system, established during the revolution of 1848; Austria, which retained the centralized constitutional system, with ascendancy of the German element and a withdrawal of power from the clergy." Chapter 19 discusses how the political history of Russia has been transformed by the liberal reforms of Alexander II and the development of healthy public opinion and the freedom of the Press, which serve as checks on the Tsar's personal government and the author also traces here the circumstances under which, "in the midst of a general evolution towards liberty, Poland returned to a system of national and religious repression." But the Poles are happy to-day as they breathe their native air like the free and joyous birds and could have their own national government. Chapters 20 and 21, respectively, deal with the history of the Government of the Sultans in Europe and their attempts at reform; and the transformation of the new Christian States in the Balkans by European example.

Chapter 22, the 1st chapter in part 2, discusses the evolution in the material conditions of political life as the direct result of the industrial revolutions and the transformations in population and economic life during the 19th century. Chapter 23 ably deals with the thorny history of the Church and the Catholic parties. He sums up by saying: "In the course of the 19th century, the State has taken from the Catholic Church in Europe all material power; it has suppressed compulsory unity of faith to establish religious liberty. But through the effective concentration of all Church authority in the person of the Pope, now an absolute sovereign; through the creation in all countries of Parliamentary Catholic Parties, all subject to a common centre; through the enlargement of the clerical body, both secular and regular; through the

accumulation of wealth and the organization of Catholic Schools of all degrees, the Church has acquired a social and political power which is certainly superior to the official power she has lost." Chapter 24, an important and instructive chapter on the International Revolutionary Parties, shows how "the socialist party, reconstituted by the survivors of 1848, after an attempt at International Association, took the form of national parties organised under a permanent management with a socialist democratic programme."

The last part of the book shows how questions of foreign policy arose and how and in what form they were settled eventually. The facts are presented, with reference to international events, by periods, "each marked by the preponderance of one of the great powers—Austria, England, Russia, France, Germany." One chapter shows how the Metternich system was eventually shaken by Canning's policy and the Tsar's war in Turkey; another discusses the jealousies of the European powers with reference to a rational solution of the vexed Eastern question and with reference to the spheres of influence in the Christian States that have taken their places in the Balkans; and others deal with the crises of nationalist wars, ending with the war of 1870, and the development of new conditions of European policy since 1871. In the end, speaking of the nightmare of an armed peace, which has become a by-word to-day, the author says "Between Germany and France there is a conflict over the Alsace-Lorraine question Between Austria and Russia it is the old conflict over the Eastern question under the form of a struggle for influence in the Balkan countries All are agreed to adopt, as the fundamental rule of their policy, the maintenance of peace. But these unanimous expressions of desire for peace are not enough to assure the public mind; for 15 years it has been announced that there must be war the next spring Now in modern warfare mobilization is so rapid, and the advantage of the offensive so decisive that, to have a chance to resist, each country must hold itself always ready for war Europe lives in peace but it is an armed peace, peace with the burden of war and without security." It is this feature of the book, that it follows the development of political life into the most recent events that adds a living interest to its study and makes it so informing on the leading topics relating to the big political issues at stake on the battlefields in Europe at the present day. As an explanatory history, logical and accurate, containing exhaustive and really enlightening references and bibliographies, the book under review serves, as it were, as a key to all the leading text-books and takes its rank, as the most authoritative and thorough work in the field.

P. V.

The British Empire :—By Sir Charles P. Lucas, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, price 2s. net.

This is a book mainly written for the benefit of the working men of England and contains up-to-date information about the Empire until the breaking out of the War. The six lectures of which the book is composed, tell the story of the British Empire as briefly and simply as possible and discuss the great problems involved in the maintenance of the Empire in as impartial a manner as one who, like the author, loves his country can. The word "Empire" denotes to the author nothing less than a great and noble ideal, "the spiritual and temporal independence of England" and connotes what a man ought to love more than his life—liberty. Incidentally Sir Charles Lucas makes a passing reference to the subject of emigration. He clearly proves that emigration does not necessarily mean that the emigrant does not love the mother-land. He leaves in search of better fortune, but may be at times a duty which he has sacredly to discharge for the sake of the very country which he cherishes in his heart ".....one source of Empire, and a very fruitful source, has been the desire to leave for ever the land which is the mother-land, and which none the less, in consequence of this very wish of some of its citizens to be quit of it, becomes the owner of other lands. This source of Empire is specially interesting because, in some cases at any rate, it is diametrically opposite to the motive of greed. The emigrants desire to better themselves, no doubt, but at least they give up their all when they go out, they do not keep their old homes and belongings and merely add to them." What a lofty ideal for the Empire! The English are no less patriotic than the Indians, and still in emigrating to foreign lands, made it possible for their mother-land to become the most powerful and extensive Empire the world has ever seen. What a sad comment upon the stay-at-home modern Indian whose love of country is as narrow as it is suicidal.

R. G. S.

WAR LITERATURE.

The Shadow on the Universe or the Physical Results of War, By I. M. Clayton, Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., Ltd., London, price, 2s. 6d. net.

This book is a short epitome of the arguments of the Pacifist in the great controversy that rages round the War between him and the Militarist. The present War, according to the author, is a crisis in the world's progress and unless humanity, after the War, learns new lessons and for ever bids adieu to the mailed

fist, the shadow on the Universe (that is, the extinction of the human race itself) will thicken until it is irretrievably lost in destruction." This is the supreme hour in which the decisive note of man's future career is to be sounded. We either take the fatal plunge or sound the first trumpets of the great retrocessional." The book abounds in many beautiful passages like this, and reads more like a sermon preached by an ardent enthusiast in the cause of humanity than an impartial pronouncement on the aftermath of the War. That war is an aberration—sometimes a wilful one of the human intellect, and that it is often the result of a perverse and selfish monarch or diplomat who loves to nurture his nefarious designs in subterranean burrows on unsuspecting, peaceful nations, nobody will seriously deny. But to argue oneself by a series of plausible *a priori* deductions into a sort of prophecy that the present War will mark the extreme limit of the swing of the human pendulum, is to betray a want of sufficient faith either in the destiny of the human race or in the resourcefulness of Nature. Mr. Clayton attributes to War all the changes in kingly power since the dawn of time including the passing of the sceptre from Greece and Rome, but one wonders why he has not included in the list of catastrophies the doom which the astronomers say has overtaken myriads of stars and suns before our humble earth was born, or the many cataclysms which the geologists say the earth has passed through yet survived.

On the whole, the book is pleasant reading and though it overstates the case of the Pacifist, is a good commentary on the appalling horrors of the present War.

Why the Nations are at War : The Causes and Issues of the Great Conflict. By Chas. Morris and Lawrence H. Dawson, with a postscript by Eden Phillpotts, George G. Harrap and Co., London, price 5 s.

This is another addition to the literature of the War which is already swelling into enormous proportions. The happening of a great and memorable event in the history of the great nations of the world, like the present War, always brings into existence an atmosphere which is quite suited for the production of ideas—good, bad and indifferent—all bearing upon that event. Now that the War has broken out, it has perceptibly coloured all shades of thought and opinion, and it is difficult to find any walk of life which has not been invaded, either directly or indirectly, by considerations affecting the issues of the War. It has so obsessed the minds of men that they find it difficult to shake it off, and one of the results is an unusual growth of books dealing with subjects of war.

The book under review is an excellent one, giving a practical history of Europe and of the British Colonies from the close of the eighteenth century until the

culmination of events in the sudden rupture of friendly relation between England and Germany. The author never misses the silver string of causes that have gradually led up to the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Empire, the Crimean War, the troubles in Italy and other historic events which have inevitably brought about in their train the present Armageddon. Though it is a British apologist's review of the past history of Europe, the book is fine reading throughout, and there is no break or hiatus in the narration. For a busy man who wants to have a fair knowledge of the recent or modern history of Europe, we cannot recommend a better book than this. Of course, there are more ponderous and classical volumes on the subject, but for simplicity of style, gracefulness of diction and direct way of stating facts this book can take its stand by any other work famous for its scholarship or original research.

India's Fighters: Their Mettle, History and Services to Britain. By Saint Nihal Singh, Sampson Low, Marston & Co., Ltd., London, price 3/6 net.

This book also owes its existence to the present War and fulfils a want which would otherwise be keenly felt by all those who admire the pluck and bravery of the Indian sepcy. The author who is a familiar figure in various periodicals dealing on Indian subjects, is best fitted to write this book because, as he himself says in the explanatory note, he is "one descended from fighting stock—one who justifiably glories in the heroism and faithfulness of his people." The War has brought into special prominence the Indian fighter who is giving a good account of himself on the battlefield, and naturally the world will be eager to know more about him than it can glean from newspapers and statistical tables. The author deserves congratulations for the comparative fulness with which he has treated the subject.

R. G. S.

EMIGRATION TO CANADA.

Intimation has been received that the prohibition against the landing of artisans and skilled or unskilled labourers at ports of entry in British Columbia, issued by the Government of Canada, has been further extended to 30th September 1915.

Intending emigrants are warned at the ports of embarkation of the risk they run in proceeding to that country.

NOTICES.

The Adventures of the Gooroo Noodle, translated by Benjamin Babington, Panini Office, Allahabad.

The foolish adventures of Gooroo Noodle and his five disciples, Blockhead, Idiot, Simpleton, Dunce and Fool are told in this small book in a simple and easy style. It is difficult to restrain side-splitting laughter as one traverses page after page and but for the cruel ending of the "Gooroo" brought about by the sheer ignorance of his five lieutenants, the world might have been provided with more of their humorous, if silly, anecdotes.

The Indian Literary Year Book and Authors' Who is Who for 1916, edited by Prof. N. Mitra, M.A., The Panini Office, Allahabad.

We are afraid on going through the book that the publishers were ill-equipped for the task and believe that more care could have been devoted in collecting information and certainly more elaboration is necessary in its editing. The book contains 158 pages, of which a substantial portion is taken up in the reproduction of the Newspapers Act, the Indian Press Act and the Indian Copyright Act. As a work of reference, the book is of meagre value, but the publication deserves encouragement as it is the only one of its kind in India and bids promise in the future. At the same time, we would strongly urge the literary public to communicate with the publishers (who are always thankful to receive suggestions) about any authentic information which is likely to be of use to the latter.

The Dietetic Treatment of Diabetes, by B. D. Basu, Major, I.M.S., (Retired), Panini Office, Allahabad, price Re. 1-8-0.

This book is now in its fifth edition, which is sufficient proof of its usefulness to the medical practitioner. The book is intended for the layman as well, and both may profit a good deal by its reading.

Hindu Law and the Methods and Principles of the Historical Study thereof, by Shridhar V. Ketkar, M.A., Ph.D., S. K. Lahiri & Co., Calcutta.

The author would have been well advised if he had called the book by some other less pretentious name as it certainly does not deal with what is known as Hindu Law in our modern Courts of Law. The author shows some aptitude for making researches in ancient Sanskrit literature and the book may with advantage be consulted by those who are curious to know such things as the relations between the modern law and the ancient dharma.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The following letter was received too late for insertion in the body of the Journal. We, therefore, print it separately—Ed.

DEAR SIR,

The undersigned will be much obliged if you publish the following lines in your valuable paper.

INDIANS IN AMERICA.

The last Annual Sessions of the Hindi Sabha of the United States of America, were held in February 1915 at Oakland, with extraordinary earnestness and dignity. After the charming ceremonial worship to mother Hind, Pundit Ram Chandra read the Annual Report, in which he said among other things :—The Hindi Sabha of America is entirely different from all the Social and Political Associations of India. It is a society whose aim covers the well-being of all Hindusthanees the world over. It is based on a new constructive method and direct action. The society composed of the poor students and workers, has spent more than one and a half lakh of rupees in the year 1914 on education and other national work. By the generosity of our labouring brethren and good services of the young students, we organized thousands and thousands and still have to organize more than one million Hindusthanees who are abroad from India. With our combined efforts we expect a tremendous result in the increase of our national dignity and honour on educational and political lines. We are going to publish literature in and out of India to show the ignorant politicians of India what kind of greatness the modern nations have achieved in the nineteenth century and how the Indians have wasted and are wasting their precious time in petty quarrels, frothy talks, and poetic aspirations. In the middle of this year we are going to send a large deputation to visit all the civilized world and also India to shake and wake the people from their slumber of centuries. We are spending our money and energies on scientific education and practical arts with great care and according to the best experts in different lines. We are sure that in the near future we will bring India up to the level of the nations of the West and Japan.

Mr. A. Haqq Moulvi Abdullah and Bhai Nihal Singh and several Marati, Madras, and Bengali brethren made very interesting discourses. Seventy thousand rupees were collected on the inspiring appeal of Pundit Ram Chandra, who at the end of his long address, said : "India is not and cannot live separate from the rest of the world. India will have to set aside its old religious quarrels and adopt a new system, the latest educational developments and the practical activities of the countries of the West, including Japan and China. Young India, rise up, read thoroughly, think deep, then go back to India and sweep it with modern vital ideas and ideals."

Yours sincerely,

SEEPAT SINGH,
President, Hindi Sabha.



The Indian Emigrant

AN IMPERIAL MEDIUM OF

EMIGRATION, COLONISATION, TRAVEL, SOCIOLOGY AND POLITICS.

The only Journal advocating the cause of Indians abroad, recording their life, thought and activities and safeguarding their interests in the Colonies.

Vol. I.

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No. 11.

EDITORIAL NOTICES.

The Editor solicits contributions from Colonial residents, English or Indian, and others on problems relating to the Empire, particularly those directly bearing on India. Articles should not ordinarily exceed two thousand words. Indians living abroad are specially requested to write to us of their experiences in foreign lands. Such correspondence should be informative. The *Indian Emigrant* is not responsible for opinions expressed by writers or statements made by correspondents.

Photographic views and representations of Indian life in British Colonies and Foreign Countries will be thankfully received. They should be accompanied, in every case, with a short description.

PENAL PROVISIONS IN THE LABOUR LAWS.

BY THE EDITOR.

ONE of the most complex questions connected with the problems of Indian labour in the various British Colonies is the legal restriction imposed on the labourers. A perusal of the Report of the Commissioners Messrs. MacNeil and Chimman Lal under the headings "Administration of Justice" and "Other provisions of the Ordinance" in each of the Colonies of British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica, and Fiji will make it clear that, under the present system of emigration, the employer has no other interest in the employee, except that of exacting the fullest amount of work from him before the period of indenture is over. Consequently the relations between the two are not that of a master and servant, but that of a tyrant and his people. The one general objection against the system of indenture is the resort to Criminal Courts, which the employers have for the purpose of enforcing the obligations of the labourers. A system of

emigration under which labourers are assisted in their passages to foreign countries by the employers themselves, place the former under a very great obligation to the latter. In other words, "assisted emigration" has the greatest disadvantage on the side of the labourer rather than on that of the employer.

The following are the disadvantages under which indentured Indians accused of offences suffer in the various Colonies.

1. They cannot afford to pay for legal advice and do not know how to defend themselves.
2. The only witnesses they can call are their fellow workers, who are unwilling to appear against their employers.
3. Magistrates attach undue weight to the statements of the estate officers and, if inexperienced in the ways of immigrants, are unduly prejudiced by irrelevant valubility.
4. Incompetency of interpreters.
5. Officers of the Immigration Department do not attend Courts sufficiently often to watch over the interests of the immigrants or actively to defend them.
6. Immigrants complaining against employers are handicapped by poverty and the difficulty of getting witnesses to come forward.
7. Certain sections of the Ordinances provided unduly severe penalties, others were too restrictive and that Magistrates sometimes award excessive punishments.

Though some of the defects complained of above may equally be applicable in the case of free Indians, there is at any rate sufficient ground for dissatisfaction. The maximum penalties provided in the Ordinance are in some cases excessive and the discretionary powers of punishment conferred on Magistrates are

often abused. The opinion of the Home Government also was much the same when the first regulations were issued for the purpose of imposing legal restrictions for breaches of contract or absence from work. The restrictions were at first disallowed as being open to abuse, but when Earl Grey was the Colonial Secretary in 1847 on the basis of certain heads, a Labour Ordinance was founded which in course of time was subjected to various revisions and modifications. The main provisions of the law relate to the mutual obligations between the employer and the employed and in the practical administration of this Ordinance there has always been an excessive number of prosecutions of labourers by the employers. This state of things was present even from the very beginning and it called forth for an enquiry at the hands of every Commission, though till now no satisfactory improvement was effected on this subject.

It is shown from the statistics of prosecutions that desertion, unlawful absence and vagrancy constitute one half of the total number of offences. Absence without leave for three days constitutes desertion in Trinidad; while, in other Colonies, one week's absence. If an Immigrant absents himself from the plantation for a day or two and returns voluntarily, he may be charged with unlawful absence. If apprehended while away, he may be charged as a vagrant. In all such cases, convictions have followed as a matter of course, thus raising the percentage of prosecutions by 20 per cent. In the Colony of British Guiana, for instance, the prosecution record shows that the percentage of summonses to indentured immigrants began to rise in 1896-1897, when it was 18.48 per cent., and culminated in 1906-1907 with 37.8 per cent. In the latest Immigration Report (1913-1914) for the Colony of Trinidad, the prosecutions for breaches of indenture was 3,173 among 10,912 indentured immigrants or 29 per cent. of the total number, out of which 912 constitute for desertion, 841 for absence from work without lawful excuse and 609 for refusing to begin or finish work, and the total number of offences in all was 20. Yet the Report says "it must be borne in mind that there are a great many habitual idlers who cannot be made to abide by the terms of their contracts and have therefore to be prosecuted and convicted over and over again." It is said in defence of this that such penalties or convictions are resorted to to prevent idleness, so that it has become almost a habit of mind with the majority of incapable managers to have reliance more on the Courts to maintain discipline in the estates

than on themselves. The managers also urge that they cannot show high average wages if they are lax about residence or work. There is no logic in this statement inasmuch as the experience of a large number of estates has been otherwise and earnings were kept satisfactorily high without a high rate of prosecutions. Even prosecutions by way of warning rose into general favour. In the same Colony, British Guiana, successive Agent-Generals exhorted and circularised managers to trust more to personal influence and less to external coercion. The result of this was a marked improvement in the falling off of prosecutions to 23.8 and 18.3 in 1911-12 and 1912-13 respectively. The methods suggested to restrict the number of prosecutions in the case of desertions and unlawful absence was by the exercise of more patience and of personal influence by managers, a direct supervision and control over overseers and headmen who immediately supervise the labourers, and by giving more control and responsibility to the Immigration Department, as in the case of Jamaica, where the Protector of Immigrants and the Inspectors are empowered to deal with complaints, their jurisdiction being concurrent with that of the Magistrates.

It has been found that the Protector and the Inspector do not proceed with complaints if the accused had a good record and his offence was not *prima facie* of an aggravated kind. A similar complaint before a Magistrate is sure to be proceeded with until conviction results.

If, therefore, the last recommendation is adopted throughout the Colonies, the Immigration Department will bring to bear a wholesome influence in the administration of justice impartially and without unnecessary severity.

In this connection, the suggestion of the Domiciled Indians is worth recording. Inspectors should more frequently attend Courts and assist accused immigrants. "It is better that their knowledge and experience should be used at first hand and immigrants should be kept out of Criminal Courts as much as possible. Apart from assisting immigrants, complainants or accused in specially important cases, the most useful service Inspectors can render regarding cases disposed of by Courts is to file appeals against occasional severe sentences by inexperienced Magistrates."

The proposal of the Commissioners also requiring the sanction of Inspectors or Agents of Immigration before complaints are filed before Magistrates is practically identical with the system prevailing in Dutch

Guiana, of submitting complaints to the District Commissary in the first instance before labourers are prosecuted for offences against Ordinance.

There are a few salient features in the Ordinance of Surinam or Dutch Guiana, which may with advantage be copied by the British Colonies. One is that the Commissary need not forward complaints, but are explicitly required by the Ordinance to effect a settlement out of Court, if possible.

We have been dealing till now with prosecutions for desertions and unlawful absence; but there are specific penal clauses in the Ordinances, which require revision to suit modern conditions.

Section 127 of the British Guiana Ordinance authorises a police constable to arrest an immigrant, who is suspected of being a deserter or unlawful absentee. It is pointed out to be offensive and useless. The corresponding Trinidad provision was deleted some years ago. Another most objectionable restriction is an immigrant seeking employment to be required to produce a certificate of exemption. Section 171 of the Fiji Ordinance penalising persons who employ immigrants who do not produce certificates of industrial residence. A stranger wishing to employ a labourer is liable to prosecution under this section. Another objection copied from other codes is that by which a police constable is empowered to stop an immigrant suspected of being an absentee or deserter, and call upon him to produce his certificate of completion of service. It is not understood why an Indian immigrant of all others should give an account of himself or his antecedents, and not be as any other resident of the Colony.

We hope that these objectionable features of the Ordinances, which have outlived their usefulness, be repealed in the light of the suggestions made by the Commissioners, and we venture to bring to the notice of the respective authorities, the modifications of the provisions suggested by the Commissioners in their Report.

A PEEP INTO THE F.M.S.

BY SWAMI SHARVANANDA.

(Continued from page 147.)

NEARLY one-third of the population of the Federated Malay States are Chinese. They have nearly monopolised the entire industry and commerce of the land. Almost every shop in the street is owned by the Celestials; if you go to the public markets, you

will find them invariably sitting there to supply your wants, if you want to go out anywhere, there is ready the thick-calfed Celestial for you with his jinrikshaw; if you want to take home any heavy load, who waits there to carry it but the same Celestial again; if you want to have a pleasure trip on the river, or to cross it to go your way, who, you think, would approach you on the bank of the river but the Celestial paddling his peculiarly-shaped gondola-like boat. These are the few instances of his minor concerns; his shares in major industries are also not insignificant. Though the entire "rubber boom" is carried on by the rich European planters and capitalists, yet the Celestial's adventure has seized with a determined grip almost all the tin mines. Their influence has extended itself from the common mart to the council chamber, from the grovelling huts on the slum to the pinnacled palace of the Nawab, that perches on some hill-top like a grand eagle at rest.

But the home-life of the John Chinaman may not appear so very attractive to us. Unless he be a Christian or a favoured child of Fortune, he invariably lives with a number of his co-religionists huddling together either in a small wooden building propped up on poles or pillars raised about five feet above the ground, or on the top-floor of his shop. If you enter into his dwelling rooms, the first feeling that would arise in your heart is one of disgust for the soiled hands of squalor you would mark everywhere therein; but the feeling will be soon mollified by his hospitality and affable nature. You would find in him neither any sneaky habit of a slavish people ready to cheat the unwary, nor those glorious instincts of a manly race. His native tendencies are essentially industrial, and there they stop. His ethics and religion, you might not call highly spiritual, but they are primarily humane. He is typically what you may call "a family man,"—never caring for the glorious Hereafter, nor risking in an adventure for some mighty turn of fortune,—ever cold, calculating and laborious, always content in supplying the immediate needs of himself and his family. Such is, indeed the John Chinaman. His lady with her black shirts and trousers on, may not be very pretty to look at, but perhaps is the most energetic and active specimen of her sex, and none can cope her fertility in multiplying the race of her husband.

According to the Census Report, next to the Chinese come the Hindus in population in F. M. S. Though the Chinese of the place may be very deft in using their hands and muscles, yet it seems they are

not equally clever in using their intellect. So we find all the clerical posts are filled up by the educated Hindus of India and Jaffna,—although the reins of the superior and responsible posts are held tight only by the whites. These educated Indians and Jaffnies, though they have got no voice in the country, but have a distinct influence as a community leading an honourable, sober and intellectual life, and the members of the 'superior race' are sometimes forced to acknowledge it, still they are not given as yet any representation in the State Council. In another sphere of public activities, the Indians take no less important role,—in fact they wield the sword, and the baton for the land. Punjab alone supplies F. M. S. with her tall and sturdy sons to discharge the functions of the police and the soldier. The health of the land again is ministered chiefly by the Indians. Almost all the Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants (called Dressers there) are Indians—mostly from Southern India and Bengal. There is yet another section of the Hindus in F. M. S., who are though despised and ill-treated beyond compare, and have to drag on their cheerless life from year's end to year's end in the most unhealthy parts of the country, far away from any semblance of town or city comforts, yet the chief support of the main industry of the land, I mean those Indian emigrant coolies, a partial picture of whom our readers have already been acquainted with, in the beginning of this article. It is they who with their hard toiling life of misery fertilise the soil and fatten the foreign capitalists, yet without any prospect of seeing a better day ever in life. When we hear how even the waifs and strays of Europe thrown out of their native soils by the dire hands of poverty and the aristocratic tyranny, thrive so well on other shores while emigrating there,—and again when we behold the abject misery of our emigrants suffering all sorts of persecutions in the different parts of the world without a word of resent,—the question naturally arises within us "Are we men, of flesh and blood, that can bear so much?" These coolies in F. M. S. generally work in rubber plantations in large numbers, and a few are employed in coffee plantations and tin minings. Though there is no indentured labour system here, yet they have to enter invariably into a contract of serving for a certain period of time with the manager or proprietor of the States in which they are to work, and under no circumstances the cooly is allowed to break his contract. These plantations are often far from the city or town life and the most unhealthy parts of the country. Owing to the thick vegetations and damp soils, they are lot-

beds of malaria and consequential diseases. Generally the cooly lines are built within the plantations themselves. During my short sojourn, I was taken to a number of such cooly habitations in the rubber states, and I shall try to present a short picture of a typical one to my readers.

While I was stopping at Ipoh, a young friend of mine came to me one afternoon and asked me if I should like to go to see for myself how the coolies fared in one of the biggest rubber plantations of the District. On my answering in the affirmative, we both took a taxi, and drove fast as we had to cover thirty-one miles before us. It was almost dusk when we reached a small village consisted of several huts built by the proprietor of the plantation, for the coolies to live in. Nearly two thousand coolies, I was told, were housed in that village, as the lines within the plantation had been overcrowded. From here we took the headman of the coolies with us as a guide and proceeded for three miles more, still interior into the State. Leaving the car there, we had to walk now for another mile right into the heart of the plantations. When we reached the place, it was quite dark. My friend said that he intentionally took me in that particular, though inconvenient, hours of the day to visit it, because then alone we could see the cooly life there in its normal condition. When we came to the line, I found it consisted of two big rectangular blocks,—all made of wood. Each block had 250 rooms and the dimension of each room was 10 × 10 × 10 feet. According to the law of the country, such a block should not accommodate more than 500 persons, each room providing for two only. But we found actually, there were as many as 1,200 coolies in each block; sometimes three or four persons huddling together within a small room. The place was in the midst of the plantation, so it was completely shut up, you might say, within the thick foliage of the rubber trees, so much so, that while going there we had almost to feel our way. The place was exceedingly damp, and filled with the obnoxious odour emitted by the rubber trees.

After the day's labour, the men were enjoying a little relaxation in the way of some merriments, singing songs, playing on drums, etc., and their women were cooking their meals. But I found there the number of women was much smaller than that of men, and all put up together indiscriminately. Under such arrangements the morality of the coolies cannot but be impaired, and I was told, that serious quarrels and even sometimes murders for the sake of

women were not uncommon here. The general health of the coolies, especially of the women was not very satisfactory. There was not a single exception, I found after enquiry, among the coolies who had not fallen a prey at least once, to that fell disease, malaria, that was very rampant there. On my expressing the intention of knowing something of the history of the cooly life in a general way, my friend called one of them, an old man, and asked him how he came to be a cooly in the state. He said he was a native of Coimbatore District. He had a yoke of bullocks and a small plot of land in his village and he had been managing to get his livelihood somehow or other with these. Some five years ago, a *congony* (cooly recruiter) came to the village and told nice stories of happiness and fortune that could be attained by going across the seas. The villagers were so much tempted by his glowing descriptions of the prospects in life which they could make theirs, that several of his co-villagers became ready to quit their village and seek fortune in accordance with the *congony's* direction. Our old man also sold his team, made over his plot of land to his brother to look after, and followed the *congony* with his son to F. M. S., and now he was employed in that plantation,—completely broken down through disease and despair, and worry also. When we asked how much money he had amassed by his service there, he said he had not a cent in his pocket, and how eagerly he was panting to get back to his native village and revert to his old life again. And my friend told me that this was the common story of the coolies. They are invariably decoyed from their native places by these cooly recruiters and stranded thus in the abject misery of the cooly life. If the manager of the State be a man of some feelings, then the coolies are sometimes allowed to enjoy life a little, otherwise their conditions become most pitiable.

Next, I was shown the hospital ward for the coolies of the plantation. It was a pretty good building, and there were ten beds for men, and the same number for women also. The hospital was managed by a Hospital Assistant, a native of Madras. He told me that the hospital was tolerably well equipped and he paid particular attention to the patients. Then we saw the general stores of the State that supply the coolies with the necessary food-stuffs. But as it was late in the evening, we had to hurry back to Ipoh without seeing much of the other parts of the State.

Some of these coolies, who are fortunate enough to disentangle themselves from the nasty job of the

rubber plantations, sometimes come and settle themselves in some place near a town and conduct some independent professions of their own. I found such a village near Ipoh, where almost all the settlers were ex-coolies of the States, and they were living in a much better condition than their fellow-brethren in the plantations.

Next to the Hindus, come the children of the soil in population. The original aboriginals of the land consist principally of two tribes known as Sakai and Semang. The Sakai are short and strongly built, and in colouring they are rather lighter than the Malay. When not artificially coloured a yellowish brown, their hair is black, rather long and heavy and stands out from the head. They wear only a strip of bark cloth on their loins and a few rude ornaments. The 'blow-pipe,' or sumpitan, with its small poisoned darts and rude bamboo pointed spears constitute their weapons. They have considerable taste in decorating these and the few simple utensils that suffice their wants. They generally live on the mountains and are very shy, and avoid strangers with the instinct of wild animals. The Semangs inhabit the eastern jungly parts of the peninsula, and are smaller in stature, but are rather darker and more Negroid in appearance, with close curly black hair. They use bows and arrows in addition to the 'blow-pipe.' Many of them have no permanent abodes, do not cultivate but lead a purely nomadic life in the jungles, living on what they can kill with their weapons, and on wild fruits, leaves, and roots. Neither Sakais, nor Semangs have any idea of divinity, but they have a strong belief in good and evil spirits. There are a few more other aboriginal tribes, but they are all slowly dying out before the impact of the civilised nations at work on the land.

But decidedly the most conspicuous among the children of the soil to-day is the Malay. We have no means now of ascertaining the real origin of the Malays, "but it may be safely affirmed that they are only colonists, who, at no very remote period, settled along the shores of the Malay Peninsula, and on the banks of its rivers."* They are indolent, contented, thriftless, unambitious, polite, and peaceful race. The Malay is not industrious by nature, and does not compare favourably with other races in the capacity of a workman. His efforts are usually limited to rather desultory cultivation, to the collection of forest produce, and to fishing and boating, in which

* Hand-book of the Federated Malay States.

he is an expert. He is always a sportsman, and will work harder and with more relish with that object in view than for the sake of enriching himself. Certainly he is not clever, nor judicious, otherwise he would not have given his land to be exploited so advantageously by the foreigners. His lower classes remain content with a bare subsistence, while the well-born is too proud to work. But as a race, he is very neat and clean and looks quite honourable. He is a Mahomedan by religion, but his religious life is quite unlike that of his co-religionist in India. The Malay Government are trying their best to bring him up by giving them almost free education, and free land to cultivate, and other facilities of life; but it must be said that he is very slow in availing himself of these opportunities, and his racial life is almost in a static condition to the great advantage of the foreigners.

The whites assume the smallest proportion in the population, but have as usual the lion's share in every thing.

The natural features of the country with its long mountain ranges, far extensive primeval forests of extraordinarily tall trees, lakes and creeks, is very charming; and equally pleasant is the climate, as one may say the Spring reigns here all the year round. The country has been considerably improved by the British Government. Big towns are built, long railroads are laid, and many other charms of the civilised life have been ushered into the land. Though the Government is of autocratic tone, yet constitutional. Though there is no public life properly speaking, yet each community or race bids fare to shine in the near future. The domiciled Chinese and the Hindus are taking great interest to improve the land. The most regrettable fact noticeable there at present is that the education is at a considerably low ebb. There are very few public schools, and not a single higher grade college. The Hindus are trying now to open schools in many principal towns where their boys can get good education in their own vernaculars also. But their private effort cannot succeed in a large scale, unless the Government come to their aid. And the higher education is a very great desideratum of the civilised communities of the land. So it is absolutely necessary that they should press their demands on the Government to make provisions for the higher education of their children.

INTERNAL REFORMS IN INDIA.

I EARLY MARRIAGES.

From our Special Correspondent, Sumatra.

IT has been pointed out by many writers on Indian Social Reform and those who have the welfare of India at heart, that the system of marriages now followed by the majority of Indians is detrimental to their progress. This has to a certain extent been admitted by the Indians themselves; yet even to-day we find the sad spectacle of thousands of Indian girls and boys sometimes at the ages of six and ten are tied together in sacred bondage for life by marriage. At the time of their marriage these young persons look upon this great event only as a play, just as they will take part in any in-door or out-door games. But alas with what results it ends at last.

Cases can be cited by hundreds of how marriages thus made have ended with most disastrous results. Sometimes even before the girl emerge from her girlhood her husband is snatched away by the cruel hand of death. We know of several instances of the deaths of bridegrooms on the very day the marriage ceremony was performed, condemning the poor girls to perpetual widowhood. In other cases we find through want of money to support themselves or through other causes which can only be attributable to the marriage ceremony having taken place even before the couple could even grasp the meaning of love, quarrels ensuing not only between the wife and husband, but amongst the family members of the married persons which end with what results every one of us know. The last, but not the least calamity arising from these marriages, is the degeneration of Indians. A glance at the body of any average Indian youth in any of the provinces will be sufficient to show any unprejudicial observer of the weak state of the India's manhood and womanhood. How could there be any Stamina in Indians if they allow the system of marriages now in force among them?

May we ask why no *definite and practical* steps, as against academical and theoretical movements, are immediately taken to root out this evil and why there should be so much of opposition from quarters where one should expect only support whenever any honest effort is made to remedy matters? In one sentence we shall explain the situation. Hindu Religion, which does not at all—we are most emphatic in our assertion—sanction the system of early marriages, is interpreted by both the educated and uneducated

sections of the Indian community and these false interpretations are said to block the way of any reforms in our society, least of all in marriages.

A careful study of the History of India from the ancient times to the modern day will readily falsify the pretensions thus made. Marriage in ancient India is a holy and sacred proceeding. We gather from ancient writings that girls chose their own husbands and girls are allowed to remain unmarried even after attainment of puberty. There are examples of holy women who have renounced their lives by remaining single throughout life forsaking their animal passions. If there be any who opposes our argument that free choice of husbands through courting and loving was current in Ancient India, we would only ask them to explain to us the real meaning of the word "Swayambara." We understand by this term as free selection of husband by the girl on marriage day. To illustrate our point we need only refer the reader's memory to the story of love of Sri Rama for Sita as we read in that great Indian Epic Ramayana. Even a common layman in India will readily agree with us to the claim of Sita as an example of ideal wife. We can quote several cases like Rama-Sita's marriage from ancient writings of India. Therefore any unbiassed individual will support us when we say that a thorough reform must immediately be undertaken by us.

Can we, who bear the name of Indians and who are proud of our ancestry and lineage, not to speak of our history and ancient writings, allow this even for a moment, when other nations, who were at the period of our glorious ancient civilisation steeped in ignorance and barbarity, are at the present moment marching on the path of progress and civilisation? The answer will come readily from our lips only in the *negative*. Such being the case it should be the duty of every man and woman in whatever station he may be, to devote at least part of their daily time to seriously thinking over the problem and finding out clearly, after a very careful examination of all facts, definite and practical plans to root out the greatest of curses that stands in our progress as a nation.

He shall only be called a true patriot who silently but surely and steadily does things as a duty not caring either for applauses or abuses of others when once he is convinced that what he is doing is for the well-being of his country.

We shall revert to the subject when we shall try to set out very clearly our view of how our marriages can be reformed and what plans should be at once taken by us in our next article.

SAN FRANCISCO HINDUSTANEE'S CONVENTION.

A MANIFESTO

THE Panama Pacific International Exposition has been organized to celebrate the accomplishment of one of the highest and the noblest achievements in the annals of history. It adds another glory to the nation which has preached for over a century the inspiring gospel of an advancing democracy. To render the Exposition worthy of its name, the organizers have brought to light the various achievements of humanity in the domain of physical science as well as other multitudinous activities which are absorbing the attention of the human race. In short, everything that stirs the silence and changes the condition of the world has found its due representation in this unique world's fair.

Conscious of the manifold advantages likely to accrue from this universal exposition the Hindustan Association of America decided to avail itself of this splendid opportunity.

India of 1915 is undergoing a wonderful period of rapid transition. The influx of the western ideas on one hand and the uncommon facilities for intercommunication on the other, have awakened the curiosity of the sons and daughters of the land to survey the undeveloped natural resources of their country and to take an active part in their development. The world is getting narrower and the humanity broader every day and the international activities are thus permeating through every land and inspiring all nations. India of the present day has been brought up in the light of the western culture and almost millions of earnest eyes are flashing with renewed enthusiasm at the future prospect of their country. Thousands of our countrymen have returned to their home after completing their courses in the various sciences and hundreds more of them are now coming every year to the educational shrines of the western countries at a tremendous personal sacrifice in order to equip themselves with scientific knowledge for inaugurating a new era of industrial development. We have, consequently, very many of our enthusiastic and energetic young men who are diligently acquiring knowledge in the various branches of science and philosophy in England, Japan, the United States, and several other countries. This world's fair would afford the earnest and enthusiastic young men a unique opportunity to measure the advancement made in the different walks of life and to get inspiration for shaping their future course.

Apart from these inestimable boons, efforts are being made to bring about an atmosphere for the better understanding of India and her people in this country. Fortunately, this world's fair would attract some eminent scholars, and writers and speakers of international reputation from India. Some of them have already expressed their willingness to join the Exposition. They are being approached to co-operate with the organizers of the Convention in order to give

an accurate presentation of the subject from the standpoint of India.

Of course, India has lost this splendid opportunity of pushing her trade into the markets of the world by her not joining in the Exposition. Her arts and industries, her institutions and her noble and glorious heritage of civilization would have met with universal appreciation during this international gathering. But something can still be done and the national organization of the Hindustan Association of America is confident that our people would leave no stone unturned in their efforts to bring India and her conditions into prominence.

The Convention comes off on the 14th, 15th and 16th of August, 1915 and will be held in the famous Festival Hall of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco. There would be nine sessions of the Convention. Two of these sessions would be exclusively devoted to the annual gathering of the Hindustan Association and its business meetings. One session would be set apart for social gathering which shall be convened in the Exposition grounds and to which some of the eminent and

representative persons of other nationalities would be especially invited. Endeavours are being made to mark the feature of this evening as a Hindu evening in the Exposition. Special arrangements and concessions would be made for the distinguished visitors and the delegates to visit the various sections of the fair.

The Executive Committee of the Convention is now in a position to extend its invitation to all the students of India studying in the various countries. Efforts would be made to provide them with all the facilities within the reach of the Committee in the pursuits of their special line and their brief stay on the Pacific Coast would be made both interesting and instructive to them. The Committee further extends its invitation publicly to the eminent writers and speakers of India to promote the objects in view. More than thirty addresses would be arranged on subjects of vital importance pertaining to the present-day conditions of India and her people.

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Round the Indian Empire.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

We most cordially welcome the news of the extension of H. E. Lord Hardinge's term of office as Viceroy of India.

While we share in this general approbation of the public and join in the universal rejoicings of this happy announcement by the Secretary of State for India, it gives us great pleasure to have this opportunity of expressing once again our grateful thanks for the great services he has rendered to this great country. Especially in the cause we advocate, *viz.*, equal rights of British citizenship within the Empire, his bold stand as the champion of our rights will ever redound to his glory. His memorable speech at the Autumn Session of the Imperial Legislative Council on the 8th September, last year, opens up altogether a new era in the history of Indian Emigration from the Imperial standpoint. If it were not for the seriousness of this problem, His Excellency would not have dwelt at length, just after the outbreak of the war, on the Indo-Canadian question and formulated at his own initiative, a line of policy which is to govern the future relations of India and the Empire. He was perfectly aware that the time has come when India should have her right place in the Empire and Indians accorded a fair and honourable treatment as equal subjects of the British Crown. This fact is partly accomplished at this time of war when in the prophetic words of the Viceroy himself "Indian soldiers may be fighting side by side and shoulder to shoulder with our colonial fellow subjects," and it remains that in times of peace also the same privileges shall prevail. For accomplishing this noble task a rare gift of statesmanship, a sympathetic heart and a firm attitude is all that is required. Lord Hardinge has happily combined in himself these great virtues, and it seems as though Providence has been pleased to allow him this extension for carrying out in full what he has begun in

part this ideal cherished both by Indians and Englishmen alike. It may be that this short term of a few months' extension is insufficient, but who knows the period may not be extended further until at least the next election. Even as it is, His Excellency has laid the foundations of the Indian Empire on the rock of equal citizenship and his name deserves to be written in the table of the hearts of every Indian at home or abroad.

One of India's important needs at the present day is the industrial expansion and the problem of encouraging Indian industries, which was occupying the serious attention both of the Government and the people of India, is now taken up in right earnest by the various Local Governments. In our own Presidency, the proposals submitted by the Director of Industries for the development of oil pressing industry are now receiving the careful attention of the Government as to the possibility of undertaking oil extraction on a large scale, and they are decidedly in favour of establishing a plant as an experimental measure with a view to the production of oil for export and also for making a practical trial of the apparatus considered *prima facie* suitable for adoption in substitution for country mills. Before venturing on any such large undertakings, it should be carefully investigated whether the products of the industry are to be intended for home consumption or for foreign markets. The acting Director of Industries Mr. Tressler in submitting his proposals has carefully weighed the several issues involved in the enterprise and has suggested two alternative policies, that of *substitution* and of *expansion*. The argument in favour of the former is that it requires little financing, but from the economic point of view, it has little or no advantage over the existing type of plant used in the country at present and any stimulus that may be given

to the industrial activity of the country by the general adoption of this system will entirely be dependent upon the home demand which at present, for all practical purposes, can be said to be *nil*, unless until the present wasteful methods of extraction of oil are improved and subsidiary industries such as manufacture of soap, lubricants, wax, etc., are started side by side with the oil pressing industry. As for the policy of *expansion*, it is the more advantageous and costly but speculative of the two in as much as it holds out only a distant prospect of capturing the foreign markets. In the opinion of the expert, if a position, however small, be gained in the European market, there is nothing to prevent the oil pressing industry ultimately being transferred bodily to India and that the present opportunity offers a unique chance for this first step.

We are in entire sympathy with this latter policy of expansion for this reason that the industry initiated by the Government must be a model one based on efficiency and worked on a pure commercial spirit. Such an example by the Government is sure to lead the way for private enterprises.

It is also gratifying to hear that the United Provinces Government, which is at present the most liberal and advanced government in the country, has at the direct supervision of its Lieutenant-Governor, Sir James Meston, has drawn out definite lines of work for the industrial advancement of the Province. The Report of the Board of Industries showed satisfactory progress in the various branches of industry for which there was the large scope. The oil pressing industry also was under its consideration and the attention was specially drawn to the large quantity of adulterants exceeding 2,000,000 gallons imported from Germany. A good deal of practical help was given to the other industries such as glass-making, perfume industry, leather, etc. With respect to the dye stuffs, which so much was talked of about manufacturing them in this country, it has been found from experience that it was the only industry in which success was attained through modern scientific research. The success of Germany, which had the sole monopoly of supplying 85 per cent. of the world's dye stuff, is due in a large measure to an expensive research work undertaken through state aid. Unless similar help comes forward from our Government, it is next to useless to think of advancing India industrially.

Aristotle once said that a statue is often hid in a marble. The figure is in the stone and the sculptor only finds it. This is an illustration which he has brought to explain his doctrine of substantial Forms which we may very well use to illustrate the force of education in man. What a sculptor is to a marble, education is to the

human mind. The philosopher, the saint, the hero and the patriot all lie concealed in an schoolboy.

Without realising the full significance of this fact, the University of Madras has brought to ruin several students and families by their idiosyncracies in the recent School Final and Intermediate examination results. In our own times when as students, we have heard that western education as taught in schools and colleges was a failure, because it was aimless and one-sided. Since then there was no improvement. We are now beginning to realise the dangers and mischievous consequences of our antiquated, spiritless and mechanical system of education, which drives into despair thousands of candidades who are supposed to be worth for nothing, because of the faults of a system and the folly of the professor and teachers. Has the University in the least considered what is to become of these mediocre talents? Why should it subject them to the most cruel test of examinations, which are after all nothing but consummate mugging? Shall we not by establishing proper institutions divert their attention to some useful occupations of life? The faults of the present system of education are in a great measure due to the blindness of our teachers who believe that marks are the symbol of sound and accurate knowledge and if a student fails to obtain half a more mark in a particular subject, he is to rot for another year in the same class. Nothing is more stupid and absurd than this.

What again of the students who have passed their examinations and got their degrees and diplomas. Have they any self-respect of their own? Have they any intellectual dignity, or have they any aim in life? In this connection, we shall briefly remark what Professor Seeley points out as the defect of liberal education in the English Universities, which are equally applicable to Indian conditions.

In the first place, the examination system of testing the student's ability, he says, vulgarises the student's mind and makes him think that examination is all in all and the marks he obtains in it are the *summum bonum* of life. It encourages cramming to a high degree, ignores altogether the dignity of learning and thinking of any kind is considered very dangerous. What we often hear in the conversation of students at the time of the examination is this: "I know what I should like to be doing. I know what will procure me marks, and it is my business to narrow my mind and for three years —three of the most progressive years of a man's life to consider not what is true, but what will be set, not Newton or Aristotle, but papers on Newton and on Aristotle and to prepare not for Life but solely and simply for the Senate House."

We are glad that Madras has risen equal to the occasion of calling for a protest meeting to-day (28th) against this injustice and of appealing to the good sense

of the Syndicate. We fully hope that those responsible for the slaughter of the Innocents shall rise to a proper conception of their duty and bring about a reform by which the portals of knowledge shall be thrown open to all and never shut against any. It shall not then be as now, "Where ignorance is bliss, it is folly to be wise."

The Report on the progress of agriculture for 1913-14, published by the Government of India, deals with several points of interest calculated to develop Indian Agriculture. The idea of improving agriculture on modern scientific lines first led to the establishment of a Research Institute at Pusa by Lord Curzon in 1904. Since then the work of the Institute has been one of steady progress in the various branches of agriculture. Although the work of the Institute may not be of any direct benefit to the illiterate and indigent agricultural population, the importance of research in unravelling the principles underlying agricultural practice should not be overlooked. The new branch of Agricultural Bacteriology, which plays such an important part in scientific agriculture in Europe and the United States, is just being experimented here and in the subject of green manuring, some important results were obtained. Trials of this method on wheat gave a very large increase of grain, and further trials are being made with tobacco. However, in a Central Institute like that at Pusa devoted entirely to research work, it is to be regretted that no better or more up-to-date scientific investigations are not carried on; for instance, the application of electricity to agriculture and its influence on soil and plants. It has been experimentally proved that electrical energy directly increases the growth of vegetation through the production of ozone and nitrate compounds in the air and the forcing of them by the electric current passing through the air into the capillary tubes of the plants. Sir Oliver Lodge—England's great scientist, is the foremost advocate of this system. We hope some beginnings may be made in experiments on this line early next year.

Passing on to the practical side of agriculture as to its progress in the various provinces, there has not generally been much success commensurate with the amount of labour and expense bestowed on research work. It is true that in Bombay and other places the establishment of Co-operative Societies for agricultural improvements has awakened an interest among the agricultural population. But, as the Director's Report of the United Provinces points out, "the more immediate necessity is the development of organisations through which the results gained by this work (Research and experimental work) in the past may be introduced into the agriculture of the provinces, and through

which the officers of the Department may keep in touch with the agricultural community and exercise the influence which is essential to progress. To a large extent this consists in developing relations with local bodies, such as District Boards, Co-operative Societies and influential landlords, who are willing to further the work of the Department in such matters as demonstration, the multiplication and distribution of improved varieties of seed, sale of implements, provision of water-supply, etc." It is only in this practical way can any lasting result be achieved.

A good deal of useful work has been done in the selection, transplanting and manuring of the rice crops in Bombay, Central Provinces, Bengal and Burma. It is impossible to do more than briefly mention the improvements, effected in the other crops as cotton, wheat, sugar, cane, oilseeds, indigo, tobacco, tea and coffee, both in quality and quantity, the commercial importance of every one of them is well recognised. In the matter of wheat, a beginning has been made to grow the famous Pusa No. 12 seed in the United Provinces in sufficient quantities for a special shipment to England to capture the Home markets. A considerable work also is done in cane-breeding by Dr. Barber at Coimbatore and by Mr. Hulme, Sugar Engineer, in pioneering sugar factories on a large scale. This industry ought to attract a large number of Indian capitalist to replace the beet sugar imported from Germany. Another branch of agriculture, which ought to receive more attention than at present, is fruit culture, the scope for which exists both in the Northern and Southern India.

Finally, we fully agree with the Board of Agriculture when they point out the advisability of "framing a course of instruction of a more practical and less scientific nature, the necessity of close co-operation between the Agricultural and Educational Departments in developing rural education and the advisability of experimenting with vernacular agricultural schools as a means of training the sons of the better class *rayats*."

The total expenditure incurred by the Imperial Department of Agriculture during the financial year 1913-1914 was Rs. 4,96,584, and by the Provincial Departments was Rs. 46,34,118, in all exceeding half a crore. To a great many such an enormous expenditure may seem unwarranted and of doubtful utility, but it is the duty of the Department to convince the public and to justify the expense with facts and figures.

The report of the sea-borne trade of the Madras Presidency for the year 1914-15 furnishes statistics which are instructive as showing how the trade has been affected in all its details by the outbreak of the War.

General effect of the War on Trade.

The total value of the sea-borne trade, both foreign and coasting, of the Presidency for the year 1914-15 was nearly Rs. 4,868 lakhs against Rs. 5,816 lakhs in the preceding year, showing a decrease of 948 lakhs. This decline was due more to the fall in the foreign trade than in the coasting trade. For, under *foreign trade*, imports of private merchandise (excluding treasure) declined from Rs. 1,635 lakhs in 1913-14 to 1,252 lakhs in the year under review and exports of the same fell from Rs. 2,590 lakhs to Rs. 2,161 lakhs, i.e., a decrease of 19 per cent. on the whole. But, under *coasting trade*, imports of private merchandise decreased by 12 per cent. and exports increased by 0.9 per cent. i.e., a decrease of 7.0 per cent. on the whole.

This large downfall under the *foreign trade* was the result of the war with Germany and Austria, with which the trade was considerably carried on. Other causes also contributed to it though not to the same extent, such as cessation of trade with Belgium and Turkey, prohibition of exports of certain goods, etc.

In consequence of the fall in trade, the amount of revenue fell from Rs. 83.90 lakhs in 1913-14 to Rs. 81.16 lakhs in the current year, showing a decrease of Rs. 2.74 lakhs. In the case of imported goods a large increase in the price was recorded against sugar, copper, iron and steel and under exports against raw skins, sugar, and tanned hides.

On account of the war, imports of several articles decreased in quantity and value as compared with the previous year, and a list of them is given in the report. The war did not, however, affect the imports of mineral oils; for they increased by 66 per cent. in quantity and 76 per cent. in value—similarly articles whose exports declined are given therein. Among these, ground nuts are noteworthy as the war seriously affected the trade in them. It is satisfactory to observe that in the case of grain, pulse and paddy, the exports increased in quantity and value in spite of the war.

Two statements appearing on pages 28 and 29 were well-prepared and are instructive. The first of these

contrasts the foreign import trade before and after the outbreak of the war and the other relates to foreign export trade as effected by the war. It will be seen therefrom that the trade in almost all the articles showed increase in value in the early months of the year 1914-15 (from April 1914 to end of July 1914 when there was no war), whereas it showed decrease from August 1914 to March 1915, when compared with the corresponding period in the preceding year. For instance, the imports were valued at Rs. 1,084 lakhs from August to March in 1913-14, whereas they were only Rs. 680 lakhs during the corresponding period of the year under review, showing a decrease of Rs. 404 lakhs. Similarly with export trade, there was a decrease of Rs. 578 lakhs on comparing the trade from August to March in 1914-15 with the corresponding period in 1913-14. As already noted, an exception was found in the case of mineral oils which showed a large increase in spite of the war.

Coasting trade :—The total value of the coasting trade (excluding treasure) was Rs. 1,303 lakhs in 1914-15 against Rs. 1,401 lakhs in 1913-14, showing a decrease of 99 lakhs or 7.0 per cent. This is due to the fall in the imports of foreign merchandise and of Indian produce and to the decline of exports of foreign merchandise.

Of the 18 principal ports in the Presidency, 14 showed a decrease in trade as compared with 1913-14. Madras, Tuticorin and Cochin suffered most.

The provisions of the Sea Customs Act and the Indian Merchandise Marks Act were exercised. The total number of offences committed under the former Act was about the same as in the previous year and calls for no explanation; while the number of cases recorded under the latter Act was 128 against 261 in 1913-14. The explanation for the decrease is that nearly three-fourths of the offences were committed with respect to goods manufactured in Germany or Austria and that on goods were imported from these countries for eight months of the year from August 1914.

Our April Number.

The *Burma critic*, commenting on our April number, says :—

We have to acknowledge, with thanks, a copy of "The Indian Emigrant," a journal published in Madras and devoted to recording monthly the status and doings of Indians in British colonies and foreign countries. This lately established magazine, of an earlier copy of which we have had a notice before, is an advocate of equal rights for all of British citizenship within the Empire, and it claims to be the only journal, exclusive in its nature, for espousing the cause of Indians abroad, recording their life, thought and activities and safe-

guarding their interests in the colonies. This is amplified in the type of the articles published in its columns, such as the reference to master-builders of Greater India, in which Mr. M. K. Gandhi's life and works bulk largely. In an epistle, addressed to the young men of India, Mr. Sagar Chand exhorts his young friends to travel abroad. This also shows that the journal has at heart the advancement of its country and its peoples. After quoting instances of Russian young persons, men and women, of poor circumstances leaving their own country to visit Japan and the European continent, he points out that, as regards India

only the sons of rich men visit foreign parts, and as they are not very likely to feel for the teeming millions, they spend a good deal of their country's money on luxuries and self-indulgence in amusements to return home after a few years, as Barristers or the like, to live upon their parents and poor compatriots. There is perhaps, some truth in this reasoning which is in some ways applicable to Burma also. There is no reason why "The Indian Emigrant" should not get on. *It seems to us to have promise of putting the problem of India and the Colonies before the public in a sane light, and it is a problem which has to be faced, and thus the more light let in upon it the better.*

The *Indian Patriot*, in its issue of the 4th May, writes under the title "another South Africa":—

The *Indian Emigrant* calls attention to the hardships to which passengers to Ceylon are subjected. Not long ago the public in India heard with indignation of the practice of branding and overcharging of Indian labourers. The Madras Government is aware of these revolting circumstances: its attention was called to the grievances of the coolies by the Hon'ble Mr. Kesava Pillai, but as yet nothing has been done. Racial difference is rampant. The European as European and the Anglo-Indian as Anglo-Indian escapes the quarantine, detention, vaccination and disinfection. The third-class passenger is treated with the most reprehensible inhumanity. Whether a man is strong or sickly, camp life is compulsory for the third-class passenger. The Editor of the *Emigrant* brings the serious charge that not only are third-class passengers, but second-class passengers who do not know English are driven into camps. In the camps, food is available only from the Spencer hotels, where necessarily higher charges are levied. The object is that the Spencer preparation alone will be pure and good. "The morning meal is given at 9 A.M., and the evening meal at 5 P.M. Between these periods nothing is allowed to be eaten by the people. No one is allowed to buy his provisions and cook his own food. I am doubtful whether they are allowed to take any tiffin in the interval; but I am informed that passengers generally bribe the peons to bring secretly coffee and other light refreshments from the Brahmin cooks in the kitchen." Europeans travelling first-class are exempt from deposits; Anglo-Indians travelling second-class are generally exempt. The deposit is Rs. 50, but an additional sum of Re. 1-5-0 is demanded by the clerk, and has to be paid, "because it is the clerk's order." Every time a third-class passenger travels to Ceylon he is vaccinated. Vaccination is valid only for a month according to the Ceylon Government. "If any person happens to travel half-a-dozen times, in a year, he should be vaccinated also half-a-dozen times. Further, if people should go to the camp with marks of recent vaccination by other

Medical Officers, it is not accepted as the vaccination was not done in the camp itself." The other grievance is disinfection. "Old, rotten dirty clothes used by several others are given to people for temporary wear till their clothes are disinfected. If one should require a fresh cloth, he has to pay 7 annas, the price of a new one." Whether the clothes are neat or newly washed make no difference; everything has to be disinfected. It is disgraceful, indeed, that our people should be subjected to such restrictions. Let there be one rule for all, and then, we may depend upon it, every such harassing rule will disappear. Prick the European first-class passenger half-a-dozen times a year—every time he goes to Ceylon—with the vaccination needle. Count the deposit with the illegal gratification attached to it. Put him in camp and subject him to two meals a day on medical supervision. Disinfect his clothes and compel him to wear tattered robes in the meanwhile. Then the European would protest so vehemently and the Ceylon Government will be forced to cancel the rules. This racial distinction should vanish. Cannot the Indian blood spilt in the French battlefield wash away such distinctions?

The *Madras Times* in its issue of May 6, comments on the quarantine regulations at Mandapam thus:—

The Ceylon Government has desired very wisely that the thousands of coolies that migrate from India every year into the island shall not import disease as well as labour, and they have accordingly established a quarantine station at Mandapam at which all passengers from India are medically examined. All third-class passengers, coolies or otherwise, are generally detained for a week in the quarantine camp, and, according to accounts, they are subjected to a number of vexatious regulations. It is always, of course, the case that quarantine regulations are vexatious; and it is advisable to swallow a good many grains of salt along with the many complaints. Complaints, however, about the treatment of third-class passengers during week's detention at Mandapam have been very loudly voiced, and it is to be hoped that the authorities will assure themselves that the regulations at Mandapam are not more vexatious than they need be. In the last number of the "*Indian Emigrant*" the Editor gives an account of his own experiences at the camp, and he represents conditions as being very far from ideal. A week in a quarantine camp is necessarily very much like a week in prison; but the authorities should see to it that the seven days' imprisonment is not made seven days suffering. It would be an evil result of the condition, if they tended to check intercourse between India and Ceylon. An inquiry into the grounds of complaint might very happily be made by the authorities; and it is a satisfaction to be told that the Madras Government are moving in the matter.

GENERAL ARTICLES.

WONDERFUL JAVA.

A Trip in the Dutch Indies.

(BY COLONEL THE HON. JAMES BURNS, M.L.C.)

LEAVING Port Darwin (N. Australia) in the steamer *Airlie*, on Friday, August 14, we reached Sourabaya on the 18th, after a perfectly smooth run, which we were assured can always be relied upon, the sea being like a huge lake, with only the lightest of pleasant breezes. Approaching Sourabaya either by Madoera Straits or the Straits of Bali, some of the high Java mountain ranges are visible. The Lombok Peak rises to an altitude of 10,800 feet, and the Bali Peak rises from the water's edge to a height of nearly 10,000 feet. The highest mountain in Java is the Semeroe, which is just 69 feet, under the 12,000. The great charm of life in Java is the variety of climate which can be obtained, and at 6,000 to 7,000 feet frost is frequently experienced, while the air is dry, crisp, and bracing, and altogether unlike the misty damp conditions experienced in high altitudes in colder climates. The railway running through Java scarcely attains a height of 8,000 feet, but much higher altitudes and cooler conditions can be gained by driving short distances from stations at various points. The coast line of Java is about equal to that of England and Scotland, the population is about 80 millions, of whom only 50,000 are Europeans, some 20,000 of these being Dutch troops. There are many half-castes, who are counted as Europeans, and we were informed that, if we had any doubt as to whether any person was European or native, we should look at his feet: if he wore boots then he ranked as European, if not he must be native or Asiatic.

IN A FOREIGN LAND.

Our small party (five Australians) landed at Sourabaya in the evening. Some 80 merchant steamers were in the harbour, also a Dutch man-of-war, and many prams and other small craft. No trouble was experienced at the Customs, and after a drive of four or five miles in a *kosong*, drawn by two ponies, we arrived at our hotel. Accustomed to a 6-80 dinner on board we at first thought the 8-30 and 9 P.M. Java dinners somewhat late, but were soon accustomed to the new meal hours. A boy attends to your room, and also waits upon you at table, and, generally speaking, you call for your boy if anything is wanted. All the other boys know your boy, and will let him know you have arrived if you happen to have been out. One noticeable feature at Sourabaya, and a good many other Java towns, is the quantity of marble and cement utilised for

floors, walks, yards, baths, &c.; wood is apparently avoided, and cement, tiling, marble, or stone used instead. In this way, with wide open spaces, lofty tiled roofs, shady trees, and exceptional ventilation in the houses, much is done to cool the air, and the difference between the low iron-roofed, shadeless, and narrow verandah dwellings of tropical Queensland and the Dutch and native built houses of Java is very pronounced. Everything in Java seems to be absolutely different from Australia, and beyond a doubt you feel yourself in a foreign land. English is practically unknown, excepting in a few of the principal hotels, and the Malay tongue seems to be the medium between Europeans and Javanese, as well as with Chinese and other Asiatics. A few Malay words are easily picked up, and signs or expressions have to do the rest.

Although next to Batavia, Sourabaya is the largest city in Java, having a population of 200,000, there is not very much to be actually seen in the city itself, though it is undoubtedly a great commercial depot, and there is a very busy air in the streets, carriages, motors, and other conveyances being mixed with the pedestrian traffic, there being no side-walks in the Java towns.

PLEASANT TRAVELLING.

Travelling in Java is very economical; the railway fares are less than in Australia, but care should be taken to send on any heavy luggage to Batavia or elsewhere, as its conveyance becomes troublesome in visiting the high lands. If a week or a fortnight is spent in crossing from Sourabaya to Batavia, the heavy luggage should be sent on by steamer, and only a few handbags or portmanteaux taken for running through the island by rail, a distance of about 600 miles. The journey can be accomplished if desired in 22 hours, during two days, as the trains do not travel at night, and passengers sleep off the train for the one night they spend *en route* at a station called Maos, where good accommodation is provided.

Leaving Sourabaya in the morning, we reached Samarang in the afternoon, and found a town of considerable importance with about 150,000 inhabitants. The Hotel Pavilion is a very stately structure, the whole of the 80 feet wide verandah, the halls, bathrooms &c., being of white marble, with stately columns and pillars. The Australian tourist will soon become accustomed to the peculiarities of hotel life in Java. He will be shown a marble bathroom, large enough almost for a bedroom, and the only articles in it will be a brass water tap, a tank, and a three-legged stool. Turning on the tap, he fills the tank, and sitting on the stool he ladles out the water with a chitty or dipper, and pours it over his head and body, thoroughly freshening himself up, and cooling himself down. His

bedroom will have a very large opening for a door, but only the bottom part is actually closed to keep out any stray people or animals, and the same applies to the windows. As for the beds, they are of an exceptionally large size, being 7 or 8 feet square, and only furnished with the sheet to cover the mattress, a pillow, and what is known as a Dutch wife, or bolster, upon which the sleeper stretches his limbs and generally tries to keep cool. If the night is unusually warm, the Dutch wife comes in for a bad time, and often gets kicked up and down against the bedposts, without danger, however, of retaliation or protest.

A TROPICAL SCENE.

From Sourabaya to Samarang takes 9 hours by train, and every variety of tropical agriculture seems to flourish by the way—sugarcane, rice, tobacco, coffee, tea, cocoa, tapioca, kapok, cocoanuts, and a host of other products. The whole country seems to be rich in agriculture, and even alongside the roads, kapok and other trees are planted, and any revenue derived from same helps to pay for the maintenance of the road. Samarang is the second port of call for the Australian steamers, which usually call at Sourabaya, Samarang, and Batavia before proceeding on to Singapore. We stayed one night at Samarang, where we arranged for a local resident to join our party, and also secured a boy, who could speak a little English, to look after luggage, and generally make things easy in conversing with the natives. Sending our luggage ahead by train, we motored to Salatiga, some 30 miles inland, at an altitude of 2,000 feet. The thermometer stood at 90 degrees at 2.30 when we left Samarang, and an hour and a half later it was only 65 degrees at Salatiga. During the night it was even cooler, and we were glad to have a light blanket to sleep under. The Hotel Kali Saman was most comfortable, and like many other hotels in Java had a magnificent colonnaded marble verandah in front, some 40 feet wide, which is very pleasant, as well as very effective.

ONE OF THE SIGHTS OF THE WORLD.

Salatiga is a beautifully laid out town, and is a Dutch cavalry depot. The scenery all round is very fine, and a mountain peak rises to a height of 2,000 feet or 3,000 feet within a few miles. Next morning we drove to Toentang, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles, where we took the train to Moentilan. Leaving the Kali Saman Hotel, we had two carriages, each drawn by four ponies, and a baggage cart—each vehicle had a driver and an attendant, who stood up behind or ran with the ponies. For the conveyance of our party, now numbering seven (including native servant), with ten ponies and six drivers and attendants, the hotel charged 8 guilders 75 cents—equal to 14s. 7d.,—which could hardly be considered excessive, considering the imposing cavalcade the party formed.

About five hours by train and tram brought us to Moentilan, where we again had two carriages and baggage cart waiting to take us to the famous Boro Boedoer Temple, about an hour's drive. Alongside the Temple an accommodation house has been erected, and we found the Hotel Boro Boedoer comfortable and economical. The Boro Boedoer Temple, is undoubtedly one of the sights of the world. Its history, shortly, is that 1,200 to 1,500 years ago the Buddhists came from India, and Buddhism taking a strong hold on the Javanese, the erection of this huge temple was undertaken, and it is estimated that it must have taken about 1000 men from 50 to 100 years to build. Afterwards, when the followers of Muhammed gained the ascendancy, this temple seems to have been abandoned, and it would appear as if the Buddhists had covered up the marvellous carvings and masonry with earth. For centuries this huge temple has lain unknown, and become simply a huge mound overgrown with trees and jungle. About 90 years ago, when Java was under British rule, under the famous Governor Raffles, the structure was discovered, and gradually the earth and brush were removed, and now the ruins stand out a veritable world's wonder. It is something like a mile and a half to walk all round the terraces and galleries, and the sculpture work contains thousands of figures of men, animals, flowers, ships, and everything emblematic of the Buddhist faith, all out of hard basaltic stone, as well as many statues of Buddha, all in a wonderful state of preservation. The temple is about 100 feet high, and a whole volume might be written about this stupendous structure. We also visited the Temple Mendoet, a few miles away, in which there is a huge image of Buddha.

A PICTURESQUE COUNTRY.

Leaving Boro Boedoer, we next journeyed *via* Moentilan to Djokjakarta, commonly pronounced Jokja, and stayed a night at the Hotel Toegoe. We had a long drive, and visited the old and new palaces of his Highness the Sultan of Djokjakarta, who has magnificent grounds, tigers, elephants, some 15,000 retainers, and, report says, 50 wives. We found much to interest us during our stay at this place. While at Djokja it became known that we were trying to buy one or two krises (Malay daggers), which are worn by all the important Javanese, and as a consequence we had a great many specimens brought to the hotel, and after much bargaining we secured six at a very moderate rate. The kris is the great mark of distinction among the Javanese, and their value ranges from one guilder (usually made in Germany or Birmingham) to a thousand guilders or more. There are plain krises, with wooden scabbards, and there are ivory-handled krises, set with precious stones, and with gold scabbards. A resident at Samarang told us that a friend of

his there had a very old and rare collection, and got a man to clean them up generally. This he did, but set aside about a dozen, and nothing would induce him to draw these blades or attempt to clean them. A native priest had to be engaged, sundry prayers read, and ultimately the blades were cleaned and everything made tidy. The Javanese are strongly superstitious in many things, and there are krises which have a history, and which have drawn blood on many auspicious occasions. We left Djokjakarta early in the morning, and after journeying for nine hours on the main Batavian railway line we reached Garoet, a beautiful place, 2,300 feet high, nestling in among many mountain peaks and ranges, rising to a height of 6,000 or 7,000 feet. Here we found the hotel proprietor spoke English, as well as one or two of the boys, and we were able to gain a great deal of information about the district, which is a very favourite one with the Batavian people during the summer. We found it beautifully cool, no mosquitoes, and a blanket necessary at night. The town of Garoet is well laid out, all the streets and roads being shaded with trees, with private gardens and grounds all open to the road. Many of the gardens had rose bushes, and orange trees, lemons, and other semi tropical fruits were growing in the neighbourhood. We were told that further up the mountain strawberries, raspberries, and other European fruits were grown. The first morning after our arrival a band of five performers played for us on bamboo gongs while we were having breakfast, and the music is certainly very liquid and melodious. In the forenoon we drove to Lake Siteo Bagendit in three pony dogcarts, and were taken out on the lake in a species of house-boat carried on two long canoes, the village band of five or six bamboo gongers played while we sailed about, and the scene on the lake among the hills, bamboo and palm trees, was of a most novel and impressive character. Some 20 or 30 boats were fishing on the lake, and the scheme for catching fish looked to be something like the manoeuvring of a fleet of war-ships. The canoes circled round, and at a given signal nets were cast from about a dozen, forming a circle, and so far as we could see, very few fish were caught. The whole of the children of the village turned out as we left, and scattering a few 5 cent. pieces among them, we left about 40 little black heads and bodies struggling and fighting to get at the coins. Many visitors to Garoet visit the volcano called the Papandajan, over 8,000 feet high, which many years ago was in active eruption, and destroyed some villages, killing 3000 people. There is also a greenish white lake, coloured by sulphur deposits, at an altitude of about 6000 ft., which is much visited. The Hotel Van Horck, at which we stayed at Garoet, had a corresponding hotel under the same management, at a height of about 4000 ft., and this is patronised by a

good many visitors to the district in the summer-time. In the evening we drove to Tjipanas, where there are a number of warm sulphur baths. Two of these baths are about 25 feet square, and large enough to swim in, and there are others smaller, each bath being separate in its own room. These baths are most exhilarating, and cost only a few pence, but it is necessary to take your own towels from the hotel at Garoet. There are many trips which can be made into the mountains and passes surrounding Garoet, but our time being limited we had perforce to tear ourselves away and get on towards Batavia.

RAILWAY TRAVELLING.

Leaving Garoet we again boarded the train and passed through Bandoeng, which is the headquarters of the military in Java, there being some 5,000 cavalry, artillery, and infantry there, it being considered much more healthy than Batavia, or any coastal town. Bandoeng is of considerable proportions, well situated among the mountains, and it is well worth staying a day or two at this place. We reached Buitenzorg in some six or seven hours, and stayed at the well-known Bellevue Hotel. Railway travelling in Java is fairly comfortable, and trains keep time to the minute, and the main trunk line carries a restaurant car. A receipt is given for the luggage, similar to our check system, and all the railway people are very obliging. Frequently when in a quandary some Dutch official who could speak a little English came forward and relieved the position. The whole train is usually third and fourth class, and any train we boarded had never room for more than eight first-class passengers, and this we usually had to ourselves. Each window in the first class is fitted with a fine gauze screen, which modifies the glare, keeps out dust or insects, and generally these screens are used, and provide excellent ventilation. Travellers should always carry plenty of small change, as it is sometimes difficult to get it in a hurry. An Australian sovereign passes for 12 guilders, and there are small silver coins representing cents, which are equal to 2d.; 10 pieces of 10 cents make a guilder, equal to 1s. 8d. The usual hotel charge is 5 to 7 guilders per day, and it is easy to compute the cost of travelling in Java, as altogether it will be about the same, or if anything less, than travelling in Australia.

AT BUITENZORG.

The morning after our arrival at Buitenzorg we spent some hours in the Botanic Gardens, which are simply a tropical paradise, and supposed to contain the best collection of palms, trees, and tropical plants in the world. The palace of the Governor-General is a beautiful piece of architecture, with immense massive white

columns, which have a fine effect among the dark-green foliage. The drives and walks about Buitenzorg are marvellously beautiful, and in the early morning very enjoyable. The view from the Bellevue Hotel is exceptionally fine. In front rise the high Salak peaks, and to the left the mountains of Gede, while intervening there is a forest of palm-trees and numerous native kampongs. The variety of colouring has a fine effect, and the pale green of the paddyfields contrasts with the dark foliage of the cocoanut palm, and there are all shades of green both near and far away, which gives a rich appearance to the landscape. From Buitenzorg to Batavia by train takes less than two hours, most of the country being low and swampy, and detraining at Weltevreden, which is the high part of Batavia, we took up our quarters at the Hotel des Indes.

SOME HINTS.

And now, after 12 days' sojourn in Java, we can look back with much pleasure to what has been a novel and most interesting trip. If we return by the steamer Airlie to Sydney, then we shall have been absent about seven weeks, out of which twelve days will have been spent in Java. Any party wishing to undertake a similar trip should arrange in Sydney to have a native boy engaged to accompany them who can speak a little English as well as Malay. This can easily be arranged with the owners of the steam line, and much trouble will be saved in paying coolies and looking after the luggage on the way. The cost of a native servant would be from 8 to 4 guilders per day, and as he travels fourth class, the fare and food amount to very little. There are four languages spoken in Java, viz., the Javanese (spoken by 17,000,000) and Soendanese and Madoerese (spoken by some 6,000,000 or 7,000,000 each). There is also the Malay, which is understood all along the coast, and which is more or less understood throughout Java. If, however, the journey is undertaken without a boy, then by telegraphing ahead to each stopping place a mandor or attendant will be waiting from the hotel at which it is intended to stay, and he will look after the luggage, &c., both on arriving and departing.

SUPERHEATED STEAM.

Before leaving Batavia for Singapore we were much struck with the tram system, which is neither electric nor steam, but is run under what is known as superheated steam without firing, smoke, or noise. There seems simply to be a boiler in front of the cars, which is charged with superheated steam, which, when exhausted, is re-filled at nearest station. The pressure is very severe, being about 350lbs. to the square inch.

The trip was performed sometime ago by the party from east to west of the Island.—ED.

Boro Boedoer Temple.

(A FURTHER ACCOUNT.)

The ancient Hindu Boro Boedoer Temple, a truly gigantic structure of superb masonry and highly artistic sculpture, situated in the heart of the Kedoe Valley (the Paradise of Wonderful Java), is justly entitled to be included amongst the Wonders of the World. To travel in Java without visiting the Boro Boedoer Temple would be like touring Egypt without seeing the Pyramids; also the far-famed Kedoe Valley is unquestionably one of the World's beauty spots—the panorama from the heights of the Temple is of a magnificence and grandeur surpassing the possibilities of adequate description. The early morning before the clouds rise is the best time to see the whole in its completeness, with the two superb Volcanoes Merapi (9,000 feet) and Merbaboe (10,000 feet.) in full view; as the sun rises the clouds ascend and are apt to hide many of surrounding peaks for hours together.

The Temple is reached by carriage from Moentilan Railway Station, the regular charge from Moentilan, across the Progo River, to Boro Boedoer and back being G.5. Moentilan is in fairly frequent communication with Djokjakarta, and may also be reached twice daily from Samarang. Travellers having leisure should spend a clear 24 hours at Boro Boedoer, but where time is short a morning or afternoon will suffice to obtain some insight into this wonderful structure.

There is an excellent Government Hotel (Pasangrahan) in close proximity to the Temple.

The following extract from Miss Scidmore's book (Java, the Garden of the East) furnishes the best outline of the structure in general terms:—

"The Temple stands on a broad platform and rises first in five square terraces, inclosing galleries or professional paths between their walls, which are covered on each side with bas-relief sculptures. If placed in single line, these bas-reliefs would extend for three miles. The terrace walls hold four hundred and thirty-six niches or alcove chapels, where life-size Buddhas sit serene upon lotus cushions. Staircases ascend in straight lines from each of the four sides, passing under stepped or pointed arches, the key-stones of which are elaborately carved masks, and rows of sockets in the jambs show where wood or metal doors once swung. Above the square terraces are three circular terraces, where 72 latticed dagobas (reliquaries in the shape of the calyx or bud of the lotus) inclose each a seated image, 72 more Buddhas sitting in those inner, upper circles of Nirvana, facing a great dagoba, or final cupola, the exact function or purpose of which, as key to the whole structure is still the puzzle of

archæologists. This final shrine is fifty feet in diameter, and either covered a relic of Buddha, or a central well where the ashes of priests and princes were deposited, or is a form surviving from the three temples of the earliest primitive East, where nature-worship prevailed. The English Engineers made an opening in the solid exterior and found an unfinished statue of Buddha on a platform over a deep well-hole."

Close to the Moentilan side of the Progo River there are two small ancient Hindu Temples, viz.:—Pawon and Mendoet, the latter being particularly noted for a most excellently carved Buddha image.

HINDU IMMIGRATION.

(Continued from page 314.)

IN reply to Mr. Gandhi's demands the South African Government enacted stricter laws and saw to their rigorous execution. Then followed the "Passive Resistance movement" of the Hindus. Strikes took place in the coal mine districts and on the sugar plantations, accompanied by rioting as a protest against the assaults on and flogging of Hindu labourers in the mines and public places. Bands were formed to march out of Natal into the other States, and encounters took place between them and the constabulary. No attention was given to the representations of Lord Hardinge, the Governor General of India, nor of Lord Crewe, at the head of the India Office in London. As a symptom of the feeling in South Africa regarding the situation between British Government, India, and South Africa, Rhodesia rejected the invitation of General Botha to enter the Union of South Africa on the ground that "the Nationalist policy might lead at some future date to the separation of South Africa from the Empire." Loss of life, incarceration of Indians, men and women, by the hundred, and intense suffering of all description on their part at last removed some of the galling conditions they were being subjected to. It should be mentioned here that a very large proportion of the Indian population in South Africa belong now not to the labouring but to the agricultural and trading classes. The agricultural class are, on the whole, a flourishing community. The trading class are principally Mohamedans from Bombay, and these are generally called 'Sammies' when they go from house to house hawking their goods, since the names of many people from Madras end in "swamy." The small traders are supplied with goods by the large traders in the cities, and almost invariably both the wholesale and retail traders soon grow rich.

AUSTRALIA.

Indians were imported into Australia as labourers for some time to develop the country, but subsequently

such importation and occasional voluntary immigration were stopped in 1905 by an educational test which may be used to exclude any Indian whom the immigration authorities do not choose to receive. Their number in Australia to-day, excluding the Sinhalese element, would be something like 3,000. These are mostly Sikhs and Pathans. The Government think that if Indians earn their living in Australia, they must spend their income in the country. The result is that they have been compelled to marry Australian women (white) in a large number of cases, and all of them have taken to the European mode of living. In the principal cities there are Indian shops owned by Indians. The town population of Indians are occupied in dress-making and street-hawking, while in the interior they are farmers. They have no disabilities as in the case of the South African Indians. They own houses and land like the European settlers, they have municipal and political rights, the public institutions, educational and otherwise, hotels and other places of general resort are equally open to them as to the Europeans. They obtain equal justice and fair play from the police as well as the magistracy.

NEW ZEALAND.

The exact number of the Indians in New Zealand to-day is not available. But a small number of them have migrated into that country and settled there. Like other colonies of Britain, New Zealand grew sensitive to the presence of the Asiatic peoples and in 1896 an Immigrants' Exclusion Act was voted by the General Assembly, but it did not receive the royal assent; subsequently by arrangement with the Colonial Office, another measure, giving power to impose a reading test on aliens landing in the Colony became law in 1899. For all that can be gathered this has fairly restricted Indian immigration to New Zealand but has not stopped it altogether.

FIJI.

Indian labour was first imported to the Fiji Islands in the year 1878 and to-day there are over 40,000 of them there. With that the cultivation of sugar began to pass into the hands of large companies working with modern machinery. It is said that, with the introduction of coolies, Fijians began to fall behind in the development of their country and that as many of the coolies chose to remain in the Colony after the termination of their indentures they began to displace the European country traders. With a regular and plentiful supply of Indian coolies, the recruiting of the Kanaka labourers practically ceased. In inviting more Indians to these Islands which are still open to them, Mr. Manilal M. Doctor writes:

"It is a fact that the finger-nails and toe-nails of India have reached as far as these happy isles in the Pacific through the

machinery of the system of indentured or coolie labour. For those who find it hard to make a suitable living in India after learning some small trade or craft, Fiji can offer some chances; thus a blacksmith can earn six shillings a day; there is five to ten shillings a day to be earned by building carpenters—most houses here are made of galvanized iron sheets fitted on to wooden frame-works; there are equally good wages in the tailoring and shoe-repairing lines, not to speak of laundry and barber shops. For higher occupations we are badly in need of Indian gentlemen who can satisfy the Government here as to their qualifications as surveyors of land and these gentlemen will have a lucrative practice: we also need doctors (those qualified in Great Britain will find no difficulty in admission to practice) and even lady doctors, who would benefit themselves and their community by the practice of their professions in this Colony. Though there may be initial difficulties, I believe that a few wealthy (must be educated) men can do very well in the export and import business if they can establish reliable agencies in Australia and New Zealand. Indian lawyers educated in the Indian Universities as also in Britain, are enrolled as practitioners in the Fijian Law Courts without any trouble. It will be easily understood that the presence of a few lawyers, doctors, surveyors, merchants and other respectable men will surely raise the status of the Indian in general and in course of time help the Indian population to take a legitimate share in the Government and administration of this Colony, as is the sincere desire of Sir Bickham Sweet Escott, the more so as the future of this Colony depends almost wholly upon its peaceful and law abiding Indian settlers, who are numerically half of the Fijian now dwindling population and twelve times the European population."

BRITISH GUIANA.

The Indian population of British Guiana was 124,000 in 1904; that of Trinidad 78,799 in 1901. They were mostly imported as labourers under the indenture system, but have subsequently settled down there. In fact one-third of the population of Trinidad is Indian. In the Report of the Sanderson Committee appointed some-time ago to inquire into the question of immigration to Crown Colonies and Protectorates, the following account has been published with reference to the Indian coolies' condition in British Guiana and Trinidad:

"No one who knows the Indian coolie well can fail to be struck by the great difference between the coolie of India and his children born in the Colony. Whatever be the cause, whether change of climate, better food, easy times, more responsible duties or position, the influence of travel, and freedom from the narrowness of caste prejudice, the result is very apparent. The children born in the Colony of Indian parents revert to a higher type of civilization, and in appearance, manners and intelligence are so much superior to their parents that it is difficult to believe that they belong to the same family. The boys and young men are stronger and better looking, and are able to turn their hands to anything at a moment's notice, with a smartness and knowledge of the world which would vastly astonish their grandparents in India. While the girls and young women have a beauty and refinement rarely seen in public in India, many having all the appearances of birth and good breeding usually associated only with families of the best blood."

It may, moreover, be added that many of the children of these settlers have been in residence in Harvard, Columbia, not to speak of smaller American Universities, and in the British Universities overseas, and a very large percentage of them have become Christians.

CANADA.

The history of Hindu immigration into Canada is briefly this: The first Sikhs who came were the troopers who came over from the celebration of Queen Victoria's jubilee at London. They passed through Canada; they saw the country and when they went home they spoke of the prairies which were just like the plains of the Punjab. Some enterprising men wanted to come to Canada. In 1905 a few came over; in 1906 a few more; in 1907 and 1908 a further number; but in 1909 all immigration from India was stopped. Those that are now in the Dominion number something like 4,000. They have adapted themselves to their new surroundings. This was asserted by Colonel Davidson, of Davidson and MacRae—one of the biggest employers of labour there,—who says that these Sikhs are the most efficient men he has. He employs a goodly number of them at New Westminster, British Columbia. When they came they were unskilled; now they are getting responsible positions. As soldiers they are equal to any the world has yet seen. In Hongkong and along the Chinese coast they are employed as military policemen to protect the lives and property of foreigners in China. Mr. Thomas West of Toronto, who has travelled considerably both in the Occident and the Orient, once declared that he had not seen a better type than the Sikhs. In fact, in the annals of European warfare, as elsewhere, theirs is a grand, clean record, unsullied and honorable.

When numbers of these men began to arrive in British Columbia in 1905, they were not welcome. The province was in a state of political turmoil and a provincial election was approaching. The Japanese were coming in large numbers and the labour unions were up in arms at the importation of alien labour. Protests were passed against immigration from any Oriental country and sent to Ottawa. No discrimination was made in favour of the Hindu, who is born a British subject, and belongs to the Caucasian race. Parliament enacted that to come to Canada he must make one continuous journey, but as there is no line of steamers which sail direct from India to Canada, the object was obvious. As a matter of fact Mongolian non-Britishers were given preference. This legislation resulted in many indignities to the Sikhs, and deprived them of the sacred ties of family life, for they did not bring their families with them. All attempts to secure justice through the proper channels failed until at last, the Komagata Maru episode was devised by Mr. Gurdit Singh; the outcome of that episode is too well known to require a repetition here.

Those that are already in the Dominion, own land and are outgrowing the stage of day-labourers faster than members of many European nationalities. They cultivate the use of the English language most willingly

and succeed in achieving a mastery over it more easily than the Southern and Eastern European races, because many of them come with something of a start in that direction by being in touch with the English-speaking population of India. It is supposed that the restrictions on the Indian Immigrant to the British Colonies will be very largely removed and the attitude toward the Hindu will be very different from what it has been of late, after the present European war is over.

PROSPECTS IN ARGENTINE.

While almost no Indian labour has been imported to Argentine, there is now a call for it on reasonable terms. Mr. M. A. Farias says that there is a fair field for Indian agricultural enterprise in the Argentine Republic. Lands will be disposed of for agricultural, cattle raising and other purposes gratuitously, by sale, and otherwise, and the attention of Hindus at home has been drawn by the State to their liberal programme. What the outcome will be of this invitation remains yet to be seen.

JAMAICA.

In 1901 the number of Hindus in Jamaica was 10,116. As in other British Colonies, many of them have outgrown the day-labourer's life and are leading lives of comparative ease. They educate their children, take part in politics, and take their chances with other settlers in so far as they are competent for them.

UNITED STATES.

The total number of Hindus in the Continental United States was 4,794 during 1913. There were only 9 of them in 1900, 20 in 1901, 84 in 1902, 88 in 1903. During the following ten years their numbers have been as follows: 258 in 1904, 145 in 1905, 271 in 1906, 1,072 in 1907, 1,710 in 1908, 887 in 1909, 1,782 in 1910, 517 in 1911, 165 in 1912, and 188 in 1913. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913, there were 188 arrivals and 213 departures.

Of the total number given above, some 800 are students scattered all over the country; of the rest over 4,000 are labourers on the Pacific Coast. A small number of them are already in respectable and responsible positions in this country as professors, medical men, journalists and the like.

The wages of the Hindu labourers in this country vary from \$1.50 to \$2.00 per day. About 47 per cent. of them are illiterate; in this they show a more hopeful figure than the Portuguese, Turks, Lithuanians, Mexicans, Syrians, Ruthenians, and South Italians during the years 1899 to 1910.

In regard to these labourers, Professors Jenks and Lauck in their "The Immigration Problem" inform us that

"Of those who were investigated by the Immigration Commission, it was found that 85 per cent. had been farmers and farm labourers in India. Of the others, some had been soldiers, some business men, and a somewhat larger number, labourers in other lines. Usually they have little money in their possession when they arrive, and come with the expectation of accumulating a fortune of some \$2,000, then going back to their native land.... Usually they have been engaged in the roughest and most unskilled labour, outside factory walls, to a considerable extent in the lumber mills, sometimes on the railroads, sometimes in the sugar-beet fields, and many of them as hand labourers in fruit picking...Where they work in competition with the other races they have sometimes been paid higher wages than the Japanese—as a rule lower wages than white men, they not being recognized generally as a white race.. The standard of living of the Hindus is lower than that of any of the races with whom they compete, although, of course, where wages improve, their standard of living rises, if that may be judged by expenditure.There seems to be little doubt that they are, on the whole, in the most secure position of all the Asiatic races. Moreover, it seems likely that they are the most undesirable as workers, both on account of their physical and mental qualifications and of their habits of living."

The Commissioner of Immigration, Seattle, has declared that he may be open to argument on any debatable question but to his mind there is no debatable ground so far as the admission of the Hindu is concerned, and that the officers there have so "efficiently applied the existing law as against the admission of Hindu labourers arriving from their native country that there are no more arriving." The Report of Commissioner of Immigration, San Francisco, declares in regard to Hindu immigrants that "the Immigration Laws are usually effective against undesirable immigration if fully applied."

To the above has also been added that he is the least assimilable of the alien races.

So we find that the Hindu is practically charged with the same disabilities as the "Dago" or the "Greek" or the "Mongolian." But we may do well to examine more closely and see how far the foregoing conclusions can be justified.

RACIAL INTERMIXTURES.

First of all, the Hindus have hardly been here quite ten years. Their number has been almost negligible as an immigrant race. If what Professors Jenks and Lauck say be true, "a somewhat larger proportion of them than of several races speak English, especially if we count those who have come in lately." Though generally darker than the North European races they are largely Indo-European both by speech and blood (Sayce), and should seem more readily assimilable if the theory of easy assimilation of kindred races be a true one. It is true that the natives of India are not absolutely of pure blood, if such a thing ever existed or even exists to-day in Europe or here in America. A large part of the best people in Mexico are half breed (American) Indians.

Practically all the population of Europe is the product of the most widely divergent racial intermixtures. The United States as a melting-pot cannot compare with Europe (Boas and Giddings). Lightness of complexion after all is no test of race purity. The natives of India are mainly dark Caucasians or melanochrois, though goodly numbers of native Xanthochrois are to be found along the north-western border and other places (Tyler). Perhaps it would not be saying too much to say that the iron law of caste originating in a distinction of colour has kept the Indian races at least as pure as the South European races where, Semitic, African and Basque blood have contributed very liberally in the formation of those nations as they are to-day. Besides, the Mongols have generously contributed their blood and lent their tongue to quite a few North-European peoples.

Professors Jenks and Lauck have advised the exclusion of Hindus on the ground that they are caste-ridden and are exclusive in their nature. But our investigation reveals that most of the Hindu labourers in California, Oregon and Washington are Sikhs and Mohamedans. Neither of these two classes ever had a caste system, and in fact they are perhaps the only classes outside the modern Hindu Theistic Churches that do not observe caste at all. The Hindu may be, and perhaps is exclusive, but it is doubtful whether he has exceeded the American Jew in this respect. The Chinese wall round the Jewish home, their putting on of hats in the synagogue and at meals, and other queer customs are too well known to be mentioned here, and yet every fourth man in the city of New York is a Jew. India, however, does not seem to desire that every fifth man in New York should be a Hindu. It yet remains to be seen what sort of citizens they will make who are already on American soil. For some of them are already full-fledged citizens of the United States.

The Hindu is perhaps not so eager to marry American girls as some other nationalities, in spite of disabilities being imposed upon them. On the other hand, he has not been known to possess an aversion to such marriages, other requirements fulfilling. Hindu men with Hindu and American wives and Hindu women with American husbands already do exist in this country but not in large numbers. Whether marriage with an American girl is absolutely necessary for the Hindu's assimilation is doubtful. Whether inter-marriages between the different races or uniformity in certain national ideas, ideals and aspirations tend to indicate the degree of assimilation is not hard to tell from facts at hand. In regard to the European races in this country, Professor Giddings says:

"These ethnical groups remain for a long time distinct. From a comparison of the parent nativity of different ethnical groups in the United States, the Census Office in 1880 deduced the rule that, wherever large numbers of both sexes of any nationality are found

together, there is very little marriage of one nationality with another. In New York City, for example, Germans marry Germans, Irish marry Irish, and Italians marry Italians, and the same thing may be affirmed of all large cities. The customs, traditions, religious beliefs, and even the languages of the immigrants are showing a stronger tendency to persist here in the New World, and to modify our social and political life, than was formerly believed possible."

In spite of all this a wonderful nation has been possible. Professor Gulick is inclined to think that a most divergent type like the Japanese would be easily assimilated. While according to Professor Boas.

"There are no weak peoples in the world to-day. One group of a race may be temporarily weakened but as a whole no race is inferior. One man is as good as another mentally and physically, no matter whether he is American, Japanese or half-breed Mexican."

THE HINDU AS A SETTLER.

That the Hindu comes to this country only to earn \$ 2,000 and then go back to India would seem hardly probable if we look at his history in other lands, for example in South Africa, Canada, British Guiana and Australia as elsewhere. It is to settle down as a respectable citizen that he is eager and not to earn \$ 2,000 and sail back home. He is hardly a wage-earner all his life; he soon passes on to other stages. He is ambitious, perhaps a bit too much so. Dr. Sudhindra Bose of the Iowa University, who is also President of the Hindusthan Association of America, in reply to an inquiry wrote to the present writer:

"They never undersell American (white) labour. During the last hot season in California the Hindus struck for higher wages and shorter hours, while the Americans and Japs played scabs. They are hard patient workers. They seldom become a public charge."

As to the Hindu's standard of living much has been said to show that he is of a decidedly lower standard of living than many North European races and doubtless there is truth in this allegation. But we have seen that though Professors Jenks and Lauck are opposed to Hindu Immigration they admit that "where wages improve, their standard of living rises." Nothing conclusively can be said to prove that he has lowered the American standard of living, which, so far as it is actual as opposed to the ideal, is not as high as it is generally supposed to be. In fact it has been very clearly shown that some of the "new" and "undesirable" immigrant races (European) spend more money on food, clothing and housing accounts than the average native-born wage earner. (Hourwich).

Among other reasons it has also been urged that as the Hindu has been excluded from many British Colonies, he should be excluded from the United States also. On hearing of this the Hindu at home has wondered if the United States is still a British Colony. For a quarrel between India and the Colonies is an

affair domestic, and not properly speaking international. A quarrel like this is expected to be more easily settled as quarrels between children of the same family which occur more frequently and are sooner made up than quarrels outside the home.

THE FUTURE.

We have by this time viewed the Hindu from all possible points of view, and can roughly outline his future in this country. With all the opportunities of this great country of endless resources he can be expected to make a fairly good citizen in his own lifetime. Being a kindred race and with a willingness to adapt himself quickly to his surroundings, he is likely to be more liked here than the Mongolian, Greek or South Italian; for, the huge numbers of these races in this country have evoked a lasting antipathy in the minds of people all over this land. If not for anything else, at least to preserve the friendly feeling now existing between the Hindus at home and the American, it may be thought necessary to discourage further Hindu Immigration into the United States by the Hindus themselves.

As to whether Hindu Immigration ought to be stopped by legislation one word may be said. It is more the recurring thought of a "Yellow Peril" than anything else that has led to such a proposal. The Hindu is susceptible to coldness and contempt, and his pride is very easily wounded. Having found that they are not welcome here, many of them are already leaving this country of their own accord. It is found that in 1911 there came to this country 575, while during the same year 252 of them went out, leaving a balance of 323. In the fiscal year of 1912, it appears that 221 persons came in, while 312 went out; thus 91 more went out than came in. Last year 283 came in, while 385 went out; thus 102 more went out than came in. By the time the Aryan Hindu is keeping off the American shores of his own accord, the real "Yellow Peril" is assuming definite shape every day. The bulk of the total Indian population outside of India to-day is not due to Voluntary Emigration as may have been seen in the foregoing pages, but due to the most pernicious indenture system. While there is nothing to be afraid of in the Voluntary Immigration of a small number of the Hindus, say 300 a year, by mutual understanding, or otherwise, the passage of an exclusion law will jeopardise all American interests in a self-asserting India of to-day. While she is considering bills to exclude British Colonists from India in the same terms as have been used for her, she could hardly be expected to overlook any uncalled for indignity from Uncle Sam. A reading test in English may serve as a good device to check this negligible and daily declining immigration, but there would remain the chance of an

American's having to stand a reading test in Hindustani before landing on Indian soil.

The economic effect of Hindu Immigration has not been considerable on India. Of course industrialism is gaining strength there and a comparative dearth of labor in certain localities has shown a rise in prices. In Urban districts unskilled labor sometimes sells at as high a price as here in America. In country places labour is considerably cheaper but still gets higher wages than in either China or Japan (Joseph Bibby). When laborers who have been abroad return to India, they introduce a higher standard of living among their fellow-men. But on account of the climatic condition of India and the rules of life of her people, they are never likely to attain the American standard of living in India; but a constant tendency toward raising the standard is unmistakably in evidence throughout the country just now. In fact there is to-day a laboring population in India earning as much as four times the wages of poorly paid clerks in the postal, railway and other departments.

A word about the civilization of the Hindus may not be out of place here. Though the laboring class do not represent generally the higher Hindu culture and standard of civilization that could be expected in the classes, it is a fact that they come from a country where philosophers thought the deepest thoughts, science was ardently cultivated (Ray and Seal's "History of Hindu Chemistry"), and poetry "combined earth and heaven itself in one sole name" at a time when the western peoples were still barbarous; a country whose ancient dramas are still staged in Germany to-day and witnessed by the profoundest men over and over again without any abatement of enthusiasm. That torch of Hindu culture and civilization has kept burning through the centuries with varying degrees of brilliance but never completely died out. The genius that invented Algebra and the decimal notation, both of which were not introduced into Europe till the thirteenth century, may not be treated with utter contempt; the Greek, Roman, Egyptian, and Jewish civilizations were more or less great, but in many respects they lacked the penetration of the Hindu Wallace. While other ancient civilizations are mummified exhibitions in the great museums of the world, the torch of Hindu civilization and culture is once more ablaze and the world is now hearing of a "Hindu Renaissance."

There is something in connection with Hindu Immigration which deserves the most serious consideration of British statesmen in England and in her colonies overseas. India is poor and discontented with her present lot, and in some parts overpopulated. She wants an outlet and such a desire is nothing but just; as British subjects they naturally turn first to British

Colonies and in spite of the discontent in India this seems to be a healthy sign for the Empire ; something which the Colonists ought not to lose sight of, as this attitude of the immigrants is assuring of the solidarity of the wonderful world-empire of Britain. In case such just and natural expansion of the Indian nation within the Empire be interfered with, and preference be given to the sworn enemies of Britain, the consequences will be more than we can see now. For there is Russia, England's rival in the Orient for more territories, already inviting immigrants to settle in Siberia with her hoarded mineral wealth and there would be nothing to wonder, if discontented bands of Indians should go over and settle there to work out the deep-laid plans of the ambitious Czar. So long as there is room for the Indian in the colonies he should not be made to go elsewhere. At the same time he cannot be restricted from moving out of India, as has been suggested by some short-sighted politicians. An Empire with water-tight compartments is hardly conceivable ; it is the bones of the human body pieced together without the soul in it. The British Empire at its worst is certainly worth more than that.

But after the European war is over, things will change and the United States will not find herself confronted with anything from India that will assume the proportions of a "peril." The friendship between the two countries will continue to exist, and, as was once said by Mark Twain, the "holy passion" will grow stronger than ever, for she will find India too good to ask her for a "loan of money."

INDIA AND GERMAN EAST AFRICA.

Mr. G. H. Lepper contributes to the May number of the *United Empire* an interesting article under the title "India and German East Africa" which is full of practical wisdom. The writer is one of those few white men who recognise the services which India has rendered and is still rendering in the present crisis, and who believe that her sons should have tangible recognition of their claims as equal subjects of the British Crown. In the opinion of the writer, the acquisition of the German East Africa by the Empire may afford "a solution of a difficult Imperial problem which has been shelved, but not solved by the outbreak of a world-wide war." He asks in all earnestness whether, in the event of the British or the Allied forces occupying the British East Africa, it would not be a valuable experiment to set apart German East Africa as a colony for Indians and Indians only. The writer's solicitude and concern

for Indians seems to have been the result of a consideration of the fact that the greater part of the territory is unsuited for colonisation by white men. Hence his proposal. Nor are we much impressed with the genuineness of his feelings in the matter of free Emigration of Indians from what we could gather from his arguments to preserve Canada, Australia and New Zealand as entirely a white man's country without further influx of Indians. The writer continues as follows:—

For several years the Indian Emigration question has been growing increasingly acute. The agitation in South Africa two years ago, and the Komagata Maru affair at Vancouver, were danger-signals which showed plainly enough the perils of the situation that was arising within the Empire as the result of the opposition of the self-governing Dominions towards the immigration of British Indians. Since those events took place, India has given magnificent proofs of her fidelity to the Empire. Her sons are fighting with the greatest bravery and tenacity in France and in the Euphrates Valley. They assisted in the reduction of Tsing-tau ; they beat back the Turkish attempt to cross the Suez Canal ; and, as already mentioned, they have been in the thick of the fray in East Africa. Unless the white race is content to "astonish the world by its ingratitude" the services which India has rendered, and will continue to give, cannot be allowed to pass without some tangible recognition of the claims of Indians as British subjects to share in the spoils of the victory which they will have helped to make possible.

It must be candidly recognised that there is no prospect of any material change in the attitude of the self-governing Dominions towards Indian immigration. Even if public opinion were to permit any such change, it would still be highly undesirable, from the point of view of the general interest of both races, to sow the seeds of future discord by endeavouring to mix two fundamentally different standards of living. In Canada, the only province which has a climate in any way suited to Southern Asiatics, is British Columbia ; and this province already possesses quite as many Asiatic residents as it can handle without a serious lowering of the white man's standard of living—or, to be more precise, the standard set up by the Anglo-Saxon people in North America. In Australia there is a vast uninhabited and semi-torrid region eminently suitable for colonisation by Asiatics, and, some believe, only suitable for permanent settlement by a non-European race. To prevent any such use of the northern half of the Australian Continent, the "White Australia" policy stands as an apparently insuperable obstacle. Some day, unless colonisation by some of the Mediterranean peoples can be effected, the continued holding back from productive

use of this valuable region may cause international and inter-racial difficulties, just as the attempts of Holland to retain the whole of her eastern empire may sooner or later bring this state into opposition to an Asiatic Power. But this possibility is outside the scope of the present argument. New Zealand is essentially a "white man's country," and no influx of Indians into this Dominion is conceivable so long as the Empire remains in its present form. South Africa, which already has a large Indian population to complicate its numerous racial problems, is not sufficiently enamoured of the experiences it has acquired in this connection to be likely to abate its hostility to any further incoming of Asiatics. It is, therefore, away from the self-governing Dominions that attention must be directed, if an outlet for Indian emigration, which will not produce dangerous racial friction, is to be discovered.

On a small scale such an outlet exists already as regards the labouring classes, in certain Crown Colonies and Protectorates, such as Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guiana, the Fiji Islands, Zanzibar, and British East Africa. But the question to be answered is whether it would not be a valuable experiment to set apart German East Africa as a colony for Indians and Indians only (save for the necessary white officials in the organisation period), subject to due regard for the interests of the aboriginal inhabitants, for whom reservations could easily be demarcated. An area as extensive as German East Africa would itself accommodate many millions of Indians, and eventually some of British East Africa and the Sudan might be added to the Indian zone in Africa, provided that the experimental stage gave satisfactory results.

It is one of the certainties of the future that although the present War may prove to be the final conflict in Europe, the extent to which the earth has been appropriated by European peoples, will, some day, cause an even more terrible struggle between the white race and the peoples of Asia, unless the "dog in the manger" policy is definitely replaced by some more conciliatory attitude on the part of the race which, by virtue of its discoveries in regard to the control of natural forces and its administrative capacity, has acquired the dominant position on the earth. Japan has shown that there is nothing inherent in the Asiatic mind to prevent it from working on similar lines, and the example of Japan cannot fail to exert a powerful influence on other Asiatic peoples. How the differences between the yellow and the white races regarding land ownership are to be reconciled is a problem which will require even more careful consideration than the adjustment of the claims of India. The latter can, the writer believes, be solved within the future limits of the British Empire ; but the former is in every sense a world problem of an international character. If we fail to deal with the Indian

question in good time, it will tend to merge in the still greater issue of European against Asiatic. By the exercise of the necessary foresight and statesmanship, the Indian and the Mongol problems can be kept detached, thereby adding greatly to the probability of finding a solution to both without a serious racial conflagration. It is only in Africa that there is sufficient thinly populated land to provide for the surplus population of India without causing friction between the immigrants and white workers. And in German East Africa, especially if it is won largely by India's own sons, there will be a magnificent and probably a unique opportunity both to reward the services of India to the Empire in the present struggle and to attempt a permanent solution of the claims of Indians to share more fully in the Imperial heritage.

In so far as sentiment enters into the claims of India with regard to the status of Indians in the Empire, it seems possible that, by a measure of reciprocal treatment as between India and the Dominions, this difficulty could be surmounted. Given an outlet for Indian emigrants in East Africa, it ought not to be beyond the powers of statesmanship to arrange that India should have the power to exclude white men of the working class, just as the Dominions exclude Indians. Or rather it might be arranged that the number of Indians to be admitted to any one of the white States of the Empire should bear a relative proportion to the white population of the State. As a matter of fact, if the proportion agreed on is to avoid the necessity for removing some of the Asiatics now in the Dominions, it will have to be something like twice as great as the number of the whites in India in relation to the total population. The existing white community in India, inclusive of troops, bears the proportion of about 1:2000 of the native population. In Canada there are now about 3,000 Indians in a total population of 8,000,000. A ratio of 1:1000 as suggested would, therefore, permit the Indian colony in Canada to be increased by about 5,000. In Australia there are rather more than 5,000 Indians, and under 5,000,000 white men at present, but the excess over the 1:1000 ratio is trifling. In New Zealand, where there are about 1,250 Indians, this ratio is almost exactly conformed to by the existing situation. South Africa presents a difficulty since the South African Indians already exceed a proportion of one to ten of the white residents. But South Africa differs from its sister Dominions, since it is the only one which has a native population of more than negligible size. The Indian section of the composite racial problem—presented by the Union—might perhaps be adjusted somewhat by offering inducement to South African Indians to transfer themselves to East Africa. The conferring of full political rights on the small Indian communities domiciled in the Dominions would then be the only

step necessary to meet every legitimate aspiration of Indians for equality of treatment and the recognition of their claims as British subjects.

VISITING FRANCE : CONDITIONS OF TRAVEL AND RESIDENCE.

PASSPORTS AND PERMITS.

THERE seems to be a general impression among English people, says a "Times" correspondent, that travelling in France under existing conditions must be an uncertain and uncomfortable business. As a matter of fact, beyond the journey to Paris, which is necessarily slow, the general conditions of railway traffic are by no means unpleasant, and the absence of the usual winter visitors and tourists has created so sweetly reasonable a spirit in hotel managers and shopkeepers, especially on the Basque coast and the Riviera that travel and residence are invested with new charms. No one need feel constrained to abandon his or her journey to the land of sunshine and blue sea, because of any fear of serious difficulties or delays in getting there; even for those who wish to travel by motor-car there are no insuperable obstacles now that the requisitioning of the private vehicles of properly accredited foreigners has ceased.

The South of France is not likely to become fashionably thronged, of course; but it is easily accessible, its unusual tranquillity has a fascination of its own, and hotel life is cheaper there than at any time within the memory of man. Moreover, the whole country from Pau to Mentone offers to the sympathetic observer new and absorbingly interesting aspects of life, revealing unsuspected humanities in men and things that, in the mechanical routine of former days, we have taken for granted as commonplace. No more picturesquely instructive journey could possibly be imagined, for instance, than that which takes you by leisurely omnibus stages from Biarritz and Bayonne, through Pau and Lourdes, to Tarbes and Toulouse; thereafter, by way of Carcassonne, Narbonne, and Cette to Avignon, and thence as far as you please, south-eastwards towards the Italian border, or as far as the military authorities will allow you, northwards towards the seat of war. All this country of the South is full of soldiers—convalescent wounded soldiers, revelling in restful sunshine and luxurious hospital fare, as well as great numbers of fresh troops in all the garrison towns. Everywhere, and most notably in the railway buffets and buvettes, there is unflinching interest in the *comédie humaine* and particularly in observing the unceasing struggle between the chivalrous, open-handed

military traditions of the French people and their ingrained habits of thrift and keen perception of profitable business.

NECESSARY FORMALITIES.

For intending travellers a few hints may be useful. First as regards passports and other identification papers. To enter France a Foreign Office passport is sufficient, but at the first place where the traveller spends the night or more than six hours of the day, he should apply to the nearest police station for a *laissez passer*, to which his photograph must be affixed. This document, vised by the police upon departure, records his next destination and must be exhibited whenever required by the civil or military authorities. As a matter of fact, it is seldom called for, but it is, nevertheless, advisable to have it regularly filled in, so as to obviate all risk of being detained for inquiries at wayside stations, where some punctilious watch-dog may find time hanging heavily on his hands. In addition to the *laissez passer*, which constitutes the traveller's authority to move from place to place, a *permis de séjour* should be taken out at the Mairie in any place where he proposes to remain for any length of time.

RAILWAY TRAVELLING.

As regards railway journeying Messrs. Thos. Cook and Son have recently re-opened their offices at Mentone and other places on the Riviera, and their customary facilities are now generally available. On the Paris-Lyons-Mediterranean line an improved service was organized on November 1914, running from Paris to Nice in 21 hours. Sleeping accommodation (chiefly *couchettes*) is therein provided for a limited number of passengers. The food problem presents no difficulties, thanks to the excellent buffet arrangements at Lyons, Avignon and elsewhere. The train service from Paris to Bordeaux and the Basque coast is officially described as an Express, but it is a courtesy title. Towards the end of October I spent five crowded hours covering the 78 miles between Paris and Orleans, the line being frequently congested on this section by reason of military requirements, but the journey here as in the south fully makes up in human interest what it lacks in speed and comfort.

Hotel and pension prices at most places on the Riviera and at Pau have been very greatly reduced.

MONEY AND BAGGAGE.

As for money, a letter of credit will be found most generally convenient. In spite of the impression which prevails that English gold is in keen demand on the Continent, sovereigns are by no means readily disposed of in certain localities. In Paris, at the end of November, Messrs. Cook were taking sovereigns a

something under 25 f. and offering a better rate for cheques on London—facts which would appear to dispose of the idea that English gold is being hoarded abroad to any considerable extent.

As regards baggage the traveller in France will be well-advised to send all heavy impediments in advance, and to carry with him light hand baggage only, especially on the London Paris route.—*The Indian Daily Telegraph*.

SOME GRIEVANCES IN MAURITIUS.

Mr. P. Lutchmaya writes to "India" about the status of Indians in Mauritius as follows:—

As far as Mauritius is concerned, I must gratefully acknowledge that the Home Authorities have always very sympathetically endeavoured to relieve the Indian population thereof from any hardships to which their attention may particularly have been drawn; but, unfortunately for us, there is a powerful oligarchy of certain factory owners in the island whose one object is to exploit the Indians by all means. It is no wonder, in the circumstances, that they view with extreme jealousy any measure which the Home Authorities introduce for our benefit, and as they dispose of considerable power and influence in the affairs of the island, either as Members of the Council of Government or otherwise, they generally find means of thwarting in one way or other the beneficial results of all measures intended for the amelioration of our condition.

A striking illustration is to be found in the organised opposition that is being made just now against the Co-operative Banks recently introduced as a result of the recommendations of the Royal Commission appointed in 1909 to enquire into the condition and resources of the island. The Commission held that the Indian small planters "form a very important section of the community, and upon their prosperity and progress the future of the colony must largely depend." They noted that there was a demand for loans on easy terms among them to carry on their cultivation which was not satisfied under the existing conditions, and recommended that steps should be taken to introduce among them "the system of Co-operative Credit Banks, which has been so successful in India and Europe," holding that such a measure, which would ensure an increase and improvement in the cultivation of the land, "would be no less a boon to such planters than a distinct gain to the colony as a whole."

Mr. S. Wilberforce, of the Indian Civil Service, was subsequently deputed by the Government of India to study the possibilities of success of such banks among them, and on his favourable report the co-operative movement was set on foot in the island about the latter half of 1913. At about the same time a ring

was formed among several factory owners with a view to secure a complete and undisputed control over the canes of the Indians in the neighbourhood of such factories and to keep down the prices as low as possible by eliminating all competition for such canes, thereby rendering altogether nugatory any benefits that they were to derive in other directions from the establishment of the Co-operative Banks.

At the beginning of the last crop in July 1914, the principal society of the island, which found itself in the area of operations of the ring in question, succeeded, however, in defeating the object of the ring by securing for its share-holders a fair market price for their canes through a contract it managed to make with some distant factory which was not in the ring. This was the signal for a remorseless war against the society in question, and the co-operative movement as a whole, on the part of the promoters of the ring, some of whom are members of the Council of Government, and expected as such, it is understood, to promote the good government of all classes of the Colony. The history of this war against the society goes to form a series of unfortunate incidents in which some of the share-holders have suffered heavily. Finally, the Supreme Court of the Colony has held that it is not competent for a "Co-operative Credit Society" to enter into a contract for the sale of the produce of its shareholders, while Mr. Wilberforce's views and those of the legal advisers to the Government of India all seem to point the other way.

The whole matter has reached a serious crisis, and is being fully laid before the Home and Indian Government authorities, and hopes are entertained that a thorough investigation into all the circumstances will lead, once and for all, to a proper and final adjustment of the question of the proper treatment of the Indians in Mauritius. It is a question which has been on the "tapis" ever since 1872, when a first Royal Commission was appointed by His Majesty's Government, and according to the last Royal Commission of 1909, it is still "one of the most difficult of the problems which lie before the Mauritius Government."

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

An Appeal by Professor J. C. Bose.

Professor J. C. Bose, D. Sc., C.I.E., the great scientist of India who had been on a tour to Europe and America expounding his famous theories of plant life, returned to India *via* Japan landing at Colombo on the 12th instant. He was met at Madura, on his way to Calcutta, by the Rajah of Ramnad and Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai and others, and was requested by them to honour the ancient city. Professor Bose readily complied with their request. In the course of his reply to an address presented to him under the auspices of the Madura Tamil Sangam, he made the following stirring appeal:—

AN EXHORTATION TO INDIANS.

In travelling all over the world, which I have done several times, I was struck by two great characteristics of different nations. One characteristic of certain nations is living for the future. All the modern nations are striving to win force and power from nature. There is another class of men who live on the glory of the past. Now what is to be the future of our nation? Are we to live only in the glory of the past and die off from the fits of the earth, or to show that we are worthy descendants of the glorious past and to show by our work, by our intellect and by our service, that we are not a decadent nation? We have still a great and mighty future before us, a future that will justify our ancestry. In talking about ancestry, do we ever realise that the only way in which we can do honour to our past is not to clap of what our ancestors have done, but to carry out in the future something as great, if not greater than they. Are we to be a living nation, to be proud of our ancestry and to try to win renown by continuous achievements? These mighty monuments that I see around me tell us what has been done till very recent times. I have travelled over some of the greatest ruins of the Universities of India. I have been to the ruins of the University of Taxilla in the farthest corner of India, which attracted the people of the West and the East. I had been to the ruins of Nallandi which invited all the West to gain knowledge under its intellectual fostering. I have been all there and seen them. I have come here also and I want to visit Conjeevaram. But are you to foster the dead honours or to try to bring back your University in India and drag once more from the rest of the world people who would come down and derive knowledge from India. It is in that way and that way alone we can win our self-respect and we can make our life and the life of

the nation worthy. The present era is the era of Temples of learning. In order to erect temples of learning, we require all the offerings of our mighty people. We want to erect temples and "viharas" which are so indispensable to the study of nature and her secrets. It is a problem which appeals to every thoughtful Indian. It is by the effort of the people and by their generosity that all these mighty temples arose; and now are we to worship the dead stones or are we to enact living temples so that the knowledge that has been made in India shall be perpetuated in India. I receive requests from the different Universities in America and Germany to allow students from those countries to come and learn the science that has been initiated in India. Now is this knowledge to pass beyond our boundaries, so that again in future time we have to go to the West to get back this knowledge or we keep this flame of learning burning all time?

Status of India.

British Hindus never shall be slaves. This was the purport of an address delivered by Dr. Sunder Singh, the well-known Hindu organiser at the C. O. F. Hall, College Street, recently under the auspices of the Friends Association. Dr. Singh contrasted the action of his fellow-Hindus in voluntarily fighting for the Empire in France with the treatment meted out to them in Canada when they were refused an entrance into British Columbia. Dr. Singh thought the Hindus should have at least as free an entrance into Canada as the Japs, the Chinese and the Jews. They were not under the old Roman Empire where there were free-men and slaves. He said that Canadian Christians were sending missionaries to teach the Hindus that all men were brothers, and when they come to see how they practise the teaching they are disappointed. He believed that definite results would accrue from the present war, and that a better understanding would be engendered by the intimacy between the British and Hindu fighting side by side in France.

A BETTER UNDERSTANDING.

'You cannot have men fighting shoulder to shoulder and undergoing the same trials without a better understanding between them. That the people of India want self-government there is not the slightest doubt, British statesmen have expressed plenty of noble sentiments. What we want is not the stone of such sentimental platitudes but the bread of definite assurances and practical action. The time is come when the Sovereign and Parliament ought to make a definite and solemn declaration that it is Britain's deliberate desire, intention and policy to raise India to the status of a self-governing member of the British Empire within a definite period. I believe that this

will be the first great result of the self-sacrifice of India's sons on the battlefields of Europe.

STATUS OF HINDUS RAISED.

Another great result of this war will be that the Hindus' status as British subjects will be recognized in the British Dominions. The racial colour prejudice which has barred the Hindu simply because he is a Hindu will give way to better feelings. Or else how could you explain this wave of imperialism which is all around us? How could Canada refuse entrance to the Hindu soldier who received the Victoria Cross at the hand of King George V. the other day? The Hindu in Canada and India is the same as his brother fighting for us in the trenches of Europe and elsewhere.

The following resolution was carried unanimously: That this meeting, in view of the fact that the Hindus are assisting to uphold the liberties of Canada and the Empire, urges a reconsideration of the whole matter of the status of our Hindu fellow-subjects in Canada, with a view to promoting the greatest possible increase of unity within the Empire.

Mr. Arthur Hawkes also spoke, and Mr. John Lewis presided over the meeting.—*The Toronto "Globe."*

The Indian Question in Canada.

A BASIS FOR AGREEMENT.

Canadians cannot afford, says a contemporary, to close their ears against the plea of the stranger within the gates when he declares that justice is denied. Dr. Sunder Singh, speaking for the natives of India resident in Canada, ninety per cent. of whom are Sikhs, says that "Canada's reputation in the Empire is at hazard and her fame in the world in danger so long as fair play is made to wait upon the presumed interests of politicians who have never studied the real place of India in the Empire or her relation to the future of such a cosmopolitan country as Canada."

In what consists this denial of justice of which the Sikh leader now visiting Toronto speaks? In his own words. "A stigma is put upon me in Canada such as is not put upon the Japanese or the Chinese, or even upon the Negro." That stigma takes the form of an absolute refusal to admit natives of India to the Dominion save under immigration regulations that cannot be complied with, while the Japanese, the Chinese and the negro enter the country under different provisions of the law or no provision at all. The lowest type of Canton coolie can live in Canada on payment of a head tax of dollars 500. The most pugnacious Jap who ever tried the streets of Tokyo can come in without paying any head tax at all, under a sort of gentleman's

agreement between the Government of Canada and that of Japan strictly limiting to a few hundreds yearly the number of Japanese labourers permitted to emigrate to the Dominion. The negro can and does slip in at border unchallenged and unnoticed. The fighting Sikh, who shares the trenches in France with the Canadian in defence of the Empire to which both owe allegiance, is refused admission, and, as in the case of the "Koma-gata Maru's" passengers has the hose turned upon him if he insists.

That cannot continue. If we are determined to make and keep Canada a white man's country, as most of us are, and to prevent the immigration of men of other races in such numbers as to imperil the supremacy of the white, we must either bar out the tribute paying Chinese and the pushing Jap altogether or permit the Hindu also to enter on similar terms. The leaders of the Sikhs do not urge unrestricted immigration of Asiatics. They know how strong the sentiment is on the Pacific seaboard against such a policy. Were the politicians at Ottawa weak and foolish enough to attempt to throw the door wide open they would bring about the disruption of Confederation.

Short of unrestricted admission, what remedy is there for the undoubted grievance against which Dr. Sunder Singh and his fellow Sikhs protest? In the first place, "bona fide" merchants and students from India should be as freely admitted as those of any other Oriental country who desire to sell goods or study in Canada. In the second place, some sort of agreement such as is now operative between Canada and Japan might well be entered into between Ottawa and Calcutta by which the *amour propre* of the native of India might be saved, and a small—a very small—number of selected immigrants from India would be permitted to enter the Dominion yearly.

Our position is not logical, and the Indian is quick in detecting the flaw in our reasoning. We admit the Chinese because he is a profitable source of revenue. We admit the Jap because he insists upon admission as an ally of Britain and as a sign and token of racial equality. We reject the Sikh, racially nearer to us than the Jap, because we think he is not in a position to enforce respect. That is as dangerous as it is unfair. It is against such discrimination that the Hindu protests rather against Canada's unalterable resolution to prevent racial fusion on the Pacific slope.

Hindu Students' Impressions of America.

Dr. Sudhindra Bose, formerly of Calcutta and now lecturer on Oriental Politics and Civilisation at the State University of Iowa, N. S., contributes an article on the above subject to the February number of the *Forum*.

Speaking of the American Professor, the writer says that the American University Professor has fine force and personality. He enters into the very life of his students. He teaches not only by precepts and ideals, but also by his own example. He never despairs of his students—not even the stupidest. He will turn the intellectual pockets of his pupils inside out, and if by chance he gets anything at all, his joy knows no bounds. The striking thing about him is not his ability to impart information, which is sometimes remarkable, but his innate capacity to draw out and develop the latent faculties of his students.

The American College Professor is also very human. He does not stand on dignity—a quality which Orientals through centuries of venerable tradition have come to regard as a necessary mental equipment for all great teachers. The American usually throws ceremony and reserve to the winds and meets his students on an equal footing. This is a new experience for the Hindu, who is accustomed to look upon his teacher with reverence, if not awe.

The chief trait in the student's character is his ultra-independence. He is his own lord and master. But yet, in spite of his superior intelligence and alertness, he is none too industrious. In point of capacity and natural ability, the American ranks with the Hindu; in originality and energy, the American is superior; but, in application and thoroughness, inferior.

Sir Henry Galway on Coloured Labour.

The following is the account given by the Adelaide correspondent of the *West Australian* of the remarks made by the Governor of South Australia, Sir Henry Galway, upon the necessity of modifying the White Australian policy as regards the Northern Territory. Sir Henry's speeches, it will be remembered, were sharply criticised by the Commonwealth Prime Minister, Mr. Fisher, and were discussed in the *The British Australasian* of February 25:—His Excellency the Governor (Sir Henry Galway) was the Chief guest at the Uridla Show on Saturday, February 13. In the course of a speech, in which he touched on several topics, he referred to the Northern Territory. His Excellency said that, looking generally at the future of this vast continent, he was inclined to think that the hardest nut that the Federal Government had to crack was the development of the Northern Territory. Though that vast and romantic area was no longer a part of this State, they were all none the less deeply interested in its welfare and how that territory was going to be developed by white labour alone, he, for one, was unable to conceive. By all means let them have a white Australia if under that principle they could fully develop the country, but otherwise it would be a

thousand pities to allow what was undoubtedly a splendid country to remain undeveloped purely on account of a "White Australia" policy. Looking at the splendid services being rendered to the Empire by the Indian troops and by the Japanese allies, he was one of those who thought that the feeling of Australians on the colour question would undergo considerable change, or should he say a softening, when the war was over. He had no intention or wish of raising a controversy, but he simply referred to what to him was the most difficult problem that future Australian Governments would have to face in connection with the development of the land. He had probably trodden perilously near on, what was forbidden ground to State Governors, namely, Politics, but he could not allow that the future development of the Northern Territory came strictly under that head. State Governors were human beings in spite of the limitations under which they had to act, and they some times thought—and he could assure them that he has thought a great deal since he came to this country about the Northern Territory problem. There was fascination about it which arrested one's interest, and hence he had ventured on the edge of that groove in which Governors were supposed to run.

Railway Platform Gardens.

In some parts of India there has undoubtedly been some improvement noticeable in the appearance of railway platforms, but the pretty platform in India is more the exception than the rule. Verily some are hideous in their barrenness—a veritable eyesore to the passer-by. The pretty platform, ornamented with foliage and flowers, acts as a refresher to the jaded traveller who has traversed long distances in this country, and it is a pity that so few of this type exist in India. It is true there are exceptions. These are, however, few and far between making the majority of Indian platforms appear worse by comparison. On some railway systems we believe prizes are offered for well-kept platforms—a practice we should like to see universally adopted in this country. In our opinion, every mail train stopping station at least might be equipped with an attractive platform from which flowers could be supplied to passengers who might care to purchase them. As it is at present, a railway journey through India, especially during the hot months, is devoid of all attractions to the eye, as the greater part of the country over which our great railway system extends is flat, arid and bare so that the arrival at a railway station which is both useful and ornamental would come as a relief after a journey through such country. In addition to flowering plants, fruit trees and even vegetables might be grown and even utilized if necessary for same, the small revenue from which would go towards the upkeep of the garden.

Both in Ceylon and in Java the railway station platform is in most cases made a thing of beauty, a consummation which is not so necessary in those favoured islands where "every prospect pleases." In India a pretty railway platform is more essential as a redeeming feature among the arid wastes, with its clumps of cactus or gaunt palmyra trees that meet the eye in ever recurring appearance on the Indian plains! What we should like to see are railway station platforms after the type of the excellently laid-out one at Vizianagram on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway system.—*Railways.*

Position of Indians in Colonies.

U. P. Lieut.-Governor's reply.

ALLAHABAD, 17th June.—In connection with the memorial submitted to the Government on the question of the position of Indians in the Colonies and particularly in Canada, by the United Provinces Congress Committee, published in p. 207 of this Journal a reply has been received from the Government of the United Provinces which says the whole question of unindentured emigration to Colonies is under consideration of the Government of India and matters dealt with in the memorial will receive their earnest attention in any negotiations which may be undertaken with the Colonial Governments with a view to arriving at a satisfactory solution of the difficulties which have arisen.—(A.P.I.)

Emigration to Victoria.

During the first three months of the present year the number of immigrants who arrived in Victoria was 669, compared with 1,526 during the first quarter of 1914. They included 181 domestic servants, 268 nominated passengers, 56 lads, 34 land seekers (representing 88 persons), 50 farm workers (representing 72 persons), and 9 who paid their own passages. Considering the conditions created by the war, it is on the whole surprising that the number of immigrants is so great. The Victorian Government rigorously abstains from encouraging immigrants of military age.

State Scholarships.

For Sanskrit and Arabic.

SIMLA, 2nd June.—The Government of India have awarded the three State Scholarships, available in 1915 for the scientific study of Sanskrit and Arabic in Europe, to the undermentioned candidates, who were nominated by the Local Governments against their names:—Sanskrit—Mr. Vinayak Sakharan Ghatge, (Bombay), and Pandit Hari Ram Chandra Divekar, (United Provinces), Arabic—Moulvi Mahommed Shafi, (Punjab.)

Women Legislators in New Zealand.

In New Zealand, where for over twenty years women have enjoyed the privileges of the Parliamentary franchise, an attempt was made recently to admit them to the further privilege of seats in the Legislative Council. A conference of the two Houses was held, which eventually came to an arrangement whereby the Council will agree to the admission of women when and so soon as women are eligible for election to the House.

Assam Labour Act.

Section 7 of the Assam Labour and Emigration Act is notified to come into force from the first proximo.—(A.P.I.)

Admission to South Africa.

The following Resolution of the Government of India, Department of Commerce and Industry (Emigration), No. 8759-8774-24, dated Simla, the 8rd September 1914, has been published for general information:—

The following procedure has been arranged by the Government of India in discussion with the Government of the Union of South Africa to facilitate the admission into the Union of the wives and minor children of Indians resident in that country:

2. The husband or father resident in South Africa, who desires to obtain a certificate of relationship from a magistrate in India to facilitate the admission into the Union of South Africa of his wife or children under the age of sixteen years will, in the first instance, make application in the prescribed form to the immigration authorities in South Africa or to the magistrate of the district in South Africa in which he is residing, and on obtaining from the proper officer in South Africa a certificate in respect of his application, will transmit the same to his wife or child, as the case may be, for production with his application for a certificate of relationship before the principal local magistrate in India, viz., the Chief Presidency Magistrate in a Presidency town, the Political officer in a Native State, or the District Magistrate elsewhere.

3. The principal local magistrate in India on receipt of such application and on production before him of the certificate issued in South Africa will institute an enquiry either personally or through an officer not below the rank of a Deputy Tahsildar, a Sub-Deputy Collector or a Mamlatdar according to the province concerned, and if the senior magistrate is satisfied as to the alleged relationship, he will grant a certificate of relationship in the attached form in favour of the person (or persons) referred to in the application who will present it to the Immigration officer at the port of entry in support of (her—his or their) claim to admission into the Union.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

POLITICS.

The Origins and Destiny of Imperial Britain. by the late J. A. CRAMB, M.A., John Murray, London, Price 5 sh. net.

It was a happy idea that inspired the publishers to reprint in book form these lectures delivered by the late Mr. J. A. Cramb in 1900. The lectures themselves were the immediate outcome of the war in South Africa and are happily charged with a purpose that sheds a prophetic light even on the ideals and deeds of the present hour. These pages, when read in the light of contemporary events, offer here and there bitter sarcasm, though unperceived by the author. Thus, in one place, we read: "More than any race known to history, the Teuton has the power of making other religions, other thoughts, other arts, his own and sealing them with the impress of his own spirit." Here, the author's Scotch blood had got the better of his German erudition and, perhaps, in what was meant as a homage to Teutonic culture, of whose literature the author had imbibed a good deal, Cramb betrayed a woeful lack of historical reason. Modern Germany had so capitivated his imagination—more than is good for logical thinking—that Mr. Cramb falls into many obvious errors in his treatment of the growth of Imperialism in the nineteenth century Europe. In his praise of modern Germany, he almost damages the cause of Great Britain and of her Imperial system and mission. To him the unity of Germany under the Hohenzollerns was "an imposing, far-reaching achievement. The aspiration of the period of the Aufklärung—Lessing, Schiller, Arnot, and Fichte—find in this edifice their political realisation." It is difficult, indeed, to reconcile this panegyric with the author's passionate zeal for freedom, his eloquent proclamation of the mission of Great Britain to combine *imperium et libertas*. In the teutonic view, imperialism is synonymous with force and the Prussian Swash-buckler its highest apostle? Cramb himself defines imperialism as "patriotism transfigured by a light from the aspirations of universal humanity; it is the passion of Marathon, of Flodden or Trafalgar, the ardour of a Montfort or a Grenville, intensified to a serener flame by the ideals of a Condorcet or a Fichte." But these inconsistencies need not deter us as they are on the surface.

Despite these, the book possesses a value all its own. In the hands of Mr. Cramb, the disjointed incidents of history assume a uniform colour and shape and herein the author acknowledges himself to be the disciple of Carlyle. The strict historian is merged in the poet—the seer, if you will—and under his wand, the dry-bones of history revive into flesh and life. Thus, "World history is no more than the fairy tale whose end is death, but laden with eternal meanings, significant intimations, swift gleams of the Timeless manifesting itself in Time." This sentence is typical of many such to be found in every page of the book, marking out a penetrating intelligence behind a crowd of events. These rhetoric exaggerations apart, the author instils into the mind of the reader large visions, high hopes and lofty ideals.

C. S. K.

The World in Alliance.—By FRANK NOEL KEENE, L. L. B. Walter Southwood & Co., Ltd., 30, Craven Street, W.C. 1 sh. net.

Mr. Keene's "The World in Alliance" formulating a plan to prevent future wars, is a book worth reading. His proposal, to establish an international parliament to decide all questions relating to State boundaries and settling all disputes between States, is most sensible and not altogether impracticable. He suggests a complete written code of international law defining the connection between one State and another, regulating the relations between the rulers and the ruled and the framing of special laws to meet the special needs of particular States that enter this international federation.

Mr. Keene wisely points out "this code should contain, as its most important enactment, the prohibition of all wars and disturbance of international peace and thus the international legislators would not need to worry their heads over construction of a set of laws of land and naval warfare, a task to which the Hague Conferences have devoted much of their attention." His plan is an excellent one and if it could be realised, wars will be no more and the world will enjoy a life-time of Peace and Prosperity.

A. L. S.

The War and the Parting of the Ways. By CHARLES H. LUKE, A. M. S. E. Sampson Low, Marston & Co., Ltd., London, 1915. Price 1 sh. net.

The book before us is the result of an intelligent study of the present industrial and political condition of Great Britain. It affords ample materials for politicians and statesmen to think and to work out the salvation of the Empire. The author of this interesting volume Charles H. Luke, A. M. S. E., has shown in clear light some of the defects of British institutions and has given practical suggestions for their improvements. He has shown by facts and figures that the Government Board of Trade, as at present constituted, is not able to deal satisfactorily with the enormous work of the Great Industrial Nation. The best opportunity has been offered now to capture the commerce of the world, as the German and the Austrian exports have come to a standstill and as the Americans are bestowing much of their attention on the Panama Canal. To capture the commercial world the author makes an enthusiastic appeal to the Foreign Office to use its vigilance in the selection of efficient and capable consuls, and to the nation to cultivate a feeling of British Swadeshism, and to increase facilities for the establishment of a National Bank of Commerce, somewhat on the lines of the Commercial Banks of Germany. He makes a strong appeal for the formation of a Citizen Army, on the Swiss model, to defend the shores of Britain from possible hostile invasion, and to release the Fleet for policing the seas, enabling it to visit at regular intervals the far flung dominions and to defend our trade on the high seas. The splendid response from Canada and Australia and the magnificent outburst of Indian loyalty, the magnificent offers of Indian princes and peasants alike at a time when the existence of the Empire is threatened, he advocates, has made it imperative for the institution of a representative Imperial Parliament. The author says further and truly too that the organization of the Empire is an Herculean task and on it hangs the future of Britain.

We commend this handy little volume to all those who are interested in the welfare of the nation and

wish to see the Empire emerging out glorious from the present cataclysms of the nations.

V. K. M.

An Introduction to the Study of Government. by Lucius Hudson Holt, Ph. D. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York Price 8s. 6d. net.

This is an elementary text-book on Political Science and seems written mainly for the use of students preparing for various degree examinations in the United States of America. The arrangement of the subject under different headings is all that can be desired from the point of view of a student, and the subject has been exhaustively treated so far that can be possible within the limited compass of an elementary text-book. Why the author has chosen the title: "An Introduction to the Study of Government," to that of "Political Science"—the usual name by which the literature dealing on this subject is generally known, is clear from the distinction which he draws on the very first page of his book between the words "State" and "Government." "State is the more comprehensive term including the elements of territory, population, sovereignty, and political organization. Government is but a single word to characterize the political organization of the State." It is well that the author has made this careful distinction between these two distinct concepts, as they are in ordinary parlance generally treated as identical.

One feature of the book under review which deserves special mention is what the author has called "Statistics and Illustrative Citations" under which he adduces what he calls "documentary proof" of the statements contained in the substantive portion of the book. Though this is somewhat novel it is very useful and makes the subject dealt with—which in the abstract, is dry and tedious—interesting and pleasant. The book being mainly written for American students, is full of reference to the policy of Government in the several units of the United States. The information furnished by it is quite up to date. We have no doubt that it will form a very useful addition to the current literature on the subject.

R.G.S.

RELIGION.

"Modern Religious Movements in India," by J. N. Farquhar, M. A. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York. Price 2 doll. 50 cents.

We gladly hail this book as one whose want has been for a long time felt by all those who desire to have a general knowledge of the various kaleidoscopic religious movements in India. India has always been a happy ground for the sowing of religious seeds and reaping of speculative harvests, and there is little room for doubt that the Christian Missions, which are active to-day in India, have accentuated and contributed to the religious revival which is almost universal in the India of to-day. But there is one grave error into which the author, like a true missionary as he is, has fallen, and the error being a very pertinacious one, cannot be too strongly condemned. He seems to think that whatever is good in Indian Society and whatever works for its amelioration, such as social reform and service and even industry, science and economics, all such owe their existence to the propagation of Christianity in India. He is as right when he says so as

the Hindu when he says that the days of German scholarship began with the introduction of Sanskrit into German Universities. One is as absurd as the other. The author, in ignoring the value of every other influence at work in India except Christianity, has put himself out of court as a critic of the religious agencies now current in India, and many of the inferences which he draws from his laborious study of the religious literature of India are vitiated by this prejudice. "A modern movement belonging to whatever religion is almost in every detail a replica of a mission." Such is the sweeping statement made by Mr. Farquhar almost on the closing page of his book. This is another example of the length to which religious fanaticism is prepared to go in defence of one's own religion. The critic is no better than the people over whom he sits in judgment. If the author is justified in coming to the conclusion "that Christ's parable of the leaven is proving itself true in India," the Vedantin who honestly thinks that there is no higher or holier truth under the sun than what is contained in the famous *Bhagavat Gita*, is equally justified in concluding that the influence of the Gita is being felt all over the civilized world and that compared with its great teachings those of the Bible are barbarism itself. It is not our desire to minimise the good done to India by the Christian Missionary. Every school-going girl will freely acknowledge it, but we simply try to point out the fallacy of thinking that every form of good that is moulding the character of the Hindu owes its existence either directly or indirectly to the Bible.

However, the book contains very valuable information about the various *Samajes* and similar organizations in India. It is a mine of information and contains a lucid, clear and bold exposition of the current movements, in each case tracing its origin to that point in the history of Hinduism where it takes a sharp turn from the orthodox creed. Except when the author indulges in the fond prattle born of missionary enthusiasm, he is quite pleasant and accurate.

There can be no two opinions about the service which the author has done to India by the bold criticism which he has made of the origin and methods of the Theosophical Society. To every honest seeker of truth whose intelligence is not warped by bias or prejudice, the author's exposition of Blavatsky's frauds would appear to bear the impress of truth. One blushes to read the catena of immorality, hypocrisy, deception and trickery, of which this wonderful woman was capable, and one fails to understand how any sane man can possibly admire her character unless it is varnished over to bear an "esoteric" significance which is at complete variance from what it was in actual life. Nothing is more damaging to the cause of Theosophy than the defence by its accredited agents of the character of men and women like Blavatsky. "Yet Mrs. Besant published *H. P. Blavatsky and the Masters of the Wisdom* in 1907, using the old repudiated source, and repeating certain shameful slanders, without even mentioning Hodgson's replies. Nothing has done so much to shake my confidence in Mrs. Besant's honesty as my study of this dreadful document." So the author writes on pages 260-261 of his book.

There is one more matter to which we have to take objection. That is the relation that, according to the author, exists between revival of Hinduism and

anarchism. On page 358 he writes, "It is as clear as noonday that the religious aspect of anarchism was merely an extension of that revival of Hinduism which is the work of Dayananda, Ramakrishna, Vivekananda and the Theosophists." This is nothing less than culpable slander on the spotless character of men like Dayananda. It is easy to talk glibly of Dayananda and to impute to his rational teachings any aberration in the conduct of modern Hindus, but if miracles are possible in our days surely Dayananda was one. He was a rare product of accumulated Indian intelligence, and that such a man to be held "directly responsible for a great deal of the wildest teaching of the assassin press" is sheer nonsense. Some of the cruellest wars and inquests known to Europe have been waged and held in the name of Christ, and does Mr. Farquhar for one moment believe that either Christ or his religion has anything to do with these outbursts of human passion? The case of India is not dissimilar. It is the nature of religion to deal with the most abiding passions and feelings known to man, and as such it tinges every movement that tends to last for some time. Unhappily for India, every trivial circumstance in that country soon acquires a religious character, and it is therefore no wonder that anarchism should seek and get religious sanction so that it may be justified of its children. This is one reason why we should be very careful in estimating the character of geniuses like Dayananda Saraswati and appraise at its correct value the reconstruction of society undertaken and achieved by them.

On the whole, the book is in many respects a very valuable one and deserves a place in every library worth the name.

The System of the Vedanta, by Dr. Paul Deussen. *Authorised translation by Charles Johnston. Published by the Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U. S. A.*

The name of Professor Paul Deussen does not require any introduction to the modern public as expounder of Indian philosophy. His reputation is worldwide. By many great scholars and orientalists the Vedanta is considered as the highest blossom of Indian speculative thought, and on this account as well as on the account that it is the living creed of millions of intelligent men and women in and out of India, it deserves a careful study by every student of philosophy. Nay, it being a hoary system which has successively engaged the attention of many of the greatest Indians, it deserves a closer study than the systems of Kant, Hegel, Spencer or Spinoza. The modern dilettante simply brushes aside any book dealing with Indian ontology as so much stuff when compared with, according to him, the complete systems of Western philosophers. But no serious student will ever enter upon the study of Indian philosophy in that light fashion. If even to an Indian, well versed in all the grammatical and philological subtleties of Sanskrit, any philosophical work by one of the great commentators like Sankara will task all his reasoning faculty, how much more would a Western student, quite innocent of Sanskrit and all its philosophical vocabulary, have to exert himself in order to get a fair knowledge of the most ancient of philosophies now extant? But to the credit of modern education, it must be said that all important centres of University education in the world have prescribed for their respective courses of study in philosophy some or other of the important works

bearing on Indian philosophy. Of these works, next to the Vedas, nothing deserves a higher place than Sankara's commentary on what are known as the Brahma Sutras—the work with which the book under review is directly concerned.

The book attempts to give a simple, correct version of the interpretation of the Vedas by Sankara—generally known as the Vedanta, and though a previous acquaintance with the philosophical concepts current in Hindu literature will help the reader in understanding what is written in the treatise, yet it is possible for an intelligent reader to form some opinion of the system though he is not previously armed with such knowledge. As far as possible, the author goes to the original texts for his exposition of the system, and this makes his work doubly valuable. The topical arrangement of the subject is simply excellent and the whole book is divided into, besides the Introductory Chapter and Appendix, five parts: Theology or the doctrine of the Brahman, Cosmology or the doctrine of the world, Psychology or the doctrine of the soul, Samsara or the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul, and Moksha or the teaching of liberation.

We heartily recommend this work to all those who can spare some time for studying a system of thought, which has been the solace of myriads of generations of an intelligent race. R.G.S.

FICTION.

"A Great Mystery Solved," by "Gillan Vase." *Published by Sampson Low, Marston & Co., Ltd. Price, Indian Edition, 8/6.*

This interesting novel purports to be a continuation of, and conclusion to, "The Mystery of Edwin Drood"—the unfinished work of Charles Dickens. The author seems to be a talented woman who has a good grasp of the intricacies of human character, and with greater exercise in this kind of literature, is sure to develop into a good novelist. The Editor's note says: "The completion of the original story, the spirit and diction of which are, it is thought, pretty closely imitated, is now offered as an ingenious and probable solution of the mystery." We are not quite certain that the spirit and diction of Dickens' novels has been closely imitated, but we do not feel the same difficulty in coming to the conclusion that the story is a thrilling one whose development the reader will watch with unflagging interest until he comes to the *dénouement* in the final chapter, where we find two lovers locked up in each other's arms after having undergone untold privations and sufferings.

ANNUALS.

The Canada Year Book, 1913. *Published by authority of Minister of Trade and Commerce, by J. de L. Tache, Printer to the King.*

The usefulness of this volume cannot be overstated. Every possible information, which one requires about Canada, is to be found here. The whole book is liberally furnished with statistical tables, so that as a book of reference it stands unique. To the special features of the volume for 1912, have been added illustrated articles by competent authorities on the History and Physical Characteristics of Canada.

The Indian Emigrant

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EMIGRATION, COLONISATION, TRAVEL, SOCIOLOGY AND POLITICS.

The only Journal advocating the cause of Indians abroad, recording their life, thought and activities and safeguarding their interests in the Colonies.

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EDITORIAL NOTICES.

The Editor solicits contributions from Colonial residents, English or Indian, and others on problems relating to the Empire, particularly those directly bearing on India. Articles should not ordinarily exceed two thousand words. Indians living abroad are specially requested to write to us of their experiences in foreign lands. Such correspondence should be informative. The *Indian Emigrant* is not responsible for opinions expressed by writers or statements made by correspondents.

Photographic views and representations of Indian life in British Colonies and Foreign Countries will be thankfully received. They should be accompanied, in every case, with a short description.

PATRONS AND LIFE-MEMBERS

TO

THE "INDIAN EMIGRANT."

WE are often asked, "How old are you?" We answer, our birth synchronises with this Great War. We felt a sort of diffidence when we began our journalistic declaration on the lines sketched out in our first number. Now we have seen a bit of the hard fight, and we feel encouraged by our Allies and Supporters at home and abroad to continue to fight out to the end the righteous cause we advocate.

We pointed out in our "Aims and Objects" that "we do not believe that by mere journalistic work alone any success or good result can be achieved except it be accompanied by organisations to take up practical work in that line." This view is shared by many of our subscribers and from suggestions received from some earnest workers in the field, both

Indian and Englishmen, we have thought it desirable to form the nucleus of an Association and to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of all individuals. Those who are desirous of joining the Association will kindly communicate with the Editor. We require Members, active and honorary, from all quarters for carrying on the work.

With this object in view, we have adopted the policy of entertaining Life-Subscribers and Patrons to the journal on a minimum subscription of Rs. 100 and Rs. 500 respectively. They will be entitled to receive copies of the journal for life. This offer will be found most convenient, especially to our overseas subscribers, obviating the trouble of renewing their subscriptions year after year.

We may add that this arrangement for creating a fund for the journal and its work has already met with response, and we appeal now to the benevolent and enlightened public for further support.

EDITOR.

THE SIKHS IN CANADA

BY MR. SUNDER SINGH.

THE migration of peoples from one part of the world to another is always interesting and especially is this the case with the Hindus of India who in the past settled in Java, Sumatra and other islands of the Indian Archipelago. The modern movements of these people constitute a story of absorbing importance. The fact that the Hindus have not emigrated to other parts of the world but have practically remained isolated and unto themselves, gives the movement of the Sikhs to Canada its significance. The Hindus of recent years have moved in batches to South Africa, Australia, the British West



Indies, the Straits Settlements and the Far East. To all these countries Hindus go generally from certain well-defined areas. One can almost point with a finger the particular locality on the map from which the emigrants go to these parts of the world. The Hindus who have come to Canada are mostly Sikhs. They are from the Punjab and from a few districts round about Lahore. The density of population is in certain parts more than one per acre. They depend almost entirely on agriculture. There are hardly any industries to speak of, and it is primarily because of overcrowded agriculture that the Sikh who is fond of fresh pastures goes abroad.

The first Sikhs to see Canada, I have been told, were those returning to India after the Diamond Jubilee celebration in London. They saw the vast prairies of this great Dominion which are not unlike the plains of the Punjab. There were the waving crops of wheat which is raised so well in their own province. It was not till 1902 that a very small number of these hardy men crossed from Hongkong to Vancouver. At first when they came it was hard to get work, but as soon as they gained their way, they found plenty to do. Their employers recommended these men to others for the hard-working and steady habits of the Sikhs. I have heard of the privations and hardships of these men when they came here first. One case I specially remember, a Sikh new-comer, who lived entirely on potatoes like our friends the Irishmen for quite a considerable period.

There was no organized effort on the part of the Sikhs coming to Canada. It was all spontaneous. These men wrote back to their friends in the Far East of the great opportunities for labour in the Dominion. In China and near-by countries there is always a steady stream of men from North India who work as policemen, soldiers and in various other capacities. This class was the next to come. They came in small parties from Hongkong, Shanghai, Manchuria and the Straits Settlements. These men were accustomed to British laws and institutions. Then came the peasant proprietors of the Punjab, who mortgaged the small pieces of land handed down by their ancestors and who staked their all on the great venture.

It was in the years 1905 to 1908 that most of the Sikhs now domiciled in Canada landed in this country. They were tall and wiry men of fine physique. They came from a cold climate and were used to roughing it as they say out in the West. They worked hard, were frugal, sober and industrious.

The Chinese were the first of these new-comers, the

Japanese were next to follow, and the Sikhs came last of all. In 1907-08 there was a financial panic and the results were spread far and wide. Work was hard to get, but the Sikhs by their practical self-denial and helping each other tided over the hard times. The Chinese having a Government of their own are represented by consuls who take care of their interests. The Japanese can protect their nationals abroad, as is known to all. But with the Sikhs it was otherwise. During the stringency a great agitation was set on foot against the Orientals. Racial prejudice and passions rose high. Riots occurred against the Chinese and Japanese in 1907, and I have been told of a very anxious night which the Sikhs spent in their meeting house in Vancouver in 1908 when they heard rumours that this wave of fury and passion was to be let loose on them.

The Dominion Government through a Royal Commission, paid compensation for damages to property and loss of business and offered apologies to the Chinese and Japanese. The Hindus who were British subjects had come to British Columbia in 1907 in only one-third as many numbers as the Japanese, and many of them, according to evidence taken on oath, as a result of the immigration propaganda of certain Canadian interests.

But somehow a malicious agitation was started against our people. Misstatements and misrepresentations became the order of the day. The idea seemed to be when nothing else was on to start a scare about the Hindu peril. Confidential agents went to British Columbia to look into the trouble on behalf of the Government. Their reports were duly pigeon-holed. Why the authorities were so anxious about the Hindus nobody knew and nothing was said about it. Sometimes it was said the climate was working havoc on the Sikh. At other times the ground of complaint was that the Hindus had no work. The Hindu, like the rest of us, went on heedless of the keen interest manifested on his behalf. When it was reported that the Sikhs were starving, and everybody was feeling the effect of hard times, the Hindus, in spite of prejudice, built a meeting-house worth \$7,000 for the worship of God the Father of all. How a starving people could do this is a wonder to me.

With the return of prosperity the feeling against the Japanese and Chinese died down. Each Chinaman coming to British Columbia contributed \$500 to the revenue, and behind the Japanese was a powerful Government in alliance with Britain. The prejudice to Asiatic races then became somewhat concentrated

upon the Sikhs, for whom in contrast with the other Asiatics, no Government representative appeared at any of the official inquiries into the circumstances of Oriental immigration. In 1908 a scheme to take the Sikhs to British Honduras was started. A Mr. Harkin representing the Ottawa Government went to Vancouver and through another man made overtures to the Sikhs, who being naturally polite wanted to investigate about the "promised land" as represented to them by their friends. Two representatives were sent by the Hindus of British Columbia to Honduras to look into the matter. They went there and found conditions not quite the same as they were said to be. On their return these two men laid their report before the Hindu assembly, which was to the effect that the Sikhs who were going to be taken to Honduras were going there as indentured labourers and thus were going to lose their liberty. The Hindus already in Honduras were in a pitiable condition. Indenture forms were ready to be signed for the men who were to go from Canada to Belize. Well has it been said, "Save us from our friend."

On their return the officials also went to the Vancouver Sikh temple. They were asked to come upstairs to the open meeting and address the assembly. The Sikhs think that the authorities used ways and means which the Sikhs had never heard of before. The Sikhs being farmers and simple by nature believe in British justice and fairplay. They had never had the experience of a real game at politics. They saw through the whole thing and decided not to go to Honduras.

During all this affair the Sikhs had the help and guidance of Prof. Teja Singh, M.A., LL.B. (Harvard), for whose services at this crisis in their history the Hindus cannot be too grateful.

Many of the Sikhs in Canada had fought in the British India army and had thus shown by personal sacrifice and heroism that their citizenship in the Empire was not of talk alone, but was supported by deeds. As British subjects they had a status which no subtlety on the part of the politicians could destroy. Who can forget the Saragartu episode and similar wonderful feats of valour on the Indian frontier? In the dark days of the Indian mutiny the Sikhs helped the British in India to the uttermost.

The Canadian Government chagrined at this failure of wholesale transferring of Hindus in Canada to British Honduras fell back on another course of action. It was a policy of petty persecution, at least so it appeared to the Sikhs. Anybody who spoke on

behalf of the Sikhs was warned. Apparently the Sikhs were good enough to fight for the Empire, but when it came to a claim for equal rights, our statesmen assumed grave faces. But happily that condition is changed.

THE PLACE

OF

WOMEN IN EMIGRATION.

BY THE EDITOR.

NO branch of Social Reform in India has had greater attention than the elevation of our women from the thralldom and degradation that characterise them at present. The general idea of a woman in modern oriental thought is that she is nothing more than a chattel consigned to the kitchen. Even among the educated classes in India to-day there is this notion prevailing that it is dangerous to give to women equal opportunities and privileges lest they should, like the women Suffragists of the West, agitate for seats in Councils and votes in Parliament. However much the apologists of this thought may take pride in themselves of their worth and honesty, we must in fairness to the other sex admit that the fear of our women being led astray by placing them on an equal intellectual and moral footing with men is altogether chimerical. If such distrust in our womankind should be the rule, nothing seems more ominous for the future development of our country than this fancied superiority of men over women and the consequent subjection of the latter. Friends of our traditional shastras and the upholders of conservative thought may point to time honoured Sitas and Savitris as to the amount of freedom enjoyed by Indian women in ancient days and say that there is nothing more to be desired at present for their uplift. Such a pride in the glorious past only blinds our men to the realities of the situation. How many Indian women live up, or are allowed to live up to the ideal sketched out and participate with their husbands the same social life as the latter enjoy. Are not the horrors of the *purdah* system, the rigours of child marriage and the pitiable condition of the virgin widows, cankers that still eat into the very vitals of our nation? There can, however, be no two opinions on this question that the status of Indian women now requires to be raised to the level of what it was in ancient days if not to a higher level. If therefore our female half are trained to look upon themselves as no inferior to men, if they are given the privileges of individual freedom of thought

and action, more than half the reform contemplated by the earnest workers in that field would have easily been solved.

WOMEN DURING CRISES.

Conditions are fast changing in India as in other countries of the world and a glance at the recent events in Europe of the activities of women at this time of crisis cannot but excite in us a feeling of wonder and admiration to them. If the history of the present war comes to be written, as is being done now, nothing will be more fascinating than a chapter on the part played by women. For the first time perhaps in the history of the world such enthusiasm is displayed by British maidens and French damsels in taking up responsible works hitherto done by men, as motor drivers, railway guards, postmen and messengers. Even in their most quiet and congenial duty of tending the sick and nursing the wounded, they are displaying an amount of bravery which no shell from the field or bomb from the air could shake. As a matter of fact, they are even ready to go to the field of battle and die for the country.

This bit of a digression is intended to show that, whenever women realise that the national honour and self-respect are at stake, they will fight to the end provided opportunities are given them. A similar feature is observable in the part played by Indian women in the South African Passive Resistance struggle. The whole Indian women population then realising the injustice done to them and their country courageously took up their stand side by side with their husbands for the righting of their wrongs. Miss Mille Graham Polak, writing on "Women and the Struggle," remarks: "These women, without any training for public life accustomed to the retirement of women in India, not versed in the science of sociology, just, patient, dutiful wives, mothers and daughters of a struggling class of workers, in an hour of need moved by the spirit of larger life, took up their duty to their country and served it with that heroism of which such women alone are capable. But for the early work of these brave women, the wonderful response to the call of honour and country might never have taken place."

Such is the story of the struggling class of workers and it is with reference to them, we shall mainly confine our remarks.

WOMEN LABOUR.

Industrial India is now beginning to utilise the vast resources of women labour that lie idle in the

country. The process has begun with the lower orders and it is gradually extending to higher and higher grades of society and to specialised forms. Women have entered or about to enter the various learned professions. There are already in the field, women teachers, women doctors, women editors and women poets. But India has not sufficiently advanced in education or business capacity to allow emigration of women of higher grades to other countries either for pleasure or for profit. Setting aside therefore this class of women from whose emigration great social and economic advantages would unquestionably be derived, we shall see how the lower orders fare in the act.

FEMALE INDENTURE.

It has been pointed out that this question of women emigration to the Colonies has always been an extremely difficult one which has never ceased to occupy the attention both of the Colonial and Indian Governments. Of women emigrants who go out as industrial and agricultural workers, there are two classes, those who follow their husbands and those who proceed individually of their own free will. In either case there exist direct evils attending on them. One of the special considerations to which the attention of the Commissioners, Messrs. MacNeill and Chiman Lal, was drawn before they started out on their enquiry as to the condition of Indian emigrants in the various Colonies, was about *Female Indenture*. This important subject was disposed of by the Commissioners in two paragraphs at the end of their Report with a remark that there is much diversity of opinion in the system and that the matter be left to the discretion of the Colonial authorities.

It is a thousand pities that the Commissioners did not bestow on this subject as much attention as its importance deserved.

At the root of this problem of female indenture lies the question whether the system of indenture could, in the first instance, be freely extended to females with all the rigours of its regulations, irrespective of sex. A little consideration as to the sex capabilities, *i.e.*, how far women are able to discharge their duties as workers in fields and plantations without prejudice to their functional duties—will convince us that it is unfair, nay, iniquitous, to impose the same task works on women as are imposed on men. As employment of women in modern industrial work is becoming common, this question has become one of considerable interest and importance. Recent investigations (made in England) on this matter showed

that at the Post Office and elsewhere where men and women are employed, the women are more often absent from work than the men owing to "slight indispositions."

Dr. Mary Jacobi in America after a careful research on the subject concludes, "that in our existing social conditions, 46 per cent. of women suffer more or less at menstruation, and for a large number of these, when engaged in industrial pursuits or others, under the command of an employer, humanity dictates that rest from work during the period of pain be afforded whenever practicable."

Moreover, the complex duties of maternity necessitate complete rest for women for several months in the year. Unless special consideration to women workers is shown by the Managers of Plantations, considerable suffering is likely to result to women as well as to children begotten of them. One of the common excuses for not allowing sufficient rest to women in plantations is this, "The risk in allowing women to absent themselves is that both married women and those who would otherwise remain loyal to an irregular union are more likely to be tempted by unmarried men." We are inclined to believe that this is more the opinion of the planters, put into the mouth of the Commissioners, whose greed for £. s. d. is much greater than the call of humanity. The Report further adds that "there is on and off estates considerable mortality among children under one year.....In Trinidad Indian community the proportion of still births is very high." If this should be the result of the indenture system under which women are made to work, the death knell of indenture should be sounded at once.

HORRORS OF RECRUITMENT.

But the most outstanding evil connected with woman emigration is the method of recruitment and this has formed the subject of criticism times and over. To know its horrors, one has only to read the pathetic story told by Miss Dudley, the pioneer Indian Missionary lady, in a letter which appeared in "India" some years ago. This is what she writes:

"One woman told me she had quarrelled with her husband in anger and ran away from her mother-in-law's house to go to her mother's. A man on the road questioned her, and said he would show her the way. He took her to a depot for indentured labour. Another woman said her husband went to work at another place. He sent word to his wife to follow him. On her way a man said he knew her husband and that he would take her to him. This woman was taken to a depot. She said that one day she saw her husband passing and

cried out to him, but was silenced. An Indian girl was asked by a neighbour to go and see the Muharram festival. Whilst there she was prevailed upon to go to a depot. Another woman told me that she was going to a bathing ghat and was misled by a woman to a depot.

When in the depot these women are told that they cannot go till they pay for the food they have had and for other expenses. They are unable to do so. They arrive in this country timid, fearful women, not knowing where they are to be sent. They are allotted to plantations like so many dumb animals. If they do not perform satisfactorily the work given them, they are punished by being struck or fined, or they are even sent to gaol. The life on the plantations alters their demeanour and even their very faces. Some look crushed and broken-hearted, others sullen, others hard and evil. I shall never forget the first time I saw "indentured" women when they were returning from their day's work. The look on those women's faces haunts me."

DISPROPORTION OF SEXES.

Apart from the fraud and injustice played by the unscrupulous recruiters in the country by separating wives from husbands and mothers from daughters, there is the greater evil arising out of the disproportion of the sexes in the Colonies. The present proportion of adult women to men is 40 per cent. The Commissioners "were at first disposed to recommend that the proportion of adult women to men be increased from 40 to 50 per cent. in order to reduce the disproportion between the sexes. An increase to 100 per cent. may seem at first sight suitable but becomes less attractive on consideration.....Unless the women emigrated as wives insistence on a parity between the sexes would be anything but a gain to morality." We confess we are unable to follow the logic of this statement and to show how misleading this argument is we give below what the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioner's wrote in 1856 in their Annual Report in the work of accelerating the steam of women emigrants to the Colonies. They wrote:—

"Obvious as it is, it not always kept in mind that for the permanent growth of a colonial population every single man who is sent out in excess of the number of single women is absolutely useless. He is a mere sojourner, furnishing a temporary convenience to his employers and increasing the annual produce of the Colony while he lives, but leaving nothing to replace him when he dies."

Holding to this view, and recognising that men emigrated readily enough of their own accord, whilst individual women had few opportunities of joining in the exodus, the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners made the practice, for a number of

years, of sending to the Colonies two females for every male sent out with their assistance.

We are therefore unable to agree with Messrs. McNeill and Chimmam Lal in their one sided-sentiments.

We have only two more observations to make on the matter and they are the prevalence of gross immorality resulting from the disproportion of sexes and the question of Indian marriages in the Colonies. These two points are clearly brought out in a memorial submitted by the members of the Surinam Immigration Union to the Hon'ble Delegates from India for their consideration.

Firstly :—According to the Convention existing between the Netherlands and Great Britain, each shipment of Immigrants shall include a proportion of women equal to at least 50 per cent. of the number of men.

This proportion which is the same for the British Colonies is the cause of a great disproportion existing between the two sexes in this country; the number of men far exceeds that of women.

This ill-condition is leading to gross immorality which incessantly incites jealousy. This jealousy, very strong with the British Indian, is the sole cause of wounding and manslaughter amongst the British Indians. A change in this important matter is therefore highly necessary, if not indispensable, for if the percentage of women introduced were raised, each man would be able to procure his own helpmate and thus reduce the chances of becoming infatuated with his countryman's wife. If the undersigned are not mistaken, the Dutch Government must be aware of this serious situation and has attempted to bring about a change. The women in India seem not to feel inclined to emigrate, *at least not under contract*. Perhaps there are means which may lead to the desired end, e.g., the introduction of families with daughters, and of separate young women.

The increase of the percentage of women therefore highly deserves commendation.

Secondly :—We also wish to call attention to another important question. This regards Indian marriages.

Immigrants arriving in the Colony who declare to have been married in India, are recorded in registers kept for that purpose, and are regarded as married couples. In connection with the required age, the consent to contract marriages, etc.

Marriages, however, contracted after Indian notions and customs, are not acknowledged as legal by the Colonial Government. A fact it is that especially those marriages are in favour with the majority of British Indians. Many do not wish to marry otherwise. The consequence is that children born from these marriages are regarded by the Government as to be born out of wedlock, hence illegitimate. This condition is therefore, detrimental to the civic relation which should exist between members of the same family. It is an undesirable condition.

The undersigned express their desire that through your influence an end might be put to it, and the great

deficiency filled, whereby, according to our ancient notions, marriages contracted and solemnized by an acknowledged Indian priest may be declared legal.

While the undersigned fully understand that it is not always easy to frame different laws for each class of the community they at the same time find it justifiable that an exception should be made in this special case, inasmuch as Hindu and Mahomedan marriages are institutions totally based on their religions.

On the other hand it is desirable that in regard to the above question the contracting of marriages between children should be prohibited, since the parties concerned do not keep their marriage vows abroad.

A limitation of age at which Indian marriages may be contracted is therefore much needed.

We reserve further comments for the next number.

THE TELUGU MIGRATIONS TO THE TAMIL COUNTRY.

(14th Century.)

BY MR. A. M. S. RAGHAVAN, B.A.

TWO STREAMS OF MIGRATIONS.

There were two distinct streams of migrations of the Telugus to the South, the first in the 14th century, when Malik Kafur's raids dislocated them from their original home; the second, during the period of Vijayanagar expansion over South India. The Emperor encouraged influential Telugu chieftains and hardy adventurers, who were rewarded for their services with the title of Naik and the post of Governor or were given *carte blanche* to carve out their own destiny in the still unexplored South.

DETAILS UNTRUSTWORTHY.

The above is the outline of the facts. But if we are desirous to learn more, we are disappointed. The Mackenzie, MSS., i.e., those that are kept in the Oriental MSS. Library, contain an account of the migrations, which, for the most part, dictated as these biographical sketches were by vanity, is untrustworthy. The following is an abstract of the account given by the Dindigul MS.,* which traces the history of its house from about the middle of the 14th century.

It tells us of a Mahomedan invasion when the whole of Kutti (Gooty?) Oesa migrated to the South. His ancestor, Chakku Naicker (afterwards Rasi Naicker), in a wild boar hunt, wounded and captured a particular boar, which was devastating the land of Punayaru Raja. Their countrymen that had migrated with

* Mack. MSS., Vol. I.

him had spread over ten villages in the midst of wild forests, interspersed with barren plains under the above mentioned Raja. This King was one Kula-sekhara Pandia. When Tirumalai Savari Deva Raya, the well-known Krishna Deva Raya, was reigning, one Mallak or Malik gave trouble and was slain by the eighth Naik and was honoured by the Emperor, etc., etc.

With the 13th of the line, it closes abruptly. This is a type, which with fanciful additions would represent the other MSS. in the collection. For quarter of a century after Kafur's historic raid there was political confusion and out of it was gradually evolved the Bahmani Kingdom. Certainly, as a result of these troubles, movements of the population ought to have taken place to the South, though we may not be sure of the details.

GENERAL CAUSES OF THE MOVEMENT.

Leaving these details, if we try to get at the broad causes of the migrations, we see they were three in number :

(1) Mahomedan invasions, (2) the expansion of the Vijayanagar Empire, (3) and the spirit of adventure.

(1) MAHOMEDAN INVASIONS OF THE 14TH CENTURY.

The first and most obvious general cause was the disturbance caused by the Mahomedan invasions of the Deccan. The Afghans had been gradually expanding themselves over the whole of North India, embracing Afghanistan in the North-West and Assam in the east. They had not yet crossed the Vindhya, which was done by that young, ambitious and unscrupulous Alaaddin Khilji. When once the ice had been broken, a succession of Mahomedan raids took place, which left nothing else behind than the bitter memory of their cruel hand. The over-running of Telingana and Warrangal, i.e., roughly the Andhra Desa, caused many bold spirits not to submit to their hard ill-luck and these moved southwards. This is what must be understood from the Dindigul MS. above quoted. Here they did not find every thing smooth for them. India at that time still contained impenetrable forests, which had not felt the desolating touch of man; and certainly the small bands of warriors, without probably much cohesion, could not attack the ancient kingdoms of Madura and Tanjore. What they seemed to have done therefore was to go to the west of Madura, where the country was still uncleared and their fights could not be questioned by any. On the other hand, they would have been even welcomed

by the native Rajas, if only they did the business of clearing off some portions of these dense forests, and thus increase the area under cultivation. This might be taken therefore as a type of its kind*. It must be remembered that this region had been also the home of many a wild tribe, such as the Kallars, of whom we read so much in the MSS.† Therefore these adventurers were also probably received with open arms by the Tamil sovereigns, in that they could have rendered them useful services against these wild subjects of theirs, and generally as 'Lords of the Marches' against foes from that quarter.

(2) VIJAYANAGAR EXPANSION.

The next important cause for this movement consisted in the advance of Vijayanagar influence. This is a very familiar phenomenon to students of history, as trade following the flag. After all this is only a principle of self-preservation, and one would naturally put one's trust in one's own kindred rather than in others. A large influx of the Normans took place soon after the Norman Conquest. Similarly with the Danish conquest that preceded it. The English Nation of to-day is the result of these. The same socio-political process we see here also. A large number of Telugus, of all sorts and conditions, flocked in the train of the Vijayanagar Viceroys that were sent to the South. A glance at the census returns will show the composite nature of the people of South India, including as it does a large number of Telugus.

The causes of the easy conquest of the Tamils were twofold: (1) want of union among the Tamil kings and mutual intestine quarrels, when there should have been peace, and (2) the presence of the Telugu adventurers, who had migrated in the 14th century, with large landed possessions, and still larger power and influence in the Tamil country. The first point need not be laboured at all. That had been the chronic political condition of India for ages. As regards the second, it is natural to expect them to join their own kinsmen. Gratitude is only an active sentiment as between individuals. After all what was there for the play of gratitude there? Excepting probably for a formal recognition of the lands, they, with enormous labour, had cleared, and brought under cultivation, what had the Tamil kings done for them? On the other hand, it was they that had rendered these kings great services by keeping peace on the borders and thus making the latter

* See the Dindigul MS.

† Coppaiya Naik, Zamin : Mack. MSS., Vol. I.

habitable. Thus when the Vijayanaga arms advanced southwards, these brave 'Lords of the Marches' welcomed them and gladly enlisted themselves under their banner. *

POLICY OF THE EMPERORS.

Though the downfall of the Tamil dynasties was certain, it went on slowly, the Emperor not liking to dethrone them altogether but desiring only allegiance and tribute.† In Mysore, Tanjore, Madura and Canara, however, the native dynasties gave way to

that of a Naik or a Wodeyar. The Emperor could not help this. His policy, however, was to let the native dynasty die a natural death. In some cases the Emperor himself helped the process. Thus the conquest of the Peninsula was completed. The Emperor was apparently forced to be contended with the submission of the petty chiefs of Malabar and Travancore and did not introduce any of his Governors there. ‡

(To be Continued.)

Round the Indian Empire.

A copy of the "Malabar Marriage and Inheritance Bill" and "The Partition and Succession Bill," which have been brought before the Madras Legislative Council by the Hon'ble Mr. K. P. Raman Menon, with the various opinions which had been invited thereon has been placed on the Editor's table. We gladly welcome the publication, as it enables the public to know the true colour of the opinions which have emanated from the different quarters. The two bills which the Hon'ble member had permission to introduce in the local Legislative Council in 1918 have caused a revolution in the social and political arena of Malabar. The apathy of the Malayalees for social and political reformations was torn asunder and in meetings held in various parts of Malabar, they boldly and emphatically recorded their vehement protests or warm approvals of the Reform Bills. The publication before us shows the various shades of opinions from officials and non-officials, Europeans and Indians. The opinions are highly representative in character, as they include not only the views of *Karanavans* (senior members) and *Anandiravans* (junior members) of the important tarwads of Malabar, but also the opinions from the highest officials of Malabar and South Canara down to the village officers. Added to these are the weighty pronouncements from the Judges of the Madras High Court as well as from the various European officials, who have had some experience of the two districts. We are of opinion that the two Social Reform Bills, if passed into law, would be the undoubted axes, that would remove the Marumakkattayam system altogether from the land of Kerala. They are inexpedient and uncalled for, as no pressing cry for the reforms

was heard from those quarters. There should be no supply without any demand. The Hon'ble member is trying to inflict on the peace-loving, innocent people of the west-coast a piece of legislation, which is quite alien to their cherished ideas. In the statement of objects and reasons for the "Malabar Partition and Succession Bill" the Hon'ble member says "the object of the Bill is to provide for the better management of the tarwad (family) properties belonging to Marumakkattayam and Aliyasanthana Hindus in Malabar and South Canara," &c. It is our conviction that it would not be possible to achieve this end by enacting this Bill. The Bill does not try to mend the Marumakkattayam system, but it only tries to end it. It shows in clear light that the ideal of the mover of the Bill is Makkattayam and the provisions of the Bill are also in accordance with the same. According to this Bill thorough dismemberment of the present tarwads is inevitable. It will also seriously interfere with the social fabric of Malabar. The author of the Bill seems to be under the illusive idea that the casting away of the "pernicious" Marumakkattayam system, and with it burying the family traditions and glories of many a tarwad in Malabar would cause such a rapid and wonderful evolution in the society among the Malayalees that the land of Parasurama will stand out as pre-eminently civilized and prosperous, and the people thereof would become quite happy and contented. A. R. Loftus Tottenham, Esq., who knows the people of Malabar somewhat intimately, views "with feelings of blank dismay the prospects of the Bill or

† This is inferred negatively from the absence of any Naiks here : and also from the more than one raid that the Naiks are said to have made into it: (see Nagamiah's History of Travancore, Vol. I, pp. 302ff. But this authority is discounted in spite of his reliance on certain *edicts*, which probably formed the only source of information to him then.)

‡ This inference is not unreasonable in its nature.
† Cannivadi MS. and others : Vol I. Mack. MSS.

anything in the remotest degree resembling them finding a place in the statute book" and he also says that they embody "the most revolutionary proposals ever submitted to any Legislative assembly anywhere in the world"! Others "condemn the Bills as unnecessary and inexpedient, revolutionary and mischievous." Side by side with these we also find certain people who are in "heartly and entire accord with the Bills" and venture to think that "it has come only too late, none too soon." In the face of such conflicting opinions we do admit that there is something wrong somewhere; and we find this to be the mismanagement and misconduct of a few illiterate and orthodox Karanavans of the "Panchu Menon" type. To remedy these evils the Hon'ble member proposes to have a radical cure and he insists on the administration of this drastic draught. Most of the people of Malabar, for whose use this prescription has been intended, seem to have drawn up in a phalanx and are in staunch opposition to the passing of such a Bill. In the opinion of the Hon'ble Mr. Menon, the people of Malabar are suffering from a disease, which they do not know themselves and he prescribes a divine cure, which they are unwilling to take in. The Bill strongly advocates individual partition. To ask a people, who have been following the Marumakkattayam system from time immemorial, to part and go away from their close blood relatives and thus to alienate their feelings from their brothers and sisters, are indeed "offending provisions" and are quite "foreign to the instincts of the people" of the district. The far-reaching results of this ruinous clause on individual partition cannot be overestimated. The Bill also provides "the junior members who have become lazy and indolent" with some principle to start with in life. We are sure it will only be according "a premium to idle malcontents who have no aim in life beyond themselves." What we would strongly urge is that the power of the Karanavans should be restricted and that the junior major members of the tarwad must have a voice in the management of the tarwad affairs. It should be incumbent on the Karanavans to give maintenance to all the members of the family out of the income of the tarwad properties. Special provision must be made so that, in the absence of a will, the self-acquired property of the male member of a family, after his death, should be so divided that half of it should go to the wife and children and the other half may be equally divided between the *thammishi* and the tarwad.

As regards the "Marriage and Inheritance Bill," there is not so much of stubborn resistance. With some minor alterations, especially concerning inheritance, the Bill can be passed through. It is essential in the interests of the people that the present system of marriage must be given legal sanction; and the forms

of marriage, divorce, &c. should be given fixed shapes and clear definitions.

Though the Government of India is no sovereign body, deriving, as it does, its power from the English Parliament, it is a misnomer to call India a dependency. India cannot be said to be a dependency, of Britain as Malta is, for example as the one is held, according to the best authorities on the subject, by virtue of a trust conceded by the ancient native rulers to the Honourable East India Company whose successors in possession are the present British Government; while Malta belongs to Britain by right of conquest. Except in the remoteness of the Indian Empire to the United Kingdom, there is not the least suggestion to warrant the title of a dependency to this country. In literal truth India is a vast Empire, maintaining a large army, a Foreign Department to transact business with the neighbouring states and is self-contained to meet all its expenses out of its own revenues. Neither is India a self-governing Empire, as the sons of the soil have no voice in the appointment of the highest offices of the State nor the power of voting supplies in the Imperial Councils. Though statutorily, Indians are not excluded from filling the supreme offices of the Government, the privilege has been circumvented by many unnecessary and harsh conventions perpetuated by the bureaucratic administration. It is a moot question whether the time is arrived to withdraw the administration of India from Parliamentary control, as opinion is sharply divided on the subject. But it seems to us high time that Indian Government is withheld from the leading strings of foreign bureaucratic demi-gods and placed in the charge of capable Indians bred up in the best traditions of English liberal literature, of whom there is a strong body all over the country. The Native States, both big and small, are under the charge of these, and herein they have not been found wanting. Some of the Dewans of our Native States take rank even as farsighted statesmen, and it is preposterous and highly inexpedient to imagine that their statesmanship is not equal to the task of coping with British Administration. For the present, therefore, the substitution of Indian in place of English officials at the head of the Administration will mark a further step towards the national regeneration of India. A few offices, however, may be retained by Englishmen, such as the supreme command of the army in India, certain technical posts in the Industrial Department, etc., until such time as Indians qualify themselves for these places also. Apart from these considerations, is the substitution possible or expedient? We do not believe in the theory that the faculty of governing oneself or others is an inborn

virtue. It is an acquired art as any other. It is mischievous to conceive that Indians are ignorant of governing themselves, or for that matter, any other nation under the sun. The particular modes of governance may vary; but the people get the Government they are fit for. It is no use contesting that Indians are unequal to the task of arranging their own political affairs; the times of the patriarchal idea in domestic as well as national domination are gone for good. So far as regards the theoretical aspect of the question. Now, is the substitution expedient? The guiding principle that underlies the various forms of administration comprised in the British Empire, is, we are told, that of Government for the benefit of the governed, and with the consent of the governed. As a corollary of this wholesome rule, follows the other: "Trust the man on the spot." What is the logical, nay inevitable issue of this principle, if it did not ultimately lead to Self-government in internal affairs, within the Empire? The process seems to be somewhat of this order. Now, the foreigner; next, a native of the soil appointed by the former; and the final step would have been reached when the latter is elected by his own countrymen. This, we understood to be, the principle of Britain's Imperial rule, as, otherwise, it will be a political solecism with a liberty-loving people to have Self-governing dominions, Imperial dependencies, Crown Colonies and Protectorates—all in one fold. We have indulged in this hope, not on account of any polemical desire for political reconstruction, though the theme, indeed, is fascinating; but recent events have been construed in the highest quarters as tending in that direction. The change is only one in the personnel of the administration and involves no serious departure from accepted policy. Moreover, it is fraught with incalculable good for the national well-being of the country and falls in admirably with the spirit and substance of British Administration. No more lasting benefit, no more enduring triumph could mark the victorious participation of India in the war, than the concession of this privilege to her as the reward of her steadfastness and loyalty to the British Raj.

The rather unusual delay in the arrangements of the Government of India to devise the mode of payment for the enormous exports of wheat brought under their control as a war measure, has not been attended with complete success. The whole scheme itself, originally undertaken with a view to benefit the consumer by fixing the profits of the trade within reasonable limits and outside the influence of war prices, has not come up to the expectations for—

merly entertained. We do not minimise the difficulties of the Government in attempting to regulate one of the biggest export trades of India, when all the markets are dislocated by the war, but we believe that the Government would have felt more easy, if they had taken the mercantile and banking communities into their confidence from the start. Towards the close of last month, the Bombay Chamber of Commerce took the opportunity to represent to the Hon'ble Sir William Clark, Commerce Member of the Government of India, on the latter's visit to the place, certain grievances forced on the banking houses consequent on the Government's policy in deciding to pay for wheat out of the Treasury Balances. Apart from the loss created thereby to the exchange banks, the step is bound to have an adverse effect on the import trade of India with dire results, which none can immediately foresee, to the Indian financial equilibrium. This balance in normal times is nicely adjusted by paying off imports by corresponding exports through the medium of the exchange banks, and the present Government arrangement to pay off the exports with money from the treasuries instead of allowing them to be cancelled by corresponding imports, is an extremely cautious step to take even in war times. Though the exchange may not be permanently impaired thereby, parity may be long in recovering after a continuous fall in imports. The Chairman of the Committee of the Bombay Chamber rightly pointed out that exchange has been already prejudicially affected during the past two months, and, to quote his words, "when one considers the large volume of import trade there is no doubt that the peoples of India have lost in exchange a good deal more than the Government have themselves gained by the method they have employed in financing their scheme". Further, "this loss in exchange falls as a general rule not on importing houses, but either on the Indian dealer or consumer". We are afraid that the Hon'ble Commerce Member in his defence of wheat finance to the Bombay Chamber gave over the whole point urged by the Chamber and where he differed from that body gave over also the point in favour of the Indian consumer, to whose primary advantage the scheme itself is supposed to have been adopted. He said, "Import trade, I understand, is done on so narrow a margin that a loss in exchange may mean difference between profit and loss, but if the same loss, if it can be transferred to the consumer must represent a very small addition to the real cost of goods. It is desirable, no doubt, that any such additions should be avoided, but incurred as this one is for a few months only, it is not a very serious burden". In his speech, the Hon'ble Sir William Clark threw great emphasis on what he termed the imperial aspect of the wheat problem, which means the interests of the United

Kingdom. We quite sympathise with this view, but it is another thing to look to them at the expense of the Indian consumer. The interests of the consumers of the United Kingdom are only secondary to those of the home consumer and it is legitimate to keep hold over the exportable surplus of Indian wheat, after satisfying the Indian consumer. But the Indian consumer, as the Commerce Member himself admits, has to come off a little bad in the bargain and he is asked not to grumble. We are also told that "His Majesty's Government.....will have to meet any loss that there might be on the whole operation....." The Commerce Member did not explain further and we are left only to conjecture how this may be. If this means that any ultimate loss in exchange is to be shifted on to the shoulders of the Home Treasury, instead the Indian taxpayer, well and good. But, in the absence of a definite statement from the Government, it is premature to raise any expectations which may after all be found to be groundless.

The invidious position occupied by the Presidency Banks is a matter of just complaint among the Indian Mercantile community. In the banking facilities of the country, they are supposed to hold the same place as the Bank of England. The functions of both are said to be similar, but there the comparison stops. For while the Bank of England is a real bankers' bank, assisting them at times of need and wholly sympathetic towards their interests, it is a travesty of the true state of affairs to say the same of the Presidency Banks of this country. The public and other financial institutions of England do always rely on the Bank of England to tide them over any period of crisis, and such reliance has very seldom turned out to be misplaced. India, fortunately, has had few crises, but in that of 1913-14, the Presidency Banks entrenched, as they are, in a strong position, rigidly stood aloof in all their isolated pride, leaving the *swadeshi* banks to topple down as they will. How many of these would have weathered the storm, if only the Presidency Banks had rendered them seasonable aid! But, as a contemporary justly points out, "the policy of the Presidency Banks has been one of hindering the growth of *swadeshi* institutions. Their dealings plainly bear this out. The Bank of England always re-discounts bills from other banks and bankers, and the benefit to the public is this immense. The Presidency Banks would not touch bills coming through Indian Banks; they deal only with *swadeshi*. We urge for a more considerate treatment of the Indian Banks by the Government and its allied financial institutions, namely, the Presidency Banks. A major part of the Government cash balance is left with

the Presidency Banks free of interest and in other ways too they are placed in a very advantageous position by the Government. These resources are, as things are at present, at the disposal of the English Bankers mainly, for the exploitation of Indian trade by English merchants for their own benefit. The contemporary just quoted further points out that the management of the finances of India and their utilisation locally show the same tendencies. "Ever since the crisis it has been perisistently said from the Viceroy downwards that help has been rendered to all smaller financial and trading institutions through the agency of the Presidency Banks. In no other country in the world would it have been possible for the Government to take such a philosophic attitude, leaving institutions like the Presidency Banks to sound the last note at their funerals." Again, "the Presidency Banks never regard Indian banking concerns as auxiliary institutions, but rather as undesirable interlopers. There is no systematic scheme or sympathetic treatment or desire to finance Indian trade and industries beyond what is required by the large European trading interests. The result is apparent in the growth of these Presidency Banks themselves. They are now in existence for nearly a hundred years and while similar institutions by following a more liberal and truly national policy have done immense good to the people of other countries, the Presidency Banks here enjoying similar monopolies and without having to undergo the losses and troubles that befall some of these in Europe and America, have remained small and sectarian institutions, which are not even counted amongst the great banks of the world." The advocates of a State Bank for India may well pause before they hoist their scheme by amalgamating these institutions. Government may be said to represent the development of indigenous enterprise when they leave some portion of their balance at the hands of approved Indian Banks on the same conditions as at the Presidency Banks. These, moreover, should be asked to entertain two or more Indians to sit in their directorates to represent Indian banking and trade interests. Otherwise, it is impossible to believe that Government are doing all that lies in their power to advance the industrial possibilities of the country. Unfortunately, we have already had a foretaste of the reception that these proposals would meet with at the hands of the Presidency Banks, and the English Chambers of Commerce. The case is familiar of the Presidency Bank at Madras persistently refusing to allow of Indian representation on its Board of Directors, in spite of the fact that an appreciable percentage of investors in the Bank happens to be Indians. Thus, the Presidency Banks are becoming extremely unpopular among Indians, a contingency which the Government should take care to avoid early, as the position cannot long continue

that the Presidency Banks can play with the money of the Indian tax-payer and investor to the tune of English merchants.

A stock criticism with some commentators on Indian agriculture against the Agricultural Departments is that the operations of the latter are futilely directed towards the introduction of exotics, which they deem to be, in any case, uncongenial to the Indian soil. The indictment seems to be supported by a specious argument, and, not unoften, the apparent failure or the considerable delay that attends upon the experiments of the agricultural specialists lends colour to the prejudice. One familiar form of this prejudice is that Indian agriculture has a well-remembered tradition longer than that of any other pastoral tract under the sun and that Indian agriculturists have already attained the acme of perfection in agricultural science, since India has been first to last quite agricultural. By the side of this, we have two recent observations, one made by the head of an Agricultural Department, and the other by a high official well-acquainted with India for a long number of years. The Indian cultivator, according to the first, is no better than the animal he follows at the plough; while, according to the last, "he is patient and hard working in a trying climate and is willing to adopt any agricultural reform of proved utility." It is a mistake to suppose that the two opinions contradict each other; they represent that the Indian ryot is conscious of his ignorance and is willing to learn under suitable conditions. After all, the ryot knows the imperfections of his business better and the notion regarding his omniscience is very wide of the mark. Yet another objection, seemingly more plausible and entertained even in well informed circles, remains to be glanced at. It is stated that the agricultural conditions in India vary so much from province to province and also in different parts of the same province, that the work of improving any widely cultivated crop can be done only locally and at a number of stations. This is, in fact, a more serious consideration, and, if justified will lead to nullify the concentrated efforts undertaken at the Central Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa, in so far as they relate to experiments applicable to the agriculture of the neighbouring provinces. This notion, however, is easily dispelled. The report of the Institute for the year 1913-14, emphatically points out that in reality this idea is not supported by the facts. The case of wheat is an instance to the point. The conditions under which wheat is grown in India vary so widely that even with a knowledge of all factors, it may be easily doubted whether the work of improving the crop

can be tested at one centre. It is mentioned that a single area of fifty acres in the Gangetic alluvium, if skilfully selected, exhibits an exceedingly wide range of soil conditions, which, from the point of view of the requirements of the wheat crop, vary almost as much as any two of the wheat growing provinces of India. This is, in effect, no handicap, but offers a decided advantage in carrying out different cultural experiments suitable to the varying soil conditions of the country. In this particular instance, the report makes clear that by taking advantage of this circumstance, it is possible to make a single wheat-breeding station serve for almost the whole of India. It is unnecessary to labour the point further, beyond mentioning the obvious fact, that judged by previous achievements in this direction, the average results of modern Indian agriculture are satisfactory. Yet a third objection remains to be disposed of. Some people view it as a matter of complaint and as one necessitating an undeserved loss to the Indian tax-payer, that the Agricultural Departments do not carry on the work on the farms and stations from a business point of view. They seem to expect that these model examples should pay their own way and not cost a pie to the exchequer. It will, indeed, be commendable in this could be the case, as the model farms will easily be copied by the neighbouring ryots since they would in that case present themselves as excellent business propositions. But so far as we know, nowhere in the world has this been possible, except in a few instances in America, and it is puerile to expect from the Departments to pave their own way by their own labours.

Indentured Labour.

Recently Mr. Roberts, parliamentary under-secretary for India, made a statement in the House of Commons that indentured Indian emigration has been found to be more advantageous than hurtful and that therefore only some improvements are needed. Our firm conviction is that slavery and semi-slavery are accursed systems and encroach upon the fundamental rights of man; no material advantages ought to reconcile anybody to slavery or semi-slavery. It is far better that men should live on one scanty meal obtained every other day than that they should be enslaved; for in a condition of freedom alone can the true remedy for human misery be found. It is better for the body to be starved than for the soul to be killed—if, of course, one were reduced to choosing between the two alternatives. But it is not true that indentured coolies are all well-off and have not serious grievances. Their moral condition, too, is far worse than their material. Indentured labour must go. It must be abolished root and branch. It is a slur on our national self-respect. India should no longer be allowed to be branded as the mother of slaves and of human cattle.—*Modern Review.*

GENERAL ARTICLES.

INDIAN LABOUR CONTROVERSY.

INDENTURED labour is the only kind of labour which India is sending out to the British Colonies. There is a small amount of free labour going to Ceylon and Federated Malay States. So far as the former is concerned, there is and there can be only one opinion regarding it and that is to end it altogether. As regards the latter whether there should be any need for emigration from India in any form whatever, there may be differences of opinion. However, an article on "Indentured labour from India," which appeared in the March number of the *Tropical Life*, gave rise to the following controversy, which is interesting to peruse.

INDENTURED LABOUR FROM INDIA.

Every now and again howls go up from certain of our colonies at the scanty allowance of coolie labourers allowed by the Government in India (or whosoever has the last word on the matter), and yet those who know, behind the scenes, do not feel able, like the planters, to always, if ever, lay the blame on the Government. If the Protectors of Immigrants had always done their duty, we cannot but believe that these supplies of labour would have flowed out of India more freely and willingly than has been the case. In saying this, we allow for the weaknesses and necessities of human nature, inasmuch as we know that the Protector of Immigrants, like most other humans, has to earn his own living; and as he finds that the planters can make things easier or otherwise for him, his interests naturally make him rather a Protector of Planters (as *Truth* once put it) than a Protector of Immigrants. Official reports drawn up by these officials probably show every thing in the rosiest hue, but those who hear thoughtful men discuss the estates in private, and note what they say of those estates known to treat their labourers unsatisfactorily, feel quite confident that when and where indentured labour has been stopped, the planters have only got themselves to thank for it, and because the Protector does not really do his duty to his charges. We have already pointed out that until, when disputes arise, the Protector of Immigrants is as determined to prove that the coolies are right as the planter is to show them to be wrong, there is a screw badly loose in the machinery and it will one day drop out altogether, and then the machine, i.e., the permission to import the coolies, will stop altogether. Then the planters possibly will offer to amend their ways, but it will be too late, the Protectors will be improved out of existence, and we shall feel sorry, as we believe

that, properly controlled, there are many advantages in these trips both to the individual coolie and to India as a nation. The individual learns more up-to-date methods and secures money with which to settle down and buy lands when he returns, and India becomes the richer through these men and through other agriculturists at home following their example.

Meanwhile, as we do not believe in hiding our heads in the sand when danger is ahead, we think it kindest to our planting friends to call their attention to the following resolution, which was recently brought forward at an important meeting (the Indian National Congress) in India. All we can say on the matter is that we think Mr. Natesan put very extreme views before his compatriots, but there is no doubt that the remedy lies entirely in the hands of the planters as a body; if they are indifferent as to whether they have the coolies or not, let things go on as they have always gone, but if they wish for the coolies, let a radical change be made in the class of man who is elected as the Protector of Immigrants; then, and not until then, will the murmurs of discontent cease.

Coming to the question of indentured labour, Mr. F. G. Natesan (Madras) moved the following resolution:—

"Owing to the scarcity of labour in India, and the grave consequences resulting from the system of indentured labour, which reduces the labourers, during the period of their indenture, practically to the position of slaves, this Congress strongly urges the total prohibition of recruitment of labour under indenture, either for work in India or elsewhere."

He said that if there was one thing more than another which in recent times had outraged the national honour and pride and aroused the just indignation of the teeming millions of India, it had been the humiliating treatment of their countrymen in the Colonies within the British Empire. If there had been one system more than another which had conducted to enslave and work ruin among the poor down-trodden peasantry of the land, it was the system of indentured labour. It had led to the depletion of labour in this country. Many had been the victims to the seductive temptation offered by the recruiters of this indentured labour. The fat Kangani was a bloodhound, who lived on the blood-money of his victims. They should see to it that this wrong was removed altogether from the country.

Mr. Totaram Senadhya, who was once in the Fiji Islands, seconded the resolution in Hindustani, giving harrowing descriptions of indentured labour.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried.

So much for the native view of the case, but the following, which appeared in the *Indian Planters' Gazette*,

shows that the desire to restrict, if not altogether to check, this outward flow of labour from India, does not arise from race prejudice. "While dealing in detail with each of the matters to which our attention was specially directed, we* have unavoidably laid more stress on what appeared to be remediable defects in the existing system of emigration than on the advantages which have accrued to emigrants. As we consider that the removal of defects would be the most satisfactory result of our inquiries, both for emigrants and for the colonies to which they emigrate, we think it desirable to recapitulate briefly the more important general remedies which we have recommended in the preceding paragraphs. They are as follows."†

The comments of the *Indian Daily News* on the above, in its issue of January 8th, read as follows: "An interesting report on the condition of Indian immigrants in four British and one Dutch Colony (Trinidad, British Guiana or Demerara, Jamaica and Fiji and Dutch Guiana) by Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal has been published which has not attracted the attention it deserves. It is indeed a very exhaustive and elaborate document, but it can hardly alter the course which Indian publicists have settled for themselves. With shortage of labour in the Indian market, the conclusion that its (indentured labour) advantages have far outweighed its disadvantages will hardly carry any weight. If the prospects are really so good, surely free immigration should supply the labour demand. Why, then, have indenture at all? It cannot be contended for a minute that 'indenture' is an ideal arrangement, and we notice that Mr. McNeill has laboured hard to make out a case for it, and we must say he has signally failed. Sentiment counts a good deal in this question, and possibly the existing practice will call for drastic changes. It was not many years ago that the Hon. Mr. Gokhale called attention to this question in the Council when Mr. Clark, speaking on behalf of the Government, relied on Lord Sanderson's report and the testimony of Mr. Selwyn Freemantle, I.C.S. Since then labour troubles in several colonies have brought this matter to a head, and we feel that indentured labour must be mended or ended. The sooner this is recognized the better."

THE EXODUS OF LABOUR FROM INDIA.

In the opening article of their issue of May 1st, the *Indian Planters' Gazette* concludes by saying that:—

* Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal, the two officers deputed by the Government of India to visit the four British Colonies, Trinidad, British Guiana, Jamaica, and Fiji, which utilize indentured coolie labour, and to report upon the condition of their lot.

† Unfortunately, we cannot include the suggested remedies, but leave it for the planters and the Protectors of Immigrants to put them into force *de facto* as well as *de jure*, if they wish to see the flow of indentured coolies continued. [Editor—"Tropical Life"]

"Our attention has been drawn to an article in *Tropical Life* for March, 1915, entitled 'Indentured Labour from India,' in which the writer, in common with many other contributors to the Press, has got hold of the stick by the wrong end. He fears that the indenture system will prove fatal to the supply of labourers to the Colonies. That may be so, but that is not the point. A perusal of this article will show him where he is wrong. The *Statesman* in an editorial issue of April 17th, asks the pertinent question—whether there is, or should be, any need for emigration from India in any form whatever. A vast sub-continent, this country contains boundless scope for every form of agricultural industry and many more highly organized forms of employment. This statement is in accordance with our own views and the views of many other writers who have studied the subject, and given it most careful consideration before giving expression to their thoughts. India is a land of plenty, all that is needed is for the Government to transfer the peasants from arid or famine-stricken districts to those with rich virgin soil and abundant rainfall, to enrich not only the Government itself but also the immigrants who take up their abode as colonists in the province of Assam. It matters not whether they start in the first instance as labourers on tea estates and then settle permanently as independent farmers on Government waste lands, or whether they commence their new life by taking up the latter at once. Their prosperity and material progress is assured, for the land they till will furnish them with abundance of all their hearts can possibly desire, provided they are of the right stamp, hardy, sober, hardworking and thrifty, and with the necessary stamina to withstand the effects of the climate during the period of their acclimatization. Weeds are no more wanted in Assam than in any other part of the world."

Before answering these criticisms of our article, we would first like to give some extracts from the first portion of what our Indian contemporary has to say, and then make our comments on the whole, *viz.* :—

We are told that in "common with some leading contemporaries in Bengal this journal has consistently advocated the stoppage of all emigration of the agricultural class of the peasants in this country for field labour on plantations in the British Colonies. The question is not whether they proceed under indenture or as free labourers; whether they are well treated and prosper or otherwise; but has solely to do with the fact that India itself has urgent need of them and cannot afford in its own interests to spare them."

"The assertion, however, that 'Indians whether landless labourers or the sons of poor cultivating land owners, who are content to be trained and acclimatized under private employers in need of a steady supply of

labour are offered prospects much more favourable than they could hope to realize at home' is somewhat misleading. If the Commissioners meant that the emigrants' prospects were much more favourable than those offering by their staying in their homes in their villages they were undoubtedly right, but if their enigmatical statement was intended to mean that the cultivators' prospects were blighted by their remaining in India they were labouring under a delusion. The peasant cultivators have just as brilliant prospects, so far as material benefits are concerned, by emigrating to the province of Assam, whether as labourers on tea estates, or as occupiers of, and settlers on, the vast area of waste lands which the Government is most anxious should be colonized. The development of Assam, which is part and parcel of India itself, is greatly hindered by the scarcity of the right stamp of labourers. The field is vast but the labourers are few. The great British tea industry in both Northern Bengal and Assam is seriously hampered owing to the scarcity of labour, and yet in the face of this self evident fact, India, which should have the prior claim and first call on its agricultural class of labourers—the tillers of the soil, is denuded of them and they are foisted on to the Colonies, the Government thereby fostering the latter at its own expense.

"The Imperial Department of Agriculture of the Government of India, now firmly established, is doing yeoman's service to the cause of agriculture in this country: if the very class of cultivators whom it requires most for its ends are to be lost to them, what need of its officers' services? Are they not being wasted? Is it not a case of the Government giving with one hand and taking away with the other? With regard to the great Indian tea industry from which the Home Government derives a handsome revenue and the Indian Government likewise derives great benefit in many ways—is its development to be retarded by a policy which cannot be considered other than suicidal?"

"If there was a real surplus of the agricultural population, which there is not, the Government's contention would be valid, but when, as is well known, there is a serious shortage in agricultural labour it completely falls to the ground and is wholly unconvincing. The main point then, as already stated, is—can India afford to lose at the present time the hardy sons of its soil? There is but one answer—No, decidedly No."

Against this the editor of *The Indian Emigrant* of Madras (Mr. T. K. Swaminathan), writes as under, dated May 18th:—"I thank you for drawing my attention to the very interesting article on 'Indentured Labour from India' in the March issue of *Tropical Life*, and concur with you in thinking that the Protectors of Immigrants should deserve more of their name.

As it is, it strikes me that it is a little difficult to enlist their sympathy towards the Indian coolie in face of the influential planters who dominate the situation in the Colonies. I am of opinion that there should be appointed in every colony a protector of the Indian coolies, who can understand their difficulties in a strange land, and these should be in the pay of the Indian Government. *Many of us do not think that it is expedient or advisable to stop emigration out of India altogether*, but much depends upon the attitude of planters in the various colonies. I should be very glad to exchange notes with you on these and allied topics." The sentence which we have put in italics is deserving of note, in face of what the *Indian Planters' Gazette* and the *Statesman*, both Calcutta papers, have to say on the matter.

Now in commenting on the above, we would like to say that we do not see how "the indenture system will prove fatal to the supply of labourers to Colonies." The absence of the system might, and we should have thought would, have done so, but as some centres prefer, apparently to forego their coolies than treat them properly, it does not look as though all centres were so dependent on their indentured coolies as one has been led to believe. In the West Indies, however, especially on the cacao estates, the coolies are welcomed, and their advent into those islands and British Guiana, is, on the whole, a great assistance to the East Indians both from a financial as well as from an (agricultural) educational point of view. We believe that the amount of money taken back to India by the returned coolies, far exceeds that which they are likely to bring down from Assam. We make this statement, however, with actual knowledge only of the drain on the West Indies, but should be surprised if it were otherwise. In any case they learn much as agriculturists, which can only tell to the benefit of themselves and their neighbours in India on their return.

We do not, and never shall believe in the full "liberty of the subject." Idleness, to our mind, is a mania and needs curing or detention in the same way as is done with those who are classified as lunatics or madmen. The evils of maintaining slackers in our midst, be they tramps, working-men or moneyed men, is being forcibly driven home to us at this moment with the war on. There are, we feel sure, at least half a million, it not a round million of men, who would learn the lesson of their lives if they could be turned into Germans and subjected to German military law for a month. At present they continue to dribble through life contented to leave others to do double and treble work and run all the risks, and so therefore the sooner the "liberty of these, the unworthy, subjects," is curtailed and brought abruptly to an end, the better for all. India, we consider suffers in the same way, though from a different and

less despicable cause. What the Indian wants to be taught is that the Lord, if not Allah, helps those who help themselves, and that if, instead of half starving, every Indian—man, woman, and child—would only go and look for remunerative work, there would be far less (if any) deaths from want, and India, including Assam, and the Colonies also, would have all the labour they need and a little to spare.

INDAINS IN TRINIDAD.

BY MR. HERBERT G. DE LISER.

TRINIDAD is the most mixed of all the West Indian islands. The Spaniards had it first, and Spanish families lived there. French colonists flocked to the island and settled, and in time it had more French than Spanish inhabitants. The English came into possession, and English people emigrated there. In the meantime Africans had been brought over, and after emancipation East Indians began to be imported as indentured labourers. Then came the Portuguese, not in very large numbers, it is true, but enough to constitute a distinct class in the community. The result is that there are people of French, English, Spanish, Portuguese, East Indian and African descent in the colony, and, of course a large, percentage of coloured people. Many languages are spoken in Trinidad. The peasants speak a patois French and a patois English and they seem to use French more commonly than English. The coolies converse in their own dialect. In Port-of-Spain, English is the language mainly spoken, and in time it may prevail over all the others; but the numerically strongest homogeneous element of the population is undoubtedly the East Indian. There are over one hundred thousand of these people in Trinidad, of whom at least one-half were born in the island.

Are these fifty thousand island-born coolies Trinidadians? Not only were they born in the colony, but they have no intention of returning to India. Some who have been taken thither by their parents have loudly clamoured to be sent back to the land of their birth; they found that there was no place for them in India, that the life there was entirely different from that to which they had been accustomed, that they were strangers in strange land. And yet these Indians do not mix much with the other natives. A few intermarry, a few become Christians; but the vast majority remain in social and domestic life a separate community. A handful of them would disappear in the course of years; fifty or a hundred thousand of them, having a common religion and a distinct racial consciousness, will do nothing of the kind.

If emigration from India continued, the East Indian would become in time the chief element of the population. He is now in Trinidad as an agricultural labourer

chiefly, but he is beginning to occupy other positions also. There are East Indian clerks in the stores, there are East Indian clerks in the public offices, there are East Indian lawyers, and one of the nominated members of the Legislative Council is an East Indian. As you drive along a country road in Trinidad, you will see the coolies patiently attending to the cocoa trees, you will see the lithe coolie woman, her wrists and ankles and neck heavily weighted with silver ornaments, looking after her children; it will come to you that you have not noticed many of these people in Port-of-Spain. But you will also be passed by East Indians in buggies, perhaps in motor-cars, and upon enquiry you will learn that many East Indians are very prosperous men, men with money; that a considerable number of them own land, and that the leading personalities of this community take care to see that the labourer of their race is not cheated or oppressed, even though the Immigration Department is quite alive to its duties in this respect. Black men also own land and work as labourers, but they do not take as patiently to toiling for other people as the coolies do, or are obliged to do. The man of African descent increases, but the coolie is also prolific, and in a country like Trinidad his children have a good chance of struggling successfully against the maladies which everywhere cause so much infantile mortality. There is still a large area of undeveloped soil in Trinidad, and if more East Indians were brought over to till it their children would remain in the country. Then, after a time, the Indians would become so strong, in influence, in property, as well as in numbers, that Trinidad, say a hundred years hence, might be more identified with them than with any other race of people. But the future of coolie immigration is doubtful. In the meantime the East Indian is the worker, patiently putting by penny after penny and establishing himself firmly in his West Indian home.

Of the Negro peasant of Trinidad nobody speaks very highly. The black man from Barbadoes sneers at him, says he will not work; the planters condemn him, asserting that he is not reliable as an agricultural help. He prefers the towns and town employment; he is an artisan, a wharf labourer; in the country he works when he likes or when he must. Yet I have also heard, on good authority, that the great cocoa industry of Trinidad owes its origin to the negro peasant-proprietor. He was the first to plant cocoa for sale; the demand grew, and the planters seeing that sugar was rapidly losing its favourable position, turned their attention to this more profitable culture. So Trinidad owes him something, though I can well believe that he has no love for day labour on a Trinidad plantation, and am persuaded that Trinidad would be in a very backward condition, were there no coolies to till the fields.

As it is, the island is very much under-populated. Take away the East Indian and the large properties

must languish. Land would be plentiful, squatters would abound, and where men can live upon little with almost no exertion, they will not bestir themselves to painful toil.—*Daily Gleaner*.

COLONIAL INDIAN EMIGRATION.

BY MR. C. F. ANDREWS.

AS one who has recently witnessed at close quarters the working of the indenture system in Natal, I trust you will allow me to point out how misleading was the picture given of colonial emigration in your recent editorial. It is true that there is a side of material prosperity connected with indentured labour in the colonies which is at first sight attractive, but the inherent evils of the system itself are so great that most of those Englishmen whom I met in South Africa, who had had a long experience of its working, were convinced that the sooner it came to an end the better. The vote in the South African Parliament on the Indian Grievances Bill was very remarkable. The Bill was understood to be a final blow at indenture. Yet I believe I am right in saying that only seventeen members were found to vote against the Bill and some planters themselves voted for it. In the Senate the largest employer of indentured labour in the Colony led the Natal vote in favour of the Bill. He said to me personally, "I know it will reduce my profits; but I am quite clear from my own experience that the system should be abolished and I will do everything to pass the Bill." I asked a medical officer, who had seen the inner workings of the system for twenty-five years, what he thought of indenture. He answered, "There's no getting over the fact that it is next door to slavery." The most strongly conservative paper in Natal (which is generally in favour of the planters) called the *Natal Advertiser*, wrote about the system as follows:—"We do not hesitate to say that the Indian Immigration Laws, if they do not reduce indentured labour to a form of slavery, at least establish conditions far more nearly approximating to servile conditions than did those which the British Parliament and people rejected in the case of the Rand Chinese."

It may be said, in reply, that the conditions which I saw in Natal were exceptionally bad. But this is not borne out by the facts. Indeed tables given in Messrs. McNeill and Chimmman Lal's report go to prove that the conditions in the Fiji Islands are very much worse. To give one example, the suicide rate among indentured Indians in Fiji is double the Natal rate. It is the system itself which is inherently evil. Ordinary common sense would tell us that to transport Indian men and Indian women thousands of miles away from home and from

all the old ties of religion and caste: to allow recruitment at the rate of 40 women for every 100 men: to bind them down to plantations for five years from which there is no possible escape—to do this must inevitably lead to a kind of semi-slavery. It is almost useless to rely upon Government Regulations to mitigate the evil. The coolies, as I have seen with my own eyes in Natal, are so ignorant and illiterate, that they do not know what the Regulations mean. A planter, who wishes to contravene the Regulations, can nearly always find a loophole through which to do so. An inspecting officer in Natal told me that it took him 18 years before he was able to convict one planter, who was guilty of gross breaches of the Government Regulations all that while. None of his coolies would give evidence against him in court, knowing that they would be obliged afterwards to go back again to his estate.

Now that the indenture system has been practically abolished within our own doors and in Natal, I trust that the time is ripe for Englishmen and Indians alike to work together towards the final abolition of the very small remainder. Separating off, as your editorial rightly did, the emigration of coolies to Ceylon, Burma and the Straits Settlement (which is a different problem), I doubt if the Emigration to the far distant colonies, such as Fiji, Trinidad, Jamaica, etc., amounts to more than 10,000 each year. This is an absurdly small figure compared with 815 millions of India. Yet this indenture question, numerically so insignificant, stirs up more bad blood each year in this country than almost any other single question. Why not then have done with it? Why not clear it away once and for all. Why should such an open sore be allowed to go on getting worse and worse?

If it be said that the abolition of indenture will increase the congestion of population, the answer is that large areas of India are still not populated enough, and how short-sighted it is, with the present scarcity of labour in India itself, to be sending out picked, able-bodied coolies abroad under conditions which approximate to slavery! If it be said that the abolition of indenture will seriously injure the colonies—again the smallness of the figures contradicts the statement. The colonies can get their labour more naturally, if not quite so cheaply, from nearer quarters. I did not hear of a single planter who had closed down his estate in Natal since emigration from India had ceased. In any case, the numbers are so very small that hardships to individuals could be overcome. If it be said, that we should do nothing till the War is over, I would answer that probably the most important contribution we can make to the cause of the King-Emperor is to abolish without any further delay evils which rankle in the minds of Indians themselves and lead to a sense of injustice and degradation.—*C. & M. Gazette*.

INDIAN INDENTURED LABOUR IN OUR COLONIES

BY SIR HENRY COTTON, K.C.S.I.

TWO years ago, Mr. James McNeill and Mr. Chimman Lal were deputed by the Indian Government to enquire into the conditions of Indian indentured labour in Trinidad, British Guiana, Surinam, Jamaica and Fiji. Their report has now been presented to Parliament, and if I could possibly have praised it, I would have done so. The two large volumes of which it consists are a monument to the industry of their compilers. But when I have said this I can add no more. The report is overwhelmed with a vast mass of detail which it was unnecessary to record; it bristles with statements and figures which are of no real utility; and on the other hand, it omits or slurs over perfunctorily the most vital facts and information which were within the writer's possession, but of which, apparently, they entirely failed to realise the importance.

I would defy anyone to read this report without a sense of bewilderment. It may be gathered in a general way that indentured labourers are fairly well paid and well-to-do, that their tasks are tolerably easy, and that their health is carefully, though not always effectually, looked after by their employers. But there was really very little need for enquiry into these points, which have never been seriously disputed. It is evident that the number of criminal prosecutions for petty offences is everywhere excessive, that the Magistrates are machines for sending men to prison, and that the duties of the Protector of Immigrants are inadequately discharged; but under these heads it is doubtful whether any information is elicited, which is not already contained in the report of the Royal Commission presided over by Lord Sanderson. One may learn, also, though one has to dig and delve to find it, that the social conditions of life among indentured labourers are simply detestable and horrible, and that, when all other considerations as to the welfare of the immigrants are winnowed away into comparative insignificance, this one question stands out pre-eminent in a manner which can no longer be ignored. There is, however, no such pre-eminence accorded to it by Mr. McNeill and Mr. Chimman Lal, and that is the most surprising and disappointing feature of their report.

THE DISPARITY OF THE SEXES.

A former Chief Commissioner of Assam—it was not I—once described the condition of coolies on a tea estate as that of beasts in a menagerie. He was referring rather to their moral than to their physical condition; but whether the remark is justly applicable to tea coolies or not, there can be little doubt that it does apply to the Indian immigrant coolies in our sugar-growing colonies. Mr. McNeill and Mr. Chimman Lal

are, of course, careful not to go so far, but this is what they do say of indentured women:

The women who come out consist as to one-third of married women who accompany their husbands, the remainder being mostly widows and women who have run away from their husbands or been put away by them. A small percentage are ordinary prostitutes. Of the women who emigrate otherwise than with their husbands and parents the great majority are not, as they are frequently represented to be, shamelessly immoral. They are women who have got into trouble and apparently emigrate to escape from the life of promiscuous prostitution which seems to be the alternative to emigration. . . . What appears to be true as regards a substantial number is that they ran away from home alone or accompanied by some one by whom they were abandoned, that they drifted into one of the large recruiting centres and, after a time, were picked up by the recruiter.

If this be true of the source of supply, we can hardly expect to find that the condition of the woman is materially improved on the plantation. The Commissioners write:

As regards immorality on estates, we have already stated that the majority of women are not married to the men with whom they co-habit. Of these unmarried women a few live as prostitutes, whether nominally under the protection of a man or not. The majority remain with the man with whom they form an irregular union. They are, however, exposed to a good deal of temptation as there are on all estates a number of young unmarried men.

In point of fact this guarded language, grave as it is, very imperfectly reveals the actual situation. Apart from all other explanation, the root cause of the appalling sexual immorality which prevails in every colony is the overwhelming preponderance of adult males to adult females among indentured immigrants. The Commissioners know this very well, but they touched on this point only to evade it, and I search the 884 pages of their report in vain for precise figures. Fortunately they are to be found in a return which was presented to Parliament by the Colonial Office in March, 1914 (Cd. 7622). From this return we learn that in Trinidad and Tobago the number of adult males is 81,989, and of adult females 17,159; in British Guiana the number is 53,088 to 34,779; in Jamaica it is 7,137 to 4,775; and in the Fiji Islands it is 20,062 to 8,785.

The mere statement of these figures is sufficient; and it must be remembered that these immigrants are ignorant and low-class people who live together on crowded plantations in colonies many thousand miles away from their homes, and that unmarried men are absolutely unable to find wives or associates outside their own

race. Mr. McNeill and Mr. Chimman Lal may truly say that the women who emigrate do so "to escape from the life of promiscuous prostitution which seems to be the alternative to emigration," but it would have been more true and appropriate if they had had the courage to add that promiscuous concubinage was the only possible condition of life which awaits them after emigration.

THE RESULT IN FIJI

What follows? I will take only one colony, that of the Islands of Fiji, which is undoubtedly the worst in regard to the disparity of the sexes. The attention of the Commissioners does not seem to have been particularly drawn to the number of cases of violent crime which are due to marital jealousy. They allude to it parenthetically, but give no statistics. I do not know how many cases of grievous hurt, homicide, and murder are annually to be attributed to this cause. But I do know that an extraordinary number of persons are annually sentenced to capital punishment in Fiji, and that the proportion of executions to population is larger in these Islands than in any other place within His Majesty's dominions. And I know also that most of these cases are among Indian immigrants, and that the cause of crime is that which I have indicated.

I do not forget that when this question was directly raised by the late Mr. Pointer in the House of Commons as long ago as April 28, 1914, the Secretary of State for the Colonies replied that its consideration was postponed pending the receipt of Mr. McNeill and Mr. Chimman Lal's report. There is the less excuse therefore, for these gentlemen in passing it over without investigation. They do, however, enquire into the frequency of suicides among immigrants, and it will hardly be credited when I say that the number of suicides in Fiji during 1912, which is the latest year for which the Commissioners report, amounts to one in every 858 of indentured immigrants. In the province of Madras, from which most of these unfortunates are said to come, the ratio of suicides in 1908, the latest year for which comparative statistics are given, was one in 22,873. That is a sufficiently startling figure in itself, but it is nothing when compared to the state of things disclosed in Fiji. The Commissioners observe that the greatest number of these suicides are due to "domestic quarrels and jealousy." They do not say how many of these suicides were men and how many women, and do not appear to have realised how relevant detailed information of this kind would have been to the objects of their enquiry.

The present rule requires that for every 100 male adult immigrants 40 women over ten years of age should be shipped. The Commissioners propose that

there should be no minimum limit of age, and that the percentage of females to males should be raised to 50. Was there ever put forward a more inadequate remedy for a gigantic evil? They observe that "an increase to 100 per cent. may seem at first suitable, but that this becomes less attractive on consideration," and that "unless women emigrated as wives, insistence on a parity between the sexes would be anything but a gain to morality." I confess I do not follow this argument, for the relationship of one man to one woman, even though no marriage takes place appears to me a more moral arrangement than the sort of polyandry which now prevails. But why not suggest that only married couples should be accepted? I suppose that the answer to this would be that the task of recruiters would become an impossible one.

THE ONLY REMEDY

If so, the whole system of recruiting stands condemned. The truth is, however, that indentured labour itself, within the confines of India and to distant colonies alike, is no longer defensible. It is no longer in the experimental stage, for it has gone on for more than fifty years. We are only too ready to blind our eyes to the inherent evil which accompanies it. With all the experience we have had, we are unable to eradicate that evil, and the only effectual remedy is to put a stop to indentured labour altogether.

Indian educated opinion has long been agreed on this point; the policy of Government is, I think, tending in this direction, and certain we may be that Commissions and Reports, and half-way measures, such as this Report suggests, will avail nothing in permanently bolstering up methods which every instinct of morality rejects.—India.

COOLIE CONTRACTS.

BY REV. J. H. HARRIS.

"EXCEPT when he is really at his wit's end, either on account of family dissensions, or perhaps absence of means of living, he will not go?"—this question put by Lord Sanderson to Mr. W. F. Bolton, and answered by him in an affirmative, reveals the motive which leads the unfortunate Indian coolie to surrender his liberty for a period of years.

CONTRACTS.

The coolie having been secured by some means—often fraudulent—now enters upon his indenture term, which varies technically from 600 days in the Straits Settlements to five years in the West Indies. I say "technically," because the full period which a coolie must remain in the Colony is in most cases very much longer. One witness frankly revealed the desire

nearest the heart of the planters: "Anything which would tend to keep in the Colony able-bodied efficient labourers who are already acclimatized, in my opinion, would be good."

The contract usually provides for some maintenance and medical attendance: wages some thing under a shilling a day, or, as the labourer finds out when he gets to the Colony, per diem means "per task." This, in Trinidad, works out at about 4s. a week. It also has some stipulation with regard to the return passage to India, but this is the most debated subject in every Colony: it is, moreover, one of the weapons used for extending a contract, and provides a perpetual battle ground between the Government, the coolie, and the employer, as to the relative incidence, each endeavouring to make the "other fellow" pay.

GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS.

The high water mark in contracts was that by which the railway was built from the East coast of Africa to Lake Victoria Nyanza. For this enterprise, labourers were recruited by Indian Government officials, the term was for three years, maintenance was provided from the date of embarkation; a free passage was given from India to the Colony and back again to the Indian home. The wages were 15 rupees per month, freedom was at its maximum under indenture, and, consequently, the death rate was only 10 per 1,000. Even under these conditions, however, things were far from ideal.

PLANTER CONTRACTS.

The contracts for Fiji are for five years, but the labourer must work in the Colony for another such period, making ten years in all, before he is allowed a "free pass" back to his Indian home. For Jamaica a still more extraordinary contract is imposed; the initial indenture is for five years. At the termination of this period the coolie, according to Dr. Edwards, a Medical Practitioner, is known as a "half free" for another term of five years. After having completed ten years, local munificence permits him to embark for his home in India, provided he pays one-third fare for his women relatives and half his own! The same condition now prevails, it seems, in British Guiana, where, in this respect, the position of the coolie has become steadily worse during recent years. The indentured labourers introduced prior to 1895 were entitled to a free return passage, but those of a later date were obliged to pay—the men one quarter and the women one-sixth. Again the screw was tightened by the Government and Planters upon the unfortunate coolie, and from 1898-99 they have been compelled to pay one-half and one-third respectively.

TAINT OF SLAVERY.

There are those who hold strongly that the existing system of coolie labour is slavery, and it is true that here and there the taint of both slave trade and slavery is very strong. The commissions allowed to the sub-agents and recruiters in India are most unfortunate and lead to every kind of regrettable practice. Mr. Trotter, the Protector of Immigrants in Mauritius, informed the Committee that when a man is not fully able bodied "we charge the planter a lower fee for him." Again, "... Supposing, amongst the immigrants introduced, there was a boy of 12 passed as an adult, instead of charging 150 rupees for him I should charge 100. ..." Colonel Pitcher informed the Committee that when he was Immigration Agent there was a habit of "transferring coolies by one recruiter to another ... and it looked to me rather as savouring of sale and purchase." Colonel Pitcher could not say what steps, if any, had been taken to abolish this practice, but someone must be asked when Parliament re-assembles.

Slavery is a word which has been very loosely used in recent years, but the original definition included a complete surrender of personal liberty, the absence of right to a wage for labour given, and for generations in many parts of the world an unrestricted power over the person of the slave. The indenture system in the British Colonies cannot be said to impose these limitations; liberty is considerably restricted, it is true; the wages in several of the Colonies are inadequate; punishments are administered with deplorable frequency; but granting there is a certain amount of deception, the coolie enters into the indenture with no more compulsion than unfortunate circumstances impose.

TASKS.

How far the indentured labourer realizes before he or she leaves India, the difference of a day's work of six hours, and an equivalent "task," is very doubtful. Beyond all question the "task" allotment is the cause of frequent and in some cases serious trouble between the Estate managers and the labourers. Mr. B. G. Corney, a Medical Officer in Fiji, informed the Committee that "There was a good deal of rivalry between the Sirdars and Overseers naturally to get more work out of their gangs and so get credit with their employers and stand better with the managers," and that "many of the quarrels have been due to that." The "task," being at the discretion of the employer, with power to prosecute under labour ordinances for "non-completion," is bound to open the door to serious abuses; indeed, in Fiji, one of the chief troubles of the Immigration Department is that of preventing the employers "over-tasking" the labourers. Mr. George Kirkpatrick affirmed that in Trinidad "in certain cases

a man is given a "task" which he cannot complete in a day, and it takes him two days to complete it, in that way Sect. 70 of the Ordinance is undoubtedly infringed, because there are as many as 30 per cent. of the male immigrants who have earned less than the average of 6d. a day minimum wages."

FREQUENCY OF CHARGES.

The most serious blot in the whole of the indenture system in certain colonies is that of the frequency of charges in the courts, and punishments. These demand, and must have, the immediate attention of the Government. Indeed, British honour requires that Lord Crewe should speak out upon this aspect at an early date in a manner which will show the planters clearly that unless the present state of affairs is speedily rectified no more indentured coolies will leave the shores of India.

Lord Sanderson's Committee, in its report, says of British Guiana: "There is, however, one unsatisfactory feature of indentured immigration which is at least as prominent in this as in any of the other colonies, and that is the extent to which the employers resort to the criminal courts in order to enforce the fulfilment by the immigrants of their statutory obligations."

The Committee was equally disturbed about Trinidad, and submits that "there are grounds for an inquiry on the spot into the working of the provisions of the Ordinances which deal with the penalties imposed on the indentured labourer for breach of contract and absence from work."

The same applies to Fiji. "We would, therefore, suggest that enquiry should be made whether something cannot be done to avoid this large number of prosecutions."

The returns for 1907-08 show the extraordinary passion Estate Managers have for the criminal courts. In British Guiana, with an indentured population of 3,784 persons, no less than 3,835 charges were preferred against the coolies under labour laws. In Trinidad, out of 11,506 coolies under indenture, 1,869 were convicted, and in Fiji, with 11,689, some 2,291 were charged in the criminal courts.

"LOST DAYS."

Lord Sanderson's Committee condemns, in language which leaves nothing to be desired, the manner in which the Estate Managers perambulate their coolies to and from the courts, and there is, unfortunately, reason to fear that the object with some plantation owners is that of an extension of the contract which, in some cases, conviction involves. In Trinidad in 1907, within the compass of one year, there were over a million "lost

days;" it is, however, not clear what proportion represent "contract extension," or in what manner these "lost days" were debited against the coolie.

"TRUMPERY" CHARGES.

The charges brought against the coolies are mainly under labour Ordinances for so-called "malingering." Mr. Edward Bateson, a Magistrate of wide experience in the West and East Indies, informed the Committee: "Sometimes people were brought before me either as vagrants or deserters, but the great majority of cases were idleness and alleged idleness, and it was impossible for me to ascertain really the merits of the case," and, again "complaints by masters or mistresses of insulting conduct, or words, or gestures, and trumpery cases which ought not to have been brought into court, and which would not be brought in any other country before a criminal court."

It must be borne in mind that conviction carries with it, in certain cases, not only an extension of the contract, but treatment as criminals. To quote again Mr. Bateson, when speaking of Mauritius: "I do not think that a person should be sent to prison, that is my view, for an offence which cannot properly be called criminal. It is a very painful sight to see people being taken in batches to prison handcuffed as if they were criminals when they are not criminals in any sense." Sir George Robertson asked Mr. Peter Abel, a planter from the West Indies, whether he thought it "fair that a man, for some offence against the labour law, should be sent to prison and put to hard labour with other criminals who have, perhaps, committed some serious crime?" This gentleman replied: "It would, perhaps, be a good thing if any other solution of the difficulty could be arrived at."

The Indian Emigrants' Guide and Directory.

The Publishers of the *Indian Emigrant* will be greatly obliged for any assistance by way of supplying detailed and accurate information suitable to the Directory, shortly to be brought out by them. They propose therein to bring under one cover the geographical, political and economic features of the various British and other Colonies, including a complete list of Indian residents with their addresses and occupations, so as to form a guide to Indians going out to these places. Individual residents of these Colonies are specially requested to communicate on these points with the Publishers at 33, Broadway, Madras.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Indians in Seychelles.

Seychelles Islands are groups of islands lying in the Indian Ocean about 985 miles north of Mauritius. They were until November, 1908, dependent upon Mauritius, but on November 9th were made a separate Crown Colony. The largest and most populous of them is Mahe, whose capital is Victoria.

The census of these islands was taken on April 2nd, 1911 and the number of persons resident in the colony on the night of April 2nd and 3rd was ascertained to be, 22,691 composed of 11,537 males and 11,154 females, showing an increase of 3,454 on the census of 1901 or a yearly increase of 845.

Estimating the total inhabited area of the colony to be 50,000 acres the average population is 1 person for every 2.20 acres. The general population includes the white, coloured and black people, the total Indian population ascertained from the birth place India proved to be 428, of which 1 was from Ceylon. Under religious denominations, these numbered as follows :—

The information supplied by the Census Report of this colony is very meagre and we could not gather any further information as to the details of Indians in several walks of life in these islands. Unlike the

Hindus	...	332
Buddhist	...	11
Mahomedan	...	75
Zoroaster	...	1
Brahman	...	4
		423

Reports of other colonies, such as Fiji, for instance, which contains every detail about the Indian population (a summary of which will appear in our next number), this Report lacks everything that could be desired and all attempts to ascertain exact information by the authorities seemed to have proved to be a failure. At any rate the authorities would have done well if they had ascertained at least the degree of elementary education obtaining among the different sections of the population.

Dharmasalas for Travellers.

In ancient days, travelling was made easy in India by the erection of Dharmasalas or free rest houses for pilgrims and other travellers. Zemindars and Rajas vied with one another in the construction of these and the dedicating of them to the public. The greatness of these petty rulers sometimes depended on the number of Dharmasalas they have built; and to-day in Burma the highest title which a Burman could covet is the *Phaya Taga* or *Zayat Taga*, i.e., one who has built a temple or a rest house. The importance of such free rest houses may perhaps be minimised in

modern times when transport facilities are very great. There are of course rest houses built by Government, for using which Rs. 2 or 8 per diem are charged and such conveniences suit only rich people.

If any one who knows the condition of the poor travelling public of India, particularly South India, will realise the sad need of these constructions. It is now time that our educated men turn their attention a bit to the sufferings of poor travellers in places of pilgrimage and earn their gratitude by constructing charitable works of this kind. Unfortunately Western thought is making our men so narrow and individualistic that works of such public utility do not commend themselves to them.

We hope the Pilgrims' Committee appointed by the Government will look to these wants.

We hear now a far cry from Srinagar for help for constructing a Dharmasala at *Amira Kadal* (Kashmir) and we trust that the generous public will appreciate the endeavour and help the construction.

We need not emphasize here the urgent need of such institutions in all places outside India also, where there is a large section of Indians. This will greatly help Indian emigrants to those places.

It is gratifying to learn that the indentured Indians in Ottawa (S. Africa) have decided to perpetuate the memory of the late Mr. Ghokale by establishing a Rest House for Indians, the same to be used as a school also. Messrs. Mahabeer, Dandial Singh and Moonsawmy Pandaram are the organisers. Indians here may take a practical hint from Indians outside in the matter of perpetuating memories of great men, not by sinking money in statues but by constructing charitable works.

Passports for Alien Passengers.

The following extract from the *London Gazette*, dated the 14th April 1915, regarding, *inter alia*, the requirements as to passports, etc., in the case of alien passengers proceeding to the United Kingdom is published for general information :—

1. (1) After the twenty-fifth day of April, nineteen hundred and fifteen, an alien coming from, or intending to proceed to, any place out of the United Kingdom as a passenger shall not, without the special permission of a Secretary of State, land or embark at any port in the United Kingdom unless he has in his possession a passport issued to him not more than two years previously by or on behalf of the Government of the country of which he is a subject or a citizen, or some other document satisfactorily establishing his nationality and identity, to which passport or document there must be attached a photograph of the alien to whom it relates.

(2) Where any such special permission of a Secretary of State has been granted subject to any conditions, and the person to whom it is granted fails to comply with any such condition, he shall be deemed to be guilty of a contravention of the principal Order.

(3) For the purposes of this article the expression "passenger" includes any person carried on a ship other than the master and persons employed in the working or service of the ship.

2. (1) After the twenty-fifth day of April, nineteen hundred and fifteen, an alien shall not, without the special permission of the registration officer, enter any prohibited area unless he has in his possession a passport issued to him not more than two years previously by or on behalf of the Government of the country of which he is a subject or citizen, or some other document satisfactorily establishing his nationality and identity, to which passport or document there must be attached a photograph of the alien to whom it relates :

Provided that where an alien is at the date of this Order resident in a prohibited area this provision shall not prevent him entering that area so long as his residence is in that area.

(2) Where any such special permission of a registration officer has been granted subject to any conditions, and the person to whom it is granted fails to comply with any such condition, he shall be deemed to be guilty of a contravention of the principal Order.

Climate and Character.

An American writer has been examining the influence of climate upon the moulding of character on mankind. He arrives at the conclusion that the physical activity of the races of Western Europe is greatest when the average temperature is about 60 degrees—that is, on days when the thermometer goes down to perhaps 50 or 55 degrees at night and rises to about 65 or 70 degrees by day. Mental activity, on the other hand, is greatest when the average is a little below 40 degrees—that is, on days which may have a frost at night. If the mean temperature were the only thing to be considered, the best climate would be one where the average in winter is about 40 and the average in summer about 60 degrees. Only a few parts of the world are blessed with such conditions. The most important of these both in area and in population, is England. Next comes the Northern Pacific coast of the United States, from Oregon to the southern part of British Columbia. Here, unfortunately, the mountains rise close to the sea, and so prevent the favourable conditions from penetrating far inland. A third highly favoured area is found in New Zealand, especially the southern island. This,

like its two predecessors, is recognised as one of the highly advanced parts of the earth. The fourth and last of the places where the mean temperature is particularly favourable is not generally so recognised. It lies in Patagonia, and the corresponding part of Chili, between latitudes 45 degrees and 50 degrees S. So it seems that conditions are most favourable for mental activity when the average temperature is at 40 degrees.

French Recognition of Coloured Men.

We (*Anti-Slavery Reporter*) referred in these Notes some months ago to the significance of the election of a pure-blooded West African native to a place in the French Senate. The following remarks from a Gold Coast newspaper, commenting on the superiority of the French native soldiers to those under Great Britain, are worthy of attention :—

"Why should French Senegalese soldiers surpass our soldiers in qualities of gallantry and initiative? The cause may be traced to the difference in the method of training and Government of African races by the British and the French people. The French African native subject is trained to love France and to regard her as a mother solicitous of his interests and ready and willing to bestow honour on him, even as she bestows on her white sons, if he prove himself worthy. The British only tolerate their subject races and appear to make it their concern constantly and in season and out of season to make them feel that their lot and portion is that of servants and menials in the good household of the Great White Mother of the British Empire."

South African Born Indians.

Owing to certain difficulties that have recently arisen with reference to the admission into the Cape Province of Indians born in South Africa, representations were made recently to the Government, pointing out that the restrictions maintained in that Province were contrary both to the letter and to the spirit of the settlement of 1914. We are now officially informed that instructions have been issued that, once the fact of South African birth has been established by an Indian to the satisfaction of an Immigration Officer, such person should be forthwith admitted into the Cape Province, but that the Government reserves the right so soon as the number of entrants sensibly increases to apply the provisions of Act 22 of 1913. These instructions are, in our opinion, complete and satisfactory, and are in compliance with the provisions of the Passive Resistance Settlement. All that will be necessary, therefore,

for a South African born Indian, is the production by him or her of a Birth Certificate, or a document officially declaring the South African birth of the lawful holder. Unless a thumb-impression is on the original document, it should not be given upon the demand of the Cape Immigration Officer where a signature can be given, and no South African born person is under any obligation to pass the education test. Whilst we believe that this arrangement is complete and satisfactory so far as the Government are concerned, in view of the community's previous experience of the administration of the law and of the terms of the settlement by the Cape Immigration Officer, we shall be obliged if cases of difficulty are immediately brought to our notice, setting forth all the facts. Meanwhile, we beg to express our thanks to the Government for the prompt manner in which the difficulty has been disposed of.—*Indian Opinion*.

Enthusiasm of a Sikh.

To illustrate the enthusiasm with which a Sikh immigrant, Arjan Singh of Argentine rejoined his regiment, to fight his Sovereign's enemies, Saint Nihal Singh gives the following in his contribution headed, 'India's Blood Sacrifice,' to the *Nash's and Pall Mall Magazine*, London :—Arjan Singh, a Sikh from the Punjab, in North-Western India, had been a soldier in the British Indian Army, but had left the colours, and emigrated to Argentine, where, when the war began, he was employed as foreman on a sugar plantation owned by a British syndicate. In the "Native" Indian Army, he had earned the munificent salary of 14 shillings and 8 pence (say Rs. 9) a month, without food. In Argentine he was receiving ten pounds (Rs. 150) a month. The sum, compared with his former salary, appeared to him to be a Croesus-like fortune. But fortune or no fortune, he decided that he must go back to his old regiment, which, he learned was being sent to the continent. He gave up his position, took the first steamer bound for England, and did not rest till he had rejoined the Indian Army as a commissioned officer.

The Native Mexican.

In Mexico, as in every other country, the Government is made up, not of documents or words, but of human wills. The constitution is what the people demand. But who are the people? The "Mexican People" is a group of human beings, the greater part of whom are as much shut out from any share in public life and the activity of the country as though they lived in the moon; a social system in which not more than one family in fifty has any influence upon the Government;

a popular education which leaves five-sixth of the population illiterate. To understand Mexico we must accept some crude and unwelcome facts about the population and its social and political make-up. About a fifth of the people of Mexico call themselves Spanish, and perhaps a twentieth are really without Indian admixture. A third of the population is of clear native American Indian stock; and fully half the people have both Spanish and Indian blood.

The pure Indians of Mexico include a few wild tribes which have not yet bowed the knee to the Spaniard, such as the Huichols, the Tarascas, the pigmy Otomies and the Mixes in their ridge-climbing long villages with such Aztec names as Ixcumtepec and Huixquilucan. Modern investigators like Starr and Lumboltz think they are superior to the mixed race, and to many whites. Another of their tribes, is the Mayas of Yucatan, perhaps the descendants of the mysterious Toltecs, builders of the stone cities and temples of Copan and Mitla and Uxmal. A tribe much in the public eye just now is the Yaquia, who have long plagued the Mexicans and are now landless and out-lawed, the prey of labour agents and kidnappers. The wild tribes are no part of the Mexican people in the political sense. The so-called civilised Indians are the children of the Aztecs whom the Spaniards crushed and then undertook to Christianise. Most observers during the last four hundred years have found them mild and peaceful. Bullock, in 1882, thought "they seemed an innocent and harmless people, they have behaved themselves with great propriety; they are the most courteous, gentle, and unoffending creatures in existence." He liked "a procession of several thousand Indians, perfectly clean, orderly, and well-dressed." Their chief fault was a fondness for pulque, and the consequent beating of their wives.

Poinsett, late American Minister to Mexico, called them "sober, industrious, docile, ignorant, and superstitious." The Spaniards kept them down, cheated them, shut them into their villages. Hence they joined in the Mexican revolution a century ago; but they have not been much better off under a republic which left them in ignorance and allowed them to be oppressed by petty officials of their own race.—Albert Bushnell Hart, in the *World's Work*.

The Future of Fiji.

We do not know what has given rise to the reports to which the *Times* correspondent at Sydney has more than once given currency, that the islands of Fiji will shortly be placed under the control of the Commonwealth, says *India*. It would appear that a suggestion of that sort must have emanated from the Colonial Office, but we trust that is not the case. Such an

arrangement would give rise to profound dissatisfaction in India, which is every year acquiring a larger interest in this remote Crown Colony on account of the ever-increasing number of Indian coolie emigrants, who now amount to nearly 50,000, and are in many respects the most important portion of the population of the islands.

The prosperity of Fiji, as well as of Mauritius, is principally due to the settlement of Indian emigrants, and the British Government is responsible for providing an absolute guarantee for their protection. It is a well-founded complaint that the Colonial Office does not meet this responsibility with sufficient firmness, but no one supposes that the Government of Australia would be in a position to effect any improvement. The control of Indian emigration to Fiji could hardly in any case be in their hands. Nor while the relations between India and the Commonwealth remain as they are at present in respect of the admission of Indians to Australia itself, is Indian opinion likely to look with favour on any proposal for extending Australian control over Indian emigration to any part of the world?

It may be gathered from the *Times* correspondent that the Australians on their part have no desire to undertake this new responsibility. The whole Press, we are told, gives utterance to the apparently unanimous opinion of the public that "if this step is taken because it is imperially important that Australia should relieve the United Kingdom of certain responsibilities in the Pacific, then the Commonwealth will accept the responsibility and strive to fulfil the duty to the best of its power. But from a purely Australian point of view, it is undesirable to yoke the Commonwealth with an established, tropical, and partially self-governing Colony which is largely populated by Indian coolies."

It is added that the jealousy of New Zealand would probably be roused should the Commonwealth take control of Fiji. Of that we know nothing, but at least this is certain, that the indignation of India would be considerable. In all these circumstances the proposal, if it has ever been seriously put forward, is one which should at once be allowed to drop.

Opinion in Australia itself is strong against any such change.

The *Sydney Morning Herald* publishes an interview with a business-man thoroughly conversant with the position regarding the rumour that the Commonwealth is likely to secure control over Fiji. He says that Australia would be well advised to leave matters as they are. The main advantages derivable from the acquisition would be the control of trade and the prevention of any menace to Australia from an influx of coloured races from the islands. He points out that the trade has already been secured by Australia and New Zealand,

by virtue of their geographical position. The prosperity and development of Fiji are wholly dependent on Indian immigration, and it is certain that immediately control passed to the Commonwealth this immigration would be stopped by the Indian Government, with consequent disaster to the Colony. Another consideration, he says, is the large amount of Australian capital invested in the group—over £3,000,000 sterling in the sugar industry alone, besides very large sums in coconut, banana, and other plantations. A collapse might be expected if the supply of Indian labour suddenly ceased. This would be a serious blow to many in Australia.

The *Daily Telegraph* says: "If Australia assumed control, she would have to consent to the policy of importing Asiatic labour, or condemn the bulk of the trade and industry whereby the white population of the group are now supported to destruction. To admit Fiji as a coloured State to a 'white Australia' is politically impossible, even if the position of the islands made their inclusion geographically possible."

For all the benefits accruing to the conditions of Indians in Fiji from the Colonial Office, the proposed change is not likely to be more than a leap from the frying pan to the fire!

No Mending, but Ending.

Commenting on our article in the June number of the *Indian Emigrant*, enumerating the disadvantages under which indentured Indians accused of offences suffer in the various Colonies, the Allahabad *Leader* says:—There is but one solution of this problem of indentured emigration which self-respecting and thinking India will accept as satisfactory and final: the system must be ended; there is no mending it. And the sooner this bold solution is made by the Government, the more thankful will educated India feel. Our countrymen can do something better with and for themselves than virtually to enslave themselves to foreign capitalists in alien lands.

In this sentiment we quite agree.

Emigration to Fiji.

Mr. A. C. Mookerjee, of the Fiji Civil Service, writes as follows:—In response to the numerous letters I have received from gentlemen, both Hindus and Parsis, in connection with my letter regarding "Emigration to Fiji" published in the "Bombay Chronicle," of 26th June last, I must inform them that it is very risky to go to a distant clime without capital. The advantages that are available in Fiji, are congenial climate and good trade prospects, (chiefly in Indian piece-goods).

Besides, the land is very fertile. In some letters, I have been asked whether it would be possible to raise a loan fund to help educated young Indians to emigrate there, and whether the Indian population will maintain these young men there until they became earning members. In reply, I must say that this is not even possible, but impracticable. Such a loan or co-operative society could with advantage be started in India, but it is out of expectation that Indians in Fiji will come forward with such help to strangers—Indians though they may be. In my previous article, what I meant by the words "help from Indian population," is that anybody will find partners there to join him in any lucrative business or cultivation.—*Bombay Chronicle*.

Indians in Canada.

In the February (1915) number of the INDIAN EMIGRANT, we published the United Provinces Congress Committee's memorial to the Government of India on the subject of the grievances of Indians in Canada. In this connection, the following will be found interesting:—Pandit Rambhuj Datta Chauduri, the Secretary of the Punjab Canadian Emigration Committee, has received from the Government of India a reply to the memorial submitting the nature of the disabilities imposed on British Indian subjects in Canada.

The Under Secretary to Government of India writes:

SIR,—I am directed to refer to paragraph 15 of the memorial regarding the grievances of Indians in Canada which was forwarded with your letter, dated the 7th March, 1914. In the last sentence it is stated that while the Chinese and Japanese immigrants find no difficulty in securing naturalization certificates after three years' stay in Canada, no Indian has as yet been able to do so.

2. The attention of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India was specially drawn to this complaint, and I am to say that the Government of India have been informed that British subjects neither require nor are eligible for naturalization in Canada. Section 84 of the Canadian Naturalization Act (Revised Statutes, 1906, Chapter 77 provides that "An alien to whom a certificate of naturalization is granted shall within Canada be entitled to all political and other rights, powers and privileges, and be subject to all obligations, to which a natural-born British subject is entitled or subject within Canada, with this qualification that he shall not, when within the limits of the foreign State, of which he was a subject previously to obtaining his certificate of naturalization, be deemed to be a British subject, unless he has ceased to be a subject of that State, in pursuance of the laws thereof, or in pursuance of a treaty or convention to that effect." The provisions

of this section do not, of course, debar the Dominion Parliament from imposing disabilities on naturalized persons by other legislation, and it is, moreover, understood that they are not incompatible with the imposition of disabilities on naturalized persons by the Legislature of the Provinces. A person who has the status of natural-born British subject in India has the same status in Canada, but this position is not incompatible with the imposition of disabilities by special legislation either by the Dominion Parliament or by the Provincial Legislatures. Under existing legislation it is not open as far as the Government of India are aware to any Japanese or Chinese to obtain by naturalization in Canada civil and political privileges for which British Indian subjects are not qualified.

3. It is possible that by the phrase "naturalization certificates" the memorialists mean certificates of domicile. If so, they may be informed that steps are being taken by the Canadian Government by a system of registration, to facilitate the return to Canada of domiciled British Indian subjects.

4. With reference to the grievances of Indians arising from the two orders in Council relative to the possession of 200 dollars and continuous journey, I am directed to say that the whole question of emigration is under the consideration of the Government of India, and to invite the attention of the memorialists to His Excellency's opening speech at the meeting of the Legislative Council of the 8th instant in which an announcement was made of the policy which they propose to follow in future.

The Labour Outlook in Canada.

All emigrants landing in Canada between March 1st and October 31st must possess \$25 (£5-4s.) and children \$12-50 (£2-12s.) each and between November 1st and the last day of February \$50 (£10-8s.), and \$25 (£5-4s.), respectively, and sufficient travelling money, except that the following need have sufficient travelling money only: (1) Farm labourers and female servants, if going to assured employment and such; (2) certain relatives of residents in Canada. Large numbers of skilled and unskilled labourers are out of work in Canada at the present time, and it is undesirable for any emigrant to go there now. Manufacturing conditions during the latter part of last year showed improvement, and some establishments which had been closed down resumed operations, but many factory employees still remained out of work. Wages in many places have been reduced. The busiest establishments were cotton and woollen mills and flour mills. Coal mining was fairly active, and more miners were being employed at the metal mines at Cobalt and in British Columbia. Some thousands of extra

labourers were being employed on railroad construction and in civic works, but in spite of this, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of unskilled labourers out of work. Many women in Vancouver have been working at reduced wages.—*Colonizer*.

President Wilson and Negroes.

Outlining his attitude towards the negro, President Wilson at Washington recently told the University Commission on Southern Race Questions, made up of representatives of 11 Southern Colleges, that "our object is to know the needs of the negro and sympathetically help him in every way that is possible for his good and our good." Dr. C. H. Brough, of the University of Arkansas, Chairman of the Commission, told the President that the Commission was organised to make an impartial study of the race question from the standpoint of the negroes' economic, hygienic, civic and moral betterment. He said that a very deep investigation of the subject was being made with the good of the negro always in mind.

"I am very glad to express my sincere interest in his work and sympathise with it," said the President, in reply to Dr. Brough. "I think that men like yourselves can be trusted to see this great question at every angle. There isn't any question, it seems to me, into which more candour needs to be put or more thorough human good feeling than this. I know myself as a southern man, how sincerely the heart of the South desires the good of the negro, and the advancement of his race on all sound and sensible lines, and everything that can be done in that direction is of the highest value. It is a matter of common understanding."

"There is a charming story told about Charles Lamb. The conversation in his little circle turned upon some men who were not present, and Lamb, who, you know struttered, said: 'I hate that fellow.' His friend said: 'Charles, I didn't know you knew him.' Lamb said: 'I don't; I can't hate a fellow I know.'"

"I think that is a very profound human fact. You cannot hate a man you know. And our object is to know the need of the negro and sympathetically help him in every way that is possible for his good and for our good. I can only bid you Godspeed in what is a very necessary and great undertaking."

The Bombay Students' Brotherhood Motiwalla Prize.

The Managing Committee of the Bombay Students' Brotherhood have offered a Prize of the value of Rs. 100 on "The Life and Work of the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E., on the following conditions:—

(1) The Competition shall be open to all undergraduates and graduates of not more than five years'

standing in India. (2) The Essay to consist of from 8,000 to 4,000 words. (3) The Essay shall reach the Honorary Secretary on or before the 1st of December, 1915. (4) Those competing for the Prize shall enclose their names in a separate cover and the Essay be sent under a *nom-de-plume*.

For further particulars they may communicate with the undersigned.

POST NO. 4, GIRGAUM,
BOMBAY.

B. S. TURKHUDD,
Hon. Secretary.

Singapore—An Imperial Base.

Singapore is one of the most important ports in the Far East, and also one of the most important military and naval bases of the Empire. Its value has been shown in the present crisis, but need not be dwelt upon now. The publication of the account of the Singapore Harbour Board for the first half of 1914 gives opportunity to refer briefly to the port as a place of call and for the distribution of merchandise in the Far-Eastern tropics. These accounts show a credit balance of income over expenditure of £111,711 for the half-year, and, after interest is allocated to loan funds, the balance carried forward is £5,858, together with a sum of £27,918 from the previous half-year.

The net revenue shows an increase of £1,822 over the previous half-year and of £15,417 over the average for the preceding seventeen half-years. The number of vessels using the wharves was 1,352 with a tonnage of 2,933,679, against 1,375 vessels and 2,933,124 tons in the corresponding half-year of 1913. The tonnage of coal and cargo dealt with was 1,396,679, compared with 1,388,417 in the preceding half-year and 1,412,866 in the corresponding period of 1913. There is now an aggregate length of quays of 9,335 ft., as against 6,740 ft. in 1913. During the half-year 159 vessels were docked for repairs and painting, giving a total tonnage, based on the tonnage in dock, daily of 1,112,077, as compared with 911,288 for the previous half-year.

The new wet dock was opened for traffic in June, and is being made use of by some of the largest vessels visiting the port.

Letter to a Magistrate.

During the trial of a case in the Hatton (Ceylon) Court in which a coolie the other day was charged with neglect of work, a letter from the Superintendent of the estate requesting the Magistrate to sentence the accused to imprisonment was produced. The Magistrate took serious objection to this and on Counsel's explanation the matter was dropped, the Magistrate remarking that it was fortunate that the letter was not delivered at the beginning of the case. The coolie was given a light punishment.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

SCIENCE.

Man and Woman (The Contemporary Science Series) by Havelock Ellis, *Walter Scott Publishing Co., Ltd., New York, price 6sh.*

The author of this volume has made a searching inquiry into the constitutional differences between man and woman. The first edition of this book, brought out as a result of his twelve years' study of human secondary sexual characters, was a pioneer work in this field of science. Reluctance of the people to study the sexual characteristics in their true nakedness, absence of scientific investigation and want of sufficient data to form any general conclusions, had prevented dealing with this problem to any sufficient extent. The book, under notice, first published in 1894, has given a great impetus to research work and many workers in the same field have been profited by it. The mere fact that the work has been translated into various languages, indicates its merit. Twenty years have elapsed and the undaunted Havelock Ellis has edited this volume in the "Contemporary Science Series" a fifth time, revising the book in the light of modern scientific researches, rewriting certain portions and thus bringing it quite up-to-date. Eminent scientists of various countries have been freely consulted and their opinions have been collected and inserted wherever possible. To those who are interested in anthropology and the psychic development in man and woman, this volume will prove to be an invaluable companion. The leading aim of the book has been indicated to be "the consideration of the question how far sexual differences are artificial, the result of tradition and environment, how far they are really rooted in actual constitution of the male and female organisms." The question has been exhaustively dealt with from different standpoints. Physical and physiological, mental and moral aspects are the cardinal points on which his investigation has proceeded. Anatomy and even histology have become his sure guides to formulate and establish his theories. Technical expressions are, as far as possible, avoided and a few diagrams have been inserted here and there. The chapters on the "The Intellectual Impulse," "Hypnotic Phenomena," "Affectability of Woman," "The Artistic Impulse," and the "Morbid Psychic Phenomena" deserve more than a close perusal. They are intellectual feasts and are sure to enkindle a spirit of inquiry and research into such vital questions. The so-called "inferiority of women," the writer has proved, to be futile and foolish. The author propounds that "women are nearer to children

than are men," while they are not undeveloped men. The child represents a higher degree of evolution than the adult. Copious instances are also given to prove that "women are leading evolution. He does not associate himself with those who content about the superiority of the sexes. He only says that the sexes are perfectly poised. The author concludes with the hope that "the future civilization lies in the development in equal freedom for both masculine and feminine elements in life."

An interesting appendix has been added at the end of the volume. The book is a vigorous and genuine retort on Professor Karl Pearson, who had seriously refuted the doctrine contained in the volume to the effect that "the variational tendency is more marked in men than in women," and which he describes as one of "the worst of pseudo-scientific superstitions."

V. K. MENON.

WAR LITERATURE

The Healing of Nations and the Hidden Sources of their Strife, by Edward Carpenter, *George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.*

From the wild ravings and angry denunciations which characterise the writings of the upholders of both the sides of the belligerents, it is really refreshing to turn to sane views dispassionately expressed. This neatly-printed and well-bound book is not a connected and succinct story of the origins of the war, but a collection of the writer's reflections on the war contributed to periodicals on different occasions. As such it is lacking in unity of design, but it gives us all that is likely to lead us to definite views and conclusions. The writer has so dressed up his views and opinions as to justify his statement that by temperament he is more international than patriotic. He does not attempt to affix the responsibility of the war upon this nation or that but calmly searches to find out its root causes by eradicating which a future war of this magnitude might be obviated. The author does not subordinate reason and truth to sentiment and patriotism. He has words of condemnation not only for Germany but for England as well. About one-fourth of the book, which covers the first five chapters, consists of one prolonged argument that the situation into which a policy of commercial greed on the part of England and one of overweening ambition and thirst for world power on the part of Germany had drifted these two great nations, made the impossibility of a mighty contest unthinkable. The patriotic bias of the writer does not deter him from referring to the questionable policy of England—her infidelity towards small peoples like the Boers and the Persians, her neglect of treaty obligations, her alliance

with a military despotism like Russia, etc. In the chapter on the case for Germany, the author traces in a beautiful and succinct manner, how the German culture gradually instilled into the nation's mind the idea of world power which has since obsessed all classes of people, how the great commercial classes looking out for broad sea boards for German trade seized the fitting opportunity and inflicted this war upon unwilling nations. The writer is not for holding the Kaiser responsible for the great war. On the other hand he believes that the German Emperor, who had always professed himself to be the most pacific of men, would have striven his best to avert the catastrophe. But even his adroitness and subtlety could not prevail against the war-madness of university professors, the commercial classes and the death-dealing Krupps. The author thinks that this war would not have been waged for nothing and blood would not have been spilt in vain, if as a result of this the world were to wake up to a recognition of racial rights, that is the right of each race to have as far as possible its own Government, instead of being lorded over by an alien. But he fears whether it would not have incited an evil on the world if it had strengthened the hands of those who would force the curse of conscription on England. He is strong on the point that the bane of militarism against which England is fighting should not be allowed to be forced on an unwilling nation but should be resolutely opposed.

The writer shows how, in the midst of the clanging of martial music, in the midst of the groans of the wounded and dying, beneath all the froth and foam of angry denunciations of rival statesmen and rulers, a kind of cordiality and good will connects the masses of people so much so that soldiers fighting in the opposite trenches do not hesitate to exchange civilities in the short intervals between the firing of shells. As this war is to be traced to the ascendancy of commercial classes, the writer believes that such wars would become impossible only when the world reaches the goal of social democracy but whether we are so near the millennium he has failed to answer.

The book is admirably written and is not marred by pre-conceived notions. It is happily free from all bias—especially it is not disfigured by that strong anti-German virus which has become the vogue with most British writers.

K. S. G.

No Deluding Peace, by A. J. Wilson, *The Investors' Review Office, London, price 1 sh. net.*

This is still another of 'the books of the hour' on the all-absorbing topic of the present War. Says the writer in his introduction to the book: "The dread grows in me that unless we exercise vigilance we may be cursed with a patch-work peace...I dread lest the misguided democracies now staking their all...should be betrayed through sentimentality, or pity,

or weariness, or a vaguely benevolent, and therefore cruel, humanitarianism into acceptance of a patched-up peace."

So he comes forward with his scheme for ending it by a 'peace,' which would reduce Prussia to the level of Bavaria, occupy a large part of West Germany, control all the trade routes and collect the necessarily large war-indemnity by taxation, direct and indirect; dismember Austria-Hungary, seize its Adriatic sea-board, give it to Italy and thus secure the Mediterranean; parcel out the Turkish possessions in Europe among the Balkan States and Greece; and rule Turkey in Asia under a triple-headed sovereign with clearly defined spheres of influence and protection. "With Germany and Austria disarmed and impotent...it should not be difficult for France, Russia, the United Kingdom and Italy to come to an understanding with regard to their own future military arrangements and outlay. I have dreamed a dream of a single fleet for the common use of all the Powers of Europe, of a federation of democracies (which would not only refer all disputes to a central tribunal) but which would aim at the elimination of nearly all sources of friction by a careful definition of all the liberties, boundaries, spheres of influence and areas of industrial activity relating to all the races and countries within the range of influence of the several Powers."

Put briefly, Mr. Wilson's cure for the German's 'ecstatic self-conceit' is: 'Commerce being the vital element in the greatness of a nation, destroy it and its power for doing evil dies with it.'

We welcome the book, for it forcefully brings the question of peace and the main lines it should follow before the nation who must certainly have a voice in what terms they will have, which would for a long time to come put an end to all fear of a war of such colossal magnitude. There is no part of it but holds us by its interest and vigour and especially do we commend Chapters IV and V to our readers.

S.

My March to Timbuctoo, by General Joffre. Tr. by Ernest Dimnet, *Chatto and Windus, London, price 2 sh. net.*

It is an interesting publication: the writer and the work both interest us. The writer is the Generalissimo of the French forces in the present war and the book relates to an incident that happened twenty years ago, in which he took a leading part. The style is the man in him. To read the book is to know the man. It is a plain soldier's account of an expedition into the heart of a wild desert region infested by hostile tribes. It is the account of one who does not grope for words—an unvarnished faithful report to a superior authority. No extraneous remarks, no airy judgments does he indulge in, but does it in a most severely plain manner.

All 'Blue Books' are not interesting reading. But here

is human interest shed by a great personality. The almost bald simplicity of the narrative signifies only his directness and his dislike of over-expression. This quality of manner must always have a great charm for many readers, especially to those whose ears have been surfeited with too much of honeyed and ornate verbosity. Here is a freshness, a naive simplicity, a 'Caesarian rapidity' of narration which takes the reader on from page to page.

Still the number of its readers, we fear, would be limited, for the subject is one that cannot in its nature create universal interest. It is a sketch of a plucky expedition that Joffre led to Timbuctoo, then under the control of the Touareg tribes, the most warlike and ancient people of the Sahara region. His superior officer Col. Bonnier, who marched up the Niger to the same city, allowed himself to be surprised and murdered; and Joffre, who took the land route, reached the city sometime later. He succeeded in establishing French influence permanently there, which is of great importance to his country, as Timbuctoo, just near the great loop of the Niger, commands the Niger traffic and the principal trade routes converging to it from the Sahara region and the Soudan.

His observation of the wild country, of its wild nomad tribes, of their military organisation and resources, and of their political impotence are of great interest to the general reader also. Unlike many a similar work having to speak of barbarous races, an extravagant use of vituperative vocabulary is refreshingly absent from Joffre's narrative. Simple and 'non-literary,' yet the narrative nowhere halts.

As the only writing of a great man and as the faithful expression of a great personality, it is a book that should be read widely.

These are our impressions of the book, derived not from its original French but in its English garb. This argues the skill with which the translator Mr. Ernest Dimnet, has done his work. The translator has a long Introduction, detailing the life of the great General and appraising his work. The latter estimate, which forms Part II of the Introduction, is highly appreciative and tempts the reader into the book irresistibly.

S.

The Story of the Hohenzollerns, by C. Sheridan Jones, *Farrold & Sons, London, price 5s. net.*

As the title itself suggests, the work is an attempt at giving a descriptive narrative of the House of Princes which has made Germany what it is and which, by the hand of its last representative, has brought about the most stupendous war and the most unprecedented carnage the world has ever experienced. In such a work as the one before us, the reader naturally expects to find interesting historical detail, besides

the developed portraiture of the Hohenzollerns. The absence of such detail is rather a serious drawback, and a real hindrance to the book being a comprehensive survey of the dynasty it deals with. The author seems evidently to have had in view one particular theory and in the attempt to establish it, has paid little attention to the historic fulness of his undertaking. He has given, practically, a series of pen-pictures of the men who adorned or rather disgraced the line of Hohenzollerns and endeavoured to impress on the mind of the reader the single fact that after all, the great eccentricities of the family, nay, the very madness that makes its subtle appearance in every member of it, have worked themselves into the nation and brought about the catastrophic situation of the present day. No attempt, however, has been made on any satisfactory scale to exhibit how the people of Germany have been contaminated and how that contamination is both their strength and weakness.

The work is not without some interest to the lay reader as well as to the student of history. The beautiful character-sketches of the Hohenzollerns written in a direct and charming style, do make saucily pleasant reading. The author has mainly relied for his material on the "Memoirs of William the Fat," the first of the Hohenzollerns; of Frederick the Great, the founder of the Prussian Empire; of Bismarck, the maker of Modern Germany; on the confessions of Mrs. Reitz, the evil genius and the practical dictator of the reign of Frederick William II; on the letters of the punctilious but honest Countess of Ingenheim and her aunt; and on the secret history of the Court of Berlin. These original records have been used with perfect effect and a flood of light has been thrown on the double character of all Hohenzollerns.

The quotations the author makes from these original sources are thoroughly consummate. In the horrible episodes between William the Fat and his mighty son, in the half ludicrous references of Frederick the Great to his own duplicity, especially in relation to men of letters whom he affected to honour with an unbounded patronage, the vily wanderings of the mind of Mrs. Reitz in her intrigues with Prince William, the pathetic abjectness of the latter before domineering feminine dictators, are all such exciting studies as bring to our minds some of the most wonderful creations of Shakespeare.

The illustrations included in the book deserve special mention.

G. H. S. RAU.

BIOGRAPHY.

Rabindra Nath Tagore, a Biographical Study, by Ernest Rhys, *Macmillan and Co., London, price 5 net.*

From the time the Nobel prize was awarded, the English reading public greedily devoured any piece of

information about the Bengali poet Rabindra Nath. A biographical study of the author of *Gitanjali* and *Sadhana* would be welcomed by a host of readers all the world over. With the materials at his disposal, Mr. Ernest Rhys made a brave attempt to study the poet and interpret his message. But the materials that he could get at are very scanty. The biographical details are very meagre. The author has acquainted himself with only the English works of the poet. And even then, not all; for instance, some of the best short stories and the famous novel the "Eye Sore" that appeared in the *Modern Review*, do not seem to have attracted the notice of Mr. Rhys. The poet's equipment and the atmosphere in which he grew up are but sordidly painted. Most of Rabindra Nath's ideas are rediscovered treasures of India's religious past.

"The whole burden of his songs and his writings goes to assure us that he does not stand in the regard of a saint or Rishi who is above our common nature or apart from it. He is of us and has felt our passions and appetites; he has known the love of man and woman, sons and daughters, and small children. He has experienced the trouble it takes to make a poet out of a man, and a man out of a poet."

He told one dissatisfied soul, "Forgive me, if I too have been young." As 'Love' prodigal he spent himself and broke out of the circle of the lower sensations to attain the elusive clue to the world that is beyond the world. It was the work of Providence that gave a finishing touch to the poet's instruction in *Vairagya*. Death came and looked him in the face: he lost first his beloved wife; then, within a very few months, from consumption, the daughter who had taken her place; and then dies his youngest son.

"This death-time was a blessing to me. I had through it all, day after day, such a sense of fulfilment, of completion, as if nothing were lost. I felt that even of a single atom in the universe seemed lost, it would not be really lost..... I knew now what death was. It was perfection—nothing lost."

The hankering after God, coupled with such experience, taught the poet the secret of "renunciation," *tena tyaklena bungilat*, "renounce and enjoy." From such experiences he learnt that love is stern and based on the unalterable law. In "The King of the Dark Chamber" he makes Surangama say "Every one knows that the king is hard and pitiless—no one has ever been able to move him. It is only the richness of faith that enabled him to say, 'May he ever remain hard and relentless.'" To such an one the portals of truth are thrown wide open:—"A fancy comes to me that desire can never attain its object—it need never attain it." Mr. Rhys speaks of Tagore as 'the tenderest of lovers the fondest idolator of a small child, the happiest dreamer, that ever walked under the moon; yet he is a

stoic who knows very well what the terrors of Siva mean and what exceeding darkness there is in the sun, on which its bright light rests. We are told that the human aim of the poet lay in the union of nations, the destroying of caste, religious pride, race hatred and race prejudice—in a word, the "Making of Man." "It is," the poet says, "the one problem of the present age, and we must be prepared to go through the martyrdom of sufferings and humiliations till the victory of God in man is achieved."

The *Gardener* paved the way to *Gitanjali* and *Gitanjali* to *Sadhana*.

"The essence of the lyrical imagination lies in the power to transcend the single delight by conferring it in song upon all creation and every fellow creature. The unity of emotion that it works toward may seem in the first impulse to be alike selfish, self-conscious and intensely self-assertive. In reality, the self-intensity is only due to the confirming of a force, an energy in delight, which is ready to break its still, to seek out its joyfulness, and in the end to forget itself."

The secret of Tagore's poetry is summed up in one sentence of his.—"Song begins where words end; the inexpressible is the domain of music." He once heard while a boy a song, "Who dressed you like a foreigner?" "Under the power of the spell (Mantra) of the tune" he tells us, "the mysterious figure of that stranger was evoked in my mind. My heart began to say, 'There is a stranger going to and fro in this world of ours—her house is on the further shores of an ocean of mystery—sometimes she is to be seen in the autumn morning, sometimes in the flowery midnight—sometimes we receive an intimation of her in the depths of our heart—sometimes I hear her voice when I turn my ear to the sky. The tune of my song led me to the very door of that stranger who ensnares the universe and appears in it....'"

Rabindra Nath's success as an interpreter of the laws of life is due to his sense of the "Beauty of Completion" that is rich strewn in the domains of the spirit which wraps the world in its shades. He rightly points out the mistakes of East and West. In the West the soul of man is mainly concerned with extending and externising power. In India the danger comes from want of activity. The intellect of her thinkers in its attempt to realize Brahma "works itself stone-dry", and their heart seeking to confine it within its own outpourings, turns to emotion and neglects the stern bonds of law and the discipline of the real. It is through our feeling for the beautiful in nature and in art that we realize harmony in the universe, and the pleasure of its correspondence with the innate desire in ourselves.

We have no hesitation in saying that, subject to the limitations pointed out, Mr. Rhys is by far one of the best discerners of the spirit of Tagore's muse.

J. V. N.

HISTORY

The Interpretation of History, by Lionel Cecil Jane, J. M. Dent & Sons, London, price 5s.

This book is an elaboration of the common idea that history repeats itself. The author who appears to be a good student of European history, has taken great pains to show from the epochs of European history how nations and individuals are ever seeking happiness and never attaining it, how the ideals of Universalism and Individualism constantly come into conflict and lead to reformatations, revolutions and wars, and how history is only a record of conflict between the ideals of men and nations. History, according to the author, is a record of oscillations of a vain and unending search for political happiness. And the explanatory factor for this conduct of the nations is to be found in the recognition of the conflict between the desire to be ruled and the desire to rule. The author explains that all the conflicts are due to the fact that sometimes individuals want free play in the guidance of their own conduct and at other times they want leaders to lead them. In short, the author asserts that so long as the world endures, so long as the essential characteristics of the human race continue to be what they are and have been, so long the conflicts between the different ideals will continue in the lives of men and nations, and changes in the shapes of revolutions and wars, to turn from one extremity of a particular ideal that has ceased to satisfy the party, are inevitable.

The book under review is a careful comparison of the conflicts in the various States of Europe from the earliest times, and from the study of the causes which led to these conflicts, the author has very rightly arrived at the conclusion that history is the record of a conflict of ideals. From this deduction future events are to be anticipated and history used not merely as registers of past dead events but also as a rough guide to shape the conduct of men and nations in times to come. The book, owing to its systematic and almost scientific treatment of the subject, is a very interesting volume at this time when every reader would like to know the underlying causes of the present war in the light of history and find out for himself the future of Europe and of the world when the war comes to an end.

German Culture, edited by Professor W. P. Paterson, T. E. and E. C. Jack, London, price 2s. 6d.

Leaving out of consideration the very many books on the war or the causes which led to it, 'German Culture' is the first of its kind at a popular price which gives within a short compass an impartial account of German History in all its phases. The contributions are by Professors of British Universities such as Professor Richard Lodge, Professor Thomson and Doctor Sadler. The very names of the contributors are sufficient guarantees for the accuracy of the information

given and it is needless to add for the lucidity and clearness of the exposition of the subjects. No branch of 'German Culture' has been neglected in this small work—History, Philosophy, Science, Literature, and Art, Education and all Religion have received the same masterful treatment from master minds of British Universities.

A perusal of the book will reveal that that the authors have truly written with the historian's impartiality and have never allowed sentiment or prejudice to get the better of them when they had to give the German his just dues, for example, his thoroughness and method in all departments of national life. But the most interesting contribution to the book from an Indian point of view is that on education by Doctor Michael Sadler, C. B. The learned educationist gives in his clear and vigorous style the value of education on national lines and its influence on national character, and proves his statements by reference to what German system of National Education has done for Germany. From this it should not be understood that the German system is the ideal one, far from it. But as the learned writer says, lessons may be drawn "for the guidance of educational policy in Great Britain. If we are prudent, we shall avoid an excess of bureaucratic control. For the future development of our educational policy it will be prudent to respect local opinion even when it is stubborn, to elicit and respect the convictions of parents and above all to respect the individual consciences.....National Education is noblest when it is inspired by a variety of earnest social ideals and kindled by a desire for justice and for honourable dealing between man and man, and between nation and nation." This advice or observation, though made with reference to Great Britain alone, is not inapplicable to our own country.

To persons who have not much time to devote to the study of elaborate histories of Germany, nothing better than the volume under review can be recommended to gain a fair insight into the German history in its best and worst aspects.

S. BASU.

ANNUALS.

India Office List, 1910, Messrs. Harrison & Sons, 45, Pall Mall, London, 10s. 6d.

We are thankful to the publishers for a copy of the "India Office List" containing the names of officers employed in the Indian Services. Besides furnishing every information useful for civil and military officers, it gives a short historical outline of India and the several Provinces comprising it with up-to-date statistical tables of Indian importance. The latter half of the volume is devoted to the record of services of officers in the Home Establishment and in the civil employment of India drawing a salary of Rs. 1,000 a month and over. It is a very good Officers' Reference Book.

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