

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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A WISE EMIGRATION POLICY.

Under the above appreciative title, the *Jamaica Times* says in an editorial note:—"THE INDIAN EMIGRANT," makes prominent a line of policy regarding emigration, specially emigration of Asiatics, which is full of practical wisdom. If adopted, and applied, it would do a good deal to remove some of the serious difficulties that surround this thorny question. The policy is to discourage the emigration of uneducated labourers, the section of the community bound to produce the worst impression on foreigners, and to encourage rather the emigration of educated men and skilled workmen. These by their ability, status of living, and general worth will do much to disarm a considerable part of the prejudice against Asiatics, which is fed by the fact that those whom it possesses are acquainted only with the poorer types and specimens of these races.

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,

AN APPEAL.

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 Englishman, 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 a rangement 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 "INDIAN EMIGRANT,"
88, BROADWAY, MADRAS.

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.....that it was scandalous that there was nobody 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 of will, the new Colonial Association, being formed at Bombay, help this organ?—*The Mahatta.*

morally depraved election, one could never see. To say then that the Indian element at elections tends to corruption is to cast a slur on the community. The Local Self-Government idea is not altogether foreign to the Indian mind. It is a plant of indigenous growth. The administration of a village by the Panchayat system in India is a vigorous and effective system, however much it may differ in form from that of the West. The Indians of Fiji, by their patience and thrift of years, have now attained to a position of honour and self-respect and have become worthy citizens of the island. It is natural that they have their ambitions and aspirations and that their interests should be safeguarded.

Instead of welcoming such Indians who have done yeoman service to the Island and associate them in the work of the administration, and extend to them higher privileges of participation in the legislature of the Government of the Colony, the Saxon element, rather the Australian element of the Colonists, is trying to stifle their growth and destroy them as it did the Bushmen of Australia. Is this possible any longer, we ask. Fiji now possesses a total Indian population of 52,675 and European 4,244, the respective percentages, according to the census of 1911, forming 28.8 and 2.7 of the entire population. Of these, we understand, 339 European voters exercised 784 votes and 341 Indians have 449 votes. It has been suggested that the Indian vote is an "illiterate vote," and only when a man could read, write and speak English, he could think for himself. This is neither reason nor common sense. It is absurd to suppose that a man cannot think for himself on the ground that he is ignorant of English. An ordinary mechanic is sure to have greater political insight by experience than the greatest lawyer or doctor whose mental qualities are absorbed in special pursuits. But, to bring in an "English education test" for the purpose of mere voting, and to deprive a large number of the Indian population of their franchise on that account, is unfair and is against the principles of law or justice. To use the words of the Mayor himself, who said at the Public Meeting, "these people were ratepayers and were compelled to pay taxes, and it would be difficult to give grounds for excluding them. As regards the difficulty of voting, he thought that could be largely overcome if interpreters were provided. It was a doctrine which had been fought for by all people with democratic principles that there should be no taxation without representation." Therefore the amendment which

the Government of Fiji now proposes to make in the Municipal Institutions Ordinance by the introduction of a literary test is beyond its scope, is repugnant to the constitution, is unreasonable and is oppressive.

The chief consideration which naturally forces itself in a discussion on this subject of proposed literary test for voters is the question of education. Indian ratepayers contribute a large share to the general revenues for education purposes, and it is deplorable to note that the percentage of literate Indians forms only 9.4 of the total Indian population, whereas the percentage among Europeans, Half Castes, Fijians and Rotuans forms 86.5, 54, 52.8 and 58, respectively. It is a standing grievance in the Island that Indian children are not allowed to attend Public Schools along with the children of other classes, and no provision is made in the Public Schools for the teaching of English to Indian boys. Elsewhere we publish a vigorous protest made by the white ratepayers to the Chairman of the School Board against the admission of Indian children into the Suva Public School. Speaking generally, the Indian community has, in fact, derived no benefit from the present educational arrangements in Fiji. In 1909, when a Commission was appointed to enquire into the question of education, the Immigration Agent General gave evidence strongly urging the necessity of providing elementary instruction for Indians either wholly or partly at Government expense. The Commissioners found that Indians were more unfavourably situated than any other section of the community and recommended that Government should establish Public Schools, appoint teachers, and grant aids to private bodies or persons establishing schools. These recommendations are still upon the tapis of the Government and await the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Under these circumstances, the Government of Fiji will not be justified in proposing an education test for voters, which is mainly directed against Indians. This is no more than adding insult to injury.

In this connection, we would strongly appeal to our educated countrymen in the Colonies to spend a larger amount of money for starting their own private institutions for the education of their children rather than leave them to the mercy of alien Missionary Bodies. We are pleased to mention here that a branch of the Arya Samaj was granted a plot of land in 1908 for a place of worship in Suva and included in its aims the imparting of general instruction. Will other Samajs follow suit?

SUVA.

9th July 1915.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

SIR,

On behalf of the Indian ratepayers of the town of Suva, in Fiji, we have the honour humbly to transmit to you a petition, similar to one we have sent to His Excellency the Governor.

Ever since a Municipality was established here, at Suva, all ratepayers, without distinction of race, have been allowed to vote at Municipal elections.

Now those of the party, to which most of us are opposed, are trying to deprive us of our votes.

In the year 1913, Mr. J. B. Turner and the Honourable Henry Marks were non-official members of the Executive and Legislative Councils of the Colony, and in and since the year 1914, the Honourable Henry Marks and the Honourable H. M. Scott have been non-official members of the Executive and Legislative Councils. Since 1912 the large majority of Indian voters in Suva have been opposed to the party in Municipal politics to which these three gentlemen belong.

These three gentlemen named have much influence with the Government, and quite recently, and within a few days before the sitting of the Legislature, we have been informed that an ordinance is to be passed depriving all those who cannot speak, read and write English, of their franchise at Municipal elections. This ordinance, if allowed, will have the effect of depriving nearly all Indian ratepayers of their votes.

Many of us pay school rates in the town of Suva, and yet our children are not allowed to attend the Public School, and no separate provision is made for teaching our children, and they receive no instruction in English at any Public School.

We respectfully beg that you will protect our interests, and prevent us from being deprived of our franchise by those who are opposed to us.

We respectfully say that were proper means used for interpreting, and did the officers conducting elections have any knowledge of our languages, there would be no difficulty in recording our votes, and we

humbly submit that we are quite able to understand and decide upon questions raised at Municipal elections.

We rely upon you as our protector in our difficulty.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

(Sd.) GEORGE SUCHIT,

(Sd.) T. AMEER KHAN,

and another.

INDIAN LABOUR PROBLEMS IN MALAYA.

BY KEBON GETHA.

Recruiting.

(1)

At every meeting of the various Planters Associations of Malaya held these last three months, the cry is heard that scarcity of Indian labour is keen. Various remedial measures have been concerted and some of them put into operation by the Planters with the hope of tiding over the difficulty. I shall here discuss one or two of such measures only with a view to show how they are detrimental to the interests of our motherland and our brethren, the Indian labourers in Malaya.

The Planter thinks that the Indian labourer could be had cheaply on his plantation if he were but to pay a handsome commission to the recruiter. Estates which used to pay five or seven rupees per head as commission to the Kangany, viz., recruiter, began to pay ten to twenty rupees, nay even twenty-five to thirty rupees sometimes, and offer several advantageous terms to the successful recruiter. This will certainly make the Kangany resort to a series of fraudulent and dishonest ways to earn his rewards. The result is a steadier exodus of hapless Southern Indians from their homes to Malayan Plantations. Whether this would give the desired result of having sufficient labourers on the plantations is a question which I shall discuss later on. Presently I am going to look into the recruiting system now in vogue.

The Kangany recruiting, apart from professional recruiting, in the words of the Deputy Controller, Penang, "is a process permissible to a Kangany who has previously worked on a plantation to induce his relations and friends to go over to the same plantation.

where he intends to join them." This definition has been framed to disqualify a Tamil Kangany to recruit Malayalam and other coolies. It being not necessary that a Tamil Kangany can have only Tamil friends, the desired effect of the definition is nil, though in individual cases one or two recruiters have been debarred from recruiting coolies other than those of their own tongue. As a matter of fact it is not a Kangany who is generally seen at the coast inducing people to emigrate. The Kangany is a sleeping partner. He has his agents and they invariably take recourse to every art known to them to buy off the Police and the petty authorities and muster together as many people as they can lay hands on. These agents promise impossible terms and privileges to them in Penang (that is the general cognomen under which the whole of Malaya is known to the South Indian labourer). The ugly drama enacted by these agents in some parts of South India—remote from towns particularly—is well-worth describing. However, I have to keep this off for another occasion. Suffice it to say that the agent works up fancies in the brains of credulous common folk in such a way that they (the latter) silently obey all the rules and procedure dictated to them by their recruiters from that time till they reach the place of labour. Then only perhaps they see after all the Kangany by whom they were recruited has been a different man and that the distance caused by the crossing of the Bay had the effect of rendering all the sweet promises and honeyed words of encouragement null and void. Who is really guilty of this deception and sometimes wreck of life? I say, not the Kangany, not the agent who fished the coolie out for the former in consideration of payment received, but the indifferent village administration, the corrupt police, the unchecked petty officers of immigration and lastly the ignorant public opinion of India! When I see my poor countrymen dying through the effects of malaria, dysentery and sometimes Beri Beri, I never accuse the Planter or the Kangany, no, not even the Dressers (Hospital Assistants) of any serious crime. The Planter wants to save the life of every possible cooly, because his returns of mortality will swell up with every death, and a host of queries from Government—which he may answer evasively—and from his Managing Agents and Secretaries—under which he has to smart painfully—will be dinging in his ears and he will be a bold planter who can see persistent deaths on his Estate. Taking even the most uncharitable point of view, you cannot say that a planter would like to see his coolies

dying in numbers. Ditto with the Kangany. Both lose much by the death of a cooly. The Manager loses money, perhaps the good name of his estate; the Kangany loses money and very likely the implicit faith invested in him by his coolies as their saviour. The Dresser is not to blame as he very often is only a compounder of South India acclimatised to local conditions. He may be designated "Doctor" by the ignorant coolies but that designation won't make up for his crass ignorance of medicine. That is a side issue which I shall examine later on. The dresser, I say, is not to blame, as he does his level best—which if turns out to be very little only is not his fault—to save every life possible. Then who in the name of justice, is to blame? Again I repeat—the indifferent Village Administration, say, local Administration, corrupt police, unchecked petty officers (Inspectors, to wit, of the Emigration Department) and the scarcity of public opinion, say, education. May I add to this list of the accused one material body and that is the Emigration authorities for the vagueness of the recruiting law and the imperfection of its enforcement even in its vague state. As it is, every second vagabond who loafs about the streets of Malaya, if he be a south Indian, can doff the bajou of a Kangany and present himself at the Emigration Office, at Negapatam or elsewhere, with every other beggar whom he can pick up from any god forsaken corner of South Indian village. A Kumbakonam man can cast his net at Madura, which may be in order since the definition of Kangany recruiting allows a far wider latitude than that for the activity of the recruiter. But what baffles explanation is a Travancorean can recruit coolies at Shoranur, a Cochinite can "tie up" (to literally translate a vernacular phrase), coolies at Palghat. Very well, the Travancorean and his other Native State colleague, the Cochinite, may have relations and friends at Shoranur and Palghat. Who says not! The village headman, if any, thinks the Travancorean is a genuine gentleman. He had his present of a fine Malacca cane with silver knob—mind silver not nickel—on its end and a lot of other nicities from that gentleman. He talks very humanely about his surroundings. He is all right, a nut in that village! He has free access to every home; he can have discourses about anything he likes with any one he chooses, and Mammon does the rest. Husbands are separated from their better halves, wives are seduced away from ignorant husbands, children are kidnapped off from fond parents, nay old parents are spirited away from their warm homes.

The village authorities, the Adhikari in Malabar for example, grow richer by every such phenomenon. The policeman abets the crime. He wants an anna for his "Chota Hazri," and a couple of annas for "Blocking up his belly" and he is satisfied. There is the Emigration Inspector at one station or other who cares a jot to know if a Travancorean Teeya brought a Cochin Nayar girl or a Cochin Christian humbugged away a Travancorean Teeya woman to be shipped away. As long as he is tipped—which by the bye is a costly but easy process—the recruiter is safe. He can carry his birds with safety to the harbour to be flocked together, branded and shipped—a series of operations which I shall go into in the course of this article—to their place of destination. So far Local and Petty officers of the village and the state helped the recruiter, but now the white man is there, at the Port Depot. He cannot be tipped, he cannot be impressed with any shows, he won't believe the recruiter—so far so good, I congratulate the Government of Madras for having secured the services of such an incorruptible official—he will riddle the coolie with questions. "Who are you" or some such confusing questions the Emigration Agent (now one Mr. Foston I presume) asks a coolie. "My Lord! the village rustic has never seen a Dorai in his life." Half his life ebbs away. Add to that the gentleman's stern face—I appreciate it as the outcome of earnestness to safeguard the interests of the unfortunate coolie—the fellow fumbles, gets confused and answers by monosyllables if possible and a faithful re-production of what has been taught on the way by the recruiter is given out like the re-production of the records of a gramophone. No, Mr. Foston is not satisfied, he impresses upon the coolie that he is going to be a labourer on the other side of the Bay. "Does he know that," he asks. Aye, he (the coolie) does, he knows anything and everything, only he should be spared further questions. Away the rustic goes into the coolie depot and is incarcerated there.

I said that the village authorities, police and Emigration Inspectors abet the recruiting crime, but the presence of a European at the place of shipment crows the abement. The coolie would have answered honestly and out of his own heart if he were questioned by an Indian. The Dorai is ever a Dorai, a foreigner in the eyes of the ignorant rustic. He cannot answer his wonder why a white man should take so much interest in him. Certainly he is reasonable from the point of view. The sooner the Govern-

ment finds a way to depute for example, one of the Legislative Council members, to be present at the Emigration Depot, once a week and appoint a responsible Indian of high standing, say again one of the public spirited men of Madras, as an officer in charge of Emigration, the quicker this last named evil would disappear. As for the first named evil, public opinion should be educated by pamphlets, etc., published by organised bodies. It may look strange, but it is a fact, that few students know what and where Federated Malay States are. Ask a school-final man where Johore is. With all his book learning he does not know. Then is it a wonder that the ignorant coolie doesn't know what an estate is? If at all anybody wants no undesirable effects to accrue from the present system of recruiting a good number of pamphlets written by Indians who have seen and known intimately the condition obtaining in Malaya should be circulated in vernacular languages, viz., Tamil, Telugu, and Malayalam. This and similar work should be carried on by the vernacular press and if this section of the press realises its responsibility and give the lie to the dishonest crimper and his pal the misguiding pamphlet writer, much of the absurd notions current among the masses regarding the coolie life in Malaya would be set right. Another function of the vernacular press should be to induce the working class to emigrate in such proportions that the exodus may not affect the agricultural labour in South India.

Licenses issued to Kanganies should be registered in their native villages and every labourer before being removed from his village of abode should be presented before the village authorities and a detailed history of the emigrant should be written up in a book kept for same. A photo of the coolie should be demanded of the recruiter and despatched to the post of shipment. The nearest relative, or friends in the event of non-existence of any such relative of the coolie should be produced before the local authorities (or magistrates wherever possible) and should be acquainted of the fact of recruitment. He must be given the address of the estate whither the coolie proceeds, the name of the employer, the nearest Police Station, the magistrate who has jurisdiction over the district in which the Estate is situated, and above all, the exact nature of the work he is expected to turn out. This does not close the terms to be observed. The local magistrate or village authorities should be in a position to get at information, as this relative or friend may require, from time to time or in other words a system

should be inaugurated by which a coolie's whereabouts will be communicated to a responsible authority, say the controller of labour at Kuala Lumpur periodically. This will naturally multiply the work of the Estate staff, but will generate confidence as to the safety of the coolie in the minds of the home people. I know some of these conditions more or less are beyond practical politics, as it stands now, but with an Indian officer of high-standing at the Port and a system of registration of licenses at the native village or nearest Police Station manned by an officer of the grade of Inspector, inaugurated to effectively check at random underhand recruiting, a more sober and less dangerous stream of coolies only will flow to Malaya. By this I do not mean to say recruiting to Malaya is disastrous. On the other hand, I hold and firmly believe that for *bona fide* labourers the prospects are fair as far as wages are concerned. I do wish we had more of the proper labour class coming into Malaya, as this invariably gives them a better inception of citizenship and broader view of life. But I wish equally strongly that less of the returning immigrants had turned out kanganies. I am confident that the right class of labour—there are plenty of them—will be coming in from India if kanganies and their agents resort to honest methods. The Tamil coolie is a synonym now for bolting and the planter has to thank his kangany and none else for being the principal agent in instilling this undesirable propensity in the average coolie. If a coolie be correctly informed of all that awaits him at the estate, there is every chance that he would stick on to the estate until he wants to get back home. But if he is fed with hopes that are bound to disappointment, one cannot wonder that he always tries to get away from his employer.

INDIANS IN MAURITIUS.

BY MR. K. M. PANIKKAR, *Christ Church, Oxford.*

AMONG the various countries that have been developed by Indian labour, Mauritius is one of the most important. From the earliest days of European occupation, this island on the east coast of Africa has been in a very special sense monopolised by Indian labourers. To the ordinary Indian emigrant it offered almost unique facilities. Being under the influence of the monsoons, its climate is very much the same as that of his own country. Its soil is extremely fertile and the vegetation consequently luxuriant—a fact

not generally associated with African countries. During the days of the French occupation it was governed from India: and thus it came to possess an Indian population, numerically $2\frac{1}{4}$ times superior to all the other communities in the island put together.

The total population of Mauritius, according to the census of 1911, was 365,100, out of which 257,700 are of Indian descent. The bulk of this number is engaged in agricultural labour. The "Creoles" (or the general population) are now engaged as carpenters, mechanics, &c. Even in these departments there is a growing tendency among the Indians to displace other people. The occupation table of 1911 shows the position in which these communities stand:—

	General Population.	Indians.	Chinese.
Professional*	3,200	1,600	109
Domestic	5,700	5,217	28
Commercial	3,700	9,500	2,907
Agricultural	5,200	70,000	6
Industrial	19,000	8,000	75

It is clear from the figures given above that the Indian labourer is the cause of the economic prosperity of Mauritius. It is he who has practically built up the whole economic fabric of the Colony.

The Indian population till very lately, has been peaceful and law-abiding. They never made any extravagant claims and were content to be governed. It is not an Indian publicist but an Anglo-Indian of a pronounced type, Sir Frank Swetenham, who makes the following remarks, in his Report of the last Royal Commission:—

"For the last three-quarters of a century it has been found possible for the Colonial Government to regard the Indian as a stranger among a people of European civilisation—a stranger who must indeed be protected from imposition and ill-treatment and secured in the exercise of his legal rights, but who has no real claim to a voice in the ordering of the affairs of the Colony. From what we have learnt during our enquiry we very much doubt whether it will be possible to continue to maintain this attitude. The Indian population in the Colony has no natural inclination to assert itself in political matters, so long as reasonable regard is paid to its desires on a few questions to which it, not unreasonably, attaches importance."

* I am indebted for the figures to my friend Mr. Lukshmaya of Mauritius, who is now in London making representations to the authorities concerned, about the position of Indians in that Colony.

Since Sir Frank Swetenham wrote his admirable report, conditions have arisen which have brought this matter to a crisis. They are—as in the case of all political changes—both internal and external. Internally, the appearance of small Indian landholders as free citizens of the Island necessitated a change in the attitude of the white population. The Indians now hold a good proportion of the land and they produce one-third of the sugar crop of the Island. They are for the most part small property-holders. Their education and awakening has caused resentment among the white settlers, who had always looked upon the Indian labourer as an instrument for their material advancement. Their one object had been to exploit the Indian by every means possible.

The economic difficulties under which a working-class community lay, in an island controlled by an oligarchy of planters, soon made themselves felt. The Government of India at once came to the help of the Indian community and Mr. S. Wilberforce was sent to study the conditions and organise, if possible, Co-operative Credit Banks among the people. The white planters took it as a challenge and organised a ring to obstruct the progress of this movement. This has aroused general indignation among the Indian population.

Externally the success of the struggle in South Africa gave the Mauritius-Indians a political awakening. The heroic fight of Gandhi shook the soul of India, and in common with their compatriots the Indians in Mauritius awoke at last to their political rights. Their disabilities in the island are many. Chief among them is the application of the French Law to Indian Colonists. This leads to unnecessary division of small farms, tying down the hands of the peasants.

Another of their grave complaints is that though the vast majority of the population is Indian, the only languages used for education in schools are English and French. We, in India, know to our cost what education through the medium of a foreign language means. But here, in Mauritius, we see the attempt of the Anglo-French planters to stamp out nationality and national-consciousness by withholding education through the vernacular, and subjecting the people to foreign laws and customs.

But all the complaints that the Mauritius Indians have, they have organised opposition to their economic union is perhaps the one that needs immediate remedy. With the whole community of white

capitalists in opposition, economic prosperity is impossible. The legislature is in their hands. The Imperial Government cannot often be made to interfere, and the taking of Mauritius under Indian administration seems to be yet distant.

A representative of the Mauritius Indians is now in London to lay their grievances before the Secretary of State. The case of Mauritius has not aroused much interest in the Mother Country. It depends upon us to say whether our brethren in this African Island should be treated as fellow-creatures or not. The 260,000 Indians there are powerless against the prejudices of race, colour and civilisation. It is we at home who ought to help them to fight their cause. Will India see to this? Will Indian politicians think about it?

EDUCATION IN ITALY.

BY MR. SAGAR CHAND, *Middle Temple, London.*

WELLINGTON is supposed to have said that Waterloo was won on the play-fields of Eton. The English pay great attention to the physique of their children. The Parsees, because they are fine cricketers, are regarded by English writers on India as superior in civilization to the Hindus and Muslims. Strength and pluck are the two things the English most admire. The result is they hold in thrall half the world.

When I see the Indian graduates walking about the Mall roads, weeds in their mouths and spectacles on their noses, their backs bent and their chests narrow, their hair falling off and their faces pale, I cannot help thinking that there is something wrong with our educational system. When I compare them with the broad-chested, muscular and healthy-looking students produced by the European, American and Japanese Universities, I understand the cause of the difference. Our whole system of education is rotten to the core. "We must pull it down and then rebuild it on a new plan. Education must give us both brain and brawn. An education which neglects them is worse than useless."

Sometime ago I made the acquaintance of a great Italian journalist. From him I obtained much information about Italy which I could hardly have been able to gather from a dozen "handbooks of information." He told me that a student can live like a fighting cock in Italy on five pounds a month. Poor students, living economically, can manage with even

fifty rupees a month. The university education all over Italy is absolutely free. No fees are paid whatever. Even the text-books are supplied free by the Government.

Indian students are welcomed in Italy with open arms. The Italians take a great deal of interest in oriental languages. Thus an Indian student can easily make enough money in Italy, to live comfortably, by teaching Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian or Hindustani, or by giving lectures on the religious and social life of India.

Those who wish to study medicine should wend their way to the land of Garibaldi and Mazzini. The Italian medical degrees are acknowledged by the Governments of all the civilized countries. In fact, as far as medical education is concerned, Italy bears the palm. Courses for the study of tropical diseases are also provided. The medical course takes six years. The Pisa and Turin Universities are the best for the study of medicine.

For the study of science the places to go to are Naples and Bologna. The civil engineering course takes four years. Those who wish to qualify themselves for the degree in agriculture should go to Rome, the Eternal City. The agricultural course is only two years, and makes one an expert on the subject during that time; and as more than eighty per cent. of our countrymen belong to the agricultural class, it will do us infinite lot of good if we send our young men to Italy in round numbers.

The Italians lead a simple life and do not stand on ceremony. There are free clubs attached to all Italian Universities and the members enjoy numerous privileges. But if you join the Corda Frates Club—the aristocratic club—you have to pay five rupees a year. By joining it you get to know all the best people in Italy—professors, nobles, princes, Government officials. Italy is essentially a democratic country and no insolence is brooked. The members of the Corda Frates Club have many opportunities of boating and rowing on the beautiful Italian lakes and rivers, and dancing with the daughters of professors. There is no colour prejudice against the Asiatics in Italy.

Those who wish to gain fuller information should write to the Registrars of the respective Universities of Rome, Bologna, Pisa, Turin, etc. There is a well-known school of tropical medicine in Rome where students flock to from all quarters of the globe. It will be better, if before starting for Italy, the intending student should acquire a working knowledge of the language. It is known to be the sweetest and the

most musical of languages and can be easily learned in two months by working one hour daily. Messrs. Marlborough & Co., 51, Old Baily, London, have issued a self-taught series of books for learning languages. With the help of these you can easily master any language whatever (French, German, Italian, Spanish, Russian, Arabic, Persian, Japanese, etc.) without the help of a tutor. The price per copy is only one shilling.

The Italians are always ready to learn. We, Indians, should take a leaf out of their book and open our hearts to the light of the new truths discovered in our own day by the nations of Europe. Our ancestors worked wonders, no doubt, but we live in a different age and cannot be content with rubbing up old Hindu manuscripts. We must be modern if we wish to compete with the living nations; we must travel and see the world.

The Italian Universities are endowed with Government scholarships which diligent students easily win. There is open competition. Thus all Indian students can avail themselves of the Italian Universities. Many students in India spend as much as forty rupees a month. That can get them an European education and the benefit of travel to boot, in addition to the free and progressive atmosphere by which you will be surrounded in the European centres of education; and you cannot get that in India. Mr. A. P. Sinnet speaks with contempt about the "hybrid product of the Anglo-Indian Universities." Come to Italy, to Sweden, to Switzerland.

Thousands of Russian students go every year to Switzerland and Italy. They leave their native country friendless and empty-handed, but thirsting after knowledge. They work hard during the day in fields and factories and in the night attend schools and colleges in Italy and Switzerland, and after some years' residence abroad they return home with money in their pockets and with progressive ideas in their heads. Indians can do the same.

In America there is attached to every College what is called the Students' Loan Fund. From this, students can borrow money to start with when they are absolutely destitute. We should attach a "Foreign Loan Fund" to every university in India. The capital should be twenty-five thousand rupees. From this fund, the very first year, twenty students can borrow a thousand rupees each and go abroad. The balance of five thousand rupees can stand over. At the end of a year they will refund this money from what they earn abroad, and twenty more students can

be despatched to the western world. Thus every year twenty students can leave India for the European and American centres of education and learning. Surely twenty-five thousand rupees could be easily collected. Where there is a will there is a way. Let the funds already collected for the Hindu and Muslim Universities be employed for this purpose.

Any one wishing to join an Italian University must be above sixteen years of age. The ordinary course is three years. The Italian students work hard and receive a practical education at College, so that as soon as they leave it they begin to earn for themselves. The Italian Universities do not manufacture baboos and clerks as the Indian Universities do. The Italian Universities make you worthy citizens of this universe.

THE TELUGU MIGRATIONS TO THE TAMIL COUNTRY.

(14th Century.)

BY MR. A. M. S. RAGHAVAN, B.A.

(Continued from page 362—Vol. I.)

(B) ADVENTUROUS SPIRIT.

BUT not the least important cause was their spirit of enterprise. In those troublous times, it was only bold men that would come up to the top. The Deccan had been incessantly hearing the tramp of many an army and how could persons living in such times be otherwise than bold? And these times produced a number of heroes, who do not live unfortunately in the pages of history, but still are deserving at least of passing mention.

If we are to believe the Torayur MS.,* we read how this spirit of enterprise distinguished the founders of the Zamin, and how their prowess was directed against the Kallars and Maravars, that infested the western forests of Madura. Heroism and enterprise, it would seem, formed the distinguishing features of the Reddis and the Naiks. As the Normanisation of Ireland in the 12th Century A. D. was attempted by a swarm of Norman Knight adventurers, who drove the native Celtic Irish before them and conquered the English pale, here also the Kallars and the Maravars of the western mountains and forests of Madura (the Dindigul province that was to be) were gradually driven out of their strongholds to the east or became docile agriculturists under their conquerors. † The first step towards this was the

clearing off of forests, and turning them into arable land.* The MS. of Coppaiya Naik in the Dindigul district tells us that he was placed by his Mysore chieftain, in charge of the passes between Mysore and Dindigul to guard them against the wild robbers that made them their home. †

STATE OF THE PENINSULA.

Incidentally something of the state of the country has been said above. All the MSS. are unanimous in describing the western portion of the country (Madura), the region below the ghats, as wild and tangled with forests and infested with all kinds of dangerous elements. It is in this direction that the early movement of the Telugus was turned, for here they would meet with no opposition from the rulers of the land. The eastern portion, i.e., to the side of Ramnad, guarding the way to sacred Ramesvaram, was also an uninviting tract of barren territory over which the warlike Maravars, the same people who troubled Madura from the Dindigul side, ruled under the nominal overlordship of Madura. The conquest of the 'Badugas'—as these Telugu adventurers were known to the Portuguese—had not extended to Tinnevely until about the middle of the 16th Century. ‡ A French Missionary mentions the presence of tigers on the eastern coast § even as late as 1700 A.D., showing thereby that the country was still partially cleared and only thinly peopled.

All sorts and conditions of people (from the north) began to inundate the south, secure of the protection of the rulers. This conquest was, however, not effected without opposition and the honour of the Tamil name was not undefended. The Tamil champion then was that hardy Marava chieftain, the Setupati of Ramnad, who finally saw the hopelessness of the task and sullenly submitted. § Between the rulers of the central Government at Madura and the Eastern Province there had been long rivalry and bitter opposition, which were intensified probably by the remembrance of the ancient supremacy of the Setupatis over the whole of the Madura country. ¶ At last the Setupati had to yield before superior resources, not before superior skill, nor before superior valour. With this also was combined the politic treatment of the Tevars by the Naiks and before the dread of a common enemy

* Many MSS. mention this.

† Mad. MSS. Vol. I.

‡ Coldwell's History of Tinnevely, p. 55.

§ Ibid., p. 60.

¶ See Ramappan Ammanai, Mad. MSS. Vol. IV.

¶ Ramnad Manual by T. Raja Rama Rao, pp. 172 f.

* Mad. MSS. Vol. I.

† This is the impression we derive from the MSS.

differing in religion, race, language and customs, the Mahomedans, all these differences were forgotten and the fusion of the Tamils and the Telugus must have been rapid during this period.*

Even now there are Telugu-speaking Reddis, especially in the North Arcot, South Arcot and Chingleput districts, who are marked by a strong physique and great independence of character, and who have lost all consciousness of a time when they were aliens. The cordiality and affection with

which they move with the Tamils show no traces at all of any differences between them. One is not justified in speaking of them as Telugus now, for these never looked back to their original Andhra Desa, and now regard themselves as Telugus only by accident.

The various Telugu Zamindars of South India too forgot their own clanship, and, excepting when they have to trace their genealogy, they probably do not remember they had ever been Telugus.

Round the Indian Empire.

BY "POLITIQUE."

The Government of India Consolidation Bill has just been referred to a Select Committee of the House of Commons and we take this opportunity, having had no occasion before, to refer to it. So far as it goes, it is a non-contentious measure and until the consequent Amending Bill is brought forward, is not likely to excite hostile criticism anywhere. It is only partially true to say that the Indian constitution is a written polity; the English adventurers did not strike off from their own brains a constitution for India as the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers did for the United States. The native rulers whose successors are the present British Government, ruled more by tradition than by law and the present Indian polity betrays more a change of rulers than of system. As a result, whatever is found in Indian statutes after the assumption of British sovereignty, is more an expression in words of the system that the British found already existing in the country than any new ideas that they carried with them. The old native rule was anything but centralised and the trend of the Government that has superseded it is towards more and more complete centralisation. It has been felt, therefore, to consolidate the statutes, differing in extent and period as the date of the first Charter to the present day. The Government of India is not a self-initiative supreme body. It derives its authority from Parliament and the authority it exercised has been delegated to it in a long series of statutory enactments which begins with the Regulating Act of 1773. From the date of the original Charter of 1599 until that Act was passed, the authority of the Company was

derived partly from the Crown and partly from the concessions granted by native rulers. "It reposed on that Prerogative Royal which, in Queen Elizabeth's words, the Crown would not have 'aruged or brought in question.' The victories of Clive, the vast wealth taken Home by the unpopular nabobs and the financial difficulties of the Company attracted the attention of Parliament to India at the time of the secession of the American Colonies. The consequence was the period in the history of British India which has been described as that of divided control. It was characterised by a large exercise of authority by the Company on the lines of the precedents built up in the course of nearly two centuries of trading and by the growing interference and control of Parliament. This control became complete under the Act of 1858 which transferred to the Crown all rights, which if that Act had not been passed, might have been exercised by the East India Company in relation to any of its territories. From that date to this, Parliament has continued to legislate for India." Thus, the rights and responsibilities of the Government of India, rest on a long series of statutory enactments, dovetailing one into another, sometimes partially repealed, sometimes wholly forgotten. The Consolidation Bill will bring the whole current of Indian Constitutional doctrine into a corpus of administrative law. We feel thankful to Lord Crewe for bringing in this codification. It has been long in preparation. It may be remembered that the Secretary of State submitted a Consolidation Bill to the Government of India so long ago as 1878 and the Indian Government returned an amended draft in 1876. Sir Courtney Ilbert has on more than one occasion revised this draft, and we learn that Lord Crewe's Bill incorporates the work of 1878 and 1876 as thus altered. The present enactment should simplify the task of the Government of India and be an invaluable help to lawyers and students in understanding the relations of the Indian Government to the Crown in Parliament.

* NOTE.—The result of this fusion was first seen not, however, as one would naturally expect, against a Mahomedan invader, but a Hindu neighbour (Myore). When the latter invaded and besieged Madura, it was the quondam rebel that gallantly came to his master's rescue.

There is no point of the compass which does not witness to-day the splendid soldiery of India exhibiting its martial prowess in righteous defence of the British flag. In Flanders, in the Dardanelles, in Egypt, Mesopotamia, South Africa, even in the far-off Kiachio Bay, wherever British security is menaced or British claims thwarted, the Indian sepoy has ranged himself against the enemy of Britain. The surroundings in which he fights are strange to his nativity and habits of thought; the circumstances of the warfare in which he is engaged are totally different from his traditions, yet his courage ever employed in the cause of liberty, has never been shore sharply pricked to crush the tyrant, overriding all considerations of material comfort or bodily inconveniences. The lance of the Gurkha, when it flourishes in Berlin, the German Capital, will be the crowning epitome of a steadfast loyalty maintained unbroken these hundred and fifty years to the British Raj, and a crushing rejoinder to those evil-minded critics to whom Indian loyalty was only synonymous with gleaming English musketry. Many a nation's history before has been made in alien soil, many a country's fate decided without its borders. It is a natural hope, therefore, that the new angle of vision which is to lift the Indian subcontinent to a higher polity will be turned on from the battle field of Flanders where, to-day, the congeries of Britain's allies are writing the cause of oppressed nationalities in blood and fire. Indian aspirations can no longer be smothered under ponderous blue-books, Indian sentiments no longer brushed aside as vainly crying for the moon. Under the viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge, the Indian bureaucracy has been snubbed to submission to popular opinion in a few notable instances. His Excellency's statesmanlike handling of the colonial problem, of the new educational ideals, the cheery and well-founded optimism with which the Indian Expeditionary Force was despatched and the determined attitude to provide Council Government to the aggrieved United Provinces, mark a new epoch in the annals of the Indian bureaucracy. It is already bent, if not broken; got out of its narrow and privileged groove, if not fully brought to the lime-light; and with a succession of a few more Viceroys of the type of the present incumbent in the office, the Indian bureaucracy will have been exercised of its spirit of narrow disdain and pettifoggery tinkering with national aspirations. British citizenship is daily put to the test in British colonies by Indians who have emigrated out of the mother country; and if British honour is a political possession and not a racial privilege, these Indians who sojourn in the colonies must not be cheated of their due in carrying on their avocations peacefully and loyally. They form the citizens of the greater India which in many cases they

themselves are moulding by their economic and other activities and the status accorded to them in their countries of adoption or sojourn is a telling factor in the integrity of the British Empire. We concede that the problem is fraught with many difficulties, economic and political; the self-governing dominions colonised by white people from their mother country sometime entertain just fears for their safety against Asiatic immigration, without which, however, no economic development of the colonies is possible. On the other hand, the Indian labourer is also just in claiming a share in the Government which he helps to sustain by his labour. These problems of Greater India are growing more and more acute every day and let not the comradeship forming between the colonial soldier and the Indian sepoy under a shower of fire, be belied and traduced in spirit by the overweening white planter in the plenitude of peace. We hope that the white Canadian, New Zealander and Australian who are now warming themselves under the same camp fire with the Indian sepoy, will carry away, when peace returns, memory of their dusky brethren who shared similar experiences with them in the trenches of the battle field and clasp his brown hand even when it has laid the musket to drive the plough and thus cement the harmony of a greater India flourishing under the peace provided by the British Flag.

The truce to political controversy imposed by the war is an excellent device to remove all embarrassment to the Government to prosecute the war to a victorious issue, if it is not exaggerated to include the suppression of the legitimate vent of popular demands which have gained momentum since the war. Without laying ourselves under the charge of embracing the opportunist's doctrine, it is no violation of the self-denying ordinance if we take leave to urge upon the powers that be a few pressing reforms whose insistence for the better welfare of India is clearly discerned through the perspective offered by the war. We mean the repeal of the Press Act and the Arms Act. The conditions that gave birth to these twin weapons of the Indian bureaucracy, for whatever purposes they may have been brought to light, are changed; the purposes they were meant to serve, if they ever existed, cannot again repeat in Indian history and it is long time that the executive armory of the Indian Government is denuded of these obsolete instruments of a reactionary regime. The thralldom, we don't mean the censor, to which the Fourth Estate is subject in the Indian Empire, is a solecism of English liberty and justice. If British Government is based on the consent of the people governed, what avails this just principle, if the public press is snubbed by a Press Act? We have no space to refer in detail to the instances where the Press Act has been arbitrarily exercised in suppression of legitimate criticism; but shall content ourselves with making a few general observations on the high inexpediency of continuing the practice of holding a Damocles's sword over the head of the Indian Press. A subject nation may feel no obligation to assist an alien executive; nor can such obligation be imposed on it by any canons of political science. Whatever help, therefore, the people of India accede to

the ruling power by way of interpreting to it public opinion or popular prejudice must be doubly welcomed. Criticism is the only function, only help, that educated India can furnish to the Government, since they are excluded from sharing in its responsibilities. And considering these factors of the situation, the existence of the Press Act seems to be an inexplicable anomaly by the side of a Government which is willing to carry the consent of the governed in its actions and learn popular sentiment to formulate popular policies. The Press Act is a libel on the loyalty and understanding of educated India; the Arms Act takes away a weapon of defence from her self-respecting society to guard itself against those who attack its person or property. The numerous dacoities reported from Northern India would have been unheard, if the citizens had been armed; the charge of inefficiency levelled against the Police would be non-existent but for the stringent regulations which prohibit or make it hard for the private citizen to protect himself when attacked with fire-arms; and the low wailings of the jungle clad ryot against the devastations annually wrought on his crops and cattle would never have been heard, if he were allowed to carry weapons more freely. The disarming of a whole nation of 315 millions souls for whom loyalty to an alien Government is as the breath of their nostrils argues complete cynicism on the part of a Government, who still in its roughest temper, admits that it holds India on trust. The repeal of the Arms Act and of the Press Act has been time and again urged on the Government by the voices of the constitutionally organised bodies of Public opinion all over the country, even of some distinguished members of the bureaucracy. Just imagine, after peace returns, the feelings that will be evoked in an Indian Sepoy asked to lay down his pistol in the police quarters of his native mofussil station, for, forsooth, he may not know to use it properly, the same pistol which with every pull of the trigger, laid low three enemies of Great Britain on the field of Flanders.

A noteworthy feature of the economic transition through which India is passing to day is the break-up of the old village system and all the economic factors bound up with it. It is perhaps too late in the day to make mean over a thing that is past recall, but contemporary history is not devoid of instances where a healthy rural revival has been attempted and with conspicuous success even under the regime of a highly centralised Government. We obviously refer to Russia. And even in our country attempts are being made to rehabilitate the village to its old position of privilege in Indian polity and various schemes of village improvement are being tried both in British India and in some of the advanced Native States, notably Mysore. The July number of the *Mysore Economic Journal* reprints a recent lecture delivered by the Rev. Mr. Thompson, where he makes some excellent suggestions for village improvement. The author rightly warns prospective rural revivalists against blindly imitating European models of village improvement. These are, in his opinion, uncongenial to Indian conditions. He would have the old methods revised, but entirely adapted to the new requirements. For, he remarks:—"Now there are at least two reasons why we cannot make the English village our model in India.

The first is climatic and the second is economic. While Nature has been stern in some respects to England, she has been lavish in the gift of moisture and wild flowers. It is impossible to maintain in continental India, except at a prohibitive cost, the green lawns and the springy turf of England; nor does our indigenous flora contain the same variety and abundance of wild flowers. But, on the other hand, if the carpet of the earth is not spread so richly in India, she has compensation in the canopy of her great and noble trees, many of which are adorned with blossoms of the richest colour. It would be a mistake to attempt to reproduce in our model village the gardens of rustic England, and to act upon the plan that every rayat's house must be set in a little plot of ground of its own. Such a design goes against the order of Nature: the rayat could not maintain a flower garden, if he would. The rainfall is not constant enough, and he has no time to give to the care of it. The English peasant works in his garden after he has taken his tea or evening meal, when the day's toil on the farm is ended. In England one of the most delightful parts of the day is the long evening twilight, lasting till after nine o'clock at midsummer sun, and in the cool of the day the labourer finds time to work in his own little bit of land and to indulge his inherited love of flowers." The love of labour that the English sky induces in her labourer is sadly lacking in his Indian prototype. In spite of the increased wages that are in some parts paid to labour, the Indian labourer remains untouched by the progressive value of increased hire. As Mr. G. F. Keatinge truly remarks in the current number of the *Agricultural Journal of India*, "At present, however, the tendency of the cultivator to relax his efforts, the moment that his circumstances permit such a course, does much to discount the advantage which the relatively high prices of agricultural produce have brought to his door." The Indian labourer requires to be taught the dignity of manual labour, as that alone is calculated to breathe health into our dying village organization. Contrasting the position in India with that of America Mr. Keatinge observes:—"A Small American farmer with an irrigated holding of, say, twenty acres may be worth a lakh of rupees, but he not only works on his land himself, but frequently does the whole of the work, his hours being from sunrise to sunset. The American holder of somewhat less means will not disdain to work for hire as a navv in any spare time he can filch from his farm, and will thus provide himself with additional capital for developing his land. In this country does any farmer worth Rs. 20,000 engage personally in field labour on his own farm, or does any farmer worth Rs. 5,000 employ his spare time in working for hire? Such instances are very rare. In India the natural tendency of such men is to engage low paid labour for the more exacting part of their current field operations, and to finance any permanent improvements that they may contemplate by means of a loan. It is the heavy bill paid for ineffective labour that runs away with the profits of the substantial cultivator. It is this that he has to keep down; and the best way that he can keep it down is to work himself and to work with effective implements." Another necessary factor is the provision of labour all round the year. Purely agricultural work cannot be relied on, without the resuscitation of small village industries, to fill up the famine in work at times, that may spell a like famine in food.

GENERAL ARTICLES.

INDIAN LABOURERS ABROAD.

REPRESENTATION TO GOVERNMENT.

THE Marwari Association has submitted the following representation to the Government of Bengal on the subject of the recruitment of labourers for the British and Foreign Colonies. The representation is substantiated in every detail by well-authenticated facts:—

So far as my Committee are aware, the main object which the Government had in view in permitting the emigration of Indian labourers to the Colonies under the indentured system was to provide the surplus population of the labouring classes with good fields for earning their livelihood. The inclusion in the Indian Emigration Act of 1908 of provisions for securing the general well-being of the emigrants during the period of their service in the Colonies and for prohibiting emigration to any Colony goes a long way to confirm this view. It is, however, now universally known that while affording an outlet—rather a wide outlet—for the surplus population, the present system of emigration has brought other evils in its train which more than counterbalances the economic advantage which it was intended to secure thereby. The Committee feel constrained to submit that these evils are due partly to the non-observance of the terms of the law by the Colonies and partly to the manner in which the law is administered in this country.

At the outset I may be permitted to refer to the treatment which the indentured labourers receive on the estates or plantations where they are employed. So far as the information of my Committee goes, the indentured Indian labourers are looked down upon as belonging to the lowest tribes of men and, on the strength of the colonial laws which are said to allow the employers the utmost latitude in their treatment of Indians, are subjected to extremely harsh and oppressive treatment, as will appear from the declarations made at Calcutta by three returned emigrants from Fiji and Trinidad, as also from an article headed "The Law of the Colonies in British Guiana," which appeared in the *Indian Mirror* of the 25th March, 1914, and the signature of Dr. Ram Narain Sharma, L.M.S., of Calcutta, regarding the condition of Indians in the Colonies. The representation which the Marwari Association has submitted to the Government of Bengal on the subject of the recruitment of labourers for the British and Foreign Colonies is substantiated in every detail by well-authenticated facts:—

the social, moral or intellectual well-being of the labourers; and the result is deplorable. Apart from the statements of the returned emigrants referred to above, the following extracts from an article, written from personal knowledge by Mr. Richard Piper of the Methodist Indian Mission in Fiji, which appeared in the *Statesman* newspaper of the 15th January, 1914, will bear out this statement.

All caste restrictions are ignored as soon as an immigrant leaves these shores. For the poor unfortunates who happen to have some pride of birth, there is a bitter but unavailing struggle to retain their self-respect which generally ends in a fatalistic acquiescence in all the immorality and obscenity of the coolie line. The immigrants are allowed to herd together with no privacy or isolation for married people.

The returned emigrants have fully corroborated the above statement that all caste distinctions are ignored. The report of Messrs. McNeill and Chiman Lal on the condition of Indian emigrants does not throw much light on this question although it is very important. As regards immorality, it is superfluous to say that the proportion of women recruits to 1st and 2nd class (men) fixed by the rules under the Indian Emigration Act, is an important factor in the moral degradation of the labourer.

To the respectable emigrants who leave their country in hope of earning a competence, especially those who emigrate with their families, life in this atmosphere of slavery and immorality is naturally a prolonged and intolerable agony which sometimes leads both men and women to commit rash acts like suicide. The Hindi articles headed "The Wails of a Woman," purporting to have been written by one Kunti, a woman labourer on a Fiji estate, which appeared in the *Daily Bharat Mitra* of the 1st August, 1913, as well as the statements of some of the returned emigrants, will give an idea of the real state of things in the Colonies in this respect. I may mention here that the women Kunti and her husband, who have since returned to the country, were present at a public meeting held recently in Barabazaar, Calcutta, under the Presidency of Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu and fully reiterated the story told in the article, "The Wails of a Woman," referred to above.

A NAMELESS CASTE.
The fear of social disgrace prevents many men and women from returning to India on the completion of the terms of their indenture, and they have no other alternative than to resign themselves to their lot in these far-off lands. The inevitable consequence is that a race of Indians of a nameless caste is growing up in the Colonies who, by their extremely low standard of social, moral and religious life, are doing incalculable harm to India in many important respects. Although one of

the returned emigrants has said so clearly in his statement, it will not be out of place to quote again in this connection from Mr. Piper's article referred to above.

"Of course the promiscuous herding together of such a heterogeneous crowd results in an abnormal amount of crime, the greater part of which, too, is attributable to jealousy. Murder cases are of alarming frequency."

The system accentuates racial prejudice and complicates sociological problems. The relations between the employers and his "labour" have a bad influence upon both. There are plenty of British colonists who know Indians, but the debased products of this system and to whom all Indians are but coolies. The Indian emigrant and the free settler is despised, because of his low standard of living. The abject servility to which he is reduced during his term of indenture only tends to heighten that repugnance. The white man comes to look upon the Indian as fit for no other position nor capable of improvement."

In fact all informations regarding the position, prospect and treatment of the Indian labourers in the Colonies go to show that they are ill-treated in various ways and drag on a miserable existence. The continuous export of men, women and children to work in the Colonies under these conditions is tending to lower the country itself in the estimation of the Colonies to the status of a land of low class labourers unknown to civilisation. In the opinion of my Committee, it is difficult to conceive of a greater disaster than this befalling India.

LOW WAGES.

It is also said that in some Colonies the payment of wages at the rate of As. 12 a day, as stipulated in this country, is generally conditional upon the labourer doing a certain amount of work in the course of a day, and that the work assigned is so heavy that the average labourer, in spite of his utmost efforts, finds it physically impossible to finish the task within the specified time. Practically, therefore, in those Colonies the daily wages of As. 12 which so powerfully attracts the poor Indian labourers towards those foreign lands, is more illusory than real. This is borne out by the declarations of the returned emigrants as well as by the fact that a large number of the emigrants return to this country wholly empty handed. My Committee are aware that in some Colonies the labourers earn their full daily wages and bring back and remit their savings home. But the fact cannot be lost sight of that the purchasing power of a shilling or As. 12 in the Colonies is not much higher than that of a quarter rupee in India. The inference, therefore, seems to be natural that their savings, when possible, must necessarily be very little which cannot last them long when their repatriation happens to be delayed after the completion of the terms of their

indentures or other unforeseen contingencies arise to detain them in the Colonies. It cannot be the fear that this state of things cannot but compel many labourers to re-indenture themselves on the expiry of their original indentures. In such circumstances the Committee submit, the daily wages of As. 12 cannot be said to be adequate. Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal also have recommended the raising of the wage unit or the giving of a monthly or fortnightly bonus in many cases.

SOME BROAD QUESTIONS.

Having regard, however, to the provisions of section 4, clause (2) and section 75 (1) clauses (IV), (V) and (VI) of the Indian Emigration Act of 1908 which deal with the questions of the health, well-being and treatment of the emigrants in the Colonies, the Committee are of opinion that the difficulties and troubles of the Indian labourers are attributable more to the free and unrestricted emigration of a large number of men and women of all castes every year and the violation of the terms of their agreements by the Colonies than to any fundamental shortcomings of the law. My Committee do not desire to discuss in this representation the broad questions that naturally arise in this connection, namely, the desirability or otherwise of permitting emigration under the indenture system or of devising means for compelling the proper observance of the agreement by the Colonies, although the industrial development of the country and the consequent scarcity of labour have rendered the discontinuance of such emigration necessary in the interests of the country itself. There is hardly any surplus population now among the labouring classes. But they beg respectfully to submit that if the statements of the returned emigrants or those made by Messrs. Piper and Ram Narain Sharma in their articles be even substantially correct—and my Committee have no reason to doubt their accuracy or truth—then the evils of such emigration cannot but be said to have assumed enormous proportions and, therefore, ought to engage the serious attention of the Government with a view to the devising of means to minimise them.

As has been mentioned in the foregoing paragraph the sufferings and troubles are due, in a large measure to free and unrestricted recruitment; for among the recruits there are many men and women belonging to the high castes who are wholly unsuited to and constitutionally unfit for agricultural or other work of a day labourer and naturally feel the hardship keenly. I may now be permitted to state that such unrestricted recruitment and emigration take place. The emigration system has brought into existence a class of people known as the coolies who are ignorant of the country and produce a bad impression on the

Colonies. Misrepresentation is evidently the guiding principle of these professional recruiters who resort to all sorts of subterfuges, in utter contravention of the terms of the law, to inveigle the poor, ignorant men and women into their depots and, as a rule, keep them in the dark as to their real destination and the nature and duration of their service till the time of embarkation. As professional recruiters, they look more to their own sordid interests which lie in the securing of a larger and larger number of emigrants than to the restrictions of the law, and having, therefore, decoyed the unsuspecting rural people, irrespective of caste, sex or age, they take every necessary precaution to get them registered without a hitch. Women are decoyed as freely and with as much unconcern as men and registered as single, although women are never single in this country unless they happen to be widows. The object of registering them as such is evidently to show that they are free to act for themselves. But it is a well-known fact that women in this country are seldom free and are always under the guardianship of either their husbands or other relations. From the report of the Protector of Emigrants for the year 1912, it appears that out of 2,275 women despatched to the Colonies, "1,580 or 69.45 per cent. were understood to be single women." The prevalence of immorality among the poor illiterate labourers in such circumstances is only as it is bound to be. The report does not contain particulars regarding the number of female emigrants of different castes, but having regard to the prevalence of the practice of concealing the real caste of the emigrants which is often resorted to by the recruiters to avoid the risk of recruits of high castes being rejected as unfit for agricultural works, my Committee would not be surprised if among these women emigrants there were many belonging to high castes and wholly unused to the work of the field labourer or the menial.

RECRUITERS VS. RECRUITED

Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal consider it "fair to the system in operation to recognise that the recruiters' deceit" would be "ineffective but for the untruthfulness and dishonesty of the persons deceived," as they give false names and castes and describe themselves as labourers before the registering and other high officers. But as will be seen on a reference to the statements of some of the released recruits they do so for fear of being ill-treated.

It is from the misery which such fraudulent recruitment brings to the emigrants themselves, the great wrong which is done upon their people in this country is also worthy of serious consideration. Houses and families are broken up when the bread-winners are spirited away. The social system which has suddenly

and clandestine disappearance of a female member brings on the family is hard to efface. In short, this practice of fraudulently recruiting labourers for the Colonies, which is nothing short of kidnapping, is fraught with the gravest evils and is reprehensible in the extreme. Some idea of the magnitude of the evil may be formed from the statements of a number of recruits which appeared in the *Bharat Mitra* newspaper of the 28th, 29th and 31st October and the 1st, 2nd, 4th and 5th November, 1918, as well as from the declarations of some other recruits made on solemn affirmation in the Calcutta Police Court in November, 1912, and in the Alipur Court in May, 1914.

PROPER ADMINISTRATION OF LAW REQUIRED.

In these circumstances my Committee beg respectfully to submit that in registering labourers and in despatching them to the Colonies every care should be taken to prevent the recruitment and emigration not only of those who are physically unfit but also of those who by their social position or caste or habits of life are not fitted for the work which they would be required to perform. Besides, it is only just and reasonable that those who emigrate as indentured labourers should do so with a full and clear knowledge of the work, the remuneration, cost of living and all other particulars regarding the general condition of life of an indentured labourer in the Colonies. My Committee understand that it is for the Protector of Emigrants to enlighten them on all these points, but they beg to submit that it is physically impossible for a single officer specially a European officer, to perform this duty.

The Committee have carefully considered the provisions of the Emigration Act regarding fraudulent recruitment, and have no hesitation in saying that it can be checked by the proper Administration of the Law; and in their opinion it will be a very effective means to that end if a Board of non-official Indian Visitors to the Emigration Depots both at Calcutta and at the registration centres in the interior be constituted with certain statutory powers to enable them to stop fraudulent recruitment and thus to render real and useful assistance to the Protector of Emigrants. The visitors to the Calcutta Depots should be appointed by the Government in consultation with the various public Associations in Calcutta and those to the interior depots in consultation with the Local Municipalities and other public bodies. The term of a visitor may be limited to a period to be fixed by the Government, but he should be eligible for re-appointment if his work is found to be satisfactory. My Committee feel confident that the discontinuance of the emigration of unwilling, unfit and undesirable people which can be brought about only by stopping fraudulent recruitment, would be to the interests of the Colonies as well as of India.

The Committee sincerely hope that this suggestion will meet with the approval of H. E. the Governor in Council and that His Excellency in Council will be graciously pleased to move the Government of India, if necessary, to amend the Emigration Act accordingly.

THE COOLIE IN THE COLONY.

By Rev. J. H. HARRIS.

A COURAGEOUS MAGISTRATE.

ANY system of indentured labour must expose itself to abuses of power against which an independent and high toned Judiciary is the only real safeguard. The evidence tendered to Lord Sanderson's Committee by Mr. Ed. Bateson, a stipendiary Magistrate, and Commander W. H. Coombs must cause grave uneasiness. It is encouraging that Britain can still produce men of the type of Mr. Bateson, who dare to tell the truth, but it is equally disappointing to find a Protector adopting such an amazing attitude towards the coolies as Commander William Heron Coombs of Trinidad.

I have already called attention to the trumpery charges for which the labourers are dragged before the Magistrates, but this does not by any means exhaust the indictment which Mr. Bateson brings forward; there are other charges equally, if not more deplorable.

Witness after witness condemned the present system whereby coolies convicted of simple and probably inevitable offences under labour laws, are treated as criminals, but in spite of imprisonment of this nature, the courageous Magistrate from Mauritius says "it was difficult to see what use it was sending these people to prison, because the prison fare did not appear to be any worse than what they got outside, and the labour was probably not quite so severe as it was upon the estates."

THE DEFENCELESS COOLIE.

The position of indentured coolies when charged in the courts is at present hopeless—justice they get only by accident, they are "deterred from giving evidence themselves and...unable to procure evidence." Their right is equally unhappy when bringing a charge for assault. Witnesses from the estates will not come forward "from fear," indeed, it is "practically impossible" to substantiate a charge against an employer. Every man is against the complainant and the judges are quite as corrupt as in India. Well, what does Sir Robertson say, "It seems to me from what you have said that the coolie is absolutely defenceless." Bateson replied "Absolutely." The Committee was also informed by this gentleman

that he appeared to be placed there for the convenience of the employers—"It resolved itself into that: I was a machine for sending men to prison."

A Protector ought to be not only a Representative of British justice, but the Guardian of British honour, and to fail the indentured labourers in their hour of need, surely, is a serious dereliction of duty. It is not at all clear that those on whom we rely to fight the battles of the coolies are over-zealous in their work.

A REAL PROTECTOR.

The task of "discovering" suitable Protectors is admittedly one of the most difficult problems which confronts the Imperial Government. A "Protector" must not only be born but trained to his work. At first sight, Managers, Overseers and Planters would be regarded as hopeless for such positions, yet, by one of the strange paradoxes of life, it was amongst these the Government once caught such a "tartar" that he became a veritable terror to plantation owners in the Straits Settlements—he knew not merely their difficulties but their possibilities, and all the tricks of the trade. Mr. Heslop Hill told them they would get plenty of labour and good work if they repaid it with a good management. The death rates on some estates were so "terrible" that Mr. Hill "would not like to repeat the figures" to Lord Sanderson, but he told the Planters and Government frankly that the "terrible" death rates were unnecessary, that he would be "merciful" to the employer who did not look after his people, and generally caused such consternation in the planter ranks that he "became unpopular" and was superseded without, Mr. Hill said, any reason being given him, the most sympathetic men, however, he could show his teeth, and did so by forcing them to pay him £100 sterling, after three and a half years' service, to compensate me"—apparently Mr. Hill had been ten years—a cheap riddance so far as the estate managers were concerned. Mr. Hill appeared unable to give any reason for his dismissal; it is to be hoped, however, that a satisfactory explanation will be forthcoming from the Government.

COMMANDER COOMBS.

Lord Sanderson asked Commander Coombs to describe his *modus operandi*, and the first thing that attracts attention is the tender, almost pathetic, consideration shown by this gentleman for the managers and estate owners. First, he lets them all know he is coming on one of his infrequent inspections; he goes round the estate with the manager; he does not have the coolies called up before him because "it would disarrange the whole of the work of the estate." Can anyone conceive a coolie making complaint under these conditions? As we see, however, what happens if the indentured coolie insists upon his right to go to Commander Coombs

and make what, in the opinion of the Protector, is a frivolous complaint. Says the Commander: "I take down their complaint and I tell them plainly I do not believe them, but I will enquire into the matter." Here, then, is the paid defender of the coolies meeting complaints, not sympathetically, but before making any enquiry whatever, saying that he regards their charges as untrue. If they are not untrue then they may be, in the opinion of this gentleman, "frivolous," and he tells us: "If the man comes to me and makes what I consider a frivolous complaint, and after inquiry into it I find it frivolous, then I give the manager a certificate to that effect so that he can prosecute him." Is it any wonder the coolie hesitates before subjecting himself to these intricate dangers; indeed, that appears to be what is happening all over Trinidad, for Commander Coombs admitted that the complaints to him "got less and less every year: they are much less now: there are scarcely any." It may be argued that the paucity of complaints made to the Protector arises from a general contentment amongst the indentured coolies. This contention is untenable in view of Lord Sanderson's recommendation that an enquiry should be made on the spot with regard to the "penalties imposed on the indentured labourers for breach of contract and absence from work. . . ."

If a Manager or Planter however makes a complaint to this gentleman, his action is very different. In reply to Sir G. Robertson, who asked what action he took when the Planters complained of refusal to work by those ("Brahmins and others") who alleged they had been deceived, he said: "First of all I go to the estate. I have them (the coolies) up: I talk to them, and tell them, 'That is what you are brought here for; you are breaking your contract.' I say: 'We will not stand any nonsense. You will either work for your pay on the estate, or you will work for Government for nothing in the gaol. He goes to gaol, and he does work for Government for nothing, and he comes back. He still demurs. Then we wait again, and we prosecute him again, and again he goes to gaol. The third time he comes back he starts to work on the estate.'"

There is no thought here of telling the estate manager that he does not believe him, or that the complaint is "frivolous," and therefore he will be prosecuted. Commander Coombs apparently sees little good in the coolie, and is opposed to any educated coolie, or son of a coolie being given a seat on the Legislative Council. He is also opposed to immigrants re-entering the Colony. "One returned immigrant in the ship will poison perhaps the minds of the whole crowd of them," because he is up to all the colonial "tricks." Mr. Fremantle remarked, as I have already pointed out in another connection, that "It sounds rather as if you wanted to keep the people who come

out in the dark as to the conditions in the Colony if you discourage returned immigrants." But the interest of Commander Coombs in the coolies he protects was most strikingly shown on the question of desertion. Formerly a coolie had to be absent from the estate for seven days before he could be prosecuted for desertion, but, says the Trinidad Protector: "It was originally seven in the old Ordinance, and when the new Ordinance was brought in, framed on the British Guiana Ordinance, it was also seven. It was my doing that it was made three." Technically it is, of course, incorrect, because the Colonial office is responsible for such alteration, but it appears to show that the influence of the Trinidad Protector is towards making legislation in the interests rather of the planters than of the coolies.

INDIANS IN ENGLAND.

INDIAN STUDENTS AND THE OFFICERS' TRAINING CORPS.

AN informal deputation consisting of Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta, Mr. Syud Hussain and Mr. S. Sorabji (Hony. Secretary), waited on Lord Islington, the Under-Secretary of State for India, at the India Office on Thursday, July 29th, 1915, to present the following memorial to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for India on the question of the admission of Indian students to the Officers' Training Corps:—

47, SOUTH HILL PARK.

HAMPSTEAD, LONDON, N.W.

16th July, 1915.

To the Right Hon. J. Austin Chamberlain, M. P., His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India in Council, India Office, Whitehall, London.

SIR,—In pursuance of the Resolutions passed at a meeting of Indian students at present connected with various Educational Institutions in the United Kingdom, including those who are rendering assistance to the sick and wounded at the different Base Hospitals and Convalescent Homes, held at Emerson Club, 19, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, on Thursday, April 22nd 1915, we, the undersigned, were appointed as a Committee for the purpose of taking the necessary steps with a view to securing the removal of the disability under which they labour by being debarred from joining the Officers' Training Corps of these Institutions.

The disqualification in question appears to have been created by a Regulation of the Army Council, limiting admission to the Officers' Training Corps to "British subjects of pure European descent," issued to the educational institutions concerned in 1908.

It is not necessary for us to dwell at any length on the practical importance which the matter has derived

from recent events. It is keenly felt that the Army Council's Regulation not only contravenes, both in letter and spirit, the solemn pledges of equality of status and opportunity given to the people of India in the Gracious Proclamation of 1858 of Queen Victoria, and reaffirmed by Her late Majesty's Successors on the Throne, but, more especially, creates an invidious and gratuitous racial distinction, to the prejudice of Indian students, within even the sacred precincts of British Educational Institutions.

The restriction enforced by the Army Council's Regulation is, in judgment, not only intrinsically unjustifiable and impolitic, but constitutes, we venture to say, a grave injustice to the Indian student community in this country. We are anxious to make it clear that in its actual operation the Regulation has tended to be something more than a mere academic denial of a privilege to Indians, as unintentional probably as it was certainly unprovoked. The imposition of a stigma of racial inferiority is peculiarly out of place in educational institutions, and in itself calculated to mar the harmony and usefulness of the academic careers of those students affected by it. At a time, however, when thousands of their fellow-countrymen are laying down their lives on the battlefields of Europe, Asia and Africa, it could not but be deeply felt and profoundly resented by all Indians.

It may be argued that the admission and training of young Indians in these Corps would lead up to a claim for their eventual admission into the commissioned ranks of the Army. That could only be considered a valid objection on the assumption that the existing restrictions in that connection were not in themselves a grave denial of just treatment to the people of India. As that larger question, however, is receiving, we believe, the sympathetic consideration of the Imperial and Indian Governments, it is sufficient for the purpose of this representation on the particular subject of the Officers' Training Corps, to point out that, independently of the settlement of the former question in due course, the continued non-admission of Indian students to the Officers' Training Corps of the Institutions to which they belong, can only generate, we fear, a degree of bitterness that would be wholly deplorable.

There is, we respectfully submit, an increasing feeling of indignation on the subject, and it would be most regrettable if a sense of injustice and unfair treatment were allowed to soak into the minds of the rising generation of Indian students, reacting on their future careers and public usefulness, no less than on Indian sentiment and aspirations of to-day, without some attempt to remedy the grievance. In view of the facts set forth above, we venture to hope that the matter will receive your earnest and sympathetic consideration, and we pray that you will make proper representation

to the Army Council to remove the grievance by securing the admission of Indian Members of the Universities and Inns of Court into the respective Officers' Training Corps.

We have the honour to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

Jivraj N. Mehta (London); Syud Hussain (London); P. Banerjee (London); Rustam P. Thanewala (London); M. A. Hamid (London); S. Muttiah (London); Sampuransingh (London); G. Krishna Pillai (London); P. K. R. Naidu (London); J. N. Sahai (Brighton); M. D. Thakore (Edinburgh); S. K. Panikkar (Edinburgh); Fakir Chand (Edinburgh); D. K. Bhawe (Edinburgh); Saros A. D. Naoroji (New Milton); N. C. Mehta (Cambridge); S. Modak (Cambridge); A. Venkatraman (Dublin); V. L. Narayana (Dublin); S. N. Shah (Dublin); H. S. Bhalla (Leeds); Z. P. Fernandez (Leeds); V. D. Nimbkar (Leeds); C. C. Sinha (Glasgow); L. S. Pinto (Newcastle-on-Tyne); M. Aslamkhan (Newcastle-on-Tyne); H. S. Dillon (Newcastle-on-Tyne); D. R. Varma (Newcastle-on-Tyne); H. B. Shroff (Manchester); S. R. Gayatonde (New Milton); F. Mayadas (New Milton); P. T. Majmundar (Edinburgh).

S. Sorabji, Hon. Secretary, Indian Students and the O. T. C. Committee.

The London correspondent of the "Englishman" writes under date July 22:—

There is published the report of the sub-committee of the London Advisory Committee for Indian students on the difficulties they experience in the United Kingdom. The sub-committee was appointed in October 1918, and seem to have completed their enquiry and report in the spring of last year. But it was not until early in February last that the report, as finally revised and amended, was sent to the Secretary of State by the Advisory Committee, with a recommendation for publication. It is accompanied by a reply from Sir Thomas Holderness, on behalf of Lord Crewe, dated 31st March, which, while thoroughly sympathetic in tone, indicates that all the arguments in the report cannot be accepted, and that the statements of grievances are not always well-founded. On the question of non-admission to the Officers' Training Corps, the report asks for the removal of the existing bar which is "said to be the result of a regulation of the War Office." The fact of the matter is, that under the King's regulations officers of the British Army must be of European birth, and therefore the educational authorities feel that it would be unfair and unreasonable to allow young Indians to undergo the preliminary training for commissions which cannot in existing circumstances be granted them.

AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THE WAR.

Sir Thomas Holderness states that the question of the admission of Indians to these corps has lately engaged the close attention of his chief, who has brought it to the notice of the Secretary of State for War. He adds, however, that it is one of several military questions which can only receive adequate consideration of the military authorities after the conclusion of the war. Another matter which has to be postponed until we get back to the piping times of peace, affects the law-students. The sub-committee recommend that it should be left to the option of a student to read in the chambers for a barrister either in India or in this country, either before or after his call to the Bar, whereas certain of the High Courts in India, more particularly that of Allahabad, insist that the reading in chambers should be in England. The sub-committee urges that steps should be taken to bring about as much uniformity as possible in the rules of the different High Courts in India relating to the enrolment of advocates. Sir Thomas Holderness states that these questions have been the subject of correspondence between the India Office and the Governor-General in Council since May, 1911. It was decided in the spring of last year that such matters should be considered in informal conferences between representatives of the Indian High Courts and the authorities in this country. The first of such conferences was held here, under the chairmanship of Lord Haldane, in June 1914, with judges of the Madras High Court. Arrangements were in progress for similar conferences with representatives of other Indian High Courts, when the outbreak of war compelled their postponement. The conferences are to be resumed when the war is over, and the points raised in the recommendations will then be further considered.

THE VALUE OF INDIAN DEGREES.

The sub-committee asked the Secretary of State to bring to the notice of the Inns of Court the hardship imposed upon students coming from India by laying down in their case a higher standard of admission, namely an Indian University degree, than that prescribed for English entrants and to recommend the recognition of the Intermediate Examination of the Indian Universities for that purpose. They also urged that such examination should exempt Indians from passing Responsions and the Previous examination of Oxford and Cambridge, respectively. Sir Thomas Holderness announces in reply that the Secretary of State is prepared to ask the Government of India to bring such questions to the notice of Indian Universities, with a view to action on their part if they think right. If they were able to convince Oxford and Cambridge that the Indian Intermediate ought generally to be regarded as equivalent

lent to Responsions and the Previous Examination, it would no doubt carry great weight with the Council of Legal Education and the Inns of Court. In reference to complaints that a few of the Oxford and Cambridge colleges show great reluctance to admit Indian students, while others place an exceedingly close limit upon their number, the sub-committee ask for greater readiness of access and recommend that no compulsion should be placed upon Indians by those Universities or by other educational institutions to come under the guardianship of Mr. Mallet or the Local Advisers.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE STUDENT.

Sir Thomas Holderness replies that during the last few years strong representations have been made with a view to securing more admissions for Indian students, with the result that every college at Cambridge and every college with two exceptions at Oxford has consented to reserve vacancies for Indian students. During the war the number of vacancies offered at certain Oxford colleges has been sensibly increased. Sir Thomas Holderness comes to the root of the matter when he says that the welcome afforded to Indians at the two historic Universities will always depend principally upon themselves. Every Indian who wins good opinions by his conduct and abilities at Oxford and Cambridge strengthens the case for the admission of others. Any student, on the other hand, who fails in these respects inevitably prejudices the claims of others. It is further added that so long as several colleges make it a condition that Indian students must be under the financial guardianship of the Local Adviser, students who desire to enter them must comply with the condition, and the Secretary of State can only provide machinery which may enable them to do so.

COOLIE MENACE IN JEPPESTOWN.

THE Rand Daily Mail says:—On Thursday night, 18th July 1915, a meeting of residents of Jeppeshtown, held in the Masonic Hall, Ford Street, entered a protest against coloured people residing or trading in the district. It was denied by Mr. Pateman, Chairman of the Jeppeshtown Ratepayers' Association, who presided, that the organisers of the meeting were insulting their fellow-Indian subjects, to whom they were grateful for what they had done in the war in Europe. But no European would sleep in a roomful of them, none would care for his sister or daughter to marry one, and Indians would not eat with them if they wanted them to. The organisers of the meeting opposed all coloured traders, and not necessarily Indians.

The first resolution was moved by Mr. Anderson. It expressed the opinion that it was essential in the

interests and welfare of the community that all persons other than whites should reside and carry on trades in special districts set apart for them and not among white residents, and that owing to their condition of living being in conflict with white ideals, their introduction was a damage, annoyance, and grievance which the meeting was determined not to suffer or submit to. Mr. Anderson quoted Dr. Porter, Dr. Orenstein, the Union Medical Officer, and prominent people of Cape-town in favour of the opinions expressed in the resolution, and mentioned that the average savings of an Indian adult were £84 a year, of which £18 went to India.

MR. MULVEY'S STORY.

Mr. Jack Mulvey summed up the situation in the question, "Who is going to live on this earth?" Being white and to some degree selfish, he would as far as was in his power see that the white race came first. He knew India well, and he could say that the Goorkhas and Sikhs were on a much higher intellectual and social level than the coolies they found in Johannesburg. Most of his hearers knew something of the slums of the town and he declared that the letting of shops to coolies was the thin end of the wedge in the opening up of a coloured community in their midst. For nine years the Tramway Committee had bluffed the coolies until they could bluff them no longer, and he objected to any European man or woman sitting next to a stinking coolie. (Laughter.) Nor had he ever forgotten seeing a coolie fruit hawker near the Heriot Mine polishing up his apples with one of his socks. (Roars of laughter.) He believed that there were 5,000 coolies and Malays in Johannesburg. They should not allow this coloured menace to expand, and therefore they should do their bit by voting for the resolution, which was at once unanimously carried.

A resolution protesting against the letting of certain premises in Jeppestown to other than white persons for business and residential purposes and pledging the meeting to prevent the continuance or extension of such a grievance, and to decline to support or lend assistance to anyone letting premises to other than white persons, was moved by Mr. Hayward, who said all that the Ratepayers' Association could do was to enlist public support against what was specified in the new leases, and that was a disturbance, an annoyance, a grievance, or a damage. Mr. Hayward interpreted the occupation of premises by coloured people as coming within the four terms he had mentioned as being in the new leases. (Hear, hear.) Action should be taken by the Witwatersrand Townships' Estate against the lessor, and the meeting would be asked to sign a petition in favour of that, and with a view of keeping up the tone of the district.

DANGER OF THE HALF-CASTE.

In seconding the resolution, Colonel Furze said that as a South African, what appealed to him was the danger of the half-caste. In 1910 he was in Capetown and was utterly shocked to find white men with coloured wives everywhere. Unless one took care, this intermixture might occur in Johannesburg. There was a proposal in the resolution to adopt the principle of the boycott, but if he knew Jeppestown he did not think it would be sufficient. The subject should be made one upon which Municipal and other candidates should pledge themselves to see to it that coloured people were not allowed to plant themselves amongst white people. (Hear, hear.)

On the ground of business competition, Mr. G. H. Murray, who also spoke, said he would have preferred that tradesmen had not been called upon to speak, as they could not altogether eliminate what he might describe as the selfish aspect. At the same time he had latterly been through the slums, and he had seen sickening and disgusting scenes in that very neighbourhood. The mixture of coloured people and Indians and whites in the back-yards close at hand was due to the want of more suitable premises, and perhaps to the Town Council not having the power that was required. In the lower end of Market Street some years ago they would find scarcely a coloured man, but to-day the whites had almost entirely been squeezed out. A coloured community would be a menace to the health of the district, and for that and other reasons he heartily supported the resolution.

A member of the audience created much laughter by stating that at a recent meeting there was an impassioned speech in favour of white labour in South Africa that was made by a man whose wife owed a "Sammy" £4 10s. for fruit. Mr. Mulvey's local incident was a trifle. If the audience only knew what he (the speaker) did, they would not wonder that their children became ill and had to be rushed off to hospital.

The resolution was unanimously carried.

Mr. Bloom moved, and Mr. Walters seconded, that copies of the resolutions should be forwarded to the Government, the Municipality, the Township Owners interested in the Eastern District Suburbs, and to the representatives of the district in Parliament, the Provincial Council, and the Town Council. Mr. Walters remarked that considering the large amount of money that the Witwatersrand Township Company collected from Johannesburg it was its duty to help the people of Jappe in their hour of need.

This resolution was also unanimously adopted and the meeting concluded.

A PROPER REPLY.

Mr. Polak has addressed the following reply to the Mail:

You have been repeatedly requested, when referring to members of the British Indian community, to refrain from the use of the offensive and derogatory term "coolie." You should know, who pretend to a regard for the Imperial amenities, that to use such a caption as "Coolie Menace in Jeppestown" is to put an affront upon the people of India, who are at least as loyal law-abiding, and self-sacrificing on behalf of the Empire as the people of Jeppestown—or at any rate those who attended the meeting that you report to-day. And why not "alleged menace"? Those residents of Jeppestown who were not present thereat and who habitually buy of the Indian traders (of whom there are scarcely any in the district) or hawkers cannot be said, honestly speaking, to regard them as a menace.

Why does Mr. Pateman indulge in the *non sequitur* that "no European would sleep in a roomful of them (Indians), none would care for his sister or daughter to marry one, and Indians would not eat with them if they wanted them to"? What has all that got to do with Indian trading? How many Europeans residing in Jeppestown would like to sleep with, or marry their sisters or daughters to, or even eat with any or every other European in the district? Why waste breath on this kind of fallacy, except to tickle the palate of the mob, as Mr. Mulvey sought to do with his extraordinary story? Mr. Mulvey shows his white superiority of intellect—I say nothing of the bad taste of his comparison of that of the resident Indians, of whom he knows nothing, with that of the Gurkhas and Sikhs, of whom he probably knows even less—first by the common fallacy of generalising from a particular case, and then by actually advocating a policy of bluff—Indians call it by another name—whilst he apparently has no objection to sitting next to a "stinking" European whereas he strongly objects when the stench comes from a "coolie." And his sociological studies have never, seemingly, taught him that to confine a section of the community within a particular area is to create slum conditions of the very worst type, crushing alike the body, mind, and spirit. But probably Mr. Mulvey is ignorant of the natural conditions of a location, pale, or ghetto, whose inhabitants are habitually ignored by their fellow-citizens who are not required to live in them. Nevertheless, he need not, I think, go very far in Jeppestown to find slum areas the responsibility for which lies with Europeans, and not with non-Europeans. And if not in Jeppestown, then perhaps Dr. Porter can show him a few in other parts of Johannesburg. Why not exercise his reforming zeal in these areas first? Then Europeans can come forward with clean hands.

As to Mr. Hayward's interpretation of the "occupation clause," it is hardly likely that the superior Courts of this Province, which, fortunately, are not ridden with colour prejudice, will accept it, as he has probably already been advised.

Col. Furze has allowed a warm heart to outrun his discretion, for he should know that the prohibition of marriage between coloured and white in the Transvaal does not prevent miscegenation, and that the result is vicious in the extreme, far more so than at the Cape, in the opinion of competent observers who have been careful to inquire into the facts.

Mr. G. H. Murray and the unknown member of the audience whom you report unwittingly indicate where the shoe pinches. The first shows that a lot of the hostility to the Indian trader comes from his European trade-rival, and we did not need a public meeting to teach us that elementary fact; and the second has somewhat unfeelingly laid stress upon the hypocrisy of many of those who take a prominent part in these protests. The position is a very simple one—if the European has no need for the services of the Indian or coloured man, these will not waste their time, energies, or capital in unproductive surroundings.

May I, in conclusion, suggest that on future occasions, speakers should confine themselves to the facts that they know for certain and not indulge in wild theories, hearsay statements, vague generalities, and irrelevant remarks which, if humorous, are inaccurate and unprovable?

CAPE IMMIGRATION CASE.

THE important case of Khana Gopal v. Immigration Officer, (Cape Province) has recently been decided in the Cape Provincial Division of the Supreme Court:—

It appeared that the appellant, an Indian, who according to the finding of the Appeal Board had resided in the Cape Province from 1902 until December, 1918, had in the latter month obtained a certificate of identity, and had thereafter gone on a visit to India. On his return the Immigration Officer refused to allow him the protection afforded by this certificate for the following reasons:

1. Appellant was unable to produce the certificate.
2. Appellant did not return within the period of one year, which formed one of the conditions subject to which the certificate had been granted.
3. The certificate was invalidated by the fact that appellant had made a false declaration on a material point when applying for the certificate, namely, as to the particulars relating to his entry into and previous residence within the Cape Province.

Against this decision of the Immigration Officer, appellant appealed to the Board of Appeal, constituted at Cape Town under the provisions of section 3 of Act 22 of 1913. The Board found that the appellant being a person falling under sub-section 1 (a) of section 4 of the Act, had obtained a certificate of identity in terms of section 25 of the Act on December 19th, 1913. That owing to the war and the irregularities consequent thereon in shipping matters, the appellant had not returned to Cape Town until December 29th, 1914. In the circumstances the Board was prepared to condone this irregularity, and also the fact that he had apparently lost the certificate. The Board also found that appellant had resided in the Cape Province since 1902, and had not come to Cape Town for the first time in 1907, as alleged by the Immigration authorities. The Board therefore allowed the appeal.

The Principal Immigration Officer then asked the Board to reserve the following questions of law for the decision of this honourable Court:

1. Whether it was competent for the Board to condone appellant's non-compliance with the conditions set out on the certificate of identity issued on the 18th December, 1913, in terms of sub-section (2) of section 25 of the Act and of the regulations framed thereunder.

2. In the event of question 1 being answered in the negative, whether the Board of Appeal, having found the appellant to be a person described in sub-section 1 (a) of section 4 of the said Act, and not having found him to be exempted in terms of section 5 thereof, was entitled to uphold the appeal.

Mr. Buchanan (for the Crown) wished to put in a copy of the regulations framed under the Act.

Mr. Alexander (for the Appellant) said that the Court ought to have the whole record in the proceedings before it.

Mr. Buchanan said the question to be decided was whether appellant's domicile was here. This point the Board had not decided. The Board was satisfied that appellant had obtained a certificate of identity and that he had lost it. The Board was prepared to condone the delay in appellant's return to South Africa, but was the Board competent to make such condonation? No copy of the certificate had been kept, but only a counterfoil. See Immigration Regulations, section 21, *et seq.* The certificate implied residence not domicile, though a person domiciled here might obtain such certificate if he wished. The Board had not decided the question of domicile. The certificate did not give appellant the right of ingress. The Minister might grant him exemption, but this certificate did not amount to exemption. In any case it would only be an exemption if appellant complied with certain conditions. The Board had not the power to dispense with these conditions.

Mr. Alexander said that the statement of case was inaccurate. It would have been better to have had the whole record before the Court. The Appeal Board came to a definite decision, and were then *functus officio*. Thereupon the Chief Immigration Officer asked to have those points reserved. The Board actually found that appellant had resided here since 1902, and so must have decided the question of domicile. The fact that appellant's wife was in India did not preclude his obtaining a new domicile here. Counsel referred to the Indian Relief Act and Dicey's Conflict of Laws. There had been a great change of legislation on this subject. See Act 47 of 1902, Act 30 of 1906, *ex parte* Mahdoo (16th September, 1910, not reported), Pakirisamy and another v. Union Government (1912, C.P.D., p. 849), Hari Khaki v. Union Government (1912, C.P.D., p. 895). The certificate was merely a certificate of identity.

The Court ordered the record of the Immigration Board to be put in.

Mr. Buchanan stated that the question of domicile had not been settled by the Board.

Mr. Alexander, continuing his argument, said that the only point was with regard to the alleged condonation. Counsel then referred to section 25, sub-section (2) of Act 22 of 1913, and said that under the old Act the document was not a certificate of identity but a permit to return; under the new Act the regulations as regards permits would be *ultra vires*. The department was striving to obtain the same force and effect for these certificates of identity as the permits issued under the Act of 1907. He submitted that this was clearly wrong.

Mr. Buchanan said that the certificate was not a permit, and that therefore it was idle to discuss the question of late arrival. Under Section 2 of the Act of 1913 an appeal lay to the Immigration Board, and regulation 19 had been promulgated under section 26, sub-section 1 (a). He referred to section 4 of the Act as regards prohibited immigrants. The Act of 1913 went further than previous Acts, and allowed people who were found here under certain circumstances to be treated as prohibited immigrants. The question of domicile should have been taken first. The matter should be sent back to the Board to decide the question of domicile under section 5 (f). Then if the Immigration Office be dissatisfied with the Board's decision it could reserve the question of domicile for decision by the Court. The term "prohibited immigrant" had a wider meaning under the Immigration Acts than ordinarily understood, if a person, not born here, had been domiciled here, had then left the country, and, while away, had committed a crime, he might be treated as a prohibited "Immigrant." The

onus was upon an immigrant to prove that he was not a prohibited immigrant (section 22 of the Act). The Board had gone wrong in thinking that it could treat the certificate of identity as a permit, and in consequence it had not gone into the question of domicile.

Mr. Alexander suggested that the Court should use its powers under section 3, sub section (2), and ask for further information on the question of domicile.

The Court reserved judgment.

In delivering judgment on May 26th, Mr. Justice Kotze said. In regard to the questions submitted to it by the Board of Appeal under section 3 of the Immigration Act No. 22 of 1913, the Court is of opinion: (1) That the Immigration Board was right in not dismissing the appeal to it by the Indian, Khana Gopal, on the ground that he did not return to South Africa within the time specified in the certificate of identity; and (2) that the Board, having found that Khana Gopal arrived here in the year 1902 and has a right to be within the Union, as is evident from the record of its proceedings, appears to have decided that he is domiciled in the Province of the Cape of Good Hope, and should, therefore, rule that he is entitled to the exemption under section 5 (f) of the Act.

The Court further directed that the costs of the proceedings in this Court be paid by the Immigration Department.

Mr. Justice Searle and Mr. Gardiner concurred.—*Indian Opinion.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE 4TH OF AUGUST.

Sir,—Full three weeks have elapsed and we hear still of the sad and unhappy incident of August 4th, talked about with unabated feelings of regret and resentment. The important towns and cities of the Empire, on which "the sun never sets," were celebrating the anniversary of Great Britain's entry into the great war for a just and righteous cause. On the evening of this epoch-making day, in the premier city of Southern India, Europeans and Indians, officials and non-officials, princes and peasants, crowded in great numbers to demonstrate their feeling of loyalty and their determination to continue the war to a successful issue. It was fine weather. The Senate House and the adjoining portion of the beach presented a peculiarly solemn appearance. The time was approaching five. Sir C. Sankaran Nair, the Education Member-designate, who was to have moved the only resolution on "the indelible determination of the citizens of Madras, to continue to a victorious end the struggle for the maintenance of

those ideals of liberty and justice which are the common and sacred cause of the Allies," was refused admission by an imp. of the Madras Volunteer Guards. As the horse-man on duty, who was in charge of admitting the privileged few knew that Sir C. S. Nair had no ticket and directed his car to the other gate through which the laity flowed in, the Hon'ble Sir Sankaran Nair, with the humility peculiar to the Indians, wended that way. There a second halt! Sir S. Nair informed "the minor authority" who he was and what he was there for. This specimen of authority controlling "the administration of people to certain parts of the hall" had the audacity and lack of intelligence to tell him in his face, "I don't care who you are, I have my orders to let no one in without a ticket." Being thus refused admission at both the gates, and failing to get men on duty to send word to the knighted Sheriff, who was seated in the *sanctum sanctorum*, Sir S. Nair finally requested them, if any inquiries were made to say that he left on admission being refused. The public and the press were rightly indignant at this mischievous mishap, for not only in Madras, but throughout India and the rest of the Empire, the people were anxiously waiting to hear what this great son of India, who is so well known as a man of sturdy independence and unsullied character, and who had acquitted himself as a worthy President of the Indian National Congress as early as 1897, had to say on this memorable occasion. But it was not to be. In the indiscriminate distribution of tickets, a novel start in the public meetings of Madras, not only Sir S. Nair but many others were discarded, and the redoubtable Sir Hugh Fraser cloaked his error under the plea that "it did not occur to him that any ticket was necessary for so well-known a personage as himself (Sir S. Nair)." But if this were the case, may we ask why the volunteers at the gate were instructed not to let in any one without producing a ticket? And even if they were allowed to use their discretion, why were some non-ticket holders allowed in, while Sir Sankaran Nair and others were stopped at the gate? For these questions no satisfactory reply has, as yet, been given. In the meanwhile, we learn from a local contemporary that "when Sir C. Sankaran Nair's name was proposed by Sir Hugh Fraser, the Sheriff of Madras, for a speaker, who should represent the Indian people, objection was raised by a European gentleman on the score of Sir C. Sankaran Nair not being a Brahmana. . . . it must be noted that more than one Brahmana leader present immediately answered that Sir Sankaran Nair was 'our representative' and that it was futile for the European citizen to distinguish between Brahmana and non-Brahmana in that connection." Moreover, we also understand that a précis of his undelivered speech had already flashed across the wires through the agency of

the Indian News Bureau. It has been supposed to be a clear outspoken utterance of an independent statesman. His words would have carried much weight on that occasion. In the face of all these observations, we are led to presume that a veil of mystery hangs over the whole affair. Although our contemporaries decried the whole affair and demanded an explanation thereon, we are sorry to find that they were content with a bit of personal apology which Sir Hugh Fraser tendered to Sir Sankaran Nair. We have good reason to believe that he never cared for a personal apology. Sir Hugh Fraser, the Sheriff of Madras, owes an apology to the public and not to the individual person, for Sir Sankaran Nair was the only chosen representative of the public. Unless and until this is done, we cannot say that Sir Hugh Fraser has rectified himself. "The fire is still too hot under the ashes." Again, in the proceedings of the day's meeting itself, instead of the loyalty of the Indians and their determination to continue the war to a victorious end being voiced forth by one of her own sons, what did we witness? The Governor of Madras presided, Mr. Gordon Fraser, a European, moved the chief resolution, and the other chief speaker was Rev. Mr. Mcphail. Does our presidency lack in men who can take some active part in public meetings, Brahmin or non-Brahmin?

Madras, August 25.

V. K. MENON.

INDIANS ARE NOT ALLOWED IN CANADA.

Much has been said and written about the ill treatment accorded to Hindustanees in the self-governing Colonies of England, but the justice of the situation cannot be really understood until personally experienced. I had such an experience, and I know now the psychology of the man who has been spurned away from the gates of Canada or South Africa, as a political heretic. It was about two years ago, when I left Japan with my wife for the United States. The Japanese Steamer bound for Seattle, an American port, touched en route the Canadian Port of Victoria (B. C.)

After the long and rough voyage across the Pacific, came the gladdening chance of going on land. My wife had been very sick on sea. As soon as the steamer came into port, all passengers went ashore, but we were detained. I was an East Indian, they could not permit me "to set foot on Canadian Soil". The captain of the steamer wrote out for us a special permit. It was not sufficient. The next in command to the captain went to plead for us personally. He said we were first class passengers; the captain and his staff would hold themselves personally responsible for our behaviour when on land, etc. The Immigration Officer curtly said, "No Hindu (East Indian) can step out on the soil of British Columbia."

My cabin boy (the attending servant) had also gone to spend a few hours on land after that sickening voyage of 14 days and nights.

We were left alone to brood over our dismay. No, we were not alone. They had appointed a negro over us. My wife took it very badly. Believe me, they kept a close watch. Some of my countrymen had come to see us, they were refused permission to come aboard our ship. Our fit of blues was nearly dispelled by an event which happened in the evening. Next to our cabin was a Philippine. He had, of course, permission to go about as he pleased. My negro guard mistook him in the dubious glow of the twilight, for me. The victim protested that he was a pure-blooded Philippine, a subject of the United States. But my guard would not let go his hold on him. He was quite sure it was a ruse I had put up. Finally I had called out from inside the cabin that the Philippine was a Philippine and not a Hindustanee. He was the one person who thanked us that night.

The moral of the story is this:—All welcome to Canada—Japanese, Chinese, Negroes, Philippines—all, but not the people of India.

Whos fault? The Canadians? No, a thousand times not.

It is our own fault. Keep on wrangling about our religious beliefs and more beliefs, and countrymen, we will not obtain a single human right till the crack of doom.

We are disunited because of religious fanaticism. We still stand where medieval Europe stood centuries ago.

Countrymen: make strenuous efforts to bring yourselves on the same level as the countries of the West and Japan.

RAM CHANDRA,
Berkley (Cal.), U. S. A.

A KISSLESS PEOPLE.

The Maori women of New Zealand know nothing about kissing. Nose-rubbing is their form of salutation, and when two friends meet they hold each other by the hands, bend their heads until their noses touch and then rub them gently from side to side. This form of greeting is not confined to the women, but is practised by the men; they seldom meet without rubbing noses. In times of lamentation the Maori women sit for hours with their noses touching and moan for the loss of some chief, whom they have in all probability never seen.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Our Common Imperial Citizenship.

In the course of his convocation address to the Bombay University, H. E. Lord Willingdon, the Governor of Bombay, said:—There is room and necessity for local patriotism in each member and in the same manner common interest will best be promoted by each member pursuing with ardour and perseverance its own specific development along the lines and by expedients which its particular circumstances determine. We have our own problems, economic, educational, and political, as they have theirs in England and Australia and Canada. The energy and spirit, which we apply to these problems, form a tributary and, an important one, of the great stream which animates the public spirit of the empire as a whole. We ought, therefore, whether we are considering the imperial interests or our own immediate public concerns, to think imperially. This may sound a vague and rather rhetorical phrase, but it has a definite and practical meaning. The characteristic genius of our policy stands on a basis of freedom, justice, toleration and the recognition of obvious facts. We have always preferred to proceed by evolution rather than by revolution with instinctive distrust of abstractions and reluctance to push things to extremes. Other nations have often discerned in us a certain spirit of conciliation or compromise and equally often they have envied its results, above all in conceding the greatest degree of personal liberty ever attained in a political community. Our tradition instinctively presumes an equal measure of individual responsibility and initiative. Therefore, when I talk of thinking imperially I mean that we should approach public problems in the attitude of mind constantly inspired by this characteristic political tradition of ours. The duty of a citizen is not discharged by criticism. It is no less his business to help to construct, and to see particularly that his personal responsibility, whatever he can contribute by deed or word in right direction, is adequately discharged. There are few private activities and there are no public activities which should not be undertaken with an abiding sense of the reality of our common heritage of imperial citizenship. To Europeans in India, some of whom perhaps are at times disposed to complain of their Eastern exile and to regret the familiar surroundings and amenities of the land of their birth, I would suggest the reflection that no part of his Majesty's wide Dominions is an alien soil, and that to have a share in promoting the welfare of this great Empire is a privilege to be regarded with pride and to be undertaken with a sense of personal

responsibility. I would reply in the same terms to those of my Indian fellow-citizens who may be inclined to entertain the view that the British Government of India is an alien Government. To gather together into one great Imperial community so many creeds and races is a gigantic achievement, which inevitably involves the gradual and delicate adjustment of particular interests and aspirations. There are many questions of this nature for final solution, of which we must possess our souls in patience, confident that for every grievance a remedy will be found, and the ground of our faith is this, that we possess inalienably in our political heritage the fundamental principles of justice and conciliation. We must indeed labour ourselves strenuously to apply them to our needs as they arise, but nothing should shake our faith that ultimately they will and must prevail. I can answer for it that this is the honest conviction of every citizen of British birth who reflects soberly on his own political creeds, and if it is not yet shared with equal confidence by every Indian citizen who does likewise, it is my earnest belief that the time is not far distant when this confidence will be established and justified.

Admission of Indians Challenged.

The following protest, which has been very extensively signed by the rate-payers of Suva, Fiji, will be sent to the Suva School Board for consideration at one of its coming meetings:—

To the Chairman and members of the Suva School Board, Suva.

Gentlemen,—We, the undersigned residents and rate-payers of Suva, have heard with great alarm the application made for the admission into the Suva Public School of children of Indian parentage.

2. By opposing to the utmost of our power the proposal, we do not intend nor wish to raise the "colour" question. The matter however, is one of principle, and in our opinion it is of vital interest to the well-being of the growing European population, that Indian children should not be their school mates.

3. The experience of the missions has shown that it is quite impossible to have successful schools if the mixing of the two races is recognised and the result is that separate buildings have been erected by the missions for the distinct and separate education of the European and coloured classes.

4. We need hardly point out that if the School Board recognise the principle of educating the two races in the one school, and by the same masters, very grave results will follow.

5. We do not in any way wish to support what is known as the "School" rate—the incidence of which may at present work a hardship—but this is a question

of detail which should not in our opinion be the cause of infringing a principle so long recognised. The infringing of this principle will carry with it, we have no hesitation in stating, disastrous consequences.

Can there be a more glaring instance of the colour-bar in the Colonies? In this connection we would remind our indigenous missionary bodies, such as the Brahmo Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission etc., of the great scope there is for educational work in the Colonies on national lines.

Islam in Fiji.

Mr. Frank Nunn, writing in the April issue of the *Moslem World*, describes the progress that Islam has till now made in Fiji. The religion of the Prophet was first introduced to these Christian Isles about thirty-five years ago by the first batch of Indian indentured labourers who went there. The number of Mussulmans may probably be 15,000, but they are involuntarily influenced by their Christian environment and neighbours. Islam has never taken root in the country, and is still exotic; Ramzan and other festivals are but slightly observed. Here the religion lacks organisation, and the authority of the self-styled Moulvies is disputed by the more intelligent and better educated among them. It has not shown any aptitude or inclination for influencing the Fijian native, nor has it any regular mosques and endowments there. Islam is not aggressive, lacks consolidation and unanimity; and it remains to be seen whether anything is possible in that direction. There is an idea of bringing out a Moulvie from India. But meanwhile many of the Fiji-born Moslems have been converted into Christianity, and are now numbered among the Indian Christians. The C.M.S. also carries on active work, assisted by a small company of Indian catechists and teachers. Lest they be forestalled Islamic Teachers must actively take up in hand immediately the work of attempting to reach the Indians scattered throughout the islands.

Emigration and Immigration in Madras for 1914

REGULATED EMIGRATION.

Mr. J. G. Conran continued to be the Agent for Mauritius and Seychelles, and Mr. C. W. Doorly for Fiji. In May 1914, Mr. Doorly was appointed Agent for Trinidad, Jamaica and British Guiana. Messrs. Parry & Co. continued as Agents for Natal.

Emigration to Fiji continued till May 1914 and two joint shipments (Madras and Calcutta) were made during the period, the number despatched from Madras being 542. Recruitment for British Guiana began on 3rd June 1914, and continued till the end of July 1914, during which period two shipments were made from Calcutta

and Madras jointly, 812 persons being despatched from Madras. The due proportion of women was maintained in respect of emigrants sent to Fiji—the deficiency in respect of the Madras shipments being made good by an excess number of women shipped from Calcutta. With regard to British Guiana, the deficiency of 12 women in the first shipment was made good in the next shipment. None were detained in the depot for more than three months for future shipments. During the months of August and September, 120 persons were registered for Trinidad but were sent back to their homes as emigration was suspended for the rest of the year owing to the steamers chartered having been utilised by Government for the transport of troops. There was no emigration to Mauritius or Seychelles during the year.

One thousand six hundred and sixty-two emigrants returned from Natal in three shipments, 287 from Fiji in two shipments and 155 from Mauritius in a single shipment.

As in previous years, there was no emigration to the French Colonies during the year.

NON-REGULATED EMIGRATION.

The decrease in the number of passengers to the Straits Settlements is reported to be due to the outbreak of the war in Europe resulting in the dislocation of the steamer service and to the diminished demand for labour in the Malay rubber estates.

Of those proceeding to Burma and Ceylon it is impossible to distinguish between genuine emigrants and ordinary passengers. The decrease in the number of passengers to Burma which occurs chiefly in Madras and the districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam and Godavari is reported to be largely due to the irregularity of the steamer service on account of the war. The decrease in the numbers for Ceylon is reported to be due to the prevalence of plague in Ceylon which stopped emigration for some time. The opening of the Indo-Ceylon Railway accounts for the variations in Ramnad and Tinnevely.

During the year 1914, 9,004 persons emigrated to other parts of British India against 12,000 in the previous year.

The decrease in the arrivals from Burma and the Straits Settlements is probably due to the dislocation of steamer services and to the smaller number of persons that proceeded to those places during the year under report. The increase in the number of passengers who returned from Ceylon is small and calls for no remarks.

Receipts and charges on account of emigration during the year amounted to Rs 2,849 and Rs 10,108-2-1 respectively excluding a moiety of the salaries of the British Consular Agent at Pondicherry and Karaikal and of his establishment.

Under the present orders of the Government of India, emigration to Assam has been excluded from the Board's annual review from which the above particulars are gleaned.

Indians in Rhodesia.

The *Indian Opinion* describes at length the account of a peaceful victory against racial prejudice in Rhodesia. A proposed ordinance there defined a 'prohibited immigrant' as any person or class of persons deemed by the administrator on economic grounds, on account of standard or habits of life, to be undesirable inhabitants. This meant that the administrator on his own authority could declare Indians as 'prohibited immigrants' by one stroke of his pen. But better sense seems to have prevailed after perhaps a pressure from the Colonial Office, and the ordinance is now changed, so the administrator will have to get the sanction of the High Commissioner before he declares any one person as a prohibited immigrant. In other words, as the *Indian Opinion* says, the burden and responsibility are placed upon the Imperial Government itself of imposing a stigma upon the Indian people as such. Another section of the same ordinance which left in a vague state the legal rights of a woman married under the tenet of the religion professed by an Indian is amended, so as to establish in an unmistakable form the wifehood, and all that it legally means of an Indian woman married according to the rites of a religion which theoretically sanctions polygamous marriage. The Rhodesian Government is to be congratulated upon its having peacefully relinquished prejudices which die hard only after a stern fight.

Indian Colonisation of East Africa.

At question time in the House of Commons, recently, Colonel Yate expressed the hope that one result of the War would be that German East Africa would become a British Colony. He offered the suggestion in this connection that when the time came in the autumn for relieving the Indian contingent in Flanders, the opportunity would be taken to transfer the infantry to German East Africa, so that these gallant men might have a chance of conquering a Colony that might be colonised by Indians. It would be a fitting reward for the great services which the Indian troops were rendering to the Empire throughout the world. He hoped also to see Mesopotamia become a British Colony. India was the only country in the world which could carry out these grand schemes of irrigation planned by Sir William Wilcocks. He regretted the policy under which Somaliland had been taken from the Government of India and handed over to the Foreign Office which was utterly unable to administer it, and passed

it on to the Colonial Office, after which everything had gone from bad to worse.

The Pilgrim Season Report.

In its order on the report of Protector of Pilgrims, the Government of Bombay states that the number of pilgrims embarked from Bombay for Jeddah during the season of 1914-15, was only 11,700 against 15,320 during the previous year, the decrease being chiefly due to outbreak of war. The total number of returning pilgrims was 18,884 against 12,487. The excess of returning over departing pilgrims was apparently due to the fact that the route to Bombay was considered to be safer than other routes and that fewer pilgrims made a prolonged stay in Hedjaz.

The return traffic was somewhat disorganized by war, Jeddah being a hostile port but it was never wholly suspended and pilgrim ships were able to reach Jeddah and embark passengers without hindrance. Practically every pilgrim was brought back safely to Bombay without delay, pilgrims stranded at end of the season being conveyed free of charge in two hired transports.

There were usual delays beyond the advertised dates in sending off outward bound pilgrim ships, but it is hoped that when proposed amendments in the Protection of Pilgrims Act, which are at present under consideration of the Legislative Council, have been passed into law, shipping companies will be prevented from postponing advertised departure of vessels with the object of securing the full complements of passengers.

It is a matter of satisfaction to Government that although the pilgrim season under report was characterised by abnormal conditions, arrangements for the comfort and convenience of pilgrims, especially on their return journey, were, on the whole, adequate and effective. Returning pilgrim ships were, in some cases, loaded beyond their regulation capacity but this was in the circumstances unavoidable and no untoward results appear to have ensued from this temporary relaxation of rules.

Let Race Help Race.

Mr. James B. Corbett writes to the *Jamaica Times* from Gamboa, C. Z., expressing the opinion that those who encourage the idea of withdrawing the black race by itself are no friends of that race. He continues that Jamaica especially shows how much is gained by having the two races living together in kindly co-operation. It is true that some of the American influence and prejudice against colour are noticeable in Jamaica, but Englishmen must not let these ideas warp

their minds. They must not forget of some 80 per cent. of the people of the British Empire are dark-skinned. So wake up Englishmen and spread pure justice and education so that all may know what it is to be British. Let me tell you a story of three negroes, French, English and American. The American asked the others, where they came from. One said he was a Jamaican and a British subject. The American replied, "You are the first to own your country so quickly." The others said they are American. The Jamaican replied, "Such negroes are fools." He did not know that there was a country where black and white could not agree and where the white man could spend his money but the black man could not, until he travelled to an American country. Such things were never seen in his own island and he had no use for America. Then the French negro spoke and took them by storm. He said, "The French nation is the best in the world for the negro, that there, he was treated the same as the white and given the same situations, for that reason, he said, the love of the French negro for the French people could not be overturned by arms or by dollars."

India and the Imperial Cabinet.

The above is the title of an article written to a contemporary, by a student at Oxford, who views with grave doubt the question whether there is any intention of permitting India's voice to be heard in the Imperial Cabinet after the War. The writer says: It is universally understood and accepted that the ultimate authority on Indian matters is the British public as represented in the House of Commons. An Imperial Cabinet, with full authority on all questions, transfers such right from the British public to the white members of the Empire. The voters of Melbourne, Vancouver, and the Cape are admitted to a share in the Government of the Empire and consequently of India.

He then comments on the attitude of the Colonies towards India and ends with a warning. "From what has been said it will be clear that the forces of Imperialism have been gathering strength in these eventful days. What seemed impossible a year ago has come about mysteriously. Curzon, Cromer and Milner—the Trinity of Imperialism—have prepared themselves for the last desperate stand for white-manity. India has to prepare for the fight and be on her guard. One does not know from what point the offensive might come."

Because I am a Coloured Man.

"Meta" writing to the *Jamaica Times*, makes the following interesting observation:—

A Correspondent asked me the other day if I had any doubt that the slow rate at which he succeeded in his particular work was because he was a coloured

man. My answer is that I have very considerable doubt. I have known first-class white men who for many dreary years have had to work here with little or no recognition and who won it ultimately only by the slow dogged perseverance and ability that the case demanded. I have known coloured men in the same box. On the other hand I have known and know coloured men who are as successful in their spheres almost at once as men could be and that right here. The fact is that some men allow themselves to be obsessed with the idea that because they are coloured there is bound to be prejudice against them and then they of course see a duppy at every dildio bush. It is all the worse when they have been to the States. They come back imbued with the idea more than ever and if they did not find slights they would look for them. They vent the spleen gathered in in the land of the free, on the heads of all and sundry here. The sensible and really able coloured man who has a good disposition as well as gifts goes right along pegging away just like the white man and by and by people have forgotten whether he is white, black, brown or variegated. He makes good and "delivers the goods," and that is all people here want. It is generally the inferior kind of man from whom one hears the perpetual bleat about his skin being a bar, etc. etc.

Indentured Indian Labour.

When the Report of Messrs. MacNeill and Chimman Lal on the condition of indentured Indian labourers in certain British Colonies, was published in this country, we commented on it and reproduced large excerpts from it dealing with certain phases of the subject, especially, the excessive prevalence of immorality and suicide in some of the Colonies visited. Our comments brought us a letter from one Totaram, care of an address in Central India. We did not see our way to publish the letter at the time as it contained statements which were calculated to introduce an element of bitterness into the discussion of the merits of the system of indentured labour which, we have repeatedly declared, must go. But, in view of the probability of the question being brought up for final settlement at an early date—it is most desirable that it should be during Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty—we think some passages from the letter may be found useful. Totaram said that he had lived 21 years in Fiji, was there when Messrs. MacNeill and Chimman Lal visited it, and had brought with great difficulty much information and material to disprove the conclusions of the two Commissioners. He sent us a copy of a book he had written in Hindi entitled "Twenty one years in Fiji." In his letter, he said: "It makes my heart burn with indignation when I read the

Commissioners," "We are convinced...that its (of the indenture system) advantages have far outweighed its disadvantages." I was indeed very glad when I read your opinion that "these observations would be equally appropriate of slavery in its worst forms." Yes! Indenture system is slavery, pure and simple. Mr. J. W. Burton, a missionary of Fiji, rightly observes in his book "Fiji of To-day": "The difference is small between the state he (the coolie) now finds himself in, and absolute slavery. The coolies themselves for the most part frankly call it *Narak* (hell)! The system is a barbarous one, and the best supervision cannot eliminate cruelty and injustice. There is something dehumanising and degrading about the whole system." *Indian Social Reformer*.

Indian Band in French Village.

Mr. Phillip Gibbs, describing a recent band performance, in a French town by Indian troops writes in the *Daily Chronicle*:—

"Who, a year or two ago, would have conceived it possible to listen to a concert by Pathans and Dogras in a village of France within range of German guns? Who would have imagined a crowd of French bourgeoisie in the Grande Place outside their Town Hall applauding their own national anthem played on Indian reed instruments? As long as my own memory lasts it will hold the picture of those tall young Pathans and Dogras marching up and down the square between dense lines of French folk while they played on their pipes varied by their native "Serenai" and "Dhols" on the Fifes and Drums upon which they had learnt to play Western music under the tuition of a French interpreter with a knowledge of the violin."

Round the bandstand in the centre of the square were numbers of these comrades in khaki puggarees and uniforms, listening with grave eyes which lighted up when they heard their own regiment's march and the "zahmi dhil" or the song of the wounded heart which brought back the Indian hills to them. These men have faced German shell fire with the greatest gallantry and have endured the ordeal of a winter campaign without a murmur. But their hearts are wistful for their women and yearn back to their own country.

Major flung his sticks high in an ecstasy of emotion and when the "mars eillaise" was played the people clapped prodigiously. After the concert the musicians drove away laughing and waving hands like merry schoolboys. The great garrison between Indian soldiers and French officers who had come from various parts of the Empire to

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

WAR LITERATURE.

Evolution and the War by P. Chalmers Mitchell, F.R.S., F.L.S., F.Z.S., D.S.C., LL.D., &c., Published by John Murray, London. Price 2/6.

Of all the good books which the present war has been the immediate cause of bringing into existence, the one under review is one of the best. The war literature is pouring upon us from all directions, and this new phenomenon has created in us a sort of feeling that this kind of literature could only be of ephemeral interest. But we are also likely to forget that the present war, like gunpowder, might be the occasion of setting in motion or activity a large quantity of scattered intellectual energy. It is a truism that man is the storehouse of a vast amount of unexpressed cerebration which but for some apparent accident liberating the latent energy from bondage, might never have been expressed in words. The war has served as such a *molif* to unexpressed human thought.

The thesis of the book under review is mainly directed to analyse, and show the hollowness of Von Bernhardi's burden, that war is a fundamental law of development and that no less a scientist than Charles Darwin has convincingly demonstrated the truth of the above proposition.

Even to a man who has no pretension to the vast erudition of the author the proposition that war is a necessary armour in the mysterious workhouse of nature and that progress is always possible only through war and all that awful word connotes, seems the result of a very crude observation or the index of an abnormally deranged intellect. Bernhardi is no better than the cannibal who fashioned God after himself and thought that the ideal towards which the whole humanity moves lies over the whitening bones and decaying flesh of countless generations of dead men. War having played a very important and perhaps necessary part in the past history of mankind, Bernhardi argues, it must ever play that part in the future history of mankind too, because (here comes the fallacy) that place assigned to it by Nature. The fallacy could have been easily avoided if he only remembered that higher ideal demand higher means of development and that in his onward march to progress man needs his inspiration not always from the earth but also from heaven.

Incidentally our author touches upon German philosophy and while discussing the most intellectual of Germany's thinkers, Kant, he puts the main blame of the German War on the shoulders of German thinkers. "I have been struck by the amazing megalomania that has

destroyed the German sense of reality and that has made German "Kultur" the enemy of the human race. Back to Kant, for *corruptio optimi pessima*. Nietzsche, of whom so much has been made, is a terminal flower of the tree of idealistic thought, beautiful, poisonous and sterile Kant inherited from Plato through Berkeley, and transmitted to Hegel and Schopenhauer the doctrine that man is the maker of his own universe, and so destroyed the sense of reality." While concurring with the learned author in his main contentions against the preachers of the war gospel we must raise our voice in protest against holding responsible for the infernal results of German swell headedness, sturdy and independent thinkers like Kant. "Back to Kant" is not now an unfamiliar cry, but we must confess that the new use which the author makes of that cry is quite novel, if not unjustifiable.

Another minor matter on which we are inclined to join issue with the author is his proposition that "most of the agencies affecting the differentiation of nations are . . . epigenetic. So far as they are concerned, the mind and the body of the infant an neutral, clean sheets on which many kinds of writing may be impressed." The old *tabula rasa* doctrine again! This is inevitable perhaps, whenever people, however eminent they are on their own sphere, dabble in spheres not their own. However, that is another matter. We are glad and thankful that Dr. Chalmers Mitchell has exploded the pernicious doctrine preached by von Bernhardi and his ilk. He has made it sufficiently plain that when Darwin tentatively put forth his doctrine of the struggle of existence he never dreamt that it would be parodied by a purblind generation into perpetuation and apotheosis of modern warfare.

R. G. S.

After the War by G. Lowes Dickinson, A.C. Fifield Clifford's Inn, P. C. Price 6d. net.

The war has given a great impetus to literature. The country is being swarmed with the war publications. The love of one's own country and the inveterate hatred of the enemy has prompted many a writer to pour encomiums on one's own country and to shower vituperations on the enemy. In the midst of these we also find a few level-headed people, who view the question from different standpoints and record their observations on the matter. This pamphlet by Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson is characterised by the unbiased view of a neutral citizen. In the first few pages, he gives a brief resume of the real cause of the war, its history and its purpose. The latter portion is devoted to the formation of an organization, which would bring about permanent peace among the ever-contending nations on the continent of Europe. In his opinion a Congress of the Powers should be summoned, to which all the States of Europe should send

delegates," and further he thinks it "most desirable that the United States should take part in it." An international Commission and a "League of Peace" and the creation of other similar organs are quite welcome, but we fear very much whether it will be within the sphere of practical politics to ward off war by such organisations, until and unless some powers of the East are also represented on the Council, for the great empire-building nations of the West are always dreaming of the East.

The text of the treaty between the United States and Great Britain is also appended.

V. K. M.

ECONOMICS.

"The prevention and Control of Monopolies" By W. Jethro Brown, LL.D., Litt. D., &c., published by John Murray, London, price 6 sh. net.

The author who was very closely associated with the Royal Commission on the Australian Sugar Industry, is best fitted to talk on a subject relating to monopolies. The very title of the book suggests that trade combines, monopolies, and "rings" only yield pernicious results from their very inception. Though the experience of the author has reference only to Australian conditions his generalisations being based upon actual facts and figures are universally applicable. That competition is a healthy regulator of prices and profits, and ensures a normal circulation of capital in productive industries seems an alluringly simple doctrine, but one who has not actually studied the question at close quarters is likely to miss its importance in its bearings on work-a-day conditions.

By virtue of their high efficiency, vast and concentrated capital, and unrivalled influence over "dealer" suppliers and manufacturers, the Proprietors of monopolies wield an enormous power over the world of industries, and woe to the small fry who will not conform to the monopolists' standard of prices and wages! How far Legislature can be invoked to check the growth of these industrial octopuses is a very practical problem, and the author's suggestions throw considerable light upon the always thorny question as to how far Government is justified in interfering with the conduct of private men in their calm pursuit of ordinary vocations.

At any rate, the public can have confidence in the recommendations of a man whose conclusions after close investigation are borne out by men like Andrew Carnegie and Judge Garry. The latter have had exceptional opportunities of studying the trust problem and when such men throw their weight on the side of our learned author he is entitled to a dispassionate hearing from the most exacting of the *laissez faire* school of political economists. He pleads for an adequate and

effective machinery to control a monopoly which abuses its powers. But as the tendency of all monopolies is to lose its original moorings and to invade and encroach upon rights of private individuals, it is best to keep all monopolies under public observation and control. We think we have said enough to incite the curiosity of those students who are interested in public finance and economy, and should be glad if the book finds a place, as it ought to, in every collection of books, bearing on the particular problem with which it deals. R. G. S.

Imperial Defence and Trade, by Mr. Frederick Kirkpatrick, the Royal Colonial Institute, London, price 2s. net.

This is the first of a series of monographs, published under the auspices of the Royal Colonial Institute and the writer is the first gold medalist of the R.C.I., having won the distinction for his thesis which is now issued in the form of the monograph under review. The theme was, "The interaction, if any, between the economic interests of a state and its foreign relations, with special reference to the question whether, or how far, the self-governing States of the British Empire (with or without a more centralised system of Government than it now has) could co-operate permanently for the purpose of defence without co-operating for the purpose also of trade." Stated in less round about terms, the main question asked is the possibility or otherwise of a permanent defensive Co-operation without commercial Co-operation between the mother country and the self-governing dominions of the British Empire. The essay was written before the war and however much some of its conclusions may have been affected latterly, the leading point emphasised by the writer, that to build up an enduring union politically, a fiscal arrangement is necessary among the component parts of the Empire, cannot be gainsaid. The unity of the British Empire for all times is already postulated and ways and means are suggested here to strengthen it against external attack or internal disintegration. This hypothesis granted, the conclusion of the writer sanctioned both by historic analogy and the trend of contemporary opinion. The form of Commercial Co-operation as subserving political unity, is varied, but the writer lays emphasis on the following points:—

(1) A system of Preferential Tariffs is not the only possible form of Commercial Co-operation;

(2) A system of Preferential Tariffs implies some

(3) A system of Preferential Tariffs should be examined from the point of view of inter-state policy, that is to say solely as a method of Commercial Co-operation which might facilitate political union and defensive co-operation.

The monograph is a learned treatise on an important phase of the Pan-Britannic movement and deserves study at the hands of all who have the well fare of the Empire at heart.

C. S. K.

SOCIOLOGY.

The Next Generation by Francis Gullick Jewett, Ginn and Co., 9, St. Martin Street W.C. Price 8s.

This excellent addition to "The Gulick Hygiene Series" by Francis Gullick Jewett deserves great praise, and we have great pleasure in recommending this book to be introduced as a text-book in all the High Schools in India. The author has evidently taken great pains in collecting the facts, and in presenting these, she has written the book in such a simple, easy and flowing style, which makes it specially adapted to the boys and girls of our secondary schools. The various lessons contained in the book have clearly and convincingly proved that science declares man is by no means altogether helpless concerning his future and that "the destiny of the future generations lies in the hands of the men and the women, the boys and the girls, who are alive to-day." The first few chapters of this interesting book deal with the theory of evolution, the famous experiments conducted by such eminent men as Dr. Castle, Mendel, Dr. Mathew, Charles Darwin, &c., on Heredity, Environment and Personal Choice or Will Power. These are followed by the chapters on the beginning of the Next Generation and the Marvel of Growth. The treatment on plastic part of life, the effects of bad habits contracted during adolescence are rightly mentioned and vividly described. The two chapters on the use of tobacco and alcohol, should be read not only by the student population, but by others as well. The mental degeneracy, which these evil habits bring about especially during the stage of adolescence has been dealt with at full length. The horrible diseases spread wide-cast by the "danger of promiscuous kissing" at the close of some public games in certain parts of the world, the indiscriminate use of public cups, and the blindness caused by the gonococcus microbes, are the dangers which tend to shorten life and make the next generation suffer for the fault of their ancestors. To add to these, the future generation is handicapped by the cretins and the over-work of the children of the present day. The author has judiciously given, at the end of each chapter, a certain set of rules for the prevention of each of the above defects. For the regeneration of the race, she says, protection of the children before birth is essential. "It is an obligation which commands each generation to pass on to future generations the best it has received, and to let its worst inheritance die with itself."

This study in the physiology of inheritance contains numerous illustrations which make the study of the book easy and intelligent. The book also contains a series of questions on each chapter, a partial list of the books used in the preparation of this volume and a fine index. This is a well written and the attractive get-up of the book enhances its value.

V. K. M.

BIOGRAPHY.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale, by R. P. Paranjpye, Principal, Fergusson College, Poona. Price 4 As.

This is a reprint in book form of the articles contributed by Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, the present Principal, Fergusson College, to the College Magazine, on the life and career of the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale. It is an unpretentious little brochure purporting to give only the landmarks in the career of our great countryman, who has just passed away. Mr. Paranjpye is an old student and there is all the affection of the student in his appreciation of his old master's work. It is a succinct and interesting estimate of the deceased patriot as Teacher, as Principal, as Publicist and as Friend. The first and the last portions will be especially welcomed by those who have not had the good fortune to move closely with that great departed patriot.

We have to quarrel, however, with Mr. Paranjpye for not rising above partisanship, and this is visible in his incidental mention of Mr. Tilak, another sincere well-wisher of our country, though his methods of realising his aims may not be acceptable to all. This is intelligible when we remember how intimate Mr. Paranjpye's relations with his old teacher were and how he must necessarily take sides with the dust of controversy not yet completely laid to rest and with the sense of irritation—well or ill founded—caused by this year's Congress Compromise affair. No one is perfect and even Mr. Gokhale's armour—his opponents may point out—was not quite invulnerable. And to fall out with another—equally sincere, if not more, in the love for his country—is not proving him a blackguard. Public opinion has at all times winked at the trivial peccadilloes of the great.

To return to Gokhale's work as a publicist, it is no longer politics but has passed into history. No one denies the greatness of the work that has done his work for the benefit of his country with almost religious fervour. We know the difficulties he had to overcome. They were not only provided by the present political circumstances of our country, but by the almost unreasonable opposition of his own fellow citizens. We have no space to detail what he has done for us; but that he has laid the way for a more real partnership with our Government, that he has fought for greater regard to be shown to us as citizens, and that he has quickened the pace of the slow moving machinery of Government in regard to education, go without saying. He has lived in himself the true typical self-respecting Indian, proud of his past and of his country; and heightened this esteem of others for us and our country. He is gone, but he still lives. Such a one never dies. He is indisputably one of the greatest that India has had the good fortune to produce in modern times.

We commend this very interesting, though unfortunately small, book to all interested in one whose life has been one continuous example of self sacrifice for the sake of his motherland.

RELIGION.

One Hundred Poems of Kabir, Translated by Sir, Rabindra Nath Tagore with an Introduction by Evelyn Underhill. London, E. P. Dutton & Co., Ltd. Price, 4s. 6d. net.

Students of comparative literature will be glad to welcome this precious edition of Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore's translation of the hundred choicest gems from the

songs of Kabir. That a modern mystic poet like Dr. Rabindra Nath should translate the songs of his spiritual ancestor is in the fitness of things and no descendant could have raised a better monument to the memory of such a forefather.

When one remembers that the poet laureate of the East belongs to the purest form of Indian Theism beyond the distinctions of caste and creed, with what reverence the positive truths of religion are cherished by him could be seen in what Kabir discloses as seen in his soul:

"Hari is in the East: Allah is in West.

Look within your heart, for there you will find both. Karimand Ram.

Kabir is the child of Allah and of Ram:

He is my Guru, He is my Pir."

To those that say that the worship of God in spirit and in truth is not within the reach of the unlettered and the rustic, Kabir says:

"I have learned the Sanskrit language, so let all men call me wise:

But where is the use of this, when I am floating adrift, and parched with thirst, and burning with the heat of desire?"

In the introduction of Miss Underhill we are surprised to find a thorough misreading of the Mysticism of Kabir. She is not able to rise above the limitations of Christian Mysticism. She fails to understand the revelations of the freedom and boldness of the Indian thought. All mysticism that is worth the name is on its speculative side "pantheistic" and on its practical side "monistic." Indian Mysticism is pre-eminently so. In the early times it was abstract and intellectual. With the influx of Muhommadan civilization, contact with the sunny naturalism of Persian mystics added a richness of colour, and the music of the heart came into greater prominence. Kabir belongs to the second period. In his mysticism there is no surrender of the native purity of unique vision. Strangely enough Miss Underhill writes: "The soul's union with Him is a love union, a mutual inhabitation; that essentially dualistic relation which all mystical religion expresses, not a self-mergence which leaves no place for personality. This eternal union is the mysterious union-in-separateness of God and the soul, is a necessary doctrine of all mysticism." We wonder at the audacity of the writer that goes on dogmatizing in this strain. It is not difficult to prove that Kabir was not a dualist.

The writer tries to read some of her own fanciful notions into Kabir. "Kabir expressly acknowledges a universe of three orders: Becoming, Being, and that which is 'More than Being'—i.e. God. In the verses she quotes for her authority we find 'From beyond the Infinite, the Infinite comes; and from the Infinite the finite comes. Some contemplate the Formless, and others meditate on form; but the wise man knows that Brahma is beyond both.' We leave to the reader to find out if it is possible to equate the 'Becoming, Being and more than Being' with the 'Absolute, the Unseen and the Seen.' In another place she makes Kabir say that 'the material and the spiritual world are no more than his foot stool' while what Kabir actually says is that 'the conscious and the unconscious are his foot stools.' It is not possible to conceive how the conscious and the unconscious can be material and spiritual. They have no words to congratulate Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore's singular good fortune in getting hold of this underhill to share his labours for the world's review.



The Indian Emigrant

AN IMPERIAL MEDIUM OF

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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. 2.

SOME UNSETTLED QUESTIONS

IN

SOUTH AFRICA.

BY THE EDITOR.

"I T has been prophesied that the historian of the future will record with wonder the inability of the statesmen of to-day to understand that the real problem which the twentieth century had to decide was not the question of social and economic reforms, nor even the international relations of European States, but the broader racial question of a *modus vivendi* for the white, the black, the yellow and the brown races of mankind. To the future student the situation in the Far East will far outweigh in interest the situation in East London; his investigations will be concentrated less upon the rivalry of English and German in the North Sea than upon the relations of brown men and white in India, and black men and white in Africa and the Southern States of the American Union."

These are the prophetic words of a profound historian who foresees the coming conflict of races inhabiting the different parts of the world. Fortunately for us the relation of brown men and white in India is not so acute and complex as the relation of those men in South Africa in spite of the supposed settlement of last year.

It has been said of a Roman Emperor that he would have reigned well had he not reigned at all. Something like this may be said of the Settlement of Indian grievances in South Africa. The Indian question in that part of the world would have been better

* E. Cecil Smith, in his book on "Clear Thinking or An Englishman's Creed," Para. 1, Ch. VII.

settled had it not been settled (partially) last year by the Union Government in consultation with the Government of India. We then pointed out in our columns the unsatisfactory nature of the Settlement, the result of which we now hear in instances of gross injustice done to Indians by the unsympathetic administration of the Immigration laws.

The Indian Relief Act, which was passed last year as a definite settlement of Indian grievances, did not meet fully the exigencies of the situation. Though Mr. Gandhi was satisfied with the provisions of the Indian Relief Bill, there were several of his countrymen in South Africa, who were dissatisfied with the bill and urged him to continue the struggle of Passive Resistance till the entire civic rights are granted to Indians. But Mr. Gandhi believing in the justice and good sense of his European friends told his countrymen to exercise patience. The tired patience could now plod no longer. The protest meeting held in Durban, on the 13th August, by British Indians, reveals in a clear light that the assurance given by the Minister of the Interior, General Smuts, to administer the existing laws in a just manner and with due regard to vested rights (*vide* his letter to Mr. Gandhi, dated 18th June 1914) has never been fulfilled. Some of the questions which remained unsettled at the time of the passing of the Relief Act are:—

(1) The allowing of plural wives and the children of such wives to enter South Africa to join their husbands (or fathers).

(2) Free entry into the Cape Province of South African born Indians, i.e., free internal migration from Province to Province.

(3) Grant of exemption to educated persons to enter the Union.

(4) The question of "Domicile." Domicile not being granted to persons who resided in the Colony for three years or who passed the education test imposed by the Immigration laws, but who absented themselves temporarily from the Province in which they were lawful resident.

And a few other technical questions respecting indenture, discharge, etc., and the administering of the provisions of the Immigration Act.

Without a complete and satisfactory settlement of these and other points, raised previously, it is impossible to consider the present position of Indians any longer safe. Entrance to and exit from South Africa of Indian residents are no doubt administrative matters which, if left to the discretion of the authorities without a safe rule to be guided by, will surely run counter to the Indian interests, considering the strained relations that have of late commenced. Our purpose in this article will be better served, if we could place before the public in general and the Government in particular specific instances of injustice in the administration of the Immigration laws.

On page 52 of this number, reference is made to four persons to whom re-entry into South Africa is prohibited, but we find substantial reasons being quoted for their legitimate admission.

There is the case reported of an Indian youth barely seventeen years old, son of Goolam Mahomed Kadodia. He is now required to leave the Union of South Africa.

The facts of the case are briefly these:—

"Mr. Goolam Mahomed Kadodia (Registration Certificate No. 4301) converted to Mahomedanism about the year 1904 or 1905. He was at that time married to a Hindu woman according to the Hindu law and custom. At the time of his conversion he was resident in the Transvaal, and he wrote to his wife to accept conversion to Mahomedanism. She replied in the negative, and as a result of her refusal, in accordance with the custom and procedure of the Mahomedan law, he divorced her, and notified her duly of the fact. A consequence of Goolam Mahomed Kadodia's conversion was that he became an outcast from Hinduism. On or about the 11th February 1907, he married a Mahomedan woman, according to Mahomedan law and custom. In 1912 he wrote to his son by his divorced wife asking him whether he was prepared to accept conversion to Mahomedanism and if so he could join him in South Africa. The boy agreed to this and came to the Transvaal about the 7th July, 1913, shortly after which he became formally converted to Mahomedanism in the name of Ahmed Goolam, as a result of which the boy too became an outcast from Hinduism. On October 1st, 1914, the Registrar of Asiatics asked for evidence of Goolam Mahomed Kadodia's marriage, divorce or abandonment of his wife, which was supplied to him by

affidavit. The son, meanwhile, remained in the Transvaal on a Temporary Permit. Goolam Mahomed Kadodia has now received from the Immigration Officer at Rustenburg, a notice warning him to send away his son Ahmed from the Transvaal, within seven days from the 1st inst."

Mr. Polak has entered into a long correspondence with the acting Secretary for the Interior, Pretoria, regarding this youth and failing to get a satisfactory answer in this case of "gross cruelty" as the *Indian Opinion* describes it, has placed the matter before the British Indian Association. The facts need to be placed before the Local and Imperial governments as well for their careful consideration inasmuch as the matter is to be considered as one of more than local importance.

We have heard of another case from the *Indian Opinion* about the difficulties experienced by Indians in their dealings with the Immigration authorities. The case in question refers to Devat Sadool's application to the Immigration Officer for a revision of his Domicile certificate.

But the most important case which came up before the Supreme Court, Natal, on the question of Statutory Domicile was that of Kanjee Davah. The following statement of facts appears in the judgment of Justice Broome.

"Kanjee Davah, having arrived in Natal from India in the year 1896, carried on the business of a hawker in Durban. In December, 1911, being desirous of proceeding to India, his place of birth, he applied to the Immigration Officer for a certificate of domicile. This certificate which, under section 33 of the Act, then in force (No. 30, 1903), would have been *prima facie* evidence of former residence or domicile, was never issued. Then he appears to have proceeded to India. In India soon after his arrival he married and there was issue of the marriage. He had previously acquired freehold landed property in India and he earned his living by cultivating the soil. His wife and child remain in India.

He has now returned to Natal and claims the right to be admitted as being a person domiciled in the Province."

These and other difficulties placed in the way of the Indians by the present Immigration Department take us back to the time of the £3 tax. What was the aim of the £3 tax and why was it abolished. The fact is, the Indian population of Natal was growing in such large numbers* that the Natal Government thought by forcing this tax on them, they could

* In 1880, 18,000 Indians had been introduced; in 1890, they numbered 33,000; in 1900 they were 66,000; in 1910 they rose to 109,000. In 1913 there was a total of 115,000 who were all brought in under the indenture system. Besides these there were about 54,000 not connected with the Immigration Department, who had come in other ways. Thus Indians number 169,000, while white population is only about 100,000.

effectively keep Indian labourers out of Natal. They have signally failed in their object as they are sure to fail in this.

The colour question, which is peculiar only to South Africa, is the making of the whitemen themselves. When Natal was annexed, it was hoped that the Bantu and the Kaffir labourer would fill the land and develop the resources of the country for the whites. They found they were mistaken in that notion and tried to introduce Indian coolies under nefarious conditions as a temporary measure, all the time hoping that Indians would return home when the indenture period was over. To their surprise they found that the Indian stayed there to create a brown problem in addition to the black.

The whole problem in South Africa then in its broadest aspect may be reduced to these two questions.

1. Whether South Africa could entirely become a white man's land.

2. What will be the future relations of the Indians (not to speak of the black native races) to the whites if the former continue to develop at its present rate.

On the proper solution of these two questions will depend the future of not only South Africa but of the Empire at large. This is the problem which the twentieth century has to solve.

Mr. Henderson of Durban had rightly pointed out the state of the Indian mind when supporting the abolition of the £3 tax last year. "If the minister (General Smuts) thought that he was going to have peace when he gave in to those demands of Indians, he was very much mistaken. Their demands included the granting of an Imperial measure by which British Indians throughout the Empire should have the same rights of citizenship as whites."

Nothing less than this will satisfy Indians wherever they may be in whatever part of the globe. This is the burden of our song and we will sing it till it is heard in tune by the British Statesmen of to-day.

JAMAICA, 1913-14.

WE are in receipt of the Annual Report on the Immigration Department of this colony for the year ended the 31st March, 1914, prepared by Mr. F. N. Isaac, the Acting Protector of Immigrants. The year saw three changes in the chief functionary of this Department, namely Mr. C. W. Doerlay who left Jamaica on the 18th July to take up the appointment as Immigration Agent at

Madras, then Mr. P. G. Duff who acted in his place until the 18th January 1914, when the present Acting Protector of Immigrants assumed charge. We do not know when the acting period of the present incumbent in the office expires, nor whether he will be retained after that. We are not aware of the circumstances that have necessitated three changes within the short period of a year, but, speaking generally, we strongly deprecate such short-dated alterations in the headship of the Immigration Department. They interfere with the continuity of administration; but this in itself is a small matter, if they do not at the same time spell a sense of insecurity in the immigrants, as such changes are bound to. The office of the Protector of Immigrants is valued more for its personnel and it is important to keep this view in mind in drafting officers for this post. We have to record another regrettable event happened in the year under review in the death of Dr. Kenny, the Medical Officer in charge of the Immigrants on the voyage, on the 9th December. Dr. Kenny had previously been to Jamaica in charge of immigrants and is mentioned in the report as a "well-known, kind and capable officer."

STATISTICS OF IMMIGRATION.

The total number of indentured immigrants introduced into the Island during the year was 293. They are reported to have sailed on S. S. *Mutlah* from Calcutta on 10th October and to have arrived at the destination on 1st December 1913. The number embarked on the voyage was 199 males, 81 females and 14 children; born on the voyage, 1 male and 4 females, and the number died on the voyage was 2 females and 4 children, bringing the total landed to 293, of which the males accounted for 199, females 79 and children 15. The Medical Board who examined this lot of immigrants have reported their general condition and state of health to be "very good and above the general average." Very few cases of anaemia were noted but, in their opinion, "a good number appear to suffer from hookworm." "The Board had to reject one male immigrant suffering from insanity and four were deferred for a period of three months for report, of which one died subsequently, one was finally rejected and two are said to be still under treatment. "In their opinion, these immigrants will prove a useful and valuable lot of labourers," and we quite agree in this sentiment.

HEALTH AND VITAL STATISTICS.

Under the rules of the Colony, passed by the Governor in Privy Council, Medical Officers are required to pay

a cooly on an estate earns in the month \$ 12. If he can be helped in a way that the actual cost of living is kept within, say, \$ 6, he will be enabled to save \$ 6 every month and at the end of the year he can have a fairly good sum to his credit in the savings bank. As it is the local trader to whom the cooly has to apply for purchasing anything and who happens almost always to be not the most altruistic sort of a specimen of humanity is not the sort of person that will help the cooly to keep his expenses down, not only would he sell articles at exorbitant prices but he would be distinctly interested in selling as much as he can to the poor cooly to the very great detriment of his economic advancement. So much so that taking the average cooly the saving he effects in the year is nothing or somewhere near it. More than one explanation can be offered for this state of affairs, it may be said that the average cooly drinks a great deal, that he gambles, that he plays ducks and drakes with his money. True in a way. But there is legislation to prohibit any man selling liquor to a cooly which helps in a great measure to check the drink evil, so far at least as arrack is concerned—by much the costlier of the two evils—arrack and toddy. So for other matters. There are a thousand ways in which, the cooly may be reduced to utter helplessness simply for want of some little safeguard on the part of those interested in his welfare. The retail trader is the cooly's ruin whether he keeps his shop outside the estate or he is a conductor on the estate allowed by his manager to do business on his account.

This state of affairs might be effectively put an end to and the cooly directly profited in a very large way by the establishment of co-operative purchase and distribution societies on the estate under proper supervision—perhaps government—in the first instance in order to give the societies, a prestige or a *locus standi*.

The working of such societies is very simple. Every estate consisting of a thousand acres employs at least a 150 coolies; in some cases the estate employs 300 or 400. These coolies might be made to form a society for the purchase and distribution of provisions among themselves. The working capital for such a society can be easily got by making the co-operating coolies purchase a share of the value of the returnable to him when he ceases to be a member of the society as for instance when he changes his place of work or goes away from it for good. Say there are three hundred coolies on an estate. A share capital of \$ 300 can be collected, and this is quite enough as working capital to buy from the wholesale dealer and retail in a store belonging to the society. In this

way the coolies would be getting whatever they require at the cheapest possible prices and the best quality commensurate with the price. If it turns out that \$ 300 is insufficient for the purchase of provisions for a month the purchase from the wholesale dealer can be made fortnightly or even weekly. The transactions of the store should invariably be in cash and unless the hand that pays the cooly can undertake the local management of the store can never be anything except in cash. In case when the estate manager can guarantee the payment for all things bought by the cooly in the store, the whole work gets quite so simple. Thereafter the society works quite automatically. But generally speaking cash transactions are better in this sense; they give the buyer a distinct conception of thrift, he cuts his coat with due thought by the length of his cloth. This is, however, a matter of detail and many circumstances may render the adoption of the cash or the guaranteed credit system the better in relation to a particular society.

This simple and efficient society is bound to pave the way for an economically better cooly. It puts into his pockets the 25 to 30 per cent. profit of the retail trader—in itself a considerable gain and perhaps the real gain which induces the cooly to leave the land of his birth and betake himself to a foreign land. The Indian cooly is by nature thrifty and an attempt in the direction suggested above can count on his support if he is correctly apprised of what is being done. More than this, it is the interest of the owner of the estate to see that a cooly who works on his estate goes back with a solid purse so that he may attract others to himself through his means. The old time method of wholesale exploitation of the cooly without let or hindrance by the planter is gone never to return, thanks to the work of the Government of the F.M. S.; and labour difficulty is increasing year by year. Already we hear of shortage of labour in India and several bodies are trying to move the Government to put an embargo on the emigration of labour. Under the circumstances, the free cooly who meets with a good reception at the hands of his employer and who is able to return to his country after a few years in comparative affluence is the best means by which the labour difficulty can be at least partially avoided. Labour naturally flows from places of small wages to places of higher wages, and the measurement of the highness or lowness of wages is by means of the savings the coolies are enabled to effect when they have been working for a time and not by the additional number of rupees a cooly gets just at a particular moment. The additional number of rupees

get may mean a correspondingly additional expenditure and the cooly might become the better for it at the end.

That the simple type of purchase and distribution society sketched above is capable of expansion in many ways is matter of common understanding. For instance, the society can run a Savings Bank and accept deposits of small sums of money and issue small loans to coolies on sufficient personal or other security. In this way the society can attach to itself and its ways a very large number of people who are just now lukewarm in the matter of bettering their condition.

If people in towns do not very much care to become co-operators it is their own matter and we need not trouble ourselves about it any more than suggesting to them the wisdom of co-operation. But with regard to the coolies on the States, it is imperative that something should be done. It must be remembered here that any work in this direction directly and indirectly contributes to the profit of both the estate owner and the cooly; and we would, therefore, urge on the Government of the F. M. S. the necessity of their taking the lead in a matter in which they have shown themselves particularly interested. A department of co-operation as in India will more than amply repay morally and materially all the trouble and expense the Government may be put to in organising such societies.

OUR MALAYSIAN LETTER.

F. M. S.

4th September 1915.

THOUGHT FOR THE MONTH:—

- "What is wrong in our life is first and foremost,
- "The means are put in place of the aim,
- "And what should be the aim (the welfare of our fellow-men),
- "Is sacrificed to the means"—Tolstoy.

INDIAN LABOURERS IN MALAYA.

The fears entertained by the planters and the Government here at the outbreak of war that they may have to confront acute labour problems, have been completely unfounded. It was thought that the present European war would not only stop the Indian labourer (I strongly protest against the use of the word "cooly" to these hapless creatures of ours) from quitting his home to foreign lands but also those already working here will think of returning to India. The exploits of that famous German Cruiser "Emden" here, and in India, and the unfortunate disturbances at Singapore added to make the problem more difficult. However,

through the exertions of the Government and the Planter, I find great numbers of our brethren bidding farewell to their motherland, in the hope of harvesting a good income without any hard labour, for these helpless men and women imagine on account of the stories of persons who take them here, that Malaya is another Californian or South African Gold mine and heavenly Paradise combined and money can be had here for the mere asking.

How easily the Indian labourer is illusioned and the supply of labour met in these hard times without any difficulty will appear to most in India as a mystery; but those who are intimately acquainted with the present day methods of recruiting in India understand how this is done. For a further clear explanation, I will ask the readers to peruse the articles on "Indian Labour Problems in Malaya" in the columns of this journal. I may however state that the planter found a successful and cheap instrument in Kangany Recruiting when "Indentured Recruiting" was stopped in Malaya. By kangany recruiting the Indian labourer did not gain anything, but has in fact lost much. I would not hesitate to apply the term "Semi-slavery" to this method. As this subject will be dealt with in detail month by month I refrain from making any new comments.

PRESENTATION OF AIR-CRAFT BY JAFFNA TAMILS.

A movement has been started by the leading members of the Jaffna community in Malaya and Straits to present the Imperial Government with four aeroplanes for use in the Great European War.

This shows the great loyalty on the part of Jaffanese. Most of the donors are not rich to afford this. In fact, many are working only in a subordinate position in one way or other getting small wages, yet a combined effort has been made. I congratulate the Jaffanese of Malaya and Straits on their loyalty and patriotism in this matter. Special thanks are due to Mr. V. M. Kanagaratnam, President of Ceylon Tamil Association, Kuelapup Dr. McIntyn, Dr. Handy, and C. Thambu Pillay.

F. M. S. RAILWAYS.

Easy transport is an important item in the progress of nations. To this the Government of Malaya turned their first attention, with the result that in a few years it was found possible to traverse great distances within a few hours, by means of railway. The railway is owned by Government and hence only it was possible to run lines throughout the length and breadth of the land within a short space. India and Ceylon have contributed many of her youths for F. M. S. Railways and it is mainly through their willing work the system is efficiently worked from the beginning.

Yet to-day I find the sad spectacle that the services

thus rendered by Indians and Ceylonese are not recognised. The chief source of income for the Government of Federated Malaya States is the railways and this income has of late years increased by leaps and bounds. It should therefore be the duty of Government to see that those who sacrifice their energy and even blood by incessant work from year start to year end for many years without a single day's rest in places infected with malaria and beri-beri, are encouraged in every possible way and not trampled down as it is now. I am personally aware that Government here do wish to remove all blemishes in the system, but they are handicapped for want of co-operation by highly paid and placed Officers of F. M. S. Railways and through ignorance of the real state of affairs. The result is these high officers misrepresent facts to Government to adopt their views. Once their position is firmly established, these officers do not care whether their subordinates are suffering from high malaria or dysentery or are starving in a jungled place or working without a moment's rest for 24 hours, but only care that their safe is made full.

Thus corruption is eating up into the system. I am sure unless this is eradicated nothing can be done to improve the condition of Railwaymen in Malaya. It is however not easy to prove the corruption of high officers, but that does not alter the situation. I sincerely hope the Government of the F. M. S. and the Colonial Office in London will at once take up the matter and appoint a Commission to enquire and report on all the facts connected with the F. M. S. Railways.

SOME STRIKING FACTS ABOUT FIJI

By D. M. MANILAL.

WE have no rich Indians in Fiji because this is comparatively a new Colony where Indians have not settled for a long time and a Colony neighboured by Australia and New Zealand, which place insuperable obstacles in the way of Indians desiring to establish their own business firms in those Colonies and Fiji for export and import purposes. Thus the fruit trade (bananas mostly) has to be done through our local white middlemen, to whom goes the lion's share of the profits. The same is the case with groceries and other imported stuff from Australia and New Zealand.

As regards cane-growing, the Colonial Sugar Corporation have a monopoly. They can offer any price they like, give any weight they like, calculate any percentage of sugar they like, without any check on the cane-growers. There are no moderate cane-growers. The C. S. R. Co. is the Company of all the Vancouver-Fiji Sugar Refining Company and the British India Sugar Refining Company.

Last year the prices realized by Indian cane-growers caused great disappointment.

3. For the last three years Indians have been paying a hut tax of ten shillings a year, of which they bitterly complain; besides there are dog licenses to pay for and cattle licenses for breeding purposes. The compulsory branding of cows and castration of male animals enforced with heavy penalties go against the grain of our Indian population.

4. The compulsory spraying of bananas to prevent insects' pests is another expensive item for complaint.

5. Now-a-days (owing partly to the war and partly to the designs of our big merchants), the staple food of Indians (the flour called "Sharps") is very dear, among other commodities.

6. The Government of Fiji have done nothing to educate Indian immigrants or their children and are likely to do nothing for sometime.

7. The Government have not allowed any say to the Indian settlers in the Legislative Council elections and are going to deprive them even of the municipal vote that they possess on the ground that they cannot read, write and speak English.

8. Indians are not allowed to sell, buy or drink liquor nor use ganja, charas, etc.

9. Indians are not allowed to move about after 11 o'clock at night in the town.

10. Indians have no representative of their own either at the Town Council or in the Legislative Council.

11. On account of the disproportion between men and women, Indians' money is generally dissipated in obtaining women to marry or live with, keeping them steady, recovering or attempting to recover them if unsteady or unfaithful, and on law suits and lawyers and penalties for offences arising from the foregoing conditions. So that the chances of acquiring and collecting money possible in this Colony are not of much avail as the Indian cannot retain his earning. "The Indian cannot digest money in Fiji" to put it in a homely phrase.

12. The Indians are taxed by the Government to obtain the consent of a Fijian family or village to lease lands from them through the Government. As a matter of fact even the Government know that Indians have to enter the Fijian before their consent could be got, though this was not mentioned in words. It is against the foregoing conditions that our Indian population in Fiji has got to rise step by step and the worst for the Indian cause must be the perseverance of obtaining a constitutional franchise from the Government of Fiji, supported by the Government of India.

Round the Indian Empire.

BY POLITIQUE.

Outside the United Kingdom, perhaps, it is difficult to point out a greater body of public officials than the Indian Civil Service. The complete thoroughness, efficiency and self-reliance that they brought to bear on the administration of this vast country are justly beyond praise. Belonging to the governing race, they have creditably carried on the Government of India from the lowest charge of districts to that of provinces. But time has proved the worst foe of this virtuous service. In the altered values it has presented to the country, the country is charged with a sense of progress and intelligent people have begun to clamour for progressive policies co-extensive with national aspirations in the governance of the land. The Indian bureaucracy, as represented by the Indian Civil Service, have stood a dead set against such claims and in the twentieth century when the functions of a Government are viewed from a national standpoint, a bureaucratic rule has the least chance of winning popular approval, even when it is composed of the same race as the governed. Russia affords an apposite illustration of the evils accruing to the nation out of a close bureaucratic regime divorced from the popular will. The case of India, if anything, is worse. Here an alien bureaucracy, more alienated, if possible, from the people, by an inveterate recollection of by-gone glories, which is out of spirit at the present day. The Indian bureaucracy have tended to coalesce into a narrow official caste, constraining at every step the pace of national advancement, and have usurped all the functions of the State to the detriment of the wider functions of Government. It is admitted, even by some distinguished members of the service, that the time is arrived to abolish the service altogether, or at best to modify its conditions so as to bring it under popular control and subserve really popular interests. Nearly thirty years ago, Sir Henry Cotton, himself a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service and whose family has belonged to the service for a hundred years, once warned that "the Indian Civil Service, as at present constituted, is doomed." Again and again, he has expressed his conviction that the service is out of touch with modern Indian conditions, offering an old world conservatism in opposition to the current of modern Indian progress. There is a well-founded suspicion that lately the men do not offer themselves at the competitive examinations by which the service is recruited and the service has begun to stagnate in the refuse of the Home and Foreign Offices.

ing complexity of Indian administration, the growth of an intelligent body of public opinion, the accumulation of keen judicial capacity in larger and larger numbers of Indians, and a sense of healthy discontent among the educated classes of Indians are overgrown business even for an indigenous bureaucracy, imbued with good intentions. The Indian Civil Service, the apogee of the bureaucracy, bred up in traditions of personal rule, chafes at routine, is impatient of criticism, and naturally impervious to national sentiments. Again, in the business of judicial administration, as a contemporary remarks, "If the queer experiences of practising lawyers in the country could be collected and published it would form a very amusing, though somewhat grotesque and humiliating, catalogue of the strange vagaries and colossal ignorance of the young civilian judges as regards the law and procedure of this country; and these young civilians are, as a rule called upon not only to control the subordinate judiciary, but also to sit in judgment over the decisions of veteran Indian officers of established reputation and long experience." The picture, if strongly worded, is not overdrawn; and instances will readily recur to the minds of readers of what are reported in newspapers as "breezes in courts" whose humour will have been quite enjoyable, if not drawn on the background of civilian inexperience. The fault, however, is not in the individual; but in the system; for what to think of the junior civilian asked to grapple with the Bar in India "daily becoming stronger than the bench", with the only equipment of an year's study in a London Barrister's Chamber or a pass in the final examination at an Inn of Court, with scraps of procedure picked on the way, on the deck of the vessel that is to carry them to the "land of exile." Moreover, the executive tendency acquired by civilians during their early training in administration is not calculated to impart the right tone to the administration of justice. We are familiar with the reforms introduced by the Congress in this service, the holding of simultaneous examinations in India and England, the raising of the age limit, a fixed proportion of Indian and English element, the separation of judicial and executive functions and an increase of pay, and even with these improvements, the service has not been effected, it is a fact, with some whether the service should be abolished. The Indian Civil Service, says Sir Henry Cotton, "is moribund and is passing away, and is being replaced by a more popular system which will be more efficient while avoiding its defects."

From the administrative, financial, and national point of view, the service has sunk into disfavour; and the service will be hugging a dear delusion if it attempts to override these paramount considerations of national well-being, by putting on false airs of "prestige" and continues to harp on an iron efficiency in invading an administration calling for liberal statesmanship and sympathetic insight. Short of abolishing the service in toto, the indigenous talent of the country must buy back the service, which to-day forms the key-stone of the bureaucracy, for no enduring move in representative Government or responsible administration is possible, if we perpetuate the Indian Civil Service, as it stands, which in spite of its tall traditions, has sunk into a narrow official hierarchy, too proud to move among the masses and pining like Narcissus of old after its own shadow of spurious splendour.

Among other things of equal importance, Lord Hardinge's administration is signalised by the setting in motion of far reaching educational ideals which, when materialise, are bound to place India among the advanced nations of the globe. Under the peace provided by the British Raj, Indians have shown themselves keenly responsive to the invigorating ideals of a progressive nationality. The taunt of Oriental conservatism and the cheap sneers levelled at the so-called 'unchangeableness' of the East, if sincere, can no longer be sustained; and in so far as that well-affected cynicism is a cloak to obscure responsibility, it removes at one blow the *raison d'être* of the beneficent intentions of Occidental sojourn in Oriental territories. Coming nearer home, it is a well-reasoned conviction that the British Government in India is functioned with the double task of governing this vast sub-continent so as to secure to its peoples peace and order as well as to imbue them with a sense of progress amidst such congenial conditions of good government. We view the Government in Indian polity as a civilising factor endowed with superior resources and urge them to utilise these that a homogeneous State may evolve touching the nation at all points of its well-being. The Government can no longer accuse the people of inaction: there is a healthy stir in all departments of national activity and the part of wise statesmanship lies in taking the tide at its flood and directing its energy into healthy channels. We are led into making these observations by the movement just inaugurated in England on the initiative of Sir William Wedderburn and under the Chairmanship of Sir Krishna Gupta, late of the Secretary of State's Council, for the extension of the education of women. It is well-known that women are being affected by the changes taking place in India. A Government Resolution of 1914, recognised that "in certain areas there are indications of

a swift growing demand for a more extensive education of girls." In his historic educational dispatch to Lord Dalhousie in 1854 Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of control, pointed out that the education of women would impart a far greater proportional impulse to the educational and moral tone of the people than that of men, and expressed hearty concurrence in the view that Government should give to female education in India its frank and cordial support. Nearly sixty years later, in a general survey of educational policy, Lord Hardinge's Government had frankly to admit that "the education of girls remains to be organised." Though the number of women and girls under instruction has been growing markedly in recent years, it is still, as the resolution says, "insignificant in proportion to the female population." It is regrettable to notice that in the three score years lying between the two pronouncements quoted, there has been no change of policy and the glaring contrast between intention and performance is, indeed, difficult to explain. At the same time we wish to exclude the Government from animadversion. But we do not conceal the difficulties in the way. The deeply-ingrained social customs and prejudices of the people may have offered resistance in the past, but these can no longer be cited as sufficient excuse for taking a further step in the extension of the education of women, especially in the face of the popular demand just made manifest. Sir William Wedderburn and Sir Krishna Gupta are fitted to speak in behalf of India in this cause and every one will join in their memorial to Mr. Chamberlain on the subject. The present is a peculiarly fitting opportunity, owing to the designation of a distinguished Indian, Sir Sankar Nair, to succeed Sir Harcourt Butler. We desire that his hands should be strengthened and his labours rendered more fruitful by a thorough examination of the problem by a representative committee. As described in the memorial, the enormous disparity of one to five in the number of girls and of boys under instruction in British India, is a grave danger to the social well-being of Indian communities, and it is rightly pointed out that the disparity is likely to be further accentuated by the declared aim of Government to double in the early future the number of boys attending school. The memorial further soundly argues that better results are possible even under present conditions if the controlling agency is more in Indian hands. The signatories rightly consider that "no non-Indian, however qualified in other ways, can permanently and adequately meet the spiritual, moral, and intellectual needs of Indian girls." Nobody can gain-say this conviction, in the circumstances of our country and we agree with the memorial in urging for a comprehensive and representative committee, consisting of Indians of all communities and, wherever possible,

Indian ladies in intimate touch with the conditions of home life, "to inquire into all matters touching the education of women and girls in India in all its aspects, domestic, intellectual, moral, physical, artistic and religious." We have no doubt that the investigations of such a committee, if created, will go far to appraise the resisting power of the much dreaded social prejudices and devise suitable measures to overcome it and thus, be in a position to suggest the mode of education and the manner of its extension calculated to enable Indian girls and women to take their part in hastening the healthy evolution of their motherland. Now that a definite demand has been made by the people, it behoves the Government to give it shape and substance after sanctioning a complete inquiry into this vital question.

In 1902, the late Mr. Thomas Robertson, C.V.O., in his report on the Administration of Indian Railways pointed out the imperative necessity for encouraging the development of indigenous industries along the line of railways. He wrote: "I do not think sufficient attention is given to the creation and development of local industries. The more numerous the local industries are along a line of railway, the greater always is the prosperity of that railway. They not only give their products to the railway to carry, but their presence creates a great deal of traffic in both passengers and goods, which but for the local manufactures would never come to the railway at all. Every encouragement should therefore be given to the opening up of more local industries by offering special facilities in the way of rates and accommodations, at all events, until they are fairly started and giving more easy terms in regard to the laying down of sidings to the works." A dozen and another year had to pass and the devastating ravages of a war of exhaustion had to be present for the Railway Board to opine in a recent circular addressed to the Railway Companies that "cases will occur in which the quotation of special rates at the present time will lead to the establishment of industries without much initial difficulty that would be met within normal circumstances, and that there is ample prospect that these industries will lead to a permanent increase of the productivity of the areas in which they have been opened to the mutual advantage of the Railways and their clientele." The Indian is thankful even for small mercies and may be profoundly grateful to the German Hun for sending this piece of providential assistance from the Railway Board. Now the question is not one of viewing the Railways as a philanthropic institution committed to bolster up decadent and inefficiently managed concerns. On the other hand, any apparent lack of success in the past should not debar the claims of industries capable of development and expansion.

The policy to be followed is clear. It is not sufficient merely to encourage the creation of indigenous enterprises, but the Railways should take all possible steps so as to secure the utmost development in every instance. The progress of every industry should be followed with care and where it is discovered that development is not sufficiently rapid or business is falling off, the circumstances of the failure should be investigated and the causes determined. If there is any remedy which the Railways can apply by quoting lower rates for raw materials or the manufactured article, additional facilities, concessions in the conditions of carriage, the Railway administrations should not hesitate to render the necessary assistance. The Railway administrations at present, we are afraid, while appreciating the diminution in business are obsessed with the notion that any inquiry might lead to reduction in rates and consequent loss of revenue. We are not competent to judge how far this apprehension is well-grounded, but should be disposed to waive the consideration of a temporary loss during the initial stages of industrial development. As the Railway Board in their circular quoted remarks, "the permanent establishment of industries in adjacent areas cannot fail directly or indirectly to increase the business of a railway, and to secure these advantages it may even be found remunerative to incur a temporary loss during the initial stages of development." Indian railway policy has hitherto followed the line of least resistance and the result has been as the *Englishman* once pointed out to the Railway Board that, as things stand, the cost of transport of iron pipes from Kulti to Karachi is greater than the freight from Europe! There is no blinking the fact that the relatively high charges for the conveyance of raw material have proved the death-knell for many indigenous industries. We select two for special mention—glass factories and paper mills. In regard to these two industries, the record is one of comparative failure due to a combination of causes, but in both cases, it has been pointed out that the relatively high charges for the conveyance of raw material has been an important factor. This applies with particular force to paper and places the mills at a great disadvantage, as the raw materials required for the manufacture of paper are grass, rags, jute and gunny cuttings and waste material generally. The intrinsic value of these is negligible, but by the time they are conveyed to the mill and the freight charges have been paid, the cost figures as an important item in the manufacturing charges. "To make matters worse," as a contemporary remarks, "supplies are irregular and the high rail rates limit the area from which requirements can be drawn." The case of glass is similar. The whole question of railway policy and railway administration have been the subject of much controversy in the Councils and the press and

there is a regular tug-of-war going on between the politicians and private Railway Companies in regard to the management of Indian railways. We suspend our judgment for the present on the relative merits and demerits of State and private control of railways, and would ask the commercial public to continue to press upon the railway administrations for the adoption of a more liberal policy in regard to indigenous industries, particularly those which owing to the peculiar economic condition obtaining in this country are difficult to establish and conduct with success.

The Report of the Maclagan Committee on Co-operation in India is a document of considerable importance and was issued from Simla early this month. The co-operative movement dates its origin from the passing of the Act of 1904, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon and the subsequent Act of 1912 marked further progress in the movement. There is no manner of doubt that co-operation has come to stay in the land in spite of the cold favour with which it is looked upon in some respected quarters. The best proof that it is not an exotic, uncongenial to Indian conditions, is afforded by the figures relating to the spread of the movement amongst the agricultural and small trading classes; and though we cannot yet say that perfection has been attained both intensively and extensively, it is only a captious critic that would affirm that the principle of co-operation can never be assimilated in India. The investigations of the Maclagan Committee cover a wide field and the conclusions arrived at by them are in the main sound. We have no space to refer in detail to the various aspects of the movement which engaged their attention and shall restrict our remarks to a few specific points of broad importance. With the passing of the Act of 1912 and the establishment of the central financing agencies of the co-operative organization, there arose a special class of difficulties connected with the co-ordination and financial position of the various parts of the organisation and the Maclagan Committee specially addressed themselves to this class of questions. Dealing with the institutions established for providing agricultural credit, which form by far the bulk of the organisation, the report points out that "these institutions were at first left, and we think rightly left, to develop on independent lines in different parts of the country". But the Committee now consider that the stage has been reached at which further haphazard development can only be attended by complication and danger. In the forefront of these institutions are the primary credit societies, themselves 18,715 in number, out of a total of 14,566 Co-operative Societies in existence in British India in 1914, and in some provinces attempts have been made to group these

societies for financing purposes into guaranteeing of their unions. Above these societies and unions balancing their funds and supplying them with capital are some 1891 Central Banks of various kinds and above these again there exist provincial banks performing in some degree for Central Banks the same functions that the latter do for societies. The constitution and management, the composition and employment of their capital and the manner in which they are audited and supervised, of these three groups of institutions have been exhaustively gone into by the Committee and the report enumerates the requirements to be met in order that the primary societies may be truly co-operative in their constitution. With regard to central banks, the Committee have advocated the disappearance of the class of these institutions composed entirely of individuals and the ultimate adoption of the class consisting entirely of societies. But for the present, they tentatively hold that the mixed form of constitution—composed of individuals and societies—offers the best advantages, if due provision is made for enabling the co-operative element to secure at once a preponderating and ultimately an exclusive control. Other very useful recommendations have been made pertaining to the various functions of the organization of the co-operative movement which, if followed, are bound to place the movement on a stable financial basis. In the opinion of the Committee, the constitution of Co-operative institutions at all stages should be such as will ensure true co-operation and such as will secure assistance from middle-class men of education, and where possible from business experts without endangering the ultimate object in view, which is the concentration of the control in the hands of the Co-operative institutions themselves. Regarding the degree in which the co-operative movement should receive administrative and financial help from the Government, the Committee have suggested no additions to the special concessions permitted by the Act or to the concessions in respect of remittance, Savings Bank accounts, etc. The rules prescribing the attitude of Government servants as members, directors and depositors, respectively, to the various classes of co-operative institutions have appeared to them to be generally suitable, but some minor changes have been suggested. While deprecating any devolution to the District Officers of duties assigned under the Act to the Registrar or any general arrangement for making him "ex officio" Director or Chairman of the Central Bank at the district head-quarters, the Committee wish him to be entitled to attend all meetings of Central Bank in his jurisdiction. The committee have endorsed the proposal for the co-ordination of certain economic departments including those of co-operation, agriculture and industries under a single officer of high standing in each Province as opportunity offers.

GENERAL ARTICLES.

IMPERIALISM AND THE WAR.

UNDER the above title, the Hon. W. Pember Reeves, Director of the London School of Economics, writes the following suggestive article in the *British Australasian* (Summer number). The characteristic feature of the article is the happy omission by the talented writer of any reference to Indian loyalty or Indian sacrifice in this War of the Empire. Even in his proposed Imperial Council India does not find a place. We do not know if this is Ultra Imperialism.—Ed.

BLOOD BROTHERHOOD.

By a ceremony known among African tribes as "Blood Brotherhood," a seal has been set on the union of the Mother Country and her Colonies. The union itself and the feelings it represents are no new things. Recent events have been the expression rather than the origin of unity. The war has evoked loyalty and affection, not caused them. The causes were older and lay far deeper.

The Colonies—I call them by their historical rather than their official name—are doing their duty so admirably, and have taken their place in the struggle with such prompt and absolute self-abnegation and self-sacrifice, that one almost hesitates to discuss their attitude at all. Perhaps the finest tribute to be paid is respectful silence. These are days for deeds, not words. The poetry of patriotism and empire is being written in "live battle-odes whose lines are steel and fire." Perhaps the best acknowledgment that has ever been made to colonial loyalty was the thoroughly English fashion in which people here last year took the action of Australia, Canada, and New Zealand as a matter of course. This did not mean that Englishmen were not touched to the heart: it simply meant the Colonies had merely done what they had been trusted to do. At this moment, after eleven months of desperate and often wearisome warfare, they are still doing their duty as doggedly and with as little fuss as ever. I speak of the three Colonies just mentioned. In South Africa the position has been more dramatic. There the unexpected and the astonishing have happened, and General Botha has gained an especial niche in the history of the British Empire. There is no necessity in the throes of a desperate struggle like this to write complimentary articles on the action of men and com-

munities, whose actions speak for themselves. It would seem better to raise one's hat and wait hopefully for yet further achievements. The Colonies have put their manhood, their money, their organisation, and their goodwill utterly at the service of England. England has accepted these things thankfully: what more is there to be said? Yet as we cannot be always thinking of battle, murder and sudden death, and because it is good to distract one's thoughts occasionally from the terrific convulsion that is shaking and devastating Europe, there need be no apology for turning one's thoughts now and then to the future, and for speculating sometimes on the probable effect of the Great War upon the relations of the Colonies with the Empire.

EFFECT OF THE GREAT WAR—FINANCE.

Advice about practical and immediate action does not seem to be required perhaps, because it would chiefly have to turn just now upon technical matters which are the business of experts. There is, however, one not unimportant point which may be referred to in the domain of finance. The issue of the new War Loan must have brought home to the public mind what has for sometime been foreseen by financiers, namely, that the available capital of the British investor is going to have such a strain put on it as no living man can remember. It will answer to the call, no doubt: but not merely for months, but for years to come, money will not be plentiful, and the Colonies will not be able to look forward to getting the cheap and abundant supply of money in London which they have been able to count upon for so many years. Indeed, if at the moment it were possible for Great Britain to borrow in her Colonies she would be very glad to do so. It is not possible. The utmost the Colonies can look forward to doing is to endeavour for sometime to come to limit their demands at London as much as possible. For warlike purposes they must borrow here. For other purposes they must try and be moderate. They must look round and see to what extent, however modest, they can provide their own capital. They might, I think, consider how far among their own people they can co-operate in the appeal now being made to the people of the British Isles to limit personal expenditure, and save, in even the minutest things, in order to supply funds for their States. Generally speaking, they have been prosperous for many years, and there should be no danger of their prosperity coming to a sudden end. Prices of colonial produce are very high, and, speaking generally, are not likely to be low for a long time, though of course they may not remain inflated. Colonists as a race live well and do not love petty economies. To teach personal thrift is not to take up an inspiring theme, but there is a reason for us to practise it, and I venture to commend it to their

attention. They have not the accumulated stores of wealth that Great Britain has, but they could save more than they do if they chose to face an unattractive task.

POLITICAL EFFECTS.

To look into the future and try and picture some of the political effects of the great war is to be venturesome indeed, for one has to assume much. Assuming, however, that the war will end in a complete or at least a satisfactory success for the Allies, what special effect one may ask, is it likely to have on the relations of England with the self-governing Colonies? In the first place we may believe that among the lessons borne into the British mind by the teaching of the very hard experience it has lately been receiving, will be the establishment of a more thorough and efficient national and imperial organisation. The terrible force against which we are now struggling is the diabolically magnificent organisation of Germany. It can be said that this will be so thoroughly crushed presently that neither it nor any similar obsession will weigh on the world's mind in the future. It may be said that we may look forward to generations of peace and amity in which nations after beating most of their swords into ploughshares, will have leisure to occupy themselves in social and intellectual development. May this be so! But to me it seems in the highest degree probable that after what we have gone through long years will have to elapse before our nation and others will feel secure enough to let their military and naval organisations be aught but thoroughly efficient. Size and numbers may be limited, but efficiency will be insisted upon. The Colonies will have to see to it that their part in the defence of the Empire is as carefully prepared for as possible. They will have to be ready with contingents able to take the field at short notice, and whose quality is such that the professional soldiers of Great Britain will not think it necessary to condemn them to months of preparation in training camps before allowing them to face the enemy. The training of officers, the equipment of contingents, the supply of munitions are all things which it will be impossible to neglect. And all these things will require more money, more discipline, and more co-operation with the Mother Country than in the past has been confessed or expected as necessary. There will be no excuse now for accepting short of efficiency in the future. The last year has shown the mistakes and omissions of the past only too clearly.

To discuss here and now the details of improved political machinery for the Empire would be premature. Few men have the patience at this moment of unexampled strain to consider or argue over the details of prospective administrative arrangements. But certain

points stand out clearly enough. The old notion of leaving the relations of Colonies and Mother Country to take care of themselves, trusting to *affection* and *good sense* on both sides to find solutions for difficulties as they may arise, must go by the board. Freedom, non-interference, and mutual confidence are fine things, and have done the Empire good and great service in the past. But this year's lesson has taught us that we can run no more risks, or be caught half-prepared. We want organisation, and organisation requires machinery. To get the latter we shall do well to begin by making the best of what we already have. We must take a more serious view of men and matters which we have been accustomed to regard with genial carelessness. The time has passed for regarding colonial appointments as convenient posts fortunately open for gentlemen who have a claim on a Ministry, and are not able enough for solid work at Westminster. Nor ought the representation of Colonies or Dominions in London any longer to be regarded—as occasionally it has been—as the perquisite of worn-out politicians or of persons of more party influence than capacity. The official links that bind the Empire together should be of the strongest human steel. The time has passed, too, for regarding Colonial and Imperial Conferences mainly as festive gatherings. In the past they have been obsessed by hospitality to an absurd extent, though some of those taking part in them have perceived the mischief of the absurdity. I well remember, for instance, an irritated protest made out of the fulness of his heart by Mr. Deakin on this. If the conferences are to go on they should be businesslike in their surroundings as well as their procedure: should be larger, including, as a matter of course, all High Commissioners: and should be more carefully prepared for. I am aware that something was done to make ready for the last two conferences, but not enough. The truth is that if such conferences are to do important work, the subjects on their agenda should be threshed out and discussed between the various Governments, as far as possible, for years before the formal debate. Otherwise it is almost foolish to expect results from hasty conversations between statesmen who meet, some of them for the first time, and talk over delicate questions in the intervals between one banquet and another.

WANTED AN IMPERIAL COUNCIL.

What is required is the transmutation of these irregular conferences into a permanent Imperial Council, composed of the heads of the Governments, meeting seldom, if you will, but with a central office and staff in London, where the analysis of Imperial questions can be continuously carried on. The Council should have at its disposal at least one official of diplomatic ability, whose task should be to travel between the capitals of the

Empire, discussing pending questions with the different Governments and officials, and doing all that is possible to ascertain local feeling and the real position of affairs, and to suggest and help on solutions. The Colonial Office in Downing Street has many merits, and if a policy of friendly non-interference with the self-governing Colonies were almost all that is required, it would still do very well. But its real task is the government of the Crown Colonies, a duty which, in the opinion of qualified judges, it discharges extremely well, and the sooner it is relieved of the incompatible duty of being the channel between the Dominions and Westminster, the better for the Empire.

One would like to see the Imperial Council regularly elected by the different parliaments concerned on a system allowing every important party at least one spokesman to represent it therein. Perhaps that, for the moment, is a counsel of perfection. It is certain at any rate that the organisation of the Empire is now something much more than an interesting abstraction or subject for debating societies. It is going to be a pressing necessity. Great questions, not merely naval and military, but of finance, production, commerce, shipping, immigration, and citizenship, will have to be faced, and faced in no spirit of easy-going, loafing individualism. The Colonies that to-day are showing that Mr. Fisher's pledge of "the last man and the last shilling," is no empty boast or common place of platform rhetoric, are now Imperial partners, and their relations with England have to be put on a business footing.

The more I examine proposals for establishing a Federal Parliament with great and definite legislative powers, the cruder and more difficult do most of such schemes appear. I doubt whether public opinion believes that the Empire, which has so many Parliaments, wants yet another, especially at this stage. I doubt whether the existing Parliaments and Governments are prepared to consider any great surrender of their powers. What is wanted seems, first, an honest attempt to improve existing machinery and official instruments, and, next, the setting up of a permanent advisory and consulting Imperial Council, with the Prime Ministers at its head. Under this should be an Imperial department in London, whose function should be to gather information, go into details, and suggest political and administrative action. In close touch with this should be an office of the English Government, entrusted with the ordinary business relations of the Governments of the Mother Country and the Dominions now in the hands of the Colonial Office. If to this machinery envoys and Imperial Conferences, special and general, were added, the system might be found sufficient and fairly satisfactory for many years. During such a period the seeds of Imperial Federation might germinate.

INDIAN STUDENTS IN CANADA.

"THERE is no gift higher than the gift of knowledge," says a Hindu proverb. To acquire knowledge in its real sense, one has to go to countries where it can be had to the best advantage. The benefit of getting a training abroad is recognized in India. It gives the student that broadness in viewpoint which is so needed just now. There have not been many Hindustani students coming to Canada, although there have been a few at the Ontario Agricultural College at Guelph. Mr. Jinnati, from Bombay, who graduated from the Engineering Department of Toronto University, has been highly spoken of by the members with whom he came in contact.

The Canadian universities, especially Toronto and McGill at Montreal, offer excellent training in engineering in all its branches. The fees are moderate as compared with Great Britain. In Toronto University the Faculty of Engineering has courses in civil, mechanical, mining, chemical and electrical engineering. Each course is of four years' duration. They have also a course on analytical and applied chemistry. All these courses are suitable for students from India, for what we need in India to-day is more of scientific and technical education.

HOW AND WHO SHOULD COME?

No one should come to Canada as a student unless he has passed the matriculation examination in India. To be able to enter the Canadian universities and pursue their studies with satisfaction, students must have passed the intermediate examination (First Arts) in India, or at least have read up to its standard. We would not advise anybody to come who does not possess good health, earnestness of purpose and good character. A student thus qualified will find very little difficulty in joining the University of Toronto.

The fees vary between \$100.00 to \$120.00 a year. The living expenses for 32 weeks of college year are at the lowest \$300.00. The student may be able to get some work during the summer vacation, which is a long one. He would be lucky if he could support himself by what he got from his work in the first year. But in the second and the following years he ought not to have much difficulty in getting something in return. In Great Britain, on the other hand, a student has to pay a heavy premium in getting this practical training, and some say he cannot get it even at that. McGill University has good workshops in connection with it, where students can learn in actual practice, but in Toronto the student has to go to outside shops. The two systems have their advantages.

The climate is colder than that of India, but it is very bracing. No Hindustani student here has made any complaint about it. Proper clothing and feeding make all the difference as to how a student will stand the climate. If the Indian troops in France can stand the cold, there is no reason why their countrymen cannot be acclimatized in Canada.

The best way to come to this part of Canada is from Bombay or Colombo. There are Italian, French and British steamship lines. It may be that the passenger may have to transfer in Italy, or France. In summer there are steamers from Egypt to American ports. The student may come to Montreal in summer or Halifax in winter, or one of the American ports, e.g., New York, Boston, or Philadelphia, and then come over to Canada. Thomas Cook & Son, or other steamship agents in Bombay, will be able to supply more definite information about the sailings and fares, etc., as on account of the war some lines may have discontinued running steamers.

Students from India will not meet with difficulty in landing as they come under the non-immigrant clause, but they must be provided with good letters of recommendation and must have at least \$200.00 with them in case of eventualities. The best time to leave India is the end of August, and reach here by the first or second week in September. This gives the student a little time to get acquainted with the conditions here before he starts his studies. It is advisable that a student arriving here should not have excessive baggage. One trunk, containing two good suits and heavy underwear, etc., would be quite enough.

COURSES IN AGRICULTURE AND TECHNOLOGY.

There is an excellent College of Agriculture and the Macdonald Institute for Domestic Science at Guelph, Ont. The course leading to the degree of Bachelor of Science of Agriculture is of four years; the fees are \$100.00 a year, but the cost of living is cheaper. There are also shorter courses in agriculture at this college. In the Province of Quebec there is a fine College of Agriculture at Ste. Anne de Bellevue, which also has an institute for training girls in domestic science.

Toronto also has the biggest Technical School in the British Empire. It has cost nearly \$2,000,000, or 60 lakhs of rupees. How many technical schools are there in all India, leaving aside the tremendous cost of this excellent institution? And yet India has nearly 40 times the population of Canada. In the whole of the Punjab there is hardly what may be called a good technical school. This school has classes in various branches of engineering, carpentry, building, blacksmithing, drawing, printing and all the various other skilled trades. There are fine workshops in connection with it. The fees are practically nil, and if there are any, they are

nominal. Perhaps for a young student from India a year or two at this school leading up to the School of Practical Science at the University, will be the best.

Toronto University has also a Veterinary College, which is famous all over America in its line of work.

APPEAL TO INDIA'S NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

Time was when students from all over Asia went over to study in the universities of India in the Buddhist period, but now the tide has turned and students from Hindustan have to come to the West to acquire learning, and especially scientific knowledge. We appeal to the National Council of Education of Bengal, the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians, patriotic Maharajas and rich men, various national institutions, e.g., the D. A. V. College, the Ferguson Educational College, the Andra Jatheeya Kalasala of the Telugus, and the various Educational Conferences to send students to the West to acquire a practical and scientific training.

Graduates in the science courses of the Indian universities will find here in the newer countries unlimited opportunities for practical training and research work in the laboratories, which they can never find in India, and only with much expense in Europe. After graduating from here they can get profitable work on experimental farms or as engineers and chemists in factories, which experience will help them in their future work in making a better India. For further information, please write direct to the Principals of the different institutions named above, or to the Editor of this paper at 68, Tranby Avenue, Toronto, Canada.—*Canada and India.*

THE HINDU QUESTION IN CANADA.

(Some Canadian Press Opinions).

THERE is ample proof to show that the Hindus have made good in Canada.

Mr. W. W. Baer, in an article on Hindu immigration in the *Victoria Times*, in July, 1911, stated:—"I could print a hundred letters telling me of the faithfulness of the Hindu in his service to his employer; the reliance that may be safely placed upon him at his work, and his unshrinking application of his strength to his varied tasks. Altogether, opinion is that, of the several racial types who have crossed the Pacific Ocean to participate in our great toil of reducing this Western Province to its final productive power, the Hindu is the most desirable."

An editorial in the *Toronto World*, Dec., 1911, says:—"Great sympathy has been aroused among all classes to whom the facts have become known for the claims of the Sikh nation to fair play from their fellow-subjects

of Canada. . . . The Sikhs are near akin in race to other Indo-European white races, and are not to be confused with Turanian, Dravidian or Mongolian peoples. They have been amongst the most loyal of British subjects and were admittedly a strong element in saving India to Britain during the mutiny. Ninety per cent. of the Sikhs who have come to Canada have been British soldiers. During the Chinese Boxer rebellion there were sixteen Sikh regiments out of the eighteen employed. In every particular the Sikhs have proven themselves admirable subjects. They are highly civilized, markedly intellectual, and their religious beliefs, which date from the time of Luther when their great prophet the Guru Nanak arose and taught them the spiritual faith in which they have ever since reposed, rank them with the most advanced nations. . . . Those who have already come over have worked on the land and on the railways. They have bought land of their own and settled down to farming. They are industrious and thrifty and in every way good citizens. Can they not be received as loyal fellow-subjects of the King-Emperor? We believe as soon as their character and status is known the objections to the Sikhs raised by the labour interests will be withdrawn."

CLEANLINESS OF THE SIKHS.

Dr. Lawson who admits that he was prejudiced, wrote the following in the *Daily Colonist*, Victoria:—"There is one phase of the Hindu question concerning which the majority of the public seem to hold most erroneous opinions. I refer to his personal habits, *re cleanliness, use of alcoholic liquors, etc.*

"As ship surgeon on the C.P.R. SS. Monteagle, and latter the Tartar, at the time of the greatest influx of Hindus, the majority of these people passed under my close observation. It was my duty to make a thorough physical examination of each emigrant at Hong Kong, and, although at first I was strongly prejudiced against them I lost this prejudice after thousands of them had passed through my hands and I had compared them with the white steerage passengers I had seen on the Atlantic.

"I refer in particular to the Sikhs, and I am not exaggerating in the least when I say that they were 100 per cent. cleaner in their habits and freer from disease than the European steerage passengers I had come into contact with. The Sikhs impressed me as a clean, manly, honest race. My more recent experience as surgeon in mining camps among thousands of white men, where immorality is rife, has increased my respect for the Sikhs.

"I have read your paper carefully for some time and have not yet seen one good reason why they should not be permitted to bring their families in as freely as the European immigrants. Justice, humanity and

morality all cry for the removal of the restrictions, which prevent the Sikhs' enjoyment of home life."

RECONSIDER THE WHOLE QUESTION.

Mrs. I. R. Broad wrote to the *Victoria Times* in May, 1914:—"Is Canada not a very important branch on the Imperial tree, and does it not behove her to be on her guard and weigh her actions carefully? Does our Canadian policy in regard to the Hindus harmonize with our duty to strengthen the bonds that unite the Empire? They are discriminated against in a manner in which the immigrants from no other country have been treated. This attitude is most galling to the brave Sikh who, however much people may object to the statement, has certain characteristics similar to those of the Scottish Highlander. The great Himalaya Mountains encroach on the Punjab, the home of the Sikh, and he has the characteristics of the brave, sturdy, independent mountaineer.

"India does not desire to inflict millions of her people on Canada, but she does want a certain amount of recognition. If the principles of righteousness, justice, toleration and mercy on which our nation is founded were really applied to this question there would not be so much difficulty in finding a satisfactory solution."

At a meeting held under the auspices of the Friends Association, Toronto, March, 1915, in which the subject for discussion was "The Hindus in France and in Canada," the following resolution was passed:—"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 status of our Hindu fellow-subjects in Canada, with a view to promoting the greatest possible increase of the unity within the Empire."

STIGMA ON THE HINDUS

The *Toronto Globe*, of April 8th, 1915, in an editorial says:—"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 us 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 Jap, the Chinese, and the negro enter the country under different provisions of the law or no provision at all.

"Short of unrestricted admission, what remedy is there for the undoubted grievance against which 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 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 Hindus protest rather than against Canada's unalterable resolution to prevent racial fusion on the Pacific slope."

WAR IMPROVES CANADA-INDIA RELATIONS.

The *Toronto Star*, May 15th, says:—"The Canadian and Indian troops," says a despatch, "drove back, at the bayonet point, a vicious German onslaught near Richebourg."

"A correspondent directs our attention to this engagement where the Canadians and Hindus, fought side by side in a fierce but victorious encounter, and asks our opinion as to whether, after the war, there can be a repetition of the affair in which a vessel carrying Hindus can be excluded from a Canadian port and its passengers forcibly sent back whence they had come.

"This much we can with some safety predict: When the war ends the British Empire will have a deeper consciousness of itself, and the influence of this will be considerable. The form or the extent of the results nobody can predict. But the Canadians who are fighting, falling and lying wounded in field and hospital alongside British regulars and men of Kitchener's army will better know their British relatives, and be better known by them than ever before. The same will be true of men from remote parts of the Empire, brought into comradeship in the supreme hours of mortal conflict. The British Columbian soldiers fighting side by side with troops from India in beating off a vicious German onslaught, going through that terrible mêlée as comrades must ever after be influenced by the association. It will be so inevitably."

The *Toronto Star*, in an editorial, dated 18th June, 1915, referring to the two sides of this question, viz., the question of race and the question of labour, whilst offering a solution, says:—"Let us separate the two questions. We are quite sure that intelligent Indians do not want wages lowered or the standard of living reduced. Let Canadians and Indians get together, talk the matter over, and try to come to an understanding. That is diplomacy—broad diplomacy, modern diplomacy, as contrasted with the trickery and senseless

ceremony that were once associated with the word. It would be quite possible to make some arrangement that would prevent the flooding of the labour market in British Columbia, without hurting the feelings of our Indian friends."

Principal Mackay, writing in the *Westminster Hall Magazine*, a Vancouver Journal, on the 'Real Meaning of Oriental Exclusion,' maintains that British Columbia's relations with Japan are more satisfactory than with any Oriental people, because they have restriction of Japanese labourers by consent. The same principle at whatever cost in effort and money, must be applied to all other Oriental people, if they are to avoid serious trouble and loss in the future. Restriction by consent, he argues, must also be applied to India. 'But,' he says, 'on the other hand, those who have come to us, and some of those who desire to come, have a just grievance against us. Their connection with the British Empire ought to secure them a somewhat better reception than what is given to members of other Oriental races. But they have been treated much worse.'

WHAT ARE THE FACTS?

Mr. A. H. W. Joyner's letter in the *Toronto Globe* says:—

"As Canadians we have a right to know what we have done to these Aryan brothers of ours. What are the facts? Have we behaved, through our elected leaders, as we would have others behave to us? If we have not, we have done wrong.

"There is evidently some account we have to settle with the Sikhs, these men who are fighting by the side of Canadians in the trenches, who are our brothers in arms, at least; both fighting for our King-Emperor. If our hands are not clean it will little profit us that we have sent 100,000 men to the front, for a day will come when the question may be: Shall Canada or India stay in the Empire?

"Is not this Sikh trouble of sufficient importance to the people of Canada to thoroughly understand the facts?"

"The *Montreal Witness*, of June 22nd, 1915, publishes the following letter from Mrs. Elizabeth Ross Grace:—

"The spontaneous loyalty of India, and the bravery of her sons on the European battle-fields, are surely bringing home to the people of Canada, India's place in the Empire, and as her place in the Empire is recognised, surely there is growing up the conviction that she deserves better by our hands.

REMOVE THE BLOT ON CANADA.

"A few weeks ago an enthusiastic Highland friend was talking of the subject. He felt that Canada must remove this blot upon her fair name, and allow the domiciled Hindu to have his wife and children with

him. But he was prepared to do far more. He asked, 'Why not open our doors to them?' I said, 'Surely restricted immigration was wiser, was all even India expected of us.' 'No,' he replied with a wave of the hand 'Let them come in, all who want to, we surely have plenty of room, and then send Christian workers to them.' Then he added, 'Think how much safer we would be with British citizens as our immigrants.' The enthusiastic support of my friend was cheering in itself, but even more so as showing the present trend of the thoughts of warm-hearted Canadians. The fact of our unjust discrimination against our brothers of the Empire, was brought home to me afresh during the past winter. Three successive Mohammedan pedlars, all citizens of the Turkish Empire, called at my door. It was a great surprise to talk with Mohammedans here in the heart of Canada. It was a pleasure to note the impact of Christian civilization, and to hear about their family settlements out in the West. Still there was something sinister about the presence of these travellers with their covered sleighs in the midst, as we are of other alien races. How much more comfortable it would be to have Britishers about us rather than the people from enemy states! And if Turkish Mohammedans may enter Canada with their wives and children, why must we exclude the wives and children of our Hindu domiciled community? It is well to remember that in many cases the brave Sikh troops now fighting our battles with our own Canadians against a terrible foe, in many cases they are the third or fourth generation who have fought for British victory. Lord Hardinge referred to the friendship of his grandfather with the great grandfather of the Sikh Rajah, whose court he was visiting. They had fought together for British success.

"These soldiers from India are perhaps not profound philosophers or deep thinkers. And they will not find it easy to understand the influences that have brought such thousands of Germans to our shores. But the fact he can understand. To-day thousands of the enemy's subjects are here, enjoying the privilege of Canada, while no Hindu can get into Canada, except under almost impossible conditions. He cannot but wonder why we let in Turks and keep out Hindus. And our brave Canadians will find it hard face to face with brave Indian soldiers to justify our policy. How long are our domiciled Hindus, whether Sikh, Brahmin or Mohammedan, to wait to bring in their wives and children? When will our immigration policy be amended to give to the Hindus a chance? All we want is a fair chance, not necessarily or preferably an open door, but restricted immigration, which will remove the injustice of our present exclusive policy."

SOUTH AFRICAN IMMIGRATION LAWS.

A PROTEST MEETING OF INDIANS IN DURBAN.

A Mass Meeting of British Indians was held at 9-30 on Friday morning (18th August) soon after the conclusion of the Id festival prayers, to protest against the present unjust administration of the Immigration Laws. A huge crowd of people numbering some 2,000 assembled on the ground adjoining the Mosque, where Mr. Dawood Mohamed presided. Amongst others present were Messrs. E. M. Paruk, M. C. Coovadia, S.P. Mohamed, M. S. Randeree, Osman Ahmed Effendi, A. H. Kajee, A. M. Shaikh, M. A. Jeewa, A. D. Padia, Hajee Abdoolia, Rooknoodeen, E.C. Paruk, Fazloodeen, Mohamed Ebrahim, D. M. Timol, I. B. Timol, Moulvi Bashir, A. D. Badat, G. A. Bassa Mayet, Dada Osman and M. C. Anglia.

Mr. Rooknoodeen read and translated the Chairman's speech.

In opening the Meeting the President, Mr. Dawood Mohamed, said:—

Friends and Fellow Citizens,

We are met together here to-day in order to discuss a subject which, as you know, was generally believed to have been settled once for all in our interests and in the interests of all the people in this country. We meet only under a sense of grievous wrong done to us, in spite of all the promises and assurances as regards our vested rights, and our primary rights as British citizens: and, believe me, friends, it is a source of great and sincere regret to me that the amount of suspicion and distrust harboured in the minds of certain persons in this community, which I did my best to combat, in respect of the labours and recommendations of the recent Indian Enquiry Commission has to a large extent been justified. When I say to a large extent, I do not wish to minimise the difficulties and troubles which, as if by a set purpose and prior determination, are brought into play in regard to the unfortunate Immigration question in this Province.

Not so very long ago the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies assured our people that the Imperial Government would be no party to the taking away of any rights possessed by us, and quite recently the Honourable the Minister of the Interior gave us the assurance that the law relating to Immigration which has hitherto caused so much irritation and vexatious treatment will be sympathetically administered, and cases under it liberally dealt with. The Indian Enquiry Commission that sat in South Africa last year has, with every disposition to be just and fair towards the Indian people, most carefully considered every aspect of the question of Indian entry into South Africa. It has issued

its recommendations, based on sympathy and consideration. If you read sub-section 9 of section 5 of its report you will find definite and equitable reference to things, of which our meeting will now take cognisance as affecting respectable people of our community. Similarly in the Act of Parliament No. 22 of 1914 (known as the Relief Act) section 7, there is explicit reference in respect of our domicile in this Province, and to the right of our people to Identification certificate, when they choose to secure them. In the face of all these enactments, assurances and recommendations we find that, by a strange policy and deliberate treatment, applicants who try to obtain their elementary or vested rights are harassed and thwarted in their endeavours to do so, and are prevented from settling down peacefully after a visit to their people within the confines of the Empire.

I will not detain you long because our Resolutions embody all that we need represent to the authorities, and it grieves me to have to say that it will be a sore point to the powers-that-be beyond the seas to find a repetition of our meetings of protest after all that has just taken place and the idea well entertained that our difficulties and trials had been definitely and amicably settled. Perhaps it will be well for me to allude to the cases of persons who are now the subject of representation for the information of the mass of our people.

First there is the case of Ahmed Essack. This man came to Natal on the 4th January 1879, that is thirty-six consecutive years, and he was domiciled here until 1906. He has children in the Island of Mauritius, and several others residing and born in Natal. Having paid a visit to his children in Mauritius, he stayed longer than to the mind of the authorities appeared necessary, considering the circumstances in this country, the perversity and unfairness of which we all know when our people are concerned. The man had only temporarily absented himself, and if things had happened to prolong his absence, what in reason is there to preclude his re-entry and stay among his family here? Full particulars as to his case, and to the others, will be only published. Let me tell you that this person is 77 years of age; he is a trustee of our Mosque in Ladysmith, and that his son-in-law Mohamed Suleman of Ladysmith, a business-man provides him with a comfortable home and supports him for the rest of his life.

Then we have a man named Mahomed Yoosoof Kajee, who had arrived here in 1897 with his father. He was then a minor, seven years old. In 1911 he left for India, unprovided with a certificate of domicile, but there was substantial reason for it, the issue of that document had been suspended by the Department of Immigration. He also, as you will see, had left temporarily for his old country.

Then also there is the case of Suleman Mohamed, a resident since 1906 who had proved his legal entry to the satisfaction of the authorities and now wishes to visit India. He is refused an Identification Certificate for which he has applied.

Finally we have an educated young man, who has arrived without having obtained permission to enter the Province, but he declares that he was ignorant of the condition. Anyway he possesses full educational qualifications, and is already sought after by several of our residents for suitable work. In reference to that case I would mention that it has been a practice, in spite of the Natal Immigration Laws, to allow a certain number of educated persons to come in, but since the last Act of Parliament, as far as I am aware, the case of Patel appears to be the only one seeking permanent entry, but is refused.

There are, as you all know, substantial reasons for our action on this occasion. We must request the Government to reconsider its decision with regard to the proposed deportation of the persons concerned as well as similar cases, and we must argue with all the weight in our power that the law be administered with reason, fairness and justice, and with at least the sympathy for our people which was promised to us by the responsible Minister. We must also make it plain to our Government that the practice of arresting and detaining residents of our community in a way that only the Star Chamber would have imagined and keeping them under lock and key for three or four days at a time, especially when they happen to be ignorant and illiterate persons is very pernicious, and results as a rule in their being so wounded in mind and body by the severe and unexpected treatment that they are literally perplexed and often brought to a state bordering upon madness, with the result that they are unable to give the barest explanation and rational answer to often the most simple question. Such treatment I can but characterise as unjust, if not tyrannical, and certainly does not speak well for our ordered and civilized Government.

I quite believe, my friends, that it is in the power of His Excellency the Governor-General to look favourably into these matters, and graciously intervene on our behalf, and I do not see in what respect the Government of our country will enhance its reputation for just and fair dealing in respect of our countrymen, when, as it would appear they harass and annoy members of our community in every possible way, as of set purpose, through their responsible officials, knowing full well that the Indians form a quiet, loyal and law-abiding community, who by reason of their prolonged stay in this land, are often desirous of visiting their relations in India just as Europeans go to Europe without in any way thinking of staying there permanently.

As regards the Immigration Appeal Board the Resolution No. 3 speaks for itself, and I do not think it necessary to make any further reference thereto.

I will now ask that the Resolutions be read and put to this meeting in the usual way.

The following resolutions were then submitted and carried by acclamation in each case.

RESOLUTIONS.

(1).

This Mass Meeting of British Indians resolves that representations be at once respectfully made to His Excellency the Governor-General and to the Government of the Union to the effect that the laws and regulations in force in this Province relating to the Indians holding certificates of Domicile, bearing their thumb impression and having passed undeniable identity whilst entering in, or returning after a temporary absence are harshly and unsympathetically administered, and that the recommendations of the recent Indian Enquiry Commission as well as the enactments in this regard, together with the verbal and written assurance of just treatment in all cases given by the Honourable the Minister of Interior, are not observed and carried out in the spirit in which they have been conceived.

That the following cases, now under order of the Deportation, are quoted in reference to the above, viz :

(1) Ahmed Essack, a resident in Natal since the year 1879 to 1906 continuously, and who was temporarily absent without a certificate of domicile, such a document being at the time considered unnecessary.

(2) Mahomed Yoosoof Kajee and others who had left temporarily for India, without a certificate of domicile, the issue thereof being suspended at the time of their departure. The above-named have now returned and are debarred from remaining here permanently by reason of technical irregularity.

(3) Suleman Mahomed, who originally came to this Province with his father in 1906, and whose claim was then admitted by the Immigration authorities. He has remained in this Province ever since, and is now desirous of leaving for India on a visit, but his application for an Identification Certificate to enable him to return is refused.

(4) Mahomed Ebrahim Patel, who is an educated Indian, holding satisfactory certificate as to his character and qualifications who seeks entry as an educated person, is prohibited from remaining in the Colony and is under orders for deportation.

Proposed by Mr. E. M. Paruk, seconded by Mr. S. P. Mohamed, and supported by Mr. M. C. Coovadia. Carried by acclamation.

(2)

Resolved by this meeting of Indians that the substance of the first resolution be wired to His Excellency the

Governor-General with a prayer that His Excellency may be graciously pleased to take the facts therein mentioned into his kind consideration, and to obtain the cancellation of the deportation orders in the cases of the persons mentioned. And that His Excellency may be pleased to intervene, on behalf of the Indian community of Natal, in order that the law and regulations affecting the Indian people in the matter of departure to India and re-entry into the Province, as circumstances may require, may be liberally and sympathetically administered and needless restrictions and sources of annoyance be done away with.

Proposed by Mr. E. C. Paruk, and seconded by Mr. A. M. Shaikh, duly supported, was carried unanimously.

(3)

Resolved by this meeting of Indians that a request be respectfully made to the Government to move the Immigration Appeal Board to sit in a public court rather than in the office of the Immigration Officer, as was the case previously, so that the Board may be more accessible to the public: and also that as provided for in the Immigration Act the Board be reconstituted to be composed of new members, with a view to give greater confidence to persons whose cases come on Appeal before them.

Proposed by Mr. M. A. Jeewa, seconded by Mr. A. M. Padia, duly supported, and carried unanimously.

(4)

It is resolved that the Chairman be requested and he is hereby authorised to transmit the above Resolutions to the proper quarters.

Proposed by Mr. Aminoodin, seconded by Mr. D. A. Badat, duly supported, was carried unanimously.

Messrs. Rooknoodeen, Osman Ahmed and others also spoke in support of the resolutions. Mr. Osman Ahmed in conclusion, called for prayers on behalf of the British Arms, The Chairman after thanking the audience for their kind presence declared the Meeting closed.

LABOUR SUPPLY TO PLANTATIONS.

["The Need of Organisation in the Supply of Labour for Rubber and other Tropical Estates:" Being a paper read by Mr. Harold Hamel Smith, Editor of *Tropical Life*, London, before the International Rubber Congress, held in London, July 1911, and published in Section II, Pages, 135-141 of the Proceedings of that Congress. 470 pp., 15s. 6d. net, postage extra (52) oz.]

AS regards the organisation of our labour supplies, probably there is nothing new in what I am about to say; many of you may have said the same thing

over and over again. As, however, we do not seem to be making much progress in solving the difficulty of obtaining regular and reliable supplies, I feel that you will pardon my bringing up the matter before this Congress. I do so because it is of prime international importance, and so befits the occasion. If Malaya needs, as some assert she does, 1,000,000 labourers, these have to be withdrawn from other centres—India, Java, China, &c., where their absence will be remarked probably resented, and finally prohibited. India already, in spite of the fact that thousands of her people are more or less in a chronic state of semi starvation, a state which climatic or other conditions at times aggravate until the loss of life owing to the lack of food or money to buy it is absolutely appalling, is restricting the recruiting of her people to work on estates elsewhere, and other countries seem likely to do the same if they have not already made a start. This, I contend, is due to the absence of any international agreement on the matter. Surely, therefore, it is to the interest of us all, *i.e.*, to every one engaged directly or indirectly in tropical agriculture, to bring about some agreement as soon as possible.

The *Madras Mail* pointed out a little time back that planters in India have more than a passing interest in the labour troubles of their brethren in the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States. For one reason the yearly output of rubber from that part of the world, which will probably be the determining factor as regards rubber prices in years to come, will depend on the supply of labour there; and in the probable event of the Dutch Government prohibiting the emigration to the Straits from Java of indentured labourers, following the example of the Government of India, the Rubber Companies will have to choose between free labour from India and the Chinaman. At present, fortunately for planters in India, the latter seems most in favour, in spite of his independence, the high scale of wages he demands, and the language difficulty, which is likely to prove a serious drawback. The first batch of Chinese emigrants to Malayan rubber estates reached Singapore from Hong Kong a short time ago. Only about sixty coolies arrived, but owing to scarcity in parts of Southern China, there are said to be plenty more available. The *Southern China Morning Post* suggests that the Government of Hong Kong should take an interest in procuring the 1,000,000 coolies who will be required, it estimates, for the Malayan rubber estates, and in directing a constant stream of others to make up for vacancies. If this scheme means that Southern India is to be freed from the attention of the Straits' recruiter, the agriculturist on this side will wish it every success. It is also stated that when arrangements are made for Chinese coolies to be repatriated at the end of their contract, a better

class of labourer can be obtained, and in accordance with this dictum, the Planters' Association of Malaya recently passed a resolution favouring the principle of repatriating Chinese coolies, provided the indenture entered into makes the importer, and not the employer, liable for the cost thereof. See also the rather sharp controversy now raging between South India and Ceylon, because the latter persists in recruiting Indian labourers from districts which the South of India planters maintain not only require the men for themselves, but could well do, in their turn, with an increased supply. "Lots of land were lying idle in the Tanjore District," we are told, "because of coolies emigrating"—or, again, Mr. M. E. Couchman, I.C.S., Director of Agriculture, Madras, draws attention in his report for 1909-10, to the present prosperity of the Madras cultivator, for which the high price of cotton is largely responsible. It would seem, he adds, that the labourers have not participated to a proportionate extent in the increased prosperity of their employers, but an advance of agricultural wages is necessary in the near future. The Board of Revenue has little doubt that if employers of agricultural labour would only allow their landless employees to participate much more largely in their increased profits due to the high prices of produce, by raising the wages of labourers, and in other ways ameliorating their condition, much difficulty connected with labour would disappear (in India).

Meanwhile the producing centres show signs of suffering from the want of these very people of which India, taken as a whole, and Bengal in particular, has an over-supply. Both sides suffer for the want of a little organisation and tact. What I want you to consider therefore is whether we cannot, between us, devise some means of relieving the wants of both parties—those needing money for services rendered and those able and willing to pay a fair wage for a fair day's work.

Although this is an International Congress, I think that I shall best serve the cause that I am pleading for by minding my own business, *i.e.*, by treating the matter from our own point of view and using India as the chief example to explain my views, leaving our friends from other countries to state their views and requirements, their hopes and expectations, on the subject. Since the Rubber Exhibition of 1908 there have been many complaints, mostly from laymen, of alleged unsatisfactory methods employed in handling the raw labour provided by native races in the tropics, especially in speeding it up to the level of what the more hustling whiteman considers to be a fair day's work. Whether these complaints have been justified or not, they certainly, from what I read in the columns of my exchanges, are causing the free flow of native labour to be seriously curtailed, and in many instances

to be stopped altogether. Surely such a course, since it can only bring inconvenience and trouble in its train, should be, and could be, rendered unnecessary. Because a few estates or centres treat their local or imported labour in an unsatisfactory manner, every one should not be punished on account of the few, and yet this seems to be the tendency. Rather let the few, and their number in comparison is small and rapidly diminishing, be punished, and, if necessary, severely punished, so that the greater number (and through them, be it remembered, the trade of the Empire as a whole) is not hampered and kept back.

The complaints have been aimed pretty well all round at our own planters in one part of the globe, and those under other flags elsewhere. After studying the statements of the more persistent and aggressive of these critics, the following queries suggest themselves:—

(1) Are the natives on the whole ill-used, or even roughly handled, to an unnecessary degree?

(2) Are the grievances only on one side, and have both sides, employers and employed, equal opportunities of securing justice, and if not why not? Whose fault is it that such defects exist?

(3) At the chief producing centres are the labourers adequately remunerated, taking into consideration the cost of living, the general level of comfort on the spot, and the quantity and quality of work obtained in exchange for the wage paid?

(4) Why is it in face of Protectors of Immigrants being appointed, the work they are supposed to do is often adversely criticised, so that the supplies of natives are curtailed and even stopped? In a word, why, and in what manner, do these Protectors fail to satisfy the various Governments, at home, and in the Colonies, who employ them?

(5) When the answers to any of the above questions go against the planters, can their critics suggest other and more satisfactory methods for obtaining and safeguarding the labour required to develop the tropics, and enable them to yield a fair return on the £ 50,000,000 * already invested in rubber planting alone, to say nothing of the other industries? If they cannot suggest improved means to bring this about, is this large amount of money to be sacrificed, and the large sums it would cause to be paid in wages lost to the natives, simply because the European has not yet had time to evolve a method of handling his raw native in a manner satisfactory to all, *viz.*, those interested in the matter financially, the native and the arm chair critic at home?

It is much easier to find fault than to suggest practical remedies. Whilst the law is very busy insisting that every one must be kept alive when sickness and disease is rampant, is it not, at the same time, rather slack in pointing out how the people are to be fed when cured

* To-day (1915) estimated as being nearer £ 100,000,000.

of their disease? What does it benefit the native to be cured of an illness only to starve afterwards? If by our laws and regulations we increase the population by keeping children and adults alive, it is certainly our duty to see that work, when such work can be found, is placed at their disposal, and that the native, adequately safeguarded, be made to do it. White planters, on their side, cannot be expected to pay wages for inadequate work, and if the labourers show signs, on account of homesickness, or indolence, of preferring to be hard up and even half-starving, or of being kept at the public's expense (a little weakness by no means confined to the labourer in the tropics), because they are not paid above the value of the service they render, they should be compelled to work and do their share in making the world go round, rather than be allowed to become a burden to themselves and others. India from all accounts would suffer far less from plague and famine, if some 2,000,000 of her people were transferred to other tropical centres, where their services are badly needed, and in these days when miracles are being performed in other fields, it certainly seems strange that these 2,000,000 should be left to starve in India, and to cause as many more to do the same owing to the over population out there.

To-day, compared to ten and twenty years ago, sees the danger of famine aggravated as the cost of food everywhere is steadily and permanently rising† whilst the average income per capita, although higher than it was, has not increased to a corresponding extent. The increased cost of living, on the top of increased populations, and heavier taxation necessary to keep us alive, will continue to rise, and therefore it is our duty to see that outlets are supplied to work off, either the surplus males alone, or of whole families, from the congested centres, where they are not wanted, and transfer them elsewhere, where their presence will be an advantage to themselves and others. Arrived at their new home, they need not stop there permanently, unless they wish to, although it is wonderful what a large percentage prefer to do so; but they must agree to stop a certain number of years, during which they can, and do, accumulate considerable sums of money, which they use with benefit to themselves and also, in the aggregate, to India or wherever they come from, if they return home.

Strenuous efforts are being made in India, to raise both the standard of living, as well as the methods of cultivation employed, and the manner in which the ryots prepare their crops. Now nothing would help forward so necessary a reform as to induce as many of the people as possible to visit other centres, where they can learn simple, scientific methods of cultivation, &c., and be trained to realise the advantages of adopting them. The Indian ryots are slow to change their ways, until they are dead certain of the benefits of so doing.

† This is very applicable to this year of grace 1915.

Trusting nobody, they believe in nobody, and ask for no man's advice as how to do, or not to do, their own work. It is only by proof positive that they can be induced to alter their methods. Here, therefore, is another important reason for organising the labour supplies of the tropics, and for guiding and moving it out of the rut it is in, to the benefit of the natives themselves, and of the world at large. If they are not pulled out of their rut, they will sink to so low a level, that like the Australian aborigines they will become extinct, and the tropics will be the poorer for a loss that should not be allowed to come to pass. It is high time, therefore, that a start be made, otherwise nature and necessity may cause a movement to take place along lives that are beneficial to no one, and if this does happen, the blame would rest on those who were more ready to find fault than to remedy the disease.

Last month in an article that I wrote (see "Tropical Life" June, 1911, Page 112) on the need of larger and more reliable supplies of labour in the tropics, I urged that in order to take advantage of the millions already invested, as well as to encourage further sums to follow, something must be done to bring about the better organisation of our labour supplies. There are thousands of miles of fertile land being starved for want of the crude labour necessary to work it, whilst there are millions of suitable labourers who would benefit by being placed on that land. Surely with a little care, tact, and consideration in handling the natives, the two can come together. The chief centres want a shake-up to distribute their children more evenly over the whole surface. Let us be warned in time, therefore, and do by peaceable methods what has too often been done by force and fighting. Modern social history can be said to have started with an upheaval in France in 1789. Modern scientific and industrial development began fifty years later, in 1839, with the utilisation of steam and mechanical appliances. Now, seventy years after the introduction of steam, comes the turn of the tropics and the coloured races, to be utilised for their benefit and that of our own people. Empty stomachs have caused, and always will cause, more trouble in this world than hot heads, and when one looks around it cannot be denied that in nearly every portion of the globe important social upheavals, especially among the lower classes, exist. Let us, therefore, take the opportunity to open up, with our capital, the sluices leading to fresh channels of employment, and at once start diverting the stream of surplus labour, from here, from India or elsewhere, whether under our flag or not, so that we shall assure our tropical planters and colonial agriculturists a sufficient and reliable labour supply of all nationalities, creeds and colours to make use of the capital that we have to invest, and they need the use of, to benefit the welfare of the tropics.

Summing up, therefore, I urge that steps be immediately taken to organise the supplies of native labour necessary for the development of the tropics in order to safeguard the lives and well-being of the natives on the one hand, and of the vast sums invested by the white races in tropical planting and other industries on the other. I ask this for the following reasons:—

(1) That the results of such organisation would benefit both immediately, and in the future—

(a) The native labourer.

(b) Those who have invested money in tropical undertakings.

(c) The trade generally of the centre where the labourer emigrates to, as well as his own country on his return.

(2) Every worker introduced into a newly developed centre, confers a double benefit on others. He removes a unit in the competition in the labour market at his own centre, and increases the demand for manufactured and other goods, from the centre to which he migrates.

(3) An assured supply of reliable labour would ensure a steady flow of capital to the tropics, whilst the absence of such a supply tends to place the capital already invested at a disadvantage, and even in some danger.

(4) That, since the authorities in many parts of India are anxious to raise the status of the agricultural classes and to improve the methods of cultivating their land and preparing their crops, every encouragement and inducement should be held out to this class to go to other producing centres for a term of years, so as to learn improved methods, and by the wages they would earn there to obtain the capital necessary to give them a start in life, either in the country of their birth or adoption. Unless this is done the wished-for reforms will be indefinitely delayed in India, and the masses in her over-populated centres continue to live in a more or less chronic state of semi-starvation.

The Chairman. I am very glad for my own part that Mr. Smith did not abridge his paper, because we have all been immensely interested in it. The closing proposition of his paper, as to the relations of labour to capital, is one that appeals to all of us, but after listening to all that he has had to say, it still seems to me that to deal with tropical labour in any such way will entail enormous difficulties which to an inexperienced man like myself seem almost insurmountable. Any one who has handled labour in this or in European countries, knows that to handle a given number of men of the labouring class is many times more difficult than to handle the same number of men of any other class, and I fancy something of the same kind will turn out to be the case in the Tropics. There, as elsewhere they like to act according to their own initiative, I hope we shall have a full discussion on this important point.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Emigration to Saigon (Cochin China).

The following is a translation of a decree of the Governor of Cochin China, dated the 26th April 1915, regulating the disembarkation of foreigners at Saigon:

(i) From this date no foreigner shall be allowed to disembark in the Colony unless he is provided with a properly authenticated passport or unless the Consul of the nation to which he says he belongs guarantees him.

Every foreigner, allowed to disembark here, if he wishes to reside in the Colony, must provide himself with a special permit issued by the Chief of the Police.

(ii) Foreigners not allowed to disembark must remain on board the steamer. Those who may succeed in disembarking without leave will be sent back by the next steamer either at their own expense or in the case of destitution at the expense of the shipping line bringing them here.

(iii) The following regulations applying to passenger steamers coming from the north will also in the future be applied to those coming from the south.

A Police official will go on board the boat at Nhabe. The master must hand him a list of all foreigners on board including foreigners forming part of the crew.

(iv) All ship officials must give every assistance in their power to the Police to prevent foreigners not authorised to land from leaving the ship.

(v) French citizens or Proteges will be obliged to prove their nationality before disembarking either producing a proper passport or other documents proving their status. Those who may be unable to produce such documents or who possess insufficient proof of their nationality will only be allowed to land if they can produce some one (approved of by the authorities) to go security for them.

(vi) This decree in no way modifies the application of the Governor-General's decree, dated October 3rd, 1911, on the "Immigration of Foreigners" or those regulations concerning Foreigners of Asiatic Extraction.

Dr. Schidrowity.—I was very much interested in Mr. Smith's paper. What struck me more than anything in the East was the vast difference in the characteristics of the different types of labour employed there. You cannot handle a Tamil in the same way that you can a Chinaman, and you cannot handle a Chinaman in the same way as a Malay. They each have their individual characteristics. More than that, a Chinaman of one caste must be handled in an entirely different way to a Chinaman from another part. The Malay, who is the only inhabitant of the Malay Peninsula, is a peculiarly independent person. He likes to do individual labour, anything that leaves him his own individuality. One result of this is that the Malay will very rarely go in for routine work, such as that on a plantation. If you put him in a position where his individual characteristics have free play, he is all there; if you use him as a common labourer you can do nothing with him. The Tamil is very unlike the Malay in that respect, and the Chinaman is between the two. There is a vast gulf between the educated Chinaman, or the Chinese skilled labourer and the common Chinese coolie. The gulf is immense; it is far greater than the difference between the skilled labourer at home and the ordinary agricultural labourer. The Chinese skilled labourer is probably as skilful as any in the world. The Chinese coolie, on the other hand, is of a very low type, but you can practically teach him to do anything, and personally I feel that in time to come the plantations will have to rely very largely on Chinese labour of this type. The Tamil will do what he is told more or less efficiently, but as regards intelligence he does not compare either with the Malay or the Chinaman. In looking at the labour problem these characteristics have to be borne in mind, and you cannot put into force any cut and dried plan to deal with every type of labour in the same way.

A MISSION TO FIJI ISLANDS.

Messrs. F. C. Andrews and W. W. Pearson, who are sailing this week for Colombo and thence to Australia and Fiji Islands to study the Indian Indenture question, arrived in Bombay. They leave for Ahmedabad where they will visit the new institution called Satya Griha Ashram, recently started by Mr. M. K. Gandhi for the training of workers on a spiritual basis for the service of the country. Mr. Gandhi has come down to Bombay to meet them.

Indian Students and the Officer's Training Corps.

Mr. K. Guruswami, of St. John's College, Cambridge, writes to the "Daily Chronicle" as follows:—

To many in England, who till the Great Powers of Europe began the bloody struggle and occupied themselves little with thoughts of other countries, one of the revelations in this tremendous tragedy has been the manifestation of the true spirit of India in relation to affairs British or Imperial. It is not too much to say that India has acted generously and nobly. No man, be

he the most inconsiderate globe-trotter, the most incredulous journalist, or the most diabolical politician, can now induce himself or others to doubt the strength of her faith. One has only to think of her finance, her crises, and of her half-fed, ill-clothed, plague and cholera-molested peasant-multitudes, illiterate, but hard-working and peace-loving, and then think of her expeditionary force promptly sent on, the declaration of war, fully equipped for the field in every detail. Think of her misery and poverty, human beings having to live on £2 a year, and then think if you will of her magnificent donations and subscriptions.

Yes, it becomes her well ; had there been less generosity, less readiness on her part to offer assistance in time of danger, it would not have been in accordance with my country's traditions. It would not have been an adequate expression of my country's soul.

Yet we Indians in this country, try as we may, cannot even get a training in the O.T.C.—let alone commissions in any army—in the very Universities that have admitted us into their colleges. The authorities, we find, are as ready to reject our applications as we are eager to offer ourselves for work of military value. I hesitate to believe that it is our nationality that puts us in a peculiarly disadvantageous position, for this interpretation of the situation would only land those who offer it in monstrous self-contradictions.

Lord Morley, in days when he was less obscure than now, said that my countrymen "cry for the moon." Whether the thought in this does more credit to his powers of judgment and of sympathetic imagination, or the expression to his erudition, I do not know ; but I would like to know if you or any of your readers would say that our cry for a place at the front is a "cry for the moon," and hence this letter.

Citizens of a Great Empire.

The Hon. Sir William M. Millan, K.C.M.G., President of the British Empire League in Australia, delivered an address at the Royal Society's House, Sydney, N. S. W., on the 13th March 1915, at a General Meeting of the Members of the League, on "The War in its relation to Democracy and the future of the Empire." In the course of his address, he referred to some of the special phases of this war, the action of neutral countries and among other matters, the question of a pure democracy ruling a great Empire divided in its different parts by thousands of miles of ocean. Apart from the settlement of Europe and the establishment of a peace that may outlast the present century, he points out that one of the most important questions for our British people is, How will this war affect the Empire?

How will it affect home legislation so as to meet new conditions as democracy calls for better conditions of

life, higher education, and the attempt to satisfy all the sane and reasonable aspirations of mankind?

One thing it should do, and has begun to do already, it has brought together all classes and sections of the community into one common bond of nationality, rising above all social distinctions, and exhibiting in the highest degree if not the brotherhood of men the brotherhood of race.

In the inevitable years to come, when the enormous loss of capital must take several decades to rebuild, it may bring about a reduction in the senseless exhibition of wealth and the expenditure which does not reproduce, and which only benefits the smallest section of the community. Natural causes will of themselves ensure this. When the war is over there will for many years be universal mourning. Scarcely a home will be without the memory of its best and its dearest sacrificed on the altar of their country. And all these sobering elements must have a strong ethical influence on the lives of the people.

Finally, how will it affect us as citizens of a great Empire? It must, of course, bring about, not only closer ties and an enduring pride in our destiny, but it must also entail some practical scheme of political union, at any rate, for defensive purposes and for continual conferences on all matters of common Imperial interests. *Probably one of the most important and difficult questions will be the gradual political evolution of India within itself and in its relations to all the self-governing Colonies.*

Emigration and the War.

Canadians are already devoting considerable attention to the problems that will follow peace. As to the conditions of the peace itself they naturally feel that their sacrifices entitle them to a voice in the final settlement. Discussion of the aftermath of the war has been concentrated, for the most part, on the economic and financial problems that will arise. Of these, the question of immigration is the most important. Increase of population is a matter of vital interest to the future prosperity of Canada, and it is difficult to forecast the effects of the war in this direction. The general opinion appears to be that the conclusion of peace will be followed by a large increase in the number of colonists, but it is by no means certain that this will be the case. As far as Britishers are concerned much will depend on the arrangements made by the Home Government to provide for disbanded soldiers—assuming always that disbandment takes place on a large scale, an assumption which may not be borne out by experience. If adequate provision can be made at home, emigration will not be on such a large scale as is generally anticipated. The number of foreign settlers will certainly be comparatively small for some years.

France will be deficient in able-bodied men, and will discourage those she has from quitting her shores. As regards Germany a mutual prejudice will act as a deterrent for some time, while the surplus population of Italy will have seriously declined. Moreover, a large influx of immigrants connotes heavy State expenditure on the development of tracts now sparsely populated, and this entails access to a cheap and plentiful supply of capital. London will have to be far more cautious than it has been in the past, while America will release money that would ordinarily be devoted to her own development only if the terms offered are sufficiently attractive. On the whole, it is very doubtful whether an immediate increase in population will occur.—*Civil and Military Gazette.*

School Rates in Suva.

DISCUSSION IN THE COUNCIL.

A letter was read at the Municipal Council recently from the Suva School Board, stating that applications had been received from George Suchit—(Indian) and two Chinese asking for admission to the school on the ground that they paid school rates. It was pointed out that under the Ordinance of 1890 it appeared they were not required to pay rates.

The Town Clerk : George Suchit does not pay school rates. The Chinese have always done so.

Cr. Good : There is no reason why the coloured people should not attend the school. A large number pay rates and the others do not do so because they have not been asked. I know myself they come here and express their willingness to pay rates.

Cr. Johnson : If the native was compelled to pay rates he would have just cause for complaint if his children were excluded. Speaking as a father, I know the white people do not desire their children to associate with the native. At the same time I think it would be very unfair to charge those people rates.

Cr. Good moved that the matter be referred to a committee of the whole Council.

Cr. Johnson said he did not care if he attended fifty meetings, he had made up his mind.

The motion was seconded by Cr. Mackay.

Cr. Johnson moved an amendment that any people who were not allowed to send their children to school, be immune from rates.

The Mayor : It ought to be considered. We hear of legislation being passed preventing these people from voting unless they are able to read and write English, and no provision made in return.

Cr. Terry Smith said he certainly objected to their going to school with Europeans.

Cr. Marr said that judging by the opinions that had been expressed, no useful purpose would be served by holding a special meeting.

Cr. Mackay said the school rates that had been paid should be refunded.

Cr. Terry Smith : How long is it since we commenced to collect the rates?

The Town Clerk : Chinese have always paid school rates. Half-castes were put on the list this year. Indians have not paid them.

After further discussion of the Ordinance it was decided that there was no power to collect the rates mentioned. The amendment was withdrawn.

Cr. Mackay withdrew his seconding of the motion. All he wanted, he said, was to see that people who were not getting a service were not being called on to pay for it.

The motion lapsed.

Cheating Coolies.

The *Statesman* announces that at Howrah, sometime ago, some coolies, who had been sent to Rangoon, were returning to their native villages, and at Howrah station two Sub-Agents of Messrs. Andrew Yule and Co. were asked to look after them. The two Sub-Agents collected Rs. 115 from the coolies to purchase tickets, but misappropriated the money and handed over luggage tickets to the coolies. The fraud was detected before the train left with the result that the accused were arrested. The Passenger Superintendent of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway at Howrah stated that he had noticed for the past two years how chartered coolies suffered at the hands of their agents at Howrah station. The Magistrate sentenced one man to nine months' and the other to three months' rigorous imprisonment.

Colonials in the Indian Public Services.

Among the various questions asked at the last meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, that put by Mr. Surendranath Banerjea regarding the number of Colonials employed in India, disclosed some interesting facts. There are 14 Colonials in the Indian Civil Service, and of these three come from South Africa, one from Canada, five from Australia, and five from New Zealand ; and it is significant that the Australian has been fortunate enough in obtaining a post in the Provincial Civil Service. The Police Department employed seven Colonials, the Forest Department four, the Public Works Department five, the Customs Department two, the Agricultural Department one, while there are six in the Educational Department, one coming from Canada, two from Australia, and two from New Zealand. In the Indian Medical Service there are no less than 17 Colonials. There are in all 67 Colonials serving in the Public Services of this country, of whom

10 come from South Africa, 16 from Canada, 29 from Australia, and 12 from New Zealand.

Dr. K. D. Shastri at the Panama Exposition.

It is understood that Dr. Keshava Deo Shastri M. D. of Benares has been invited to be the representative of India in the following Congresses which are being held in connection with the Panama Pacific Exposition at San. Francisco:—The International Congress of Religious Philosophies, the international Students Re-Union, the International Educational Congress, the International Buddhist Congress and the International Press Congress. He has accepted the invitation. He will be the President of Hindustani Students Convention. He has joined the International Press Congress as the Representative of "Nawajivan." There will be some other representatives of the "Press of India," but among them Dr. Shastri alone will deliver a speech on the "Press of India." In the International Congress of Religious Philosophies there will be a Hindu day-a day set apart for lectures on Hindu Religion. This day will be spent according to the instructions of Dr. Shastri.

Fiji's Future.

The *Western Pacific Herald* publishes the following correspondence on the subject of the Future of Fiji handed to them by the Hon. J. M. Hedstrom.

Government House,
Suva, Fiji,
July 25, 1915.

Sir,—With reference to my letter of April 17 last, I am directed by the Governor to acquaint you that His Excellency has been informed by the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that there is no foundation for the rumour that negotiations are proceeding between His Majesty's Government and the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia regarding the future administration of Fiji.

(2) I am to enclose for your information, a copy of the question on the subject asked in the House of Commons on April 29 last, and of the reply given by the Secretary of State. I am, yours faithfully,

A. HALLAM ROBERTS,
Private Secretary.

QUESTION.

Sir J. D. Rees: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies, whether any change is at the present time contemplated in the position of Fiji in regard to its relations with the Imperial Government and the Commonwealth Government (Thursday, April 29).

ANSWER.

Mr. Harcourt: No, sir.

Disposal of an Emigrant's Fortune.

A contemporary writes:—

The town of Cocanada has been the recipient of a munificent gift of eight lakhs. Mr. Malladi Sathialingam Naiker, a fisherman, who it is said to have begun life as a lascar but who later went to Rangoon and there amassed a fortune, has left the above sum to be used for certain charities in Cocanada. He is said to have been a native of Coringa port near Cocanada that fell into ruin when Cocanada came into prominence, and was worth about fifty lakhs at his death. According to the terms of the will, the deceased's adopted son Malladi Subramanian, his managing clerk, Pinapotu Govindrajulu, Mr. Durisheth Seshagiri Rao Pantulu, late Chairman of the Cocanada Municipality, and Mr. Kovvur Adireddi of Cocanada are made trustees. A sum not exceeding one lakh is to be used (a) to acquire and build a school with large play-grounds and up to date gymnasia in Jotea Nadhapur, Cocanada: (b) to build a stone temple in Sallingie village near Cocanada and instal a deity, the deity to be installed to be decided by trustees; (c) to build a choultry near the school in Jogantejoge, Nadhapur, for feeding the poor. It is provided that the school must be open to all classes of children irrespective of caste or creed and should provide for the education of boys and girls up to the primary standard. In addition classes for instruction in carpentry, weaving, pottery, and other handicrafts must be provided and the education so provided must be free for all. The interest from the seven lakhs remaining after erecting these buildings is to be used for the maintenance of these charities and also for sending every year of one Madras student for higher or technical education to Europe, America, Japan or other foreign country. Such student may select any subject of study, but law and general medicine, and must on no account take part in seditious politics during his stay in the foreign country on pain of forfeiting further support from the fund.

Army Commissions for Indians.

At a recent meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, Sir F. Younghusband referred to the matter and said: "Whether the Indian was worse or better than the British soldier, he came at a crucial moment and did a service for the Empire for which the Empire owed him gratitude. With regard to the future, it could safely be predicted that new conditions would arise. The old demand of Indians for commissions in the army would be pressed; there would be demands for a more definite share in the Councils of the Empire, a larger part in the management of their own affairs, the right to bear arms and to volunteer, and a more equal social position. And the chiefs who had stood so nobly by us might well hope to be granted a more prominent and effective part in the affairs of the Empire."

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

LAW.

Hindu Law; Book I: General Principles and Marriage, By P. R. Ganapathy Iyer, B.A., B.L., *High Court Vakil, Madras. Printed by Thompson & Co., Madras, Price Rs. 15.*

This work is the result of many years of experience of the author both as a lawyer and as lecturer on Hindu law in the Government Law College, Madras. Apart from the intrinsic merits of the book itself, the fact that the author was intimately connected with such great scholars as the Dewan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao Sahib, Sir V. Bashyam Iyengar, Sir S. Subramania Iyer, Mr. V. Krishnaswami Iyer and Mr. P. R. Sundara Iyer, all of whom except the first, have been distinguished Judges of the Madras High Court, is a guarantee in itself that the treatise under review must be useful to all interested in the study of Hindu law.

Pages 1 to 382 deal with General Principles and the rest, nearly 300 pages more, deal with marriage. Both these sections abound in useful information. Excerpts from the Caste Disabilities Removal Act, High Court Statutes, Letters Patent, Civil Courts Act, Hindu Widow Re-marriage Act, Indian Majority Act, Special Marriage Act and Foreign Marriage Act, form useful appendices to the book. The Chapter on Gotras and Pravaras from the *Nirnaya-sindhu*, the work of Kamalakara, a very learned and respected author who lived in the 17th century, is added as the last appendix.

Thus, the book, so far as it goes, is very exhaustive and may be consulted with profit by both students and practitioners. We ought always to hail with pleasure books on Hindu law written by Hindus themselves in preference to those written by foreign authors, however gifted the latter may be. The Hindu system of law is so different from any other system extant that it would be difficult in a foreigner to view it with tolerance and sympathy. There are instances where want of sympathy has dulled the intellect and warped the judgment of Englishmen, and one such instance is furnished by Mr. Mayne the well-known author of the standard work on Hindu law. Of late there have been a number of gifted Hindu lawyers who have written on various branches of Hindu law, and as all of them belong to other Presidencies than that of Madras it is with great pleasure that we welcome the work under review as being the product of an author who besides being well-qualified for the task by his experience and erudition, is a Brahmin practising in Madras and governed by the Dravida School of Hindu law. We sincerely hope that other gentlemen practising in this Presidency who, we are aware, are well-qualified

to write on Hindu law, will follow the noble example set by Mr. Ganapathi Iyer.

R. G. S.

WAR LITERATURE.

The Secrets of the German War Office, by Dr. A. K. Graves, T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London, price 1s. net.

No subject at present gives greater curiosity and more anxious interest to the public at large than the secrets of the enemy War Office. These astounding revelations by Dr. A. K. Graves, late spy of the German Government, of the "Secrets of the German War Office," enable us to gauge the strength of the enemy somewhat accurately. We were quite in the dark as regards the perfect mechanism of the elaborate system of espionage in vogue in Germany. The book before us gives us in a succinct manner how the officers at Wilhelmstrasse and Koenigergratzerstrasse, hold and administer the intricate network of the spy system throughout the foreign countries.

Dr. A. K. Graves is a great globe trotter. After an extensive travel in Australia and New Zealand, he landed a month before the South African trouble in Cape Town. His subsequent acquaintance with Count Reitzenstein of Berlin, during the South African War, materially changed the course of his life. At the suggestion of the Count, he accepted the proposal to serve Germany in political capacity as a secret agent of the Imperial Government. Captain Von Tappken very gladly entertained him at his bureau in the Koenigergratzerstrasse 70, the headquarters of the Intelligence Department of the Imperial Navy in Berlin, and he was soon introduced into the mysteries of the European Secret Service and Espionage. Every Government in Europe is keeping a stringent watch on one another's movements and this is possible only through an efficient system of espionage, undertaken by well-trained men and women, ready to run any risk. Dr. Graves himself confesses, "I have been imprisoned twice, once in the Balkans at Belgrade, once in England. I have been attacked five times and bear the marks of wounds to this day. Escapes have I had by the dozen. All my missions were not successes, more often failures, and the failures are often fatal."

He was given sufficient instruction in Topography, Trigonometry, Naval Construction and Drawing, essential for secret service work, by means of which he achieved great success in his mission to the Straits Settlements and to Port Arthur, before the Russo-Japanese War. The author also had the fortune to serve the Army and the Navy division, controlled by the General Staff of Berlin, the most marvellous organization in the world and the Political and Personal branch controlled from Wilhelmstrasse by the Emperor in person or his immediate Privy Councillor. Dr. Graves,

after his return from the Far East in 1905, was immensely pleased to serve in this branch, the plum of the service, for he knew that he could be in closer touch with the bigger affairs of diplomacy.

His further travels on his different missions were, indeed, romantic to a degree. In the sublime Porte he knew that the court officials were in French and Russian pay and even managed to get from Constantinople valuable documents of a woman in the French Secret Service. During the period of extra political tension in 1910, he was on the watch for a possible meeting of the French, Russian and English ministers in Monte Carlo. There he acted the part of a rich South African miner. With the help of Countess Chechany, he learned that the object of their Conference was to make an arrangement between France and Russia, with the understanding of England, to force Germany into abject isolation and for a possible meeting between the President of France and the Czar of Russia. It was by a master-stroke of the Kaiser that Europe was prevented from a general European conflagration in the Moroccan crisis, although his object proved to be to test the sincerity of the alliance between England and France. Dr. Graves proved to be a jack-of-all-trade, for at the meeting in the Taunus Forest, he was able to understand the gist of the meeting of the Austro-German, English embassies, by acting as a butler. This meeting made clear the break up of the federation of the Balkans. His mission to Belgrade made it evident that "a systematic Russification was in progress" in Bulgaria and Servia.

The important and unsuccessful mission to England was the end of his untiring work for Germany. The Rosyth incident and his trial in Edinburgh made a great revolution in English and Continental papers. After his imprisonment in the Isles for a few months in 1912, he became an English Secret Agent and was in the service of Downing Street. In his last trip to America, he obtained a document, by which the English were able to learn the object of the supposed meeting of the German and the Japanese Agents in America.

The chapter on "The German War Machine" is an admirable one, showing the scientific thoroughness of the Organization, Transport, Supply and Intelligence of the German War Machine.

Will the concluding sentence of book prove prophetic, "Wilhelm holds the thunderbolt which will shake the world." We trust not. V. K.

TRAVEL.

An Englishman's Recollections of Egypt, by Baron de Kusel (Bey), *John Lane, The Bodley Head, price 10s. 6d.*

The Bodley Head has made personal memoirs one of

its special lines and this volume, finely printed and handsomely got up, is a welcome addition to its excellent collection. The memoirs now presented to the public are those of Baron de Kusel, an Englishman, who went to Egypt in the early sixties, and worked his way up to the English Controller-Generalship of Egyptian customs.

The author does not profess to write a history of Egypt, but having been there in an historic epoch and come in contact with those who made history, he is naturally in a position to throw light upon several points of interest. No historian can ignore the evidence furnished in these memoirs as to the relations between Zobeir Pasha and General Gordon; his account of Arabi Pasha is interesting; while, his narrative of the several happenings at the bombardment of Alexandria in which the Baron played a notable part will always have the value that attaches to an eyewitness's account. He mixed more closely than is usual with the Egyptian notables, including the Khedives, and enjoyed to some extent their intimacy and friendship. It is interesting to note that Khedive Tewfik Pasha expressed himself to the Baron that his advice was neither sought nor acted upon by those who held the reins of power. His estimate of Khedive Ismail Pasha and of Cherif Pasha is very flattering to them. In his opinion, the Nationalists had some legitimate grievance in the distribution of patronage. The Baron himself was a victim, for, to make room for the despotism of those in power, his services were dispensed with, and this, notwithstanding his unique experience and intimate knowledge of the country and its peoples, high and low. Even the signal services rendered by him at the bombardment of Alexandria were forgotten and it is greatly to be regretted that his services were not re-engaged ever after.

Many an Anglo-Indian will be able to recall stories and adventures similar to those related by the Baron, for, both Egypt and India present the same features of Oriental character. The way in which he spent his three months at the American Consulate makes amusing reading. His dinner with Colborne at Zabeir Pasha's recalls a similar story in *The Book of Snobs*. The account of how he outwitted the Governor who sought to blackmail him for his philanthropic flour-mill is excellent. Stories such as these give a very vivid picture of the country and its condition, and we hope that the Baron will gather all such experiences and anecdotes into a future volume descriptive of the life and manners of the Egyptians of those days. This is a task for which he is eminently fitted, as there are few now alive whose memories of Egypt can go back to the sixties.

The volume appropriately closes with a chapter on the Protectorate now established under which Egypt, by the dispensation of Providence, has been freed from those diplomatic disguises which were hampering Great Britain in her humanising and civilising mission. (M. S.)

POLITICS.

America to Japan, edited by Lindsay Russell, President of the Japan Society in New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, price \$1.25

Several Japanese statesmen and thinkers conveyed, in March 1914, their message of good intentions and good will to the citizens of the United States, and this is the American reply reciprocating them. It is issued under the auspices of the Japan Society of America, whose President, Mr. Lindsay Russell, evidently spared no pains in getting together several of the most representative and influential Americans of the day to write for this volume. The views and opinions thus focussed, being those held by the foremost makers of public opinion in America, should serve to allay those mutual jealousies and misunderstandings which are the fruitful parents of horrible wars. There is, indeed, a special appropriateness in the exchange of messages like these between these two countries, as Japan owes to the rude awakening by American guns under Commodore Perry, her present pre-eminent position among the two or three great Military Powers of the world.

The messages in this volume envisage the possibility of harmony and co-operation at various points where a conflict of interests may be expected and they ought to stand out as beacon lights in the dark and dreary sea of diplomacy.

There is, however, a singular reticence (only one writer upon touches the subject) concerning the ambitions in China long cherished by Japan, which, since the issue of this volume, have materialised in extensive 'spheres of pacific penetration' and other polite insignia of ascendancy. These happenings have, no doubt, perturbed American opinion, but there are statesmen enough in either country who can and will adjust their mutual differences peaceably and with honour, as both countries labour only for the betterment of China.

To have made so many glittering personages of world-wide celebrity express their views of Japan is an achievement of no small worth and importance, and the credit is due to the untiring energy of the editor, Mr. Lindsay Russell, whose portrait is given as the frontispiece.

M. S.

France in Danger, by Paul Vergnet, translated by Beatrice Barstow, *John Murry, London, Price 2s. 6d. net.*

Monsieur Paul Vergnet is a patriotic Frenchman and presented this book as a warning to his countrymen of the war that they are so gallantly engaged in now. The French version appeared shortly before the

commencement of hostilities, in October, 1913, and subsequent events have amply and unfortunately proved the apprehensions of the author as well-founded. In this he has done a signal service to his country, in showing it the imminence of war. He is a patriot and no chauvinist and felt it his duty to sound the tocsin of alarm in right time and this, let it be said to his credit, he has done in no spirit of that class of prophets who are never so satisfied as when one of their gloomy predictions come true. The author mentions to have received warnings of the coming events from foresighted Alsatians and Frenchmen, and remembering Theophile Ganter's moving definition of patriotism on the eve of the reverses of 1870—"Mother is being beaten. Help!"—has gone to her help in the way in which it was possible for him to do, that is to say, "to collect all possible information" and "to give it its full value as an object-lesson and as a sincere and loyal warning." And he fulfilled his purpose.

Those who have closely followed, as M. Paul Vergnet, the Pan-German movement can scarcely fail to be impressed by the danger it insidiously was shedding on its unsuspecting neighbours and on the world in general. The progress and intrigues of the Pan-German League are truly astounding and its propagandists would have been long dismissed as mad enthusiasts, if the poison they distilled did not at first cover the state and country as a whole and plunge the German nation in a hecatomb of terrific destruction. The better mind of Germany, its Emperor, and then the Emperor of Austria were first enveloped in this blinding mist and converted into willing tools for forging the chain of Pan-German culture on the world. But the world knew better and how to handle the madman in their midst. Every nation outside Germany—and even Germany itself—need to be protected and the warning that M. Paul Vergnet addresses to his nation is capable of universal application to-day. "France is in danger," he writes,—and we add every country under the sun—"because of the deliberate will and concerted plan of a powerful society of bellicose doctrinaires, who have made her final annihilation at no very distant date the first condition of the gigantic work towards which imperialist Germany aspires." We all know the programme of the Pan-Germans, that is why we have dug the Allied trenches in Flanders and hailed the Cossacks across the continent. The Pan-German movement is bound to become sooner or later history—the history of a deluded nation who sung its own dirge, despite well-meant warnings. We commend the excellent study of this movement, contained in the book, as an illustration of the imbecility that sometimes overtakes the mind of great individuals as well as that of nations.

C. S. K.

Democracy and the Control of Foreign Affairs, by Arthur Ponsonby, M. P., A. C. Fifield, 13 Clifford's Inn, London, E.C., price, 8d. net.

This booklet is a plea for more information and greater publicity regarding international affairs. The author who is a member of the British Parliament would effect this through.

- (1) More frequent opportunities for discussion in the House of Commons,
- (2) Answers to Parliamentary questions,
- (3) The laying of papers on Foreign questions, and
- (4) Pronouncements by the Foreign Secretary in the country.

Knowledge 'of policy and events' concerning foreign affairs—which would in no way hinder the smooth running of international relations, while considerably helping the country in forming judgment on foreign affairs—is not a revolutionary request. Though the question is certain to excite contention, Mr. Ponsonby pleads only for the barest justice, viz., to let the *demos* out of their present mischief-breeding ignorance.

S.

HISTORY.

An Introduction to English History, Part 1, Pre-Tudor Period, by A. M. S. Raghavan, C. Subbiah Chetty & Co., Madras, price As. 14.

The author is a history graduate of an Indian University and has been a long time lecturer in English history in different well-known colleges of this presidency. These qualifications fit him to treat about a subject which he has handled with success. The book is primarily intended for students preparing for the Intermediate Examination in Arts of Indian Universities and the author's valuable experience in coaching this class of pupils has been well utilised in its production. The author has "striven to make the manner of it as popular as one can make it in the class room" and in this we are certain he has not failed.

Mr. A. M. S. Raghavan has worthily endeavoured to speak through the book and has successfully suited the style and manner to it. The pre-Tudor period has been judiciously marked off into 29 lessons and the balance has been skilfully preserved between making each lesson self-sufficient in itself and at the same time treating it as one in an organic whole. Notes are appended at the conclusion of each important lesson and these should be helpful to fix the events in the student's mind. The exclusion of burdensome details and a pedantic parade of apparatus, as a good class text should consist of, will be well received by both the student and teaching fraternity.

C. S. K.

ANNUALS.

The Writers, Artists and Year Book, 1915, edited by G. E. Milton, Adam and Charles Black, London, price 1s. net.

We acknowledge with thanks receipt of this useful annual. It contains information of value to the freelance journalist, such as the names of the prominent periodicals, of literary agents, news agencies, book publishers, etc., in Britain, Canada, America and the Colonies. The book contains also helpful suggestions on how to write to the Press, how to write Cinema plays, and on other subjects in which writers are ordinarily interested. No journalist should be without a copy of this book which is accessible for the small sum of a shilling.

The Indian Biographical Dictionary, by C. Haya-vadana Rao, B.A., B.L. Pillar & Co, Price Rs. 4.

We are indebted to Mr. C. H. Rao, Editor, *Mysore Economic Journal* for bringing out this valuable publication intended to be an Indian "Who is Who". The main purpose of the book is to place before the public a succinct biographical sketch of all important living persons connected with India. In a pioneer work of this kind, the author must have had considerable difficulties on the way and the fact that he had overcome them all is proved by the publication itself. The book under review cannot be anything but satisfactory considering the indifference of the general public to supply the information required. With greater co-operation on the part of the people by readily responding to letters asking for information, the Dictionary could be improved considerably.

We do not say that the work is perfect. But, even as it is, it is very useful to journalists and we have no doubt that in the course of a year or two, when it is thoroughly revised and enlarged it may prove indispensable to all classes of men.

Handbook of Jamaica, 1915, edited by J. C. Ford and Frank Cundall, and printed and published by the Government Printing Office, 79, Duke Street, Kingston, Jamaica or to be obtained from Mr. Edward Stanford, 12, 13 and 14, Longacre, London, W.C., price 6 s.

This is a typical handbook in its thirty-first year of publication. From its varied contents and the bulk of information contained in it compiled in part from official records, one could almost say the work is thorough. However, we would venture to suggest that if a short historical account of the Island is inserted just before the chronological history commencing on page 38 of the book, it will greatly help the readers to appreciate the colony better. The book is divided into nineteen parts and no subject connected with Jamaica has escaped the notice of the publishers.

The remarkable feature of the Island, which we learn from its description on page 33, is the existence of several mineral springs which are said to possess valuable qualities for the cure of various diseases and "the Bath at Milk River" in the district of Vere is one of the most remarkable in the world. It is particularly efficacious in the cure of gout, rheumatism, paralysis and neuralgia, also in cases of disordered liver and spleen. Some wonderful results are on record and it is believed that if the beneficial effects of these waters were more generally known in Europe and America, a large number of sufferers would be attracted to them.

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. II.

OCTOBER 31, 1915.

No. 3.

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.

INDIANS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

A MEMORIAL.

THE following Memorial, submitted by the "Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society," London, to the Secretary of State for India, on the subject of the disabilities of Indians in British Columbia, has been sent to us for publication.

8th May, 1915.

THE MOST HONOURABLE
THE MARQUESS OF CREWE, K. G.,
His Majesty's Principal Secretary
of State for India.

MY LORD MARQUESS,

The Committee of this Society has from time to time during the recent years brought before His Majesty's Government, either through the Colonial Office or the India Office, some of the disabilities from which His

Majesty's Indian subjects are suffering in the self-governing Dominions, the Crown Colonies, Protectorates and spheres of influence. In the opinion of the Committee, redress of these grievances is long overdue.

We recognize that this is not the moment to press for reforms, but, feeling convinced that the whole subject is under consideration with a view to redress at the earliest moment after the termination of international hostilities, we beg leave in this memorandum to bring before your Lordship the pressing claims of the Indian Community in British Columbia.

This Society received last year from the Friends' Association of British Columbia a copy of a Minute passed by that body in August (of which we understood that a copy was also sent to the India Office) in regard to the position and treatment of British Indians domiciled in Vancouver and the adjacent districts of British Columbia, recommending the appointment of an experienced official to represent and protect the interests of these immigrants. Since that time we have been in communication with Mr. Robert Clark, a member of the above-named Association, who is now in this country and has made earnest representations on the subject. We beg to enclose for your Lordship's perusal a statement, (somewhat abbreviated), of disabilities suffered by the Hindus, which has been forwarded to the Society by the local Association.

From this it will be seen that one of the most serious grounds of complaint relates to the prohibition of female immigrants. It is estimated that among about 4,000 British Indians now in British Columbia there are only five or six women, and no more are allowed by the Dominion Authorities to enter. It is hardly necessary to point out that this disproportion between the sexes leads to the gravest evils.

Further, the Indians point to the contrast between their treatment and that accorded to the Japanese who are allowed, under special treaty, to enter the province to the number of 400 per annum, which is often extended to 600 or 700. The Japanese are allowed to bring in their women without any restriction, and are admitted on showing that they possess fifty dollars on landing, while the Hindus have to possess 200 dollars.

Chinese immigrants are admitted on payment of 500 dollars per head without any limit in numbers, and, during 24 months in the years 1911-1913, 17,000 Chinese immigrants are said to have entered British Columbia. They are allowed as many women as they can support.

The British Indians feel very deeply the neglect with which their interests are regarded by Great Britain, and such neglect is only too likely to encourage disaffection and disloyal sentiments towards the Mother Country.

On behalf of our Committee, we submit that the time is rapidly approaching when the whole influence of the Indian Government and the India Office should be directed towards securing throughout His Majesty's Dominions some means by which the Indian Community may become articulate in Municipal and Colonial Administration.

It is obvious that local conditions must govern the particular procedure by which reforms are to find practical expression and, possibly, as preliminary to any such action, His Majesty's Government might institute an official enquiry into the whole of this problem. If, for example, a Commission could visit certain of the Colonies, the members would not only gather information of the utmost value to His Majesty's Government, but would, at the same time, impress upon colonial opinion the gravity of the issues at stake.

We have the honour to be,
My Lord Marquess,
Your Lordship's most humble
and obedient servants,
(Sd.) TRAVERS BUXTON,
Secretary.

(Sd.) JOHN. H. HARRIS,
Organising Secretary.

THE STATEMENT.

VANCOUVER,
31st October, 1915.
DISABILITIES SUFFERED BY THE HINDUS IN
VANCOUVER, B. C.

There is an unreasonable prejudice on the part of nearly all white people, caused by colour and by the Indians persisting in their native custom of wearing long hair, beard and turban.

The law forbids the immigrants bringing their wives with them, with the result that many drift into immoral lives, resulting, in many cases, in disease and an entire want of respect for the white race and for Christianity. This prohibition and the recently made law excluding all Hindus of both sexes from British Columbia they regard as wholly unjust considering that, as British subjects, they are entitled—subject, only to reasonable restrictions—to move freely within the Empire.

In cases of accident, when working for Companies and Corporations, great injustice is often done, the Companies practically never compensating until legally forced to do so, and then legal charges absorb almost all the allowance granted.

All places of amusement, and likewise most Churches, are closed to Hindus.

Public houses are open to them, and intoxicating liquors have been the downfall of many.

The immigrants strongly object to the humiliating practices insisted upon by the regulations. Men who return to India are allowed to come back if they return within one year, but only on condition that they leave their photographs and thumb-prints with the officials from whom they take the letter of permission to return. They regard the thumb-print as a bitter grievance and tantamount to a brand of criminality.

The treatment which the immigrants receive has resulted in a deep and bitter hatred against Canada and Canadians, and there is a current feeling among them that the British Government is glad of the Sikh when a good soldier is wanted, but is indifferent as to his treatment when he is working outside India for a livelihood.

If a British Indian officer of superior standing were appointed here with reasonable powers from the Dominion Government, he could adjust many matters for the immigrants to their betterment and satisfaction, and it would be felt that the British Government had some interest in their subjects when away from home.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF OPPRESSIVE TREATMENT.

Labh Singh, a labourer in a large lumber mill, was caught by his clothes in some machinery and his arm

was badly injured. He was taken to the hospital where he lay for several weeks. On leaving the hospital he applied to a member of the Friends' Association for assistance and two letters were written to the Manager of the mill where the man was employed on his behalf. Neither of the letters was acknowledged. A lawyer was then consulted and action commenced. At the last moment on the day of the trial Labh Singh's lawyer arranged a settlement with the lawyer acting for the mill agreeing to bear all medical and other expenses. After long delay, payment not having been made, Labh Singh eventually referred to the lawyer of the Insurance Company with whom the mill had a Policy, who offered him about half the amount promised. When he remonstrated, it appeared that the Doctor was a partner in the mill and had worked with the Hospital Authorities to induce the Court to issue a garnishee against the Insurance Company for their own charges, and to prevent the plaintiff from getting the allowance made him until these charges were paid. The man only got a mere pittance, less than half of what he might earn in the lost time caused by the accident.

A Hindu named Ganga Singh is owner of a piece of land in Kerrisdale, a suburb of Vancouver, on which he pays taxes. He applied last summer to the Building Inspector of the Municipality for a permit to build a small house, the charge for which is \$1.50 and he has his receipt for this amount. He was then advised that he could have his fee back but could have no permit to build the house. He applied to a member of the Friends' Association for assistance. The latter consulted the Building Inspector and laid the plans before him, but was told that no permit could be issued for a Hindu. It then appeared that a neighbouring Councillor objected to a Hindu neighbour and was able to prevent the issue of the permit, thus causing the Municipality to break its own laws. Protests being ineffectual the man decided to put up a tent instead of building a house, and was then summoned by the Police and ordered by the Magistrate to remove the tent. Ganga Singh is advised to take no action but let the Municipality take the first steps, but he is also informed that the Magistrate's order hangs over him, and that, if he does not appeal within six months, it will be forced and he will then have no redress. The plaintiff is poor and has no funds for legal expenses. It appears that the Municipality will break its own bye-laws and be upheld by the Court in order to satisfy local colour prejudice. The Hindu says that there is no justice in the country.

THE MEANING OF THE MEMORIAL.

By THE EDITOR.

"BELIEVING the British Empire to stand for justice, freedom, order and good government, we pledge ourselves, as citizens of the greatest Empire in the world, to maintain the heritage handed down to us by our fathers."

This is the creed of the Overseas Club founded some five years ago, of which His Majesty the King is the Patron. It is the same spirit that has perhaps animated now the Committee Members of the "Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society," London, to take up the cause of their Indian fellow subjects in British Columbia. Their solicitude and concern for the Hindus and the pressing claims put forward by them for the redress of their grievances, especially at this time of war, should strike every thoughtful and honest Britisher not only of the seriousness of the situation, but also of the great political significance of the allied force of India in the present European conflict for freedom and liberty.

While in one part of the world, the Indian is hailed with enthusiasm as a hard fighter and rewarded by His Majesty with Victoria Crosses for deeds of heroism, is it not strange and inexplicable that, in another part of the world, he is subject to all humiliating treatments? One is tempted to ask the question, how comes about this change in the national instinct and character of the British people in the Mother Country and in the Colonies. True Englishmen have always felt that love of liberty, they think that "to care for the liberty of others is the greatest note of culture." Unfortunately there are some in whom the baser elements prevail who then become blind to all sense of justice and traditions of their history. This is especially the case with the British working classes who have made the Colonies a kind of "Promised Land," to enter which they alone have the birth right. With the expansion of industry in England, there has grown up side by side a class of men who form the rank and file of the Labour Party and who have now begun to exert an influence on local politics and in parliamentary and municipal elections. This is the case also in other countries. It is from these Labour Unions that opposition against Indians in the Colonies on the social and economic side is supposed to have come. They have created the colour question and trade jealousy in South Africa and other Colonies. These so-called younger nations of the British Empire have found that in the Colonies the custom and tradition of the

Mother Country need not be closely followed or have the same binding force as in the older land. This Sir C. P. Lucas points out clearly in his book "Greater Rome and Greater Britain" as follows: "The Labour Movement, as it exists in the self-governing Dominions, is beyond question closely allied to the feeling of white against coloured races. Race affinity prefers the white man to the coloured man; class interest militates against the Indian or Chinese labourer as willing and able to work for less money than the white workman. From this it follows that, in the British Empire the tie of class runs counter to the tie of citizenship."

But for the Labour Organisations and Trades Unions, there would have been no colour question, no racial prejudice, or trade jealousy. The labour element in British Columbia and the American ports is largely responsible for this bitter feeling and bad blood against the Hindus.

Unlike the other Colonies inhabited by the Indians, British Columbia presents features peculiar to it. It is a land remarkable for its magnificent inland water system, its vast prairies resembling almost the plains of Punjab. It is no wonder then the class of people who migrated from India to this part of the British Empire is the sturdy and the stalwart Sikh, because this country presented prospects similar to his own. We have been told that the first Indians to see Canada were those hardy Sikh soldiers who were returning to India after the Diamond Jubilee Celebration in London in 1897. These men told their friends in their country and in the Far East, in the Straits, Hongkong and China of the great chances that await a hard-working soul. Since then a regular stream of men flowed into Canada when, in 1905, there were only 45 Hindus. In the next year the number increased to 387, and the next two years saw an unprecedented record of 2,124 and 2,623 Hindus arriving in Canada and these men have practically settled in the land. The trouble now is that these 5,000 Hindus could not get their wives to join them. This, by itself, is a serious disadvantage which has been found to produce the worst results as in the other colonies where the disproportion of sexes among Indians existed. The memorial has also made it clear the distinction which the Colonial Government has drawn between British Indian subjects and alien subjects who are given preferential treatment. One result of this invidious distinction is that British Indian subjects are looked down with contempt by other Governments and other nationalities. The United States has already begun to take a lesson from

Canada. The Raker Bill (introduced by Mr. J. E. Raker of California) is being seriously discussed to exclude all Hindu labourers from America. The Portuguese Government of East Africa had deprived Indians of a large number of privileges subsequent to the Boer War and the South African struggle.

This method of excluding Indians from the various self-governing colonies of the Empire is indefensible and unsound from the social and economic standpoints. We have pointed this out in our last February number when discussing about the Komagata Maru affair. The plea that the Asiatics accept lower wages than are paid to white labourers may not be really the truth. The Indian labourer is equally in need of higher wages, but he has not the means wherewithal to enforce them. In British Columbia, the fish canning establishments were closed last year, because the Japanese labourers working in the industry refused to accept low wages.

The *Toronto Star*, in an editorial dated 18th June 1915, offers a sensible solution to the question.

"We are quite sure that intelligent Indians do not want wages lowered or the standard of living reduced. Let Canadians and Indians get together, talk the matter over, and try to come to an understanding. That is diplomacy—broad diplomacy, modern diplomacy, as contrasted with the trickery and senseless ceremony that were once associated with the world. It would be quite possible to make some arrangement that would prevent the flooding of the labour market in British Columbia, without hurting the feelings of our Indian friends."

Again the theory, that the Colonies of Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa should be made a "White man's country," if forced to its logical conclusion, cannot be defended. A Canadian gentleman writing to a contemporary answers this question. Speaking of Canada itself he says "this was originally a red man's country, until we were told that the only good Indian was a dead Indian. We have succeeded in almost exterminating the original occupants of our soil, but it is fair to contend that there is nothing really and inherently objectionable in people of two or more distinct races living together side by side." We cannot forbear quoting a few more sentences which illustrate our point most convincingly.

"We must face the problem of teaching and insisting that it is no degradation for men of one race to work along with men of another. If it is such, why should white men go into Africa, inhabited by blacks and into China and Japan inhabited by Mongolians as well as into India peopled with an immense population of a race essentially our own (that is Aryan). If there is

any necessary repugnance and incompatibility, why should little white children grow up to be fond of their black or Hindu or other coloured nurses? What hardship was it to the students of Law in McGill to associate with Peter Hing, a Chinese student or with Arthur Yearswood a negro from British Guiana? How did it come about that a Negro came to be Chief Justice of Barbadoes, and that members of the diplomatic service in Lagos, West Africa, as black as ebony, have at the same time attained a high degree of culture and education? How did Livingstone live in harmony with the negroes of the dark continent, and thousands of other missionaries, the most successful of whom have treated the natives of other races most nearly on a footing of brotherhood and equality? The wealth of any community must be greatly increased by the larger number of men that can be induced to work steadily and industriously in developing the resources of the country. And if there are any undeveloped industries or natural resources that require labor, is it not much better that employment should be given to colored men rather than that these should remain undeveloped? And why should it be more objectionable to work with negroes or chinamen than with horses or oxen? There is no obligation upon us to make friends or partners of them. We choose our own friends, but we are none the less bound to treat those who are not admitted to any special friendship with justice, sympathy and kindness."

These are the views which ought to be impressed on the Canadians, the Australians and other supporters of the theory of "White Man's Country." Fortunately for us there is an intelligent section of public opinion in Canada, viz., the Canadian Press (*Vide* our September issue pages 48-51 for opinions) who are the real friends of British liberty and who regard that this sort of race prejudice must vanish.

Apart from these instances of good will and fellowship, there is a single consideration which has placed India and the Indians under a bane of political inferiority and that is the cry of "India is only a Dependency" and not a self-governing colony. The time has truly come nigh when this blot on the Indian Empire is removed and India placed on a level of equality with that of the self-governing Dominions. Only recently a writer in the *Morning Post* had the impudence to criticise the attitude taken up by our sympathetic Viceroy on the question of India's representation in the Imperial Conference. One of the arguments put forward by him for the delay in the formation of a *Federal Organisation* was "the awkward presence of this great dependency".

We would point out that there is nothing in the name itself to debar or disqualify India from participating in the joys or sorrows of the Empire along with the self governing colonies of Britain. The Government of a Dependency need not necessarily be based on vested interest or exploitation for the benefit of the rulers. We have instances of dependencies being governed on liberal principles, on representative institutions and on the enlightened policy of "association" by which each race or nation is allowed to develop its own custom, its own tradition and civilisation on its own characteristic lines. Take the French dependencies, for instance, French India, French Guiana and the African dependencies of Algeria, and Senegal. These are represented in the legislative body of France by delegates, elected by a wide suffrage, who are given *equal rights* with the delegates from French constituencies. Take again the recently constituted Philippine Islands which were given representative institutions in 1902. If to Islands, which contained barbarous and semi-barbarous tribes, representative institutions and American citizenship could, without demur and suspicion, be granted by the United States Government, is it too much to ask the enlightened Government of Britain to extend to India, a hundred times more civilised than the Philippines, that liberty and freedom of governing herself. If, even after a sacrifice of men and money so ungrudgingly given at this grave crisis by princes and peasants alike, India is not granted equal rights of British Citizenship, she will be entitled to say like the other colonies putting it bluntly in the language of Sir Robert Borden, the present Premier of Canada.

"You can hardly look to us to do this again under precisely the same conditions. We are prepared to fight for you, to throw all our worldly possessions into the scale for you to die for you, but you must give us an opportunity of knowing the true inwardness of the cause for which we fight and expressing a preliminary opinion by sharing with you the knowledge of antecedent events; in other words, we want a voice in Imperial Councils and then you may trust, knowing where we are, to take our full share of Imperial burdens, alike in peace and war."

We believe Britain has statesmanship enough to realise that "Free migration within the Empire" is as much a vital and imperial problem affecting the future of the Empire as the Army or the Navy. We might also repeat here the ever memorable words of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the former Premier of Canada, "If you want our aid, call us to your Councils."

MY IMPRESSIONS OF SUMATRA.

(BY OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT).

VERY few in India know Sumatra other than as a geographical expression and yet it is this country out of all others in that group known as Netherlands India, which gives ample scope for Indians, if they care to take advantage of the opportunities prevailing there.

The island of Sumatra is situated in the equatorial zone and is divided for administrative purposes into three divisions, viz., East Coast of Sumatra, West coast of Sumatra and the Province of Atjeh (pronounced as Achai). Malaya, Straits Settlements, Java and Borneo are its neighbours. The climate of Sumatra is very healthy. In fact it closely resembles that of the Malabar Coast. I have travelled only in the East Coast of Sumatra and my observations relate mainly to this part of the island. But I am told the same conditions prevail in other parts too.

Hills, rivers and streams abound here in plenty. The chief products of the island are tobacco, coffee, rubber, coconuts, pepper, arecanuts, tea, paddy, timber, fish, kerosine oil, tin and even gold. Out of these, tobacco and fish give the largest yields, though of late rubber has begun to play an important part in commerce and is giving large profits to the capitalists. The tobacco of Sumatra is famous in the world and some of the finest varieties of cigars are made out of it. Sumatra supplies to a certain extent kerosine oil and petroleum to the Eastern markets. Almost all the necessities of life and manufactured articles used in the Island are principally imported from Europe or India.

The population of Sumatra consists of the Javanese, the Chinese, the Dutch, the Indian, the German, the English and the French. Out of these the Javanese, the Chinese and the Dutch form nearly three fourths of the population. The professions followed by these nationalities are varied. The Javanese, Chinese and Indian to a small extent supply manual labour. The system prevalent in this the indentured. But the Government safeguard measures of the labourers by special legislative sympathetic labour Inspectors are employed who are and seldom do their attitude towards these poor men to coolies. I find cases of ill-treatment meted out kindly treated. The Javanese is mild in temperament if to, it will be r, but when harsh methods are resorted not stop till he is rather difficult to manage him. He will done by killing, removes his employer though it must be fellow brethren. The Javanese though resembling his and shows more. In Malaya, the Malays, is more civilised by Government. has intellectuality. He is also employed in subordinate capacities.

The Dutch, the German, the English and the French mostly pursue agricultural, and commercial work or are employed in Government service. There are many tobacco as well as rubber plantations owned by the Dutch. The Deli Maatchappij or The Deli Company, Ltd., to literally translate into English, owns nearly half of Sumatra and it is only through its exertions that the country passed into the hands of the Dutch.

The Chinese have mainly taken to trade and they are, as in other parts of the globe, in a flourishing condition. It is believed even by highly educated Indians of to-day that John Chinamen are not industrious or do not possess any civilisation. A friend of mine told me a few days back that when he made a statement in the course of a lecture about the Chinese that they are the most civilised nation and are very industrious, he was opposed by a Professor of History in a premier college of South India, though in the end the Professor admitted his error and came to his opinion. These ideas will be speedily removed if Indians meet Chinamen at work here. I would strongly advise those of my readers who are unable to travel to read that excellent description of Chinamen by the late Swami Vivekanda when he met them for the first time on his voyage to America, to clearly understand the civilisation of the Chinese.

Indians form only a minority of the population. Estates in Sumatra employ Indian labour only sparingly. Tamils, Telugus, Chetties, Sikhs and a few Bengalees form the Indian community here. The epithet "Kling" is made use of to denominate Tamils, Telugus and Chetties. This word expresses in a way a sort of contempt. For example, if in conversation it is used "you kling" it means you are a base, unworthy and repulsive fellow. There is a history behind this expression. New comers from India do not understand it. It was generally used in Malaya also, but its use is now nearly stopped in that country. The word "Kling" has its origin from killing. Formerly and till a few years back convicts even murderers from South India were transported to Malacca, now an important and flourishing town in Malaya. Europeans and other nationalities called these convicts 'Klings' or in other words those who resort to killing and as years passed the term kling was widely used to call all the people from India. Many do not know this and I have seen many local Indians calling themselves Klings. They do not know any other word to denote their nationality. In Sumatra there is an officer of Government, an Indian Mahomedan called "Captain Kling" whose function is to collect taxes, etc., from Indians and protect their interests and generally vested with magisterial powers. This shows how common the term Kling is in Sumatra. Lately through the exertions of the 'Deli Hindu Sabha' an institution started by Indians of Medan, the capital of Sumatra, many object to the use of this word. I will revert to the position of the officer Captain Kling, and

this useful institution Deli Hindu Sabha, when I am dealing with the Government of the country.

Besides the above nationalities there is a wild tribe called Batex. They live mostly in hills. I am told they were cannibals once and even to-day there are those amongst them who take human flesh. I also understand there are Batex chiefs who rule over these tribes and are much respected by the common folk. I have seen Batex men and woman and they support the Darwinian theory that man is a descendant of the monkey. With the exception of tail they resemble monkey in face, body, speech and even manners. Of late christian missionaries are doing very useful work in elevating them and they are coming up through missionary influence. Her is a field which will yield good results to Hindu Missionary Societies, like the Vivekanda Mission, Brahmo Samaj, Araya Samaj or Theosophical Society.

The religion followed by the Javanese and other natives of Sumatra is mostly Mohamedanism. We can find many Hindus also among them. It will astonish many Hindu readers to hear that many Javanese have ancient Hindu names like Indrajit, Keechaka, Valmeki, Krishna, Paramaswari and names similar to these. This, combined with the condition of the country, the fertility of the soil, the products yielded, forces me to the belief that Sumatra and Java were once part of a great Hindu Empire in ancient times and I even go so far as to assert that the Lanka of Ramayana is not Ceylon, but Java and Sumatra. I think the physical position of Java and Sumatra in its relation to India was quite different in Puranic period. The position of the Bay of Bengal may also have been otherwise than as it is now. To those who say that the existence of Rama's bridge from Ramaswaram to modern Ceylon and other conclusive evidences in Ceylon falsify my theory, I would point out that for a great personage like Rama and other great men attending on him it is not difficult to cross a small distance in water to Ceylon, which can be accomplished even in small boats. I have myself gone two or three miles in the sea in small logs of wood and therefore to cross from India to Ceylon in boats is not a difficult matter. Further we find in the Puranas that Lanka was also the Empire of Kubera, the richest monarch of those times. And it is said his country was a very large one, which could not be if it is modern Ceylon. The famous Hindu Temple of Java now unearthed through the exertions of the Dutch Government supports my opinion. A glance at the photo of this great temple is sure to convince any common observer that this great engineering work closely resembles the architecture of ancient Hindu Temples of India. Further I find it is mentioned in some Puranas that the name Achai, generally called Achakarai, denoted a

part of Lanka. It is a strange coincidence that a part of Sumatra is known as Atjeh even to-day (pronounced as Achai).

If to a common observer like myself the conditions of Sumatra should suggest so much, I am confident much useful material may be discovered by an archaeologist in that beautiful land. Well then I may ask *Quem non fecere disertum?*

INTERNAL REFORMS IN INDIA.

II

BACKWARD CLASSES.

(By H. K.)

THERE is no field more important to which an Indian Social Reformer should turn his immediate attention than the condition of the backward classes. The term "backward class" though widely used in modern sociology is in fact a misnomer and the sooner it is erased from the dictionary of social phraseology of India, the quicker will be our progress as a nation. If it is admitted that there is a class or community termed "backward" class in India, it presupposes the existence of a "not backward" class or to style it better a progressive community. But there are backward men and women in every country and we find Pariahs in Brahmins, and Brahmins in Pariahs. This maxim was clearly demonstrated as early as Puranic period in ancient India and to-day the story of Nandan is a byword in every Hindu household.

In other countries especially of Europe, in America and in Japan, the lower orders of society will not be kept in that state for long. There are organisations and institutions in these countries, which push up the non-progressive men and women to a state of progress. Society there allows this, may actively encourages these associations in every possible way. A barber, a washerman or a butcher in England can become a respectable member of the society, sometimes even holding the reins of Government and directing the machinery of state at critical times or in other cases rising to the position of a high church dignitary, to work out honestly both in word and deed, unlike the hypocritical priests of India, many of the principles of love and truth preached by that great sage Jesus Christ. Is this possible in India now? No, certainly not. Even to-day many a brahmin thinks he is polluted if a Pariah walks in the same road by which he passes and nothing less than murder will take place if one dares go through the brahmin villages, however

honest and clean the Pariah may be. It may sound rather strange to many of our western readers to hear of such a state of affairs going on in India, but nevertheless it is a fact. The writer of this article is himself a brahmin of South India and he is only chronicling his own observation when he states that the brahmins though they form only a small minority of the population of India, do effectively stop the progress of other communities and thus retard the progress of our Mother-land. This is also equally applicable to some of the high caste non-brahmins. To be strictly impartial or accurate the honest efforts of enthusiastic brahmins are sometimes frustrated by other communities by making a laughing stock of them. In a society composed of persons having conservative ideas, the work of those holding liberal ideas is condemned. Such is the position of young Indian Social Reformer.

Who is actually to blame for this? Cannot something be done to improve such a state affairs? These are questions which require careful handling. Many point their fingers to the orthodox community for an answer. They say orthodox men and women of the Hindu society are really blocking the way of all social reform. But what about the educated class? The learned and the elite of India of to-day who seem to understand well and discuss about the conditions

of life among the various nations do not see that which is obvious and which passes under their very nose. They may preach social reform both in the press and the platform earnestly, but when it comes to a question of action, they stop. Then, they delude themselves and deceive the common folk. This is more harmful than anything else. This delusion or deceit of the educated persons of India is the peculiarity of our times and in this lies the cause of the miserable condition and the downfall of our countrymen not only in India, but also in the various British Colonies.

What we want then is the recognition by all persons that every member of a Society is an asset to our country and that our progress and civilisations is dependent not on the perpetuation of a class or caste but on the perfect equality of treatment and on a logical distribution of chance to every member to rise in the scale of the Society. Secondly there should be no degradation attached to a particular profession or calling as it is being done now in India. No man should be deprived of his respect due to him as a member of the Society, whatever may be his calling in life.

In other words, equality of treatment, respect for profession or labour of any kind and non-encroachment of other's freedom, these constitute the landmarks towards the elevation of backward classes.

Round the Indian Empire.

BY POLITIQUE.

Those who have followed the history of this measure from its inception both outside and inside the legislature till it definitely became the law of the land at the last session of the Imperial Legislative Council, will mingle with their sigh of relief sombre speculations as to the meagre chances thrown out to popular opinion to formulate itself into law through its accredited representatives in the legislative machinery of the country. The operations that were undergone by this popular measure illustrate by a wealth of detail the last-mentioned feature of Indian polity. We shall here just indicate the salient points disclosed by a brief retrospect of all that preceded the passing of this Act. The whole movement was originated, organized and financed by responsible members of the Hindu community to

meet a well-marked and ever-growing demand to suit educational ideas to communal interests. It is a healthy desire in itself, but the variety of such interests in a creed-ridden India induced some suspicion of a division in her unity by a too assiduous fostering of sectional institutions. Time alone can prove how much such suspicion is well-founded. The attitude of the Government, on the other hand, was throughout hesitating and lent no eager support to the claims of the movement. They believed that the controversy raised in the country would kill the measure and want no official dirge to close its grave. To that extent they were half-hearted and did not put forth the whole of their strength to overcome the rapid advances made by the organisers. Meanwhile, the latter gained time and the overwhelming support that by now the organisers gathered round

the institution in both men and money became too much for any official apathy or non-official prejudices. The next move made by the Government was to whittle down the enthusiasm of the eager spirits by a graceless act of pruning which was made a condition of the success of the University. The long series of protracted negotiations between the leading supporters and the Government, which are to-day familiar history, over a purely innocuous measure of educational reform, afford a telling instance of the difficulties attendant upon bending the Indian legislature to sanction popular Indian proposals. The Hindu University Bill could become law only as an official measure—such a large piece of legislation should not be left in the hands of the non-officials, as a matter of principle! And the debate that preceded its becoming law, in the Council was, to say the least, least dignified and wholly tactless on the part of the Government. The Education Member threatened to throttle the whole measure, if any controversies were raised; and the leading proteges of the Bill on the non-official side, only too eager for the early fructification of their scheme, received it back with humble thankfulness, though in the Act, it was shorn of much of the original grandeur of the idea.

However, the passing of this Bill into law marks the conclusion of the labours of the organisers of the institution, spread over nearly half a decade past. It is likewise a happy termination of Sir Harcourt Butler's stewardship of educational interests, which have ever formed one of the prime concerns of His Excellency Lord Hardinge's Government. We cannot say that all parties interested in the measure have derived equal satisfaction; but it will be querulous to question the different motives that underlay this legislative enactment. The Government have promised the utmost sympathy consistent with the healthy growth of the institution; while a cheerful faith in the avowals of the Government have for the time removed all non-official prejudices, which, we trust, will not ultimately be found to be misplaced. The Hindu University will be for the period of a year affiliated to the Allahabad University, until the arrangements in the constitution of the new University are completed and the wish has been expressed that sooner or later faculties for commerce and agriculture will be added to the present number and that compulsory religious education will be made one of its cardinal features. The Hon'ble Dr. Sunder Lal eloquently expressed the whole idea behind the movement when he remarked during the last stage of the discussion of the Bill that "the University will produce a generation of young men who will not only be intellectually well-qualified to do their work as citizens of the British Empire, but would have

strong religious convictions, doing credit not only to themselves, but to the Government of which they are proud to be subjects." The movement has thus reached the stage at which the stirring and other spectacular aspects attached to it must be replaced by a sober earnestness and silent watchfulness which alone can give permanence to the idea behind the institution. The public are greatly indebted to the untiring labours and single-minded devotedness of the pioneers of the institution, Pandit Madan Mohun Malaviya, Dr. Sunder Lal, the Maharajah of Durbhanga and others, who have, each in his various degree, contributed to the consummation of this long cherished desire of the Hindu community. It was also fortunate that the presence of Sir Harcourt Butler was secured to pilot the measure through the Council, as otherwise whatever sympathy that he exhibited throughout might be difficult to enlist from any other quarter towards the University. Special care is hereafter necessary to see that the organisation formed under such favourable auspices does not wither in its prospects, as it is an open secret that the views of the member-designate for education are in no manner friendly to 'denominational' institutions.

The war has demonstrated in a signal manner the importance of this great Dependency in the fortunes of the Empire. It is a truism to say that India holds the key to the possessions of Britain in the Far East and like all truisms it has suffered under a want of recognition hitherto. The present hostilities have excited keen interest in this erstwhile neglected branch of British politics and the result has been that India emerges from the turmoil as a trump card in the safety and security of the Empire of which she proudly forms a part. Hereafter no consideration of inter-imperial interests or inter-imperial obligations that are sure to be forced on the attention of European statesman, as a result of the war, can be said to be complete, if it ignores the possibilities of the Indian Empire as a piece in world politics. Since the commencement of the war and the ungrudging help rendered by her to the cause of the Empire, India's place has appreciatively advanced in the organization of the Empire. The demand for a tangible recognition of this fact has been ever present in the minds of all and the creation of the Imperial Conference in London offered somewhat of an opportunity to imperial statesmen to translate this sentiment into action. But a technical objection had hitherto excluded India from the deliberations of that body. The Imperial Conference was devised as an official gathering "at which questions of common interest may be discussed and considered as between His Majesty's Government and His Governments of the self-governing Dominions beyond the seas." As India is not self-governing, no place was found for her at the

council table. "From this position," as the *London Times* remarked, "strange consequences followed" and the same journal recites a few events taken place at successive gatherings of the Conference, which make it clear that that assembly was hitherto playing Hamlet with the part of Hamlet left out. At the 1907 Conference, our contemporary points out, Lord Haldane made a speech on the Military defence of the Empire, and never mentioned India. In the whole debate which followed, the name of India was not once spoken, although it was the contingent sent by Lord Curzon from India to Natal which saved South Africa. At that Conference a remarkable Memorandum was presented entitled "Military and Naval Expenditure of the British Empire, 1905-06." India was entirely omitted from the Memorandum, although during the year under review she had spent £19,418,000 upon defence, as against £3,548,000 spent by the whole of the self-governing Dominions. In 1909 the Imperial Defence Conference met in London "to discuss general questions concerning the Naval and Military defence of the Empire." No representative of India was invited to attend, and in the official report of the proceedings the name of India was never mentioned at all. At the 1911 Conference the Secretary of State for India was permitted to attend, but only for explanatory purposes, as he had no official status. This position is no longer tenable and the despatch of the Indian Expeditionary Force by Lord Hardinge's Government to the defence of the Empire on the European Continent has once more indirectly brought home vividly the absurdity of leaving India unreckoned in the prime concerns of the Empire.

The speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Mahomed Mian Shafi on his resolution and that of the Viceroy in accepting it alike expressed the same sentiment for the official representation of India at the next Imperial Conference. We are not at all disposed to view the attitude of the Government of India in this matter as ineffectual, backed as it is by the whole body of authoritative public opinion in this country, nor is it reasonable to assume that the Viceroy's espousal of this cause is an infringement on the discretionary powers of the Home Government. The Viceroy, as the administrative head of this vast Indian Empire, has acted within his legitimate rights in voicing the opinion of its peoples and if his recommendation happens to be ignored by the ultimate authorities at home, the time would seem to have arrived to revise the control exercised on India from outside. We should be surprised to learn that the decision of an Indian Viceroy formed after a mature deliberation with the non-official members of his Council on a question vitally affecting her peoples, could

at any time be over-ridden by the Home authorities. We trust that this point will drive home into the minds of those *soi-disant* Imperialists at home, headed by the *Morning Post*, the utter futility of their efforts to nullify the good intentions of an Indian Viceroy towards his Indian fellow subjects. It is to be presumed that such opposition and other silly technical objections were anticipated, when the Viceroy remarked, as if in answer to them, that "it is to me inconceivable that the statesmen of such distinguished ability and far seeing patriotism as the Premiers and Ministers of the self-governing Dominions will not realise from recent events the great and important position that India occupies amongst the various Dominions and Dependencies composing the British Empire." Coming nearer home, His Excellency significantly observed: "It is true that India is not a self-governing Dominion but that seems hardly a reason why she should not be suitably represented at future conferences." But this argument need not worry us. India has bought her place in the Council by shedding blood in Flanders. The next matter is about the character of her representation in the Conference. The question is admittedly a delicate one, but is easy to get over with the goodwill of the responsible ministers of the Dominions. A small alteration in the laws binding the constitution of the Conference will achieve the object. In fact, the original intention was not to exclude India from participation in the deliberations of the Conference and but for a technical point India would have been fit to sit at its meetings long ago. The Viceroy indicated the character of the official representation that Government had in view in the statement that "India should be represented by the Secretary of State and one or two representatives nominated by the Secretary of State in consultation with the Viceroy, such nominees being ordinarily selected from officials resident or serving in India." Popular enthusiasm on the matter is apt to take damp, if the Secretary of State's voice or that of his nominee or nominees is to be made to speak for the whole of India. Lord Inchcape's airing of free trade principles as underlying Indian fiscal policy at the Conference of 1907 and the sharp rebuke it evinced from the Indian press ought to point to a better mode of representation of Indian views. In financial matters, the Secretary of State is likely to champion home interests. The spirit of the inclusion of India in the Imperial Conference will be little more than oriental imagery and may in some cases work quite positive harm, if other than genuine Indian views are allowed at the Council table. This could be secured only if Indians elected by the people's representatives in the Councils get into the Conference. But there is time enough to solve this question, and the friendly attitude of the Overseas Press is a great asset in India's cause.

Mr. Howard's report on the operations of the Currency Department during the year 1914-15 is necessarily concerned with the conditions which the war has set up. We are told that the Indian currency system has admirably supported the strain of the war, and it has "been able," in the words of the *London Economic Journal*, "to meet the crisis better than that almost in any other country. No moratorium has been declared, and the exchange value of the rupee has been maintained throughout between the gold points. Of no other important country can this be said." We do not desire to cavil at the exhibition of such departmental pride, but it is apt to appear in the eyes of some as a wholly unnecessary justification of a much abused system, and to that extent, somewhat insincere. It is too early to estimate the strength of the Indian currency system and the test hitherto offered by a year of war has been, in the opinion of many, more than it was able to bear. To mention a single instance, the Government attempted during the early part of the year to prevent the dissipation of the gold resources of the Government by restricting the issues to any one person or firm to a minimum limit of £10,000. "It was hoped," says Mr. Howard, "that this restriction would operate to check the sudden demand for gold which had sprung on the outbreak of the crisis and to confine the demand for gold to that likely to be eventually required for remittance purposes. The restriction, however, was evaded by individuals clubbing their demands together and thus bringing them to the prescribed minimum. The demand, which was specially large in Bombay and was also considerable in Calcutta resulted in the loss of no less than £1,800,000 in sovereigns during the first few days of the crisis." The devices employed by the Government in this as well as in other instances were clumsy, but, perhaps, that was all the elasticity that the Indian currency system, as at present arranged, is capable of. We expect, however, that results would have been different if our monetary transactions were based on a gold standard. The other financial provisions of the Government with regard to paper currency and the facilities created for the encashment of currency notes at district treasuries, etc., are reviewed in detail in the report and even here Mr. Howard admits that thus far the means provided have been inadequate. "On the whole," he observes, "I cannot help feeling considerable doubt whether in many places the facilities have been more than nominal." In our opinion, it is a mistake to suppose that notes will ever be preferred by ryots to rupees or sovereigns, even with all the ready convertibility that may be secured to these. If we put the rush for sovereigns during the early months of the year under review, by the side of the steady contraction in

note circulation, both taking place simultaneously, we get an insight into the form of currency best favoured by the public. The figures supplied by the Controller of Currency on this dual phenomena are illuminating, though they are explained away on the usual departmental logic. This, it is needless to observe, is unconvincing and after the war when all the factors are known and duly assessed, we should not be surprised to learn that they indicated the necessity for a more extended circulation of gold in the country. Mr. Howard's report is this year significantly silent on the extent of the popularity of gold coins, which ever formed in previous years an invariable theme in his review of currency operations. Have the Punjab and Bengal and all other parts of India suddenly developed an antipathy towards gold? Is the vogue of the yellow coin after all the fashion of a past season? We await more information on this subject.

When India has once declared to offer herself unreservedly to the success of the war for the Allies, she may be deemed honest enough to meet any demand that may be made on her resources, in men, money or other war material, so far as it lies in her power to do so. This fact seems to have been forgotten by those who take to task the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer for the emphatic negative he gave to the proposal of an Indian National War Loan, in his speech before the Karachi Chamber of Commerce. The suggestion for the flotation of a National War Loan for India was first put forward by Mr. M. De. P. Webb, and has been enthusiastically taken up by a small section of public opinion. In so far as this suggestion is a hint that India is not doing all that she could to help England in the conflict, it tends forwards mischief-making and invites a good dose of the Defence of the Realm Act on its author's heads. But without going out of our way to question motives, it is possible to estimate the chances of raising a loan in India at this time. The matter is easy if money can be minted out of patriotism, but such can never be the case. Sir William Meyer declares that India requires for her own use all the money that she can borrow and now that the London financial market is closed, she has to depend on whatever internal borrowings she can manage. "The lending capacities of India," says the Finance Member, "are, as experience has shown, still very limited, and we cannot face the prospect of depriving ourselves of the aid which we shall have to look for from them by letting them be diverted to a Home War Loan." We do not think any one in his senses would want to deprive the Government of India of the funds which they are accustomed to raise, especially when the present financial year is estimated to close with a deficit and further falling off in revenue may be anticipated if the war

prolongs to another year. We sincerely hope that England may not need any financial assistance from this country. Ordinarily, India has a vast amount of useful expenditure which cannot be avoided without serious detriment to the smooth working of the administration. Further, the rate of interest cannot go higher than 4 per cent. without vitally disturbing Indian finance. "I must remind you, however," observed Sir William Meyer to the Karachi Chamber, "that any unnecessary rise in the rate of interest is an undue burden on the tax-payer, while it would further make our productive works less profitable. The margin of ultimate profit on the capital outlay the State has incurred on railways is even now a very small one relatively." This statement should effectively silence the argument that the suggested loan will be forthcoming on a higher rate of interest than what usually Government pay. In these circumstances, we heartily commend the suggestion of the Finance Member to the Karachi Chamber for wider application throughout the country. The Hon'ble Member said: "Believe me, gentlemen, the first duty of those who like yourselves have thrown in their lot with India, is to India, and I would say to you, therefore, use your superfluous cash in subscribing to the Indian Government loans."

According to the Forty-seventh Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh for the year ending 31st December 1914, we find that 1,567,266 souls,—more than one year's total casualties of the Allies in the western theatre, as the report goes,—have been carried away from these provinces by different diseases. The number of victims to the credit of "Fevers" is indeed staggering. It is not at all astonishing to learn that bad sanitation and un-hygienic surroundings have caused the life of 1,050,506 men in one year, which even the modern Attila finds it difficult to perpetuate. The untiring zeal of Major J. D. Graham, I.M.S., before he was reverted to military duty, was greatly responsible in bringing down the number from last year's heavy toll. We find an honest attempt made in this direction by appointing representatives of the All-India Unani Tibbi and Ayurvedic Associations as members of the Provincial and Divisional Malaria Committees, investigating into the influence of rice cultivation on the incidence of malaria in the districts of Basti, Sultanpur, Benares, etc., the causes of excessive mortality in the low-lying Jumna, Khadir in the Muttra district, the febrile mortality in village Holipura in the Agra district and the causes of high death-rates from fever during April and May in the wards of Lucknow city, by lectures, lantern demonstrations and distribution of malarial pamphlets in certain towns, by "school quini-

nisation" and by other special measures taken in certain districts as "of filling in of pits, hollows and depressions, construction of pavements, kerosining of tanks and removal of rank vegetation and undergrowth, and breeding grounds for mosquitoes." 361 pounds of quinine were issued from the Aligarh Jail for the use of travelling dispensaries and there was a wide-cast distribution of them in the Province. The high mortality from fever of certain districts as Moradabad, Bijnor, etc., indicate the low-lying and marshy nature of the tracts. The investigations of Major E. Bisset and Major J. D. Graham, I. M. S., have proved beyond doubt that "relapsing fever" was the cause of great havoc in certain localities. The other important death-dealing disease of the year, plague was raging in Ballia and two other districts. (How far plague threatened the Ballia district can be inferred by the mere fact that 31,985 persons were inoculated there). In this case, too, the services rendered by the travelling dispensaries, were magnificent, for out of the total inoculation of 81,302 cases 48,051 were performed through these agencies. It is gratifying to find that "in view of the success achieved by the travelling dispensaries in their work, it was decided by the Government that these should form a regular supplement of the work of the district." It is indeed regrettable that the Provincial Sanitary Board sustained a heavy loss by the death, on the 23rd June 1914, of the Hon'ble Rai Ganga Prasad Varma Bahadur, who was an earnest and enthusiastic member of the Board since August 1910.

We cannot lose sight of the fact that, though the drainage system of the Provinces has not been brought up to a satisfactory condition, some activity is shown, and real attempts are made to ameliorate the condition by the liberality of the Local Government and by the special grants of the Government of India for urban and rural tracts.

An important event in the year under report is the Magh Mela, held at Allahabad from the 12th of January to the 12th of February. The chief bathing day fell on 26th of January, when the vast congregation was estimated at not less than one million. Extreme preventive measures were taken and we find it was met with a grand success. "Cholera appeared six days before the chief day and claimed seven victims and no further cases occurred." The Dikhanti fair at Hardwar, as usual, was held on 13th April, without the occurrence of any epidemic disease. The Dadri fair at Ballia, the attendance of which was estimated at 6 lakhs, also glad to find that no cases of infectious diseases were reported from the Garkhmuktesar fair in Meerut district, the Tigri fair on Moradabad side of the river, and the Batesar fair in the Agra district, the chief bathing day being on the 2nd of November.

GENERAL ARTICLES.

WHERE WOMEN ARE SCARCE.

THE MADRAS TIMES in its leader of October 4, commenting on an article in the previous number of our journal writes under the above title as follows:—

In a colony there is generally a scarcity of women, and in distant Indian colonies in particular Indian women are generally much fewer than the men. It was in 1878 that Indian coolies first began to go to Fiji, to work in the sugar-plantations in that far off island in the Pacific Ocean. It was only in small numbers that they went at first, but with diligent agents to point to them the attractions of Fiji, they have gone in considerable crowds, and many have settled there for good; and, at the time of the latest census, the Indian population numbered as many as 40,286 souls.* Their lives in Fiji are cast in pleasant places. The temperature is agreeable, and the climate is healthy, and—far better than in India!—fever is almost unknown. The Fijians themselves are not a disagreeable people to live with. They are cleanly, and are careful about their personal appearance, and they are a lively folk, fond of games and of dancing and of story-telling and of singing. It is true that before the arrival of the British, of whom the first settlers were some convicts who in 1804 escaped from Australia, the Fijians were gluttonous cannibals. Human sacrifices were of daily occurrence, and the chief luxury at a meal was human flesh. This, however, has ceased; very large numbers of the Fijians have become Christians, and the Indian coolie has no need to fear that he may be butchered to make a Fijian holiday. Add to this that the wages are good, and it might seem that Fiji would be an Indian coolie's Paradise.

But even the Garden of Eden was no Paradise for Adam until Eve made her appearance. It is not good for man to be alone, and, unfortunately a good many of the Indian Adams in Fiji are without an Eve—or at any rate, without an Eve of their own. An Indian writer in the current number of the always interesting *Indian Emigrant* contributes some facts about Fiji. He sets forth a number of Indian grievances, declaring that there are insuperable obstacles in the way of an Indian who settles down in Fiji on his own account. The fruit trade, for example, which is mostly in bananas, has to be done through white middlemen, who get the lion's share of the profits. In the matter of sugar, a certain company have

* It now numbers, 52,875.

the monopoly. There is a hut-tax to be paid which is regarded as a grievance; food has been growing dear, and the Fijian Government do nothing in the way of educating either the Indian immigrants or their children, or allowing them any voice in the municipal elections. The greatest piece of unhappiness, however, for the Indian in Fiji is apparently the dearth of Indian women; and the writer of the article finds a remarkable reason why the Indian in Fiji remains poor. It is a case of *cherchez la femme*. He tells us that Indians in Fiji remain poor because, on account of the disproportion between men and women, their money is generally dissipated in obtaining women to marry or to live with, in buying them what they want in order to gratify their whims and to keep them steady, in making them presents in order to recover them if they don't prove steady, and in paying the costs of law-suits and of lawyers and fines and penalties in respect of offences that arise from feuds about women. It is an unhappy state of affairs indeed. Looking up the figures in the Statesmen's Year-Book, we find that there are just about two Indian men in Fiji to every Indian woman—a proportion which certainly leaves room for disputes; and in a book on Fiji we read that the Fijians show no disposition to intermarry with Indian immigrants.

We suppose that the conditions in Fiji in this respect are not much different from those in other distant Indian colonies, but in any case it is a condition that might well be improved. The Romans when they first colonised Rome stole their wives by force from a neighbouring people, but that sort of thing is inappropriate in the present day and an Indian "Rape of Fijian women" is not to be recommended. Even in Australia there is something of dearth of women for the white settlers, but every effort has been made to attract women to the island. Such conditions as are described in Fiji must be most demoralising, and must make life wretched both for the married man and for the bachelor. We wonder whether some arrangement could not be made by Government under which any serious disproportion between the number of male and female emigrants should be disallowed.

ORIENTAL IMMIGRATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M. A., PH. D.

THE Orient has always had confidence in American fairplay. She has always prized her friendship with this country more than with any other Western nation. Contemporary Asian social reformers, educational leaders, political workers, and captains of industry have instinctively turned to the United States for their strength and inspiration. They all have worked

unceasingly to promote a closer union, intellectual and commercial, between Asia and America. It is, therefore a matter of considerable regret that these cordial relations are now threatened by the exclusionary policy which the United States is adopting toward the Asian peoples.

The first of the Orientals to come to the United States were the Chinese : and they came at the invitation of the people of this country. By article V of the Treaty of 1868 with China, "the United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognise the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively, from one country to the other for purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents."

By article VI of the same treaty it is stipulated that "citizens of the United States visiting or residing in China shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities or exemptions in respect to travel or residence as may be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation ; and reciprocally Chinese subjects visiting or residing in the United States shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions in respect to travel or residence as may then be enjoyed by the citizens and subjects of the most favored nation."

The point to be specially noted in connection with this Treaty of 1868 is that it encouraged free immigration between America and China, and that it accorded to the Chinese people right of *permanent* residence, without any specification or implied limitation as to the purpose of such residence. The Chinese Government put the treaty in full force ; and the American Government, on its part, heartily welcomed the free entrance of the subjects of the Chinese Empire. Moreover, the Secretary of State, Mr. Fish, wrote :

"Already the Chinese immigrants have crossed the great mines, and are beginning to be found in the interior of the Continent. By their assiduity, patience, and fidelity, and by their intelligence they earn the good will and the confidence of those that employ them. We have good reason to think that this thing will continue and increase."

There was, however, before very long a reversal of feeling. The white labor elements on the Pacific coast became jealous of the Chinese laborers ; and the labor unions started a vigorous anti-Chinese campaign. They demanded somewhat after the fashion of the Roman Senator Cato that the "Chinese must go."

On account of this stubborn opposition to the Chinese labourers in the West, the United States Government sent a Commissioner to the Celestial Empire to amend the Treaty of 1868. After a considerable parley, the Chinese Government was finally persuaded, in 1880, to

"limit, regulate or suspend," but not to prohibit, the immigration of the Chinese labourers into the United States. Further, it was stipulated that this "limitation or suspension shall be reasonable." The treaty aimed only at the exclusion of the labourers. Officials, teachers, students, merchants, and travellers were exempt from its operations. Later this treaty was construed rigidly ; and subsequent legislation has not only excluded the Chinese working men, but it has seriously tended to restrict even the members of the exempt classes.

Turning now to the Japanese immigration into the United States, it is observed that Japanese came as early as 1866, when there appears to have been seven Japanese in America. The Japanese immigration into the United States, however, may be truly said to have begun in 1886. In that year there were 194 immigrants from the eastern island empire. Now the immediate cause of Japanese immigration was the passage of the Chinese exclusion law. When the Chinese were excluded from America, there resulted a shortage of labour in California. Then there developed a demand for Japanese workmen. "The large landowners of that State, having been deprived of Chinese farm hands, found in the Japanese an excellent labourer to be utilised on their farms and orchards, and tried to encourage Japanese immigration by offering alluring terms." The result of a liberal policy toward Japan was that in 1891 when there were over a thousand Japanese immigrants in the United States. Eight years later this number ran to 2,844, and in the year 1900, there were as many as 12,635 Japanese.

"Meanwhile, the railroads continued to employ Japanese labourers in increasing numbers, while the general prosperity which prevailed in this country up to 1907 stimulated Japanese immigration as much as it encouraged European immigration. The high watermark in Japanese immigration was reached in 1907 when it numbered no less than 30,226." Of this number, one should remember that more than two-thirds came to Hawaii, and not to the mainland of America. It is also worthy of note that the immigration from Europe in the year under review was over 1,190,000.

I have here neither the time nor the inclination to go into the wearisome details of the Anti-Japanese agitation in California—the storm-centre of Anti-Japanese as well as all other Anti-Asian crusades. Suffice it to say that the Japanese are to-day practically excluded by the so-called Gentleman's Agreement of 1907. It is not a written treaty : it is simply an understanding between the two governments. The agreement provides that no Japanese labourers shall enter the United States, nor shall any Japanese be eligible to American citizenship.

Before I leave this phase of the Oriental immigration, I may be permitted to refer to the Californian Anti-alien

land law, as the most recent development of the Japanese problem in America. Last year the State of California passed a law declaring that all aliens who are not eligible to citizenship should hold or lease no land in California. This bars out Japanese as well as Chinese from owning or leasing real-estate property. The Japanese maintain that this law is unfair and unconstitutional. By the American treaty with Japan in 1911, it is stipulated that "the citizens or subjects of each of the high contracting parties shall have the liberty to enter, travel and reside in the territories of the other, to carry on trade, wholesale and retail ; to own or lease and occupy houses, manufactories, warehouses and shops ; to employ agents of their choice to lease land for residential and commercial purposes, and generally to do anything incident to or necessary for trade upon the same terms as native citizens or subjects."

The Japanese point out that this treaty presumes to be the supreme law of the land. But a treaty cannot be the supreme law of the land—that is of all of the United States—if any act of a State legislature can violate its provisions. As the Japanese are not permitted to become American citizens, it is difficult to reconcile the purpose of the California legislation with the provisions of the treaty. Last August, the Japanese Foreign Office in its diplomatic dispatch to the United States Government said in part :

"That act, by depriving the Japanese subjects of the right of land ownership, while freely continuing the right not only in favour of the subjects of all the other powers with which the United States maintains reciprocal treaty, but in favour of many non-treaty aliens, has established a discrimination of the most marked and invidious character against Japan."

According to the California advocates of the measure, there appear to be two strong reasons for the Anti-alien land law ; First, they contend that the Japanese will desire to buy up all land in California, and if they are not checked by the Anti-alien land law they will soon own the entire State of California. But this contention seems to be hardly borne out by the facts. According to available statistics, the Japanese own only about 17,000 acres of land in California. This is comparatively a small area. Neither is this Japanese owned area increasing. Nor is it likely to increase, as the number of Japanese in the United States is decreasing. Second, the California legislators are of the opinion that the ownership of land by Japanese would depreciate the value of adjoining lands. This opinion also seems to be founded on insufficient evidence. The ownership of land by Japanese does not lower the value of farm lands, because the Japanese are naturally good farmers. They increase the productiveness of the land they occupy ; and this undoubtedly tends to increase the value of the neighbouring lands.

If the California farmer cannot compete with the alien farmer, then the logical remedy would be to pass a general act forbidding all aliens from holding agricultural land in California. Such a law would have abundant precedent upon which to rest : laws of this character are to be found in New York, in Illinois, and in a few other States. This course was recommended by the Secretary of State, Hon. William Jennings Bryan ; but the recommendation did not satisfy the Californians.

Now, the objections which have been raised against Japanese immigration are about the same as those which have been advanced against the Chinese, and the same objections are also being urged against the Indian. I shall take up some of these objections in a moment, especially in their relation to the Indians.

It appears to be a well-authenticated sociological fact that the only good immigration in America is dead immigration. Between the years 1845 and 1855 the United States is said to have been threatened with the "Irish peril" but now, since the flow from the Emerald Isle has greatly fallen off, the Irish seem to be considered the most desirable of immigrants. Again, forty years ago the Chinese were disliked and even dreaded. "For ways that are dark and for tricks that are vain, the Heathen Chinese is peculiar," sang the Californians in triumphant chorus. Now, since the Chinese immigration has stopped, the Chinese are actually considered by some to be the best of all Orientals ; and the Aryan Hindus, who are the latest to arrive, are surely the worst.

There are now bills before the United States Congress aiming to exclude Hindu labourers from the Continental America as well as from its insular possessions. Of these various bills, only the Raker bill, introduced by Mr. John E. Raker of California, is being seriously considered by the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. The chief reasons which the supporters of the bill advance for the exclusion of the Hindus—Americans refer to all Indians as Hindus—are these : Hindus wear turbans and eat rice ; they do not accept American Christianity ; they have unseemly habits ; they support white labour ; they cannot be assimilated ; they send their money back to India.

These objections are worth careful consideration. Let us take them one by one. It has been alleged that since the Hindus wear turbans they must therefore be undesirable people. Our newly arrived men on the Pacific coast try to defend the wearing of turbans on the ground that since Americans and other foreigners in India wear their own head-dress, Indians should be allowed the same privilege in America. The size, the material, or the shape of one's head gear is peculiarly a personal matter ; it should not be made the basis of an exclusion law. It is true, however, that as our people became better instructed in American ways of

life, they show great eagerness in adopting American dress.

It is urged against the Hindus that they eat rice, that is, they live frugally. This line of argument calls to mind the silly sneers of the English against the Scotch, who began to "invade" England scarcely less than two hundred years ago. The English cordially hated the canny Scotch because they "ate porridge." But gradually English common sense got the better of English prejudice, and to-day one does not find any such attitude manifested towards Scotsmen.

Seriously, the fact that a man is industrious and lives economically should not be counted against him. If the Indians are undesirable because they are economical, would they be received with enthusiasm if they were spend-thrift? Suppose the Indian immigrants were a lazy lot, and were being regular "guests" of the poor-house, would they then be more welcome as future citizens of America? Would they then become a national asset or a national menace? No one denies that the Americans have a progressive, high standard of living: that they are given to wealth, luxury, and extravagance. Indeed, the common saying is that a French or a German family can subsist on the waste of an American family. But it is here that the Hindus will have a contribution to make to American life: Hindus, who are practical economists, may serve as an object-lesson to the extravagant American.

I half suspect that the American missionaries in India, who believe in the ethics of the Bible, are still preaching on the virtues of careful economy. One feels mightily tempted to ask whether these Christian propagandists would not find a much better field for their life-work in their own native country.

Again, certain persons insist upon the exclusion of the Hindustanis, because they are not Christians. This objection is nothing short of a body blow to the Constitution of the United States and the Constitutions of the several States which together guarantee the freedom of religion to all men. In the heat of discussion the fact is overlooked that nearly all the Indians who are now on the Pacific slope as labourers are followers of Shikhism and Mahomedanism—religions whose ethical codes compare favourably with those of any other great religions of the world. Certainly in a country where there are about 175 different religious sects, no one can possibly object if a person wish to live according to his convictions.

The personal habits of the Hindus may be somewhat different from those of the Americans; but these habits of the Hindus can hardly be regarded as positively offensive. While a University student in this country, I roomed with different American young men for over eight years. I also travelled extensively over the States as a "commercial traveller." It will therefore be

conceded that I have had some opportunity of seeing Americans close at hand; but in all my years I have seen nothing to make me believe that the average American has much better habits of life than the average Indian. Lest I am accused of partiality, let me quote the words of Mrs. R. F. Patterson, wife of Hon. Patterson, who was in India for ten years as United States Consul General.

"The Hindus are the most honest, most reliable, and most religious people I have ever known," in a hearing before the House Committee on Immigration. Mrs. Patterson said, "In the ten years that we were in Calcutta, we had many servants, thirteen, and not one did I ever find dishonest in any respect."

"At one time I was dining with the Commander-in-Chief, Sir George White, and I was speaking of the honesty of those servants and how we liked them, and he said, 'Mrs. Patterson, I have about a hundred in my house: I have had them many years and I have never lost a single solitary thing.' I am surprised that any one in the United States should question their morals."

"The Hindus are a very cleanly people. They never miss a single day's bathing. They will have their bath even if they must dip into the coldest river in winter."

"An American lady takes the best care of her hands, manicuring them, etc., but the Hindus take the best care of their feet."

Chairman.—"Do the coolies do that?"

Mrs. Patterson.—"Yes, Sir."

Chairman.—"All of them?"

Mrs. Patterson.—"Yes, Sir."

Chairman.—"From our standpoint you would call them a religious people?"

Mrs. Patterson.—"Yes, Sir; and they live up to what they teach."

Chairman.—"Would you consider them also a virtuous people?"

Mrs. Patterson.—"I should say so."

The contention of the American labour union men that the more Hindus there are in this country the more will they take the bread out of the mouths of American people is not economically sound. The presence of more men means more work, and more work produces more wealth. The Hon. James Manahan, Congressman from the State of Minnesota, was altogether right when he declared that the immigrants do not take the place of the American labourers. The new immigrants, Mr. Manahan observed, "add to the population and increase the market. If they go on to the farms and work as labourers they produce food for the people in the towns to eat. So the adding to the number makes more work if the proper relationship prevails, and does not drive anybody out of work."

The Indians, for the most part, engage in such work as Americans themselves do not care for. The Americans, and a large portion of European immigrants, prefer to congregate in cities, and follow such industrial pursuits as can be carried on only in the centre of large population. Now the Indians, being inclined to agriculture, work in the country; they are seldom found working in the cities. The Indians have a perfect horror of American city slums. They find employment on farm lands, and do such rough work as can be secured on the railroads, in the mines, and in the lumber camps. Since these hard occupations are just what the native Americans have a natural dislike for, the only unescapable conclusion is that the Hindus are not robbing the native white labours to any considerable extent.

The "political gentlemen" of the Pacific slope have declared, with more rhetoric and less truth, that they are threatened with a "Hindu Invasion." Such a statement is without foundation. Although the Indians have been coming here since 1899, there appear to be on the whole Continental America only 4,794 Hindus to-day. Can such a handful of peaceful, law-abiding people, as the Hindustanis, constitute a "Hindu Invasion" of America? The point is too obvious to be argued.

Frequently objection is raised against the Indians on the ground that they cannot be assimilated. The word "assimilation," according to some of the best authorities, does not mean race mixture. It means appreciation, of the ideals of American democracy. It implies the cultural contribution of a people to the sum total of American civilisation. In this correct sense, it is evident that Indians can as well be assimilated as any other race of people. And the assimilation into American life of a certain number of Hindus, fitted for particular arts and industries, will be a distinct gain.

It should also be borne in mind that the admission of the Hindu labourers in the United States does not involve any obligation on the part of the Americans to make these labourers their friends or partners. "There are multitudes of white men, even of our own race," says a recent American writer on the subject, "that we do not care to associate with, but certainly this cannot give us right to exclude these from our country or our neighbourhood. A time has been when Englishmen were taught to fear God, honour the king, and hate a Frenchman as he hates the devil, but this sort of prejudice must simply be allowed to die out, by setting up a standard of conduct to which opportunity may be given to all to attain, and requiring yellow men and black men to attain this standard as a condition to being admitted to civil, political, or social privileges. But the standard cannot, and must not, be one of race, unless the whole world is to be again divided into a number of hostile communities."

The Californians declare that the Hindus ship a portion of their earnings to India. They have asserted that the Indians in and near the city of Stockton sent to India last year 55,467 rupees. For the sake of argument I am willing to assume the correctness of these figures. But let me ask those who raise the anti-Indian hue and cry this one question: Do not the European immigrants also export a part of their savings to the "old country?" "About forty per cent. of our European peasant immigrants re-migrate," in a current number of the *American Review of Reviews* wrote Dr. L. Steiner, an expert on the immigration problem. "They export perhaps 2,700,000,000 rupees each normal year. During industrial depressions or panics these become larger." Now I do not recall many Americans who have declared that the European immigrants, many of whom send back a large part of their money to the fatherland, are undesirable aliens. Why then make fish of one and fowl of another?

I cannot, in the limits of a single magazine article, go into details. Immigration is a loaded subject; but there is no serious "case" against the Hindu. He is, as the *Brooklyn Eagle* argued it out in one of its recent striking editorials, "willing to work, and is a peaceful, decent element wherever he goes." The Hindu is simply the victim of misunderstanding. Just as the various peoples of Europe have at times been the object of race prejudice in America, so the Hindus to-day are regarded with unnecessary suspicion. And just as these Europeans have become useful citizens so will the Hindus in due time, if allowed to come.

It is feared by many that if the Raker bill is enacted into law, it will not only exclude labourers, but it will also hamper the students from entering the States. The exclusion of the labourers may be explainable on high grounds; but the exclusion of the students is unexplainable, unjustifiable, and altogether un-American. Hence the Hindusthan Association of America, which is an Indian Student Society with branches in nearly every important American College and University, has started a nation-wide agitation to oppose the bill, especially in so far as it affects the students. At the suggestion of the Association, protests have been sent to Congress from the Universities of California, Washington, Iowa, Nebraska, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and good many other institutions.

A writer in the March *Indian Review* on "American Plans to Exclude Indians" has asked with some solemnity if the British Indian Administration has been requested to make representations to the authorities at Washington, the seat of the Federal Government. It goes without saying that the Indians in America have made explicit and vigorous representation to the Delhi Government to protest against the pending exclusion

measure, which is unjust, discriminatory, and degrading to Hindusthan. Last February, the Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society, an influential organisation of the Shikh people in America, sent a deputation across the continent to Washington, to protest against the bill. As a spokesman of the delegation, I was able to secure a hearing before the Congressional Committee in charge of the exclusion bill. I also had interviews with important United States Government Officials like Hon. William Jennings Bryan, Secretary of State, Hon. William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labour, and others. They were all interested to know the Indian point of view, and promised an impartial investigation of the question at issue.

For the moment the only relieving factor in the situation is that the Raker bill will probably not be adopted by Congress at the present session. It may be buffeted about for the satisfaction of certain political elements; but in all likelihood the bill will not leave the rooms of the Committee. But one should not deceive oneself with the hope that this permanently disposes of the immigration question. That is far from being the case. Like the poisonous weed, it will continue to grow till it is hoed out root and branch. I have been assured by more than one person who knows the ins and outs of the Washington official circle that the very next Congress which meets in December will surely pass some sort of anti-Indian legislation. It scarcely needs remark that such a measure would be damaging to our national interests, pride and reputation.

What shall we do now? What measures can we devise to save our face in the United States? A number of strong Indian newspapers and periodicals have suggested an attempt to exclude American goods from Indian markets, and also to close all public and private avenues of employment to United States citizens. Some of the Americans themselves feel that India would be justified in resorting to retaliatory measures. In a recent contribution to the general discussion, *The Nebraska State Journal* thus warns its countrymen:

"The Hindus in India are expressing in no uncertain way the resentment they feel over the plans on foot to exclude them from the United States. They are an exceedingly proud people who have recently taken pains to mulct Great Britain to the extent of many millions of dollars worth of trade every year, because the attitude of the Government has not been satisfactory to the natives. That boycott will now be extended to American goods, it is practically certain, if a policy of general exclusion is carried out, and a very promising trade expansion for our merchants will be nipped in the bud."

India must take serious counsels before she adopts a boycott policy against the American nation. Boycott is such a double-edged sword that a country should use it sparingly, and only under the greatest of provocations.

The underlying opposition to the Oriental immigration into the United States comes from the American labour union men, who seem to be blinded by passion, prejudice and short-sighted selfishness. The only way to arouse the same, thoughtful American people to the injustice of an Asian exclusion policy is for the premier nations of Asia to act in concert. The representatives of China, Japan and India ought to meet together, and formulate a plan for organised activity in check-mating such an obnoxious policy. These men can work out an organisation whereby a combination may be secured that will off-set the pressure of the labour element at Washington. I, therefore, suggest that our neighbours, China and Japan, strike hands with us in India, and inaugurate a complete and thorough campaign to the end that there may be developed in America an immigration policy based on rational lines. In the meantime, India must be vigilant: she must be in readiness to fight her battle alone, if needs be. India must give support to those of her sons and daughters in America who are struggling for the honour of the motherland. India should back this fight with every ounce of fighting weight, and the victory will be won.—*Indian Review*.

THE COST OF THE COOLIE.

BY REV. J. H. HARRIS.

WHO should pay for the indentured coolie? is the eternal question in the Crown Colonies. To-day incidence of costs is so hopelessly involved that no definite and clear-cut statement can be made. The planter, the coolie and the Government all pay a share, but many estate owners think they pay too large a proportion and demand that a heavier incidence shall fall upon the revenues of the Colony. Some estate owners even propose that the famine funds of India should pay a portion of the planters' wage bill, yet it must not be forgotten that the planters instruct the Immigration Agents in India not to accept coolies from famine areas.

The incidence of cost may be roughly defined as one-third upon the revenue and two-thirds upon the estates. This incidence varies to some extent according to the Colony. The most recent returns from

Trinidad give £62,056 as the total cost for the current year, of which no less than £16,458 is to be paid from general revenue. Over £32,000 is met from the "immigration tax," the incidence of which falls upon all estate owners, whether they employ indentured labour or not.

MR. NORMAN LAMONT'S INDUSTRIES.

Those planters who refuse, for various reasons, to employ indentured labour, protest without avail, against being compelled to share the other man's wage bill. Lord Sanderson's Committee was given a striking example of the injustice of the existing incidence. Mr. Norman Lamont, whose family has for nearly a century carried on a successful sugar industry, informed Sir George Robertson that during recent years his share of the general tax for the indentured labour of other planters amounted to no less than £1,000 per annum; the effect of this was that the Lamont Company, unable to bear it, closed down. Sir George Robertson expressed the position in a neat sentence. "It really came to that—that you considered you had to pay £1,000 a year in taxes, which was in fact a contribution towards a fund to supply your rivals with labour." Mr. Lamont replied: "Yes, you have stated the facts exactly."

SOMEBODY ELSE SHOULD PAY.

The estate owners are meeting the opposition by the best defence possible; they, like Oliver Twist, are "asking for more." The suggestions for placing the burden on the shoulders of other people are charming. Mr. E. R. Dawson thinks a certain incidence might fall on the Indian revenues. Mr. Wm. Morison, of British Guiana, suggested that "they could take it out of the funds they give in famine districts and so on." This gentleman has an idea that the Salvation Army might also render assistance, the nature of which is not clear.

A BOLD SUGGESTION.

The most delightfully naive suggestion came from the Hon. Carlos Melhado, a proprietor from British Honduras. He would like coolies indentured for ten years. Asked "how the money would be found," he replied, with Spanish simplicity: "The Government would advance it." He means, presumably, the British Government. As, however, there was some doubt with regard to the real meaning of this witness, questions were put which elicited the reply: "We have been under the impression that the Government would advance at least their passages, and all this outlay you refer to." Mr. Carlos Melhado admitted, however, that certain difficulties might arise because "you have to deal with more ignorant people, very likely who might not think as I do!"

In view of the fact that labour legislation with the incidence of cost is controlled by the Legislative Council, two conditions should rule supreme. First that the unofficial element appointed by the Governor should be representative, and every effort made to safeguard the administration against a predominance of those who reap financial advantages from the legislation they vote in Council. The second is still more vital, namely, that Government officials should keep clear of all financial operations in the Colony. There are probably those who will look upon the second condition as being amply secured by Colonial Office regulations—but are there not violations and sometimes even gross violations?

The late Mr. Summerbell spoke strongly against the composition of the Trinidad Legislative Council. He complained that the planters were too largely represented; that "they use the law in their own interests" . . . give a bonus to their own industry, and make the whole community contribute; then Mr. Summerbell laid his hand heavily upon the officials of the Legislative Council by saying: "I am not prepared to state that even the Government representatives are not interested."

The Hon. C. P. David, who has been a member of this Council for five years, stated that "The predominating element on the unofficial side is by a long way the employers' side of the matter," and that, with two exceptions, "all the unofficial members are more or less directly connected with the sugar interest. Certainly a majority of them are representatives of English capitalists who have invested money in sugar . . ." This, then, is the composition of the governing body. We shall be reminded that the Governor is supreme, that the Colonial Secretary has the power of veto. No Colonial Secretary cares to exercise a veto against that powerful fetish—the man on the spot. Moreover, the Governor even cannot overrule a determined council of planters. Lord Stanmore discovered this when he tried to force the regular payment of the coolies' wages—as he said: "The Legislative Council was too strong for me." It is some small relief to note that Lord Sanderson's Committee has recommended, in spite of Commander Coombs, that the balance shall be more evenly adjusted by giving the Indian coolies some representation on the Council.

It is always an unpleasant task to bring individual Government officials to the bar of public opinion, but where an apparent violation of the regulations is concerned, silence would be criminal. The "discipline" of the Colonial Service lacks neither clearness nor scope; section 41 in Government regulations of the Colonial Service reads:—

COLONIAL SERVICE DISCIPLINE.

"All salaried public officers, whether or not their whole time is at the disposal of the Government, are prohibited from directly or indirectly making or holding any local investment, or being connected with any occupation or undertaking which might bring their private interests into real or apparent conflict with their public duties, or in any way influence them in the discharge of their duties. In all cases of doubt as to the application of this regulation, a public officer is required to submit the case for the Governor's decision."

SERIOUS CHARGES AGAINST OFFICIALS.

Mr. Summerbell said he could not prove that Government officials held "interests" in Trinidad. His suspicions, however, were well founded. When the Trinidad Protector, Commander Coombs, was being closely questioned with regard to his own "estate," he admitted that "most of the officials" hold land "away from their own places. I think there is a rule that you are not to have an estate within so many miles of your place." There is no such condition in the regulation of the Colonial Service quoted above—the injunction is explicit.

This, however, is not the only evidence, for a still more remarkable and from every point of view regrettable disclosure, came from the Solicitor-General and a member of the Legislative Council.—Mr. R. S. Warner, K. C., is "interested in a private company that owns 1,500 acres . . .", then his "wife owns a property of about 250 acres . . .", "and there is another." The official defence will probably be the high character of Mr. Warner. Let it be admitted at once, fully and frankly, that Mr. Warner is an ornament to the Government and Colony of Trinidad; but this does not touch the issue, which is not a personal matter at all. To make exceptions of this nature to the rules of Government service is a dangerous practice. There is no guarantee that so good a man will succeed to the position; the Government, having established one exception, is driven to do so in other cases; and from Commander Coombs' evidence it would seem that many Government officials have taken advantage of the door thus opened to them. If plantation holding has become general amongst the officials, it cannot but affect their attitude towards labour questions. In Trinidad there is a vote in aid of the cost of indentured coolie labour, varying from £40,000 to £50,000 per annum. Many of the officials, including the Solicitor-General, are entitled to vote this money, a large portion of which represents bonus in the interests of the planters.

WHAT IS CRIMPING?

C. A. PANIKKAR v. C. D. YOUNG.

IN the Supreme Court of Kuala Lumpur (F. M. S.) an important appeal was heard before their Lordships, Sir Thomas Braddell, Chief Judicial Commissioner, Mr. Justice Edmonds and Mr. Justice Innes, in which Mr. C. A. Panikkar, Clerk and Conductor, Java Selangor Estate, appealed against the decision of Mr. A. A. Wright, Magistrate at Kuala Selangor, wherein appellant was fined \$150, on a charge of attempting to seduce coolies from their employment. This case is of considerable interest to the planting community, because it concerned the Labour Code which was regarded as a kind of *Vade Mecum*, many planters, no doubt, imagining there was more in it for their protection, than there was actually. The material part of the section 225 of the Code referred to in this case reads as follows:—

"Any person who (a) shall knowingly seduce or take or attempt to seduce or take from his service or employment any labourer . . . shall be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars or to imprisonment of either description for a period not exceeding three months, or to both, in respect of each and every such labourer."

The following are the facts of the case which appeared in the judgment of the Chief Judicial Commissioner and were considered to have been proved:—

(1) That the appellant was employed as a conductor on the Java Selangor Estate and on the 26th October 1914 gave his employers one month's notice to leave their service in order to go to Bukit Raja Estate.

(2) That on or about November 1st, he informed the Malayalam coolies at muster that he was leaving the Estate and told them if they came with him they could earn more money and get ready cash and be able to go home, in short that they would better themselves, and that if they wished to come with him it was open to them to do so by giving the necessary notice to the Manager, which they must do themselves.

(3) That among the coolies who were present at the muster were Joseph, Karuppen, Karuman, Raman and Amalu and other coolies.

(4) That on November 2nd, some 140 coolies went to the Manager, and that all of these, excepting 18 who elected to remain and 20 who wanted to go to the coast, informed him that they wanted to give a month's notice, and go with the conductor, the witnesses Raman and Amalu being two of the number who wanted to go with the appellant.

(5) That on a subsequent day the appellant, acting on the instructions of the manager, sent some of the

coolies with some kanganies, to Bukit Raja Estate to see if they would be taken on there, but as they had not yet obtained their discharge tickets the manager declined to consider their applications and told the kanganies to take them back to their Estate.

(6) That subsequently to November 1st after the coolies had been informed that those wishing to leave the Estate would have to give notice, the appellant offered to the witness Joseph a recruiting license and, to obtain the release of his daughter from her marriage, advance him the money required to make the payment in lieu of notice if he would go with him.

(7) None of the coolies left his service or employment before the termination of his agreement. There is no evidence that any inducement was offered to any of the other labourers who gave evidence beyond the statement made by the appellant at the muster to the effect that they would better themselves by going to Bukit Raja Estate and Karuman's statement that he would be paid some money which it appears he had the right to demand as being due to him.

There were several points of interest raised on both sides during the course of the argument and, in conclusion, Mr. Justice Innes gave his dissenting judgment, while the other two Judges gave their majority judgment in which they reversed the decision of the lower Court and acquitted the appellant. The following is their judgment.

Judgment.

NO INTIMIDATION.

"There is no evidence (beyond their statements that they stood in fear of him) that the witnesses Raman and Amalu were influenced in giving their notices by any intimidation on the part of the appellant. The evidence of intimidation and assault given by Karuppen does not appear to me to be relevant to the charge and in my opinion ought not to have been admitted, as the appellant was not charged with assaulting or molesting this coolie or with criminal intimidation."

"The Magistrate, acting upon the presumption that a conviction under this paragraph of the section in Klang Criminal Case No. 27 of 1914, in which the facts were similar had been upheld by my learned brother Innes in Criminal Appeal No. 27 of 1914 on the ground that to advise a labourer to give notice to determine his agreement was an offence created by this section, convicted the appellant. The question, however, does not appear to have been argued or even raised on that appeal, which I understand was disposed of by a reduction of the sentence passed upon the appellant which entitled him to an immediate release."

As to another judgment by Mr. Justice Woodward at Taiping in May 1913, his lordship said that the absence from the report of the reasons which induced the ruling made it necessary for them to arrive at their decision without the advantage of being able to consider them.

Having dealt with the section of the enactment in question, his Lordship said the offence created by paragraph (a) of section 225 was the seduction or taking of a labourer from his service or employment. The service or employment for which this protection was provided was that authorised by the Code, that is, under an agreement or contract entered into in accordance with the provisions of the enactment.

AGREEMENTS

His lordship proceeded:—

If it be an agreement, then, under section 68, it may be entered into for any period not exceeding one month or for any number of days work not exceeding thirty or for the performance of any specified piece of work.

The section, therefore, recognizes agreements which may properly be called agreements for service, which the relationship of master and servant was between the parties and an agreement to do a specified piece of work to which the word 'a' would not so properly be applicable and, the "find both the terms 'service or employment' section 225. In this view of the use of these words 'seduce or take' are fitting words to either, for there exists on the part of the labourer an obligation to serve the period of service perform the work agreed for and therefore a person knowingly seducing such labourer to leave his service work on which he is employed is terminated or complete, and his obligation discharged, may properly be said to seduce or take that labourer from his service or employment according as he has or has not used persuasion to effect this. The primary meaning of "seduce" is to lead aside or astray, especially from the path of rectitude or duty, and paying regard as the Court is bound to do to the primary sense, their plain meaning appears to me to show that the intention of the legislature in creating this offence was to protect the labourer from being induced to leave his service or employment while his obligation to serve or perform his work remained undischarged.

ADVICE OR INDUCEMENT.

They do not appear to me to intend as an act of seduction or taking from his service or employment advice or inducement offered to a labourer to terminate his service or employment, for this would involve the assumption that the legislature intended to prevent the labourer from being given advice as to his right to

terminate his agreement or being offered better terms of service or employment where he might desire to obtain these, however honest the advice or offer might be or however much the interest of the labourer might be advanced by it. Section 69 of the Code enables either party to an agreement to terminate it by giving to the other party a month's notice of his intention to do so. To read section 225 so as to intend that a labourer, who being desirous of leaving his service seeks employment on another estate, may not be informed by the person to whom he applies that he may lawfully terminate his employment by notice or be assisted to give that notice or be offered an engagement on the termination of his existing service or employment is, in my opinion, not only unsupported by the letter of the enactment but repugnant to its spirit.

It may be said that I have stated the case in the most favourable light against the construction contended for by the respondent, but nevertheless it seems to me that this result would flow from adopting that construction, for the advice, assistance and offer might all be regarded as acts of inducement to a labourer to terminate his agreement as well as to what the words plainly express, place, to leave while the period or work under this agreement remains uncompleted and the service or employment explicit can be said to continue.

EARLIER ENACTMENTS.

The Court was referred to the earliest enactments on the same subject as a means of ascertaining the meaning of this enactment by comparing its language with that used in those enactments.

Where ambiguity exists in the language of an enactment the Court may, no doubt, refer to earlier enactments when they are in *pari materia* as guide to the construction of existing law, and if the particular language used in the earlier enactments on a particular subject has been departed from, it may generally be presumed that that the alteration was intentional. But this is a presumption which cannot be made in every case, for as Mr. Justice Blackburn observed in *Hadley v. Perks* L. R. 1. Q. B. 444, 457 "in drawing Acts of Parliament the Legislature, as it would seem, to improve the grace and style and to avoid using the same words over and over again constantly change the words without intending to change the meaning."

In the first of these earlier enactments Regulation III of 1890, it was enacted that any person who shall knowingly seduce or take or attempt to seduce or take from his service or employment any labourer bound by any contract of service such contract being for a period of not less than one month to serve another person, &c.

This enactment is entitled "a regulation for the prevention of crimping and for the better protection of employers and emigrants" and it consists of one paragraph

only which comprises the whole of the subject matter which in the subsequent enactments Regulation VI of 1895 and Enactment 16 of 1904 is split up and dealt with in three sections and in the existing Enactment 6 of 1912 in the three paragraphs of section 225. In the Enactments of 1895 and 1904 the wording reads "any person who knowingly induces or attempts to induce any labourer under an agreement or contract to abscond from service, etc." So, in the case of all these enactments the mischief aimed at was the inducing of a labourer to leave his service in breach of his agreement or contract. The language used in the Regulation of 1895 and the Enactment of 1904 is different from that used in the Regulation of 1890 but in both cases the words "seduce" and "induce", having regard to the context, import persuasion used to cause a labourer bound by a contract of service in the one case to leave his service and in the other to abscond from his service, and therefore the act made punishable in all these enactments is in their effect the same.

WAS THE LAW ALTERED.

But it is said that the law under these enactments has been altered in Enactment 6 of 1912 because there has been omitted from para. (a) the words "bound by any agreement or contract of service."

I am not satisfied that these were omitted for the purpose of changing the law, for it seems to me, that having regard to the use of the words "seduce and take" the legislature may well have regarded the insertion of the words "bound by agreement or contracts" which it was clearly necessary to express in para. (b) as redundant and unnecessary in para. (a) considering that the employment of such words in the Regulation of 1890 was there due to the purpose of restricting the offence thereby created to contracts of service for a period of not less than one month, and that any such qualifying words were unnecessary in the enactment of 1912 by reason of the express provisions made in the other chapters of the Code declaring what agreements and contracts could be lawfully entered into under it, and that therefore its intention to refer to service or employment under one of such agreements or contracts was sufficiently manifest without these qualifying words.

It seems to me more reasonable to ascribe the alteration of the language to this reason than to presume an intention to enlarge the scope of the law so as to include under the words used in this section a thing to which it would be a straining of their legal sense to apply them. In the case of *The Queen v. Morris* L.R.I. C.C.R. 90 and 95 Mr. Justice Byles said "it must be remembered that it is a sound rule to construe a statute in conformity with the common law, rather than against it, except where or so far as the statute is plainly intended to alter the course of the common law."

Now at common law an action on the case lies at the suit of a plaintiff for enticing away his servant and the cause of action is very clearly shown in the form of the count which will be found at page 359 of the second edition of *Bullen and Leake's Precedents of Pleading*.

It states that G. H. was and still is the servant of the plaintiff in his business of A—, and the defendant well knowing the same, wrongfully enticed and procured the said G.H. unlawfully and without the consent and against the will of the plaintiff to depart from the said service of the plaintiff; whereby the plaintiff lost the services of the said G.H. in his said business.

It will therefore be seen that the cause of action rests upon the proof of the alleged fact that the defendant enticed and procured the servant unlawfully and without the consent of the plaintiff to depart from his service knowing that he was the servant of the plaintiff.

INTENTION OF THE LEGISLATURE.

Now it seems to me that the legislature in enacting that any person who knowingly induces or attempts to induce any labourer under an agreement or contract to abscond from his service or as in the existing Enactment "any person who shall knowingly seduce or take or attempt to seduce or take from his service or employment any labourer," which is in effect the same thing, has intended nothing more than to make the thing which is actionable a civil wrong *plus* the attempt to do that thing a criminal offence.

The principles upon which the cause of action at common law is founded were considered in the cases of *Lumley v. Gye* (2. E. and B. 216) and *Bowen v. Hall* (6 Q. B. Division 338) in which latter case Lord Selborne, L.C., and Lord Justice Brett held, affirming the decision of the majority of the judges in *Lumley v. Gye*, that an action lies against a third person who maliciously induces another to break his contract of exclusive personal service with an employer which thereby would naturally cause and did in fact cause an injury to such employer, although the relation of master and servant may not strictly exist between the employer and the employed. Lord Justice Brett in his judgment said with regard to the application of the propositions deduced by him from *Ashby v. White* to such a case as *Lumley v. Gye*, the question was whether all the conditions are by such a case fulfilled. "The first," His Lordship said, "is that the act of the defendant which is complained of must be an act wrongful in law and in fact. Merely to persuade a person to break his contract may not be wrongful in law or fact as in the second case put by Coleridge, J. But if the persuasion be used for the indirect purpose of injuring the plaintiff or of benefitting the defendant at the expense of the plaintiff, it is a malicious act which is in law and in fact wrong and therefore a wrongful act and therefore

an actionable act if injury ensues from it. We think that it cannot be doubted that a malicious act such as above described is wrongful in law and in fact." The Lord Chief Justice, Lord Coleridge, dissented from the judgments of the Court and thought the Court should overrule *Lumley v. Gye*. The case of *Lumley v. Gye* next came under consideration in the House of Lords in *Allen v. Flood*, but it was not directly in question and no definite judgment was expressed as to its authority by the House of Lords until the case of *Quinn v. Leatham* (1901) A.C. 495 came before it, when Lord Macnaughten put the question in his judgment, was *Lumley v. Gye* rightly decided? and speaking for himself he said, "I have no hesitation in saying that I think the decision was right not on the ground of malicious intention—that was not, I think, the gist of the action—but on the ground that a violation of legal right committed knowingly is a cause of action and that it is a violation of legal right to interfere with contractual relations recognised by law if there is no sufficient justification for the interference. In *Allen v. Flood*, Lord Herschell had said "a study of the case of *Lumley v. Gye* has satisfied me that in that case the majority of the Court regarded the circumstances that what the defendant procured was a breach of contract as the essence of the cause of action. It is true that the word "maliciously" was to be found in the declaration the validity of which was then under consideration; but I do not think the learned judges regarded the allegation as involving the necessity of proving an evil motive on the part of the defendant but merely as implying that the defendant had wilfully and knowingly procured a breach of contract and his Lordship pointed out that Mr. Justice Crompton indicated this in these express terms: "It must now be considered clear law that a person who wrongfully and maliciously or which is the same thing with notice interrupts the relation subsisting between master and servant by procuring the servant to depart from the master's service or by harbouring and keeping him as servant after he has quitted it and during the time stipulated for as the period of service whereby the master is injured commits a wrongful act for which he is responsible at law."

These quotations are enough to show that the foundation of the action at law is the invasion of a legal right, and where this is not established the additional ingredient of malicious motive will not give a right of action for an act which, if done without malice, would not be wrongful although it results in damage to a third person. I will only add to these observations upon the cause of action at law that it was directly decided in *Nichol v. Martin* 2 Esp. 734 that an action will not lie for inducing a servant to leave after the expiration of the period for which he was engaged, although he had no intention at the time of leaving.

CONSTRUING THE ENACTMENT.

In my view of the enactment which we have to construe, the words are sufficiently precise and unambiguous when the whole of the section is read and the other parts of the Code relating to agreements and contracts and the expressed object of the law are considered to interpret them in their primary and natural meaning, but if they may be regarded as ambiguous then I am of opinion having regard to the rule expressed by Mr. Justice Byles that we ought to construe the Enactment in conformity with the common law, for although it is not a part of the law of these States yet in questions of tort it is, nevertheless, the acknowledged guide to which we must turn in arriving at just decisions upon questions arising under that branch of the law.

Another consideration also induces me to this conclusion.

This is a penal enactment, and though the distinction between a strict construction and a more liberal one has no doubt almost disappeared with regard to all classes of statutes, yet it is in my opinion still necessary in a criminal statute to be certain that the thing charged as offence is within the true meaning and intention of the legislature. This seems to me to be clearly incumbent upon the Court: for if the words are merely equally capable of construction that would and one that would not inflict the penalty, the person against whom it is sought to enforce the penalty is entitled to the benefit of the doubt arising on the construction: on the principle that the power of punishment is vested in the legislature and not in the judiciary and it is for the legislature and not the Court to define a crime and ordain the punishment.

For these reasons I am of opinion that the appeal should be allowed and the decision reversed and an order of acquittal entered.

OUR MALAYASIAN LETTER.

(BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

(Thoughts for the Month.)

"Silence is frequently a duty when suffering is only personal; but it is an error and a fault when the suffering is that of millions."

INDIANS HONOURED.

At last the Governments of The Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States have recognised the merits of Indians and are convinced of their loyalty to the British Raj. It is very gratifying to record here that the Indian community in this part of the globe is honoured by the appointment of Subadar Major Bhall Singh, a

member of the F.M.S. Police, as a Justice of the Peace. This has a special significance in, that, the gentleman referred to is a Sikh. Since the Indian Sepoys' Mutiny at Singapore, every Indian in the Straits and Malaya is suspected as being disloyal. Persons are not wanting to fan this suspicion. It was generally believed that most of the soldiers who caused the disturbance were Sikhs, but actually the majority of them were Mahomedans, viz., Pathans. Hence no wonder that Sikhs are particularly marked people here. Even now no Indian can be at Singapore without holding a Police Registration Card about his person, though other nationalities including foreigners are allowed to be there without one. So then this timely action of the Government throws an obstacle in the way of tale-mongers and gives the lie to their stories.

Indians throughout the Straits and Malaya warmly thanked the Government by holding mass meetings in different towns notably at Penang and Singapore, for this recognition of their merit to hold similar appointments in this country and most humbly expressed their great loyalty to the throne. The resolutions of these meetings are being transmitted by the Governor to His Majesty the King-Emperor.

INDIANS OF MALAYA GOING TO THE FRONT.

The Indian contingent of Malaya generally known as "Malay States Guides" requested the Government to be allowed to go to the front for active service, and the Government has acceded to their wishes. They are leaving here and I am confident they will, by their valour and heroism, bring great credit to themselves and our motherland. Germans will find new mettle to deal with when they come in contact with these fine soldiers. This hope is cherished even by many local Anglo-Indians of pronounced type. I hope this will be a link for better understanding between Indians and Britishers in this country and they will co-operate together for rendering all possible help to the brave soldiers in field.

F.M.S. FEDERAL COUNCIL AND STRAITS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

The Federated Malay States and The Straits Settlements have separate Governments of their own and each is independent of the other. But the Governor of the Straits is also the head of the F.M.S. administration and in that capacity he is called High Commissioner. The power of enacting laws, etc., is vested with the Federal Council in Malaya and with the Legislative Council in the Straits. These Councils are composed of official and non-official members. All the members are nominated by the Government though special care is taken to get suitable representatives.

The Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements is presided over by the Governor and chief heads of the

Departments (all Europeans) form the official members. Non-official members are, with the exception of a Chinese gentleman, all Europeans.

The Federal Council is also presided over by the Governor of the Straits Settlements in his capacity as High Commissioner. The Chief Secretary to the Government of F.M.S., the four Sultans and the British Residents of Malayan Provinces, viz., Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Papang and few other heads of Departments form the official circle of the Council. Here also the non-official members with a single exception are Europeans, the exception being the Chinese member.

A glance at the Census figures of this country will readily convince that the Chinese form the major part of the population. Next comes the Indians (including the Ceylonese), who are following various pursuits and lastly other nationalities. If therefore the Chinese and other communities can have their representatives in these Councils, there is a just claim for the Indians also. It is therefore essential that in a country which shows a semblance of representative administration, the Government should recognise the necessity of having representatives of each section of the people, and I would even urge that the distribution of such representation should not be unequal.

If the Chinese can have a representative in these Councils, it also follows that Indians should have also their men in them. I hope the Governments of Straits and Malaya would now at least realise this necessity and see that Indians are also taken as members in these Councils. The present time is the most opportune for granting such a concession. It will gladden the Indian troops of Malaya who are going to the front, and they will redouble their energy and enthusiasm in driving the enemy.

H. E. Sir Arthur Young, the Governor of Straits Settlements and High Commissioner of Federated Malay States, who knows India and Indians better than anybody in this country, having himself been born in India, would be greatly endeared by all if he makes this bold step in the administration.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CALCUTTA, 27th September, 1915.

SIR,

In your issue for August you publish an article entitled "Municipal Disfranchisement of Indians in Fiji." Both this heading and the entire purport of the article are obviously designed to produce the belief in the minds of uninformed readers that the legislation to which you take exception is aimed exclusively at voters of Indian nationality in Suva and as this suggestion is misleading and devoid of foundation, I request that you will be so good as to publish the following statement of the real facts in your next issue.

2. For some time past the administration of the town of Suva, the capital of the Colony, by its Municipal Council, a body elected by the ratepayers, has been generally unsatisfactory and particularly in regard to its sanitation. A petition was presented to the Governor in October last by 83 of the ratepayers of Suva, praying that the Municipal Council should be dissolved. The power of the Governor to dissolve a Municipal Council was at that time limited: and the prayer of the petitioners was not granted.

3. Hitherto, the persons entitled to vote in all elections of members of the Council were the occupiers, lessees, or owners of any rateable property within any town and who were rated for the same. In this respect, the franchise for electors of members of a Municipal Council was wider than that for electors of Elected Members of the Legislative Council, and it was contended publicly on many occasions by prominent citizens that the absence of the educational qualification in the case of electors of members of Municipal Councils which is required for electors of members of the Legislative Council had resulted, particularly in regard to Suva, in the election of the Municipal Council being placed, to a large extent, in the hands of the illiterate class, whether native Fijians, Polynesians, Samoans, East Indians, or half-caste persons, whose interests in the town were inconsiderable. The result has been that the prominent citizens of the town abstained from offering themselves as candidates for election or from taking any interest or part in such elections in which it was considered that it was a foregone conclusion that they would be outvoted.

4. The position having been represented to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and a proposal having been made, at the same time, to substitute for the elected Municipal Councils a Board of Commissioners to be nominated by the Governor with official and un-official representation thereon, Mr. Harcourt decided in February last that, although he was not prepared to do away with the electoral character of the Municipalities, he offered no objection to an educational test being required for municipal voters similar to that required for electors in the case of the Legislative Council, provided that no property qualification was introduced. Following that decision legislation has been introduced and passed by the Legislative Council which provides that the qualification for electors shall be that stated in the third para. of this letter, restricted by the condition that ratepayers shall not be entitled to be enrolled as electors unless they can read, write and speak the English language, that being the qualification imposed on persons as electors of members of the Legislative Council.

5. The amendment to the law is not aimed at East Indian ratepayers any more than it is aimed at illiterate

Native Fijian, Polynesian, Samoan, or half-caste rate-payers of the towns. There is no reason to anticipate that any injustice will be caused to those East Indian ratepayers who may lose their Municipal franchise, and it is hoped that the amendment to the law will lead to an improved and, at the same time, more economical administration of the towns, a result which will be in the true interests of the ratepayers generally. Should there be no such improvement as is expected, the Governor would be in a position to dissolve a Municipal Council and to appoint a Board of Commissioners to administer the affairs of the town for such period as he may think necessary.

Yours faithfully,
R. P. GIBBES,

Fiji Government Emigration Agent at Calcutta.

APPRECIATIONS.

TO THE EDITOR, "INDIAN EMIGRANT."

DEAR SIR,

We congratulate you on having started the noble work, and trust that the public will extend their patronage to you to enable you to make your work more and more useful. No doubt there is very little encouragement of the public to such a noble work as you have started in India to improve the worst condition of our people suffering abroad. We shall always be glad to take opportunity to introduce your journal to our friends and clients.

LAXMI CHAND DOSSABHAI & BROS.,
17th October, 1915. Rajkot.

BOUND TO SUCCEED.

The question of Indian emigration has since the last few years been attracting considerable public attention both in this country and abroad. A subject of such vital importance could not long remain without an organ of its own, and Madras from which we have so many examples of journalism enterprise, has come forward with a monthly, devoted solely to Indian emigration. With its well-written articles and carefully edited mass of information, the success of the *Indian Emigrant* is assured.—*The Library Miscellany, Baroda.*

It has been a pleasing labour to review *The Indian Emigrant*, a journal edited by T. K. Swaminathan, and published in Madras, which has reached only its twelfth issue. The field of this journal, we are told by the legend on the cover, is practically the whole world. When we first read this, we believed that this field would turn out to be more visionary than actual. But after reading the issue we had to admit that what was claimed was covered, and covered in a way which showed the editor to be in touch with conditions affecting Indians in all parts of the world.

The issue which we reviewed showed an earnest and honest desire to be a source of help to Indian emigrants throughout the world. It seemed to be equally alive to the interests of the Indian student and the Indian labourer. The range of its articles was wide, and almost without exception they were on important present-day subjects, and were well worth the reading. The article giving information about "American Universities" was exceptionally noteworthy, as it gave just those facts that should be known by all Indian young men who are thinking of going to America for college work. It would be well if all such intending students could read this article, it would save them many later trials and tribulations!

If the *Indian Emigrant* continues to keep up the standard displayed in the number reviewed, and keeps its pages free from all vindictiveness (of which there is a danger in a journal of this type), and confines itself to helping those whom it professes to champion, not falling into the pit of raising questions concerning them merely for the sake of provoking argument, then its future promises brightly, and we wish it success.

Youngmen of India, Calcutta.

THE "INDIAN EMIGRANT."

Mr. P. Subramania Iyer, Editor of the *African Chronicle* (an Anglo-Tamil daily) of Durban, makes the following reference in the issue of the 2nd October :—

It is with great pleasure we welcome to the ranks of monthly Journals the "Indian Emigrant," a monthly journal published by Mr. T. K. Swaminathan of Madras. This journal commenced its career in August 1914 with the object of putting 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." Indeed this journal is an unquestionable monthly record of the status and doings of Indians in British Colonies and Foreign Countries and also an advocate of equal rights of British citizenship within the Empire.

It is now about 12 months since the "Indian Emigrant" has been established, and so far, the journal may justly feel proud of the spade work it has done for the enlightenment of the Indians at home and abroad, and now the editor proposes to establish an Association comprised of Indians and Englishmen, with a view to undertake practical work for the advancement of the status of Indians abroad, and those who are desirous of joining the Association, may write to the Editor, 33, Popham's Broadway, Madras. We wish the enterprising editor, Mr. T. K. Swaminathan and his journal every success.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Warning to Exporters.

The attention of all manufacturers and traders engaged in the export business is drawn to the following notice issued by the Board of Trade :—

The Board of Trade direct the particular attention of all manufacturers and traders concerned in the export trade to the need for scrupulous care in the transaction of their business abroad. The Government's reprisals policy, formally announced by the Order-in-Council of March 11th, 1915, is directed to suppress all enemy trade, whether import or export. The main difficulty in making this policy thoroughly effective arises from the fact that some traders in some neutral countries are making themselves agents for the supply of goods to enemy countries. British firms engaged in foreign trade, therefore, must have regard to these circumstances and survey with great caution every opening for business which is offered them by neutral importers or exporters.

Especially care should be taken in opening new accounts in neutral countries and in relation to any orders or enquiries of an abnormal character. In any case of doubt as to the *bona fides* of particular consignees, business should be suspended pending reference to the Board of Trade.* It is inadvisable that any new accounts should be opened by any British trader in neutral countries, during the war, without the fullest enquiries as to the character of the business proposed to him.

• • The Board feel sure that they can rely upon the cordial co-operation of all firms engaged in foreign business to secure the successful working of the reprisals policy.

It must be added that the proclamations relating to trading with the enemy cover indirect trading with the enemy through neutral agents, and that carelessness in transacting neutral business may involve traders in the severe penalties attaching to trading with the enemy.

Assam Labour Agents' License.

In a Press Communique, dated the 30th March, the Government of India indicated the procedure which was to be followed by associations or firms desiring to be authorised in terms of section 3 of the Assam Labour and Emigration (Amendment) Act, 1915 (Act VIII of 1915), 'to apply on behalf of employers for local agents' licenses. This procedure required, among other things, that the application for authorisation should be for-

* Address: Assistant Secretary, Commercial Department, Board of Trade, Gwydyr House, London, S. W.

warded to the Government of India through the Local Government or Governments within whose jurisdiction the local agent or agents would work. In deference to representations received the requirement is now modified to the extent stated below. When an association or firm wishes to obtain an authorisation to apply for local agents' licenses in more than one province, it may, as an alternative to applying separately through each Local Government concerned, make a single application through the Local Government to which it is best known or within whose jurisdiction its chief place of business is situated, the application specifying the provinces in which it is desired to carry on recruiting operations. On receipt of the application the Government of India will consult the Governments of these provinces, stating that it has been recommended by the first named Local Government.

Ireland and Indian Students.

Mr. P. H. Gupta writes to the *Hindu* from King's Inns, Dublin.

It may be interesting to the Indian public to know how Indian students in Ireland are getting on and how they are treated by the people of that country.

Of all the European countries probably no country is so very dissimilar with the rest than Ireland. The Irish, as a people, are distinct from other peoples of Europe: their character, conduct and temperament are different and peculiar to themselves. Though they have been in touch with the whole of the Western world from the earliest times and have been under the direct influence of Great Britain for centuries, their history, traditions and environment are such that their civilisation, culture, ethics and genius are different and of purely indigenous growth. When we think of Ireland we should put aside the idea that she is a part of Europe geographically, religiously and politically. Then only we can understand the Irish well.

Nowhere in the British Isles is the Indian student better treated than in Ireland. There is neither race prejudice nor colour bar. He receives the same kind of respect as any other foreigner. Wherever he may go, to the protestant Ulster, to the Catholic Kerry, or to the Irish speaking Donegal, he is a welcome guest. The Irish seem to know more about India and understand Indians better than other Europeans. They are very hospitable and polite to the Indian and he feels quite at home among them.

There are Universities and medical institutions of great repute in Ireland which confer degrees on all faculties in Arts and Medicine. There is the King's Inns which trains law students for the Bar and confers the degree of Barrister-at-Law on them. They are all open to the Indian student without prejudice or favour.

He is not obliged by the rules of any of these institutions to be under any official guardianship. He enjoys the same privileges and breathes the same air of freedom as any student of any other nationality.

Besides facilities for education, the Indian student in Ireland has many other advantages. He lives among a people whose problems for the regeneration of their country are similar to his own. The Irish problems, industries, language, education past and present, are very instructive to him. Thus the student in Ireland besides acquiring the academical degrees he is seeking for, has a good opportunity of gaining such knowledge and experience which will be beneficial to him later in his life.

Ireland is famous for natural scenery. Killarney, Glendalough, the Giant's Causeway and several other beautiful spots in Ireland are resorted to in summer by thousands of nature-lovers from all parts of the world. In fact every corner of Ireland, every country and district have places of lovely scenery. The country is green all the year round. Even the gloomy and the lonely will feel cheerful and gay. The people are very sociable and it is easy to make friends with them. The stay of the Indian student in every way will be made pleasant and happy.

This October is the last session for the admission of the Indian matriculated students into the King's Inns and the Indian students in Ireland wish that many of their fellow students at home will avail themselves of the opportunity and will give them a hearty welcome.

Eugenics and War.

Prof. J. Arthur Thomson of the University of Aberdeen in the course of an article under the above title makes the following observations in the *Eugenics Review* :-

The eugenic ideal is as old as mankind and older ; it is the primeval pride in creation. But deliberate eugenics with the race as a whole in view is, with few exceptions, such as Plato's Republic and the Jewish people, relatively modern ; indeed, Sir Francis Galton was the first to give it scientific expression. The newness of the idea of deliberate national eugenics, its remoteness from being instinctive, the rarity of the biological outlook, even among statesmen, make one apprehensive of the days of retrenchment. But this is not the time to bruit disappointment, and perhaps after all our fears may be liars.

Three hopeful considerations may be briefly referred to. (1) The war is likely to demonstrate the value of constitutions which can endure without stolidity, which have resiliency without "nerves." We may look forward to a heightening of the standard of all-round fitness. There may also be a wholesome reaction from

the two chief forms of national weakness, and an endeavour to improve the conditions which tend to increase these. All this will make for progress, as long as it is clearly recognised that veneering does not make bad wood sound. So far as improved nurture induces the fuller development of a good inheritance, or guards life from gratuitous infection or inhibition, or prevents the tare seeds in our inheritance from germinating, it is to be welcomed.

(2) In the second place this is a time of vivid national self-consciousness and of freshened idealism, and it is possible that the spiritual momentum of this may enable us to go ahead. It is just possible that we may be brought by the war nearer the idea and the actuality of a positive peace, of entering more fully into our kingdom. We must agree with Professor Patrick Geddes that the peace times we have known have often been more accurately states of latent war.

(3) A third consideration is also full of hope, that one of the almost certain results of the war will be an increased sense of solidarity among the various self-governing Dominions of the British Empire. We are going to know and to like one another better, having fought together, rejoiced and sorrowed together ; we are going to see more of one another as distance-annihilating devices increase and cheapen. Perhaps we shall evolve a great confederate organisation for the common tasks of peace. Is there not here a eugenic prospect of great interest, of larger experiments in out breeding and in the influences of novel nurture ? Perhaps we may discover in greater frequency of environmental and functional change, which is so potent in keeping the individual young, a possible source of variational stimuli, rejuvenating even the germ-plasm, which may be apt to get a little stodgy in one small island.

We cannot end without expressing the hope that even if the natural inheritance of our race must suffer impoverishment through the tragic sifting of this most terrible war, we shall win through in the end with our social heritage enriched.

Missionaries and the I.R.C.A.

The members of the Indian Railway Conference Association displayed great and commendable courage at the recent Conference in abolishing the concessions hitherto allowed wholesale to missionaries when travelling by railway. It was little short of a scandal that missionaries of any one religion should have a monopoly of concessions on the railways of a country where religious denominations and sects are legion. The Conference evidently took the view that there was no more reason why the Reverend Jones should get a concession in railway fares than any Hindu priest or Mahomedan Moolla.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

POLITICS.

"The War of Steel and Gold," by H. N. Brailsford, with an additional Chapter and Appendices, G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., London, price 2s net.

The book is a scathing criticism of the Imperialist policy pursued by English statesmen and diplomats. It exposes in all its nakedness the political cant that takes refuge under such shibboleths as "Balance of Power," and "Protection" of British capital in foreign countries.

"Here at length we have discovered the stake which an armed Imperialism watches and seeks to enlarge. The fear of war, the struggle for a balance of power, the competition in armaments....., the universal nightmare amid which we are 'rattling into barbarism'—all this is seen to be a characteristic product of modern finance and modern capitalism." So writes the author, and this kind of forcible and convincing language is maintained throughout the book. One can hardly restrain the temptation of quoting *in extenso* such delicious passages with which the book abounds. If every Englishman were to have the same regard for truth as our author undoubtedly evinces, there would have been less chicanery and duplicity—thinly veiled under the euphemistic term 'diplomacy'—in politics. We shall quote a few sentences referring to India, where Mr. Brailsford is very plain-spoken. "The posts in the Army and the Civil Services have long been so numerous that they are opened to the sons of the prosperous middle classes. To these people India and Egypt have acquired at last a real meaning—they are the places where a son, a brother, or at least a cousin is 'doing well.' Every demand for self-Government in India or Egypt is a blow at the vested interests of that comfortable family in Kensington or Yorkshire. Every revolt threatens, it may be, the life of their nearest and dearest. There must be tens of thousands of families, all relatively wealthy, influential and well-educated, to whom the sudden ending of the Empire would mean financial ruin and social extinction. The larger the Empire grows, the more numerous are the posts it has to offerThe annual drain of wealth from India, the indirect tribute which it pays to the ruling class at home is belived to amount to about thirty millions sterlingWhen Imperialists argue that our rule is providentially necessary to India, it is well to remember that their judgment on such a point is biased by the fact that our rule in India is profitable to ourselves. Enquire why it is that, despite the eulogies on the martial virtues and the proved loyalty of Sikhs and Moslems,

native Indians are not allowed to hold commissions in the Indian army above subaltern rank, and the only candid answer will be that the closing of these posts to the young men of the English upper and middle classes would not be tolerated by public opinion at home. The same influences have restricted the efforts made by reforming Viceroys to admit a larger proportion of Indians to the Civil Service. The real obstacle to their employment in its higher branches is not so much the supposed weakness of Indian character, as the interest of the educated class in England."

We hope that after the termination of the present war the rights of India would be better recognized, and Indians allowed a larger share in the Government of their homeland. At the same time, this frank statement would serve as a warning to Englishmen that so long as a country is governed not in the interests of humanity but in those of capital and vested interests, things might not always happen as we wish them to.

At page 75, while discussing what could be the explanation of modern Imperialistic expansion, Mr. Brailsford says that neither trade nor emigration furnishes a real motive for the aggressions of the Englishman into the domains of other people. Except the Boer Republics the rest of the territory acquired or occupied by the English is not fitted to be a permanent habitation for a white race. It is impossible therefore at any time that the Englishman can emigrate to a country like India or look up to it with the same feelings of tenderness with which he has come to associate his own homeland in the West. It is a natural barrier, almost impossible to remove. He can only consider India, unless he is actuated or prompted by the noblest of feelings, as a 'stake' outside England which he has power to exploit so long as such exploitation is profitable to him. Does this not suggest one other reason why the ultimate object of British supremacy in India should be to train Indians to be able to govern, in fullness of time, their own country ?

We heartily recommend the book to everybody who wants to have a peep into the mysteries of current diplomacy, and the invisible levers that are at work in the "play of nations."

R. G. S.

HISTORY.

Treitschke's History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century. Translated by Eden and Odar Paul. With an Introduction by William Harbutt Dawson. Vol I. Published by Jarrold & Sons, London. Price 12sh. 6d. net.

Treitschke is a name which has come out under strong limelight since the outbreak of the War. He

has been the tremendous evil genius who has inspired and precipitated modern Germany into the self-consuming conflagration in which she finds herself to-day. To Germany Treitschke is not only a philosopher and patriot, but actually a prophet, like to the Jewish prophets of yore who swayed the Hebrew nation with the breath of their nostrils. The book under review is one of several heavy tomes turned out of the vast stores of knowledge and research possessed by the German seer, and is worthy to be placed alongside of Grote's "History of Greece" or Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of Rome." It would be a misnomer to call this wondrous work a mere history. It is, besides being a faithful record of the events which were still within the memory of his contemporaries, a philosophy, politics and literature.

That when patriotism degenerates into a megalomania it is attended by dangerous results to the country, is amply illustrated by even a perfunctory perusal of the contents of the book. On page 145 we find Francis II of Austria being described as a stout believer "in the old Hapsburg, A.E.I.O.U. (the initials of *Austria Est Imperare Orbi Universo*). We have only to substitute Germania for Austria, and we shall have a correct *credo* of the German statesmen since the days of Treitschke. He has instructed praise for Goethe and Kant, Blucher and Schiller, and hordes of other German thinkers and *savants*, and every line is inspired by the national consciousness of a sincere and devoted patriot. It is no wonder that modern Germany is easily led—whithersoever it leadeth—by this gleam which sheds its lustre all over Germany, at all times and in all places.

The book is nothing less than a marvel of our age and all praise is due to the translators who have saved to the English public this monumental *opus magnum* from oblivion.

R. G. S.

Ceylon in Early British Times, by J. P. Lewis, C. M. G. The "Times of Ceylon," Co., Ltd., the Times Buildings, Colombo. Price Rs. 3.

This neat little book is a compilation of certain local events of the Ceylon Society during the earlier half of the 19th century. To those people, who wish to have a peep into the state of the early British Settlement in this tiny Crown Colony, these pages will be found interesting. The book mainly deals with social and domestic events. We congratulate the author for having rescued these interesting trivialities of a century ago from oblivion and given them a definite shape and life.

SOCIOLOGY.

The Great Society : A Psychological Analysis, by Graham Wallas. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, Price, 7s. 6d. net.

In this book the author attempts an interpretation of the forces at work in the social organisation of a comparatively large modern state. It is a psychological analysis of the formative tendencies which result in the constitution of that political and social edifice which is called a state. Incidentally the author wages a war against eminent psychologists like McDougall, Ribot and Leslie Stephen whom he calls anti-intellectualists and whose general creed is that the instincts are the prime-movers of all human activity. When Ribot wrote his famous *Psychology of the Emotions*, students of psychology did not think that there was much in it with which they could quarrel, especially as the abstract and metaphysical school of psychologists which preceded him omitted to take into account of the physiological facts of man's psychological apparatus. But when he was followed by others who reduced man into a mere automaton, swayed by puffs of passions and emotions, the intellectualists rebelled and asserted with redoubled energy the independence and importance of Reason as a principal ingredient in the formation of character.

The work under review is characteristic of the age in which we live. The relationships with which we are concerned are not between individuals but between organisations and associations. Man is no more the centre of the universe, but the human race at large or such considerable portion of it as can be defined and ascertained for a particular purpose. This unit which is the subject of sociology—quite a modern science—is growing more and more complex, and when psychology is applied in investigating social problems it has necessarily to overhaul its current terms and re-define them in the new light that is being shed upon such problems by social or group psychology. Otherwise such combinations of words as "social instinct" or "mob intelligence" will only convey, if they do convey at all, absurd meanings. Notwithstanding all this, it is a moot point whether when we freely impute to groups of men as a whole such things as love, intelligence and even will, we are not talking a language which will not be intelligible without straining out of shape the natural connotations of the words.

In chapter VII there is an interesting discussion concerning the Greatest Happiness Principle, and the theories generally associated with it—hedonism and utilitarianism. Bentham, Mill and Hobbes come in for a good deal of criticism, especially the first when he identifies such totally different concepts as Pleasure and Happiness. Recent laboratory researches in what is known as experimental psychology by Professor

Titchener and others are referred to in explaining the importance of the distinction that should always be kept up between sensation-tones and feeling pure.

On page 207 the author writes with reference to India, "If India is to fight successfully against the plague which ships and railways spread, if she is to revive the arts and industries which have been killed by Manchester and Birmingham, above all, if she is to contribute her fair share to the world's literature and science, a much larger number of creative thinkers must appear among her native inhabitants. But Anglo-Indian officials do not, one fears, often produce or perhaps often desire to produce an emotional condition favourable to the growth of creative thought in the natives with whom they are brought into contact. This is a sad comment on the policy of Government pursued by Anglo-Indians in India, but is it too much to hope that all this will ere long give place to a better method of Government, and that even India might enter the region of the Great Society?"

We recommend this work to all students of social psychology and political science as a serious attempt made to understand the origin and nature of such of the psychological factors of human consciousness as make for the building of "Great Societies."

R. G. S.

On means for the Prolongation of life, Sir, by Hermann Web John Bale, Sons & Danielsson, Ltd., London, Price 4s. 6d. net.

This book is a publication in book form of a lecture, delivered in 1903, by the author.

The first two chapters deal with the natural duration of life, and state clearly how environments and mode of living affect age. A very important series of chapters then follow, where the value of exercise and of the different forms of it are clearly set forth. The author has also given, in an admirable manner, a description of the articles of food, their respective digestibility, and the role the play in the nutrition of the body. Dealing with vegetables, Sir Hermann Weber observes, that vegetarians can attain long life and can perform at least the same amount of work, if not more, as meat eaters. He expresses his conviction, that in cases of gout, and diseases of liver and kidneys, vegetable food is most valuable.

A very important chapter—if not the most important—is that on alcohol and tobacco smoking. The picture he gives of the evils of the use of alcohol, is so telling, that we cannot do better than quote a portion of it. "Many diseases of the liver, the kidneys, and the brain, are no doubt produced by the abuse of alcohol....."

A large percentage of epileptics, imbeciles, idiots, criminals, persons suffering from weak and early loss of memory, and other mental deficiencies, melancholia, etc., is the product of intemperate habits."

While admitting that tobacco, when taken with great moderation, is a means of enjoyment, and that it has good results, Weber warns that excessive smoking is highly injurious as it affects the heart, the blood-vessels, and the throat.

Another interesting chapter on mental occupations where the author suggests that they should be as varied as possible, brings the book to a close. We can safely assert that the book is at once interesting and highly instructive.

S. P.

PHYSICAL CULTURE.

The Development of Physical Power, by Arthur Saxon. Published by T. Inch, The Broadway Fulham, S. W. Price 3s. net.

The Development of Physical power, by Arthur Saxon the world's Champion weightlift gives one a very good idea as to what constitutes real strength. Mere inflated muscle developed in some instances at the cost of other vital points in man though very attractive to the sightseer is really no strength at all, when one considers it from all points of view. Of course weightlifting is his forte and he goes into details in instructing the would be weightlifter. The average man who has not the ambition to be a lifter has to accept his apology for not writing anything to help him forward in his endeavours to maintain health and even the lifter is seriously handicapped by want of hints as regards practice. There is a lot of advertisement one suspects, but very little of practical suggestions. On the whole the book is neatly got up and should be of value in a boy's library who may profit by the good pictures contained in it. Further information can of course be had from Mr. T. Inch.

My methods on boxing as a fine art by Carpentier Published by Ewart Seymour & Co., Ltd., 12, Burleigh Street Strand W. C. Price 2s. 6d.

The title is a bit egotistic, but it does not come with ill-grace from the heavy weight champion of Europe. His 'methods' are very elaborately described and illustrated, only the illustrations have very much the look of dummies—they are expressionless. Boxing—a fine art, is perhaps too big a claim—not quite so bad as our friend De Quincey's murder—a fine art. All the same, the enthusiasm displayed by Carpentier is well-worth admiring.

Hackenschmidt: Complete science of wrestling.
Published by Health and Strength, Ltd., 12, Burleigh Street
Strand W. C. Price 2s. 6d. net.

This is the best of the three books on physical culture before us. In it we have quite a number of suggestions in the way of practical help. Though they may not come as anything strange to professional Indian wrestlers, the lay world is bound to welcome it. Hackenschmidt claims for wrestling the first place in all physical culture and he is not very much in the wrong. If it is not all that is claimed for it, it occupies along with rowing, swimming, etc., the best place in any system of physical culture. For endurance, for strength, for agility and for an all round development of the human body, nothing can be better than wrestling. The illustrations are copious and very suggestive and the get up of the book leaves nothing to be desired.

S. N. B.

ANNUALS.

Directory of Merchants and Manufacturers in India, 1915, Laxmi Chand Dossabhai Bros, Rajkol, Kathiawar, India, price Rs. 3.

The Directory, which is full 500 pages of Royal 8 vo., contains a good deal of useful information of general interest, covering practically half the number of pages. The other half is devoted to a classified list of merchants and manufacturers, which will prove very useful to traders. Undoubtedly, there are many more leading firms which ought to have found a place in the book. The Directory would prove useful not only to Indian traders but to those of other countries as well, with which India has commercial dealings, with an improvement in its scope.

An Illustrated Guide to the Federated Malay States, edited by Cuthbert Woodville Harrison, price 2s. 6d. net.

We thank the Malay States Information Agency for sending us a copy of this very interesting book. Within 400 pages, we have here an exhaustive and almost encyclopædic treatment of the little States composing the Malay peninsula. The book will be of immense practical help to the tourist. It contains adequate and substantial information of the history, the growth of the political organisations and the social conditions and habits of the peoples of those lands. Valuable hints for motorists contained in a portion of the book should certainly be instructive help to rich tourists, while the description of the facilities of big game shooting available there should equally fascinate the keen sportsman. Yet another portion of the book

deals with the possibilities of the future development of the vast natural resources of the country by mining operations and sound legislation affecting such interests. This, of course, should be very useful information to the Indian capitalist. A very valuable series of interesting appendices and an exhaustive and informing index bring this interesting and instructive book to a close. We recommend the book not only as a very useful guide to the tourist, but also as equally interesting study to the historical student to whom it is bound to prove of great help in the discussion of the historical and economic problems affecting Indian Emigration to these States.

P. V.

ANTHROPOLOGY.

The Oraons of Chota Nagpur, Their History, Economic Life, and Social Organisation. By Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., etc., with an Introduction by Dr. A. C. Haddon, F. R. S., etc., Price Rs. 8 or 10sh. 6d.

The author who is a well-known student of anthropology writes with a facile pen about the conditions of life obtaining among this Chota Nagpur tribe about whom very little authentic was known up to now. The tribe who call themselves by the name of Kurukh, are known among ethnologists as the Oraons, and are said to be a branch of the Dravidian stock who settled in the plateau of Chota Nagpur, speaking a language "more closely allied to Canarese than to any other Dravidian language spoken in the South of India."

Mr. Roy is inclined to believe that members of this tribe must have formed themselves into the Vanara army, whom Rama, the hero of the Hindu epic Ramayana, is said to have led into Ceylon for the purpose of defeating Ravana, the monster-king of the island, and suggests that these people came to be styled Vanaras, because monkeys were totems of these hill-men.

Several customs are recorded which are peculiar to these people, one of which is known as the Bachelors' Dormitory. The author says that "it is an abomination which is of interest only as a survival of savagery."

Descent is matrilineal, and in this respect the Oraons resemble the Nairs of the West Coast. We have no doubt that the book will be read with interest by all interested in understanding the origin of Dravidians in South India, and by all others who want to know something of the indigenous races of India.

R. G. S.

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. 4.

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.

WHY INDENTURE SHOULD GO?

THE EDITOR.

IF India should feel grateful to the British Government for one thing more than another, it is the Indenture System. Whatever may have been its evils or however much Indians may have suffered under that semi-slavery system, it should be remembered that "there is always a soul of goodness in things evil, if men would observingly distil it out." Viewed from this standpoint, the indenture has done some good to the country. To a stay-at-home Indian or to one whose vision does not extend beyond his little village or district, such a view of the question cannot be acceptable. The Indian, like the Britisher, has ventured abroad with no help from his countrymen, but all the while looking to his only guide, his gracious

Government, has colonised not a few of the world's distant corners as South and East Africa, Mauritius, British Guiana, Jamaica, Fiji, British Honduras, Trinidad, Windward and Leeward Islands. It is a little over three quarters of a century that this system has been going on, and we have our countrymen scattered now over the world counting over two millions. This colonisation, in itself, is a striking and notable feature and of which India shall be proud to call herself the Mother-Country of so many Indian Colonies.

Our chief aim in pointing out this one salient feature amongst others is to show to the public that there was nothing inherently evil in the system at the beginning when it was first introduced in 1834. All possible precautions were taken by the Government of India and whenever it was made known that evils did exist, the Government passed at once measures to counteract such tendencies. This is revealed in the early history of Indian Emigration. As a matter of fact when Indians first entered these different Colonies, the system of indenture was not in vogue and they were regarded as free labourers, at liberty to enter into contract with any planter or employer. In certain Colonies, the immigrants were under no obligation beyond the statutory hiring of one month. Gradually this term was increased to six months and then to three years, and in 1862 the term of first indenture was fixed at five years. But the turning point in the history of Indian Emigration was in the year 1867, i.e., five years after the first indenture period was fixed at five years. In that memorable year, the first batch of ex-indentured immigrants who have completed in full their term of indenture wanted to become free and independent men and wished to settle down in

the Colony as peaceful citizens of the Empire. But the money-grabbing instinct of the predominantly powerful planters of the Colony would not tolerate any such idea, for the simple reason that they wished to have cheap labour, and so they kept Indians out of the labour market. They imposed restrictions through legislation compelling the coolie population to reindenture themselves rather than allow them to settle down as free labourers. In 1867, an Ordinance to that effect was passed and it was allowed by the Indian Government to pass without objection. There was not then a single public man or body in India who understood what this Ordinance really meant to the future of India's population to protest against this Ordinance. It is now forty-eight years since, and what have the Indians, public men and politicians, done to better the conditions of our countrymen abroad? Have they organised any single institution in this country for their welfare? Have they visited them periodically and ascertained what their grievances were? Have they not neglected them and spurned them as outcasts? Alas! what a noble work would have been turned out to the advantage of the mother-country had only Indians at home realised earlier the potency and the possibilities of these Indian Colonies. Even after the late Mr. Justice Ranade pointed out at the Industrial Conference of 1893, the practical utility of this great movement of Indian Emigration and its close relations to the social, economic and political development of the country, no steps have been taken by the public to assist and control the movement by organising an Association to render help to the poor emigrants of the country.

In all matters of public work a strenuous and organised effort is what is necessary, and the lack of efficient organisation in the past has tended to prevent the Government and the people from taking adequate measures for safeguarding the Indian interests in the Colonies. Our public men have failed to exercise a beneficent influence in shaping the legislature and devising better methods of controlling the labour that went of the country. The popular representatives in the Councils, who ought to have been alive to the injustice of the labouring classes, have grossly failed in their duty to voice their grievances and we believe that now at any rate the Hon'ble gentlemen in the councils will with one voice and one opinion impress the Government in shaping the future legislation in so far as this "Indenture Problem" is concerned.

The whole of India, in one body, now declares that Indenture must go. Is this based on only sentimental objection as is generally said? Nay, more than that. The grievances are real and reasonable and they touch all aspects of life, ethical and social, economic and political.

The strongest argument for the discontinuance of this disgraceful system of Indenture is based on the offensive regulations and the penalising conditions attached to the system, viz., the resort to Criminal Courts for breaches of civil contracts. This has been considered a serious blot in the system to which the members of the Sanderson Committee have called attention more than once. The unfair and iniquitous law, which sends a labourer to prison for absenting himself for a day or two from the plantations, shall be no guarantee that he will be treated with care and consideration if he is disabled to do work from natural causes. This conception of law is altogether foreign to the British mind and has never entered the statute book of any civilised country in the world. If societies exist for the prevention of cruelty to animals, does not humanity dictate that there should be a God and a conscience to those who use labour so mercilessly?

The second consideration is an examination of the allegation that immigrants fare well and become prosperous by reason of high wages paid in the Colonies. A more perverted theory of economics cannot be imposed on the general public for justifying a cause or system once inadvertently sanctioned out of all defiance to justice. It is a matter of common knowledge that the price of any article must go down by an oversupply of it. So was the price of labour in the Colonies. Evidences of individuals and public bodies have gathered to show that the importation of cheap labour from India to the Colonies has tended to lower down wages. The Hon'ble Mr. C. P. David, one of the members of the Legislative Council, Trinidad, stated positively that the maximum wage for a day's task when he was a boy was 30 cents., that it is now 25 cents., and that some years ago it has fallen to 20 cents. The Trinidad Working Men's Association also maintained that the present daily wage of a free labourer is from 30 to 36 cents. per diem, and that in 1886 the wage averaged from 50 to 60 cents. The recent MacNeil's Report also tells the same tale. On page 40, it mentions that free Indian labourers in British Guiana doing other occupations of life as drivers, cartmen and employees in the P.W.D. earn per diem 30 to 50 cents. i.e., 15

annas to Re. 1-9-0, some even getting so much as 60 cents; whereas the average or statutory wage of an indentured labourer is 24 cents if able bodied and 16 cents if otherwise. If facts are worth more than arguments, then what the Working men's Association of Trinidad mentioned in their memorandum of 1909 to the Secretary of State for the Colonies will be interesting indeed. It says:—

"On the Cocoa Estates in the middle eighties the ordinary rate of pay was 60 cents per day; it is now 35 cents, yet the Cocoa industry has enjoyed during the whole of that period uninterupted prosperity. And it would be an error to suppose that the fall has been limited to agricultural occupations. All have been affected.....Nor has the change for the worse been less marked in the case of the indentured labourers themselves. They have long ceased to receive the 5s. 2½d. solemnly promised in India as a minimum, their present earnings being in the neighbourhood of 8s. per week. The result of this is that 46 per cent. of the commitments to prison are for breaches of the Immigration Ordinance.....It is almost needless to point out the demoralising effect of all this on employers among whom it has revived all the traditions of slavery.....Far, therefore, from there having been no change in labour conditions during the last 20 years, the truth is that a radical change for the worse has taken place all along the line, as far as the vast majority are concerned, a change which we assert, is almost wholly due to the importation of indentured labour during the period."

This system of State aided Emigration, working entirely in favour of the British Capitalists abroad and against the true interests of the indigenous and imported labour of the colonies, has been the subject of strict criticism. To those who argue that Emigration aided or otherwise, is not calculated to lower the wages, we ask why is it in some of the self-governing colonies of the empire, with far greater resources and opportunities, coolie emigration is not tolerated even though *unaided*. The answer is simple. It is the fear of the reduction of wages to an extent which will compel the British workers to accept lower wages.

We are constrained to write at length on this point of wages, because it is the most important question affecting emigration. Indenture, under this aspect, has come to mean a guaranteed minimum daily wage of a shilling a day whatever may be the fluctuations in the labour market. But this wage is measured in the majority of cases by task work standardised by a high efficiency of work of an able bodied person working 7 hours a day. Out of this wage he pays for his rations, medical attendance, housings, etc., a certain proportion. It has been pointed out in the recent Report that men in the first year of indenture earned less than 10 to 15 per cent. less than the older hands. *If this should be so, it is doubtful what

amount of his total earnings will be left behind in his pocket after meeting these expenses. In one word, this statutory "living wage" of a shilling has set the minimum standard of wages in all occupations without allowing the labourers to lift their heads far above want. In this connection, we wish to add the words of a committee of the Trinidad Legislative Council which sat to enquire the labour supply of the colony a few years ago. It says that "although 25 cents per day is the minimum statutory wage in Trinidad the average daily earnings of the indentured immigrant under the task work conditions that are universal on the sugar estates do not exceed 9d. (18 cents), and it is estimated that thirty per cent. of the immigrants earn no more than 6d. per day." Although in Trinidad these unjust laws have since been amended, they remain in the other colonies unrepealed to-day.

The above facts clearly show that the theory of fair wages in the colonies is nothing but a delusion, and the labourers are not generally so well off as they are depicted or expected to be.

Lastly this continuous and systematic importation into the colonies of cheap labour from India from 1834, up to-day, without a consideration as to the capacity of the colony to hold any further influx or as to the comforts of the already settled population, will bring on in its train, as it has already done in certain colonies, over population and its concomitant evils, famine and misery. The principle of the limit of perfect recovery is as much true in the realm of social science as in the physical. The time has already come when greater attention should be paid to the ex-indentured labourers who have preferred to stay in the colony and who have merged themselves with the general population. The cry of "*more men under indenture*" has necessarily given a set back to a scheme of an extensive colonisation by Indians in the different colonies. Probably it was never intended by those who introduced the system who only took it as a temporary measure. But it has become a permanent feature of the system in spite of untold hardships against Indians. Now the most urgent need in the colonies is the creation of a strong and independent class of peasant proprietors who will form the real back bone of the country. This phase of the colony's welfare has altogether been neglected or lost sight of by the Colonial Governments. In no colony except the Dutch Guiana was colonisation stimulated and actively encouraged which is testified by the fact that large schemes of irrigation and drainage works have been constructed at the cost

of the Government, with the result that the landed property of Indians in Dutch Guiana has increased ten fold during the last fifteen years. We regret to point out that the British Colonies have not only not afforded facilities for agricultural settlements by Indians but have actually thrown obstacles in the way of free Indians from settling down as peaceful agriculturists. (*Vide* McNeil's and Chimman Lal's Report) We are of opinion that the future of the colonies lies not in the continuance of a semi-slavery labour but in the perpetuation of a prosperous class of peasant proprietors.

One more point need but mention and it is the growing immorality and suicides among indentured emigrants arising from a disproportion of sexes in recruitment. The subject has been discussed *ad nauseum* that it is needless to traverse over it now. However, one cannot but point out the alarming nature of the situation which will vanish only when indenture vanishes.

In fine, it is some what comforting to hear that His Excellency the Viceroy has sent a despatch to the Secretary of State recommending the total abolition of the system of Indenture. If this were so, we are then entering the threshold of a new era in the history of Indian Emigration to be inaugurated by His Excellency. To his far-sighted statesmanship and liberal policy will be associated several reforms in the external policy of the administration of the country, not the least of which will be the abolition of the Indenture. Under the enlightened regime of His Excellency Lord Hardinge, popular opinions have tended to awaken in the Government a true conception of its duty and obligations to the people and to break down much of the bureaucratic spirit of high handedness and intolerance that once characterised the Government.

Now with one voice, the Government and the people have begun to act in concert in the interests of both the governors and the governed.

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP.*

BY MR. R. G. SAMBANDAM.

WHEN the future historian of education, to which ever nationality or clime he may belong, jots down the chief milestones through which education, both in the abstract and in its practice, has traversed, he will certainly give an honoured place to the book we have before us. It is a practical demonstration of

* By Dr. George Kerschensteiner. Authorised English translation by A. J. Pressland. Price 2s. net. Published by George G. Harrap & Co., London.

viewing education not merely as a means of enabling a man to earn his living—not a very noble end in itself—but also of considering it a the chief agency by which he can be made a valuable asset to the State which at once furnishes him with an ideal and an opportunity. When the State uplifts a man from a condition of vassalage and points out to him the way how best he may discharge his civic duties to the advancement of the whole community of which he forms a part, when it teaches him that by merging his self in that of the community he lives a life of greater harmony and freedom than when he resists the normal course of communal life, and when, in short, it becomes a source of inspiration to a man who wants to live the life of a true citizen, the State is an ideal. When it goes further and shows him practically how his individual exertion can lighten the burden of the State and how by faithfully discharging the duties from the niche that is assigned to him in the political organisation he is able to lead the life of a noble patriot, the State becomes an opportunity.

True education consists in training a man's character at the most impressionable part of his life and in gradually preparing him to enter upon his duties as a citizen of the State when his career at the University or any other institution of education is over. Education is a discipline and does not consist in merely cramming into the heads of unwilling youths a maximum number of "Ologies." Dr. Kerschensteiner, the author of the book before us, himself Director of the public schools at Munich, suggests ideas calculated to realize in practice the fruits of such an educational policy as we sketched above. The whole book bears the impress of a true artist, of a man conscious of the value and importance, both to the State and to the citizen, of the policy he advocates, of a master who has made the problem of education his life-work and who knows how to translate his ideas into practice.

Let us now turn to the system of education under which we have been brought up in India and honestly see for ourselves how far we have been trained to lead the lives of useful citizens. At the outset, it strikes one that between the policy of education which Dr. Kerschensteiner has chalked out in his book—a policy which makes every legitimate allowance for the individual temperament of the student and brings out whatever is best in him—and the present gradgrind system which mechanically turns out Indian graduates every year in increasing numbers, there is only resemblance in name. How far a real state-governed University can go in producing better men

and women we have some knowledge after the breaking out of the war. Germany will be admitted by its worst detractors to have produced some of the finest of men who have ever stood in the vanguard of human thought and who have been the glory and pride of the whole of the civilized world. One great secret of the success of Germans in whatever field they have entered is the thoroughness and industry which they bring to bear upon whatever engages their attention, and there can be no doubt that the nature of the education which the German youths are receiving in their several Universities is responsible for a very large share of this success. What have we got in India to compare with this standard of education in Germany? It was in 1857 that the Act of Incorporation was passed which brought into being the University of Madras. For about 60 years—a very good slice in the life of even a nation—the University has been active in educating the youths of South India and has done a lot of spade-work in introducing to them the store of Western knowledge. While acknowledging with thanks all the good that our University has done for us, let us pause and think how far that education has trained the character of our youths and equipped them for the duties they have to discharge when freed from the trammels of their College education.

For some unaccountable reason the study of any subject having the slightest bearing on politics has been tabooed to the Indian student. About civic duties and responsibilities he knows next to nothing, and when any important measure affecting the well-being of the public is on the legislative anvil, and students of any College eagerly try to discuss it among themselves, the professor lifts his stern finger of authority and warns them: "Hands off!" What can we expect of youths bred on this kind of intellectual pabulum, when they are brought face to face with the hard facts of life? Shall we then affect to be surprised at the disappointment caused in his official career by the Indian youth who, judging by the number of marks he has gained in the examinations he has passed, promised to develop into an efficient officer? Shall we then affect to be surprised at the poor results education in India has produced in turning out only self-inflated lawyers and shallow politicians? Shall we then affect to be surprised when the acknowledged leaders of Indian society are mutely led, tied to her apron strings, through all the pantomimic shows of which a clever foreign theosophist is capable in India? While discussing the functions of the

science of epistemology as a means of understanding things of metaphysical subtlety or in discoursing about the *theta* and *gamma* functions of mathematical conundrum, the Indian student has shown a capacity which can scarcely be matched by any other student in the world; but what does he know about the functions of the State entrusted with the sacred duty of governance of a people except the meaningless shibboleths which he learnt by rote in elementary text-books of political science decades old? Whose is the fault? Has the obsolete system of education, which is mainly responsible for the intellectual and moral condition of the modern graduate, done anything in teaching him to bear with equanimity the duties of citizenship, or prepared him to intelligently follow and take part in the government of his own country? Why then sneer at him, saying that he is not yet fit to look after his own affairs?

Unless something is immediately done, which will drastically bring the present University education into line with that pursued in advanced European and American centres of education, it is feared that the present educational policy might lose all power of adaptation and might be more injurious than helpful to the thousands of students that flock to it every year. An institution, like a living organism, loses its elasticity and power of adjustment and assimilation after the lapse of a certain number of years. Any reform is possible only before this condition of *rigor mortis* sets in. The University of Madras will lose this adaptability if for some years more the pruning knife is not vigorously applied to it. The youths of a nation are the most precious part of it, and unless the State is scrupulous in its methods of training them for citizenship, there can be only a deplorable waste of the nation's vitality. The State cannot be over-careful in devising means and methods for bringing them up in a manner worthy of the future functionaries of the State, and in providing for the education of the boys and girls sent to its Universities, the State ought also to see that their environments are such as are best fitted for the development of all that is noble and great in the citizens that are to be. But can we lay our hands on our hearts and say that our University does anything of this sort? Is it not very sad to reflect that whereas other nations, who were but yesterday plunged in error and darkness, are so fast progressing to-day that their friendship is courted by the foremost of the civilized nations of the world, we, Indians, who have given very good account of ourselves whenever we were given opportunities and whose ancestors were untrammelled in wisdom, learning and culture

æons before Europe was born or America discovered, that we should still be treated like toddling children and fed on the weak slops that are being administered by the Educational Department and the University?

One has only to run his eyes down the curricula of studies provided for any degree course in the Indian Universities, to be convinced that the veil of mediæval darkness has not been drawn aside in India. The practical side of the Indian students' life is completely neglected, and when he is all on a sudden appointed to posts involving practical knowledge and special training, he finds that all his costly learning about Nicomachean Ethics and Kantian Ontology does not stand him in good stead. We are aware that the sponsors of modern education would reply that experience could only be gradually acquired in life and that no amount of the theoretical teaching in the Colleges could replace that. Quite true. But should there not be some preparation made in the Colleges to enable the student in later years to wage the battle of life with greater ease and hope of success? Should there not be some proportion between what one laboriously learns in the Colleges and what one is expected to know and do when he has to grapple with strange situations in life?

There is an inductive method even in the matter of education. Instead of teaching a boy all the theories of heat propounded by physicists ranging from Regnault to Carnot, and taking him over the whole gamut of theories of light from their very inception in the pre-historic dawn of knowledge before introducing him to the modern steam-engine, is it not a better and more time-saving method to start with an actual engine in motion at once? The parts of which it is composed and their respective functions can be explained in a few lectures, and to those of the students who want to know the mathematics of the processes involved a few additional lectures can be given to explain the abstract theory in symbolic language. There is large scope for improvement even in the teaching of mathematics. One need not spend laborious years at the University in conning the archaic history of mathematics. If our information is correct, this is exactly what is done in Japan. A model of a machine whose working the boys want to study, is taken to pieces and all the senses of the eager student are brought into play in understanding the processes involved in the proper working of the machine. Once this is done, it does not require much time to take the student to the past history of the machine and explain to him the defects in the theories that have been

displaced by the theories in vogue. The whole thing is simple, easy and efficacious. No wonder then that the Japanese have everywhere shown themselves capable of contesting with success some of the foremost places among the world's thinkers. When the State makes up its mind that its people shall have the best education possible under the sun, combined with that training of the will which is not less precious than mere book-lore, we may be quite certain that that nation of which the State is the guardian, will ere long occupy a prominent place among the nations of the world. Unfortunately for us, mediævalism still clings to our education, and it is not always the best interests of the governed alone that actuate our rulers in estimating the quality of the education that is to be provided for them.

The Anglo-Indian who is sent to rule over millions of Indians not infrequently shows his disdain for the native politician. The latter, he thinks, can be cajoled and coaxed into approving any measure proposed by the Government, taking its seat up in the Olympian heights of Simla and far, far away from the maddening crowd in the vale, and his action is not altogether without reason. Madras, for example, is ever ready to hold condolence meetings and mourn for the loss of great men who have passed away but who belong to other countries and climes. They indulge indiscriminately in loose, incoherent and vague talk. They are glad at their speeches being bandied from paper to paper and at their being eventually echoed in Bombay or Calcutta by men who are like-minded with them. We sadly miss the note of earnestness in the platitudes with which their mouths are so full. Even making liberal allowance for national traits, should we not turn to the education which they have received for an explanation for this deplorable lack of originality and earnestness? We are somewhat like a drift-wood that any the least passing current is capable of turning to any direction it listeth in the sea of political thought.

There is no beacon to shed its kind ray on the wild sea enshrouded in darkness, no pilot to steer the bark of political India safe from the hidden rocks, no chart whereon we can descry the course it has taken and, worst of all, no idea of the destination to which the vessel is bound. The surging waves roll it hither and thither, the clouds overhanging it loom ominous, no gleam from God's sky is thrown athwart its path to show its position, and no compasses where-with it can discern even the direction it listlessly pursues. There is a dull stupor prevalent among the

people voyaging in it, now and then glint across the gloom happier vessels which are sure of their destination, but nothing dawns to stir up the dying flame of hope in the hearts of the passengers. The whole thing has the appearance of a bleak lethal house—no ideal, no effort and no hope. All talk, fume and noise. Is this not a sad picture of the state of affairs? Think, gentle reader, and say whether it is overdrawn. Oh! When will the gods vouchsafe to us a true education, a true culture and a true ideal of life?

RUBBER CULTIVATION.

ON

THE EAST COAST OF SUMATRA.

BY OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

SUMATRA is an Island lying in the group called Malay Archipelago and it belongs to Holland. Rubber industry plays an important part in that land, especially on its east coast. The following facts concerning that industry will be read with interest by all concerned.

A very large number of estates in Sumatra is owned by the British and there is room for many more. Within the Empire, too, there are waste lands in many countries which could be turned into rubber fields. Of course the climatic conditions and local affairs may be different, but that could be managed by a careful study by experts.

I have given in the following pages only a brief and rough outline of this industry, but those who wish to get more information can get them if they apply to some experts.

Land Concession.—A land concession is given out by the relative Native Headman subject to confirmation by the Resident, for the period of 75 years with the right of extension for a further 50 years in cases where more permanent cultivations are employed such as Hevea, Coconut palms, etc.

Land-Rent.—For most of the concession granted, the land-rent or "Hasil Tanah" amounts to 57 Guilder cents, (11½d) per acre per annum, but during the last few years the rent for new concessions given out has been increased to Guilders 1-20 (2s. per acre per annum).

Export Duty.—No export duty is levied on Plantation Rubber exported from the east coast of Sumatra.

Choice of Land.—For the cultivation of Hevea, land is preferred which has already been planted by the Natives with Tobacco, or with "dry" rice (ladangs). Such a land is not covered with heavy forest, but is usually under lalang (alang-alang-imperata Koenigil) or light jungle growth and therefore calls for less expenditure in opening it up than what is necessary for a forest-covered land. What is still more important is, that little or no root-disease (Fomes Semitostus) should appear amongst Hevea planted on formerly cultivated land.

Elevation.—In this district, Hevea is grown both on flat, and on hilly land, and grows well on either. On the former, good system of drainage and on the latter, measures to prevent wash of soil, are necessary.

No definite variation in outputs has been noticed which can be said to result from differences in elevation of areas of rubber in bearing.

Opening up new Land. Lalang land is deep changcolled, or ploughed twice and lalang roots removed entirely by hand, or, it is changcolled three times within three to four months, in which case no special collecting of lalang roots is necessary.

Young jungle is felled and burnt, the land changcolled, and the roots removed. Heavy forest is felled or rooted up and the timber burnt off. The land is then either changcolled immediately, or planted up and changcolled only after two or three years, when most of the forest roots and stumps have decayed. The latter method of changcolling appears more economical, but it is in reality not so, as it is usual in the first two or three years of their growth that many Hevea trees die of root-disease caused by spreading of "fomes" from decaying roots and stumps remaining in the planted area. In planting up an area which is entirely clean, better and more regular planting can be done than in an area full of large forest tree stumps and roots.

When rubber-planting on a large scale commenced in the district, many planters, in order to save time, or when labour was scarce, omitted, or delayed to remove stumps and roots, but experience has shown that this method is not to be recommended.

Planting Distance.—Planting is now mostly done 18' x 18', 20' x 20' or 21' x 21', other in squares, diagonals or hexagonals. To commence with, 10' x 10'

12' x 12' or 16' x 16' was employed and later 12' x 24' and 24' x 24' either in squares or diagonals. Where too close planting has been done, pruning and thinning out of inferior trees are necessary.

Plant Holes.—These are generally 2' x 2' x 2' also, and preferably, 2½' x 2½' x 2' deep. The soil dug out of the holes is left to air for sometime.

Seed.—Most seed is procured from old, well-known Estates in the F.M.S. and in Serdang, also seed from younger trees of a selected good type is used. Seed, which fails to germinate within a certain time (usually 14 days), is discarded. Heavy seed is preferred to large-sized seed.

A few companies have sent their own Assistants to the F.M.S. to select seed from good Estates and to supervise the packing and despatch of the consignments collected.

Seedlings.—On most Estates the seed is allowed to germinate in sand and thereafter either laid out in nurseries 6" x 6" if planting out with seedlings is to be employed, or 1' x 1' if stump-planting is to be adopted. The nurseries are not shaded and are watered only until the young stems appear well above the ground. In most cases only the well-developed seedlings or stumps are selected for planting out.

Planting Material.—Although the usual method is to use seedlings (poeterans) or stumps for planting out, seed just germinated has in exceptional cases been employed, and although costing more for first supply, gave very successful results.

Supplying.—As soon as possible after planting, the area is supplied ("sisip"-ed) in order to obtain a regular growth.

Tapping (Pollarding).—Although tapping results to some extent in obtaining thicker trees in a shorter time to give earlier tapping, it is not employed much in the district owing to fear of branches being broken off by wind. On some Estates, fields of 1½ to 2½ years old trees which were of rather irregular growth have been tapped and more uniform growth thus brought about.

The breaking off of branches by wind is less to be feared after pruning off those forming a crown or circle and leaving only branches which appear at different heights.

Pruning.—Should the branch system begin low down on the tree, pruning is resorted to so that high stems may be obtained, and good control of the tapping made possible.

Fine Pruning to form Branches.—On trees which show no branches to a certain height, some Estates cut off the leaves with scissors, leaving the stalks of the leaves only on the young stem, which method is said to have the effect of causing more rapid branch formation. Only experience can prove whether or not the results justify the expense.

Thinning out.—Where planting has been done too closely, or where, in spite of pruning, the necessary amount of light cannot be obtained, the fields are thinned out, mostly during the rainy season. Mould and moss-growth on the trees and soil are hereby prevented.

As far as possible, the inferior trees are sacrificed for the sake of the good ones in thinning out.

Aeration of Soil.—Growth of Revea trees is very much improved by aerating the soil, i.e., changcolling the planted area about every two years.

Manuring.—Planters in this district have not yet become convinced of the usefulness of manure. Systematic experiments have been made but these are still too recent to give any definite results. Some planters prefer to use full manures, whilst others choose phosphates such as "Thomas" or "Perlis."

Ground Cover.—Many trials have been made on large and on small scales with ground covers, both with green manuring and other cover, but as far as experience goes, an entirely satisfactory ground cover has not yet been discovered. The upkeep and keeping growth of cover in check are expensive, and usually require much labour and supervision.

Clean Weeding.—Owing to the circumstance just mentioned planters favour clean weeding, which can be better supervised and controlled, and which requires less labour and is less expensive.

It is true that the soil during the first few years is too much exposed to the sun when no ground cover is planted. On hilly land on several Estates a more or less satisfactory system of terracing to prevent soil-wash is carried out. Where this is commenced immediately after planting, and the small terraces regularly attended to, the result, in course of time, is good terraces at a low cost, provided the soil is not too loose. In the latter case the terraces suffer much during heavy rains, and good surface drains are more satisfactory. On the loose soil, grass borders and Impomoea (Chinese sweet potatoes) are often planted with good results, also "blind" drains are used.

Interplanting of Catchcrops.—The chief catchcrop in this district is Robusta Coffee. Usually no catchcrop is planted by Companies with sufficient capital at their disposal.

Where a catchcrop exists,—for example coffee—the difficult problems eventually confronting the planter are whether to pick the ripe coffee or to commence tapping the Hevea, and whether to increase the estate labour force sufficiently to cope with all the various work to be done, or to let some parts of the cultivations suffer from inattention through shortage in labour.

One advantage of the interplanting of Robusta Coffee is that crops can be obtained as early as in the third year of growth, the revenue from which will partly cover the cost of planting up the Hevea, also a certain saving in weeding costs can be expected. There are instances of certain forest land on the east coast here yielding a crop of 15 to 18 piculs of Robusta Coffee per acre even before the end of the third year after planting.

Robusta, however, is not so great a success over the whole of this district. There are estates which yield no more than 3 piculs per acre (in spite of the fact that shade trees are employed such as Lamtore ("Lencaena glauca") which do so well in Java, owing to the soil being apparently less suitable for Robusta Coffee cultivation. Many areas have been found to be absolutely unsuitable. Finally, it is an economic question whether or not by sawing off the affected parts and burning them immediately on the spot, the resultant wounds being smeared with Carbolineum Plantarium.

Bark Cancer appears mostly in old plantings. The trees are cured by shaving off the outer bark and treating the affected parts with Carbolineum Plantarium. The bark-shavings are carefully burnt. Up to the present time cancer appears to have been quite easily cured by this method.

White Ants.—These pests are usually destroyed by smoking with material containing arsenic or by supplying such in the form of powder.

Caterpillars.—Small brown caterpillars in grayish colour have been noticed in large numbers on a few

estates, but have disappeared without causing any apparent damage.

Boring Beetles have repeatedly caused damage on old estates, and owing to the large numbers in which they appeared they have killed trees. Possibly this pest is of a secondary nature. It happens also that trees which have been struck by lightning are shortly afterwards attacked by the same kind of boring beetles. In some cases, when detected very early, these beetles have been successfully destroyed by using a thin solution of sublimate.

Pigs and Deer.—These animals do a great deal of damage, especially to young Hevea trees, and their incursions are prevented by protecting the planted area by means of barbed wire or by planting a strip of from 15' to 18' wide with Mimosa Pudica along the boundaries, the prickles of this plant keeping the animals from coming through. Newly planted seedlings are often protected by cylinders of wire-netting.

Damage by Wind Storms.—Damage by these especially in certain months, is caused by the "Bohorok," a sort of Fohn (hot wind) which blows from the south-west for a few days, from time to time, over a part of the east coast and shrivels up the leaves of the trees. No damage of great consequence has been caused thereby so far.

Wounds caused by Fire.—On estates which, owing to shortage of labour force have been allowed to get under lallang, it has happened that this lallang has caught fire and the bark of the trees to the windward side was thus scorched. Such trees, however, recovered after sometime.

New bark was formed over the wounds, and the trees were quite tappable later on.

Tapping Wounds.—As a result of tapping too deep, such as often happens at the hands of inexperienced tappers, wounds are caused on the trees, but these heal up, especially when the wounds have been protected against the action of the air by smearing with Carbolineum Plantarium. In such cases, however, careful supervision is required later when tapping these parts of renewed bark.

(To be continued.)

Round the Indian Empire.

BY POLITIQUE.

India's hoarded gold would form a fascinating study to the humanistic financier, if such an individual exists. The subject has the charm of the Arabian Nights added to that of the American Dollar. But the worst of it is, it is a literary conceit and falls flat when pinched for a hard coin. It is difficult to resist the accession of a certain cynical humour to hear of the raising of a people's war loan of £ 25 million or thereabouts in the same breath as of the failure of the Government Post Office Loan, to write of the Indian ryot's income as Rs. 30 per capita with the famine commission report at the elbow, or talk of India's favourable trade balance side by side with the wail of its decaying industries. Surely one would think that the moon has become the mistress of this country's economic affairs—when the man in the moon discusses them. Rhetoric apart, the question is simple. There is no general hoarding of India's gold, or for the matter of that, any other country's, in the twentieth century. In India, especially, when usury exacts on a normal from 15 to 30 per cent. without a tear or a grumble, gold is not to go lamenting into subterranean vaults. There is no doubt that a substantial proportion of middle class savings go into ornaments on the female folk. But this is the time-honoured form of Indian insurance against the proverbial rainy day and, as accidents must happen, the source of maintenance to the women when widowed and without occupation, as they always are, male support present or absent. This is a feature of Indian Society, suitable indeed in the condition of the country and in no way senseless. The bangles hanging on the ryots' children have a similar duty to perform, though on a diminished scale; and in an exaggerated form befitting their social status, the Indian princes also commit this sin in the form of hoarding wealth. All told, these various items represent life's provision in an enfeebled body and nothing more, if one does not commend the wisdom of combining aesthetic enjoyment with economic foresight. These bangles, ornaments and shining gems will remain where they are, even if the bait is offered of a state bank or other financial agencies, insurance offices, etc. For these cannot after all create the money power which they are intended only to conserve, where it exists. The unalterable fact is that India is poor beyond poverty. The crux of the solution lies not in distribution as the hoarded gold theory would argue, but in production as the succeeding famines repeatedly emphasise.

The reply of Mr. Austen Chamberlain to the deputation that waited upon him recently in London regarding the education of women in India (already referred to in these columns) has repeatedly done service in the cause of Government. One thinks by this time that the poverty of the Government of India is endemic and the people have the vicious knack of arguing the question against Providence when affected by progressive ideas. The deputation merely asked for a representative Committee to be appointed to consider the feasibility of extending female education that it may run parallel to the strides made by the education of the other sex. The times seemed propitious to make the move; the war has enlarged the mentality of the ordinary citizen; and we have an Indian as Education Member. These conditions provide almost a unique opportunity to translate into action some of the sentiments expressed from high quarters on this question. It is almost a marvel that the Secretary of State should have declined to receive the moderate suggestion put forward by the deputation by simply referring to the monetary aspect of the matter. But it strikes us that he did not after all lay quite so much emphasis on this point as on some others. He frankly regarded the movement as being forced upon his attention by some interested individuals from London; that it had no popular support in India; and supposing it had this sanction, he said that the proper channel through which such opinion should express itself was the Government of India. This is, we admit, sound constitutional doctrine which we would only like to see more largely adopted by the authorities at home. But the position antecedent to Chamberlain's assumption of office was somewhat different, which led Mr. Montague in his Budget statement of 1910 to speak of Lord Morley and his Council as having accomplished much, "working through the agency of Lord Minto." But Chamberlain chooses to put a different complexion on the connection that should exist between the Government in England and in India. He would endow the former with no power of initiative in the administration of India. Evidently, if we read the Secretary of State's contention aright, he is a believer in the trust-in-the-man-on-the-spot theory. So far so good. But even this well-reasoned doctrine may be abused and clearly Chamberlain has made a fetish of it on this women question. Another piece of advice that he gave the deputation, was somewhat novel. He said that the question of the education of

women was still an experiment even in the West and until the results are known Indians should have patience. This is admirable counsel if India is to be a replica of Western conditions. It is quite conceivable that India may mark more advance than occidental countries in some departments of life. We do not understand why Indian progress should be determined by occidental predilections. Happily, the Secretary of State's reply leaves the hope that he may after all consider the question favourably if the Government of India moved the proposition before him. We, therefore, urge the Education Member to set about the matter in right earnest. There is no reason to doubt that popular support will be lacking. The education of women in India is vitally concerned with her welfare. In the conditions of the India of to-day, it is rare to meet with the individual who thinks otherwise.

We cannot commend the tactics of the Home Ministers in devising a measure of this kind, much less share their solicitude in breathing benediction on this offspring of the war. This bill seems to us to belong to that category of purely civil legislation seeking cover under the exigencies of the military situation, though in no sense contributing to the latter. We have every desire to help the Government in their civil administration in these trying times and confess to a little concern at the atmosphere of distrust that has unfortunately attended this bill. We incline to think that this measure is wholly unnecessary, but are afraid that such counsels would not prevail because there is but short distance between the bill which is now in the House of Commons for the third reading and the Statute Book. When once the necessity for this piece of legislation is admitted, haply there is very little for criticism of its details. The bill, when it becomes law, would suspend during the continuance of the war and two years thereafter the competitive system of recruiting for three-fourths of the Indian Civil Service. This is to be replaced by nomination and the other one-fourth will be secured by a combination of competition and nomination. Indian interests in the Service are to be safeguarded through the latter door, but Indian opinion, far from being satisfied at these shifts, has unreservedly pronounced itself contrary to the principle of nomination. Apart from the way open to the exercise of nepotism by the changes proposed, which even the most disinterested Civil Service Commissioners will find difficult to avoid, human nature remaining what it is, the principle of the bill sets up a dangerous precedent. The only redeeming feature of the Indian bureaucracy was that its members were there by sheer merit as tested by a rigid competitive examination.

Their efficiency is a tradition and the level has been kept up admirably. The proposed bill proposes to effect a breach, which we doubt whether the old members of the service will look upon with complete favour. Having said this, we should not be supposed to support the measure which we still deem unnecessary. The situation could be met in other and less objectionable ways. For instance, vacancies in India could easily and as effectively be filled up by promotion from the ranks.

We hope we have heard the last of the Lahore conspiracy case with the execution on the 17th instant of the seven prisoners who paid the extreme penalty of the law awarded by the special tribunal. Thus the common hangman has rung down the curtain on a phase of national activity which universally invites its own doom owing to the very character of its subterfuge methods. The anarchist is happily becoming extinct. The circumstances connected with the constitution and procedure of the tribunal which tried this case disarm criticism, because of the character of the crime it had to cope with. But it is a mistake to exaggerate the incident into a vast or widespread mutiny against British rule in India or attribute to the criminals deep-seated political motives. The Punjabi malcontent is pious and explosive, apt to endow grievances with the turn of a mild sensation, when he knows them fancied or futile. The crowd which politics denies him in this country, unlike in the West, easily gathers for the twang of a religious shibboleth—a fact which Western critics must take into consideration in forming an estimate of the popularity of this species of Indian 'disloyalty.' That is why the Viceroy commuted the death sentences of sixteen prisoners into one of transportation for life, taking into account the above-mentioned considerations. These do not come under the recognition of law, but are eminently those factors which in equity secure to the criminals the clemency which Lord Hardinge has, in this instance, shown. The matter may be allowed to rest here but for the tactics of the Anglo-Indian journalistic Corybantes of this country, who have abused the Viceroy for what they imagine to be a misplaced leniency in the case of these prisoners who sought no less than to raise a second Indian mutiny. The insinuation gains plausibility on account of the condition in which the country has been placed by the war. We strongly deprecate the dispersion of such alarmist suggestions by the Anglo-Indian Press. As for the Viceroy who has shown a statesmanlike insight into the situation by tempering mercy with justice, he should know after living so long in this country that no adulation of his Indian fellow-subjects is equal to the vituperation of the Anglo-Indian Press.

in commendation of his regime. Since writing the above a *communiqué* has been issued from Delhi, explaining the action of the Governor-General as arising out of a consideration of the evidence recorded against each individual whose sentence has been commuted. Thus the claims of both law and equity have been met, though not quite in the Hebrew spirit which our Anglo-Indian friends seem to desire.

The second meeting of the Aryan Brotherhood Conference was held in Bombay during the second week of the month, the first having taken place in Poona three years ago. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and Sir R. Bhandarkar were the principal speakers at the last meeting, and no two more valiant champions could be found than these two knights to storm the citadel of orthodox Hinduism in that Presidency. As the prospectus of the present Conference says, the great war is having its influence upon the caste question as upon most others. "The people of this country will of necessity have to revise their social ideas and institutions, and adjust them to the new conditions, and amongst these caste will be the most important. In truth, the differences and distinctions of caste which are in vogue in this country are now generally felt to be quite inconsistent with our national aspirations and with our individual as well as communal progress and evolution under the ægis and progressive spirit of the British Empire." To our mind it has always seemed that the difference on this social subject has arisen out of a discordance in the general outlook of the parties affected by it. The orthodox people believe it obligatory to maintain the caste in which they happen to be born. The institution is attributed with sacredness, the transgressing of its laws entailing peculiar punishments to the soul. There are others who consider the matter of caste as but an accident, of no particular concern, when more vital affairs are taken into account. There is no denying the fact that caste operates as an inconvenient burden in realising the purposeful career of man's mortal mission—especially in a land like India honey-combed as it is with conflicting castes and creeds. No national unity in any sphere of activity is attainable if individual predilections—caste is essentially one such—are allowed to stand in the way. But the signs are cheerful; though not completely assuring. It is interesting for the student of the subtle psychology of social prejudices to observe that though outside one's province caste is not so much observed, it yet holds a spell

over him in his locality. "We violate caste when it suits us," Sir R. Bhandarkar said, "and resume it when the necessity has ceased. This insincerity must be given up and we must get ourselves to destroy caste consciously." The problem is largely a question of sincerity, a secular virtue which none, we dare presume, need have scruples to adopt.

They have left footprints in the sands of time—and the psalmist is told to smother his grief over those who have lived their span and passed away. First, Mr. James Keir Hardie, then Sir Henry Cotton, then Sir Pherozesha Mehta—now no more. Who next? We arrest the painful thought to treasure the memories that these have left for us. To our mind, the order in which each fell under the sickle of the final Reaper discloses more than a chronological sequence. Mr. James Keir Hardie eminently represented in better mind of the labour world in sympathising with the lot of subject races all over the globe. India naturally attracted his attentions and he died with the conviction that few better outlets exist for the exercise of similar natures than the cause of the 315 millions of people inhabiting this country, subject to foreign domination, disarmed and deprived of the means to become economically self-supporting. The circumstances in which Sir Henry came into contact with India are unique. They are also characteristic of the nobler phase that British connection with India can be made to assume, if administrators of the calibre of the late Sir Henry were more common in India. His life and career illustrate how a Briton can weave into the web of Indian life, in its national vogue, the enduring virtues of a home-bred patriot with the elevated sentiments of friendly counsel. Sir Pherozesha Mehta has been too near us to permit our esteem of his person go beyond the self-appointed range of his activities. He has been compared by our English friends to Joseph Chamberlain. "Sir Pherozesha Mehta is the Bombay Corporation; the Bombay Corporation is Sir Pherozesha Mehta," wrote an Anglo-Indian paper. Sir P. M. Mehta's activities are typical of the civic life which the future India will be increasingly called upon to play. But his devotion by no means was restricted to what in popular phraseology goes by the name of the Parish pump. His personality was present in every national movement and the valiant knight has bequeathed to his posterity an illustrious example of the way to combine national ideal with civic responsibilities.

GENERAL ARTICLES.

WHAT HAS INDIA CONTRIBUTED TO HUMAN WELFARE?*

BY ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

THE BASIS OF SOCIOLOGY.

I HAVE been asked to write upon the essential and distinctive contribution of India to the civilization of the world. Each race must contribute something essential to the world's civilization in the course of its own self-expression and self-realization. The character built up in solving its own problems, in the experience of its own happiness and of its own misfortunes, is itself a gift which each race offers to the world. The essential contribution of India, then, is simply her Indianness; her greatest humiliation would be to substitute or to have substituted for this own character (*sva-bhava*) a cosmopolitan veneer, for then she must come before the world empty-handed.

If now we ask what is most distinctive in this essential contribution, we must first make it clear that there cannot be anything absolutely unique in the experience of any race. Its peculiarities will be chiefly a matter of selection and emphasis, certainly not a difference in specific humanity. If we regard the world as a family of nations, then we shall best understand the position of India by recognizing in her the elder, who no longer, it is true, possesses the virility and enterprise of youth, but has passed through many experiences and solved many problems which younger races have hardly yet recognized. The heart and essence of the Indian experience is to be found in a constant intuition of the unity of all life, and the instinctive and ineradicable conviction that the recognition of this unity is the highest good and the uttermost freedom. All that India can offer to the world proceeds from her religion. This religion is not, indeed, unknown to others—it is equally the gospel of Christ and of Blake, Lao Tze, and Rumi—but nowhere else has it been made the essential basis of sociology and education.

THE PURPOSE OF LIFE.

Every race must solve its own problems, and those of its own day. I do not suggest that the ancient Indian solution of the special Indian problems, though its lessons may be many and valuable, can be directly applied to modern conditions. What I do suggest is that the Hindus grasped more firmly than

* This remarkable writing of the author appeared as a Supplement to the *Athenæum*, October 2, 1915.

others the fundamental meaning and purpose of life, and more deliberately than others organized society with a view to the attainment of the fruit of life; and this organization was designed, not for the advantage of a single class, but, to use a modern formula, to take from each according to his capacity, and to give to each according to his needs. How far the sages succeeded in this aim may be a matter of opinion. We must not judge of Indian society, especially Indian society in its present moment of decay, as if it actually realized the Brahmanical social ideals; yet even with all its imperfections Hindu society as it survives will appear to many to be superior to any form of social organization attained on a large scale anywhere else, and infinitely superior to the social order which we know as "modern civilization." But even if it were impossible to maintain this view—and a majority of Europeans and of English-educated Indians certainly believe to the contrary—what nevertheless remains as the most conspicuous special character of the Indian culture, is its purposive organization of society in harmony with a definite conception of the meaning and ultimate purpose of life¹.

Where the Indian mind differs most from the average mind of modern Europe is in its view of the value of philosophy. In Europe and America the study of philosophy is regarded as an end in itself, and as such it seems of but little importance to the ordinary man. In India, on the contrary, philosophy is not regarded primarily as a mental gymnastic, but rather, and with deep religious conviction, as our salvation from the ignorance which for ever hides from our eyes the vision of reality. Philosophy is the key to the map of life, by which are set forth the meaning of life and the means of attaining its goal. It is no wonder, then, that Indians have pursued the study of philosophy with enthusiasm, for these are matters that concern all.

ANCIENT AND MODERN VIEW OF POLITICS.

There is a fundamental difference between the Brahman and the modern view of politics. The modern politician considers that idealism in politics is impractical; time enough, he thinks, to deal with social misfortunes when they arise. The Western sociologist

1. Lest I should seem to exaggerate the importance which Hindus attach to *Adhyatma-vidya*, the Science of the Self, I quote from the 'Bhagavad Gita,' ix 2: "It is the kingly science, the royal secret, sacred surpassingly. It supplies the only sanction and support to righteousness, and its benefits may be seen even with the eyes of the flesh as bringing peace and permanence of happiness to men"; and from Manu, xii. 100: "Only he who knows the *Vedasastra*, only he deserves to be the Leader of armies the Wielder of the Rod of Law, the King of Men, the Suzerain and Overlord of Kings." The reader who desires to follow up the subject of this essay is strongly recommended to the work of Bhagavan Das, 'The Science of Social Organization,' London and Benares, 1910.

is apt to say : " The teachings of religion and philosophy may or may not be true, but in any case they have no significance for the practical reformer." The Brahmins, on the contrary, considered all activity not directed in accordance with a consistent theory of the meaning and purpose of life as supremely impractical.

Only one condition permits us to excuse the European indifference to philosophy ; it is that the struggle to exist leaves no time for reflection. Philosophy can only be known to those who are disinterested and free from care ; and Europeans are not thus free, whatever their political status. Where modern Industrialism prevails, the Brahman, Kshatriya, and Sudra alike are exploited by the Vaishya¹; and where in this way commerce settles on every tree there must be felt continual anxiety about a bare subsistence ; the victim of Industry must confine his thoughts to the subject of to-morrow's food for himself and his family ; the mere Will to Life takes precedence of the Will to Power. If at the same time it is decided that every man's voice is to count equally in the councils of the nation, it follows naturally that the voice of those who think must be drowned by that of those who do not think and have no leisure. This position leaves all classes alike at the mercy of unscrupulous individual exploitation, for all political effort lacking a philosophical basis becomes merely opportunist.

The problem of modern Europe is to discover her own aristocracy and to learn to obey its will. It is just this problem which India long since solved for herself in her own way. Indian philosophy is essentially the creation of the two upper classes of society, the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas. To the latter are due most of its forward movements ; to the former its elaboration, systematization, mythical representation and application. The Brahmins possessed not merely the genius for organization, but also the power to enforce their will ; for, whatever may be the failings of individuals, the Brahmins as a class are men whom other Hindus have always agreed to reverence, and still regard with the highest respect and affection. The secret of their power is manifold ; but it is above all in the nature of their appointed *dharma*, of study, teaching, and renunciation.

BUDDHISM AND INDIAN STATE CRAFT.

Of Buddhism I shall not speak at great length, but rather in parenthesis ; for the Buddhists never directly attempted to organize human society, thinking that, rather than concern himself with polity, the wise man

should leave the dark state of life in the world to follow the bright state of the mendicant. Buddhist doctrine is a medicine solely directed to save the individual from burning, not in a future hell, but in the present fire of his own thirst. It assumes that to escape from the eternal recurrence is not merely the *summum bonum*, but the whole purpose of life ; he is the wisest who devotes himself immediately to this end ; he the most loving, who devotes himself to the enlightenment of others.

Buddhism had nevertheless deep and lasting effects on Indian statecraft. The sentiment of friendliness, through its effect upon individual character, reacted upon social theory. It is difficult to separate what is Buddhist from what is Indian generally ; but we may fairly take the statesmanship of the great Buddhist Emperor Asoka as an example of the effect of Buddhist teaching upon character and policy. His famous edicts very well illustrate the little accepted truth that " in the Orient, from ancient times, national government has been based on benevolence, and directed to securing the welfare and happiness of the people³." One of the most significant of the edicts deals with " True Conquest." Previous to his acceptance of the Buddhist *dharma* Asoka had conquered the neighbouring kingdom of the Kalingas, and added their territory to his own ; but now, says the edict, His Majesty feels " remorse for having conquered the Kalingas, because the conquest of a country previously unconquered involves the slaughter, death, and carrying away captive of the people. That is a matter of profound sorrow and regret to His Sacred Majesty... His Sacred Majesty desires that all animate beings should have security, self-control, peace of mind, and joyousness... My sons and grandsons, who may be, should not regard it as their duty to conquer a new conquest. If per chance they become engaged in a conquest by arms, they should take pleasure in patience and gentleness, and regard as (the only true) conquest, the conquest won by piety. That avails both for this world and the next."

In other edicts the King " does reverence to men of all sects, whether ascetics or householders"; he announces the establishment of hospitals, and the appointment of officials " to consider the case where a man has a large family, has been smitten by calamity, or is advanced in years"; he orders that animals should not be killed for his table; he commands that shade and fruit trees should be planted by the high roads; and he exhorts all men to " strive hard." He quotes the Buddhist saying, " All

2. ' Dhammapada,' 87 ; also the ' Jataka-mala ' of Arya Surā, xix. 27.

3. Viscount Torlo in *The Japan Daily Mail*, November 19th-20th, 1890. The whole essay, of which a good part is quoted in Lafcadio Hearn's ' Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan,' is a searching criticism of Western polity, from the standpoint of a modern Buddhist.

1. Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, Sudra—the four primary types of Brahmanical sociology, viz., philosopher and educator, administrator and soldier, tradesman and herdsman, craftsman and labourer.

BRAHMAN VIEW OF LIFE.

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RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY THE BASIS OF NATIONAL POLITY.

The Kshatriya-Brahman solution of the ultimate problems of life is given in the early Upanishads¹. It is a form of absolute (according to Sankaracharya) or modified (according to Ramanuja) Monism. Filled with enthusiasm for this doctrine of the Unity or Interdependence of all life, the Brahman-Utopists set themselves to found a social order upon the basis provided. In the great epics² they represented the desired social order as having actually existed in a golden past, and they put into the mouths of the epic heroes not only their actual philosophy, but the theory of its practical application—this, above all, in the long discourses of the dying Bhishma. The heroes themselves they made ideal types of character for the guidance of all subsequent generations; for the education of India has been accomplished deliberately through hero-worship. In the ' Dharmasastra' of Manu³ and the ' Arthasastra' of Chanakya—perhaps the most remarkable sociological documents the world possesses—they set forth the picture of the ideal society, defined from the standpoint of law. By these and other means they made religious philosophy the essential and intelligible basis of popular culture and national polity.

1. Deussen, ' The Philosophy of the Upanishads,' by A. S. Geden, London, 1909.

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What, then, is the Brahman view of life ? To answer this at length, to expound the Science of the Self (*Adhyatma-vidya*), which is the religion and the philosophy of India, would require considerable space. We have already indicated that this science recognizes the unity of all life—one source, one essence, and one goal—and regards the realization of this unity as the highest good, bliss, salvation, freedom, the final purpose of life. This is for Hindu thinkers eternal life; not an eternity in time, but the recognition here and now of All Things in the Self and the Self in All. " More than all else," says Kabir, who may be said to speak for India, " do I cherish at heart that love which makes me to live a limitless life in this world."

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This is the critical point of religious sociology, when it remains to be seen whether the older idealist (it is old souls that are idealistic, the young are shorter-sighted) can remember his youth, and can make provision for the interests and activities of spiritual immaturity. To fail here is to divide the church from everyday life, and to create the misleading distinction of sacred and profane; to succeed is to illuminate life with the light of heaven.

The life or lives of man may be regarded as constituting a curve—an arc of time-experience subtended by the duration of the individual Will to Life. The outward movement on this curve—Evolution, the Path of Pursuit—the *Pravritti Marga*—is characterized by self-assertion. The inward movement—Involution, the Path of Return—the *Nivritti Marga*—is characterized by increasing Self-realization⁵. The religion of men on the outward path is the Religion of Time; the religion of those who return is the Religion of Eternity. If we consider life as one whole, certainly Self-realization must be regarded as its essential purpose from the beginning; all our forgetting is but that we may remember the more vividly. But though it is true that in most men the two phases of experience inter-penetrate, we shall best understand the soul of man—drawn as it is in the two opposite, or seeming opposite, directions of Affirmation and Denial, Will and Will-surrender—by separate consideration of the outward and the inward tendencies. As knowledge increases, so much the more will a man of his own motion, and not from any sense

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of duty, tend to return, and his character and actions will be more completely unified. But we need not on that account condemn the self-assertion of the ignorant as sin; for could Self-realization be where self-assertion had never been? It is not sin, but youth, and to forbid the satisfaction of the thirst of youth is not a cure; rather, as we realize more clearly every day, *desires suppressed breed pestilence*. The Brahmins therefore, notwithstanding the austere rule appointed for themselves, held that an ideal human society must provide for the enjoyment of all pleasures by those who wish for them; they would say, perhaps, that those who have risen above the mere gratification of the senses, and beyond a life of mere pleasure, however refined, are just those who have already tasted pleasure to the full.

For reasons of this kind it was held that the acquisition of wealth (*artha*) and the enjoyment of sense-pleasures (*kama*), subject to such law (*dharma*)¹ as may protect the weak against the strong, are the legitimate preoccupations of those on the outward path. This is the stage attained by modern Western Society, of which the norm is competition regulated by ethical restraint. No society can progress further unless it is subjected to the creative will of those who have passed beyond the stage of most extreme egoism, whether we call them Heroes, Guardians, or Brahmins.

Puritanism consists in a desire to impose the natural asceticism of age upon the young, and this position is largely founded on the untenable theories of an absolute ethic and an only true theology. The opposite extreme is illustrated in industrial society, which accepts the principles of competition and self-assertion as a matter of course, while it denies the value of philosophy and discipline. Brahmin sociology avoided both errors in adopting the theory of *sva-dharma*, the "own-morality" appropriate to the individual according to his social and spiritual status. However much the Brahmins held Self-realization to be the end of life, the *summum bonum*, they saw very clearly that it would be illogical to impose this aim immediately upon those members of the community who are not yet weary of self-assertion. It is most conspicuously in this understanding tolerance that Brahmin sociology surpasses other systems.

DOCTRINE OF REINCARNATION.

At this point we must digress to speak briefly of the doctrine of reincarnation, which is involved in the theory of eternal recurrence. This doctrine is assumed and built upon by Brahmin sociologists, and on this account we must clearly understand its practical applications. We must not assume that reincarnation is a

1. *Dharma* is that morality by which a given social order is protected. "It is by *Dharma* that civilization is maintained" (Matsya Purana, cxi. 27). *Dharma* may also be translated as order, duty, righteousness, or religion.

superstition which, if it could be definitely proved (and that is a large "if"), would have as a theory no practical value. The practical value of a theory does not depend on its representative character, but on its efficacy in resuming past observation and forecasting future events. The doctrine of reincarnation corresponds to a fact which every one must have remarked: the varying age of the souls of men, irrespective of the age of the body counted in years. "A man is not an elder because his head is grey" ('Dhammapada,' 260). Some men remain irresponsible, self-assertive, uncontrolled, unapt to their last day; others from their youth are serious, self-controlled, talented, and friendly. We must understand the doctrine of reincarnation at any rate as an artistic or mythical representation of these facts. To these facts the Brahmins rightly attached great importance, for it is this variation of temperament or inheritance which constitutes the natural inequality of men.

BRAHMANICAL THEORY EXAMINED.

We can now examine the Brahmanical theory a little more closely. An essential factor is to be recognized in the dogma of the rhythmic character of the world-process. This rhythm is determined by the great antithesis of Subject and Object, Self and not-Self, Spirit and Matter, Unity and Diversity, Love and Hate, and all other "Pairs." The interplay of these apparent opposites constitutes the whole of sensational and registrable existence, the Eternal Becoming, which is characterized by birth and death, evolution and involution, descent and ascent, *srishti* and *samhara*. Every individual life—mineral, vegetable, animal, human, or personal god—has a beginning and an end; and this creation and destruction, appearance and disappearance, are of the essence of the world-process, and equally originate in the past, the present, and the future. According to this view, then, every individual ego (*jivatman*), or separate expression of the general Will to Life (*ichchha*, *trishna*), must be regarded as having reached a certain stage of its own cycle (*gati*). The same is true of the collective life of a nation, a planet, or a cosmic system. The turning-point of this curve is reached in man, and hence the immeasurable value which (Hindus and Buddhists) attach to birth in human form. Before the turning-point is reached—to use the language of Christian theology—the natural man prevails; after it is passed, regenerate man. The two conditions, however, interpenetrate, and the change of psychological centre of gravity may occupy a succession of lives.

According to their position on the great curve, that is to say, according to their spiritual age, we can recognize three prominent types of men. There is first the mob, of those who are preoccupied with the thought of I and Mine, whose objective is self-assertion, but who are

restrained on the one hand by fear of retaliation and of legal or after-death punishment, and on the other by the beginnings of love of family and love of country. These, in the main, are the "Devourers" of Blake, the "Slaves" of Nietzsche. Next there is a smaller, but still large number of thoughtful and good men whose behaviour is largely determined by a sense of duty, but whose inner life is still the field of conflict between the old Adam and the new man. Men of this type are actuated on the one hand by the love of power and fame, and ambition more or less noble, and on the other by the disinterested love of mankind. But this type is rarely pan-human, and its outlook is often simultaneously unselfish and narrow. All those, who have but begun to taste of freedom, must still be guided by rules. Finally, there is the much smaller number of great men—heroes, saviours, saints, and avatars—who have definitely passed the period of greatest stress and have attained peace, or at least have attained to occasional and unmistakable vision of life as a whole. These are the "Prolific" of Blake, the true Brahmins in their own right, and partake of the nature of the Superman and the Bodhisattva.

These classes constitute the natural hierarchy of human society. The Brahmin sociologists were firmly convinced that in an ideal society, *i.e.*, a society designed deliberately by man for the fulfilment of his own purpose (*purushartha*),¹ not only must opportunity be allowed to every one for such experience as his spiritual status requires, but also that the best and wisest must rule. It seemed to them impossible that an ideal society should have any other than an aristocratic basis, the aristocracy being at once intellectual and spiritual. Being firm believers in heredity, both of blood and culture, they conceived that it might be possible to constitute an ideal society upon the already existing basis of occupational caste. "If," thought they, "we can determine natural classes, then let us assign to each its appropriate duties (*sva-dharma*, own-norm) and appropriate honour; this will at once facilitate a convenient division of necessary labour, ensure the handing down of hereditary skill in pupillary succession, avoid all possibility of social ambition, and will allow to every individual the experience and activity which he needs and owes." They assumed that, by a natural law, the individual ego is always, or nearly always,

1. *Purushartha*: This is the Brahmanical formula of utility, forming the standard of social ethics. A given activity is useful, and therefore right, if it conduces to the attainment of *dharma*, *artha*, *kama* and *moksha* (good citizenship, pleasure, prosperity and emancipation), or any one or more of these without detriment to any other. Brahmanical utility takes into account the whole man. Industrial sociologists entertain a much narrower view of utility; "It is with utilities that have a price that political economy is mainly concerned," (Nicholson, 'Principles of Political Economy,' ed. 2, p. 28).

born into its own befitting environment. If they were wrong on this point, then it remains for others to discover some better way of achieving the same ends. I do not say that this is impossible; but it can hardly be denied that the Brahmanical caste system is the nearest approach that has yet been made towards a society where there shall be no attempt to realize a competitive equality, but where all interests are regarded as identical. To those who admit the variety of age in human souls, this must appear to be the only true communism.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CASTE SYSTEM.

To describe the caste system as an idea or in actual practice would require a whole volume. But we may notice a few of its characteristics. The nature of the difference between a Brahmin and a Sudra is indicated in the view that a Sudra can do no wrong,² a view that must make an immense demand upon the patience of the higher castes, and is the absolute converse, of the Western doctrine that the King can do no wrong. These facts are well illustrated in the doctrine of legal punishment, that that of the Vaishya should be twice as heavy as that of the Sudra, that of the Kshatriya twice as heavy again, that of the Brahmin twice or even four times as heavy again in respect of the same offence; for responsibility rises with intelligence and status. The Sudra is also free of innumerable forms of self-denial imposed upon the Brahmin: he may, for example, indulge in coarse food, the widow may remarry. It may be observed that it was strongly held that the Sudra should not by any means outnumber the other castes; if the Sudras are too many the voice of the least wise may prevail by mere numbers.

Modern craftsmen interested in the regulation of machinery will be struck by the fact that the establishment and working of large machines and factories by individuals was reckoned a grievous sin; large organizations are only to be carried on in the public interest.³

Given the natural classes, one of the good elements of what is now regarded as democracy was provided by making the castes self-governing; thus it was secured that a man should be tried by his peers (whereas, under Industrial Democracy, an artist may be tried by a jury of tradesmen, or a poacher by a bench of squires). Within the caste there existed equality of opportunity for all, and the caste as a body had collective privileges and responsibilities. Society thus organized has much the appearance of what would now be called Guild Socialism.

2. Mann, x. 126.

3. Mann, xl. 68, 64, 66. A progressive society is only possible where there is unity of purpose.

REPORT ON EMIGRATION FOR 1914.

THE following is the Resolution by the Government of Bengal on the Annual Report on Emigration from the Port of Calcutta to British and Foreign Colonies during the year 1914.

The chief feature of the year was the effect of the war on emigration to the colonies. There was little change in the demand for labour, but, as Government had chartered the emigrant ships for purpose of transport, emigration had to be suspended from the month of August last. It is not possible therefore to make any effective comparison of the results of the year's working with those of the previous year, nor to form any full judgment as to the working of the new measures introduced on the recommendations of Lord Sanderson's Committee on emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates. The Governor in Council is now considering the report of Messrs. Macneill and Chiman Lal.

2. Four emigration agencies were at work during the year 1914 as compared with five in the preceding year. Of these three represented British Colonies, while one worked for the Dutch Colony of Surinam. The requisitions for emigrants amounted to 5,182½ statute adults as against 5,167 in 1913, but owing to the suspension of emigration only 2,588 were despatched. The colonies of Fiji and Surinam secured a high proportion of their demand, but there was a large shortage in the supply to British Guiana and Trinidad.

3. The number of licenses issued to recruiters in 1914 was 643, or 568 less than in 1913, the decrease being partly due to the stoppage of recruitment during the latter half of the year and partly to the amalgamation of the agencies for the British colonies, as under the new arrangement only one license is required for the amalgamated agency instead of two as formerly. Thirty-five recruiters' licenses, including 17 granted in 1913, were cancelled during the year, of which 32 were cancelled for misconduct.

4. In all 5,145 emigrants—4,026 less than in the previous year—were registered in 1914, the decrease being mainly due to the temporary stoppage of recruitment. Recruiting operations were conducted, as in the previous year, in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the United Provinces, Ajmere, the Central Provinces, and the Punjab. The majority (86·56 per cent.) of the emigrants came, as usual, from the United Provinces. Of the separate agencies Surinam shows the highest average, viz., per recruiter as against 7 for Fiji, Trinidad and Demerara.

5. Of the 5,210 emigrants admitted in to the sub-depots, 1,186 were rejected by the medical officers in the recruiting districts as unfit to emigrate, and of the remainder 3,837 arrived at the Calcutta depots. This number was subsequently reduced by rejections, releases, desertion and other causes to 2,698, all of whom were embarked during the year under report. One hundred and thirty-seven or 5·34 per cent., as compared with 3·83 per cent. in 1913, of the number shipped were returned emigrants.

6. The sanitary arrangements in the depots were satisfactory, and there was a decrease in sickness amongst the depot population. The percentage of deaths, however, rose from 34 in 1913 to 46 in 1914. The increase was due to an outbreak of measles in epidemic form in the Surinam Agency's depot, which caused 7 out of the 18 deaths from all causes.

7. During the year 2,961 emigrants left the colonies, of whom 848 brought savings amounting in the aggregate to Rs. 4,48,284. The remaining 2,118 emigrants, including 189 adults, are said to have returned empty-handed. The average savings per head of returned emigrants were Rs. 151·6·4 as compared with Rs. 181·8·9 in 1913. Remittances from emigrants resident in the colonies showed increases in the case of Seychelles, Surinam, Fiji, Trinidad and Mauritius. Remittances from the last-named colony have been steadily rising and in the year under report amounted to Rs. 1·39 lakhs, or more than twice the amount sent in 1912. Natal still heads the list, despite a fall of over Rs. 3 lakhs as compared with 1913, but the sums sent from that colony probably include remittances from traders as well as from labourers. The average remittance per head of emigrant population, however, decreased in respect of all the colonies, except Mauritius and Trinidad. The remittances from Mauritius and Fiji would have been larger but for the fact that many immigrants invest large sums in immoveable property and livestock, and that many of them have settled down with their wives and children and are therefore under no necessity of sending money to India.

8. One hundred and fifty estates of deceased emigrants valued at Rs. 21,287 were administered by Government during the year. Of these the heirs of 84 were traced. 53 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. 18,021. This is mainly due to the cessation of receipts from embarkation fees during the latter half of the year.

Labour, at Home and Abroad.

BY ECONOMISTE.

One result of the outbreak of the war has been to arrest attention all over the world to the economic resources of each country by itself. The realisation has been brought home to us that wisdom in national economy lies in making the country self-sufficient for all its material concerns. If a parallel may be drawn from the domestic arrangements of a private individual, war may be likened to the proverbial rainy day in the life of nations. Apart from this, other considerations equally press the need for a wider study of a nation's economic possibilities. Coming nearer home, not all seem to have grasped the fact that India offers an unlimited opportunity for the display of varied ingenuity in the exploitation of her vast natural and other resources. Here is a vast continent teeming with every variety of soil and climate, with long sea boards on the east and west, rivers, mountains and forests that enclose untold wealth to those that would spend effort and enterprise in its pursuit. She has, moreover, a plentiful supply of cheap labour in the form of a fairly efficient population, animals, etc. But the unfortunate fact of the situation seems to be the utter lack of speculative genius in the country sufficient to bring out these varied forces for the industrial advancement of the land. Labour is yearly going out of the country; the figures for emigration are alarming; and we are looking helpless. Why is it so?

The "India man" suggests a probable reason. Our contemporary points out that the "grave defect is the great lack of self-reliance, or energy—which are sometimes confused—and too much reliance upon that much-burdened and excessively abused institution, the Government. It should be understood at once that it is not the function of the Government to make industries. They should assist, and they have always been prepared to assist, in the development of the industrial resources of the country. If any proofs are needed to support such a statement there are the records of half-a-dozen great departments and the devotion of scores of officers to furnish them. Experimental enterprises, costly and complicated, have been undertaken with a view not only to show the great natural resources of India, but also to demonstrate how those resources may be utilised and developed. The result has been disappointing to a degree, and with one or two notable exceptions, after

years of strenuous and unstinted effort, the Government have been left with the disquieting knowledge that the great bulk of their work has been done in vain."

Then does the fault lie wholly with the people? It is difficult to tell exactly where private initiative should begin or state action end. The question is not to draw the line between the Government and the people. The essence of the matter is to arrive at the nearest solution to the problem.

We have already paid enough and more for past neglect. The war has opened our eyes. As our contemporary points out, "Germany and Austria have—temporarily and for a considerable time to come at any rate—disappeared from the Indian markets. It is true, no doubt, that when the war broke out fifteen months ago Indian merchants in the bazaars held large stocks of merchandise in which those enemy countries had so successfully specialised; but the stocks did not, and could not, last for ever, and successors to the Germans and Austrians had to be found. In the trade situation which followed, India was left to grovel in the dust. She was unprepared to face the demand of her own people, and Java, Japan, Italy and the United States, which already had made serious bids for entrance into Indian markets, were on the spot ready to make good the serious gaps left by our enemies. To quote one recent writer on this subject:—

Within two months after the first declaration of war in Europe the Government of the United States of America had a mission touring in India to report on the immediate possibilities of American trade with India."

Take the case of Java for a further example. That country, at the moment, stands supreme as the successful exponent of the production of cane sugar, says Mr. C. A. Barber, whose masterly contribution to the *Agricultural Journal of India* we referred to three weeks ago. This competent authority tells us that "there are vast areas in Southern India where sugar cane of high quality can be grown successfully," but side by side with this established fact we have a statement

made in the Imperial Council only a few weeks ago by the Member for Commerce and Industry which almost justifies despair. An Indian member submitted to the Government a question as to the desirability of Government assistance for the Indian sugar industry. In reply, Sir, William Clarke made a long statement setting forth in detail the great and costly efforts which the Government have made, with this object in view, in every suitable district in the country. It was pointed out to Mr. Barber that the success achieved in Java was due to "complete Government control in favour of the manufacturer, and thorough chemical and botanical supervision in the fields and factories," and it was suggested that the Government of India should do likewise. "In the absence of any desire on the part of the people to do this" (to grow cane) "is there anyone who would advocate the introduction of the Java system of Government control?" That was Mr. Barber's reply, and we imagine that he still awaits an answer to his question."

In this connection, it will be interesting to note the views of a non-official observer. **India's Opportunity.** Mr. Percy Russel writing in the *Asiatic Review* under the heading, "The Coming Sugar Crisis and India" points out:—In India certainly lies the promise of a very great trade with Great Britain and Western Europe, if only capital and enterprise are at once forthcoming to properly extend the areas of production. Then, besides the United Kingdom, India might, if only production were increased indefinitely, supply the importing Mediterranean countries which are likely to suffer severely ere long from the shortage on the European Continent. We may take it that France, Belgium, Germany, and Austria-Hungary will all be needing supplies themselves. Can Russia alone, raising normally about 1,000,000 to 1,250,000 tons, fill up the tremendous gulf between supply and demand? Spain and Italy produce a moderate quantity entirely absorbed domestically, and the Egyptian crop does not amount to very much in these estimates covering the whole world. Most decidedly India ought to be awakened thoroughly to an opportunity which, if missed, may never return.

The "Indian Man" furnishes an effective illustration of what economic vigilance could do in the world of commerce. It writes:—We are told that in various textile manufactures, in glassware, in matches, in pottery and a dozen other "small" lines, Japan has increased her sales in India enormously. She has threatened very seriously the hold which

Bombay once had on the China market for cotton yarn, and her merchants have flooded the Bombay market with samples of a new longcloth which, it is stated on the soundest authority, will make a serious inroad on the trade of our mills in Bombay. The secret of the success of the Japanese is their readiness to adapt themselves to new conditions, their capacity for devotion to duty and for self-sacrifice. Half a century ago Japan, as we know her to-day, was simply non-existent. She had no real industries outside crudely equipped cottage factories, her people were warring among themselves, struggling for a national life. In those far-off days they were able only to discern their ideal in a dim and uncertain future. But they have got there, and have used their newly-born nationality to such purpose that they have become as great in industry as they have become important in the world's politics.

The other day the members of the Bombay Indian Chamber of Commerce met the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence, when the industrial and commercial position of India appears to have been discussed. We are told that the merchants pointed out that "with the cessation of German and Austrian unfair competition there was every reason to expect that Indian capital and Indian labour would easily be able to capture the enormous trade in such lucrative lines as glass and glassware, aniline and alizarine dyes, matches, chemical products, sugar and many other commodities generally used by the countless millions of India—provided only that the Imperial Government would give the Indian investor some hope that, after the conclusion of peace, these nascent industries should not be handed over once more to the tender mercies of those Protectionists, commercial countries like Japan and Java and the United States, who are always able by screwing up their tariffs and increasing their subsidies to a sufficient degree, instantly to destroy all competition in a helpless Free Trade country." "In a word—"Allow India to impose a protective tariff, and India will immediately set herself grimly and earnestly to the task of cancelling for herself all the penalties and disabilities which long years of neglect and prejudice have entailed upon her."

We have no desire to join issue with the protectionist or the Free Trader. We agree with the "Indian man" in thinking that the best thing to do is to suggest that before any question of protection and tariff can usefully be discussed it will be well to find the industries which need to be protected, and to develop those which, though established, are retarded by lack of capital and enterprise.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

*Application for Passports.

The Government of India have recently revised the rules relating to the grant of passports so as to bring them into conformity with those employed by the Foreign Office, London. The following features of the new rules will be of interest to the public:—

1. Applications for Indian passports must be made in the prescribed form, a specimen of which is attached to these regulations, and submitted, either direct or through the local authority,—

(a) in the case of a resident in British India,—to the Local Government or Local Administration concerned,

(b) in the case of a resident in a Native State,—to the Agent to the Governor-General or Political Resident concerned.

The charge of an Indian passport is Re. 1.

2. Passports may be granted to natural-born or naturalized British subjects, their wives or widows, and subjects of Native States.

3. Passports are granted upon the production of a declaration by the applicant in the prescribed form of application verified by a declaration made by a Political Officer, Magistrate, Justice of the Peace, Police Officer not below the rank of Superintendent, or Notary Public, resident in India.

4. Small duplicate unmounted photographs of the applicant (and wife, if to be included) must be forwarded with the application for a passport, one of which must be certified on the back by the person verifying the declaration made in the application form.

5. Indian passports are not valid after two years from the date of issue. They may be renewed, in India only, for four further periods of two years each after which fresh passports must be obtained. The fee for each renewal is one rupee. All fees levied for the grant or renewal of passports should be credited to Government at the local treasury.

6. The mere fact of being a British subject, or a subject of a protected Native State does not imply any vested right to claim a passport, which can either be granted or withheld at the discretion of the Local Government or Administration concerned. Passports will not ordinarily be granted except to person of unquestionable character and respectability.

Applications for passports by persons in the Madras Presidency should be made, if possible, at least ten days before the date of sailing. Persons who fail to give this notice are likely to be disappointed.

A. DECLARATION TO BE MADE BY APPLICANT FOR PASSPORT.

I, the Undersigned _____ 191 ____
at present residing at _____ hereby declare that I am
FOR A MARRIED WOMAN OR WIDOW (to be struck
out in other cases. Particulars of HUSBAND'S
birth to follow.
the wife of _____ and that my late husband was
_____ having been born
at _____ on the _____ day of _____ 18 ____
FOR PERSONS BORN ABROAD who derive British
nationality from a father or paternal grandfather born
within His Majesty's Dominions. (To be struck out
in other cases).
my (his) father _____ having been born
within His Majesty's Dominions at _____
on the _____ day of _____

and not having lost the status of British Subject thus
acquired, and I hereby apply for a Passport for the
purpose of travelling to _____

[accompanied by my wife (and children under the age
of 16), as indicated in the margin, who do not possess
separate Passports].

I further declare that I have no Passport already in
my possession.

(other than that which I annex hereto for cancella-
tion).
these

Signed _____
And I, the Undersigned _____
of _____ hereby declare that to the best
of my personal knowledge and belief the above-made
Declaration of the said _____
_____ is true, and that I can from my
personal knowledge of him vouch him as a fit and pro-
per person to receive a Passport.
her her

Signed _____
NOTE.—Duplicate small unmounted photographs of the appli-
cant (and wife if to be included) must be sent, one of which must
be certified on the back by the recommender.

Specimen signature of wife if to be included on the
Passport.

IMPORTANT.

Applicants, and persons recommending them are
warned that should any of the statements contained in
their respective declarations prove to be untrue, they
will render themselves liable to prosecution.

Information having been received that in future no
passenger will be allowed to land at any protectorate
port in British East Africa unless provided with pass-
ports issued by a recognized authority, all intending
emigrants are hereby warned of the risks they run in
proceeding to the protectorate without furnishing them-
selves with passports signed by a Secretary to Govern-
ment.

Sahib Assaulted.**THE BATHROOM REEDS.**

Chengamma, an Indian woman, was before the Police Court charged with assaulting one, Smith, a planter at Nasine. Fiji. Mr. Bartney appeared for defendant.

The evidence of the prosecution affirmed that an indentured labourer was ordered to remove some reeds from the rear of the house, the order to have this done having been given to Smith by the Inspector of the Immigration Department. The labourer was afraid to do the work, being intimidated by defendant and her husband. Thereupon complainant proceeded to do the work himself, pulling out the weeds. The woman ran across to him, and saying, "Jow! Jow!" pulled at his shirt sleeve, tearing it. Complainant then shoved the woman away from him, and she rolled down the hill.

An Indian constable, who witnessed the proceedings, gave evidence corroborating that of complainant, except that he did not see defendant fall or roll down the hill.

The evidence of the defence was that when complainant proceeded to pull out the reeds, the woman ran to him and pleaded that they should be left, as she used the place for a bathroom. While she was pleading, complainant gave her a violent shove, and she caught hold of his sleeve to break her fall. She then went across to the verandah and sat down and wept. No assault was committed on the sahib.

It was explained that the woman was free, and the husband indentured.

A. C. P. M. Roger Greene pointed out that Smith was only carrying out the order of the Department, under laws which existed for the protection of the Indians. There was no doubt that this woman and her husband resented the reeds being removed, and strove to obstruct the work. The defendant would be ordered to pay costs and expenses, £2 9s. 6d.

Failing payment, she would, on a dis'ress warrant, be given a month's imprisonment. *The Fiji Times.*

Law and Education for Indians.

In the August number of the *Indian Emigrant*, writing about the "Disfranchisement of Indians in Fiji," we pointed out the deplorable lack of attention paid by the Fiji Government to the educational facilities afforded to Indians in that colony. Our views are corroborated by our contemporary, the *Fiji Times*, which writes as follows in reference to a murder case:—

The attention of our readers is directed to the somewhat astonishing, but not unusual case that occupied the attention of the Supreme Court, at Suva. Our readers will perceive that several of the witnesses unblushingly admitted that the whole of the evidence given by them in the lower Court in this murder case was perjury. Another witness, it will be observed, declared that he could only speak the truth if the

Crown promised to protect him—a pathetic view of an Indian's conception of the penalties involved in doing as the law of the powerful British Empire requires him to do. In view of the alarming fashion in which the courts of this country are apparently being used by many Indians for the purpose of defeating the ends of justice, we urge upon the authorities the potent necessity of a more thorough application of the laws that relate to perjury. The Indian must be made to understand that perjury is one of the gravest offences in the eyes of the law, to be punished by a severity that will make any possible punishment by his fellow-Indians in return for speaking the truth, a matter of smaller concern to the witness. Any crimes, arising out of evidence given in any of His Majesty's Courts, should be punished with a severity whose impression cannot escape the Indian mind. For the sake of the future administration of justice in this country, we trust that this case, with its astonishing admissions, will not be allowed to rest where it is.

Further, we would point out that it is time that the Crown Colony of Fiji faced its duty of providing proper education for the children of Indians. Only by educating the Indian to our own standard of thought and living can we hope to make him a useful, satisfactory citizen, to be respected rather than feared. A human being is not, in any proper sense, a human being until he is educated. If the Indian is to become a permanent citizen of this country, then he must be educated. Otherwise his live-on-nothing, commercial competition, his lack of perspective, his small respect for life and his peculiar moral code will make him an intolerable neighbour. The Crown Colony of Fiji has a duty to perform in respect to all immigrants; let it be performed; otherwise the price will have to be paid by our children.

Emigration to U.S.A.

The figures published by the American Government show some cautious contrasts in the emigration from different countries to the United States. There has naturally been a decline owing to the war. As a result, Uncle Sam has lost a half million of potential citizens. The most extraordinary decline has been in the emigration from Italy—a decline over 80 per cent. Considerably more than a quarter of a million fewer Italians left Italy in the year ending June 1915 than in the previous twelve months. As Italy only entered the war in May, it would seem as if many thousands of Italians remained at home from motives of patriotism. Irish emigration fell off forty per cent. Russian and Austrian emigration curiously enough, only declined fifty per cent. and English fell of thirty-seven per cent. The decline in this flow of labour towards America has been already felt in its labour markets, and it is clearly seen that the stream of emigrants will be diminished for some time to come.

Third Class Passengers in Ceylon Railways.

The *Hindu Organ* of Jaffna points out to the sufferings of third class passengers who travel in their railways. This has for a long time formed a subject of complaint which has received little attention hitherto from the Railway authorities all over India. It is the third class passengers that contribute the largest revenue to the Railways in Ceylon as elsewhere, and their complaints therefore deserve the most careful consideration. The following description given in a London paper of the new conveniences provided to third class passengers should induce the Ceylon Railway and, we may add, of all the Indian Railway authorities to be a little more considerate and provide the conveniences necessary for the third class passengers:—

"Slowly but surely the third class railway passenger is coming into his own. In the beginning open trucks were considered good enough for him. But for many years past enterprising managers, realising that third class is the back bone of their passenger revenue, have gone on improving it until now there is little to choose in point of equipment between third and first class carriages. The narrowing gulf is still further diminished by the introduction of third class Pullman cars on the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway, which will shortly make their appearance on that spirited line. The only excuse that now remains for paying first class fare, unless you are a Cabinet Minister or a theatrical "star", is that otherwise you cannot take a sleeper during a night journey. And the third class sleeper must of necessity soon make its appearance on the long distance lines."

Discharge Tickets.

The following correspondence appears in the columns of the *Malay Mail* in which the writer under the pseudonym "Land of Promise and Performance" pertinently asks the question whether Indian labourers could really be free in the face of the difficulties pointed out in it.

"If the discharge ticket system, which I admit has some advantages, were adopted and managers of estates were in a position to give or refuse them, could the Indian labourers' position in this country be described as a free one, which it is at present, I understand, so advertised in India.

Then again, if a coolie finds himself on an unhealthy estate where he is unable to do a full month's work owing to sickness and does not find that he has arrived in that land of promise that the recruiter led him to believe, is he to be prevented or hindered from going elsewhere, even if he has been on the estate two months, provided of course he has given a full month's notice?"

Labour to Malaya is free only in name and there are of course a mountain of abuses which need reform even in the so-called free labour.

Indo-Australian Entente.

It is interesting to hear, writes the *United Empire*, of the fraternal relations existing between the Australian Contingent and the Indian mountain-batteries at Gallipoli. Since they fought side by side at Gaba Tepe, the Australians have expressed the greatest admiration for the gallantry displayed by their Indian Allies, and intercourse between them is now of the most friendly nature. There is a good deal of speculation in the Dominion as to the possible effect of this *entente cordiale*. Australia is a white man's country entirely, the colour line being most rigidly observed by the immigration officers; but at the same time it has frequently been urged that the proper development of the great Northern Territory cannot be effected without cheap labour, and cheap labour in Australia means something other than white labour.

Indians as Town Guard.

It is not generally known, says the *Indian Opinion*, that Indian residents of South Africa were allowed to take an active part as defenders during the recent rebellion. When the rebellion was in full swing, the town of Ventersdorp found itself without sufficient men of the Defence Force and, as the town was in a district infested by rebels, the Indian storekeepers of the town were called upon to act as town guard. One night, an officer in uniform called at the house of Mr. Abdul Rahman and informed him that he was wanted at the office of the Commandant at eight o'clock. Asked what might be the cause of this demand, he was informed that the Town Commandant had, with the sanction of the Mayor, instructed him (the officer) to commandeer the services of Mr. Abdul Rahman and about ten other capable Indians. Without hesitation, the reply was given that the order would be obeyed. Quite a score of men turned up, eager to place their services at the disposal of the town and the Government. Eventually the following eleven men were selected:—Messrs. A. Rahman (Hon. Sergt.-Major), Noorodeen, Rahim Noorbhai, Mahomed Rassool, Ahmad, Samjoo, Balim, Ismail, Moosa Bhikoo, Suliman Amodjee and Valabh Hira. Rifles and ammunition were served out and instructions were given to challenge all persons going from or entering the town. They were ordered to patrol a certain area from 8 p.m. to 4 a.m. The next night they were again called out at the same hour, and they did their duty as before. After about a week they were relieved on arrival of a loyal commando and, soon after, the rebellion collapsed. The men who formed the guard have expressed their willingness to join a rifle association if allowed to do so. It is understood that no pay was given them for their services nor would they accept any if offered. They gladly gave their help in such a cause, which, by the way, was not without an element of danger, not to speak of the discomfort of being out in all weathers in the dead of night.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

EDUCATION.

Education for Citizenship, by Dr. Georg Kerschensteiner, Published by George G. Harrop & Co., London, Price 2s. net.

That education is the crying need of India to-day is evidenced by the fact that attempts are being made to create sectarian and provincial universities all over the country. This is a happy idea, no doubt. While there is this genuine desire, great opportunity and abundant wealth, it will be a matter of great regret and it may certainly prove a national disaster if leaders of these movements, in their generous efforts to impart general instruction to the younger generation, do not themselves possess a right conception of education and the lines on which it should run. Education is fast adapting itself to new conditions and circumstances of life in other countries and in India, unfortunately, it has lost all such adaptability and has become a petrified system, unchanging and unchangeable.

Mr. Sadler, a great authority on educational matters in England, writing a forcible introduction to this book begins, "This book will be a land mark in the history of education. It is a book of ideas which have been realised in practical administration. When it first appeared it sounded a new note of advance. It threw a fresh light upon the educational responsibilities of the State . . . Preparation for the duties of citizenship is not less indispensable than preparation for a trade. And preparation for the duties of citizenship means that the school must endeavour to impart a civic and moral ideal. Such is the argument of the book."

If, in attempting to review this remarkable publication, we have jot down some of the ideas with which the book abounds, we shall have done our duty. These by themselves suggest the ways to reform education.

(1) If the upper classes have lost their moral fibre, we shall seek in vain to reform the lower.

(2) An educational policy must have a clear aim towards which the citizen may be directed. The aim of civic education depends upon the conception we form of the State and its functions.

(3) The vital principle of the modern State is the unlimited extension of personal liberty and political rights.

(4) It is the people themselves who in their way work out their own salvation by means of their rights and liberties, chief of which is the right of voting.

(5) The first aim of education for those leaving the primary school is the development of trade efficiency

and love of work, and with this the development of those elementary virtues which effectiveness of effort and love of work immediately call forth—conscientiousness, diligence, perseverance, responsibility, self-restraint, and dedication to a strenuous life.

(6) Speaking of conditions which render civic education of the masses at all possible the writer points out that very long hours of work and low wages, even when the work is light, cause a complete deterioration, physical, mental and moral—in the working classes. On the other hand, high wages and short hours of work, extended over a considerable space of time, bring an increased desire to learn.

As long as the worker is regarded and treated by the employer as a drudge, as long as it is necessary to prevent, or at least to make exceedingly difficult, the progress of the able, so long will our educational arrangements fail to exercise any attraction, and so long will they feed rather than extinguish the revolutionary fire of discontent.

(7) A favourable cause of civic education in England was the personal interest of the upper classes in the affairs of the labouring population.

As instances, the author points out. "Workmen regularly sit on Royal Commissions of Enquiry. In 1895 John Burns and Keir Hardie were chosen members of the Royal Commission that dealt with the question of unemployed. A number of workmen have been made Justices of the Peace. In raising the question of the reform of the House of Lords, Lord Rosebury has even proposed to create peers from the working classes."

8 The education of girls must be taken in hand as strenuously as the education of boys.

(9) Character is not to be gained by the reading of books or the hearing of sermons, but by continuous and steadily applied work.

(10) The value of our school education, as it is enjoyed by the masses, rests essentially less on the cultivation of the field of thoughts than on the resulting training to diligent, conscientious, thorough, well finished work, on the steadily formed habit of unconditioned obedience and faithful fulfilment of duty, and on the authoritative and continuous introduction to the exercise of a readiness to oblige.

(11) Social democracy demands, indeed, compulsory education of the citizen for all from birth up to the age of entrance into public life.

In chapters V and VI the author treats in his masterly way the great educative forces at school a reading of which by professors and teachers in schools and colleges will amply repay.

(12) In chapter VII under non-scholastic educative forces, the veteran educationalist of Munich, points out that "if greater success is to attend our efforts at civic

education the number of those who recognise their social duties, *especially among the wealthy classes*, must be largely increased. For civic education only flourishes when the upper classes display a civic spirit. Devotion to social problems is not a favour that we show but a duty that is incumbent upon us.

(13) Speaking of the productive spheres of work by opening university extension societies and associations for the working classes between the ages of 17 and 20, the writer says "there is urgent need here of capable teachers not only of social science and hygiene but also of German history, German literature and art." (This should apply *mutatis mutandis* to India).

(14) In the opinion of the writer a systematic course of gymnastics forms a capital training both of the will and of the character. The German gymnastic societies are centres for cultivating German patriotism and membership is open to young people at an early age. Remote from party strife, they have for seventy years or more made "Love of the Fatherland" their motto. The educated classes should also assist by becoming contributing members. Assistance should be given to these societies from the national and local treasuries.

This support is all the more necessary because the experience of large towns shows that in a society struggling with financial difficulties, the members loyal to the constitution soon lose their lead and the society becomes the prey to political parties.

(This emphasises the importance of physical education as a factor in national education for developing zeal, public spirit and patriotism).

The last of the ideas contained in the book is an appeal to the upper classes. They are and they will remain the educators of the people. As the teacher so will be the pupil. The following are the pregnant words of Von Nostitz with which the book closes:—

"For the development of the internal relations of our national life the intrinsic value of the upper classes is most important, even decisive. They deserve to disappear if they are weakly contented to shake their heads and futilely to deplore the future instead of helping to maintain the State by their energy, confidence, and generosity, to shape the domestic life of the people by applying high purposes to practical ends, and to do their utmost so long as the time is propitious. They deserve to be swept away if with shameless selfishness they are content to sit alone at the table of life and are foolish enough to believe that they can for all time keep the masses away by force when they have once taught them that enjoyment is the end of life. For it is the experience of history that the views of the lower classes are modelled on those of the upper. The question is, will the wealthy classes continue to be the leaders when

they have ceased to be the rulers? For we shall remain only what we are, and reason and justice govern the lives of men and nations."

A better epoch-making book has never been written or attempted before. The fact that such a work appears just now for the first time in English, 15 years after it was published in Germany, does not speak well even of England in the matter of education, for she has failed to realise the immense influence of international intercourse in literature.

The book should be in the hands of every educationist, be he a student or a teacher.

We should search in vain through all the realms of literature, for a more admirably written book on the subject from the standpoint of both matter and style.—Ed.

SOCIOLOGY.

Problems in Eugenics, Vols. I and II, being Reports of Proceedings of and Papers communicated to the First International Eugenics Congress held at the University of London, July 24th-30th, 1912.—Published by the Eugenics Education Society London, Price 8s. 6d.

It is said that Eugenics is a new word, but it is not a new idea. The Greeks knew it, the Hebrews practised it, nor were the Hindus ignorant of it. Eugenics, as the motto of the Eugenics Education Society goes, "is the study of agencies under social control that may improve or impair the social qualities of future generations, either physically or mentally." In these days of specialised work and advanced scientific research, no subject worth the consideration of the people will command their attention unless efforts are made to treat it in a scientific manner. Admittedly as Eugenics is a baby science, its laws or agencies that influence society in this special aspect have to be discovered and systematised. It was, therefore, in the fitness of things that an International Congress was convened in 1912 to bring together the leading scientists for an exchange of views on this important subject. The object with which the Congress was held was, according to Mr. A. J. Balfour, to convince the public that the study of Eugenics is one of the greatest and most pressing necessities of our age and that it is one of the most difficult and complex questions to be solved by science at the present day. The aims of this Science are as practical as those of politics with this difference that the results of the latter are immediate, while those of the former are ultimate and belong to the future generation. The Congress discussed at its sessions all possible methods of benefitting future generations and considered the duties of the present generation to posterity from a knowledge of antecedent influences of heredity and environment. The congress

appears to have had complete success, considering the various nationalities represented at it and the variety of papers contributed to it.

Those who wish to get an insight into the mysteries of this science will find these volumes highly instructive.

Divorce as it might be—by E. S. P. Haynes, Published by W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., Cambridge. Price 2s. net

This brochure is a vehement advocacy of greater freedom in the matter of divorce. The useless and and unreasonable restraint to which married people in England are subject to-day is a relic of mediæval ecclesiastical barbarity, and when the Church and its paraphernalia including the lordly Archbishops and Bishops become things of the past, society will have got rid of one of the bugbears which have been frightening it out of progress. As expected the greatest opposition to reasonable divorce among unhappy espouses comes from officers of the Church, and the author clearly points out that the reluctance of legislature to remedy evils of marriage laws is due to the partisanship of the State with the Church to which anything concerning the divorce problem has been a matter of taboo.

During the time when the clergy monopolised all knowledge of law, civil and canon, only the wealthy could purchase by payment of heavy fees to the Ecclesiastical Courts annulment of marriages despite the pretensions of the Church that marriage is a sacred sacrament whose tie is indissoluble. It is a matter of common knowledge that sexual laxity was greatly prevalent during the Middle Ages when under the baneful influence of the Church the people were subject to all sorts of restraints in the matter of divorce.

All countries in Europe, except of course the priest-ridden England, have adopted or are adopting divorce by mutual consent, and they are all, we understand, much happier in their marital relations. A good deal of hypocrisy and secret sexual sin will be saved by the granting of greater freedom to people to contract or dissolve marriages subject to some such conditions as time limit and provision for children begotten of unhappy parents. All this reasoning equally applies to the case of India where the influence of the priest is even stronger than in any other country in the world. The pandits still cite *sutras* from antediluvian religious codes in support of what a modern marriage ought to be. The modern Pharisee, in whatever clime or under whatever appellation he thrives, is a danger to society, and until he is completely weeded out of existence, will keep on pouring old wine into new bottles till the latter are blown out of all recognition.

R. G. S.

Outlines of Sociology, by Frank W. Blackmar, Ph. D., Professor of Sociology and Economics in the University of Kansas and John Lewis Gillin, Ph. D., Associate Professor of Sociology in the University of Wisconsin. Macmillan Company London and New York, 1915—586 pp. 8s. 6d.

Sociology is the youngest of the sciences but, like Athena, it has sprung into existence, clad in full armour. The extremely conservative Indian Universities dominated by literary interests will not be prepared to give the subject adequate recognition, but it has already come into its own in the West, and particularly in the U. S. A., which, drawing its inhabitants from all the countries of Europe, is effecting the social synthesis of Europe. Not very dissimilar are the social problems of India. The old order is passing and out of the consequent chaos, the seeds of the new are striving to emerge. In this period of social reconstructions, the science of Sociology ought to give no uncertain light and guidance, and it is a pity that while the thaumaturgic properties of this or that item of 'social reform' is proclaimed from a thousand platforms, very little is said or done concerning the vital problems affecting the abiding interests and welfare of the people such as pauperism, the disintegration of family life, drink, etc.

To those desirous of entering on social studies, no better introduction can be had than this book. It is admirably written, logically arranged and constructed on a scientific system. Each chapter fits in with what precedes and what follows and closes with a bibliography for the student desirous of pursuing his studies further. The various subjects are handled in a masterly manner with an intimate knowledge of the needs of the student. The arguments *pro* and *con* are summed up tersely and concisely in a few clearly expressed sentences and the illustrations are kept well under control. The style is pleasing, the presentment attractive, and the interest of the student is stimulated and sustained. The book is altogether so well-written that the common run of novel readers too, may take to it with no less profit.

M. S.

WAR LITERATURE.

To All the World (Except Germany) By A. E. STILLWELL, George Allen and Union, Ltd., London. Net. 3/6.

Mr. Arthur Edward Stillwell is a great lover of peace and he is known throughout America as a peace-propagandist. With this noble purpose in view, he has written several books and the volume under review is the latest addition to it. It is written on the conviction that the present war was "made in Germany," and hence it is intended to serve as an appeal to all the

nations except Germany for bringing about a permanent peace. The object of writing this book has been "to expose the foolishness and horror of war, and to attempt to indicate the paths of peace where the nations may safely walk in future years." The book is fittingly dedicated to Albert, King of the Belgians, for the heroic stand he and his loyal and patriotic subjects took against their ambitious mighty neighbour and also to Henry Ford of Detroit, Michigan, one of the great force for the uplift of mankind in America. Within the last forty years Germany's progress has been unparalleled in the history of the world and the author regrets that a mirage should captivate the Emperor William and plunge the whole of European nations into such a prospective war. He has vividly described the horrors of war and its awful cost by estimating that the army engaged in this war is about one and a half times the total of all the men engaged in all the wars of the world since 1793 and that its cost will equal the total costs of all wars of the world since the same period, if it lasts eighteen months! By a series of ingenious calculations and novel statistics he has made the chapter on the "Horrors of War" very interesting and has shown that war is mesmerism. The chapter on "Needed Reforms" gives the reader much food for thought, although some of the suggestions therein are too good to follow.

V. K. M.

A Diplomat's Memoir of 1870: (Being an account of a Balloon Escape from the Siege of Paris and a political mission to London and Vienna), by Frederic Reitlinger. Chatto and Windus, London. Price 2s. net.

This is a curious but interesting episode in the Great Franco German War of 1870-71. After the disastrous battle of Sedan, where Louis Napoleon at the head of a large army unconditionally surrendered, the victorious German armies, directed by the keen and imperturbable Von Moltke, marched straight on Paris and invested that great city of wealth and luxury. The flower of the French combatants was inside the fortifications encircled within a band of iron and fire, all communications with the outer world for Paris being cut off, save by Balloon and Pigeon posts. The heroism and self-sacrifice, to which the French people lifted themselves in this their hour of majestic grief—began to arouse the sympathies of the outer world. Anxious to make the best of the altered situation, M. Jules Favre, the Vice-President of the Provisional Republic, entrusted the author with a political mission to Vienna and London, trying to interest these powers directly in the great struggle, and lead them into effective intervention on their behalf, if possible.

The story of the author's escape from Paris in a balloon, and the strange vicissitudes that attended his unfortunate journey is told with a *naïveté* which would

be attractive had not too much strain been put on our emotions of pity and sympathy.

On his aerial voyage, the diplomat found his first stopping place to be Germany itself. His experiences in the enemy's country are of exceptional value to us at the present day, when now and then we hear of Germany running short of provisions and ammunitions, her people being weary of war and its concomitant sacrifices of men and money, and of her deplorable economic position consequent upon the stoppage of her industry and commerce. The diplomat finds such statements to be fondest illusions, to which the people are betrayed much to the advantage of the enemy. Such reports are, according to the writer generally untrue, and it would be suicidal to draw inferences from them. The first part of his mission proved a complete failure. France had strongly counted on the help of Austria, who could hope to avenge the disastrous battle of Sedan. But Austria was too much in dread of Prussia to think of even diplomatic intervention. There was, of course, sympathy for France, but it could not be materialized in action. The long interviews he had in London with Mr. Granville and Gladstone provide interesting reading. But none would raise their voice on behalf of a great people now in humiliation. A sad reflection how nations are in the main intensely selfish and are never swayed by altruistic sentiments, their tall talk of integrity of small nations and freedom of the seas notwithstanding.

Now that the British and French are comrades in arms, the appearance of the book in an English garb is not unwelcome and would not fail to arouse interest, as its story is associated with one of the mightiest military events in history.

K S. G.

IRRIGATION.

Irrigation and Settlement in America, by A. D. Lewis, M.A., A.M.I.C.E., Circle Engineer, Irrigation Department, Union of South Africa, (late of P.W.D., Punjab.)—The Government Printing and Stationery Office, Pretoria, 1915—258 pp. Price 10s. 6d.

This book is issued under the auspices of the South African Government, and records the observations made in the arid West of the U.S.A. by an engineer of wide experience. The problems surmounted by the Government and the engineers there bear a family likeness to those in the Punjab where large tracts of fertile deserts have been, during the last thirty years, converted into gardens of Eden by the gigantic irrigation works thrown across the great rivers. The Punjab Canal Colonies, under a paternal Government, have sprung up, in a single generation, into some of the richest regions in all India, and afford subsistence to several millions of poor Indians of the agricultural and military classes. Many millions of

acres of burning sand are now smiling with golden corn and fat kine, and with the busy hamlets of hardy peasants. But the era of great irrigation works is not yet over, and many a big scheme in India is under consideration or preparation. To one and all concerned in them, this book ought to prove invaluable. The average rainfall in the regions of the West, U.S.A., under the seventeen irrigation projects noticed in this book, varies from 2½ to 15 inches; the levels are sometimes only one foot in the mile; the rivers are of a varying character, as to the flow, etc. The drainage is not all that may be desired. The engineers of the U.S.A. have tackled all these problems in their own business-like fashion. Although much has been done in India which other countries might copy, there are several points in the American constructions noted here which are worthy of consideration, by the irrigation engineers out here.

The book is lucidly written on a very methodical plan, setting forth with reference to each one of the schemes, the peculiar physical features, the special points of interest in the dams, canals and distribution systems, the crops raised, the cost, and the settlement of farmers who introduce a personal equation which is, by no means, negligible. There is a very commendable sense of proportion observed alike in the presentation of details and the subordination of them to the main purpose. The text is elucidated by a number of photographs and drawings. Having regard to the importance of the subject and the usefulness of the book, the several Local Governments in India, as well as the Government of India, ought to place a copy of this informing book in the hands of everyone of their irrigation engineers.

M. S.

EMIGRATION.

Twenty-one years of my Life in Fiji by Totā Ram Sanadhya—Bharati Bhavan, Firozabad, Agra. Price 6 annas.

The book under review is a clear and true account of the Indenture System prevailing in Fiji, to which the writer himself has fallen an unfortunate victim. He describes some of the horrors that await poor coolies from the moment they get into the clutches of recruiters to the time of leaving the plantations after five years of hard indenture. The facts recounted in the book are wholly drawn from the writer's personal experience as an indentured labourer and consequently his words are more weighty and worthy of consideration by the Government than any platform oratories or the criticisms of arm-chair politicians. The book throws a good deal of light on this dark question and we are sure that if this book is translated into all the vernaculars and distributed broadcast among the emigrant population,

indentured labour will stop of its own accord. This must be the work of the political bodies of this country and will they take up this responsibility?

HISTORY.

A handbook of the British Colonial Empire edited by W. H. Mercer, C. M. G. and A. T. Harding. Published by Walter Low and Sons, Ltd., London Price 2s. 6d.

Within the small compass of 200 pages, the Editors, who are connected with the Colonies in one way or other and so well-qualified for the task, have compiled in a succinct and clear manner an account of the British Colonies and dependencies, in their various aspects, their constitution, administration, legislation, trade, etc. The historical and topographical details of each and every British Colony are well arranged and are brought thoroughly up to date. The increasing importance of the Colonies to the British Empire must be sufficiently impressed on the student population, who knows next to nothing of their magnitude and the role they play in the social and political life of the citizens of the Empire.

We venture to suggest that this handbook may safely be introduced in all colleges in India as a study of it will broaden the views of students on matters of history and general interest concerning the British Empire.

Songs of India, by Inayat Khan and J. D. Westbrook Sufi Publishing Society, Ltd., London.

Professor Inayat Khan is a man of gifts. His translation "Songs of India" rendered from Urdu, Hindi and Persian, has not lost the flavour of originality for all the translation. His is soul-stirring music which makes his songs lively and soul-stirring. Being a mystic and of a religious bent of mind and of a catholic temperament his songs are religious songs, sung by devotees at the shrines of Muslim Saints or in Hindu temples. They afford intellectual treat which readers prize too high.

The Confessions of Inayat Khan by Regina Miriam, Block, Sufi Publishing Society, Ltd., London.

This is a record of a remarkable life which is at once deeply inspiring. The account he gives is a contemporary study of music and religion and portrays the spirit of the age. In quest of music and propelled by ardour of religious fervour he has travelled both in the East and in the West but to find repose after comparing notes. He finds good in the orient and the occident and has commenced to propagate Sufi Order in the West. His work has borne fruit in America and in several countries in Europe and before completing the rest the distressing war convulsed the world. Professor Inayat Khan is still young and an eventful life such as his will have, let us hope, a large following.



Supplement to the "Indian Emigrant."



HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE V.



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. 5.

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.

and France. The confidence which I then expressed in your sense of duty, your courage and your chivalry, you have since then nobly justified.

I now require your services in another field or action, but before you leave France, I send my dear and gallant son, the Prince of Wales, who has shared with my armies the dangers and hardships of the campaign, to thank you in my name for your services and to express to you my satisfaction. British and Indian comrades in arms, yours has been a fellowship in toils and hardships, in courage and endurance often against great odds, in deeds nobly done in days of ever memorable conflict. In a warfare waged under new conditions, and in peculiarly trying circumstances, you have worthily upheld the honour of the Empire and great traditions of my army in India.

I have followed your fortunes with deepest interest and watched your gallant actions with pride and satisfaction. I mourn with you the loss of many gallant officers and men. Let it be your consolation, as it was their pride that they freely gave their lives in a just cause for the honour of their Sovereign and the safety of my Empire. They died as gallant soldiers, and I shall ever hold their sacrifice in grateful remembrance.

You leave France with a just pride in honour of the deeds already achieved and with my assurances of confidence that your proved valour and experience will contribute to further victories in the fields of action to which you go. I pray God to bless and guard you and to bring you back safely when the final victory is won each to his own home there to be welcomed with honour among his own people."

KING'S MESSAGE

TO

THE INDIAN TROOPS.

THE message below from His Majesty the King Emperor to the troops of the Indian Army Corps on leaving France was delivered by the Prince of Wales on the 26th November :—

"Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and men of the Indian Army Corps :

More than a year ago I summoned you from India to fight for the safety of my Empire and honour of my pledged word on the battle-fields of Belgium and

INDIANS IN FIJI.

THE tiny British Crown Colony of the island group of Fiji in South Pacific, about 1,200 miles north of Auckland, N. Z., has of late come to engage our attention and it is only meet that, at this juncture, the state of emigrants from this land to those Immigration Isles should be inquired into. The group consists of two large islands, Viti Levu (4,112 sq. m.) and Vanva Levu (2,432 sq. m.) besides 225 smaller islands, mainly coral. The islet Rotumah, lying to the north of these islands, 14 sq. m. in extent, was annexed in 1881 and is placed under a Commissioner. The islands, which were voluntarily ceded to the British Government in 1874 by the "King" and Chiefs, are administered by a Governor, who is also the High Commissioner and Consul General for the Western Pacific. The seat of the Government is Suva, in Viti Levu, and the other town of some importance is Levuka in Ovalau.

According to the Census of 1911, the population of Fiji, including the Island of Rotumah, was 139,541. Fijians number only 87,096, while the Indians in those islands form 40,286 of the total population. The Europeans and other whites number 3,707 and the rest are made up of Half-castes, Polynesians, immigrants from the neighbouring islands, Rotumas, Chinese and others. Thus we find that excluding the natives of the soil, Indians form the majority of the population of this Archipelago. The Census returns of 1901 and 1911 show that there is a heavy decrease of the Native Fijians, while the Indian population has more than doubled. The report says "the large increase of the Indian population is the most noticeable feature of the Census." The following list shows the increased rate of indentured Indian immigrants, as shown by the plantation returns in each of the last eight years:—

Year.	Total No.	Year.	Total No.
1907 ...	11,689	1911 ...	14,462
1908 ...	11,999	1912 ...	15,369
1909 ...	12,243	1913 ...	15,961
1910 ...	12,757	1914 ...	15,602

The number of immigrants, not under indenture, residing on plantations, on 31st December 1914, was above 562. The estimated Indian population of the Colony at the end of 1914 was:—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Indentured...	10,932	4,670	15,602
Free ...	23,321	14,433	37,754
Total ...	34,253	19,103	53,356

Among the "Indian" emigrants, we find 65.3 per cent. are described as natives of the United Provinces. Next in rank stand the people of Madras, which is followed in its turn by those from Bengal. The Madras Presidency is profuse in its production of labourers, for although the people take only the second place in the Fiji Islands, they abound in the struggling land of South Africa. The Province of Ba and Gasawa, which includes the magisterial districts of Ba, Lantoka and Nadi, has the largest number of Indians in a single Province, and it might be noted here that this Province is the largest sugar-producing centre in the Colony, having two large and important sugar factories at Latuka and Qarawi.

The important products of the islands are sugar-cane, coconut and bananas. Thus the work for the Indian labourers will not be quite unfamiliar to them, and as the climate is also healthy and favourable, the work is quite congenial to them. Some of the time-expired indentured immigrants, in these days of struggle for existence, find these islands heaven for them and settle down there as "Free" Indians. Their number is augmenting year after year, even after many of them being repatriated. It is manifest that the manhood of the Indian labourers is being spent outside their own land in converting the wild jungles and uncultivated tracts of foreign countries into fertile lands and smiling gardens; and when these honest labourers earn a decent living by the sweat of their brows, then the potential Government comes down with all vehemence and thankless gratefulness and questions the rights of citizenship of an Indian in the Colonies. The amount of earnest hard labour for the good of the country is all forgotten as if it were a mere dream. This pernicious system of indenture, which the Government of India allowed a few years back, has become a curse on this land, for our ear is being pained by the constant cry of these helpless and uncared-for people from abroad. While the public press and platform emphatically protest against the continuance of such a system, and the paternal Government have become conscious of its defects, we find the Governor of Fiji, in his blue book for 1913, commenting upon the Commission of Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal, expressing the pious wish that "it is hoped that the system will be allowed to continue, as the agricultural prosperity of the Colony must depend for many years to come on the supply of labourers from India." Since the hardship, penal servitude and the utter helplessness of many an indentured cooly has been brought home to the mind of

the public and the notice of the Government, we shall be presumptuous enough to expect that such a prayer shall not be granted. "Robbing Peter to pay Paul" is not a sound policy, and it cannot with justice be advocated. India is not the central emporium for coolies, from which the white people can ever expect to carry ship-loads to Sudan or Sahara or to the mountains of the moon at their bidding. Why not give the devil his due? The innumerable recruiting officers scattered over this land are a veritable net, by which the innocent labourers are drained from this country, by giving them false hopes and large promises to their utter disgust and disappointment at the end.

It is indeed gratifying to see that a promising step has been taken by the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, Limited, "for the settlement on ready-made farms of Indians serving the last year under indenture and for their occupation when their indenture has expired." This is indeed a great boon to the destitutes in a foreign land, although this charitable act is only to meet the ends, which His Excellency the Governor has expressed in the foregoing statement.

In the opinion of the Government, "it is obviously desirable from many points of view that the agricultural interests of the Colony could not be restricted to sugar-canes, coconuts and bananas," and hence every effort is made to encourage the once very valuable industry, cotton cultivation. Cotton is supplied free of cost with the necessary seed, especially among the free Indian population, and the products are purchased locally by the Agricultural Department. The indentures are working as agricultural labourers on sugar and other plantations and among the "Free" Indians 53.6 per cent. of males and 17.9 per cent. of females are taking to various agricultural pursuits, while the remaining are engaged in commercial, industrial and other vocations. The Fiji Constabulary has also entertained some Indians, and they have proved themselves far superior to the Fijians, who have been found very unsuccessful as guardians of the law.

The majority of Indians in those islands are unable to read and write, and this stands a great way in their rights and privileges. The colour-bar, the consistent water-tight compartment of races, being most pronounced in the Colonies, is scrupulously attended to even in these little islands. The white race won't condescend and is loath to mingle with the coloured race. To study under the same roof, sitting on the same bench, is a repugnant idea. Ample provision is made for the elementary education of the children of the white races and the Government is also con-

templating the institution of secondary schools, "especially for European children, both boys and girls," under Government supervision. The education of the natives is conducted almost entirely by the Methodist and the Roman Catholic Missions, and by the grace of the former body six minor schools have been set apart for the Indian children. This is quite inadequate to meet the ever-increasing demand and unless the Government think it to be their duty to start more schools and educate their children, as is done in the not-far-off islands of the Philippines, the dawn of a happy era lies still at a distant date, and it is sure to prove a bane on the Government. The proportion per cent. able to read and write among the Europeans and other whites is 86.5; Rotumas 58.0; Half-Castes 54.0; Fijians 52.8; and among the Indians 9.4, a despicably low percentage. The report admits that the cost for education is exceedingly small, and it is well if their eyes are opened to this very important question as early as possible. A glance at the able table shows clearly how backward the Indians are as regards their capacity to read and write.

RUBBER CULTIVATION

ON

THE EAST COAST OF SUMATRA.

BY OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

(Continued from page 105.)

COLLECTION AND PREPARATION OF RUBBER.

TAPPING.—Tapping is mostly done by means of a simple form of knife such as the Serdang knife or the Jebong knife. The gouge is also used. The system mostly in operation is the "Half Herring Bone" over a quarter, a third, or the half of a tree, employing up to a maximum, four cuts (cross channels) at a time. The number of cuts is becoming more and more in accordance with the girth of each relative tree.

One of the methods which is very much used, is that employing two, and later on, three cuts on one-third of the circumference. Formerly, it paid to commence with one cut 18" above the ground on trees measuring at that height 18" in girth, but owing to the lower price of rubber lately, many planters are not in favour of tapping before the girth of the tree reaches 18," three feet from the ground. As soon as this girth is obtained, tapping is commenced with two

cuts, the first 18" from the ground, and the second 18" above the first. Later, when possible, the third cut is made 16½" above the second, but no further cuts are thereafter made. The first tapped area of bark is usually completely renewed after two years, the second renewal of bark is however not always complete after two years, but three years usually suffice to give a complete second renewal. For this reason a third of the circumference of the tree is taken. One half of the circumference could be tapped at first, but in order to be assured of the most complete first renewal of bark, a third of the circumference in place of a half is usually taken to commence with.

The objection to the tapping of the two opposite quarters is that the growth of the tree is thus caused to develop ovally, and the tree consequently is disfigured. Half and third spiral (system) tapping very seldom causes disfiguration of trees.

On several estates another system is in force, i.e., "V" tapping 18" from the ground whenever the circumference of the trees reaches 18"—1½ feet from the ground. The second year's tapping under this system is done on the opposite side of the tree. The third year's tapping 18" above the first year's, and so on.

On most estates, daily tapping is carried out, and on a few only, alternate day-tapping. No general system of tapping is yet in force here owing to a decisive result not having been obtained from the various systems tried.

The use of water on the tapping cuts has, where possible, been abandoned with the view to preventing the spreading of canker and similar diseases.

Latex.—Immediately after collection, the latex is transported to the factory, where it is carefully strained through fine sieves, and after straining, it is, on most crepe-producing estates, treated with sodium bisulphite. This chemical is diluted with water, added to the latex, and thereafter acetic acid is added to cause coagulation. The coagulum is mostly allowed to stand till the following morning. The result is that a more solid coagulum can be milled than if milling takes place immediately after coagulation. It is believed that by delayed milling the physical qualities suffer less, and that a stronger rubber results.

In manufacture, it is important that good clean water is available in large quantities and extensively made use of.

In collecting and treating the latex, care and cleanliness are important items.

Sheet.—Several estates which have a large production, turn out all latex in the form of smoked sheets, which according to the grooving on the rollers used, are put on the market as diamond (or ribbed-smoked sheets). In some cases the sheets have the name of the estate appearing on them.

Lately, several large factories have been equipped in such a way as to enable latex to be turned out in the form of smoked sheets as long as the market for this quality of rubber is better than for first crepe, or into crepe immediately such is in better demand than sheets.

Crepe.—The latex of many large producing estates is turned out in crepe form. The coagulated latex is first run a few times through a washing machine, the rollers of which are grooved with deep horizontally parallel grooves and run at different speeds. Usually the speed of one roller is twice that of the other. In this manner thick crepe is produced, which is immediately rolled out by means of rollers which are evenly and only faintly grooved, and which also run at a speed of 1 : 2.

The crepe is then passed through smooth roller machines, the speeds of the two rollers of which is differentiated by the pinion wheel of the one having one tooth less than that of the other.

The crepe is finally cut off in long ribbons and hung up to dry. The thin rolling of crepe has the advantage of enabling it to be dried in favourable weather within 10 to 14 days, thus also reducing the chances of it becoming discoloured or spot diseased.

The system at present in force on several estates of repeatedly rolling the rubber by deeply grooved washing machines until it is entirely worked into thin crepe, is not advisable owing to the physical qualities being thereby more liable to be damaged than is the case when the rubber is rolled out to the required thickness by means of faintly grooved and smooth rollers.

Scrap, Bark, and Earth-rubber.—In larger factories these kinds of rubber are worked off by a special washing machine called the "Universal Washer," which is a sort of kneading machine with long rollers having thick corrugated grooves. When this method is used, the ordinary washing machines are saved from much wear and tear caused by sand and impurities found in these sorts of rubber. On working off by the "Universal Washer" the result is a porous, spongy mass, which is then turned into crepe by the ordinary creping machine.

Drying.—Drying is carried out in well-ventilated airy rooms, to which, if possible, little, or only red-coloured light is admitted.

First Latex.—Crepe hanging close to windows often shows a slightly reddish colour, but the rubber hanging further back in the middle of the room becomes, if well prepared, transparent bright yellow.

The Rubber Sheets after having hung for a few hours to allow the superfluous water to drip off, but whilst still wet, are placed in a wood or stone-built smoke-house, to be smoked for 8 to 10 days. The smoke is allowed to enter the smoke chambers through holes in the floor covered with fine wire gauze to keep back soot and ash, and this smoke then escapes through the roof. On some estates rubber is dried by means of hot-air-producing installations, which have given but little satisfaction.

On one estate a vacuum drier has been erected in which thin crepe is dried in the course of a few hours. The product so obtained has a very fine appearance, but is more easily formed into thick blanket and black rubber than into fine thin crepe.

There is, however, no demand at present for thick crepe and black rubber, but should a demand for these ever occur, then vacuum driers and rapid drying of "worm" rubber in drying chambers (Michie-Colledge System) would render excellent service. Thin crepe dried in the usual manner is still preferred on the market.

It is thus purely a question of demand whether or not vacuum drying should be employed.

Sorting.—The best market price still continues to be given, not only for rubber which is transparently pure and clear throughout, but also for that which has the lightest colour.

Conditions for smoked sheets are of course different, but uniformity of colour and good finish have also to be taken into account. The colour which fetches the highest price at present is a sort of rich mahogany colour.

Sortation.—Sorting is done very carefully, taking into account the requirements of the buyers. Several estates supply their best kind of crepe and sheet rubber on contract entered into for standard qualities.

London Standard Sorting.—This, at present, is carried out on the following lines :—

1. (a) Crepe (first latex) is sorted into :—
 - (i) clear colour light ;
 - (ii) " " dull ;
 - (iii) irregular colour-striped and streaky.

1. (b) Smoked sheets (first and second latex) is divided into :—
 - (i) Uniform in colour and finish ;
 - (ii) irregular, e.g., with air bubbles, etc. ;
 - (iii) sheets made from cupwashings (second latex).
2. Lumps and cup washings into :—
 - (a) Light colour.
 - (b) Darker colour.
3. Scrap into :—
 - (a) Clear colour.
 - (b) Darker colour.
4. Dark rubber into :—
 - One kind which is usually dark coloured.
5. Ground rubber into :—
 - One kind which is usually dark coloured.
6. Refuse, which consists of :—
 - Waste, odds and ends.

Packing.—On estates which possess good timber reserves, rubber is packed in cases made on the estate, whenever it is profitable to do so. Such home-made chests are however usually much thicker than imported ones, and therefore take up more space, which must be taken into account owing to the sea freight being calculated on cubic measurement and not on weight.

Venesta, Japanese, and other chests are imported in bundles of ready-made planks, which can be fitted together. Packing must be done so that the chests are firmly and entirely filled in order to prevent the rubber moving about in the cases when they are undergoing transport by cart, rail, and ship.

Sale.—Rubber from Dutch Companies is usually shipped to Amsterdam or Rotterdam, from English Companies to London, from Belgian Companies to Antwerp, and from German Companies to Hamburg. Part of the product, mostly that from estates just commencing manufacture, is sold in Penang or Singapore. In the latter place rubber which is not well manufactured, is worked off again into crepe. Such rubber usually finds its way to Japan, Australia and America.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

Labour.—Estates in this district work with coolies imported from Java who are recruited on three-year contracts. Recruiting costs of coolies landed at Belawan, Deli, in the last few years, owing to large demands as a result of the cultivation here, have gradually risen from Glds. 75 per coolie to Glds. 160 and during 1913 even to a higher figure. At the present time

the recruiting cost per coolie has been reduced to Glds. 115 to Glds. 120 owing to a decrease in demand.

On completion of the term of contract, most coolies re-engage for a period of from one to three years. A necessary condition of all the contracts, is that on completion of his contract the coolie, if he so desires, must be returned to Java by the employer.

Day wages.—For ordinary work on daily wage, men coolies receive 33 to 40 cents, and women coolies 28 to 35 cents.

Task work.—As much task work as possible is given out, the price paid for this being based on the daily wage per contract.

Inspection of Labour.—The carrying out of the conditions set forth in the coolie contracts is regularly controlled by an extensive staff of Labour Inspectors.

Unindentured Labour.—Chinese, Bataks, Javanese women, and a few Malays are engaged as free labour for temporary work as, and when required.

Skilled Labour.—(Such as plank sawyers, carpenters and brick layers). This labour generally consists of Chinamen who do little else than task work. The cost of work done in this manner is based on a daily earning of at present about Glds. 1.75 to Glds. 2.50, whereas a few years ago the basis was Glds. 1 to Glds. 1.25.

Opening of new land.—As mentioned before, the ground rent amounts to 57 guilder cents per acre per annum, but for new concessions granted during the last few years this has been raised to Glds. 1.20 per acre.

Felling and burning of forest is done to a great extent by Bataks who, in addition to an arranged price, often receive as a sort of premium, the right to plant dry rice once, or a few times in "lada ngs." Should insufficient labour be available for this felling work, it is also carried out by means of Chinese or Javanese contract coolies.

Costs of felling forest vary, in accordance with the density and age of the forest, from Glds. 2 to Glds. 12 per acre.

The cost of burning off the forests varies, in accordance with the size of the timber, also from Glds. 2 to Glds. 12 per acre.

Eradication of Lallang.—The complete eradication of lallang with Javanese contract coolies costs from Glds. 35 to Glds. 40 per acre according to the varying heaviness of the soil to be cultivated. The cost of this work done by Chinese labour is from Glds. 50 to Glds. 55 per acre, in which case, as a rule, a further

round of cultivation with Javanese is necessary which costs from Glds. 5 to Glds. 8 per acre.

Immediately the lallang has been eradicated, the fields are regularly weeded whether planted or not.

Lining and Holing, cost, over large areas planted 18' x 18', about Glds. 3 per acre.

Planting out of Seedlings (Poeterans) costs about Glds. 1.50 to Glds. 2 per acre. The total cost therefore of lining, holing and planting is about Glds. 4.50 to Glds. 5 per acre.

Seed.—The price of seed has fallen very much, and at present very good seed can be obtained from Glds. 5 to Glds. 6 per 1,000.

Laying out of seed.—The cost of this, with the upkeep of nurseries till such time as the seeds are plantable, is comparatively small, and 1,000 selected seedlings or stumps can be sold at a profit of Glds. 40 Glds. 60. Glds. 80 to Glds. 100 was paid a year or two ago.

Cost of upkeep of planted area.—For the first three years, the cost of upkeep amounts in total to Glds. 72 per acre, equal to an average of Glds. 24 per acre per year. For the fourth and fifth years the cost is about Glds. 20 and Glds. 18, respectively, and for the sixth year, Glds. 12 or less. In the calculation of these costs of upkeep are included the keeping of the planted area free from weeds and lallang, the usual upkeep of drains, roads, boundaries and fences, the changcolling over of the soil once in two years, treatment of diseases, supplying and pruning.

Weeding.—It has been found from experience that Javanese cooly women can keep 10 acres clean by 20 to 21 days weeding round, and therefore for an area of 1,000 acres a force of 110 women, including 10 per cent. calculated for absence by sickness, is sufficient for weeding purposes. Inclusive of Mandors' wages the cost will thus not exceed Glds. 12 or £1 per acre per year.

Perhaps this cost will appear to be too low, but the calculation is based on an area which from the very beginning has been thoroughly cleared of stumps, and kept free of weeds, thereafter by weeding every 20 or 21 days, or in the case of low-lying parts, every 12 days. Experience shows that the cost of Glds. 12 per acre per annum can in later years even be gradually reduced to less than half of this, i.e., reduced from Glds. 1 to 50 cents. per acre per month.

Production.—Over areas of 500/1,500 acres and an average planting of 120 trees per acre, the following production calculated for a period of one year have ordinarily been obtained.

Per tree of 4 to 5 years of age	...	1 lb. per year.
" " 5 to 6 " "	...	2 lbs. "
" " 6 to 7 " "	...	3 lbs. "
" " 7 to 8 and upwards	...	4 lbs. "

Conclusion.—I have attempted as far as I can from observation only, to give the reader a general idea of planting rubber in Sumatra. I think the same conditions more or less prevail in India and other tropical countries. Having known that rubber pays the planter nearly double and sometimes treble his capital, I appeal to Indians to take up this industry and thus increase the wealth of our land. In India labour is cheap and cost of living is also cheap and hence I am sure those who invest their capital in this industry not only benefit themselves but also help the Indian labourer for, when he finds work in his country and with better wages, he will not certainly be inclined to go to far-off lands to confront with new conditions in all matters, on his arrival in these lands.

LABOUR RECRUITING IN INDIA.

[CONTRIBUTED.]

In no other sphere of activity, the attention of the Indian public should be immediately directed than towards the methods adopted by the Kangany in India. Regular readers of this journal would have got an insight into them from the articles contributed by Indian and European observers and specialists from time to time. The Kangany, in most cases, is only a returned cooly from one Estate or other from this side of the Bay who is specially favoured by the Estate Manager. Perhaps he was also a victim of a Kangany in his early days of estate-life and would have suffered much then. He would have tried all means in his power irrespective of their merits to get out of his cooly-life and through them must have won his present position which he wishes to utilise to his best advantage. Thus the Kangany on his arrival in India has only one object in view, and that is to amass gold in plenty. First of all he looks to his personal appearance and very soon he is passed by all as a real and sympathetic gentleman. He, of course, hides his real intention and the object with which he is sent. He shows he does not care for money and gives any amount to his newly acquired friends for the mere asking. He takes an interest in all matters concerning the welfare of the village or town he resides in (he will not dare to attempt his methods in his own native village for his true character is known to many there) and hoodwink the public by his seeming sympathy and support. He acquires friends in all communities from

the highest to the lowest. Soon he becomes popular with all and even with those who know why he adopts these methods and is generally invited to all social and public functions. His gold attracts like magnet every body, and his position is envied by many and our friend, the Kangany, is ready to help others to become like himself. His work is now beginning in earnest. He instils in the minds of these ignorant seekers of fortune that Malaya and other places in the Colonies are very El Dorados where they could become very rich in the course of an year or two. The poor illusioned men and women drink the cup of pleasure by his stories and begs him to help them in this. He at first says he could not do this, as, if any harm through *fate* (he emphasises the word "fate") comes to them he will be blamed and he should not be a cause for that, adding that if they are really prepared he will do what he can, even though he loses in the transaction. Questioned further how they could do so, the Kangany strikes a bold line and offers his support in every possible way. Thus the ignorant people of the village is enticed away from their homes. Husbands and wives are separated, young girls kidnapped to be the victims of the passions of European Managers of Estates (in almost all the Estates, the Thuan Besar and Than Kichi, viz., the chief boss and Assistants have Tamil girls as "keeps" or mistresses with a salary of cook or boy), boys are spirited away from their studies and fond parents. It is terrible to contemplate this further. A false impression prevails in our country about a Rubber Estate and the life led by the labourers. An Estate to translate into Tamil is a "Thottam" and when this Thottam is again converted into English it becomes like Alladin's magic lamp, a "Garden." I have seen in the addresses of the letters of Indian labourers here sent from India that an Estate is described as a Garden, as for example, "Sungei Buloh Estate" as "Garden Sungei Buloh," "Diamond Estate," as "Vajra Garden," etc., etc. Thus the labourer before leaving India imagines the work in an Estate is like the work he has to do in an Indian flower garden, and he pictures all the way of his beautiful surroundings and future home where he thinks special efforts are made to build separate bungalow, (even an attaped roofed hut made of jungle wood is a decent bungalow here) which is quite ready for his reception and in his mind he conceives that the life he is going to lead is akin to life in *Indra Loka*. Perhaps it may be thought this is confined to a few uneducated persons only. Not at all. I know many friends of mine, Graduates of Universities, who reveal an ignorance of a higher type than our uneducated brethren. Taking the most charitable view of the methods of the Kanganies and granting the Kangany actually tells the future labourers of the Estate the actual work they have to perform, I think, they even deceive by their truth. The general work in a rubber plantation here is tapping,

weeding, changkolling or new forest-clearing. Do you know how the words tapping and weeding are interpreted to the Indian public by the Kangany? To literally translate from the Tamil words used by them, it is only "cutting milk from trees" or "cutting grass." And surely these unfortunate men think it will be a pleasure to work like this in a beautiful garden. The Kangany, of course, does not tell the public that a cooly here has to work from morning six to evening two. For this he has to be out of his bed at four in the morning, for he must be present where his attendance is taken and if he is little thoughtful he will have some cold rice for his breakfast in the interval, if not he has to starve the whole day. After work at two, he has to be present at a particular place where his name is called by the European Assistant or conductor and this over, at about three he reaches home. Now only, he has to think of food. Whether the labourer is suffering from malaria or not does not concern the Manager, once he is passed as fit by the "Doctor Durai," who in almost all cases is only a quaker of a dresser from South India, and is only a creature of the Head Boss. The cooly must work. There is no holiday for him. If he does not work he will not get his wages, even though he is helpless through sickness or otherwise. There is no leave for him for important religious or national festivals as in other walks of life. He must forfeit his pay and in some cases has to bear the heaviness of the cane of the Manager. These and a thousand other things the Kangany does not reveal to anybody. Having once impressed them very favourably of the life in a rubber estate, the poor persons who hear the tales of Kangany follow him

meekly and does not hesitate to repeat any stories put into their mouth by the Kangany when questioned by the Immigration Officer at Negapatam for the coolies are forewarned that the "Durai" is against their material well-being. The rest of the processes of the Kangany is only mechanical, shipping the coolies to their place of work, for example. It is only just after the steamer leaves the boat, these poor persons see a glimpse of what is in store for them. I may say, even dogs and cattle are better looked after than the coolies in the ship. This is a question which should engage the serious attention of the Government of India and they should take immediate steps to remedy matters instead of giving annual contracts to B. I. Company and leaving matters there. On his arrival in the Estate the cooly finds that he has been cruelly misinformed. The result is complete disappointment and mental lethargy putting him into sick-bed for some days. Those who have strong nerves think of bolting even though they know that that will cost them imprisonment in a foreign land but they earnestly follow this prison-life better than their lot in the Estate in their disappointment.

I do not, by the foregoing, say that recruiting labourers for Malayan Estates is bad. It is good and helping this country and India but the present-day methods must be abandoned and others substituted, also something must be done for better accommodation instead of crowding six or seven men in a hole, supplying free food and allowing holidays and sick leave with pay. I shall discuss this later on.

Malaysia.

Round the Indian Empire.

BY POLITIQUE.

The Protected States of India appear to have absorbed most of the lime-light, judged by public opinion in England on the part of India in the War. British journals received from that country almost vie with one another in paving the path of prosperity for these much-maligned Native States. Ten years ago, they were hot-beds of sedition, a sort of culture-house where anarchists were manufactured for special use in British India; to-day, they are to be a sort of advance guard in the social and political progress of the neighbouring domains. This sudden ebullition of remorseful enthusiasm would be amusing if it were not real, and more is this to be deplored because of the

possible effect it may have in obscuring the importance of the services rendered by the other parts of India to the Throne. The princes of India have displayed striking loyalty in the anxious situation created by the War, and this is equally true of the whole of India. We fail to see any particular reason why the former should be singled out for special treatment, unless to create by an invidious distinction, a rather indifferent attitude in the British mind towards the questions concerning British India. At all times we should be glad to see our Indian princes advanced in status, influence and confidence; but that they should occupy a position, as is suggested in some quarters, between the supreme Government and the people in the ordering of the affairs

of British India is, to say the least, an extravagant claim. No doubt our native rulers represent an ancient tradition in Indian Society, to speak generally; but we fancy not many of them will be found willing to-day to base their dignity or self-respect on the annals of the past. It is a curious phenomenon and one well worth the cogitation of the Anglo-Indian press in this country, that the rulers of our Native States are more ready than British administrators to surrender most of their immemorial privileges to representative institutions of their subjects. One seldom hears of 'prestige' in the internal administration of these States. On the other hand, the vogue seems to be to shake off the taciturnity of Oriental monarchs by a broad survey of the western world, and by way of emphasising the democratic ideals imbibed instal in an Indian Court an English consort. Looking at the trend of things broadly, we should not be surprised to discover in the course of time an entire obliteration of the lines dividing the political outlook of the Indian princes and the Indian people. We are not certain that the charm of crowned heads is one quite able to repel the spread of fundamental ideas in the growing life of Asiatic nations and peoples.

Thoughtful persons have already begun to view with dismayed concern the educational programme of the country that could lend the presence of even a few of its products to the propaganda of the anarchists' cult. The so-called conspiracy cases in which a few persons of academical distinctions figured have been on account of this fact distorted out of all proportion to their due import. It is difficult to tell exactly whether such exaggeration is indulged in to parody English education or pejorate political pessimism about British supremacy in India. Not that there is no need to revise our educational policy nor to liberalise the administration in favour of legitimate Indian claims; both are urgent pieces of reform; but the impulse for their expediency or direction certainly does not lie in the contents of conspiracy cases. That the Indian anarchist, supposing he is genuine, is the educational Frankenstein is as fatuous a notion as that he represents the last word in Indian adherence to British rule. Who, then, is this elusive being? Such as he is, we are disposed to think, that he is rather a disembodied reality than a solid fact. Indians are not educated enough to put education to such perverted ends, nor has political reasoning so advanced in the country as to conceive of compassing its deliverance by merely avoiding police attention. The real situation seems to us otherwise. Any body of administrators are apt to get a little nervous after a long period of rule over a people so different from them in habit, sentiment and conduct, over the question of

the indispensability of their governance that the least non-compliance on the part of the governed calls forth all the formidable instinct of self-preservation in the ruling power. The India that Britain ruled over the counter is vastly different from the India that she now controls through seasoned secretariats; the kindly Nabobs of the spacious John Company days have been superseded by cultured Britons who wield the pen in place of the sword of their forbears. A distemper in the times always harbingers a change of focus and wisdom lies in adjusting the lens in the right position so as not to present discoloured pictures. Indian anarchy, if such exists, we repeat, has nothing to do with English education, and if a few diploma-holders have perjured their conscience in proclaiming war against the king, there is emphatically nothing there to point a moral or embellish a lesson.

The policeman in his rural rounds is a picturesque personality in that that he enforces the ill-digested doctrines of the social discipline of the West into the unsophisticated security of eastern complaisance. He and his work have been the subject of a shower of reports from Government departments in different provinces during the past month and his calling has been chosen as an ideal career for young men coming out of at least one University in India. After this none dare complain that the administration of criminal justice lacks adequate attention at the hands of the authorities, though the voluntary confessions of a criminal, if they could be had, might just reverse the satisfaction. Three facts emerge from a survey of the recent literature on the topic: *first*, that the police force is numerically insufficient; *second*, it is inefficient and the *third* is that the public is apathetic towards the suppression of crime. Taking the last argument first, it would appear that with the people of India no one is more welcome than a criminal or at best they enjoy a sort of Lucretian pleasure at watching their neighbours' houses raided at night by a gang of desperadoes. How else to explain their secretiveness and unwillingness to lay information before the police when the latter actually arrive at the spot of crime? Of course the educated classes must be absolved from such condemnation of uncivic reticence. It is the rural folk that are exasperatingly silent over the doings of criminals in their neighbourhood. Why should they fear any reprisals from these gents of the highway if their activities are promptly notified to the police? The fact is that while a single dacoit can strike terror into the souls of hundred inhabitants scattered over twenty villages in three administrative divisions in a single night and take again a leisurely round to avenge his victims for any hostile activity on

their part, there is not one live policeman for any thousand people. Again the dacoit is unhampered by observing any jurisdictional niceties or waiting for superior orders bound in red tape. Our police force is shamefully thin, immobile and ununderstanding. The problem is to attract a larger number of men, on a higher pay and with superior qualifications. The policeman, next to the tax collector, perhaps as the counter to the obnoxious presence of the latter, is the one symbol of British rule to rural India. It is useless to expect the co-operation of the village people for the remote policeman against the near criminal. Again, as things are at present, not to mention the Arms Act, the periodical loot of dacoits seems a mild exaction by the side of the daily importunities in cash and kind of the nine-rupee police constable.

We wonder how many professors and teachers take the pains to instruct their pupils in the War and the School room. our different schools and colleges regarding the course of the war and the lessons to be derived from it. A proper understanding of the subject is of inestimable educational value goes without saying. Moreover its topical interest which can be elevated almost to an absorbing passion in skilful hands for a pure study of men and minds in one of the highest spheres of their activity, forms an easy aid to enlist attention. This war with the motives and principles underlying it is among the grandest episodes that the twentieth century will offer to mankind. For one thing, its geography alone covers the whole civilised surface of the globe and the fierce animation beating it from one end to another would easily enliven even the dry longitudes with human interest. To the lowest class of pupils in our primary and secondary schools to the highest, the war affords varying degrees of instruction. We have not hitherto heard of any attempts in this direction in this country or elsewhere, though a systematic educational organisation has been started in England to study the war in its various aspects with a view to influence the opinion of men of affairs. It cannot be that this war cannot allure sufficient attention in the class-room. As a matter of fact, we know that there is not a more popular theme of discussion among students outside school hours than one or other aspect of this gigantic war, only with this reservation and we believe it true of India alone. The premonitory pains of a periodical examination deaden sensibility to every fact and feeling other than cram—and this war or a thousand such at the same time must simply beggar recognition before the fell shadow of a question paper! But this by the way. Literature on the war is plentiful and the educational authorities have but to choose from among the number of books that are daily pub-

lished on the war. Moreover there are innumerable pamphlets written on various issues connected with it by informed people. These furnish wholesome and abundant material for instruction. We should be ashamed to see our children grow up in ignorance of the war with the facilities that are ready to hand to remove such a reproach. With the elder boys, they are so apt without guidance to entertain wrong notions that it will be a difficult matter to remedy them later.

To the ordinary Indian, unaccustomed to the use of fire arms, the question at the first blush comes as a chastisement on his bloodless conscience. Patriotism in war is apt to be cynically interpreted if it did not shoulder a well-primed musket or smell of valiant powder. This is wholly an erroneous notion and, if indulged in, will inculcate a fatal disbelief in the power of any other than the bloodiest accoutrements of war in resisting this particular evil. War, it may safely be asserted, is more a psychological experience than a physical fact. The less the insistence placed upon the latter, the more are the chances of ultimate victory. The adversary who relies for success on the shining armour without recking the moral forces of the human material, may for a time seem to have achieved his desire. But mere mechanical resources, however superior, cannot tell to the end. War is universally acknowledged to be no end in itself, nor an honourable means to attain any high-prized ideal. If humanity had persuaded itself otherwise through all the refinements of civilisation, we might to-day acclaim the advent of the Hun as the Apotheosis of Time and crown the Kaiser as the first and last of the *avatars*. But mankind, Germany apart, knows a soul above its actions. The German has invited doom on his own head by placing both on the same level. The German is to be pitied rather than despised. Such pity cannot assume a nobler shape in our minds than in continual reflections of the purity of our cause, of an ennobling purpose which is above the mere tumult of arms. We did not start for a victory; so in the nature of things we don't expect a defeat. We should remember that the allied trenches in Flanders and the Cossack camps in the marshy swamps of Russia, are there not because our minds are there, nor the will. The strength of our arms lies in the quiet confidence of the individual soul that a superior ideal will always outlive an inferior one. The world knows, and Germany too, the justice of the cause of the Allies. Germany still fights, because having once begun, her despair needs to be made to appear decorous by seeming to be in the fray. The Indian should realise the war as a moral phenomenon. Patriotism in war far from going begging for a definition guileless of shot

or shell, consists, then, in setting the right moral tone in the mind of his neighbours. A thousand ways will suggest themselves to the unclouded imagination of rendering this assistance. The ordinary Indian is not called upon to bear arms. What is more material is the general mobilisation of the moral forces on the side of Britain and her Allies. It is not so much the anticipation of ultimate triumph that should inspire us with confidence as the affirmation in our minds that the justice of our aims can be attended with but one result, namely, victory. People are prone when news of reverses to the allied arms reaches them to pejorate pessimism and blacken gloom. Such sentiment in the civilian is akin to cowardice in the soldier. An atmosphere of doubt is more deadly than poison gas. We need to secure ourselves at every step against the asphyxiation of our moral vigour by sternly discountenancing the dissemination of despairing reports. A sunny faith in the silver lining that surrounds our cause by its very righteousness should remove the sombre clouds that appear for a time to beset our endeavours. We shall endure suffering in body, if need be; but none in mind, because our conscience is clean. It is only a sinister power that would plot to subvert the established order of society, which has grown up under arduous conditions, through direct and indirect protection afforded by British rule. Germany is such an evil. On its brow are branded the destruction of Louvain, the shocking tragedy of the *Lusitania*, the murder of Miss Cavell, and thousand other nameless crimes that revolt the human conscience even in the telling. What should each of us do? Listen. Asked whether he could afford the contribution of a thousand rupees, which an aged Yahow Chief named Van Nul on the Chin Hills voluntarily made to the Burma War Relief Fund, the old man replied: "It is of no consequence; the Government which had looked after me for so many years would continue to look after me, if ever I am in need."

Professor Geddes in the course of an interview with a press representative in Calcutta made an interesting statement regarding what can be done to relieve congested areas and generally to improve the outlay of cities and towns. It is to be hoped that the valuable advice he is offering in this direction will not fall on barren ground and that after the brilliant series of lectures he has delivered, Calcutta will make some progress towards emerging from its present complicated lay-out. The housing of labourers in plantations and elsewhere has, up to the present time, been on a somewhat antiquated form, namely, in the provision of common cooly lines—a type of structure that is decidedly insanitary and uncomfortable. In place of these crude buildings, Professor Geddes is of the opinion that isolated dwelling-

places should be erected and every effort should be made to encourage and improve the roads and buildings and undergo the process of evolution from the existing rough-and-ready and insanitary methods. Among the labouring classes, upper storeyed tenements do not as a rule find favour, but the Professor does not propose that the buildings he contemplates should be otherwise than a single-storeyed structure. "In the interior," explained Professor Geddes, "I do not think there will be any difficulty in obtaining land, and what I propose is that isolated buildings should be erected with the provision of a courtyard, and an allotment garden if possible." This is in view of the extreme importance of light and air, so that Professor Geddes' proposal is not alone on the basis of comfort, but also, and mostly from a hygienic point of view. An example of what might be termed a model dwelling was shown, and the Professor explained that this type of building was, in the first place, cheap so far as cost was concerned, and also comfortable. The roof was of thatch, and an outer verandah was provided, and if conditions of land permitted, this particular type of building should prove an ideal home for the labourer.

Some politicians chafe with patriotic fury at the unregenerate somnolence of industrial India in letting the war slip by without bringing pence to the national coffer. There has been much ebullient nationalism behind this righteous indignation, but one scarcely notes reasoned reflection on the required disposition of the economic forces available in the country. If we here animadvert on one of these, namely, labour, it is not through lack of tenderness for India's welfare. We feel some plain words are called for, if only that the enthusiasm may not end in mere froth. What is the Indian workman, and where does he stand in relation to his compeer in the West? There is as much similitude between the former and the latter as between a Chinese junk and a huge ocean liner. It is the experience of many shrewd employers that the Indian workman is generally incompetent to be entrusted with the charge of a complicated machinery. He is often found wasteful in his habits and neglectful of details. The loss of material thus incurred in the factory or workshop might often result in serious curtailment of profits, not to speak of the habit ingraining in the workman uneconomic ways. He possesses very little initiative and while too sensitive to rebuke, lacks the will to recuperate lost respect or virtue. His dissatisfaction with the restraints of the factory is open and expressed. It argues in him a lack of imagination and a lack of aspiration to ascend in the scale. It is scarcely, if ever, that an Indian workman reaches beyond the post of a foreman and in large factories even

Some Plain Words about Indian Labour.

Housing of Labourers

this is beyond his capacity. European testimony in this connection is particularly valuable. An English writer observes that "the Indian workman is indifferent, having no regard for time, no sense of responsibility, and only a light respect for truth." The same writer finds that the average Indian workman does not possess the faculty of continuous industry, and soon slackens in his task unless he is constantly watched and urged forward. Compared with his European colleague, the Indian workman is undisciplined and casual in the performance of work. It is easy to dismiss the complaint as prejudiced, coming, as it does from foreigners. On the other hand, the English assistants superintending large factories in India have the most opportunities to know the calibre of the Indian workman whom they employ by the hundred. It is a pity that the latter do not learn by imitation the business ways and manners of their English confreres. The circumstances of the Indian factory operative is peculiar. He is impaled, as it were, between the two horns of a dilemma. The factory of workshop is a new factor in his economy and some time must elapse before he can thoroughly acclimatise himself to its atmosphere. As things are, the charms of working in his village, may be, amongst his wife and children, friends and family, are too seductive to be lost without the loss at the same time of respect and honour. It is a well-known fact that the Indian workman is only a migratory bird in the city where with what technical skill he could pick up he earns enough money to save a little; this earned he forthwith returns to his village and forgets the little skill he once possessed. Accustomed for generations to work in his own hut, or shop, or on his own tiny plot of land, the mill or factory in the city is to him a place of banishment. In the city, moreover, he is pricked in conscience with scruples of caste and has before him only the day of migration.

This is the material, roughly, that is to supply trained labour for the Indian industries that are to compete with Western manufactures. The rapid development of machinery has somehow induced the belief that the human factor in industry can be dispensed with or at best looked upon with tolerance. This is a wrong notion. Success in industry depends now as much as ever before on the efficiency of the labour supplied. Unless there is an abundant source of labour power in the land, at once mobile and efficient, it can never dream of economic progress. India, if she is serious about her industrial future, should soon set to work her labour power to bring it into line with the progressive spirit of modern times. To our mind, this is a slow process and work should be forthwith begun on some such lines as follow: (1) multiply the facilities for technical education; (2) provide free trade literature in the vernacular and distribute it broadcast in the land; (3) provide good dwellings for artisans working in the mills and

factories; (4) raise the present scale of wages; and (5) bring pressure upon the English employers to adopt a more sympathetic attitude towards their Indian workmen. We have no faith in forming what are called Workmen's Associations, in co-operative efforts and such concerted action. Indian workmen are not educated up to that point. Nor do we think it wise that millowners should be given the lead in this matter. For one thing, their action is susceptible of misconception and it is not often easy to distinguish a beneficent motive from a selfish desire for "speeding up." This seems to us to be a laudable object of work by private philanthropic bodies, municipal institutions and local administrative bodies. The aim should be to give independence and impart a sense of self-respect in the workman, for with the consciousness of self-respect comes the desire for self-improvement and self-control. In sober fact, the Indian workman must be born anew in different social influences to become a typical economic being. He is to-day the victim of circumstances of whose drift and meaning he is quite ignorant. He is poor and illiterate. The vice of old traditions has him still in its iron grasp. Time cannot wait for him; either he must move with the times or go under, and with him, all expectations of an industrial India. Politicians and pseudo-economists who talk so glibly of the undeveloped resources of this vast continent, will do well to take heed where the shoe pinches.

At King's College, London, Dr. H. A. L. Fisher, Vice-Chancellor of the Sheffield University and a member of the Public Services Commission in India, recently made a speech on this subject. He said that the Government of India was in the hands of its Civil Service, and operated under very strange conditions. The career of the Indian Civil servant who rose, rung by rung, until he became Lieutenant Governor of a Province or was given a seat on the Viceroy's Council, was a very great one; it developed many and varied talents, and was calculated to give a very close and sympathetic knowledge of the conditions of rural India. The Indian members of the Council were in perpetual opposition to the Government of the day, and it was an open question whether they were adequately met, from the parliamentary point of view, by the Indian Civil servants. He had noticed a considerable body of opinion among Anglo-Indians in India that a peer sent out from Great Britain with political experience was, on the whole, more successful than an Indian civilian who had risen to the position of Lieutenant Governor. Needless to say, we are in complete agreement with the view of the learned professor last expressed.

GENERAL ARTICLES.

EUGENICS IN PARTY ORGANISATION.

ROBERTO MICHELS,

Professor of Political Economy, University of Turin.

[This interesting article is a paper contributed to the First International Eugenics Congress held at the University of London, 1912.]

It purports to show that the intellectual gifts of working men should now find representation in party politics for the amelioration of the general condition of labour. Without it, it is becoming exceedingly difficult for the working classes to rise to wealth and independence under the existing capitalist system and consequently they remain all their life poor and miserable.

This should furnish at once a strong plea for creating labour members in the Legislative Councils of this country to represent the interests of the mute labouring classes to fight against the rapacity of the strong and the idle rich.—*Ed.*]

THE fundamental thesis of my sociological theory is that an iron law leads to the formation of an oligarchy in all political parties, regardless of the nature of the doctrines they profess, whether monarchic, aristocratic, or democratic. To the illustration and scientific establishment of this law I devoted a very large part of my last volume about the Essence of Party Life in Modern Democracy⁽¹⁾. I found in party life a threefold root of oligarchy; the first in individual psychology, the second in the psychology of the crowd, the third in the social necessity of party organisation.

Under the first of these I group the individual's consciousness of his own importance, which with opportunity develops into the natural human lust for power, and, further, such individual qualities as native tact, editorial ability, and so on. Crowd psychology is characterized chiefly by the incompetence of the masses, their dependence upon traditional methods of party government and their feeling of gratitude to leaders who have suffered for the cause. Finally, the necessity for party organization grows with every increase of numbers and extension of functions. It is physically impossible for large party groups to govern themselves directly. All parties live in a state of

(1) In German. *Zur Soziologie des Parteiwesens*, Leipzig, 1911, Klinkhardt; in Italian, corrected and amplified *La Sociologia del Partito Politico*, Torino, 1912, Unione Tip. Ed. Tor.; in French, *Le Parti Politique*, Paris, 1912, Flammarion.

perpetual warfare with opposing parties and, if they are revolutionary in character, with the existing social order itself. Tactical considerations, therefore, and above all the necessity of maintaining a condition of military preparedness, strengthen the hands of the controlling clique within the party.

Party leadership, basing itself upon these three tendencies, may at first be spontaneous and easily susceptible of changes in personnel. With enlarged numbers, however, the early loose leadership is superseded by professional direction. Soon the professional leaders become bureaucratic, masters of routine, and, in that way, superior in political education to their predecessors. Anyhow, from professional leadership the step to irremovable leadership is a short one, and with the stability thus attained the oligarchy is fairly developed. And with power once concentrated, party leadership, even that of socialistic groups, becomes cautious, conservative, intent above all to preserve its strength undiminished, and, if possible, to increase it. Besides, corresponding to Marx's principle of the concentration of capital, one can present the principle that with the increase of tasks in party life the concentration of power in political parties is augmenting.

All party struggles resolve themselves into struggles between the dominating party oligarchy and other equally narrow party oligarchies striving to possess themselves of sovereignty. The dominant oligarchs are sometimes (though very rarely) thrown out of power in a body, when strong opposition culminates in conquering the masses. More frequently, however, the dominant oligarchy slowly liberates itself of its own enemies in the party, by letting down the bars to the leaders of the opposition, who quickly get sobered by responsibility and, having tasted power as party leaders, are quite as determined to retain it by all means as any of their predecessors in office. In either event there is no escaping the conclusion that both in the State and in party management oligarchy is inevitable. At some future time, the socialists may possibly be successful, but socialism never.

In the initial period of the labour movement, the basis of political leadership consists above all, though not exclusively, in the oratorical gift. No crowd can resist the power, æsthetic and emotional, of the spoken word. The beauty of the speech moves the crowd, and this suggestion subjects it to, and gives it wholly into the hands of, the orator. It is in the nature of democracy, so far as it aims at exciting sentiments, feelings and actions emanating directly or indirectly from the collectivity, that the word, written or spoken, exercises a great political repercussion on the people. In every democratic regime the leaders are orators and emphatic newspaper-writers. In France: Gambetta, Clemenceau; in England: Gladstone; in Italy: Crispi, Luzzatti. In

democratically ruled States, among the qualities which enable a man to rise to the leadership of public affairs, the first place is assigned to oratorical ability, adroitness and versatility. The same may be sustained, even in a still higher degree, of the party life. Carlyle said: No British man can attain to be a statesman or chief of workers till he has first proved himself a chief of talkers⁽¹⁾. For England, the susceptibility of the crowd to oratorical effects has already been noticed in 1826 by an Italian observer: The English people, so sensible, so sparing of their time, will stop to listen to any man speaking in public, with as much pleasure as they go to hear the best actors⁽²⁾. In France, Ernest Charles ascertained, on the authority of professional statistics of the members of the Parliament, that nearly all the representatives of the young, active, lively, and progressive parties in the House, are well-known journalists and clever orators; that fact concerns in the same way Socialists, Nationalists and Anti-Semites⁽³⁾. The story of the modern labour movement confirms this statement: Jaures, Guesde, Lagardelle, Herve, Bebel, Turati, Labriola, Ferri, Ramsay Macdonald, Troelstra, Henriette Roland Holst, Vandervelde, Adler, Daszynski are all very powerful and tremendous orators. On the other hand, the same movements show us that most of the men who, though possessed of the best intellectual and moral gifts, are lacking in oratorical art, never succeed in having a preponderant part in the guidance of the Party. Young men who are preparing themselves for leadership of the crowd know fairly well the value and importance of oratory. The students of Ruskin College, a few years ago, deserted the lectures only because their professors gave, according to them, too much weight to the study of sociology and pure logic in comparison to oratorical and debating exercises.

We may also notice that the orator constitutes not only a psychological, but also a physiological type. The voice, even the anatomical structure of the mouth and neighbouring part are important co-efficients of the formation of a public speaker; in that way one can affirm that there is an anthropological type; the *born orator* which the successor of Cesare Lombroso at Turin University has recently very carefully described and analysed⁽⁴⁾.

(1) Thomas Carlyle, *Latter Day Pamphlets*, n. V: *Stumps-Orator*, pag. 167, in *Thomas Carlyle's Works* ("The Standard Edition," Vol. III., London, Chapman and Hall, 1906).

(2) Giuseppe Pecchio, *Un' Elezione di membri del Parlamento in Inghilterra*, Lugano, pag. 109, 1826.

(3) J. Ernest-Charles, *Les Lettres du Parlement*, in the "Revue" XXXIX, page. 361, 1901.

(4) M. L. Patrizi, *L'Oratore. Saggio Sperimentale*, Milan, 1912, Treves.

In peoples possessing a high degree of æsthetic gifts, and living in old and beautiful cities where they are always surrounded by immortal works of art, one of the best of the factors which predispose for political leadership consists in the oratorical gift, accompanied by physical handsomeness. In Italy, for instance, the heads of the socialist parties must be beautiful models of mankind and the best specimens of the race of the country. And so they are: Enrico Ferri and Camillo Prampolini are very fine types of humanity. Of the 88 deputies of the socialist faction of the Italian Parliament in 1902 at least sixteen were above the medium as regards appearance.

Certainly the personal qualities in virtue of which some individuals succeed in raising themselves above the mass of their party comrades in political life, and which must be considered as specific qualities of leaders, are of a complex nature, though it is not necessary that they should all and always be united in the same person. Firstly, energy of will which enables them to dominate weaker characters; secondly, superiority of knowledge which compels respect; "catonian" depth of conviction, a force of ideas which often borders on fanaticism and which, from its intensity, commands the admiration of followers; self-confidence pushed even to the point of self-conceit, which has the power, however, of being communicated to the mass; in certain rare cases, finally, goodness of heart and disinterestedness, qualities which remind the crowd of the figure of Jesus Christ, and which reawaken in them those religious sentiments which are not extinct but only weakened.

Concluding, it would not be inopportune to say that these elements of the crowd which succeed in elevating themselves above their fellow-citizens, and in becoming leaders of the party, are the very superior and better elements, not always surely in the moral sense—because party leadership often deteriorates the moral qualities of the man, as I minutely described in my above-mentioned book on sociology⁽⁵⁾—but in an energetic, an intellectual, and, to a certain extent, also a physical way. Indeed, as we have briefly explained in this paper, it is true that the real independence of the democratic chief from the mass on which he theoretically depends, to the point even of being at any moment liable to be dismissed by it, independence which inverts the terms and renders the leader, originally a servant of the mass, absolute master of it, is owing in great part to an always increasing necessity of the division of labour and differentiation of party work, which accentuates more and more the competence of the leader on the one hand, and the incompetence of the followers on the other. The cause, in ultimate analysis, of the predominance of the leaders in party life is based,

(5) *Zur Soziologie des Parteiwesens*, pag. 193n.

then, on the conditions of party organisation as a whole, and consists in a professional and educational superiority. To reach this competence it is, however, requisite there be men who can prove themselves to possess certain dynamic and pre-eminent qualities.

Thus we may sustain the thesis: Without party organisation many socially useful elements would be lost, in the sense that they would never change their social class, and remain all their life long in the proletariat; in other terms, they would have no occasion to improve their standard of life and develop the special gifts which enabled them to help the people. Because there is no doubt that modern capitalism renders the rising of the best forces within the working class to economic independence and individual wealth increasingly difficult. In the past, especially during the youth of the new factory system, some of the most clever and most ambitious workmen succeeded, by virtue of an indefatigable activity and, of course, a good deal of luck, in becoming employers. To-day the accumulation of industrial property and the increasing cost of even the most elementary instruments of labour indispensable to industrial management prevent, in all the old countries, such a transformation taking place.

The type of the so-called self-made man is, so far as concerns industry, a rather rare and old-fashioned one; only in young countries, like the two Americas and Australia, will it be easy to find a greater number of specimens of this type. In old Europe it became just a prehistoric figure. It is but natural that intellectually gifted men among industrial wage-earners are looking to obtain a compensation for that lost paradise of their dreams. There are plenty of working-men who feel with real bitterness that their intellectual gifts are slowly spoilt and laid under an arrest by more or less idiotic and boring manual work, without any hope of escape or of the attainment of a better standard of living. All these elements consider party organisation with its places and its careers as a very anchor of salvation, especially in countries where the political bodies of the working class, the social democratic parties, are well-developed, as in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and to a less extent, in France and Italy (and, as recently appears, in England) and where the concurrence in leadership by men of the educated class, which invades all party life, is not too heavy. It is rather difficult to tell how many proletarians are entered as employees in party movements. In the socialist, the radical, and the catholic parties of the continent their number will not be easy to count. Everywhere ex-workmen

contend for the greatest honours and the most eminent places in party life with the *bourgeois-born* lawyers and professors. As union officers they dominate the field without competition. All these men have definitely left their original class, and enjoy social and economic conditions which resemble very closely those of the middle class people. They are *self-made men in politics*.

It may be objected that it constitutes no factor of selection that many of the best elements of the lower classes, attracted by party organisation and the machinery of trades unionism, abandon their original class, in order to be entrusted by the crowd with the business of leadership; that it is a social evil, in the first place, because the socialist and trades union leader accomplishes, as a rule (as we might say according to the conservatives), a function of intellectual distress and social perniciousness; in the second place, because in that way the working class loses its best men, and industry is deprived of its most intelligent hands. We may answer these objections by stating that, first of all, whatever be the number of party and trades union leaders, this number cannot be so high as to seriously weaken the *elite* of working-men who pass their whole life in the machinery halls. On the other hand it seems to us sure that the activity is dedicated by the labour leaders, in a very high degree, to an aim of social selection. Certainly socialism and trades unionism are traced on lines which may be considered as an immense self-defence of the weak against the strong. But the thorough amelioration of the general condition of labour does not in any way mean, nor lead to, the artificial protection of the inferiors against the superiors. To-day the terms inferior and superior have acquired a mere economic character. The actual basis of the struggle for life consists in the conjunction of intellectual and physical gifts with the casual fact of birth, that is to say, a definite economical milieu. In other words, there is no real selection possible, the richest being necessarily at the top of the tree and having primarily *jeu gagné* in life even if not really superiors, by physical strength and intellectual power; the poor being condemned to remain so, even if from every point of view, except the economic, they are superior, *per se*. Therefore every means which better the general conditions of the lower classes will enable them to measure the strength of the individuals who compose them with that of the well-born classes, and will put the struggle for life on a more healthy and more natural basis, and allow a greater quantity of men to occupy in society the place to which their special and inborn qualities and their cleverness and energy give them a kind of moral and logical right.

CHINA AS A REPUBLIC.

[This article which appeared in the recent China Number of the *Manchester Guardian* is an interesting reading and it shows how three years' re-organisation and improvement, after the establishment of the Republic, has enabled China to evolve a system of internal administration which has brought it on a par with the foremost nations of the world. This evolution is indeed a miracle in the life of that nation and it affords a unique example in the history of the world of a peaceful revolution performed in modern times.]

IN February, 1912, the last Manchu Emperor abdicated, and China became a Republic. The Republic is, therefore, in its fourth year. Although three years is but an inconsiderable period in the life of a nation, some indication has been afforded of the probable result that will follow the change in the system of government. Broadly speaking, it may be said that the prospects are very favourable. The rebirth of China was necessarily painful—nations and individuals alike are "born and buried mid tears." The Revolution was accomplished largely by the aid of men who, while sincere enough, cherished visions of a Celestial Utopia which was to come into existence simultaneously with the establishment of representative Government. Poverty and crime were to be abolished and wealth and happiness created by Acts of Parliament. Crude ideas of his kind were voiced by many of the men who had sprung into prominence during the struggle to overthrow the Manchus, and vast numbers of the more ignorant people, firmly believing that the Golden Age had begun, signalled their appreciation in an eminently practical manner by ceasing to pay taxes. The finances of the country were in a sufficiently desperate condition during the last few months of the Manchu regime, but their condition was infinitely worse during the first eighteen months of the Republic.

YUAN SHIH-KAI AND HIS POLICY.

The selection of Yuan Shih-kai as President was regarded with misgiving by the section of the revolutionary party which desired the immediate creation of an ideal Republic. They felt that he was too practical to act on the belief that the nation could over-night, so to speak, discard the traditions of centuries and embrace political ideas that, even in the most advanced and liberal countries, were only the subjects of academic discussion and not of actual experiment. Their lack of sympathy with the President's methods and policy led to a systematic opposition to all the measures he proposed to place the Government on a firm footing and to reduce the financial chaos to something like order. It is unnecessary to describe in

detail the fluctuations in the struggle between the extremists and the moderates who supported the President. In July, 1913, the former took up arms against the Government, and the subsequent suppression of this rebellion left the President and his supporter in a position to carry on the work of reform on sane and conservative lines. With long years of experience as an official behind him, the President was well fitted to guide the nation through the perplexities and uncertainties with which it was surrounded, and to lead it, cautiously but surely, along the path of progress.

The policy that the President has followed since the implacable opposition that confronted him in the first year of the Republic was removed has been to administer the Government as far as possible on lines to which the people were accustomed. He has, moreover, chosen as Ministers and for important executive positions men who, while progressive and free from the cramping conservatism that was regarded as an essential official attribute by the Manchus, have the necessary experience and knowledge of the people to enable them to carry on the work of reform without causing avoidable irritation and discontent. Almost without exception those who fill the high executive positions are men who held office under the Manchus. It is a cause for regret that some of the more sober-minded of the younger men who took part in the Revolution could not be prevailed upon to assist in the immense task before the Government, but this could not be in the existing political conditions. No doubt, when certain dangers which have still to be taken into account have ceased to be a menace, the country will have the advantage of the services of some of these men.

SOLID AND ENDURING WORK. . .

Without being spectacular, the work accomplished by the Government in the second and third years of the Republic has been solid and enduring. Success was rendered the more difficult as the country's expenditure far exceeded the income and the machinery of taxation had entirely broken down during the Revolution. The revised budget for 1913, the second year of the Republic, showed a revenue of \$333,948,482 (Mexican currency) and an expenditure of \$642,227,076. A deficit of approximately £30,000,000 was obviously a serious matter to a country in which the *per capita* wealth of the population is very small. But China's credit, which had always been good, suffered very little, if at all, as a result of the internal disorder which followed the Revolution, and which was intensified by the rebellion against the Republican Government. It was possible, therefore, to borrow money to tide over the immediate difficulties, but the Government recognised that it would be necessary to restore the equilibrium between revenue and expenditure at the earliest possible moment. In the first instance steps were taken to secure

for the Central Government the revenue to which it was entitled but which had been appropriated by the provincial authorities during the period of disorder. But as this revenue would still be insufficient to meet the administrative charges it was necessary to reform the methods of taxation and to develop new sources of income. The steps taken towards this end are described in detail elsewhere. The reorganisation of the Government Salt Monopoly, which was successfully carried out mainly owing to the cordial co-operation of the well-known Indian expert Sir Richard Dane and his Chinese co-director of the Salt Gabelle, placed the Government in possession of a source of revenue that proved even more prolific than the Maritime Customs. The measure adopted to secure uniformity in charges and to prevent smuggling and irregularities have been markedly successful, and there is every reason to believe that the salt revenue will show a progressive and substantial increase in future years.

The returns from land taxation were ridiculously inadequate before the establishment of the Republic, and the Government has taken the preliminary measures necessary to obtain increased revenue without adding heavily to the burden of the taxpayer. The late Sir Robert Hart estimated that a reformed land tax, if the entire proceeds were made available to the Central Government instead of a considerable percentage being diverted into the pockets of the tax collectors, would suffice to meet all the charges of the general administration of the Government and still leave a substantial surplus. Whether this be so or not, it is certain that it will be possible to increase the revenue from land taxation many fold.

In the past, while China's credit stood high in the foreign money markets, the Chinese people evinced a pronounced disinclination to subscribe to Chinese Government loans. The greatest significance, consequently, attaches to the over-subscription of a loan of \$16,000,000 issued by the Government in 1914 when Mr. Chow Tzu-chi was Minister of Finance. This must be regarded as an emphatic demonstration of the confidence of the people in the stability and good faith of the new regime, and will lead to a quickened interest in national affairs. Loans for railway construction and other purpose, rendered necessary by the cessation of financial supplies from Europe, were also enthusiastically taken up, and it has been clearly shown that the Chinese people have the desire and the ability to give substantial assistance in providing means for the development of the country.

The war interfered to a considerable extent with railway construction in China, and this is the more to be regretted as the railways are proving to be of invaluable service to the country both materially and morally. Many of the lines earn a large surplus after operating

and interest charges have been met, and still better results may be reasonably anticipated after the trunk lines have been completed. The development of the railway system will do a great deal towards breaking down the barriers of provincial prejudice which have retarded progress in the past and in raising the general educational level. The lack of system that formerly characterised the operations of the Board of Communications has given place to a settled policy. Abuses have been rectified, and it is being sought to secure the best results by the adoption of uniform methods in administrative matters. It may confidently be expected that when China, as she must, begins to develop on industrial lines the railways will provide the Government with an enormously increased revenue.

The encouragement of industries has been receiving attention. The tea trade, sericulture, fisheries, cotton raising, mining, and other industries which have suffered from neglect in the past are being systematically investigated, and improved methods are being inculcated by Government experts. A determined endeavour is being made by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce to bring home to the people engaged in these industries the necessity of adopting modern improvements, and useful work is being done by means of experimental stations and farms.

After centuries during which the policy of *laissez-faire* prevailed, China, is making a genuine effort to bring herself in line with more progressive nations. The task is of such magnitude that much time must elapse before definite results can be achieved. However, a beginning has been made on the right lines, and if aggression from without does not again throw the country into turmoil there is good reason to believe that China will in the future assume her proper place as the foremost nation in the Far East.

INDIAN STUDENTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

THE following are the recommendations of the Subcommittee of the London Advisory Committee for Indian Students which was appointed in October 1913 to enquire into the difficulties experienced by Indian students in the United Kingdom, and the Secretary of State's opinion thereon. The Subcommittee was constituted as follows:—

Sir M. M. Bhowmaggree, K.C.I.E. (Chairman),
Mr. Abbas Ali Baig, C. S. I.
Mr. C. A. Latif.
Major N. P. Sinha (Retired).
Mr. R. E. Field (Secretary).

LAW.

I. That the Secretary of State be approached with a view to bringing to the notice of the Inns of Court the hardship imposed upon students coming from India by laying down in their case a higher standard of admission, namely, an Indian University Degree, than that prescribed for English entrants, and to recommend the recognition of the Intermediate Examination of the Indian Universities for that purpose.

II. That certificates admissible under clause (a) of Regulation 2 (II) of the Regulations issued by the Council of Legal Education should be accepted in the case of Indian Students who have received or are receiving their education in the United Kingdom.

III. That it should be left to the option of a student to read in the chambers of a Barrister either in India or in this country either before or after his call to the Bar.

IV. That the LL.B. Degree of the London University should be recognised in the new rules of the Allahabad High Court.

V. That it is desirable to bring about as much uniformity as possible in the rules of the different High Courts in India relating to the enrolment of Advocates.

MEDICINE.

VI. That efforts should be made to secure the admission into the Medical Institutions in this country, and in London in particular, of a larger number of Indian students than is the case at present.

VII. That all possible influence be brought to bear on the Heads of Hospitals and Medical Schools to counteract the increasing racial prejudice on the part of European and especially of Colonial students, which operates to the disadvantage of Indian students.

ENGINEERING.

VIII. That in selecting candidates for appointment to the Imperial Public Works Department, the India Office should not follow such of the regulations of the Institution of Civil Engineers as run counter to those of the Universities in this country which have well-organised Engineering Faculties, and no undue preference should be given to the institution in this respect.

IX. That, with a view to securing increased facilities for the practical training of technical and industrial scholars, the Stores Department of the India Office, in accepting tenders for stores, should be requested to give preference, when all other conditions such as quality, price, &c., are equal, to the firms (of which a list should be kept) that may be willing to admit Indian students into their works for that purpose.

THE UNIVERSITIES.

X. That the Secretary of State should be approached with a request to secure the admission of a larger

proportion of Indian students into the Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge than these two Universities have shown a disposition to admit in recent years.

XI. That it should be made optional in the case of Indian students at Oxford to take up Latin or an Oriental classical language for the B. C. L. Degree.

XII. That the Intermediate Examination of Indian Universities should exempt Indian students from passing Responsions and the Previous Examination of Oxford and Cambridge, respectively.

XIII. That the bar against the admission of Indian students to the Officers' Training Corps attached to the various educational institutions should be removed.

THE STUDENTS' DEPARTMENT.

XIV. That the present system of recourse to the Students' Department for its intervention in securing the admission of students into educational institutions should be so modified as to admit of the credentials of applicants for entrance being considered on their own merits and independently by the authorities of the institutions concerned.

GUARDIANSHIP.

XV. That no compulsion should be exercised upon Indian students by the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge or any other educational institution, to place themselves under the guardianship of the Central Bureau or of the Local Advisers, and that the voluntary character of the scheme, as originally contemplated, should be maintained.

21, CROMWELL ROAD.

XVI. That two Indian gentlemen should be appointed to serve on the House Committee.

XVII. That the question of locating the Educational Adviser's Office elsewhere so as to enable more rooms in Cromwell House to be placed at the disposal of students, should receive careful consideration.

Opinion of the India Office on the Recommendations.

The following letter from the Under Secretary of State for India to the Secretary, Advisory Committee for Indian Students, London, contains the opinions of the India Office on the above recommendations.

31st March 1915.

SIR,

I am directed by the Secretary of State in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th February, forwarding the report of the Sub-Committee appointed in October 1913, to enquire into grievances of Indian students, and to express Lord Crewe's appreciation of the work which has been done and the trouble which has been taken by the Sub-Committee.

2. Many of the recommendations in the Report

have already engaged the close attention of the India Office. The question of the value to be attached in Great Britain to examinations passed in Indian Universities, referred to in Recommendation I and again in Recommendation XII of the Report, is one which the Secretary of State is prepared to ask the Government of India to bring to the notice of Indian Universities, with a view to action on their part if they think right. Of late years the tendency has been to decline to accept the Intermediate Examination of Indian Universities as equivalent to Responsions or the Previous Examination at Oxford and Cambridge, and to insist on an Indian Degree instead. The University of Oxford has since the beginning of 1912 required an Indian Degree to exempt Indian candidates from Responsions; the University of Cambridge is understood to be considering the subject now; and the Consolidated Regulations of the Inns of Court have, since the discontinuance of the Preliminary Examination in 1910, required an Indian Degree as one of the qualifications for the admission of students to the Inns of Court. But if the Indian Universities were able to convince the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge that the Indian Intermediate Examination ought generally to be regarded as equivalent to Responsions and the Previous Examination, it would, no doubt, carry great weight with the Council of Legal Education and the Inns of Court.

3. Recommendation II advocates a system which is already provided for by the Consolidated Regulations of the Inns of Court, and the attention of the Inns has already been drawn to the matter.

4. Recommendations III and V raise questions which have been the subject of correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Government of India since May 1911. In March, 1914, the Secretary of State proposed that these questions and others relating to the training of Indian Advocates should be considered in informal Conferences between representatives of the Indian High Courts and the authorities in this country. The first of such Conferences was held in London, under the Chairmanship of the Lord Chancellor, in June 1914, at which Judges of the Madras High Court were present, and arrangements were in progress for similar Conferences with representatives of the other Indian High Courts, when the outbreak of war compelled their postponement. Temporary delay is unavoidable, but it is proposed to resume these Conferences as soon as the war is over, and the points raised in the Sub-Committee's recommendations will then be considered again.

5. The attention of the High Court of the United Provinces has already been called to the point raised in Recommendation IV.

6. The policy advocated by the Sub-Committee in

Recommendations VI and VII has been the policy of the Secretary of State for sometime past. No opportunity is lost of urging upon the London Hospitals the claims of suitable Indian candidates, of endeavouring to secure greater facilities for them, and of discouraging any racial prejudice that may stand in their way. At the same time it should be borne in mind that over 70 Indian students were admitted to the principal London Hospital in the year ending on the 30th June 1914, and that outside London there are first-rate facilities for medical training to be obtained in several Medical Schools and Universities in England to which as yet very few Indian students have sought to obtain admission.

7. The course proposed by the Sub-Committee in Recommendation VIII has already been adopted by the Public Works Department, and the present regulations for candidates for that Department do recognise even though the Institution of Civil Engineers may not; the exemptions granted to Indian Graduates in Science by certain Universities in the United Kingdom.

3. Recommendation IX raises again a question which has more than once been brought to the notice of the Secretary of State. The Report proposes that the Stores Department of the India Office should in accepting tenders give a preference, when all other conditions are equal, to contractors who will undertake to offer facilities to Indian students. The Secretary of State adheres to the view that it would be contrary to the public interest to introduce conditions of this nature into the consideration of tenders and contracts, which must be treated on a business footing. This rule does not prevent the Stores Department, and has not deterred it in the past, from giving students introductions in a few special cases when they may be of use. But it would be a mistake to suppose that, even were the recommendations of the Sub-Committee adopted, the opportunities of Indian students as a whole would be substantially increased. Facilities for practical training in Civil Engineering on railways, bridges, docks, and roads are now undoubtedly difficult to secure in Great Britain, not for Indian students only, but for all students alike, because there is comparatively little new constructional work to be done, and in this respect it is very doubtful if the Stores Department could give much help. But practical training in other forms of Engineering, and in other technical and industrial pursuits, can generally be obtained by Indians without much difficulty, and without the agency of Stores Department, especially when the students are willing to take a thorough and continuous course. Competent and reliable students who will comply with the necessary conditions, spend the necessary time in workshops, and pay the fees which are in some cases required, ought not now to find serious difficulty in securing the oppor-

tunities they desire. The Local Advisers of the students' Department, especially in Manchester and Glasgow, have been very successful in securing practical facilities for Indian students in factories and workshops there, even without the payment of a fee; and, although trade customs and trade secrets may sometimes render manufacturers unwilling to admit any students, to whatever nation they belong, experience proves that British manufacturers are not as a whole unwilling to afford facilities to Indian students likely to use them well.

9. As regards Recommendations X and XV, the Secretary of State has during the last few years made strong representations to Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge with a view to securing more admissions for Indian students there, and, as a result of these representations and of the efforts of the Local Advisers, every College at Cambridge and every College with two exceptions at Oxford has now consented to reserve vacancies for Indian students. During the last six months the number of vacancies offered at certain Oxford Colleges has been sensibly increased, and every opportunity is being taken at both Universities to urge the claims of Indian students. But at the same time it should be realised that the response made to these claims, and the welcome afforded to Indian students at Oxford and Cambridge, will always depend principally on themselves. Every Indian student, who wins good opinions by his conduct and abilities at Oxford and Cambridge, strengthens the case for the admission of others. Any students, on the other hand, who fail in these respects inevitably prejudice the claims of others. The College system at Oxford and Cambridge is a thing by itself, and each College has its own rules and requirements, which students who join it are expected to accept. So long as several Colleges make it a condition that Indian students whom they admit should be placed under the financial guardianship of the Local Adviser, students who desire to enter those Colleges must comply with the condition, and the Secretary of State can only provide machinery which may enable them to do so.

10. As regards Recommendation XI, the Secretary of State is not prepared to ask the authorities of Oxford University to dispense with the study of Latin, if they regard it as a necessary part of the training, in the case of the B. C. L. Degree.

11. The question of the admission of Indian students to the Officer's Training Corps at British Universities, referred to in Recommendation XIII, is one which has lately engaged the close attention of the Secretary of State for India, who has brought it to the notice of the Secretary of State for War. But it is one of several military questions which can only receive adequate

consideration from the military authorities after the conclusion of the War.

12. As regards Recommendation XIV, the Secretary of State, while desiring that all applications from Indian students should be considered on their merits, thinks it would be inadvisable, in the interests of students themselves, to invite English educational institutions to consider their applications wholly without reference to the India Office. Some English institutions are at present willing to admit Indian candidates only if the India Office will afford help in regard to their applications, and the power to admit is in their hands. An official intimation of the kind suggested to these institutions could only, his Lordship fears, be prejudicial to the candidature of the students for whom an opportunity of entrance has to be obtained.

13. As regards Recommendations XVI and XVII, the former has already been adopted, and the latter will be carefully considered.

14. Subject to such observations as are indicated above, the Secretary of State will endeavour to further the Sub-Committee's Recommendations, and he is prepared to publish their Report as they desire, but with this reply attached, in such form as will render it available to the students and institutions interested.

IMMIGRANT LABOUR IN ASSAM.

THE following is the Resolution issued by the Chief Commissioner of Assam on Immigrant Labour in Assam, during 1914-15 :—

This resolution deals with the labour force imported for employment on the tea-gardens in Assam, in the oil refinery at Digboi, in coal mines and in certain saw-mills. The labour employed on railways is excluded and no account is taken of those labourers who are temporarily employed during the cold weather and return to their homes in April and May. There was a considerable increase in the number of immigrants. Mortality during transit, though higher than in the previous year, was still low, and the health of the tea-garden population was good. An important feature of the year was the enactment in the Imperial Legislative Council of the Assam Labour and Emigration (Amendment) Act (VIII of 1915) under which the system of recruitment by contractors was abolished, and a Labour Board for the supervision of local agents and of the recruitment, engagement and emigration to labour districts of natives of India under the Assam Labour and Emigration Act, VI of 1901, was constituted. Major W. M. Kennedy, I.A., has been appointed Chairman of the Board. The labour districts provisions of Act VI

of 1901 were also withdrawn from the four upper districts of the Brahmaputra Valley with effect from July 1st 1915.

At the close of the year the total strength of the labour force was 879,330, showing an increase of 32,761 over the figures of the preceding year. Free labour is rapidly displacing indentured labour, and at the end of the year the number of labourers under Act VI contracts was only 8,181, which represents only 1.5 per cent. of the total number of adult labourers. Of the total labour force 64.95 per cent. was employed in the Assam Valley and 35.05 per cent. in the Surma Valley. There was again practically no change in the distribution of the labour population according to nationality and sex. Of the adults 78 per cent. were natives of Chota Nagpur, the Santhal Parganas and the plains districts of the United Provinces and Bengal. The proportion of women was 42.12 per cent. of the Act labourers and 48.37 of the non-Act labourers, while the percentage of children was 39.71 of the total strength. The area under tea cultivation rose from 366,842 to 375,351 acres. There was very little change in the number of adults employed per acre, the district average varying from 1.01 in Kamrup to 1.73 in Lakhimpur. These figures, of course, take no account of local labour available from outside the gardens.

IMMIGRATION.

The number of persons immigrating during the year was considerably higher than in any of the preceding four years. There was a substantial increase in immigration from the Santhal Parganas and Chota Nagpur and from the plains districts of the United Provinces and Bengal. There were, however, fewer arrivals from the Central Provinces and Madras. The health of the coolies in transit was again good. The number of deaths was 42, as compared with 32 in 1913-14, the majority being due to cholera. The Chief Commissioner is pleased to note that the number of cases of fraudulent and irregular recruitment fell from 101, in the previous year to 81, of which only 29 were found on investigation to be true.

CONTRACTS AND WAGES.

The number of coolies executing contracts in the recruiting districts decreased from 3,776 to 2,465. The contracts of 46 coolies recruited for Sylhet, which were referred to in the last year's resolution, were cancelled at the beginning of the year. The number of contracts cancelled by the efflux of time was 2,455 against 2,479. These were regularly reported in all districts except Sibsagar where seven managers had to be warned for the omission to report expiries regularly. Three hundred and fifty-three contracts were dissolved by mutual consent against 552 in the preceding year. Darrang alone is

responsible for 243 of these. Many of the coolies whose contracts were thus cancelled subsequently took Act XIII agreements, twenty-three contracts were cancelled under Section 181 for permanent unfitness and one under Section 19 for irregular recruitment. The option of repatriation was given to 108 coolies and was accepted by 96. Act XIII of 1859 continued to be largely used and is again reported to have worked satisfactorily on the whole. Labourers whose contracts under Act VI have expired and free-labourers on reaching the gardens generally execute agreements under Act XIII of 1859 and enjoy all the privileges conferred by contracts under Act VI. In most districts managers rely almost entirely on the moral effect of these agreements and seldom institute criminal proceedings if the agreements are broken.

VITAL STATISTICS.

The recorded birth-rate was 25.9 per mille calculated on the total strength of the coolie population and 88.8 per mille on the adult female population, the figures for the preceding year being 25.5 and 86.6 respectively. The recorded provincial birth-rate was 32.94 per mille of the total population and 177.71 per mille of the total adult female population.

For the total labour force the registered death-rate was 24.2 in 1914-15 against 24.7 in 1913-14, the number of deaths being 20,876 against 20,577. The rate among adults was 27.7 as against 28.2 in the preceding year. The highest death-rate (34.8) was recorded in Darrang and the lowest (23.0) in Cachar. As a result of the enquiry made by the Deputy Sanitary Commissioner with the object of bringing the Sanitary Department into closer relation with the tea industry, to which a reference was made in the last year's resolution, it has been decided that the monthly returns of births and deaths on tea gardens should be forwarded to the Sanitary Commissioner after being dealt with by the Civil Surgeon of the district, and should be supplemented by an annual return giving figures for the garden population which, together with the monthly returns, will enable the Sanitary Commissioner to watch the health conditions on every garden. As regards the suggestion that the inspection of unhealthy gardens should be performed by the Sanitary Commissioner, it has been decided that such inspections shall ordinarily be carried out, as at present, by the Civil Surgeon, the inspection reports being submitted to the Sanitary Commissioner for any suggestions which he may have to make. In special cases, however, it will be within the competence of the Divisional Commissioner to desire the Sanitary Commissioner to make the inspection.

The mean strength of the total Act labour force and the number of deaths from the chief diseases are shown in the following table. Dysentery, anæmia and respira-

tory diseases were responsible for the greatest number of deaths :—

Mortality among Act-labourers from principal diseases.

	1913-15.	1914-15
Mean strength	... 10,678	9,087
Death from —		
Cholera	... 22	20
Diarrhoea	... 50	32
Dysentery	... 163	145
Malarial fever	... 34	17
Anæmia	... 118	69
Respiratory diseases	... 88	42
Other causes	... 153	144
Total	... 618	469

UNHEALTHY GARDENS.

Gardens are classed as unhealthy when the mortality either of the total garden population, or of the Act or non-Act coolies taken separately, exceeds 7 per cent. and the total number of deaths is not less than ten. During the year under review the number of gardens on the unhealthy list decreased from ten to five, four of which were in Sibsagar and one in Lakhimpur. Four of them have been in the unhealthy list for three years in succession.

OFFENCES AND PROSECUTIONS.

There were three complaints of ill-treatment made by coolies against their employers during the year. One was found to be true and the other two were dismissed. Four hundred and seventeen applications for discharge certificates were filed of which 215 were successful. One thousand three hundred and eleven cases were instituted by Managers under Act XIII of 1859, 324 being decided in favour of the complainants and 904 being dismissed; ninety coolies were sent to prison. Ten cases of riot or unlawful assembly and five charges of assault were instituted by Managers. The most serious cases were :—(1) the murder of the Assistant Manager of Samaguti, Tea Estate in Nowgong; (2) an attack by coolies on the Assistant Manager of Kamarbandha, Tea Estate in Sibsagar; (3) a riot on the Teliapara, Tea Estate in Habiganj. Generally speaking, the relations between employers and employed were excellent.

The number of desertions of Act-labourers reported was 979. One hundred and twelve warrants were issued for the arrest of deserters; arrests were effected in 82 cases and 19 coolies were convicted, ten being punished with imprisonment.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The number of gardens at the close of the year was 748. One garden was amalgamated with its parent garden in Cachar. Four new gardens were opened in Sylhet

and one in Sibsagar. The number of gardens liable to inspection during the year was 852 and of these 848 were inspected. The omission to inspect the remaining four gardens requires explanation. The amount of capitation fees realised during the year under review was Rs. 4,801 against Rs. 5,395 in the previous year. The relations between planters and neighbouring villagers are reported to have been generally good.

At the close of the year under review the area of Government land settled direct with time-expired coolies was 213,850 against 197,137 acres in the preceding year and 10,421 acres are also reported to be held by these people as sub-tenants in the Assam Valley. In the Lakhimpur District, 7,290 acres of Government land have been settled with Managers on special nine years' leases to provide their coolies with cultivation. The figures showing land settled on these leases in other districts have not been reported. They should be reported from all districts next year.

Receipts during the year amounted to Rs. 9,323 and disbursements to Rs. 42633.

IMMIGRATION IN JAMAICA 1914-15.

THE following are extracts from the Report of the Immigration Department of Jamaica for the year ended the 31st March 1915 :—

There were no arrivals during the year. There were no return passages, no ships being available. During the year twenty-three immigrants were released from indenture on the ground of ill-health. Twelve immigrants commuted their indentures by money payments to their employers in respect of the unexpired periods of their indentured service. There were no re-indentures of immigrants.

VITAL STATISTICS.

The total number of deaths was 49 and of births 41, the percentage of deaths being 1.58 as compared with 2.19 last year. The reduction in the death-rate is satisfactory, particularly in the number of deaths from Malarial Fever and Pnthisis, which during last year accounted for 32 immigrants. There were only two deaths from Ankylostomiasis. On no single estate did more than two deaths occur so that the surroundings of the immigrants may be regarded as healthy. There were two suicides during the year.

WORK AND WAGES.

The weekly average for the whole Island works out as follows :—

	1913-14.	1914-15.
Men ...	... 6/8½	6/2½
Women ...	... 4/8½	4/5½

It will be observed that the earnings are slightly less than they were during the previous year. This is chiefly owing to the very serious drought in the principal banana parishes. The Director of Agriculture in his Annual Report refers to it as "a period of unexampled drought, and the most serious recorded in the past half century." In the other parishes, where the sugar estates are situated, there was, until quite recently, in addition to the want of rain, great anxiety on account of the low price of sugar. Owing to this 126 indentured immigrants were at the request of their employers transferred to other parishes. It also became necessary to transfer forty indentured immigrants from Phoenix Estate in Hanover to properties in St. Mary. The average earnings were further reduced by the delay in releasing from indenture immigrants certified as unfit for agricultural labour who had to be kept on the estates' books until the applications had been dealt with. Whenever it has appeared that the earnings are unsatisfactory, the cause has been closely enquired into and steps taken to apply a remedy.

During the drought period work was found for all the second term immigrants who applied to me. Many of these left the estates on which they were located, there being no work for them to do. The Department got in touch with employers in districts which were better situated and assisted these immigrants, many of whom were at the end of their savings. The present demand for labour on sugar estates is such that there is no difficulty in finding employment, and earnings now show a marked improvement which I feel sure will be maintained. It has not hitherto been customary to keep statistics showing the cost of living and the surplus available to immigrants. As a general rule the weekly expenditure of an immigrant on food and clothing is from two shillings to two shillings and six pence. The average earnings being for males, six shillings and two pence farthing (6/2½), and females four shillings and five pence farthing (4/5½), there should be substantial savings, but I regret to state that gambling is very prevalent in spite of action which I have taken to put it down. The Chitta System also, which I have endeavoured to stop, is responsible for a great deal of loss which might otherwise go to the credit of immigrants in the Governments Savings Bank. In spite of this, however, nearly £18,000 was deposited during the year. Owing to the war the price of rice has risen slightly, and it is now sold by the weight instead of by the quart as previously. This has given cause for immigrants to make exaggerated complaints as to the increase in cost of living. I consider that the tendency of immigrants who have completed their indenture to leave the country parts and engage in casual work in Kingston, is prejudicial and should be discouraged. It leads to competition with local labour which has always regarded coal and banana carrying and such occupations as its

own perquisite, and it removes a valuable class of labour from the agricultural districts. Besides this it reduces the inclination of the immigrant to seek regular employment and weakens his capacity as a wage-earner.

CRIMES AND OFFENCES.

A comparison of the convictions during the past five years given below shows that order and control is maintained without excessive punishment :—

	1910-11.	1911-12.	1912-13.	1913-14.	1914-15.
Convictions before the Resident Magistrates	96	170	202	241	343
Percentage of population	3.31	6.00	4.86	6.02	8.77
Convictions before Protector	291	320	296	398	324
Percentage of population	10.00	11.26	7.12	9.95	8.28

Among the more serious crimes and offences committed by indentured immigrants during the year, the following may be mentioned. Chedda, No. 406 ex "Indus" 1911, of Tremolseworth Estate, killed Basharam, his wife and a male immigrant named Chrooni. This double murder was apparently unpremeditated and as usual was committed from motives of jealousy. The penalty of death was duly paid.

Nowahdin, No. 342 ex "Mutlah" 1912, of Frontier, was sentenced to two years' penal servitude for wounding with intent to murder. The victim recovered, but had to be released from indenture. Among the charges brought by employers against indentured labourers for breaches of the Immigration Laws, the following may be mentioned. On Money Musk a labourer refused to do work given to him and struck at a Book-keeper when demonstrated with. A similar case occurred at Bog Estate. At Hyde an immigrant refused to complete his task and attempted to incite others to follow his example. At Paradise twenty immigrants were charged with assaulting the headman. Six of them were found guilty and punished, but the headman not being a suitable person to be put in charge of indentured immigrants, his dismissal was procured. The usual incorrigibles who always evade work had to be punished for wilful indolence. Domestic quarrels, the outcome of which if not taken firmly in hand often lead to serious consequences, are matters requiring patient and judicious treatment. Several of such cases were dealt with, the remedy usually being the transfer of one or other of the contending parties to distant estates. There were no proceedings necessary by this Department against employers. A few complaints were made by immigrants as to the price of tasks. These were duly investigated, but in the majority of cases the complaint was not sustained.

During the year 36 desertions of indentured immigrants were reported. Sixteen of the indentured immigrants at Hopewell left the estate having refused to complete the tasks allotted to them. They were absent for twenty-four hours and returned to work. After investigation they were all punished with a small fine, this being the second occurrence. At Osborne there was a strike of a few hours owing to a frivolous cause. The coolies were warned and went back to work cheerfully.

NEW LEGISLATION.

There was no new legislation during the year.

FREE INDIANS.

A statement furnished by the Honourable Collector General is attached showing the value and extent of property owned by East Indian Immigrants in the Island. This statement is only approximate and does not fully represent the true value of the property. It will be seen that there are a large number of landholders. I estimate that the accumulated wealth of East Indians in this Island cannot fall short of £100,000. On the expiration of their indenture the immigrants by "Mutlah" and "Sutlej" were informed of the terms of the Crown Lands Scheme and advised to acquire land. It is doubtful, however, if any have followed this advice as those who have money prefer to acquire high priced land in good localities or to purchase a ready-made vegetable garden near Kingston, where they can earn a modest living at the expenditure of a minimum amount of energy by cultivating market-garden produce. No crop statistics are available.

SAVINGS OF IMMIGRANTS.

The number of immigrant depositors in the Government Savings Bank on the 31st March, 1915, was 1,497 and the amount at their credit was £17,879-19-6.

The following return shows the number at East Indian Immigrants who had deposit accounts in the Government Savings Bank during the last four years for which the figures are available and the amount at credit.

Year.	Number of Depositors.	Amount at Deposit.
1911-12	1,289	£ 15,117
1912-13	1,411	17,586
1913-14	1,547	18,212
1914-15	1,497	17,880

The sum of £203-0-6 was remitted to India by Immigrants during the year.

EDUCATION.

Thirteen orphans and children of East Indian Immigrants were residing at and being cared for in Government Industrial Schools at the close of the year. At the Happy Grove Industrial School good progress has been made by the children and the greatest interest is taken in their welfare by the ladies who conduct the Institution which has been established in a beautiful situation overlooking the sea near Manchioneal. This School as well as the Elementary Schools at Fellowship and Buff Bay are conducted by the Society of Friends.

The total number of children thus cared for in their three special East Indian Schools is 81. Some of the children admitted are infants deserted by their parents or orphans. They are kept up to the age of 16 and in some cases are allowed to remain longer. The total number of free East Indian children attending Elementary Schools in the Island is about 800. The exact number cannot be given as the Education Department does not keep separate returns.

GENERAL REMARKS.

An order for 1,040 immigrants had been forwarded in the month of March, 1914, but owing to the outbreak of war and the difficulty of obtaining transport from India, recruitment was suspended. At the same time the conditions induced by the war during the year made it inexpedient for planters to add to their indentured labour. The indent has therefore been cancelled and up to the present time there has been no indication of a disposition on the part of planters to renew applications for immigrants.

During the months of February and March 1915, the immigrants by "Sutlej" and "Mutlah" 1910, completed their period of indenture. Most of them remained on the estates to which they were indentured. All those who applied to me were immediately despatched to estates where work was available.

I have noticed a marked improvement in the physical condition of the immigrants during the year and there has been a great reduction in the cases of sores and ulcers. It is possible that this is due to acclimatisation of the last arrivals, but I attribute it to a large extent to the prompt treatment on estates of trivial ailments such as cuts and bruises, itch, colds and coughs, constipation and diarrhoea, which have hitherto been treated at the Public General Hospitals involving loss of time to the estates and to the labourers.

The following circular over the signature of the Acting Protector of Immigrants, Mr. F. N. Isaacs, dated the 17th April, 1914, on the subject was sent to employers:—

SIR,

On recent inspections of indentured immigrants I was greatly impressed with the waste of time and consequent loss of money both to the proprietor and the labourer on account of trivial ailments, cuts, bruises, etc., which might, apparently, be effectively treated on the estate instead of being sent to the Hospital or District Medical Officer.

2. The Medical Department is willing to furnish a supply of medicaments and dressings with simple directions for use to managers who will signify to me in writing their willingness to have them applied by a responsible person on the estate and to keep a record of immigrants so treated.

3. It should be understood that I make this suggestion chiefly in the interests of proprietors, there being no provision in the law for the treatment of indentured immigrants on estates, and the privilege would be liable to withdrawal at any time on the order of the D. M. O. or Protector of Immigrants.

4. The immigrant would not be thereby deprived of his right to demand hospital treatment should he desire it, and in the case of such as appear to be physically unfit for work a medical examination would be necessary.

Labour at Home and Abroad.

BY ECONOMISTE.

The year 1914-15 was, as regards trade, of absorbing and compelling interest. It was full of remarkable events, and may be conveniently divided into two well-defined periods—the pre-war period of four months (April to July), and the war period of eight months (August to March). In spite of such adverse circumstances as a partial failure of the winter rains in the United Provinces, a continuance of Bank failures in Northern and Western India, and a glut of piecegoods, circumstances which were largely a legacy from the previous year, trade in the first four months of the year under review was on the whole prosperous. The south-west monsoon was good, and this gave great promise of agricultural prosperity. It is true, however, that there was a decline in imports in April, May, and July as compared with the previous year, and the trade returns of the first four months of 1914-15 tend to give the impression that the climax of the great trade prosperity of the previous two years had been already reached, as in the case of the United Kingdom where a distinct falling-off in trade became visible as early as April 1914. At the end of July 1914, trade was still on a level that would have been reckoned extremely high in any year prior to 1912 or 1913, and owing to the propitious monsoon a good year's trade was looked on as almost a certainty.

It was not to be expected that India, now linked up closely to world markets, would escape the shock of war. The effects of war on overseas, coasting, and inland trade, although less severe than in the case of belligerent and even some neutral countries, were at once considerable and far-reaching. The extent of the catastrophe is shown by an examination of the monthly trade returns. The falling-off in value of our exports in 1914-15 was nearly as great as the entire exports of raw jute and raw cotton in 1913-14. Exports of merchandise in the eight months, August to March, fell off as compared with the corresponding months of the previous year as follows:—from Rs. 166 crores (£110·6 millions) in 1913-14 to Rs. 95 crores (£63·8 millions) in 1914-15, or by Rs. 71 crores (£47·3 millions) or 48 per cent. Imports fell off in the same period from Rs. 127 crores (£85 millions) to Rs. 88 crores (£55 millions) or 34 per cent. It will be seen that when the first shock of war had spent itself, trade tended

to adapt itself to new conditions, and a new equilibrium, although an unstable one, established itself after October. In order to envisage the problem and to realise the injury to our export and import trade, it is necessary to study the monthly imports and exports. Both in imports and exports the lowest figures were in September. The totals for October showed approximately the same level as those for August. Imports fell towards the end of the year from Rs. 12 crores in October to Rs. 9 crores in March. Exports, however, fell until the end of January, and the increase shown in the previous year for January over December did not take place. Exports, including re-exports, fell from Rs. 19½ crores in July to Rs. 8 crores in September—the lowest level reached in the year under review, and the lowest monthly export since September 1900. In November they had risen to Rs. 16 crores and fell off again to about Rs. 11½ crores in January. In February, notwithstanding the short number of working days, exports, including re-exports, rose to over Rs. 15 crores, and in March, the last month of report, they stood at Rs. 14 crores. The classes under imports, which suffered most, were food, drink and tobacco, articles wholly or mainly manufactured, and under exports, food, drink and tobacco, raw materials, and articles wholly or mainly manufactured.

The closing of markets on the cessation of commercial relations with enemy countries, the curtailment of trade with France and Belgium, the restriction of trade with neutral nations, the scarcity of tonnage, and the dislocation of the world's exchanges were the chief influences at work, which reduced the volume of India's overseas trade. Before the outbreak of war, Germany both in the import and export trade, was India's best customer after the United Kingdom, 10·8 per cent. of the total export trade in 1913-14 going to Germany, as against 23·7 per cent. to the United Kingdom, and of the import trade 6·9 per cent. coming from Germany as against 64·1 per cent. from the United Kingdom. The chief articles of export to Germany were food grains, raw cotton, raw jute, seeds, and hides and skins; and the chief imports were metals, hardware, cotton and woollen manufactures, glass and glassware, dyes, and machinery. It will be seen that the shutting-off of Indian exports to enemy countries was more serious than the closing of the import trade. This was so for two reasons:—firstly because of the

greater value of the exports, and secondly because, while the imports were largely capable of replacement from other sources, the closing of these markets for Indian produce concurrently with the curtailment of trade with France, Belgium, and neutrals resulted in a fall in the value of important staples such as cotton, jute, oilseeds, etc. The effect of war on the cotton industry of Western India is already well-known. When the war broke out there were heavy stocks of piecegoods, and a considerable amount of capital locked up in connection therewith. The world price of raw cotton fell, and the price was further threatened by the fact that the Indian crop was a good one. Government, however, decided to facilitate an extension of credit which would prevent the unloading of stocks at ruinous prices, and at the same time supply capital required for new undertakings. They arranged, as in the previous year, to place a larger portion of the treasury balances at the disposal of trade through the Presidency Banks, and also announced their readiness to make loans to the latter, if necessary, for the assistance of trade generally. The oilseed industry, especially in Madras, suffered from the cessation of demand, especially on the part of France. The stoppage in the demand for oilseeds, for example, by the mills at Marseilles, etc., which import large quantities of Indian oilseeds, especially groundnuts, which are required for the manufacture of table oil, led to a fall in the price of oilseeds. In addition to these important influences affecting the direction and volume of our seaborne trade, there were others of almost equal importance. The necessary restrictions in regard to the export of certain articles, imposed to prevent supplies reaching our enemies through neutral countries and also to make Indian supplies more easily available for military requirements, led to the curtailment of exports, including jute (raw and manufactured) hides and skins, wool, etc. The shortage of shipping owing to the necessity of taking up vessels for military transport, the disappearance of the German mercantile marine from the seas (a loss which neutral shipping was not extensive enough to supplement), and the raids of the *Emden* also checked the free export of commodities, as did, too, the general disturbance of the world's exchanges. When all these influences have been considered, it is surprising that the shock of war did not produce a greater decrease in the total value of our import and export trade.

A summary of the principal emergency measures with reference to trade illustrate the more important difficulties that arose in the eight months ending March 1914. The Impressment of Vessels Ordinance (II of 1915) provides for the tempo-

rary impressment of vessels; the Commercial Inter-course with the Enemies Ordinance (VI of 1914) prohibits financial and other dealings with any enemy state; and the Articles of Commerce Ordinance (IX of 1914) makes it possible to obtain information as to the stocks of articles of commerce, and stocks unreasonably withheld from the market can be taken over by Government or its officers. In addition to these emergency measures of a commercial nature, are those relating to finance. On the 3rd August Government announced that they would support exchange by all the means in their power, and in pursuance of this, sterling bills on London, or "reverse bills," were sold, when necessary, up to a maximum limit of £1 million a week. This was, it may be said, the first occasion on which it was undertaken beforehand to maintain sales on an ample scale. To adapt the system still more fully to trade requirements Government combined with the sale of bills the practice of selling telegraphic transfers, or in other words, provided a guarantee of immediate remittance when required. It was also arranged that bills should be payable in London 16 days after the departure of the weekly mail. This eliminated the uncertainty at the time of possible delay in the arrival of the bills by mail steamer. In view of the necessity for conserving all available resources for the support of exchange, no gold was to be issued in amounts of less than £10,000 for any individual applicant. In the words of the Hon'ble Finance Member, "the object of this was to secure what we thought would be a rough test as between applications for gold for eventual remittance purposes and those which were merely for hoarding or for local requirements. This limitation, however, was defeated by various individuals and firms clubbing together so as to make between them a demand which conformed to our minimum." On the 5th August the issue of gold in India was altogether refused to private persons. Steps were also taken to strengthen the Gold Standard Reserve by exchanging £4 millions of silver held therein in India for an equivalent quantity of gold previously held in the Indian portion of the Paper Currency Reserve. These were, in short, the more important emergency measures found necessary at the outbreak of war.

The characteristics of the year 1914-15 may be summed up briefly as follows:—Trade in the first four months of the official year was not so prosperous as in the preceding year. There was a noticeable falling-off in imports of nearly 4 per cent. in April, 5 per cent. in May, and 3 per cent. in July. The monsoon, however, was exceptionally favourable, and at the end of July a year of favourable trade was reasonably anticipated. With the

outbreak of war in August trade received a severe shock, but not so severe a shock as was expected. Emergency measures of a financial and commercial nature were quickly enacted to meet the exceptional and unprecedented events. Exports fell off, as compared with the corresponding months of the previous year, 45 per cent. in August, 61 per cent. in September, 54 per cent. in October, 17 per cent. in November, and 32 per cent. in December; while the percentage decrease in imports was in August 20, in September 56, in October 25, in November 27, and in December 29. After September a new, although an unstable, equilibrium was reached. In the succeeding months of the year trade continued to adapt itself more and more to war conditions.

Prices in 1914-15 were of considerable importance and interest. Before the outbreak of war the prices of cereals, pulses, and oilseeds except linseed, were on the whole above the level of the previous year, while raw cotton and raw jute were below that level. After the outbreak of war the prices of country produce were unfortunately subject to great changes. The curtailment, and in some cases the complete stoppage of demand in European markets, led to a fall in Indian staples, such as rice, oilseeds, raw jute, and raw cotton. The average price of rice at the end of March 1915 was 12 per cent. lower than in the period just previous to the outbreak of war. Jawar, bajra, and maize were also cheaper on account of excellent harvests. Raw jute had fallen from the high level of the previous year to a price 33 per cent. below the level at the outbreak of war. In the same period raw cotton fell 32 per cent., sesamum 24 per cent. and linseed 13 per cent. With wheat, gram, barley, and arhar dal it was otherwise. Wheat rose in February (owing to the rise in world markets and in spite of bumper harvests) to its maximum of 45 per cent. above the level prevailing in the last fortnight of July 1914. Imported sugar and imported salt rose more than other articles of import. On 31st March 1915 Java sugar was selling in Calcutta at Rs11-12 annas per maund, or 74 per cent. above the level of July 1914. The rise in imported sugar was due to the diversion of Java and Mauritius sugar to the United Kingdom. Liverpool salt (ex golah) in the last week of March 1915 was selling in Calcutta at Rs. 105 per 100 maunds, or 106 per cent. above the level of the outbreak of war. The declared unit values (which are wholesale market prices) of selected imports and exports are given in tables Nos. 42-43 on page 124 in part (ii) of this Report. The marginal table summarises the results for the year under review so far as 61 articles of the import trade and 50 articles of the export trade are concerned.

From an examination of the returns of wages in selected industries, it appears that in 1915 there was an increase of two per cent. as compared with the corresponding period of 1914. The selected industries were the cotton industry of Bombay, the woollen industry of Cawnpore, the jute, paper, and mining (coal) industries of Bengal, the tea industry of Assam, the rice industry of Rangoon, and the brewing industry of the Punjab. It is true that on the outbreak of war there was for a time considerable unemployment in the cotton and in a less degree in the jute trades. As is well-known, however, the worker in an Indian factory is usually, if not always, bound to the soil by ties of affection, and returns to his home, when necessary, especially before the arrival of the monsoon to prepare the soil. The effects of unemployment are, therefore, less severe, than in western countries. After the first shock of war in August and September there was considerable activity in the jute industry, owing to the demand for bags and other jute manufactures for commercial and military purposes. Employment was good, and wages were on a high level in the woollen industry, which had large war contracts on hand. The rise in the Bombay cotton industry was 3 per cent.; in the jute industry one per cent.; and in the woollen industry 12 per cent. No rise occur in the paper, rice, or coal industries in the year under review. In the tea industry there was an increase of one per cent. Table No. 50 on page 125 gives the rates for the last three years for the different classes of wage earners in the selected industries.

We learn from a contemporary that the Bureau of Science of the Philippine Government is making a study of the plant known as *Blumea balsamifera*, known by the natives in the Philippines as "sambon" or "gabuen," and which produces camphor. The shrub is one of the most common weeds in the Philippines. It grows from 5 ft. to 8 ft. high, with a stem almost woody in texture, and has long been used by the natives of the Philippines, as well as by natives of China, for medicinal purposes. The Chinese in parts of Kwangtung and Kwangsi Provinces already distil considerable camphor from the plant, the chief drawback to the more extensive use of it being the amount of labour necessary to secure the gum. It is well to note in this connection that the Bureau of Forestry at Manila is in reducing the ordinary camphor tree of China and Japan into the mountain districts of Luzon in large numbers for the purpose of building up future camphor production in the islands.

The imports of camphor into India during the year 1914-15 rose by 4 lakhs to 18½ lakhs. The Review of Trade of India for the last year points out that by reason of the introduction of celluloid manufacturing on a large scale in Japan, the threatened exhaustion in two or three decades of the camphor forests of Formosa, and by the inability to secure the synthetic product in sufficient quantities from Germany, the supply of camphor is uncertain. Under these conditions it will be worth while introducing this camphor tree in Indian forests. The question of climate for the rearing up of this tree does not present any difficulty inasmuch as India has a great variety of climates, ranging from the cold and the mild clime of the hills to the extremes of temperature of the plains.

Indian Planters might very well try an experiment in this new industry and open a new field for the manufacture of celluloid and artificial leather for which camphor is largely used.

In view of the shortage of tanning extracts in English tanneries, says the *Chamber of Commerce Journal*, the forest authorities of the Federated Malay States and Straits Settlements have been carrying out investigations with a view to directing the attention of British manufacturers to the possibilities of the development of an export trade in cutch from Malaya. A reference to the trade statistics of the Straits Settlements shows that in 1913 there were imported into the ports of the Colony 2,183 tons of cutch, valued at £80,337. Almost the whole of this valuable commodity came from Brunei, in the island of Borneo. Of the total, less than a fourth was exported to the United Kingdom. About half went to Germany, and the United States was the other large consumer, followed, a long way behind, by Denmark and Spain. There seems to be no reason why British manufacturers should not take the place hitherto occupied by the German and American users, still less reason for the Malay Peninsula not contributing to the world's requirements in this particular trade. The Conservator of Forests, Federated Malay States and Straits Settlements, has been carrying out the official investigations. He reports that there is an area of about 250 square miles of mangrove forest on the coast of the States of Perak and Selangor. There are nine predominant species of mangrove, and of these six are of value in the production of cutch. The whole forest is now a Government-reserved forest, and is systematically worked for firewood only. No attempt has ever been made to work the mangrove bark for cutch. All the bark is at present a waste product, with the exception of a small quantity used locally for dyeing fishing nets and sails. The forests are intersected by innumerable creeks and streams, which render trans-

port easy. With the Governments of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States ready to encourage the growth of new industries, there would thus appear to be an opportunity, arising out of the British manufacturer's necessity, for some one to initiate and foster a trade in cutch from a portion of the Empire which has been coming more and more into public notice in recent years. Shipping facilities from the Straits to England are regular, and not only could the present requirements of the Mother Country be satisfied, but there is now an excellent opportunity of taking up a comparatively undeveloped industry.

President William Sproule of the Southern Pacific Company, in addressing the American Association of Railroad Superintendents at San Francisco last August, epigrammatically summarized in the following words the object and effect of an International Exposition :

"If there is one thing above another taught us by a great Exposition, it is that all the influences of mankind work together for the common good ; that the communing of people of varied interests and from various parts of the country, in their common intercourse in an exposition city, is not only of benefit to them for purposes of instruction and of recreation, but is of immediate benefit to the community which these people from abroad, speaking in a large sense, make their common concourse."

OBITUARY.

An Early Indian Colonist.

Death has claimed one more of the very few early Indian Colonists in South Africa in the death of Mrs. Mary Peters who passed away at the residence of her son-in-law Mr. Dan. Samuel, at Lorne Street, Durban, after a short illness. The deceased was an old Indian pioneer having come to Natal by the sailing vessel *Lord George Bentwick*, which reached this port on her last fateful voyage on the 24th December 1860. Mrs. Peters was then about 18 years of age and during the last 55 years she has witnessed Durban and its environs undergo many changes. Her husband predeceased her some 37 years ago ; since then she has lived with her youngest son, Mr. Anthony H. Peters, now of the City Court, Maritzburg. In life she was unostentatious, kind to those in need and charitable in her actions. As a Christian she was a regular member of the Roman Catholic Church. She leaves behind her to mourn her death two sons, two daughters, 21 grandchildren and 9 great grandchildren. The cortege was followed by a large procession of Indians to the Emanuel Cathedral and thence to the Roman Catholic Cemetery where a large number of well-known Indians and Europeans attended.

Supplement to the "Indian Emigrant."



A COSMOPOLITAN MEET IN FIJI.
(Indians, Europeans, Chinese & Fijians)

Doctor M. MANI LAL, M.A.,
The only Indian Barrister practising in Fiji is seen seated in the centre of the Char a Banc.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Indians in Fiji.

Messrs. C. F. Andrews and W. W. Pearson arrived in Adelaide on October 11th and went on from thence to Melbourne and Sydney and New Zealand, interviewing the leading Australian statesmen concerning the conditions of Indian labour in Fiji and the future of the Colony. They have been received everywhere with the utmost cordiality, and great sympathy has been expressed with the object of their visit. The time of their arrival was in every way favourable, as Australians have opened their hearts to India on account of the bravery and endurance of the Indian troops in the Dardanelles side by side with those of Australia and New Zealand. The splendid loyalty of India has also very greatly impressed the public mind. There has been on all sides recently a growing consideration for the claims of India to be taken into wider comradeship than that of arms.

The future of Fiji is vital to Australia because it is the advanced naval base in the Pacific almost equidistant between Australia and New Zealand. It forms, as it were, the "Heligoland" of Australia and thoughtful Australians feel that its population should be given the best possible conditions of life and work. It was pointed out that this could not be achieved under the indenture system, which had proved itself morally injurious in Natal and elsewhere.

Opportunities were presented of meeting H. E. the Governor-General and the Governor of New South Wales, both of whom were very deeply interested in the Fiji labour question and expressed sympathy with India in the matter. There is considerable probability that, after the war is over, a "Greater Australia" may be formed, or an "Australian Dominion," which will include Fiji along with other islands. There is certain, in any case, to be a closer connection, every year, between the Australian Continent and the Fiji Islands; as they are the first stopping place on the journey to America across the Pacific. Australian sympathy therefore with abolition of Indenture is of importance for India, and will greatly help matters forward.

The Mingling of Nations.

To the unadventurous European China is even yet no more than Hong Kong, the coastal fringe, the Yangtse Valley, the Metropolitan Province, the capital itself, Manchuria, and perhaps another corner here or there. The vast interior is almost unknown to him. In the regions he knows the inhabitants may be divided

into three classes—the northern, the southern, and the mixed middle. The mixture is most complete at Shanghai. There may be found not only every kind of Chinese and Asiatic and European but also most kinds of Americans and Africans, and of Australasians not a few. Into that nest of cosmopolitanism and source of the most startling and untrustworthy news ever published in the world's press, the Boxer campaign, though it brought the armed forces of all nations—Americans plain and coloured, Germans already insufferably proud of their prospective victories, Frenchmen whose baggy red breeches were puffed up with the spirit of adventure, Italians with cocks' feathers in their expansive hats, Russians amused and a little irritated at seeing the other Powers engaged in an Asiatic war, Japanese calmly confident and determined at all costs to be more efficient and more civilised than the Europeans, and Englishmen of the sea and the land, doing a full half of the work and being rewarded with nine-tenths of the criticism, in whose train came Gurkhas, Pathans, Sikhs, Madrasis, and the Bengal Horse,—brought no novelty. The city was used to everything. Had not public order been preserved most efficiently for years, by Sikh police, and did not every one know that among the Yangtse gorges, easily reached from the harbour, the foremen of the gangs which tow the Chinese barges upstream had when they caught a fugitive subordinate the privilege of breaking his limbs and leaving him to die by the wayside? Such a place, accustomed to such contrasts, could be interested and pleasantly excited, but not surprised. And all the young men of the day, so says legend, lived entirely upon credit by means of the *chit* system, a wonder which left no room for any other astonishment.

A Chinese paper reports that the National Salvation Fund has now reached the sum of fifty million dollars, the amount ordinarily decided upon. Official subscriptions to this fund have now ceased owing to the required amount having been secured. Private subscriptions are, however, still coming in, and it is anticipated that several million over and above the above mentioned sum will be collected.

Jamaica.

Jamaica is a very beautiful tropical island situated in the West Indies 90 miles south of Cuba, 1,500 miles from New York, 5,000 miles from England and about 7,000 miles from New Zealand. It is about one-seventh the size of Scotland, very mountainous, very warm, very fruitful. The population is about 900,000, nineteen-twentieths of whom are of African descent. In prehistoric times it was inhabited by the Arawaks, an interesting and attractive race, afterwards exterminated by the Spaniards. It became British in 1655, and has

remained so ever since. Sugar, Bananas, oranges, coffee, cocoa, coconuts, ginger, and rum are the principal exports. The fruits of this island are most varied and delicious.

The present race of negroes and half-castes have, as a rule, but a smattering of education, and are extremely poor, 1/10 to 1/6 per day being the common wage. They are still very superstitious, and unusually prone to untruth and petty thefts. Their sexual code is a low one, 65 per cent. of the children born being illegitimate. Yet they are a kindly, sober, polite, merry-hearted, orderly race, and for the most part sincerely religious and even their faults to one who knows the circumstances are not quite as bad as they appear on paper. Until the year 1838 the negroes were slaves. Both secular and religious knowledge were denied them. They were treated as beasts of burden rather than as human beings with spiritual and intellectual capacities. Their emancipation from this condition of gross ignorance was due to the heroic labours of the early "dissenting" missionaries.

There are 60 day schools belonging to the mission, with 10,000 pupils, and these schools receive an annual grant of about £4,500 from the State towards their upkeep. In Jamaica the majority of the schools are denominational—i.e., the buildings and management are provided by the denomination, which, however, receives a grant from the Government. The teachers are appointed by the minister, and assist him in his religious work.

A smart boy may earn his way to the university. But attendance, as a rule, is not compulsory, and most of the scholars leave early. School is taught only four days a week, as on Friday the children help their parents in the plantations, and on Saturday go with them to market. In the denominational schools, undenominational religious instruction is given; but in addition to these there are purely secular schools, owned and controlled by the Government.

Evangelising Jamaica East Indians.

Rev. F. Stubbs, F.R.G.S., contributed to the *Outlook* of New Zealand, the following article relating to the work of the Presbyterian Church in Jamaica and its Mission to the East Indian Coolies:—

EAST INDIAN COOLIES.

This Mission is 19 years old, and employs five Catechists, four of whom, it is encouraging to note, are themselves converts of the Mission. The difficulties encountered in the work are peculiarly great, for directly a Hindu is baptised he is cut off from his family, and practically boycotted. To make a Christian profession, therefore, involves both persecution and material

loss. Many men and women who feel the attraction of the Christian Gospel are hindered from open confession by fear of their non-Christian relatives and friends.

"I should like to change," said a bright young fellow who had been secretly enquiring the way, "but if I did, my father-in-law would kill me," which is not unlikely would have been the case. "If I were baptised," said another, "my people would not speak to me: no Christian would be allowed to live where I work."

The first East Indian Catechist was borrowed from the Canadian Church, and laboured zealously in Jamaica for a considerable time without any apparent result. The way in which he won his first convert is worth telling. This man, named Subaran, kept a small store. He was anxious to learn to read in order to conduct his business (which, by the way, consisted largely in the sale of rum), more efficiently. He therefore applied to the Catechist to teach him, who consented to give him reading lessons in the New Testament. Though he thus became acquainted with the sacred book of the Christians,

Subaran

however, resolved not to allow his mind to be influenced. But the story of the Cross with which he became daily more familiar, eventually touched his heart, and he began to attend the preaching of the Gospel. Upon this, the coolies denounced and ridiculed him, declaring that he was becoming a Christian, which at this time he vehemently denied. Then, one day he opened his heart to the Catechist, but asked that he might be baptised secretly, on account of the opposition of his people, who might even poison him. The Catechist, however, quoted the familiar passage "Whosoever shall be ashamed of me, etc."—Mark viii, 38, and this decided the storekeeper to openly proclaim himself a Christian. There was great trouble; all his people turned on him,

Calling him "A Dog,"

etc. Then, by and by, he lost a child; then, a cow, a pig, a goat. Ruin seemed to stare him in the face. Finally his wife died, and he himself was stricken with sickness. Upon this his mother came and begged him to renounce Christianity. The Gods were angry with him: would he not make sacrifices and appease them? Still he held fast; got well; turned out to be a splendid fellow, and to-day, the reader will not be surprised to hear, is one of the most esteemed and successful agents of the Mission.

Other instances of successful work and heroic endurance might be given, but this for the present must suffice. Anyone who knows the moral and material conditions in which the coolies live, will know that for a man really to become a Christian means a real uplifting of his whole nature and circumstances. He becomes

a changed and bettered man in every respect. Although, therefore, the work of evangelising the East Indians is slow and difficult, it is well-worth while, and every reader will wish success.

This story is illustrative of the way in which success is made to attend the work of the Christian Missionaries in proselytising Hindus. What appeals more to the ignorant convert in the first instance, is not the sublime philosophy contained in the Bible (for that matter, the Koran and the Upainshads contain this and much more) but the immediate elevation and uplift from his degrading position to a better material condition.

This conversion is seen in a marked degree in South Africa, to judge from the names of the original settlers who prefix to their ordinary names a Christian designation as Genesis Pillai or Apocalypse Naidu. We have however no quarrel with any religion but this kind of conversion of Hindus in the Colonies and over-seas causes great alarm at the probable extinction of the Hindu race in course of time.

Hindu Society must wake up to a sense of its responsibility in this matter in preserving the integrity of the race.

Emigration to British East Africa.

The attention of the Shipping Agents and Shipping Companies at Madras may be drawn to the following provisions of the East Africa Immigration Restriction Ordinance, 1906, (No. 17 of 1906), with reference to the information contained in the telegram from the Governor of the Protectorate, dated the 21st October 1915:—

Section 19.—The master and owner of any ship from which any prohibited immigrant may be landed, or may land, shall be liable jointly and severally to a penalty not exceeding Rs. 1,500 and not less than Rs. 375 in respect of each such prohibited immigrant landed or who may land, and the vessel may be refused a clearance outwards until any penalty incurred has been paid and until provision has been made by the master to the satisfaction of the Principal Immigration Officer for the conveyance out of the Protectorate of each prohibited immigrant who may have been so landed, and the vessel may be made executable by a decree of His Majesty's High Court of the Protectorate or other Courts in which the owner is justifiable in satisfaction of any penalty imposed under this section.

The word "clearance" as used in this Ordinance includes all the documents ordinarily issued by the Collector of Customs to a ship about to leave port, including the document known as the Bill of Health.

Section 25.—Any penalty incurred by the master of a ship shall be paid before the ship's clearance is granted.

Notice in writing by the Immigration Officer to the Collector of Customs of any claim against the master, owners, or agents of a ship for a penalty shall be a sufficient authority to him to refuse the ship's clearance until such order is withdrawn or is set aside by the order of judgment of a Court. Such a notice to the Port Officer or Harbour Master shall be authority to him to refuse to take a ship or allow it to go outside the port to any outer anchorage. When such notice is given the Immigration Officer shall, with all speed inform the Principal Immigration Officer, and take all such steps as may be necessary in order that proceedings in respect of the contravention may be instituted without loss of time.

Zanzibar Indians.

We take the following from the issue of the *Official Gazette* of the Zanzibar Government of the 20th September last:—

At the half-yearly meeting of the Indian National Association held on the 18th instant, the following resolution was proposed by Mr. Tayabli Esmailjee and seconded by Miansaheb Sheikh Ebrahimji Sheikh Musabhai:—

"The Indian National Association, Zanzibar, at the opportunity of its six monthly general meetings, most respectfully and sincerely beg to assure His Majesty The King-Emperor of the unswerving loyalty of the British Indian Community of this Protectorate for ever, and most fervently pray the Almighty for the speedy and victorious issue of the war for England and the Allies who are so heroically fighting against the aggressive action of a foreign power, for the most sacred cause of the maintenance of humanity, honour, justice and liberty."

The resolution was carried unanimously by the very large gathering of members present and a copy was subsequently forwarded to the British Resident with a request that it should be transmitted to His Majesty The King, telegraphically.

Indians in China.

In the House of Commons recently Colonel Gate asked what measures had been taken to prevent British Indians from remaining in the employment of Germans in China.

Lord Robert Cecil stated in reply that Sir John Jordan, British Minister in Peking, was being asked by telegraph to report on the subject.

It will be interesting to know what action may be taken on the matter. It is one thing for an Indian to be deprived of his billet in India and a different thing in a foreign country. The Government must see to the re-employment of such Indians as may be thrown out of work on this score.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

FICTION.

"The Fatal Garland," by Mrs. Ghosal, familiarly known as Srimati Svarnakumari Devi, T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., 8, Essex Street, London. Price 6s. nett.

This is yet another translation into English from the original Bengali of one of the novels of the learned authoress, who has now come to be acknowledged as "the most famous and advanced woman of our Indian Empire." And coming as it does from the pen of the enlightened daughter of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, it certainly is no surprise for us to note that while on the one hand the authoress weaves with a masterful touch that tone of resignation and peace which is the chief feature of Indian religion and philosophy, she on the other hand also unmistakably exhibits traces of the embodiment, into a sweet and romantic tale, of the higher impulses of poetic genius that belong only to the truly great artist. Briefly told, the story symbolises the triumph of Love that knows no conqueror and the "Fatal Garland" originally threaded by Nirupama and handled by Shaktimai as the instrument of Destiny is but a vehicle for the development of the story.

To readers who are grown stale with the prosaically cold and merely adventurous novels of the West of to-day, this little book should certainly come as a very great relief. The whole book is imbued with that strange and dreamy atmosphere which is always India's own, while in no portion of the book do we fail to discern the influence of religious thought which always finds its place in Indian life and tends to give it a pensive air of resignation to the decrees of an All-powerful Destiny: "Like the forgotten memory of a former life, her face flashed upon him as something vaguely familiar." Or again, "The spark that dwells within the dust grows and expands as ages pass until a higher form of life is reached, unto the utmost ends of all that rules thy Divine purpose". And again, "Above, the tall palms rustled with mysterious sound that seemed like whispers from an unseen world."

Shakti in this story indicates the evolution of the human soul from the horrid thirst for the revenge of a forsaken and unrequited love to that beneficent and tender supplication of pity and piety which alone is the truest essence of pure love and this ideal is vividly worked out by the learned authoress in a manner as unmistakable as it is forcible.

It is in this strong feature, that the whole story exhibits the unerring delicacy of touch and the masterful delineation of human passion, that the greatness of

the book lies. The whole is suffused with the superb halo of a vision and the languid mystery of a dream, a feature that could be successfully achieved only by a great literary artist such as the authoress has long been reputed to be. The lyrical poems that abound in the tale, the infinite pathos that marks the story at every turn, that great pity with which Shakti finds her regal dress bringing her a strange compunction, that irony of circumstance which impels Gul Bahar to shatter the image of Ganesha, that strange langour and the swell of music of that sublime atmosphere amidst which Shakti gladly embraces her final rest and that play of retributive vengeance by which "Jadar Dev in his youth became a Musalman and married Gul Bahar, the descendant of Banowari Lal"—these are a few only of the literary flashes that mark the subtle master-hand behind them all through the book.

But apart from the purely literary standpoint, the book is interesting in its incidental discussion of some of the social problems of the day and the changes that have been wrought in the social status of the Hindu in recent times.

It is this thoroughly comprehensive nature of the work that impels us to welcome the book under review both as a masterpiece of literary art and as a very pertinent outlook on the social and political problems of the times, thereby affording very suggestive and interesting lines of discussion to the thoughtful reader.

P. V.

ECONOMICS.

The Growth of Currency Organisations in India, by Alakh Dhari, Published by The Chronicle Press, Bombay, Price Rs. 4-8-0.

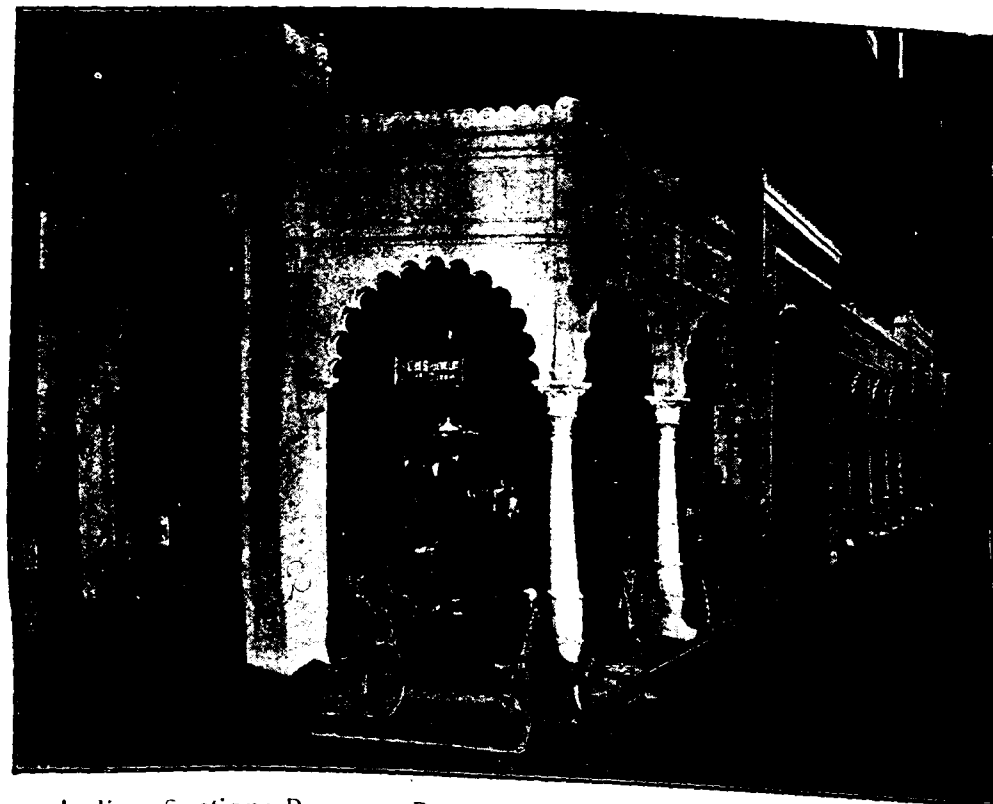
To students of Indian Currency this book will be of invaluable service. Very full account is given of the history of the problem and all the evils of bimetallism are stated at great length. The author pleads with rare earnestness that silver ought to have been demonitised and gold made the standard medium of currency in India.

Every year India has to find 30 crores of rupees to be remitted to England for what are compositely called "Home Charges," and owing to the artificial value of the Indian rupee, a great deal more has to be remitted to England to meet the said Home Charges. The result is that the burden on India by way of taxation on the poor peasant is correspondingly increased.

Anybody can read the book and get a clear idea of the current Currency Policy, and it is our earnest hope, that everybody interested in the political renaissance of India will attentively and thoughtfully read the book.

R. G. S.





Indian Section: Panama Pacific Exposition, San Francisco, 1915.



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. II.

JANUARY 31, 1916.

No. 6.

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.

conducting this Journal, we had many opportunities of studying this problem in its various aspects and feel convinced that there never was a greater need for the formation of a Society of this nature in India for the protection and guidance of the thousands of helpless Indian emigrants. Without a central organisation for watching and controlling this movement of men great wrongs and abuses have come to exist, and it will be the practical endeavour of this Society to take steps to remove and redress them.

EXAMPLE OF CHINA AND JAPAN.

The Indian, the Chinese and the Japanese are at present the world colonisers among the Oriental races and excepting the first the other races have their own private organisations formed for the purpose of actively encouraging intelligent emigration, to relieve the distress of over population and the consequent struggle for mere existence and also to protect the interests of those already settled in distant lands. In Japan, for instance, the number of companies interested in the colonisation traffic are :—

1. The Toyo Imin Kaisha or Oriental Colonisation Company, Limited.
2. The Nanbei Imin Kaisha or South American Colonisation Company, Limited.
3. The Brazil Takushoku Kaisha or Brazil Cultivation Company, Limited.

Besides these, there are several other Japanese Societies started in the country to which emigration had taken place. For instance, the Japan Society was organised in New York with a declared purpose of promoting friendly relations between the United States and Japan and of diffusing among the American

THE INDIAN COLONIAL SOCIETY.

Started January 1, 1916

AS THE WORKING ORGANISATION
OF

THE "INDIAN EMIGRANT," MADRAS.

ITS AIMS AND OBJECTS.

TO those who have closely been following the movement of Indian emigration to the overseas portions of the British Empire and to foreign countries, it must be obvious that there are several phases to this important problem which affect the future of the British Empire and the national honour, self-respect and manhood of this great country. In our own experience for the past a year and a half while

people a more accurate knowledge of the Island Kingdom, its aims, ideals, arts, sciences, industries and economic conditions. There are also formed in Japan societies to co-operate with the colonial organisations, such as the Japanese "Society of friends of America" in Tokyo consisting largely of graduates of American Colleges.

Unfortunately in this country, the educated section of the people had not in the least considered the value of an international intercourse with the leading and foremost nations of the West. The rise of Japan during the last two or three decades in the economic and political fields is entirely due to her following the "open-door" policy, and she thus freely came into contact with the nations of the world.

For it is profoundly true, as Count Okuma has more than once declared, that race antagonisms can be modified and destroyed only by the education which comes with inter-racial intercourse and knowledge.

Closely following Japan, China has also commenced to remodel her social, economic and political structure on modern and up-to-date lines.

ILLITERACY AND RACE PREJUDICE.

Seeing this to be the state of affairs in these two countries, what do we find as regards our own status in the eyes of the Western world? Whatever may have been the influence of India in the past, whether for good or for evil, the influence of modern emigration has certainly been for the latter. Coming to the historic period of Indian emigration, we find that Indian emigrants were taken to the various British Colonies under a pernicious system of a kind of State-aided emigration to replace slave labour which was abolished in 1834. The effect of this system has tended to lower the Indians in the estimation of the world. He is considered only as a semi-barbarous being with no culture, no religion, no civilisation. The impression created by sending out ignorant labourers is well portrayed by our Jamaica contemporary (*the Jamaica Times*) in one of its editorial notes while reviewing our Journal. It says:—

"The *Indian Emigrant* makes prominent a line of policy regarding emigration, specially emigration of Asiatics, which is full of practical wisdom. If adopted and applied, it would do a good deal to remove some of the serious difficulties that surround this thorny question. The policy is to discourage the emigration of uneducated labourers, the section of the community bound to produce the worst impression on foreigners,

and to encourage rather the emigration of educated men and skilled workmen. These, by their ability, status of living and general worth will do much to disarm a considerable part of the prejudice against Asiatics, which is fed by the fact that those whom it possesses are acquainted only with the poorer types and specimens of these races."

If we, as a people, have any national honour or self-respect, our first duty must be to stop the system of sending out uneducated labourers to foreign countries. Apart from the evils attending on the indenture system, we have to fight against several disabilities imposed on the supposed free labourers recruited to Ceylon and Federated Malay States. We have known several cases of poor coolies being unnecessarily dragged to Police Courts and prosecuted for alleged misconduct, desertion or theft. This is especially the case in Ceylon and Malay States. In these Colonies there is neither the Protector of Emigrants nor any representative of the people to fight the cause of the ignorant labourers. It has been suggested that a representative of the labour communities should be appointed in the Legislative Councils in addition to the Protector of Emigrants, but in the case of absence of a Protector a representative in the Councils seems imperative.

NEED FOR EDUCATIONAL WORK IN THE COLONIES.

The aim of this Society shall be to take practical steps to redress these grievances by organised work—remove illiteracy and discourage emigration of illiterate labourers. A great wrong has recently been done to the Indian ratepayers in Fiji by excluding those who cannot read and write English, from exercising municipal franchises. Does not the duty devolve upon the Indian public to see that those who migrated from this country do at least know how to read and write their native language? At the present day, the educational facilities afforded to Indian children in the Colonies are nothing when compared to other classes. Recent Census Returns of the Colonies prove our case. In the Colony of Mauritius, for instance, 70 per cent. of whose population are Indians, the percentage of the Indian population, able to read and write is only 1.7 of the population while the same among the other general population is 41.9. The same is the case in Fiji and other Indian Colonies.

Even the Missionary Societies working among Indians in the colonies have also a sorry tale to tell. The Wesleyan Methodist Church of the South African Missionary Society in its Report of Verulam Indian

Mission says under the head *educational*:—"The children on these different estates have also been cared for, though in many estates boys of the school-going age are taken on for work. The fact that these boys are amply paid for services rendered, form the attractive element and boys of a comparatively young age are to be found in the fields; it is to be feared that this will prove a hindrance in this particular sphere of work."

Our attention should, therefore, be immediately directed to this important question that people before they are allowed to emigrate at least know how to read and write their own language. At present there is a great field for educational work both religious and secular among Indians in the various Colonies.

INTELLIGENT EMIGRATION.

Our second object shall be the encouragement of emigration of educated men and skilled labourers. The fair name which India has achieved by the travels abroad of great and enlightened men as Swami Vivekananda, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and Professor J. C. Bose will never be forgotten by the rising generation of India. A similar result can be achieved if only we organise a systematic sending out educated young men to foreign countries for the purpose of study or employment as engineers, doctors, lawyers or merchantmen. The spirit of adventure and an ambition to rise in the world should what actuate the educated youths of this country and facilities must, therefore, be provided by organising and instituting scholarships or arranging for passages and in cases of the needy providing them with funds. In the Universities of India, no programme of travel in this country or abroad is entered as one of the surest means of widening the outlook and completing the University education of the students. If we are not mistaken, holiday tours round Europe form the chief programme of work in the English Universities.

ATTITUDE OF THE COLONIAL-BORN INDIANS.

Further at the present day there are about two millions of Indians scattered over the world, a large number of whom have actually settled in the Colonies of the British Empire, chiefly as labourers and agricultural farmers. A few educated of them have risen to position and importance and some of them have lost all touch with the mother-country. To the colonial-born Indian, India is something of a dream-land existing only in his imagination. There is not a single organisation in India which takes a kindly interest in her sons colonised abroad. In some quarters fear has been felt that the colonial-born Indian must

by the force of his circumstances and environment become more and more anglicised. The colonial-born Indian is, as it were, in a stage of transition from the East to West. Especially in South Africa where the number of colonial-born Indians are many, evidences are not wanting to show that of much that is English has been absorbed by them. Mr. A. Christopher writing about the colonial-born Indians points out that, while the attractions of the West appear to be gaining in strength and the risk of the colonial-born Indian, in the course of generations, losing his power to withstand them even partially is very great, it is not yet hopeless to improve his position. He believes that by a proper communication between India and the Colonies the immigration and emigration is restored by the organisation of a means by which colonial-born Indian—boys and girls—may spend years of their life in India learning as much as 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. If this is the yearning of a colonial-born Indian to serve his community in a distant land by his learning in India and be patriotic to the country of his father, does it not seem our bounden duty to foster and encourage that feeling by an organisation such as this which aims at bringing about a closer and more intelligent acquaintance on the part of Indians at home with those abroad? The question of Indian colonial problem has now reached a stage at which it shall not be possible to do any service to the country without a central organisation as this. While writing this, we have been reading the Royal Colonial Institute Year Book, 1915, and found that one of the great objects of the Institute is the preservation of a "permanent union between the mother-country and the various parts of the Empire. This great and inspiring ideal is to be gained by pushing their propaganda not only in the mother-country but among the British subjects overseas and foreign countries." A similar ideal has prompted us in a modest scale to bring about this union of India and her Colonies.

EMIGRATION AND TRADE DEVELOPMENT.

Emigration is both a virtue and a vice according as it is well or ill-directed. It may bring health and wealth or disease and poverty. A vast country such as India with its limitless resources should send out raw labour to foreign countries denotes nothing more than that the country is suffering from an economic dyspepsia. It means that people are lacking in initiative and co-operation. Speaking for ourselves,

we cannot at this stage of our economic progress and political development afford to send out *unskilled and ignorant* labour to foreign countries. Such a course would neither improve the country economically or raise its status politically, unless it is controlled and directed with intelligence.

Let us turn again to our eastern neighbours for a model for organisation and success in life.

Several things have contributed to the success of the Japanese in the Western world as wage-earners, farmers, shop-keepers and business-men. Japan has good schools and a relatively low percentage of illiterates. More than nine in ten read and write their native language; they are also intelligent, industrious and ambitious; they want, above all, to be treated as equals. Beginning with a well-defined stream of immigration, the number of Japanese places of business increased rapidly. The dealings of the Japanese labourers and farmers for supplies are from Japanese shops conducted by the Japanese. This gave rise to several "Employment Agencies" and "Supply Houses" to meet the demand of the Japanese for articles manufactured in their own country. "This furnished an opportunity for importers and shop-keepers. Shops for the publication of newspapers and magazines in the Japanese language came as a matter of course. Finally, as time passed on, the Japanese embraced the opportunity to enter the general competitive field and started grocery stores, laundries, restaurants, shoe-shops and the like, primarily for white patrons." In this way the necessity of providing for the needs of their countrymen has contributed largely to the success of Japan as a coloniser and world-supplier.

We are also familiar with the British race who began their life as a "nation of shop-keepers" and ended it as "Empire-Builders," the pride of the race impelling them on to march onward.

By the side of these races, the Indian emigrant is a sorry figure. He has just emerged from his indenture and entered life as a man of small independent means. Just now he has applied to Trade and Business. There are a large number of trading classes and business-men in South Africa, Mauritius, Fiji, etc. The transition from labourer to farmer and petty trader has taken Indians nearly 80 years, and hereafter it is a question of time what role they will play in the regeneration of their country, whether they will bring honour and self-respect to the motherland or bring shame and degradation to her.

BUSINESS ORGANISATION.

The present war has given us a new impetus for developing the industries and commerce of the country. While we are keenly alive to a sense of this feeling, it is no less a duty to form at once organisations for taking practical steps to this end. This is an age of business and organisations. One of the wisest steps to which Japan had taken recently to develop her trade and commerce and to capture the world market was to send out on tour throughout the world a group of leading merchants representing the most important Japanese Chambers of Commerce. We would also do well to imitate them, though imitation is the peculiar privilege of monkeys. One of the professed objects of the proposed Society will be the endeavour to provide a Bureau of information relating to the trade requirements and demands of the various countries, thus providing a mutual benefit system by which every Indian Colony outside will be in touch with the Mother Country.

Thus far we have sketched in brief the broad outlines of work which the Indian Colonial Society is expected to do in the sphere of practical politics; but there are several other and equally important questions, social and sociological, incident to contact with different races requiring solution and they will be discussed off and on in the Journal.

EMIGRATION AND POLITICS.

Lastly, the aim of this Society shall be to advocate equal rights of British citizenship so as to strengthen the bonds of India and England for the lasting benefit of these two countries. The Imperialism of Britain stands for definite principles of Government, *viz.*, justice, liberty and equality. But the British statesmen of to-day are not conscious of the process by which this Imperialism was born. The first awakening to this consciousness of an Imperial destiny declared itself in Edmund Burke's great impeachment of Warren Hastings, which announced to the world that Empire rests not on violence but on justice and freedom. These are not the catchwords for politicians but hard facts to be taken into consideration in the governance of the so-called subject races.

India is willing to be a subject nation of Britain in the Imperialistic sense as forming a component part of the British Empire as Canada or Australia; but what she most desires is not political independence but economic freedom (which includes fiscal autonomy)—freedom to move about the Empire in search of fresh fields and pastures new without let or hindrance.

FISCAL AUTONOMY FOR INDIA

AND

ITS EFFECTS ON COLONIAL PROBLEMS.

BY K. M. PANIKKAR.

TO any one who is interested in the study of politics nothing could be more instructive than the changes that have taken place during the last 15 months in the attitude of Britain towards India. The generous outburst of friendly feeling that succeeded the enthusiasm of India for the British cause at the beginning of the war has slowly declined. It has given place to a hardly perceptible feeling of recognition of India's help and it might be safely asserted that any gratitude that was felt because of the unexpected loyalty of India has been drowned in a revival of Imperialist feeling. The cause of this, among others, is the continuous sacrifice and the steadfast adherence of the Colonies to a war in which their interests are, apparently at least, only distantly connected.

This Imperialist feeling is almost universal. Its best interpreter is the *Times*, always a safe guide to the orthodox British opinion. The change of attitude of the *Times* can be taken as reflecting the change in the mind of the British public. The *Times* publishes an important article from its Bombay Correspondent, in which it asks "How the lawyers of Calcutta and Bombay can expect greater political privileges as the result of the services of Mahsud Waziri and the Deccani Mahratta." A comparison of this with the opinions expressed in editorial articles at the beginning of the war must teach us a significant political lesson.

It seems almost certain at the present moment, that a period of Constructive Conservatism will follow this war. Indications are not wanting that such a policy will be essentially reactionary in its dealings with India. Representation of India in the Imperial Conference, though given a reserved benediction by the Secretary of State, has little chance of success. A careful perusal of the opinions expressed both here and in the Colonies will show that beneath all the soft words of goodwill and amity lurks the feeling of colour distinction and economic exploitation. The only reasoned comment about the admission of India as a member of the Empire appeared in the *Morning Post*. It said plainly enough that *an economically dependent India* cannot, on the face of it, presume to

ask for admission to a conference of (financially) independent States. That is the crux of the problem. All the colonial, imperial, and emigration questions revolve round this economic dependence of India on London. Once fiscal autonomy for India is gained, all the rest can be settled easily and peacefully.

Indian politicians wedded to the Victorian Radicalism of Mill and Morley have not given sufficient attention to this important question. In the present state of our politics fundamental, any indifference to it, is bound to be disastrous not only in our domestic politics but in our relation with the British Colonies and Foreign Powers like Japan, China and the U. S. A.

How our financial dependence effects migration from India can be seen when we consider its chief effects. The one-sided Free Trade fictions of the Government in London have deprived a large percentage of our artisans, previously engaged in various local industries, of the means of their livelihood. They have either merged into the wage-earning poor class, or have fallen an easy prey to the soft promises of emigration agents. Fiscal autonomy for India, with right to tax imported luxuries, &c., may yet save a few of our languishing industries and prevent our skilled artisan from becoming an unskilled factory worker earning a pittance insufficient to keep a healthy family or live in sanitary quarters.

Secondly, a protective tariff will enable us to tax indirectly the rich who are the consumers of foreign goods and to lighten the burden on the poor. The one chief cause of migration from any country is the *inability of that land to support its workers*. Heavy taxes, combined with an undeveloped system of agriculture, have made that occupation on which India has to depend an almost profitless business. The improvement of agricultural methods and the lightening of the taxes are the only ways by which it can be made profitable. A protective tariff will give the Government a chance of saving our ryots from further poverty and of leading India to a condition of economic prosperity. The importance of this point will be conceded when it is remembered that in such a big State as the U. S. A., the whole federal revenue is raised by indirect taxation. In other ways, too, it will help the solution of our imperial problems. For example, can there be a better remedy to the ill-treatment of Indians in Mauritius than a retaliatory taxation on the sugar imported from that island? Our complaints will be cries in the wilderness unless we have methods of making them effective. Fiscal

autonomy will leave an effective weapon in our hands because there is no country in the world which could afford to neglect India as a market for its produce.

Any form of political autonomy that is not preceded by complete fiscal autonomy will be a nullity and delusion. What use is it for us to have the right of governing India, when the condition on which its prosperity depends is not in our hands? Therefore, instead of agitating about problems which are of purely domestic importance, Indian politicians must for some time concentrate their thoughts upon this subject. We must remember that it is an indispensable condition of Self-Government. We are only emphasising an important side of the same problem when we bring to bear upon it all the forces that are at our command. The commercial and the trading classes of the country at present indifferent to political questions will become directly concerned in it. We will want all the forces we can muster in the great struggle that will follow this war—and if the sympathy of the trading interests can be enlisted, it will be a powerful addition to the growing body of our national opinion.

To my mind, this is the only way of solution for all the outstanding problems of India. Let the questions of Press-Laws, Military Commissions &c., rest for some time. Let us strengthen our hands for a fight at an important point, which, if won, will settle, once for all, the minor problems. Political energy, like all other energy, is limited and in a nation like India struggling for wider life, it is of the highest importance that we should direct it to problems of fundamental significance.

WHY JAMAICANS ARE POOR.

[Mr. H. B. Monteith Hatfield Mandaville has contributed this telling article to the *Jamaica Times*, Christmas number. With a remarkable insight into human nature, he diagnoses the causes of poverty of Jamaicans, and gives six reasons which work for the self-destruction of the race.

The generalisations he makes are in fact broad economic principles which apply to all countries which have the poverty problem to solve. The conditions he depicts about Jamaica apply with equal force to those prevailing in India. Any one desirous of improving the labouring and the working classes of India may find the suggestions highly helpful.

Our wisdom should lie not in realising these truths in theory, but in not acting false to these ideals in practice.]

JAMAICANS are poor—that is one plain, simple, straightforward statement which gives no ground for misunderstanding as it admits of no two interpretations. I repeat that Jamaicans are poor, we all know it, strangers quickly discover it too, and in wonder and amazement vainly try to locate the reason.

A few months ago an American Professor on a visit to our island bitterly lamented this fact, a couple of weeks after, a world-famed lady visitor with pity and astonishment ringing in her voice gave expression to the same fact, and day after day the words come thundering at the door of my heart—"Your country is poor, and hundreds of your countrymen are merely eking out a miserable existence for want of the pressing necessities of life, to say nothing of comfort and luxury."

What is the cause? Why is the greater percentage of our peasants enslaved and inconvenienced by penury? Let me try to answer these questions with the hope and earnest desire that my answer may be of assistance to them in ameliorating an unenviable condition, and guiding them on the way to progress and advancing the financial arena of life.

Our peasants in general are poor because:—

I. *Their incomes are generally small owing to lack of fertile lands, absence of intelligent and systematic cultivating, the offering of starvation wages by richer employers, and the frequent apathy of the Government.*

When I speak of fertile lands I refer to the peasant not to Jamaica. In this country all the level fertile tracks of land are owned by the gentry—the so-called "rich" folks—while the peasant's couple of acres generally represent so many stone-heaps and rocks that have never been moved ever since the morning stars sang for joy; neither shall be removed ere moons shall cease to wax and wane. The gentry, sometimes, sell lands to the peasantry, that is, after half a dozen cows or so have broken their necks over the stone heaps in that area. He sometimes rents portions of the land, but seldom ere the most degenerate specimen of grass has flatly refused to come into existence thereon. Hence the poor cultivator has two evils to choose between, stones and exhausted soil.

He chooses the stones and spends more time in the preparation of an acre of ground than the rich banana and cane-grower spends in the cultivation of half a square mile. Exaggerating think you! Well, I can tell you of a strong hardworking man who took two days to dig a dozen yam hills!

Then there is lack of systematic cultivating owing chiefly to lack of sufficient lands. The yams must be planted between the rows of bananas and the cocoas between the rows of yams and the potatoes wherever an

empty spot can be found, for there's only an acre of land for all four! I need not mention the result.

Next comes the wages paid to peasants who, having no lands to cultivate, must work on the cultivations of others! A shilling a day for a man—grand! and half that amount for a woman—sublime! Shouldn't such distinguished and unprecedented display of philanthropy on the part of our landed proprietors and other employers be placed on record for the direction of and inspiration of future generations? Can any other country boast such rare bits of unparalleled generosity? No answer! One shilling for twelve hours, or a penny per hour, just about one-twentieth of what some of our underpaid officials get—and officials doing about one-twentieth the amount of work! That's the law of modern justice, but—there's a good time coming boys. I proceed:

II. *We spend too much on foreign products, instead of utilizing and patronizing our own.*

I regard this as the primary reason for our being poor. Jamaica is a great corn-growing country and yet we buy foreign corn-meal, a stuff greatly inferior to our own, while the rich men, and the Government, instead of buying Jamaica-grown corn for their horses prefer to buy the American corn even at a higher price. That's how they help us to advance. Isn't their method unique?

Jippi Jappa hats are superior to imported straw hats, and just as cheap, but our people "support" home industries by purchasing the foreign articles, and leaving our hat-makers to wander about the country from day to day in order to make a couple of shillings. Cocoa is exported in vast quantities from Jamaica and instead of our Government helping us to prepare it as is done in England, it leaves us to the mercy of Fry, Lipton and others.

We send away our cocoanuts to America and England and then buy articles made from them for about four times the honest value.

Our preserves are praised wherever we send them, and yet we despise them in Jamaica, in order to support English and American firms by buying their jams, jellies, etc. We export sugar and pay others handsomely for refining it instead of finding a way of doing so ourselves! We export, but space is limited, and to say all on this subject would take me somewhere in the middle of next month. But Jamaicans just think over the above facts, and then cease to wonder why you are so poor.

III. *We are not sufficiently economical and thrifty.* Here again lurks an evil which should be sought out

and exterminated. Economy and thrift plays too small a part in this country. Do you wonder why Americans are wealthy? Well, go to New York and see the rich man's wife in her kitchen. She'll tell you a thing or two, perhaps. See the millionaire at work and you'll just stop wondering once and for all. Mrs. A. doesn't buy a new dress because Mrs. B. (with five times as much cash at her disposal) does so, Mr. C. with a salary of £60 per year doesn't buy a piano for £85, because his neighbour who is getting £260 has bought a second-hand one for £15. Die doesn't patronize every picture show and circus tom-foolery because of bogus advertisements; neither does Harry buy a guinea watch and ask somebody to read the time for him.

No, the American buys what is necessary, and saves the rest of his money, if wealthy, he may indulge in luxuries but those luxuries must be bought with a part of his surplus, not with three-fourths of his income.

Contrast this with the methods employed by Jamaicans, and you will see why poverty makes this island her famous "abiding city." We are a glorious organization of spendthrifts; we try to imitate the rich, in spite of the wonderful "shilling-a-day" system; we buy all sorts of worthless "shiny-shiny" foreign stuffs, through pinning our faith to lying and disreputable advertisements; we support every foreign trickster who can make an egg stand on ends, we support every cunning and alluring scheme which has been put into operation to drain our pockets—by the Coupons, and Trading Stamps and the whole confounded lot of them. That's our idea of economy and thrift. Heaven help us and open our eyes to a realization of how much we contribute to our own destruction.

IV. *We lack advantages, and partiality exists among us.*

Jamaica is not a place where a man is taken for what he is worth. Let me illustrate. Two men apply for a situation advertised by the Government or a private individual. The one is the bright and intelligent son of a black insignificant peasant, the other is a semi-illiterate loggerhead so far as education is concerned, but the son of a prominent white man. In the former case the Government visits the unavoidable "iniquities of the father upon the children," in the other case it visits the father's virtues, the former lad is rejected and the latter selected. That's justice if you please—Jamaica's patented justice. Some men are taken for a small fraction of what they are worth, others are taken for just twice what their ancestors are, or were worth. Tell it not in Gath!

V. Many of our young men take up family life too early.

This may evoke a smile from some, but consider and see whether much poverty may not be attributed thereto! A man living on little or nothing, marries. His little earnings must now support two, and in a few years the number may increase by half a dozen—Good! half a dozen people with two acres of land to live on, and with perhaps only one person to support the lot. Imagine the state of things. Then the father dies, and six meagre uneducated children are added to the ranks of paupers and stragglers. Is such a situation uncommon in Jamaica? Come and see.

VI. We are not sufficiently independent, appreciative and self-willed.

One cannot always say pleasant things if he desires to speak true, not even angels can; and if what I say isn't pleasant, remember it is true. Jamaicans put too much faith in the upper section of the population and also in foreigners, while they seldom appreciate the often superior earnestness, devotion and intelligence of the poorer man. They believe every concocted fairy tale to be gospel truth, every scheme for self-advertisement to be genuine philanthropy, every disguised scheme for the accumulation of wealth to be sound generosity, every word of theirs in praise or condemnation to be unalterable and faultless philosophy.

They believe a thing to be wrong, but a handful of society's folks, and perhaps an Editor says it's right, so there the matter ends. They are afraid to stand up for their rights, thus regarding the suffering of injustice better than unpopularity, in the high quarters. Some of them will even allow themselves to become the vile channels through which some dirty tricks are practised on their own people. Heaven deliver the Jamaicans who are still slaves working for praise polluted by flattery, instead of striving for the betterment of the race.

So much for reasons, and comments on them. I have only picked out some of the chief ones, but there are many more, some of which would look rather ugly in print. Those concern the demoralised class, and such a class is found in every land under the sun, and I venture to say that the number in Jamaica is smaller in proportion than in almost every other country.

I have dealt with reasons which connect themselves directly with the honest, kind hearted, struggling peasant, reasons which are indisputable and forcible. My earnest desire is that my countrymen will weigh them carefully, ponder over them and then resolve to do all that lies in their power to ameliorate the sufferings and hardships caused by poverty through steady and systematic reform and by a closer observation of the principles on which countries like America have attained to their high degree of opulence and prosperity.

A VALEDICTORY ADDRESS.

TO MESSIEURS C. F. ANDREWS AND
W. W. PEARSON,

Independent Deputies from India.

PURE-SOULED MISSIONARIES.

On this eve of your departure in the name of the Indian population of this Colony we have assembled here to offer you our hearty thanks for the trouble you have taken in arriving in our midst and further for the pains you have taken to study our condition.

You have not come to us as strangers, for some of us have known the noble services rendered by you to the cause of the Indians of South Africa; and you Mr. Andrews not only gave away the savings of a lifetime to our cause in South Africa, but if we mistake not, forewent the most natural desire of a human being, not to say a dutiful son, viz., that of being by your mother's side in her last and fatal illness and have also been sacrificing your own well-being in a physical sense. Although you have not spent many days in this Colony, where your names, we are confident, will become household words, we all share the deep sense of gratitude, which is universally felt by our countrymen in all parts of Fiji and the sentiment of veneration for your noble personalities with your many and disinterested services for the uplift of the people of India. Your devoted and earnest efforts for the betterment of our social, economic and political conditions will be fruitful of results which will act as levers for the progress of the sons of India in all parts of the world.

We all recognise the difficulties besetting the various questions you have in hand concerning our immediate welfare but we may be allowed to say "You have nobly begun and the promises of a satisfactory solution of many of our problems have filled the minds of Indians with expectations which we trust, under God's providence, will meet with a full measure of realization." And when this consummation so devoutly to be wished for has been accomplished the honour and the glory of the achievement will be yours. In conclusion, we pray that under God's blessing you may have prosperity in your return voyage and that you may long be spared in the full possession of health and strength to serve mother India and her children in all parts of the world, where their children and children's children will continue to cherish a grateful and abiding recollection of your unselfish and distinguished services.

We remain,
Your sincere and devoted admirers,
D. M. MANILAL and other Indians.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The following correspondence appears in the columns of the *Western Pacific Herald*, Suva, (Fiji), in its issue Monday, December 6, 1915, with reference to an article published in the *Indian Emigrant* from the pen of Mr. D. M. Manilal, Bar-at-Law, Fiji.

Dr. D. M. Manilal,
P. O. Box 19, Suva.

Dear Sir,—In the article reprinted from the *Indian Emigrant*, in the *Western Pacific Herald* on Saturday last, that is attributed to your pen, the first of a number of alleged disabilities that Indians are said to suffer in Fiji is one for which the Company is held responsible. You state that "the Company can offer any prices they like for the cane, give any weight they like, calculate any percentage of sugar they like," and you wind up saying that last year the prices realised by Indian cane-growers caused great dissatisfaction. Referring to you last remark first, I would explain that the prices paid last year were on the same scale as during previous years, but the results were not so satisfactory as the crops partially failed in consequence of unfavourable climatic conditions, for which, of course, no blame can be attached to the Company. The Company has widely spread vested interests in the Colony, and, as most of the cane crushed at our mills is purchased (it is all purchased on the Rewa), you will readily understand that it would be against its interests to offer unremunerative prices for the crops on which the sugar industry depends for its success. From the tone of your remarks about the methods of weighing and ascertaining the quality of the cane, readers are led to infer that these are open to question. The data you refer to are arrived at in the case of European planters and I should have thought that the reputation of the Company for square dealing would have protected it against the doubts your remarks are calculated to cast on the honesty of its officers.

It may interest you to learn that the tonnage of cane sent in by the Rewa Indians in 1910 was 30,000, whilst the estimate for 1916 is 38,000. The annually increasing tonnages purchased indicate that the Indians are satisfied that the cane, at the prices offered, pays them better than other produce; also that they are confident that they are not being cheated.

You were good enough on the 7th of October to send me an unsolicited letter, in which you conveyed an expression of appreciation on the part of the Indian community of the efforts of the Company's officers to

deal fairly with the Indians growing cane for us in this district. As your remarks in the letter I have quoted are in strange contrast to the inferences the article in the *Indian Emigrant* are calculated to convey, I trust that your sense of justice will impel you to take such steps as you may consider advisable to remove the harmful impression conveyed by you in the public press.

Yours faithfully,
E. W. FENNER,
Manager.

NAUSORI, November 22, 1915.

THE MANAGER, C. S. R. Co., Ltd.,
Nausori.

Sir,—I have been approached by 57 leading Indians from Wuci, Kuku Raralevu, etc., who seem to be very much concerned at the news of Mr. Upton's leaving his present situation with the C. S. R. Co.

They have asked me to convey to you their appreciation of Mr. Upton's behaviour towards them and also their sense of satisfaction with their dealings with the C. S. R. Co., during your regime; they are also pleased with the treatment of Mr. Baker; and they—one and all—deplore very much the absence from the Nausori Mills of persons who are so well-esteemed by them.

If their wishes can have any effect they would rather request Mr. Upton to remain.

Yours faithfully,
D. M. MANILAL.

NAUSORI, October 7, 1915.

THE C.S.R.CO., LTD.

MR. MANILAL'S STRICTURES.

To the Editor.

Sir,—In reference to the articles which you copied from the *Indian Emigrant* and published on the 20th ultimo under the headline "About Fiji," I have to request you to kindly find room for the following correspondence in your columns:—

I leave your readers to judge for themselves whether my two letters are inconsistent with each other, only adding that the same Indians as complained to me

about the prices realised last year, subsequently requested me to write the letter of the 7th October, and that I am not personally responsible for any supposed or apparent inconsistency. However, as I have no desire to enter the arena of controversy between cane-growers and the Company (of which the public knows a great deal, from the various letters appearing in the local press, notably from Mr. J. B. Turner and the leading men of the Planters' Association) I shall conclude by saying that although no allegations are implied against the honesty of individual officers of the Company in the article reproduced from the *Indian Emigrant*, it is certain that in spite of the alleged defect in climatic conditions, both European and Indian, cane-growers have for some time been complaining of unremunerative prices; and that as regards the weighbridge, I have been assured by at least one important European cane-grower that mistakes in weighing are not altogether impossible; but in fairness to the Company I am bound to say that Mr. Fenner has now informed me that the Company will have no objection to any Indians being present when their canes are being weighed, and further that as regards the chemical percentage of sugar specialists can be allowed to see the process at the Company's offices.

Thanking you for the hospitality of your columns,—
I am, etc.,

D. M. MANILAL.

SUVA, December 4, 1915.

MR. MANILAL AND THE SUGAR COMPANY.

Postscript intended to form part of recent correspondence published in this journal.

I have forgotten to say that the rise in the tonnage from 30,000 in 1910, to 38,000, the estimate for 1916, can largely be explained by the annually increasing number of time-expired Indian immigrants bringing fresh land under cultivation, and not solely by the rates of prices paid for canes. Besides I have often heard Indians saying that although canes may not be very remunerative, they have to grow canes, as, for other crops, it is difficult to secure advances of money before maturity, and that after maturity other crops are not readily saleable, and the returns on these are so piecemeal, not to say irregular, that their money is frequently frittered away, whilst a substantial sum, realized as one lump from canes, help them to pay creditors or buy land, or start some little business.

D. M. MANILAL.

ROUND THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

One of the resolutions accepted by the Congress embodied a vigorous protest against the continuance of the Press Act and urged its immediate repeal from the Statute Book. Mr. B. G. Horniman, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, who spoke to it, assailed both the principle underlying the legislation and the methods adopted in its execution. Now, the freedom of the Press is a well-recognised doctrine in all civilised countries and save in a few cases, an instrument of potent influence in directing and educating the popular will. It is in its relation to the state that much misconception has arisen regarding the inviolability of that doctrine. We have already noted a few exceptions; while a country is at war, it is not perhaps wise to leave the functions of the Press entirely to its discretion. But outside these rare cases, it is difficult to make out a case for the restraint of public opinion. And it is of this exactly that the executive of this country cannot be convinced. We do not stop to argue the matter further: the thing is mischievous and works incalculable harm on one of the most exacting professions of life. The Press Association, which has been set about, of the editors and newspaper proprietors who choose to join the body, starts with a practical programme of work and its immediate objective, we understand, is to act in a way to throttle the Old Man of the Sea now seated on its back. In this we wish it godspeed. In this connection, we venture to suggest one or two considerations which seem to demand a co-ordinate policy and concerted action by the Indian Press, as contradistinguished from the Anglo-Indian, such as only a Press Association, with wider plans, can initiate. We trust that the Press Association, sprung under the animus of the Press Act, will expand into such an organisation, after its immediate object has been achieved. We may be asked what there is to do after that. It is a well-known fact that the Anglo-Indian Press shares greater confidence at the hands of the Government and enjoys a certain impunity from its wrath. Apart from the slight implied to the indigenous press, this invidious distinction is calculated to warp the judgment of our Anglo-Indian critics. These represent a considerable body of public and commercial interests in the country, and it is necessary for the Indian publicist to know their real views concerning the vital problems of the land. A combination of the Indian Press interests can bring this about in two ways. By imparting solidarity to a set of views urged by the Indian Press and sometimes by withholding the publication of news favourable to the opposite camp until the latter behave in a way to deserve fair treatment. The aim should be to create

public opinion, whether Indian or Anglo-Indian, without the least suspicion of dictation from the powers that be.

The proceedings of the Industrial Conference as well as those of the Commercial Congress, which is by the way the first of its kind in India, have made it clear that the primary requisites of economic India are a wide diffusion of scientific knowledge of industrial matters and an efficient organisation of Indian commercial interests. These are by no means new ideas; but the attention, when once their novelty has been worn off by dint of mere repetition, is apt to be switched off, as it has been unfortunately in the case of at least a few economic politicians, to other and less insistent demands of the industrial situation. For instance, side by side with these factors of industrial advancement, we have heard, and in a more clamant note, of tariff walls, schemes of state-aid, loan-policies and what not, as though these constituted the main solvents of our economic position. Not that they represent considerations of no value, but they are subsidiary to the prime essentials of applied science and organised direction in the management of Indian industries and commerce. Sir Dorabji J. Tata and the Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoi Currimbhoi have made these points clear in their respective presidential addresses to the Industrial Conference and the Commercial Congress. Before we go into details into these pronouncements, we shall make a short digression on the relative charms of being a politician and an industrialist in this country. The educated Indian is invariably a politician, with a stock-in-trade of choice epithets to decry 'bureaucracy,' ready to prove the 'poverty' of the masses; denounce the pay and pensions of the official class; enlarge upon representative Government; or expatiate upon the apathy of Government. We have no wish to be hard upon our politicians, but what we desire to impress upon the country is that a too exclusive concern for political affairs does not make for a healthy allround national progress. National activity must issue in other channels, and that which stands in need of most development is, at the present time, the industrial. It is, we admit, humdrum, slow and not of the *veni, vidi, vici* type in earning for its proteges that popular notice which seems to be a hankering obsession with some of our politicians. To make two blades of corn grow where only one grew before has not been the sort of propaganda which has appealed to all. This must go. The humble individual who by his small example and influence makes an innovation in the economic life of his village, who shows the way to add to the income, however small, of the peasant, the cottager, the artisan or blacksmith, does, in our opinion, more service to the nation, though he might never come to the level of the headline humanity in newspapers.

Of the four constituents to wealth production—raw material, labour, capital and technical skill or science—Sir Dorab Tata placed the last in order of importance. The fact that the modern era is far in advance of any previous period, in material conveniences, is simply on account of the rapid development of applied science. Raw material, labour and capital have in some form or other always existed, but their manipulation into shapes with which we are familiar have been possible only now. The first essential to our industrial progress is to build up a diffused knowledge of science amongst our people and to banish all rule of thumb methods from our industry and commerce. This, Sir Dorab said, is pre-eminently the function of the State; scientific research needs such large endowments that only the State can provide it. And scientific education, or a diffused knowledge of science, connotes something much more than an institute or a college here and there. It covers the whole field of production—science training, technical teaching and mass education; the scientific survey of the economic possibilities of India and a complete knowledge of economics, all these combined in their turn with machinery to bring the lessons learnt home to the mass of the people through museums and exhibitions. In this connection we venture to offer the suggestion that the industrial and commercial exhibitions started in the several provinces under the economic impetus of the war may be retained as a permanent object lesson and added to in course of time. But whilst this field pre-eminently belongs to the State, it is one where the citizen must co-operate. Persons of local influence and in affluent circumstances are required to link departmental organisations of this sort with the masses. The heroic efforts that are being made in Great Britain to remedy the defects in her scientific equipment owe their existence much less to the State than to the wealthy captains of industry of Manchester and Leeds and Sheffield. Now, where does India stand in the scale of wealth producers? As Sir Dorab Tata pointed out, her supply of raw material is not so abundant as many people think; but it is certainly sufficient to satisfy all the industrial activities that can be developed in the next half century. Then as regards capital and labour. We had a glimpse of the former during Swadeshi days. What has come of it? Without labouring the point further, we close this part of the argument with the round assertion of Sir Dorab Tata, that any dereliction of duty in investigating commercial enterprises and in incompetent management is a crime against the nation and the country. With regard to labour, of which we wrote in a previous issue, the only path to economy is, in the words of Sir Dorab, the largest employment of automatic machinery wherever possible.

FAMINE AND EMIGRATION.

It must have been brought to the notice of the readers of *Modern Review* by the last few issues, the severity of famine in the district of Bankura, Bengal. We, however, have not hesitated to co-operate with our worthy contemporary to ameliorate the condition of the starving people by reproducing some of the photographs to bring home to our countrymen the pitiable condition of the starving millions and to urge upon them the duty of saving the lives of young and old who are daily falling a prey to the deadly disease.

Famines in India are closely associated with poverty and it is often said that in India there is no such thing as food famine, because the country produces enough and to spare; but it is all a question of money famine. The subject of Indian famine, its causes and cures, is as much a neglected and difficult problem as Indian finance and currency, and in fact involves a discussion relating to the whole economic problem of India.

There was a tendency to attribute famine in India to the effect of British rule owing to the drain of its resources, the construction of railways with its consequent economic revolution and the increased taxation in the land revenue, etc. "The saddest sight," writes Miss Florence Nightingale, "to be seen in the East—nay probably in the world—is the peasant of our Eastern Empire." (*Nineteenth Century*, August 1878). Says Mr. H. M. Hyndman (*Nineteenth Century*, October 1878): "The famines which have been devastating India are in the main financial famines. Men and women cannot get food, because they cannot save the money to buy it. Yet we are driven, so we say, to tax these people more." How far these causes are still operative we shall not pause to consider. What we are immediately concerned is how to mitigate this evil temporarily or permanently. In addition to the relief works which the Government have so generously instituted since 1770 when there was a terrible famine in Bengal, it is the duty of the rich classes, particularly the landed proprietors, Zemindars and Rajas not to rackrent the poor labouring classes only to waste their money in the enjoyments of luxuries. Another remedy which suggests itself to us is the organising of "Emigration labour colonies" as in the West—in the different parts of the country where the starving and the unemployed may find food and employment. Space forbids our entering into the details of the scheme, but we feel sure that its effects will be as far-reaching as the enormous emigration which followed the potato famine of Ireland in 1845 and 1846 in bringing prosperity to those who ventured abroad.

THE COMMERCIAL IMPORTANCE

OF THE

PANAMA-PACIFIC EXPOSITION, 1915.

Commercially speaking, the Panama-Pacific International Exposition held last year at San Francisco, on the western edge of the American continent, marks a new epoch in the conduct of expositions.

The Panama Canal opens a new avenue of commerce for the products of the East to find their way to Western market; The exposition will develop trade relations between the East and the West as nothing else could have done.

The Panama Pacific International Exposition differs in two essentials from previous expositions: it celebrates a contemporaneous event and it is being held in a section of country which is yet in the preliminary stages of development.

One feature that the exposition authorities have insisted should be followed by exhibitors as far as possible is that working models illustrating the various processes of manufacture of the goods displayed should be shown in the exhibit. All displays entered for competitive award must be of present-day origin, or since 1905, to be eligible for such awards. This insures displays of new goods throughout, and from a commercial standpoint is a most important one.

More than three hundred congresses and conventions have scheduled San Francisco as their 1915 meeting place, and represented nearly every phase of human activity.

The attention of the foreign countries exhibiting has been given more to laying stress on the products in which they excel than to attempt to cover the entire field of their various activities. This has resulted in one of the greatest series of displays of foreign nations ever attempted in the history of expositions, and the most attractive. The Japanese and Chinese nations particularly have appropriated vast sums of money to exploit their products. Japan will have exhibits in each of the exhibit palaces, and will have typical villages in the State and foreign buildings section and in the amusement concessions district. India also is proud of being represented in it, and this is due to the herculean efforts of Indians residing in America. The Indian section of the exhibition is shown in the frontispiece.

In every department the exposition will prove a great trade stimulus, in bringing the people of the East and eastern products to the western gate way of the American empire and to show the visitors the vast extent of western territory to be developed. In this feature the 1915 exposition will be unique among expositions. The Panama-Canal insures to the people of the West a stimulus for marvellous growth and the commemorative exposition marks the beginning of a new era of prosperity for both East and West.

Famine in Bankura, Bengal.



Charity begins at Home.



Oh India! Where are thy patriots?

(With acknowledgments to the "Modern Review.")



The heart is stone that feels not at this, feels at none.



Do not our cries reach thy ears?

GENERAL ARTICLES.

HOW TO SEE JAPAN.

INTRODUCTION.

IN earlier days Japan remained practically a hermit nation leading a quiet life within her sea-girt isles far removed from the centres of Western civilization. Nothing was then known to the outside world of her natural beauties, her distinct civilization, her peculiar customs, except a few occasional glimpses of them caught by the people of the West from the accounts of Marco Polo and other earlier travellers. Coming down to the days of the Tokugawa Shogunate, the Government adopted a policy of isolation, for more than two centuries prohibiting under severe penalties all foreign intercourse, that is until the time of the arrival of Commodore Perry, who visited her shores a little more than half a century ago in command of an American fleet. He was instrumental in awaking Japan from her peaceful slumber, which had remained unbroken for centuries, and in opening the country to foreign intercourse. Japan, which had successfully grafted Chinese civilization on to her inherent culture, was well prepared for adopting and adapting Western civilization now that she was brought within its influence. The strides since made by Japan in all phases of her national existence have excited the wonder and admiration of the world. In fact she has epitomized in less than half a century the progress which it had taken the West centuries to accomplish. Remarkable also has been her development in diplomacy and in foreign commerce. Her international relations have become so intimate, that steamer routes from all the important ports of the world converge on Japan, and keeping pace with the advance in her national strength, means of internal communication and hotel accommodation have been noticeably improved. The completion of the Trans-Siberian Route has further facilitated access to the country and greatly swelled the number of tourists visiting Japan. It is true that Japan has undergone a complete transformation; she has remodelled her civilization on Western lines, but not to such an extent as to sweep away wholesale all her native charms. On the contrary, she still preserves, and will preserve, all that is essential to the genius of her own civilization. "Westernized" Japan has yet much to interest tourists from foreign parts—in her art, in her ancient architecture, in her quaint customs, in her charming manners, and, last but not least, in her national characteristics. It is no exaggeration to say that a tourist will

experience a confusion of delight when he finds himself in their midst. The physical features of the country contribute an additional charm to its attractiveness. The land, owing to its mountainous structure and to its being encircled by sea, is exceedingly rich in natural beauty. To add to its long list of attractions, the greater part of the Empire enjoys a comparatively equable climate at all seasons, situated as it is in the temperate zone. These facts combine to render the country a most desirable resort for tourists. Japan is deservedly called "the Paradise of the World": indeed no one can well boast that he has seen the world, until he has seen the Land of the Rising Sun.

BETWEEN EUROPE AND JAPAN.

There are two routes for travellers between West Europe and Japan. One is the Trans-Siberian route and the other is *via* Suez. These two routes have their own respective merits. The overland route has the advantage of quick transit—an advantage which is annually increasing the traffic between Europe and Asia through this channel. On the other hand, the sea route has the attractive features of beautiful land-and sea-scapes, gives opportunities for observing the different customs of different lands at the ports of call, and possesses the peculiar charm of sea life. These are sufficient inducements to cause a large section of the travelling public to patronise the ocean route.

CLIMATE OF JAPAN.

There is a great variety in the weather as well as in everything else in Japan. In January and February snow often falls. Summer begins in June, and during July and August it is likely to be very hot generally. September weather is variable, with occasional rain, and the early winter is not unpleasant.

The best time to visit Japan is in April and May in the Spring, or October and November in the Autumn. The earlier season brings the cherry blossoms and other beautiful flowers, while the latter has the chrysanthemums and golden maples. There is snow on the high mountains throughout the year.

The average traveller generally forms his itinerary before arrival in this fascinating land; to see the sights rapidly as well as comfortably one will require at least a month, but to see and appreciate the "sights" so that the memory of them lingers in the mind, the traveller should devote at least three months to the Island Empire.

TRAVELLING WARDROBE.

In winter the tourist should be prepared with warm clothing similar to that worn in the West in that season, while in summer one should be careful to carry especially light clothing, although in case of visiting

high mountains warm garments are required. For travelling in the country districts one need not be at all particular about clothing, but in cities one must naturally be well dressed. At a court function or at a grand ball invited guests are expected to appear in the ceremonial garments specified; but in society in general, dress other than one's every-day attire is seldom required. As in temples and other buildings fitted in pure Japanese style, visitors are required to remove their shoes, it is advisable for the tourist to wear shoes easy to slip on and off, such as those with elastic sides. Large firms in Tokyo and elsewhere, whose premises are in Japanese style, as well as temples, etc., frequented by foreigners, are provided with "shoe-covers," a convenient device obviating the necessity of taking off one's shoes.

HOTELS.

In cities and tourist points of Japan, Chosen, Manchuria, and Formosa, there are hotels with European accommodation. They are mostly conducted on the American plan, and the charges include room and meals. In some hotels the European plan is adopted as well. Where there are no European hotels in such places as are frequented by foreign visitors, there are, however, Japanese inns with adequate accommodation for foreigners. Tourists, desirous of having an experience of the Japanese way of living, will find it profitable to put up in purely Japanese inns by way of a change or to satisfy their curiosity. In this case they must be prepared for some inconvenience arising from differences in customs and manners. Charges at Japanese inns vary according to grades, but the usual scale of charges for a night's stay is from 1.50 to 5 yen including food (dinner and breakfast) and bedding. Besides these charges it is customary for guests to give gratuities to inn-proprietors and servants. No hard and fast rule can be laid down as to the proper amounts of gratuities, but it is safe to say that the sums range downward from the total amount of charges, according to the quality of attendance and the standard of accommodation in general. Tips to servants should be fixed according to the gratuities given to the inns. These gratuities are expected by the people of the inns for their good accommodation and service, and tourists are advised to yield to the custom. It is to be noted that in some Japanese inns regularly patronized by foreigners, prices higher than the usual scale are charged them in expectation that no gratuities will be forthcoming.

GUIDES.

Guides are not necessary for travellers who speak English or who have a smattering of Japanese and are accustomed to Japanese ways, but ordinary tourists will find it very convenient and helpful to engage guides. English is widely used on the Japanese railways and in

hotels, banks, and business firms dealing with foreigners. Guides are subjected to strict official examination as to their professional attainments before they are licensed as such. They are mostly reliable, but the profession is not entirely free from members who are not worthy of the responsible positions they fill, and care should be taken in the selection of one.

In order to get about expeditiously and economically and to see all the "sights," and to appreciate Japanese humour and customs the traveller should hire a guide. At any of the large hotels good guides may be retained.

There are reliable Guide Associations at Yokohama, Tokyo and Kobe, with agencies at Kyoto. The traveller, however, is strongly recommended to have recourse to the Welcome Society (Kihin-kai), an association formed at the initiative of a number of prominent Japanese, supported by several influential foreign residents, which not only provides special facilities, but also exercises great care in selecting men of good character to act as guides.

We give here the fee charged by guides in Yokohama with a view to showing the usual rate. There the fee is 4 yen a day. This fee, however, is for professional services only,—the hotel expenses of the guide, his travelling expenses, such as passage money on steamers, railway and tram fares, etc., are to be borne by the tourist, in addition to the payment above mentioned. In the case of an ascent of Mount Fuji, 5 yen extra is charged per trip. For travels in Hokkaido, one yen extra per day. As a general rule, for a party of two or more persons (exclusive of children and servants) an additional charge of one yen per day per person is made.

CURRENCY.

Copper coins—5 rin, 1 sen, 2 sen; nickel coins—5 sen; silver coins—10 sen, 20 sen, 50 sen; gold coins—5 yen, 10 yen, 20 yen.

Bank of Japan notes—1 yen, 5 yen, 10 yen, 100 yen. Foreign money can be exchanged on landing at Yokohama at the Yokohama Specie Bank or at any other bank, Japanese or foreign. The letter of credit system is in operation between the principal Japanese banks and their correspondents abroad. The foreign equivalents of the Japanese yen are approximately as follows:—1 yen of 100 sen (Japanese)=2s. (English)= $\$ \frac{1}{2}$ (American)=2 mks. (German)=2½ fr. (French)=1 rouble (Russian)= $\$ 1$ (Mexican)=1½ rupees (Indian).

ITINERARY TOURS.

American tourists usually land at Yokohama and those from Europe at Nagasaki; and movements will, of course, depend altogether on the time at their disposal.

As it is impossible for a stranger to know the best selection to make from the guide book, these suggestions are offered; and they may be varied according to the time and tastes of the individual.

I. One day: 1. If from morning to evening, run up from Yokohama to Tokyo, and spend time as described for second day, in trip II. If two half days, take an hour's jinrikisha ride through the Japanese streets, visit shops; and second half day, take two hours' ride into the country.

II. Two days: 1. First day as in trip I. 2. Second day: Take early morning express to Tokyo. See Shiba Park with Tokugawa mausolea; thence to Kojimachi hill and Nijubashi to see Imperial Palace grounds; thence to Shokonsha shrine of departed heroes, with museum of war trophies, on Kudan Hill; thence to Imperial University; thence to Ueno Park, and museum, cherry blossoms in season; thence to Asakusa Park, with weird temples, side shows and general views of Japanese civilization; thence ride down Ginza Street, main thoroughfare of the Capital; visit shops; thence Shimbashi station for Yokohama.

III. Three days: 1. First two days as in trip II. 2. Third day: Take train from Yokohama to Kamakura, old capital; see famous statue of Buddha, called "Daibutsu," the Hachiman temple, the goddess of mercy, the god of hell, delightful view of sea, Enoshima Island and cave; return to Yokohama.

IV. Seven days: 1. First three days as in trip III. 1. Fourth day: train to Nikko; evening walk about village. 2. Fifth day: take guide and see marvellous temple architecture of old Japan; glorious walk to waterfall. 3. Sixth day: take packhorse to Lake Chuzenji; maples in autumn or early spring (Japanese maples when leafing and fading, are red); see Kegon Falls, the Mecca of Japanese suicides; return to Nikko in the evening. 4. Seventh day: return to Yokohama.

V. Ten days: 1. First seven days as in trip IV. 2. Eighth day: Yokohama to Kodzu, thence by tram and rickisha to Miyanoshita near foot of Fujiyama. 3. Ninth day: walk to hot springs, and among giant hills; enjoy delightful hotel and hot natural sulphur baths. 4. Tenth day: return to Yokohama.

VI. Two weeks: 1. First ten days, as in trip V. 2. Except that you will not return to Yokohama on tenth day, but instead, take packhorse to Lake Hakone, with grand view of Fujiyama over the pass. 3. Twelfth day: rest by the lake at comfortable hotel, a walk in afternoon to hot springs (Ojigoku). 4. Thirteenth day: continue journey to Atami; enjoy baths. 5. Fourteenth day: return to Kodzu by jinsha (hand railway).

VII. Three weeks: 1. First two weeks as above. 2. Fifteenth day: Kodzu by train to Kyoto, fine views

of Fuji by the way. 3. Sixteenth day: see Imperial Palace; some of the great temples; and fine shops. 4. Seventeenth day: see schools and university; geisha dancing; theatres. 5. Eighteenth day: train to Nara, old capital; see deer park; giant statue of Buddha; shops. 6. Nineteenth day: return to Kyoto. 7. Twentieth to twenty-fourth day: run the Katsuragawa rapids.

The above suggestions are intended for those travelling without a guide; although even with a guide, if time is at a premium, it will be advisable to insist on not missing the best. For those making a longer stay in Japan, the following ought not to be omitted.

From Tokyo: 1. To Matsushima, a sea of fairy-like islands in the North, taking about four days. 2. To Karuizawa at the foot of Asama, the greatest volcano in Japan; three days, if ascent of volcano is made; to include the lavated trip, one day more; one of the finest trips imaginable. 3. To Kofu, and down the Fujikawa rapids; about four days.

From Kyoto: 1. To Lake Biwa, and Ama-no-hashidate. 2. By way of Kobe down the Inland Sea, to Miyajima. 3. A train and jinrikisha trip through the island of Kyushu, the most conservative and ancient centre of Japanese civilization, is well worth the ten days or two weeks that might be given to it. Boat or train, Kobe to Nagasaki; there, see Osuwa temple, ride over the Mogi, one hour, delightful scenery; next day, boat or train to Kumamoto; thence to Kagoshima; return to Kumamoto; see Mount Aso volcano; at Kumamoto, old Japanese shops and gardens; ride the rapids of the Kumagawa; take trip down the Yabakei valley, a region of incomparable interest in civilization and scenery.

BRIEF DESCRIPTIONS OF PLACES.

YOKOHAMA.

The first stop of the steamer is at Yokohama, the principal port of Japan, with 326,000 of inhabitants and the gateway to Tokyo, the capital. The customs examination is fair and thorough, and the voyager must be prepared to pay a light import duty of about ten per cent. upon all belongings that are not personal necessities. One camera is allowed each person. From Yokohama and Tokyo are many charming side trips, and the rest here for days and weeks cannot but prove of pleasure and profit. Any representative of the Toyo Kisen Kaisha will readily and willingly furnish all desired information relative to trips about this "land of the chrysanthemum," telling all details of railway rates, distances, hotel accommodations, and the other bits of knowledge that the traveller must have in order to keep his peace of mind.

Several days may be spent here to advantage. The Bund, about half a mile long, affords a fine view of the

Harbour and Tokyo Bay, with the hills and mountains of the two provinces of Shimosa and Kazusa in the distance. The former settlement, known as Yamashitacho, with business houses and shops, lies behind and at one end rises the Bluff, the European residential section; while at the other is the Japanese town, with its numerous shops, theatres, etc.

A very interesting half-day excursion by carriage, jinrikisha or motor-car, is over the Bluff, with its many fine gardens, and from which some excellent views are to be had, *via* the Race Course and along the shores of Mississippi Bay to Sugita, where refreshments can be obtained at a Tea Garden. The journey can be varied by returning *via* Honmoku and the Bluff.

Another excursion, occupying a short day, is to Kanazawa, following the same route but extending it several miles further through some of the prettiest scenery of Mississippi Bay. The latter is interesting as one of the landing places in 1854 of Commodore Perry, who was instrumental in opening Japan to foreign intercourse.

In addition to the above there are several shorter trips and an endless variety of entertainment in visiting the many shops displaying ivory, silver and other works of art and industry.

ATTRACTIONS OF TOKYO.

From Yokohama the traveller reaches Tokyo by an eighteen-mile ride over the pioneer railway line, a fifty minutes' trip. A little way from the sea an excellent view is had of Fuji Yama, 12,365 feet high, with its snowy peaks like the petals of a lotus flower. Tokyo, with the Imperial Palace and its beautiful grounds in the centre, guarded by a moat, contains many attractions. With its two millions of inhabitants and many points of historic interest, it is representative of Japanese life and customs. The Imperial Museum, the Zoological Garden, the Library, the Academy of Music and Fine Art Association, the numerous good theatres and commercial mart of Naka-Dori, parallel to the main thoroughfare, with its wonderful collections of Japanese curios and other wares, are of the many points of interest. Ueno Park is the chief pleasure grounds of the city. Here are to be seen the tombs and temples of the great Shoguns; a mile to the east is Asakusa, with its wonderful temple of Kwannon, and just beyond, across the River Sumida (where are held in the Spring the university regattas) is the pleasure resort, Mukojima. To these parks in the spring-time the people go to enjoy the great Festival of the Cherry Blossom, a panorama of beauty and particular interest to the artist and student of Japanese æstheticism. Near the River Sumida, at the Temple of Ekoin, are held the great wrestling matches for which Japanese are famous. Shiba Park, a mile south of the Imperial Palace, con-

tains many famous Buddhist temples, no longer supported by the Government, but yet, with the tombs of Shoguns, of great interest. Visit Shiba in the bright morning when the delicate beauty of its Oriental arts-work is best apparent. The Temple of Sengakuji, a mile and a half further south, is the burial place of the famous Forty-seven Ronins, whose vendetta has long been a theme for Japanese song and story.

In Tokyo, the tourist becomes well acquainted with the jinrikisha, more commonly known as the "rickshaw," the two-wheeled cart in which natives haul one about for a moderate fee. A suburban railway is also a convenient mode of travel, but the "rickshaw" is universal, goes everywhere, and is always at hand and exceedingly comfortable for short excursions.

NIKKO'S CHARMS.

It was at Nikko that Sir Edwin Arnold, famous poet and traveller, spent many days that proved of lasting profit to literature. A Japanese proverb says: "Who has not seen Nikko, cannot say beautiful." Nikko, ninety miles by rail north of Tokyo, nestling up against the mountains, is noted for the superb natural beauty of its surroundings and the great shrines of the Shoguns.

A more pleasing climate is to be found at Chuzenji, eight miles from Nikko. It is a good summer retreat by the shore of a beautiful lake.

Another interesting trip is northward to the Port of Shiogama, through Sendai and thence by boat to the hamlet of Matsushima, one of the Three Great Views of Japan, threading its way among the archipelagos of pineclad islets.

BRONZE BUDDHA AT KAMAKURA.

At Kamakura, a fifty minutes' trip by rail from Yokohama, which is widely known to all Japanese as a popular resort apart from its religious attractions, is the great bronze statue of Buddha, "Diabutsu," an image about fifty feet in height with eyes of gold, and decorations about it and in the temple adjoining of priceless value.

Enoshima Island lies near Kamakura and the drive along the coast between the two places is very picturesque.

HAKONE AND ASCENT OF FUJI YAMA.

South-westerly from Yokohama, by rail, is Hakone, fronting the picturesque Sagami Bay. Hakone is the general name given to this tableland which contains a considerable area of beautiful mountains, valleys and lake scenery, with numerous hot springs. Yumoto lies at the foot of Hakoney-yama, while Ashinoyu stands near the summit of the mountain. Miyanoshita is

situated at about midway between the two places and is the most famous resort in the Hakone region.

Along this same rail line is Gotemba, the junction point for those who wish to climb Fuji Yama.

Fuji Yama, and who does not wish to climb the slopes of that sacred mountain? The best time to ascend is from the end of July to the end of August. The road lies by way of Gotemba over the Maiden's Pass with superb views of sea and land all the way. Strong footwear is necessary as well as an abundance of wraps and coats. The outfit and guides for the trip may be secured at the hotel. For seven miles or more the trip is made on horseback. The usual hour of departure is about 3:00 o'clock in the morning, so that when high on the mountain side one may stop and see the sunrise in splendour. It is late in the afternoon before the summit is reached. The night might be passed here comfortably, after inspecting the crater of the old volcano, and the descent accomplished in the early morning.

MOUNT FUJI AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

This world-famous mountain rises to a height of 12,370 ft. above the sea-level. Ascents are made from July to September, when huts are opened along the upward paths. A journey to and from the top of the mountain occupies 24 hours, or two days. It is necessary for travellers to hire guides, locally known as "goriki," when making ascents. There are five routes at the option of travellers. For those coming from Hakone or vicinity, the most convenient routes are by way of Tarobo and Subashiri, both of which are reached from Gotemba (1½ hour by rail from Kozu), the former on foot or on horseback and the latter by horse-tram. The first stage of the journey *via* Tarobo can be done on horseback up to the base of the mountain. The huts for travellers to rest in or stay overnight are found at intervals along the paths. When proceeding by the Central Line starting from Iidamachi, Tokyo, travellers leave the train at Otsuki, a station east of Kofu, thence take a horse-tram to Yoshida where the ascent is to be begun. A horse-tramway connects Yoshida and Gotemba. When approaching from the west, alight at Fuji Station, thence proceed by the light railway tram to Omiyaguchi at the foot of the mountain. One of the grandest sights of Mount Fuji is the splendour of the sunrise seen from the top. The views obtainable from near the crater are also beautiful beyond description. For excursions around the base of the mountain, leave the train at Suzukawa or Fuji Station, take tram-car for Omiya, and proceed to Lake Shoji by way of Kamiide and Lake Motosu. The trip occupies one day. On the return journey proceed to Yoshida, thence take the horse-tram to Otsuki or Gotemba as desired. This takes up another day. On Lake Shoji

is a European-style hotel, named Shoji Hotel. An excursion can be arranged by proceeding from Shoji to Yokaichiba, whence one may shoot down the Rapids of the Fujikawa to Iwabuchi, a small town on the Tokaido main line. This affords a very pleasant journey in the summer months. From Kofu horse-trams are available as far as Kajizakawa, whence travellers are carried down the Rapids by boat to Iwabuchi. The whole distance from Kajizakawa to Iwabuchi is 45 miles, which is covered in about seven hours.

INTERESTING CITIES ON TOKAIDO RAILWAY.

The trip by rail from Tokyo or Yokohama to Kobe gives the traveller an excellent view of Japan and a fair idea of the thriving people, passing through Oiso, Shizuoka, Nagoya, Gifu, Kyoto and Osaka, the commercial and industrial city with its million of inhabitants.

Shizuoka (population 48,000) produces cheap lacquers and delicate bamboo work. This locality is noted for its tea plantations, and most of the tea is exported from the Port of Shimizu, close to Mihono-Matsubara, a promontory of sandy land clad with pine trees.

NAGOYA CASTLE AND CORMORANT FISHING.

The traveller is attracted to Nagoya (population 288,000) chiefly for the sake of visiting its castle, one of the finest in Japan. This town is also celebrated for its industries: cloisonne enamel, porcelain and faience.

Gifu, about one hour's ride by rail from Nagoya, produces fans and paper lanterns. In the summer time it is worth while to see the cormorant fishing, known as "Ukai," on the river Nagara, near the town. Each boat has four fishermen and a captain called "Usho," who handles twelve trained birds with great dexterity.

Yokkaichi, a port opposite Nagoya, over Owari Bay, was the pioneer town in Japan to have European factory chimneys, now so common a sight in the Island Empire. From here the traveller makes his way to Yamada, where are situated the "Geku" or Outer Shrine and the "Naigu" or Inner Shrine of Isle, the centre of Shinto worship in Japan.

SHIZUOKA.

Shizuoka, is, next to Nagoya, the largest town on the Tokaido. Fine views, in which Mount Fuji figures conspicuously, are obtained from various places in the neighbourhood. The far-famed *Miho-no-matsubara*, which affords a delightful view showing a charming contrast of white sands and green pines, is 2½ miles from Ejiri Station. Kunoza, 6 miles from Ejiri where the first of the Tokugawa Shoguns is enshrined, is renowned for its fine bird's-eye views of the surrounding country.

KYOTO.

Kyoto (380,000 inhabitants) is the most interesting city in Japan, and here tourists may find rare and antique bric-a-brac, exquisitely wrought, proof of potter's art, beautiful bronze vases, embroideries, cloisonne enamel, fans, toys, velvets and whatnot, on sale. In this ancient city is the Mikado's palace surrounded by a great wall with six gates, and covering twenty-five acres of ground. Within the city limits there are over 800 Buddhist's temples and about eighty Shinto shrines, and these buildings represent the architecture of every age.

The Kamogawa is a river which a great stone bed and little water, but Kyoto is connected by a canal seven miles long with Lake Biwa, the largest lake in the Empire, having a width of twelve miles and a length of thirty-six miles. In the western environs lies Arashiyama, glowing with cherry blossoms in Spring and maple tints in Autumn. At its foot there is a point to disembark from a boat for the traveller descending the rapids of Hozugawa, the most amusing excursion from Kyoto.

NARA, OSAKA AND KOBE.

The old city of Nara, more than a thousand years ago, was the seat of Japanese Government. It is chiefly ruins now—but magnificent ruins, with great park-like avenues, bearing witness to the one-time greatness of the city. There is a giant bell here, ancient and worn, some fourteen feet high, weighing thirty-seven tons. It rang out the first call to worship almost twelve hundred years ago.

By Osaka flows the Yodo River, draining Lake Biwa, and in it the Island of Nakanoshima is a famous resort. In the summer evenings the river bears many pleasure boats, its surface reflecting the light of thousands of gay lanterns; music, too, comes over the water, and the sky glows with fireworks. The old fortress here was built in the sixteenth century, and all parts of the empire contributed to its construction. A magnificent place was constructed within its twenty-foot walls, but the fire of 1868 destroyed it.

The city of Kobe, now combined in one municipality with Hiogo, is 358 miles by steamer and 359 miles by rail from Yokohama, and of all the treaty ports is most favoured by visitors. It has all the conveniences of a modern city, including good hotels, theatres and clubs, and is within easy visiting distance of many points of interest, including the Nunobiki Falls.

THE INLAND SEA—A FAIRY LAND.

And then, the Inland Sea, that fairyland of islands and temples and trees, possessed of a charm that even the picturesque Lafcadio Hearn's polished language failed to fitly depict. Here is a chance, if taken by

easy stages, by crossing and recrossing from island to island, to see Japan in its pristine beauty. There are islands here where the foot of the white man has never trod. Natives are curious, but always hospitable, and accommodation is reasonably good. If the traveller has time, an idling trip through the Inland Sea will amply repay him. The schedules of the Toyo Kisen Kaisha are arranged so that the voyager boards the steamers at Kobe and proceeds to Nagasaki through the Inland Sea invariably by daylight. By this means, a charming view of the famous sea is obtained, enough to satisfy the average voyager, but he who longs for a close sight of uncommon things, could well spend weeks amid the sea of marvels. The sea has a length of two hundred and forty miles, and at points the picturesque shores lie so closely near to each other that one can throw a pebble over the deep, running water. Islands and islets rise out of its clear depths; now a barren, rugged rock, launching a bold defiance to the elements; then some beautiful oval with its green terraces, winding walks and shady groves.

SHIMONOSEKI AND MOJI.

About fourteen hours' steaming from Kobe brings the ship to the western exit of the Inland Sea. The Port of Shimonoseki, with 46,000 inhabitants, lies on its north shore, and is faced by Moji, a prosperous town having an abundance of coal in its vicinity. Shimonoseki derived celebrity from the bombardment of 1863, the final strict blow to Japanese conservatism given by a combined Squadron of British, French, Dutch and American warships. Here, in 1895, was concluded the Treaty of Peace between China and Japan.

NAGASAKI.

The steamer remains at Nagasaki about twelve hours. The city possesses many points of interest, including a magnificent temple and a fine porcelain bazaar. It is an old city, dating back to the twelfth century and has about 153,000 inhabitants. Here, in the sixteenth century, the Christians settled, and the Spanish and Portuguese traders flourished. They were expelled, however, in 1637, and from then until the opening of the treaty ports, in 1859, the only foreign intercourse was with the Dutch and Chinese. Here is an opportunity to visit the famous Tategami dock, carved out of solid rock at a cost of a million dollars; and the greatest ship-building works of the Orient are close by.

Nagasaki is celebrated for tortoise-shell wares, and a fish market said to have only very few rivals over the world for diversity of staples.

From this town the hot springs of Unsen, a fine summer retreat, may be reached through Obama, noted for its mineral waters.

THE TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILWAY

Has opened a new route for the travelling world from Japan and China to Europe, which shortens the trip from the Far East to Western Europe to about fifteen days.

The traveller making the trip across the Pacific on one of the steamers of the Toyo Kisen Kaisha can, if he desires to travel this route from Japan, go by train to Tsuruga, on the west coast, thence by steamer to Vladivostock, from which port three express trains leave every week for Moscow and St. Petersburg, connecting there with the daily express trains for all parts of Europe, and with the Trans-Atlantic steamships for America.

The trains on the Trans-Siberian Railway are composed of first and second class cars of the most modern style, with sleeping and dining arrangements up-to-date in every respect, with very moderate charges.

Finally we recommend the "Japan Tourist Bureau," Tokyo which affords special facilities to foreign tourists.

INDIA AND THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

(From the "Round Table.")

[The December number of the *Round Table* discusses at length the important resolution of India's representation in the Imperial Conference, brought before the Viceroy's Council on September 22, 1915, by the non-official Indian Member, Mr. Muhammad Shafi. The resolution, it is satisfactory to note, was carried by an unanimous vote and the Government's attitude towards it was one of genuine sympathy. The writer, in the earlier part of the article, (of which this is a summary) attempts to interpret India's request in the light of her wishes and aspirations. He points out that for a Dependency, such as India is, to maintain its right to share in deliberations in which only the self-governing nations of the Empire have hitherto participated, implies a remarkable growth in the political self-respect of its people, and a strong expectation that others will regard them in a new and favourable light. This, in fact, is the result of the worldwide war and of the part which India has played in it. Some misgivings which the rulers had about India's loyalty by the thoughtless actions of a few individuals have been proved to be

untrue and to judge the whole of India in that sinister light is totally unjust. The outburst of personal devotion to the Throne when His Majesty the King-Emperor recently visited India and the loyalty shown at the proclamation of the war are examples of the general realisation of the value of the British rule. The writer quotes an instance, the saying of a witty citizen of Bombay who expressed himself thus:—"It has taken us a hundred years to teach you how to govern us. Do you think we are going to begin over again now with another nation?" It is true that Englishmen and advanced Indian leaders naturally do not see eye to eye in many political questions. The Indian asks, if not actually for self-government, at least, for a larger share in the government of the country and is inclined to regard the Englishman as false to his own political ideals, if he hesitates to concede it. What actually moves the present generation is the love of country and the desire to achieve full nationhood. This is the problem of the present India and it will not be solved by ignoring it or talking round it. The feeling has come over the whole country that India has now been given the chance of action on the worldwide stage and she is now tested in the crucible of war.

The writer, while pointing out that the sending from India of 200,000 trained soldiers to fight for the King in five separate theatres of war has created a new self-respect for India and that her men fighting side by side with the Dominion contingent has made clear to eyes in the Dominions the manhood and virtue of India to which they were previously obscure, justly remarks that under above considerations India expects with confidence that many of her claims will be admitted when the war is over. The Indian claim to be granted political advancement after the war will be urged with a seriousness and force that it has hitherto missed. Without going into controversial regions of the specific demands of the Indians or the manner and the extent to which it may be possible to meet them, the writer reasonably hopes that while the war is not going to work miracles in the minds of men, at any rate, it will bring the Indian critics to see in the Englishmen more than the austere agents in the development of India's progress and the Englishmen may never forget that India's soldiers have died in Europe for the sake of their own ideals. In this way may spring into existence a sympathy rooted in common interests and memories on which an enduring settlement may be built. The war has made India feel that she is of, and not merely in, the Empire. It has given her a new sense of equality with the Dominions whose labours and perils she has not unworthily shared. The first request of all which India has put forward, viz., her representation at the Council where the members of the Empire meet, is one on which English and Indian opinion is not divided.

THUS far we have attempted to interpret India's request in the light of her own wishes and aspirations. But this is only half the story. If we are to appreciate the claim she makes in all its bearings, we must consider also what the Imperial Conference really is, and how far its constitution and the purpose for which it exists provide for the admission of India's representatives to its fold.

The Conference is not yet thirty years old. It has met in all six times, at intervals sufficiently long for the course of outside events to give on each occasion a definite bent to its proceedings; for which reason it is possible to sum up its history in no great space, without omitting anything material for our present purpose. The first Colonial Conference assembled in 1887, on the occasion of Queen Victoria's first Jubilee, and under the impulse of the colonial expansion of France and Germany. It was an informal gathering of Colonial representatives to deliberate on matters of common interest. It expressed a growing wish to promote the solidarity of the Empire without the faintest wish to alter its organization. "It was England's business to run the Empire as a whole, to conduct its foreign relations, to defend it from attack, to govern the Dependencies." The Colonies were invited to consider what contribution they could make in the defence of their own territories, and Australia undertook to contribute to the cost of an auxiliary squadron in Australian waters. Mr. Hofmeyr's proposal for an Imperial tariff for Imperial defence purposes was sympathetically received; but the Conference amounted simply to an informal discussion, the value of which lay rather in its giving definiteness to a common sentiment than in any positive attempt to translate that sentiment into action. India was neither represented nor referred to. The next meeting was summoned by the Canadian Government and was held at Ottawa in 1894. It busied itself with questions of trade and communications, and matters of defence and foreign policy, not to mention the Dependencies, were not discussed. This change illustrates the natural difference of view between the Mother Country, which was still responsible for the security of the whole Empire, and the Colonies, which were mainly concerned with their own self-development. By 1897 the partition of Africa, the advance of Russia to the East, the China-Japanese war, and the Jameson raid lent a new seriousness to Imperial problems which was reflected in the more responsible character of the Conference summoned in that year by Mr. Chamberlain and in the tentative proposals which he then put forward for an Imperial Council. But the Colonies still maintain their view that political relations should be left as they were, and that the surest way of consolidating Imperial interests lay along the line of commercial reciprocity. By the time the Conference of 1902

met the participation of Colonial troops in the Boer war had encouraged the belief at home that the Dominions were willing to share in the responsibilities of Empire, while in the Dominions themselves it had quickened the growth of a national spirit which, however unlikely to acquiesce indefinitely in the existing position, was by no means eager to accept any measures which offered them responsibility at the cost of freedom of action. Again the project of a Council was discussed and rejected; but it was agreed that Conferences between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Prime Ministers of the self-governing Colonies were beneficial and should be regularly held. Some of the Colonies undertook to increase their contributions to defence, but they definitely dissented from a deliberate policy of concentration, and resorted to commercial reciprocity as the sure and safe direction of advance.

By 1907 there was a further change. The older advocates of a union which should serve the purposes of defence and foreign policy had been convinced by hard facts that for the time being progress could only come along the line which the Dominions preferred. A Liberal Government was in power in England, averse to any increased expenditure on armaments, but averse also to any departure from a policy of Free Trade in the direction of Imperial preference. On the other hand, its ready recognition of the Dominions' freedom of action assisted to allay suspicions that the Conference was intended as a device to render them subservient to the Mother Country. In these circumstances the chief result attained affected the constitution of the Conference itself. It now became the Imperial Conference, a consultation to be henceforth held every four years between His Majesty's Government and the Governments of the self-governing Dominions beyond the seas. It was no longer a meeting of individuals, but a consultation of governments. This important change definitely established the status of the Dominions as partners in the common interests; and, though it set no future course of Imperial development except in the direction of continued co-operation, it finally destroyed the idea that union might possibly come by the gradual absorption of the Dominions in any representative institutions of the Mother Country.

The Conference of 1907 was further remarkable for the transient appearance of India in the arena of Imperial politics. Not only was the Secretary of State for India present, but, by special arrangement made by the Prime Minister, Sir James Mackay also attended the meetings of the Conference and addressed it on the question of preference in relation to the Indian economic position. His status in doing so was not made very clear. Lord Elgin said at the opening meeting: "If any question should arise with regard to India, you will have the advice

of a most distinguished member of Council," (i.e., a member of the Secretary of State's Council). In the discussion that ensued about preference, Sir James Mackay was generally referred to as "the representative of India," but some delegates went so far as to question his claim to speak in that capacity; and Lord Hardinge has since told us that he was present "not as a member of the Conference, nor as the representative of India, but on behalf of the India Office and with a view to the representation of Indian interests." Sir James Mackay, we may conclude, was present to interpret to the Conference the interests of India as these appeared to the department at Whitehall which was responsible for preserving them. But, inasmuch as his views on the dominant question of preference coincided with those of the Home Government and were opposed to those of the Dominion Ministers, the latter may be excused for feeling that his introduction required explanation.

By the time the last Imperial Conference assembled in 1911 the force of events caused the discussion to be directed chiefly to foreign policy and defence, and commercial issues were relatively in abeyance. No question was raised of India's representation; but on the eleventh day of session Lord Crewe, Secretary of State for India, attended, and addressed the Conference on the subject of promoting a better understanding between the self-governing Dominions and India.

From this summary certain conclusions stand out. Over the space of a quarter of a century there had been gradually evolved a truly Imperial deliberative assembly, the only body in the Empire which can, not indeed decide, but discuss, with the authority and knowledge that indispensably prelude decision, questions of common interest to the whole. A glance at the agenda of the Conference of 1911 shows the wide range of its activities. Commercial relations and British shipping; navigation law; uniformity in copyright; patents, trade marks, companies; weights and measures; an imperial court of appeal; naturalization; cable rates; wireless telegraphy; universal penny postage; imperial postal orders; decimal coinage; Suez Canal dues—these are all matters in which (not to exaggerate her claim) India is at least as vitally interested as New Zealand or Newfoundland. But (as India sees the case) two representatives of a million British citizens in one case and two representatives of a quarter of a million in the other have discussed these issues, while 315 million subjects of the Crown in India have looked on, and silently attended a verdict in which they had no voice. From a narrowly constitutional standpoint such a statement may require correction, but broadly speaking it is not inaccurate. No wonder that India chafes at her exclusion and resents an arrangement by which matters of great concern to her as well as to the rest of the Empire are settled over her head.

At the same time it is abundantly clear that India's exclusion has hitherto been the inevitable consequence of the method of growth of the Imperial Conference, and that the mover of the resolution in the Viceroy's Legislative Council was not supported by history in his implication that this result was dictated by any policy which it is necessary either to criticize or defend. In origin the Conference was a consultation between those who were in fact in a position to affect by their action the destinies of the Empire; and the dominant considerations have always been one or both of two—a strengthening of the structure of Empire in the direction of its common defence, or of its trade relations. India has not hitherto been called into council, because hitherto the conduct of her affairs has ultimately not lain in her own hands. Her armies and her tariffs have been controlled by His Majesty's Ministers. It is only in the past fifteen months that the claim of India to affect the decision of such questions has been admitted in increasing degree; it is only in the past fifteen months that a new force has come into existence to give her claim an earnestness that it previously lacked. However serious the difficulties that lie between us and the solution, there is at least not this difficulty, that India has hitherto remained outside the Imperial consultations from policy or design. The question of her admission is in no sense prejudged. It is wholly an open one.

Before we can approach it, however, there remain two points on which it is well to be clear. By the Constitution adopted in 1907 the Imperial Conference is a conference of governments, not an assembly of representatives of the people. It is a means by which "questions of common interest affecting the relations of the Mother Country and His Majesty's Dominions over the seas may be discussed and considered as between His Majesty's Government and the Governments of the self-governing Colonies." Possibly we may be told that, inasmuch as the self-governing Dominions choose their own governments, this is merely a distinction without a difference. But there lies a fallacy in that conclusion which it would be unwise to overlook. As parties to the Conference the heads of governments are invited, not because they have been selected for this purpose by the persons who sent them to Parliament, but because they and they alone can discuss the points in issue with proper knowledge, responsibility and effectiveness. If they accept a resolution of the Conference and feel that it will be acceptable to their supporters, then, as they command a majority in their Parliament, they are in the best possible position to carry it into effect. A conference between delegates elected for the purpose would do either too little or too much. If each delegate had no power to commit his constituents nothing would ever be done. If on the contrary the delegates' assent could bind those who sent them to confer, and

the vote of a majority was effective, the Imperial Conference would become an Imperial Council, not merely the highest deliberative body, but the supreme legislative body in the Empire. As it is, the Conference is of a texture midway between gaseous diffusion and frozen rigidity. The attitude of the members towards any proposal under discussion is affected by their sense of the light in which it will be regarded by those whom they represent; and their assent to it, if they do assent, is understood to be subject to the reservation that they find it commendable to the Parliaments before whom they will lay it. Doubtless the proposal to admit to the Conference for the first time a partner of different political status raises a real difficulty. But we shall at least confine the difficulty within its proper limits by conceiving the Conference in its true light as a deliberative meeting of the heads of Governments.

On the second point the Viceroy laid stress in his speech to his Legislative Council. The constitution of the Conference is at once as solid as rock and as plastic as clay. No power on earth can really alter it except a resolution of its members; but since it derives its existence from no statute or covenant or charter, but simply from the good-will and common purpose of the parties to it, they can transform its shape or procedure in an instant if they choose, and can open its doors to those who now stand outside it. It is in the Conference itself that India's request for entrance must be pleaded by others speaking for her.

In defining their attitude to the resolution which was carried in the Viceroy's Legislative Council on the motion of the Honourable Mr. Muhammad Shafi, His Majesty's Government were careful to lay due emphasis on reservations that were constitutionally necessary. They preserved full liberty of judgment; they were not committed in principle or detail; they must be guided largely by what the other members of the Conference thought, but—they would give the resolution most careful consideration. Now, inasmuch as there was no express need for the Imperial Government to indicate their attitude towards a motion that had not yet been debated or carried, this assurance not only amounted to going farther than they might normally have been expected to go, but has reasonably been understood in India as intended to convey a hope of the Imperial Government's support when the question comes before the Conference.

Lord Hardinge also expressed his own trust and confidence that India's claims would receive sympathetic consideration from the Governments of the self-governing Dominions. It is notorious that on certain questions, then put, which is Asiatic immigration, the Dominion Colonies still have in the past been unable wholly to see the Government of India. The merits of consolidating commercial reciprocity do not immediately concern us. What

we have to note is that it has in fact had the result that Indians and the white communities in Canada, South Africa, and Australia have in the past regarded each other with unfriendly feelings. In the case of South Africa the visit of Mr. Gokhale and the mission of Sir Benjamin Robertson produced a better understanding and a settlement in which Indian opinion for the most part acquiesces. In the other cases less progress has been made, although the example of South Africa seems to show that existing differences of opinion are not really irreconcilable. But in the past fifteen months Dominion and Indian troops have fought side by side in various theatres of war, and evidence has accumulated that each have acquired not merely perception of the other's martial qualities, but a wholly new understanding and appreciation of the other's character. The trenches and the hospitals have thrown light on virtues that could not be seen against a merely industrial or commercial background. India's hope rests chiefly upon the belief that Canadians and Australians who have been through the fire of war with Gurkhas and Pathans at their side will in future look at Indian questions in a new and more liberal spirit, which will make possible a friendly settlement of any outstanding issues.

The resolution of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, however, raised a new question, concerning not the rights of individual Indians, but the status of India in the Empire, and the constitutional relations between the great Dependencies and the deliberative assembly of the responsible premiers of the self-governing nations. It is a question of the utmost moment to the future of India and of the Empire. The decision will rest entirely with the Conference itself. Under its constitution it is complete master of its own composition and procedure. It is not proposed to anticipate that decision or to make recommendations as to how the request of India should be met. But it may be useful to bring forward certain considerations which may help to a clear judgment on the problem.

In the first place there are manifest constitutional difficulties in the way of adopting the proposal. It will be said that a Dependency, cannot take rank, so long as she is a Dependency, with self-governing Dominions. It is not a question of dignity or status, but of hard actual fact. The Conference is an assembly of the representatives of governments. But the governments are responsible governments, competent to frame and carry out their own policies. Were this not so the Conference would have remained the impotent debating body which it was at first. The Government of India, however, is not what is known in constitutional language as a responsible government. It is subject to the control of His Majesty's Ministers in all the matters which are the subject of the Conference's deliberations; and in these, therefore, it cannot speak with a voice

that it can translate into action, unless that action be approved by the Imperial Government, which is itself a party to the Conference. Either India's voice at sessions of the Conference will be an empty utterance, or, if it gains substance by securing the approval of His Majesty's Government, the effect will be to enable the latter to speak with two voices. In other words, the existing constitution of the Imperial Conference finds no place for India. Only when her Government is competent itself to carry out the measures for which its representative would vote will she be qualified for admission.

Another objection looks not so much to the constitution of the Conference as to the history and traditions behind it. All the parties to the Conference at present are self-governing nations, not merely in the sense that their decisions are not controlled by any outside authority, but also in the sense that the popular will determines the decisions. The people elect their representatives to a legislative assembly, and the leader who is supported by a majority of votes in the assembly becomes head of the government. The arrangement which Englishmen painfully evolved for themselves through six centuries of struggle was easily transplanted to the Dominions by people of British stock. But India does not elect representatives to an Indian Parliament, and her Government is not chosen by a majority of representatives. It is true that the elective system has so far been applied for legislative purposes in India that in the Viceroy's Council sit 27 members elected in various ways. But less than half of these are chosen by direct election, and they by specially defined and numerically small class constituencies. The remaining 15 are chosen as a result of a system of indirect election of an even more complex character. What the ordinary voter gives his voice actually for is for an election to his local, municipal or rural board, but the boards elect to provincial councils, and the elected members of provincial councils elect to the Viceroy's Council. It is apparent that whatever tie unites the elected member with the individual constituent in India is far more attenuated than that with which the Dominions are familiar; and of course the proportion of the entire population which exercises a vote however indirectly for legislative purposes is very small. Moreover, in no sense are issues submitted to any of these electorates at times of elections. Members are chosen mainly for their status as men generally representative of a particular interest or religion. Further, the administration is in the hands of the Viceroy and his Executive Council, who are not chosen by the legislative body, but appointed by the Crown. Parliamentary government at the present moment does not exist in India; and probably the objection will be taken that it is anomalous and undesirable that the homogeneity of

the Conference should be impaired by imparting into it the representative of a government which, unlike all the others represented, is not in fact responsible to the people.

In essentials the second objection amounts only to a restatement of the first. The first was directed outwards, the second inwards. If India had responsible government there would be no doubt as to her attaining the same measure of independence of the Government of the United Kingdom as the Dominions have reached. On the other hand, it is very difficult to think of the Government of India as becoming independent of Whitehall unless it simultaneously becomes constitutionally amenable to the wishes of the people of India. Otherwise it would assume the position of an Asiatic autocracy.

The greatest disservice one could do the cause of India would be to attempt to ignore these difficulties. They are real and they must be faced. However, it is possible to press constitutional niceness too far. The Imperial Conference is not a sovereign assembly. It has no executive authority and no legislative power. It is a purely deliberative or consultative piece of machinery, whereby a number of self-governing units can discuss and at times reach agreement as to common action in common affairs. The Imperial Conference can neither affect the policy of the governments of Canada or Australia or Great Britain in their own internal affairs, nor the policy of the Imperial Government in external or defence matters, save by the method of persuasion. The vote of a majority does not bind dissentients. No member to the Conference is bound by anything save his own freely recorded vote. In an assembly of this kind there is obviously room for a representative of a great Dependency, whose admission to a Cabinet which actually decided policy and in which votes were of vital importance it would be far more difficult to justify. What India asks for may be an anomaly. But, if the word "anomaly" could kill, many healthy political growths would never have thriven as they have done. Consider for a moment the conclusion to which severe logic would lead. If India is to be excluded because she is a Dependency and not a Dominion, the result is to defer a concession, which will not injure the self-governing communities and will warmly rejoice the heart of India, for a period which no man can specify. The point was raised by one Indian member who spoke in the debate that self-government should precede participation in the Conference, but the sense of the majority was against him. They wished to pursue directly the end that they believed desirable for its own sake; and it must be admitted that they had good reasons. There is much to be said, on the grounds of expediency, for including a representative of India in the Imperial Conference.

It meets to discuss inter-Imperial problems, and among those the problem of India with its 315 million people must take a prominent place. The Secretary of State for India finds it necessary to have at his side a Council mainly composed of advisers with special knowledge of India. It seems not unreasonable to suppose that a Conference of the governments of the Empire when discussing Imperial problems will find the presence of a colleague, who can bring home to them as no Secretary of State can do the ideas and aspirations of the Indian people, of great assistance at their deliberations. To the objection that no government which is not responsible to the people can be relied upon to express its views the practical reply is furnished by a remark made by the Honourable Mr. Banerjee during the debate in Council. Though he was pleading for non-official representation, he conceded that on all questions affecting India which were likely to be discussed at the Imperial Conference there was no difference between official and non-official opinion. If the Indian Government sent a representative to discuss questions of tariffs or immigration, that representative could be trusted to voice Indian opinion. This is probably perfectly correct. These are not the matters on which differences of opinion occur in the Legislative Council. In fact, though not in theory, the other parties to the Conference would be dealing with a colleague who expressed the wishes of the people.

No doubt there remains the Imperial Government to be reckoned with. But they have signified their intention of preserving an attitude of benevolence; and it must be presumed that their intention is to allow the Indian Government's representative to express the wishes of India, and not to require him to play the part popularly ascribed to Sir James Mackay in 1907, of a supernumerary advocate of their own views.

It is certain that if India is disappointed in this matter her people will feel it acutely. With them it is far more a gain of status and recognition that is sought than any material advantage. They know that the interests of India are affected by discussions that now take place over her head, and they believe that what they ask for is no more than a matter of mere justice. But what they will value the concession most for is that it will be

a tangible recognition of their behaviour in the war. It is an opportunity of drawing closer bonds that two years ago it scarcely seemed possible even to link up; and if their request is refused, they will be inclined to imagine the Dominions as even worse disposed towards them than they fancied them before the war.

On the other hand, if we concede what India wants, undoubtedly we deform the perfect symmetry of the Imperial structure, and we take a step of which we cannot certainly see the full consequences. But that will be no new departure in British politics. We have never hesitated to tolerate the appearance of abnormalities if the rough-and-ready expedient which theory may abominate seems likely to work in practice. The Imperial constitution would not be the shape, but flexible and working thing that it is to-day. We are not wont to hesitate over an advance to which a sense of generosity, if not of justice, impels us, for no better reason than that we cannot think the consequences surely out in their completeness. After all, the Empire, whose solidarity this war is proving beyond doubt or question, is in plain fact an unequal, heterogeneous affair. It includes India just as surely, as Australia or New Zealand—India differing from them, no doubt, in race, political texture, and political attainment, but still a vast and important country, now for the first time thrilling with a new-found sense of individuality and merit, and asking for more consideration at their hands than it has hitherto received. There is a growing number of people who believe that it is of the last importance to the Dominions no less than to the United Kingdom to keep India within the Empire while the Empire endures. It may well be that that result will be achieved for good and all if India's request is granted by statesmen of imagination and courage, and not denied by a tribunal of legal pedants. The words are as wise now as when they were spoken 140 years ago: "Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom; and a great empire and little minds."

When all is said, the decision will rest chiefly with the Dominions. But, to judge from the reception which the proposal has encountered in the Press, there is good hope that it will be generously received.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Indians in Rhodesia.

There is practically no end to the racial troubles in South Africa. It is the country where the *race-antipathy-germs* have been systematically cultivated and, unless drastic steps are taken to prevent their spreading, the lot of Indians in that country would become intolerable.

The subjoined article appearing in the *Bulawayo Chronicle* represents how deep-rooted the feeling of Europeans is towards Indian traders. The writer says:—

Despite the fact that the Bulawayo Municipal Council has time and again decided that it is against the best interest of the community to grant trading rights to Indians and Asiatics generally, Ram Sammy and his friends continue to roll up gaily term after term on the same quest. It is scarcely necessary to reiterate the arguments against traders of this class being allowed to carry on business in a European community. Everyone who has thought anything on the subject knows that the Asiatic standard of living makes it hopeless for the average European trader to compete against him. The Asiatic standard of business morality is also a very low one as witness Capetown, to cite only one example. There a great part of the retail trade is in their hands, and what is the result? The small European trader has been completely frozen out. The number of insolvencies among these Indian and Asiatic storekeepers is enormous. If the loss falls only on those merchants who deal with and support this class of trader it would not matter so much, as they would only reap as they had sown. Unfortunately it does not end there; the credit of the country suffers. The Indian is astute enough to trade on the fact that India is fighting for our common Empire. The class of men who form our Indian Army have nothing in common with the class of immigrant who is allowed to establish himself here, and would bitterly resent being put in the same category. It is astonishing that our local legal luminaries do not refuse this class of business. Is it because their lights are dim? One thing they may be certain of, the continued influx of Asiatics will by-and-by bring along the Indian lawyer and the Indian doctor, so that their grabbing at any little job that comes along will bring its own reward. "Penny wise pound foolish." Healthy competition is quite all right. There is no lack of that in any British community, and certainly quite a lot in this town, and it is to be hoped there always will be. The Government are very lax indeed in this matter, and will be if the people do not stiffen them and show clearly that they object to having Indians

foisted on them as neighbours and trade competitors. Our Town Council has done its duty inconsistently refusing to have this pest shoved on the town for the sake of a little extra revenue. It is to be hoped no mistaken softness will ever sway their counsels on this question of granting trading facilities to this most undesirable class of person.—I am, etc.

THE CAMPBELL, BULAWAYO.

December 13.

New South African Immigration Appeal Board Regulations.

The following regulations issued under Government notice No. 1860, dated the 11th December, 1915, are published in the *Government Gazette* of the 17th instant amending regulations No. 19 previously published. We reproduce only the alterations:—

19 (1) Whenever a prohibited immigrant desires to appeal to a Board appointed under sub-section (1) of section two of the Act he shall obtain from the Immigration Officer and complete a notice of appeal in the following form:—

Notice of Appeal.

I.....being a passenger on the S. S.....person arrested at..... hereby notify my intention to appeal against the declaration of the immigration officer that I am a prohibited immigrant within the meaning of the Immigrants Regulation Act, 22 of 1913; and I deposit herewith the sum of.....pounds (£.....) as required to cover the cost of my detention and maintenance and such other expenditure as may be incurred by the immigration officer on my behalf or in connection with my appeal, and also the cost of my removal from the Union, this Province unless I am declared not to be a prohibited immigrant.

I desire to be represented by counsel at the hearing of my appeal, and have given my power of attorney to Mr.....to appear in my behalf.

A statement of the grounds upon which I base my right to enter/remain in the Province of..... is attached hereto.

(Signature).....

Date.....

Place.....

Within the time specified in sub-section (7) of section two of the Act he shall deliver or transmit such notice of appeal and statement of the grounds thereof to the immigration officer, together with the sum fixed as a deposit for the purposes specified in sub-section (7) of section two of the Act. No appeal shall be heard by a

Board unless a prohibited immigrant has complied with the requirements of this regulation.

Should the appellant desire to be represented before the Board as provided in section two, sub-section (8) of the Act, he shall, previous to the hearing of his appeal, furnish the immigration officer with a written intimation accordingly and of the name of counsel or other representative authorized by him to appear on his behalf.

(7) If the appeal be dismissed the appellant shall remain in the custody of the immigration officer, who shall forthwith take such steps as may be required for his return to the place from which he embarked, or shall otherwise arrange for his removal from the Union or for such temporary or conditional residence within the Union as may be permitted under the Act. If the appeal be allowed the appellant shall be discharged from custody or shall be relieved from the conditions of any temporary permit issued to him, and he shall receive from the immigration officer in charge a refund of such portion of any deposit as may be due to him after payment of the charges for detention and maintenance and the like. The Board may, in its discretion, order that the costs of any adjourned hearing of an appeal shall be paid from the appeal deposit lodged in terms of Regulation 18 (1) where such adjournment is granted at the request of or in the interests of the appellant.

(9) At the hearing of an appeal there shall be placed before the Board :—

(a) An intimation of an immigration officer that a notice of prohibition has been served on the appellant under sub-section (5) of section two of the Act.

(b) The notice of appeal by the appellant and the written intimation of the name of the person, if any, authorized to represent the appellant.

(c) The statement by the appellant of the grounds upon which he bases his right remain in or enter the Union or any particular Province.

(d) A written statement by the immigration officer setting forth the reasons why in his opinion the appellant should be prohibited or restricted in respect of his entrance or remaining in the Union or any particular Province.

(e) All written records of evidence produced before the immigration officer under sub-section (1) of section nineteen of the Act, together with any documents referred to in such evidence.

The Board, subject to the powers conferred on it by sub-section (9) of section two of the Act, shall decide the appeal upon the documents specified in paragraphs (a), (b), (c), (d), and (e) of this sub-section of the regulation.

(11) The Board shall in its consideration of a case brought before it determine the fact that the appellant

is or is not of the class or classes alleged by the immigration officer, or of any other of the classes described in section four of the Act, or if he is one of such classes shall determine whether he has or has not brought proper proof that he is a person exempted under section five of the Act from being a prohibited immigrant; and if the Board finds as a fact that the appellant is such a person as is described in section four of the Act, and has not brought proper proof or has otherwise failed to satisfy the Board that he is a person so exempted, the Board shall dismiss the appeal. Provided that in the case of an appellant who has previously appealed to this Board or another Board under this Act, the record of the proceedings of such appeal may be put in for the consideration of the Board, which, after considering evidence as in this clause hereinbefore provided, and if satisfied that the circumstances of the present appeal are not identical with those before the Board in such previous appeal, shall give a decision in accordance with the circumstances now before it.

Hindu Temple on an Estate.

It is not often that religion is associated with business. But a clever Superintendent of an Estate in Ceylon had taken advantage of the religious faith of the Hindus in improving his business by constructing a Temple to suit to the religious needs of the coolies employed in his estate. One result of this wise course is in the Superintendent's words is "that it aids in recruiting coolies pouring into the estate when the news that a temple was on the estate had become general." "It is interesting to note," says the *Ceylon Observer*, "that the greater part of the cost of the building was subscribed by the coolies and kanganies themselves though the Superintendent also assisted, as is only natural, seeing that the Temple is a business proposition." Mr. Gordon Brooke, Superintendent of the Estate, paid a visit to South India last year and got down masons from Tanjore, who in a couple of months performed some very creditable work in the shape of stucco ornamentation and Gods punishing cooly crimes such as disobedience, insubordination, etc. There are also figures representing the God that is invoked in cases of theft, another for murder and other crimes which are more commonly known. There is also the Goddess Paitchie who lives on human flesh, and this forms the Tamil bogey, with the aid of whose influence Tamil mothers keep their children quiet when naughty. The Gods are very fearsome looking individuals and all possess the concomitants which are necessary to all Hindu deities and Goddesses, Subramania with the peacock, Ganesh with the rat, and Krishna with the cow, etc. The ornamentation of the Temple was also done by the Tanjore masons. A Brahmin priest has been in charge of the Temple for the past two years but he

been replaced as soon as possible after the consecration ceremony by a man of more cosmopolitan caste whose religion would allow him to take a comprehensive view of his duties and permit him to minister to persons of low as well as of high caste. There is a bull which is a copy of the famous Tanjore bull. The altar is immediately behind the bull and it is here where the Brahmin priest places for the benefit of the crows and other birds, the balance of his rice and other food which he cannot consume. The Temple is situated right in the centre of the cooly lines, and some seven hundred coolies attend. Attached to the temple a vernacular school, another not inconsiderable benefit. Some people may perhaps be inclined to ask what is the use of such a costly erection as this. Obviously the reply is that if it is desirable to make life in Ceylon as attractive as possible to the coolies, they must be given some of the appurtenances they are accustomed to find in their own village. A temple is as important a feature in Indian village life as is the Church or Chapel in an English hamlet, and the temple provides them with at least one of those advantages they are able to obtain in their own village. Naturally the coolies write and talk about the Temple they have on the estate, and the result is that their relatives are induced to come over also, the ultimate effect of this being a material reduction of advances. The coolies are induced to settle down and it is in these directions that the estate benefits. "Naturally personal religious scruples had to be overcome, but the Temple has been erected purely as a business proposition, and as such it has been successful, and promises to be even more beneficial in the future when it becomes more and more known."

Any one who knows what cooly life is on an estate, cannot but welcome this idea of providing facilities for religious and moral instruction to these poor classes in the manner suggested above. Questions such as these never merit the notice of the colonial Governments, who take shiploads of Indian labourers to distant Colonies, to make their life in the estate similar to the one they would lead in their own country.

Empire as Commonwealth.

Earl St. Aldwyn presided at a lecture on "Commonwealth and Empire," given by Mr. P. H. Ker, M. A., at King's College on November 24.

Speaking after the lecture Earl St. Aldwyn remarked that there was no race which had ever exercised power in the world but had black pages in its history and which had not committed sins—crimes if they liked. That was true of the British race as of any other; but, at any rate, during the present life time the British nation had made steady progress towards the goal which we

all desired at any rate now. Empire was not a word which any one need be ashamed of using in England.

It was hundreds of years since the British nation had ever attempted in its Imperial mission merely to dominate other subject races—that idea had gone long ago. Our idea now was a Commonwealth based on liberty, and although at present and for some time to come there were large parts of that Empire—India and South Africa, for example—where there were subject races which could not for the moment exercise even local autonomy, and certainly were not fit by their powers or civilisation of character to assume the reins of Government, yet we all desired that everything should tend in the direction not only of local autonomy, but in the uniting of the various races in our Empire into one great task of Imperial Government, maintenance, and control.

He quite agreed as to the effect which the present gigantic war must have in that direction. Every part of the Empire was contributing its share towards the maintenance of the war. That result was not due to the fact that we exercised any kind of Prussian domination over the races of the Empire, but it was due to the fact that our Empire was really based upon the principle of doing to our neighbours what we wished they should do to us. Some critics might say that we were hypocritical, and that we took care that we first of all benefit ourselves; but there were many instances where we had incurred great responsibilities and had shed blood and money solely that we might rescue peoples from evils that might overwhelm them, such as the French Canadians, the Slaves of Africa, and even the South African people themselves.

Now came the question: What part were we to give in our Imperial Commonwealth to the population of India and the Blacks of South Africa. The process must be gradual, and we must endeavour, so far as we could with the maintenance of the safety of the Empire, to give those peoples their share of Local Self-Government and Imperial responsibilities in future. This war had done an immense deal to cement our Empire. Little Englandism was dead, and in view of what our Colonies and Dependencies had done for us we must be prepared to make some sacrifice for the common good. As to the suggestion that the House of Commons must give up some of its control over foreign affairs, he did not think Parliament had much control in that direction—but the people of the kingdom must be prepared to bring in the representatives of the Dominions into a joint control over our foreign policy with themselves. We must be careful that we did nothing to encroach upon the financial liberties of the Colonies. Preferences could be made between the various component parts. If we proceeded cautiously and gradually he was convinced that when this war

was over, and that we secured victory in the long and bitter end, the time would come for the real consideration of this question, and it would be possible to make a great change which would be of enormous benefit to the future permanence of the Empires.

Deportation as an Undesirable.

Mr. Justice Wessels' reserved judgment in the case of Naryasamy Naidoo v. Registrar of Asiatics was read. The applicant had been arrested for deportation as an undesirable on a warrant issued by the Acting Secretary for the Interior under Act 22 of 1913. Mr. Tindall argued on his behalf that the warrant was bad in form, and that the applicant was, by virtue of section 21 (a) of the Act, not liable to deportation, having been born in South Africa. His Lordship dealt with the law, and came to the decision that despite section 3 of the Act the Court had jurisdiction to determine whether any person did or did not come within the classes liable to deportation under the Act as prohibited immigrant. The case was therefore postponed *sine die* for the applicant to produce, in connection with his application for an order restraining the respondents from deporting him, satisfactory proof that as alleged he had been born in South Africa.

Is this a result of Gandhi's settlement in South Africa?

London Indian Association.

The third annual meeting of the London Indian Association was held at the Prince Henry's Rooms, 17, Fleet Street, on the 20th inst. Mr. Syud Hossain, the president of the Association, occupied the chair. The hon. secretary submitted the annual report, and the hon. treasurer the accounts for the year, both of which were adopted. The following officers were elected for the coming year:—President, Mr. Syud Hossain; vice-president, Mr. J. Avashia; hon. secretary, Mr. S. Sorabji; hon. treasurer, Mr. E. Delgado; assistant hon. secretary, Mr. S. Muttiah; and members of committee—Messrs. Z. Farukhi, Allahabad; Hari Das, Punjab; Khaja Ismail, Madras; R. Ray and N. M. Sen Gupta, Bengal, and M. B. Chitale, Bombay.

The report stated that, on account of many of the members having been called away on patriotic duty,

and owing to few fresh arrivals from India, the Association showed a membership of 168, against 210 in the previous year. During the year meetings had been addressed by well-known friends, such as Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Mr. E. B. Havell and Mr. S. Saklatwala. The lectures had aroused considerable interest among the members, and were followed by lively discussions. The third annual "at home," held at the Hotel Cecil on July 24, was largely attended. During the year donations amounting to £17 18s. were promised towards the club house, and of this amount £13 12s. had been collected. The total cash balance in hand to this account was £33 12s.

As Others See Us.

An Appreciation.

The December number of the *United Empire*, the Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute, London, calls special attention to the *Indian Emigrant*, in the following terms.

"The title of this periodical sufficiently indicates the scope and nature of its contents. The question of Asiatic immigration into the Overseas portions of the British Empire is one of such vast importance to the future well-being of the Britannic system of States that no apology is needed for calling special attention to this monthly periodical. Issued under the editorship of Mr. T. K. Swaminathan, it deals practically and concisely with the status and condition of Indians in British and foreign countries, and contains a record and review of all questions connected with this important subject. The journal has now been issued for more than a year, and it should be studied carefully by those who realise the importance of the problems with which it deals. It has been written that 'the historian of the future will record with wonder the inability of the statesmen of to-day to understand that the real problem which the twentieth century had to decide was not the question of social and economic reforms, nor even the international relations of European States, but the broader racial questions of a *modus vivendi* for the white, the black, and the brown races of mankind.' These words are profoundly true, and a journal such as this, which enables us to visualise this racial conflict now in progress, is to be heartily welcomed."

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

EMIGRATION.

The Japanese Problem in the United States. By H. A. Millis, *Professor of Economics, University of Kansas, Macmillan & Co., London and New York. Price 1 Dollar, 50 cents.*

The book under review is an investigation for the Commission on Relations with Japan appointed by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. The service of Professor Millis, University of Kansas, was engaged for making such investigation as would enable the Commission to proceed with intelligent sympathy in bringing about better relations between the West and the East, particularly of Japan. The necessity for such a step lay in the fact that the increasing contact of the United States with the Orient has created problems which require delicate handling and a more considerate policy. The Japanese problem in the United States is only one aspect of the broader question of Asiatic immigration into the Western countries. "The awakening of Asia and her rapid acquisition of important elements of Occidental civilisation inaugurates a new era in world history in which Asia is to play a great and increasingly important role. Whether that role shall be one of peace, good-will and mutual co-operation or one controlled by increasing suspicion and fear between the East and the West will depend largely on the attitude of the Western nations themselves."

This timely publication will not, therefore, be without its value in enabling us to form an intelligent opinion on the question at issue. The Japanese problem in its broadest aspect involves two considerations, one, that of admission of emigrants and the other, the treatment accorded to those who emigrated. In the first few chapters, the author has attempted to give a historical sketch of the early history of Japanese emigration to the United States and also the character of such emigration. Though the Japanese are largely engaged in various industrial employments in shops, stores, mills and fish canaries and other industries largely as wage-earners, it is as farmers and agricultural labourers that they have made their name in America. The real "Japanese problem" in America centres in California and presumably in the agricultural communities, for that State has always had considerably more than one half of the Japanese population of the United States, and more than one half of the number residing there have been engaged in agricultural pursuits. In December 1913, the Japanese American Year Book stated

that of 42,089 men gainfully occupied, 23,607 were agricultural labourers or farmers employed chiefly in intensive farming. The acreage of land owned, leased, or worked on contract—a farm of tenancy—by Japanese in California in 1913 was 281,687.

In Chapter IX, the writer, while discussing on the "Japanese characteristics and the Western minds," raises the question why an anti-Japanese feeling exists in America. Because the Japanese are intelligent, studious, cleanly in their habit, temperate, moral, law-abiding, industrious and ambitious. Besides these qualities, two other facts relating to their character claim our attention. And they are, the comparatively small percentage of illiterates and a remarkably less percentage of criminal acts among them. These two facts stand out in a clear contrast to the system of indentured emigration going on from India to the British Colonies. The following percentages of literates were found for races employed in large numbers and they illustrate our point. Japanese 98.4; North Italians 82.9; Greeks 82.5; South Italians 67.8; Mexicans 43.9. With regard to criminal acts, the Emigration Commission reported as follows: "For example, in San Francisco from 1900 to 1907 less than 100 Japanese were reported among the commitments, a remarkably small number, if the size of the Japanese population of that State and the number of Greeks, Italians and others committed are considered." One reason why the Japanese command respect in foreign countries is due to the fact "that the Japanese have a comparatively small percentage of illiterates among them, are intelligent and eager to learn of American institutions making fairly rapid progress in learning to speak English and usually to read and write. They have not proved to be burdensome to the community because of pauperism or crime." They are well organised to care for those who are unfortunate enough to be in need of assistance so that few have become dependent upon the public, a striking contrast to the Indian emigrants under indenture. One of the most important factors in developing a feeling of opposition is found in the economic conflict accompanying the admission of the Japanese.

The last two chapters form the most important part of the book and they deal with the two difficult aspects of the question, *viz.*, the problem of assimilation and the question raised at the outset by the "Japanese problem," *viz.*, the admission and treatment of the emigrants and the policy to be followed in dealing with that problem. The writer's conclusions relative to assimilation and race amalgamation are in no way definite and he trusts to Time to tell whether they could be completely assimilated under favourable conditions. At any rate, he believes that the evil of race mixture is pretty much of a "bogie." But the

general feeling is widespread in California that intermarriage between White and Japanese would be in the language of Newman, "the beginning of the mightiest problem that ever faced the American people." As to the future policy of emigration, the position taken up by the Americans in general is that there should be restricted emigration. But Dr. Gulick's plan for a general emigration law which would replace the existing exclusion law is by allowing a maximum annual emigration from any land of fixed percentage to those from that land already here and naturalised. But we cannot help quoting below the Japanese opinion, as voiced by Mr. Kawakomi, thus: "When we single out aliens of a certain race or nationality as objects of discrimination in the matter of investigation, we fix upon them the odium of inferiority and thus instil in their hearts a feeling of resentment. We look down upon them with contempt and they reciprocate with disdain. We assume a suspicious attitude towards them and they also look at us with suspicion. It is human nature and cannot be avoided. The remedy is obvious. Open the doors of citizenship to them; encourage them to become worthy members of the commonwealth; and their hearts will glow with hope and they will strive to prove their right and fitness to become American citizens."

We heartily recommend this book to all who are interested in racial questions for its suggestiveness of ideas and for the fairness of treatment of a difficult problem which is bound to become more and more pressing in the course of years to come.

T. K. S.

ECONOMICS.

Indian Economics by Shridhar V. Ketkar, M.A., Ph. D.—*Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

The present transitional stage of India affords a great chance for speculative thoughts and visionary ideas, and we gladly welcome any work dealing with the constructive changes which are bound to take place in our socio-political atmosphere in the near future. Dr. Ketkar is an ardent reformer and he has in the present work, surveyed a large field, admirably brought out the meaning of the great economic problem on the political, psychic and linguistic conditions in India with remarkable clearness and boldness discussing various questions involved therein. The work is a separate work on the social conditions of India, overshadowed.

The British Railway Policy as it promotes the Indian industries on the basis of direct communication be-

tween the chief productive towns of India, while "all of them are connected with London through the important seaports of India like Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Karachi and Rangoon." To add to these, the expensive railway fare in this country, the low freight from England to India and other barriers prohibit the growth of the indigenous industry.

The old stumbling block of national reform and caste system has also been deservedly handled by the author. The social cleavage and its direct and indirect effects on the economic life are dealt with in a special chapter.

The most interesting portion of the book is the elaborate discussion of the "Language Policy and Economics." The free opinions of the enthusiastic idealist have been carefully dealt with in the fifth chapter of the volume. Much as the author laments the absence of a common Indian vernacular, he abhors the idea of the domination of the English language. He affirms that the domination of the language of the rulers is to make their reign stable and to supplant the ancient civilization of the land by the Western. The administration of the land is conducted in a language, quite unknown to the masses, and, as a result, the work of the gigantic machinery is a mystery to the people. He is quite pertinent when he says that any Indian language, if it had been introduced as a State language, could have answered the purpose. The advantages of the English language are illusory. The "Anglo-Indian" Universities of India can turn out only men fit for Government service. It is high time that great attention is bestowed on this important aspect and judgment of a nation cannot grow in a foreign language. An exotic growth cannot be genuine. The state of Germany when education was imparted in French and the state of England when Greek and Latin were their educational languages are well known. After the conquest of England by the Normans, was not "Norman French" introduced as the State language? Although it flourished among the high people and the official circles and even tried to eclipse the Anglo-Saxon language, could it ever become the language of England? Anglo-Saxon is still the essence of the English language. A false growth is doomed to failure. The chapter dealing with this question is admirably written and is worth careful perusal. The author is quite aware of the difficulties of raising the Indian vernaculars, but he wishes that these should be heroically met with. He aims at "a redistribution in the political divisions of India, making language the principle of division."

While recommending the unification of the various civilizations that are represented in India, he points out the strong factor which injures its cause as the

propaganda of Christianity in India. Though this statement is true, we cannot lose sight of the fact that these bands of Christian Missionaries have done us a good deal of service, which we ourselves had failed to undertake or initiate.

The author is quite optimistic as regards the future outlook. As days pass by, a bright fringe is perceptible in our political horizon, and the cementing of feeling between the Indian and the Englishman promises to be firm.

In this interesting book, the author has set forth the ideal for which the people and the Government should harmoniously work for the national regeneration. The questions on Social Conditions and Language Policy have been dealt with in a masterly fashion. The book contains elaborate contents and its get-up is attractive.

V. K. MENON.

POLITICS.

Why is Ireland at War? By Hugh A. Law, M. P., *Maunsell & Co., Ltd., Dublin and London. Six pence net.*

In this admirable pamphlet, Mr. Hugh A. Law discusses in a sensible manner how the present war is a war of the Irish people as it is of the rest of the Allies. Ireland has long been fighting for Nationalism and the right of each nation, big or small, to live its own life. Throughout the pamphlet the Irish spirit is dominating why is Ireland at war? She is fighting for the "twin principles of nationality and democracy." In a short chapter the author has set forth the immediate causes of the war and the leading features of the negotiations between the great powers before the actual outbreak of the hostilities. To those who wish to scrutinize the actual causes of this war, we cannot do better than request them to read Mr. Law's exposition of the case. He has unearthed the probable remote causes that led to the European conflagration, basing his arguments on the official records and the writings and speeches of eminent statesmen. This interesting pamphlet concludes thus: "Surely the great powers must now learn at last what we in Ireland learned long ago, that every Nation, be it strong or weak, is a member of a noble fellowship, sacred and immortal; that no domestic peace is ultimately possible unless it is based upon the sure foundation of the people's will, and that no civilization is other than a veiled barbarism which does not teach us to respect the liberty of others."

V. K. M.

FICTION.

Pootli by Ardesir F. J. Chinoy, B.A., LL.B., and (Mrs.) Dinbai A. F. Chinnoy. *Published by T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.*

Many are the evils that have penetrated through the social fabric of the different communities in India and unless they are rooted out there will be no happiness and progress for the societies. Mr. and Mrs. Chinnoy have with admirable skill and wonderful precision brought out in this "Story of Life in Bombay" the prevailing social customs and depicted the true life of Hindus and the Zoroastrians who have made Bombay their home.

The story begins with the description of Rockdale, Rustomji's residence in Bandora, the beautiful suburb of Bombay, with the only other inmate of this happy retreat, Pootli, who claims our prime attention as the chief character of the novel and who becomes the connecting link between the main story and the few entertaining episodes. Pootli, a charming beautiful girl in her teens, was in love with Jal, a young prodigal son, brought up in the lap of luxury and under the fond care of his indulgent mother, Paricherbanu, an ignorant and ill-tempered woman. Although she was grown with all the arrogance that wealth imparts to a girl who was not brought up under the chastisement of her parents, and who was a devoted votary of the fickle and exacting Goddess, Dame Fashion, she began to realise her folly and her responsibility as days passed on and extricated herself from the false snare of the base and perfidious youth. On the advice of her father she married Mr. Cursetji, his intimate friend, and proved herself an obedient daughter and loving wife. The development of her character is, indeed, praiseworthy. The great changes in her, after the happy and memorable trip to Panorama Point where Pootli and Cursetji signalled their intention of indissoluble union in love, her sympathy with the poor and the helpless, the great pains she took to bring about the marriage of her Hindu friend, Lilawathy, and other kindly deeds are clearly depicted in the novel; but we wonder why such a young and beautiful girl should have found an husband in a widower on the wrong side of forty.

Her friend Lilawathy's character and behaviour appeals more to the imagination. She is the daughter of Mr. Purushotamdass, a social reformer, and was just blooming out of her childhood with great hopes, and, of course, building great castles in her newly dawning region of love. But she was unconscious of the fact that the venom of child-marriage had made the Hindu girl a widow and her eager desire to be the cherished affianced of Noratam, son of Sir Madhavandas, was blighted by the unravelling of her sad state at a time when she was

He condemns the account of the absence of the British Railway Policy as it promotes the Indian industries on the basis of direct communication be-

about to enter her promised land. In spite of persistent efforts, her father, a social reformer, could not dare to face public opinion in case her widowed daughter married. In Mr. Purushotam we see a type of the lip-reformers of the day. Lila was pining on account of love. Not long afterwards her mother died. This incident was a touchstone to test the sincerity of the upholder of social reform. Long-continued custom permits of remarriage, but the condition of his daughter troubled him very much. It is at this time that Bhat Gopaldoss, the family priest, comes to the scene and enchants to the bereaved Purushotam his devilish designs. The family priests are as a class hypocrites and humbugs, who make their lives happy at the expense of others. They have a particular knack of knowing inclinations of the people and have no scruples to play according to the desired tune. Knowing, as he does, that Purushotam has a desire to remarry, "the devil cites scripture for the purpose" and stigmatises the reformers as "the death of our time-honoured institutions and customs." Purushotam-dass was at last convinced by the long harangue, persuasive eloquence, and shastric exposition of this cunning demi-god; and when he promised to follow the advice of his Guru, he began bargaining the price for the next bride. The motive of the Gurus in bringing about the remarriages between old widowers and young girls is merely to get a brokerage, which formed a substantial earning for their livelihood. From the reformed communities these family priests have been turned out, as we see for instance in the happy union of Lila and Noratam in the end.

As the progressive Parsi community easily assimilates Western civilization, we find that Miss Lizzie Brown has been introduced in the story as a music mistress to Pootli and other girls. The worthless Jal posed himself as the cynosure of the young girls in Bombay. Though he was at first head and ears in love with Pootli, he afterwards prided himself in winning the love of Miss Lizzie, the English mistress. With characteristic insight and sagacity, she found out that Jal was a great spendthrift and by the help of her cousin, Tom, a good round sum of money was extorted out of him, and he was at last threatened with "breach of promise." Tom also proved false after his departure to England and at last she bitterly studied that "as you sow, so shall you reap." Jal, who was bed-ridden by his physical prostration, died a coward with the revelation of the stolen diamond necklace.

The most pathetic portion is the love episode of Mithu, daughter of Adarji Dastur, a wealthy priest. Mithu's love for the budding artist, Dorab, who afterwards won a universal fame by the famous painting

"Vision of Paradise," and his requital show the true sentiments of an ardent and sincere couple. In spite of the earnest appeals of Adarji's mother to get his daughters married in time to respectable suitors, he pays a deaf ear and says "I am on the look-out for rich and educated husbands—barristers, pleaders, doctors—and till such are forthcoming, they will remain in my house." Mithu at last dies love-sick and it was brought about by her greedy father.

ANNUALS.

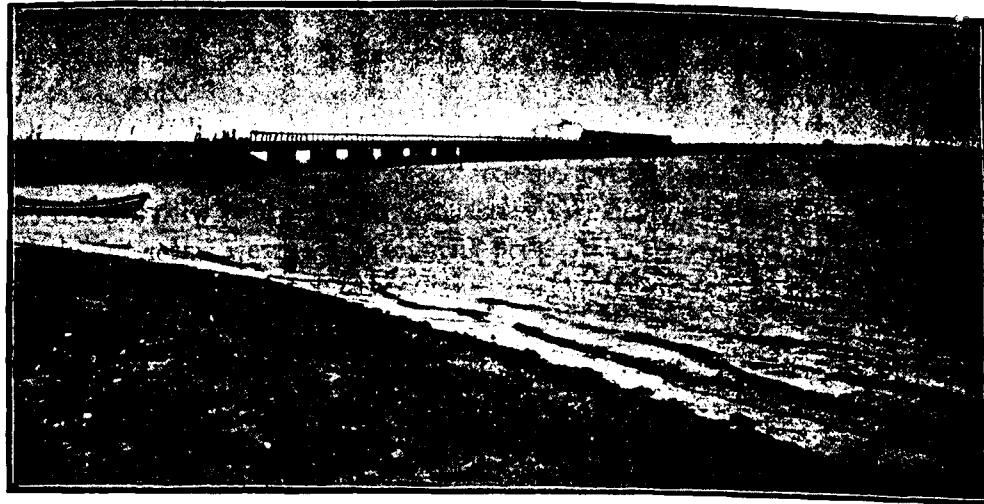
The Royal Colonial Institute Year Book, 1915.
Northumberland Avenue, London. Price 2s. 6d.

It is pleasing to review this publication, which is in its fourth year of issue. The aims and the objects of the Institute are too well known to any ordinary English newspaper reader. It is the "preservation of a permanent union between the Mother country and the various parts of the Empire." The current issue embodies a good deal of the latest statistical information regarding all parts of the Empire, a classified list of newspapers and magazines and a complete list of resident and non-resident fellows. It is of a particular interest to us inasmuch as it deals with the most important and difficult subject of emigration in all its phases. We, who have begun our work a year and a half ago, are indebted very much for their journal, the "United Empire," and this book, for the flood of light it throws on emigration and other Imperial questions connected with the welfare of the Empire.

In reviewing this Year Book, one ought not to omit to mention the thoroughness and the perfect organisation with which the Institute works by forming separate Committees to deal with different branches of work with which it is allied, such as the Emigration Committee, the Trade and Industry Committee, the House and Social Committee, War Service Committee, Empire Settlement and Rural Employment Committee, so that the success of each Committee leads up to the general success of the Institute. One great fact, which has been the cause of closer union between the various Colonies and the Dependencies including India, is the outbreak of this terrible war which has brought together a unity in the Empire undreamt of before. It is satisfactory to note that the membership of the fellows has reached 10,000 for the first time in the history of the Institute and this speaks very well for the credit of the Institute.



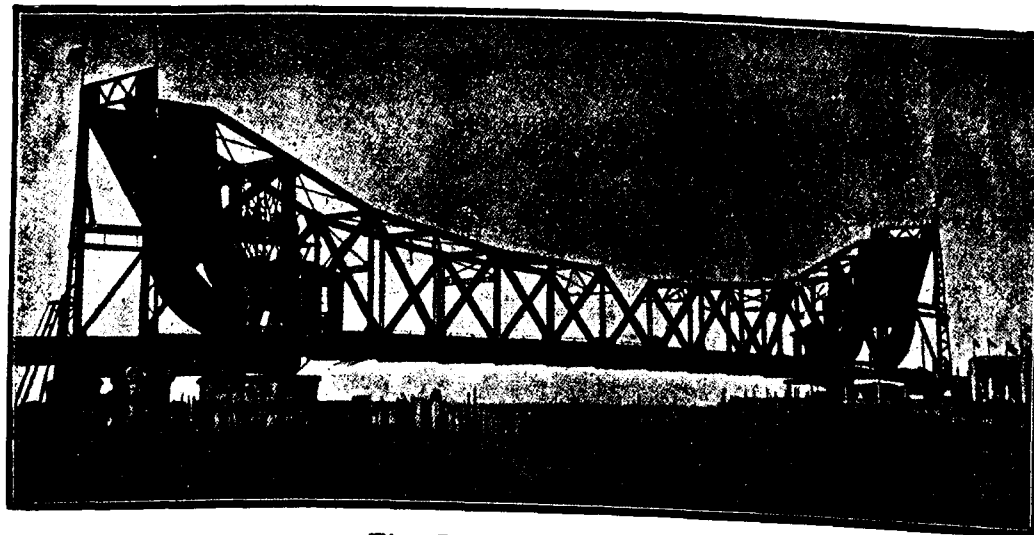
Indo-Ceylon Connection.



The Pamban Bridge.



Steamship Service.



The Pamban Passage.

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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FEBRUARY 29, 1916.

No. 7.

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.

THE INDIAN COLONY OF MAURITIUS.

NO British Colony has so much attraction for a student of Indian economics and sociology as Mauritius, familiarly known to every Indian labourer of Southern India as *Morse*. The island is of interest in two ways. In the first place, it is the Colony in which the Indian immigrants form 70 per cent. of the total population. Secondly, it is the first Colony to which Indian emigrants were taken for the first time during the year 1834 after the abolition of slave labour, when 75 Indians were introduced into the Colony. Situated as it is in the Indian Ocean, almost midway between Cape Comorin and the Cape of Good Hope, 2,000 miles on each side, it was discovered by the

Portuguese in 1505, being then uninhabited and without trace of any previous occupation. Abandoned by them, it came in 1598 under the Dutch who named it Mauritius in honour of Prince Maurice of Nassau. They too made no permanent settlement and abandoned the island in 1712. It then came into the possession of the French who retained it from 1715 to 1810 and called it *Ile de France*. During the French wars, it was taken by a British force and it was ceded to England by the Treaty of Paris (1814), so that at the present day, the English population consists mainly of the French descendants of the original settlers.

The total area of the main island is 716 sq. miles, and its population is 368,791 and including the dependencies the total population amounts to 377,083, of which 199,138 males and 177,945 females according to the Census of 1911. With regard to Indian immigrants, it is almost becoming exceedingly difficult to distinguish them from the Indo-Mauritians. The return of the immigrants at the recent Census showed the Indian population under two designations as "Indo-Mauritians" (Indians born in the Colony) and "the other Indians" (Indians born out of the Colony, i.e., India) which numbered 222,301 and 35,396, respectively. This distinction is kept up owing to fact that some new Indians were imported into the Colony periodically and to distinguish them from those who were born in the Colony as a result of inter-marriages between Indians and Mauritians. This distinction between "Indo-Mauritians" and "the other Indians" will be brought into clearer relief, if we take the figures from previous Census Reports of Indians whose birth-place is mainly India but generally shown as Asia

we find that the numbers seem to be gradually diminishing decade by decade :—

Place of birth ...	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Asia ...	180,914;	167,547;	138,132;	102,511;	63,156;	38,456.

These figures, however, include a small portion of the Chinese population and in 1911, the Chinese population amounted to 3,662 out of 38,456.

In so far as the Civil Status of Indians is concerned, they are placed at a serious disadvantage by the Indian marriage question. Marriage, according to the Indian view, is essentially religious; but these marriages are not recognised in the Colony according to the existing Civil Laws about marriage. The recent Census Report gives the following accounts about the civil condition of the population which is somewhat interesting in so far as this question is concerned. "The large number of unmarried persons (85·8 per cent.) is a consequence of the practice among the lower classes, both of the Indian and general population, of contracting religious marriages; that is to say they do not appear before the Civil Status Officers and hence, under the Civil Status Laws of Mauritius, are not legally married.

It must not, however, be considered that this large class of the population is living in immorality. In order to understand correctly their condition it is necessary to take into consideration the customs, habits and origin of the various races concerned. The position of the Indian population in Mauritius is altogether anomalous. Indian immigrants, married according to Indian customs, on producing a certificate to this effect before the Protector of Immigrants are considered legally married and enjoy the full rights and privileges of persons married under the existing Civil Status Laws in Mauritius. The marriages of these same Indians performed according to the Indian customs in Mauritius are not recognised. In the eyes of their co-religionists, however, their condition is perfectly legitimate and their marriages cannot, in consequence, be relegated to the class of irregular unions. Even in considering the numerous cases which evidently exist in which no form of ceremony, religious or otherwise, has been associated with the assumption of the duties of the married state, allowance should be made for the widely differing moral standpoint of West and East. The unions are, in the great majority of cases, stable, and to all intents and purposes—except in questions relating to successions—fulfil the objects of legal marriage."

In this connection, we would draw the attention of the readers to the fact that marriages performed

according to Indian customs in Mauritius (but not certified before the Protector of Emigrants) are not recognised. This is a very serious drawback which would deprive a large portion of the Indian descendants of the rights of inheritance to the property of the deceased. Marriage, according to the Hindus, is not a contract but a sacrament, and any tendency to destroy this religious aspect of Indians goes to break up the very fabric of Hindu Society, though the same is not the case with Muhammadans. In view therefore of this difficulty, we would urge upon the Colonial Governments to administer the laws from the standpoint of Hindu or Muhammadan Law as the case may be rather than from the Colonial Law.

The classification of the population under the three headings, specially, Roman Catholicism, Hinduism and Mahomedanism among the general population is as follows :—

	General Population.	Indo-Mauritians.	Other Indians.	Chinese.
Roman Catholics ...	103,176	11,617	6.1	520
Hindus ...	225	172,565	30,151	13
Mahomedans ...	120	35,234	3,911	Nil.

The fact that there are a large amount of Hindus and Mahomedans among the Indo-Mauritians goes to prove that the influence of inter-marriage between the Indians and the African population has been at work and the tendency among the Indo-Mauritians to conversion to the principles of Christianity and especially to Roman Catholicism is in evidence. In so far as the general population is concerned, the prevailing religion is Christianity and the population is composed of Europeans, white, mixed and coloured.

Coming to the most important portion, namely, Education, what is the position of the Colony? We pointed out in our last number the utter lack of educational facilities especially among the Indian population in the various Colonies. We repeat the same here and the returns on the subject are as follows :—

The percentage able to read and write among the general population is 41·9 and among the Indian population 1·7.

This deplorable lack of facilities for imparting sound elementary education to the masses has

been brought to the notice of the various Colonial Governments times and over. It may be that higher education may not be so very essential to agricultural population such as it is to be found in Mauritius, but it may not be denied that for a scientific agricultural advancement of this Colony particularly requires an elementary knowledge of scientific agriculture. We find a large portion of the population are engaged chiefly in sugar estates and agriculture and it must be impressed on the labouring classes that if a large output in sugar growing as in the other products of cultivation is required a knowledge—both theoretical and practical—in the elementary lessons in agriculture, at any rate, will improve the economic condition of the Colony as a whole. It is said in the report on the agricultural labour conditions in the Colony of Mauritius that "of the area under cultivation at the present time, 83 per cent. is devoted to the cultivation of the sugarcane and it naturally follows that a knowledge of the development and present state of the sugar industry is essential to the correct appreciation of the economic conditions affecting labour."

What is the position of the Indians as agriculturists in the Colony? Of the estates over 100 acres 87 are owned by proprietors of French origin, 3 of English origin, 16 of Indian origin, 24 by Local Companies, and 13 by English Colonies. The Creoles of Indian origin together with the Indian immigrants form the bulk of the agricultural labourers. The professional and commercial classes are recruited principally from among the Europeans and those of mixed origin. The enterprising Chinese shopkeepers render inestimable service to the lower classes by retailing such articles as curry powder, sugar, tea, butter, coffee and other groceries, salt-fish, sardines, etc., in small quantities. About 30 per cent. of the total land is held, as pointed out before, by the Indian peasant proprietors, the greater portion of this has been acquired under a system known locally as the "Morcellement System," by which the large estates are being parcelled out to peasant proprietors. The purchaser gives a written guarantee to cultivate the land and pay capital and interest at a specified rate per annum (generally 9 per cent.) in 5 yearly instalments, no interest being charged for the first 12 months. In this way the

Indian acquires land, cultivates it, with the assistance of his family, if any, and gets not a considerable profit of about 75 to Rs. 100 a year.

But it was pointed out that the system outlined above is becoming a serious menace to the industry as a whole. The methods of the Indian planter owing to his ignorance and perhaps to his want of sufficient capital, are miserable. Not only is the land cultivated to exhaustion without the addition of any fertiliser, natural or chemical, but the cane trash is systematically burnt and the yield both of cane and sugar is often ridiculously low. This is perhaps due to the ridiculously low stage of life which he was made to lead even in the distant Colony with all its alluring prospects of acquiring wealth.

From the statistics given above, it could not be argued that the position of Indians in that Colony is very satisfactory. Though a few may have risen to be estate owners, the majority of the Indian population are still leading the same kind of life as they would lead in their own villages in India. Their social or economic condition is the same as what it was when they left their native land. One reason may be assigned for this backwardness is the utter ignorance in which he is kept by the Colonial Governments, not only the labourer but his sons and grandsons.

To improve the economic condition of the Colony, the Colonial Government's attention must be drawn first and foremost to the elementary education among the masses with a good deal of practical training in agriculture as suited to the special requirements of the Colony. Herein lies the salvation of the Colony and the Indian emigrant.

No less should be the duty of Indians in this country to send out young and educated men to open up schools for imparting elementary education to the masses and to report in general as to the condition of Indians in the various Colonies. The "Indian Colonial Society" started by us recently contemplates sending out one man at least to each of the distant Colonies, Fiji, West Indies (including Jamaica, Trinidad, British and Dutch Guiana) and Mauritius to work among them for the moral and material advancement of the Indian settlers over there. The harvest is truly great but the labourers are few.

THE MARWARI ASSOCIATION ON INDENTURE.

ELSEWHERE we publish a representation by the Marwari Association of Calcutta to the Government of India on the question of indentured emigration. The representation is of special interest in this way that there is appended to it a series of declarations made by returned indentured emigrants from the Colonies. They are extremely interesting from a practical point of view as they give an insight into the actual working and administration of the indenture system in the estates of the Colonies. We have taken as typical the declaration of one Jal Chamar and if the account he gives before the Magistrate is taken as true, there need be no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that indenture is nothing but a system of slavery which it was meant to replace. There could, however, be no two opinions on this question so far as the Government is concerned and that is, it must be ended. But we cannot forbear making one or two observations on the representation which the Marwari Association has brought to the notice of the Government. It points out that the system has been in vogue for over half a century and that by allowing the system to continue for such a period the Government have taken upon themselves certain responsibilities and obligations towards the people which could not be properly discharged under an attitude of neutrality. But we ask in all earnestness the people of this country what steps they have *themselves* taken towards their suffering countrymen abroad.

Till now no private deputations have been sent by the communities to ascertain first-hand knowledge of the situation in the Colonies. The best course under the circumstances would have been to send a party of four or five members interested in the question to visit each of the Colonies to study the conditions and report them to the Association. This it has not done. It should also have been the duty of the public to take steps to remove the grievances then and there as they appeared. To have slept so long during a period of 75 years over this matter denotes only the utter indifference of the general public towards the uneducated and labouring masses of this country. Even to-day, the advocacy for the abolition of the indenture by the Indian public is not based on altruistic principles but upon the selfish policy of the dearth of labourers in the country itself for doing agricultural work.

We cannot imagine a more hopeless sense of responsibility on the part of the Indian public in not starting organisations to take up the question of emigration entirely in their own hands. To cry for Government to do everything for us is only to exhibit a weakness on the part of the people. This is a matter in which the society has a duty towards its fellow creatures and unless and until we realise that duty to seek for the welfare of our fellow-men, it is idle to expect any Government to render help nor will it be the legitimate function of that Government.

We in this country have to learn that there is much to be worked by a system of private enterprise, and it is of the highest importance to our future progress and development that we should realise for success more in private efforts than in Governmental help.

THE INDO-CEYLON RAILWAY.

WHEN every one has hailed with enthusiasm the prospect of the possibility of connecting India with Ceylon by railway across Rameswaram from one side and Mannar from the other side, there is reported in the columns of Ceylon papers certain startling and revealing facts which should require the careful consideration of the railway publicists in India. Some correspondence was previously going on between the Ceylon Railway and the South Indian Railway about the question of rates on rice bags. To the ordinary reader it appeared that the question was of a very simple character and of a passing interest; but a perusal of the correspondence between the General Manager, Ceylon Government Railway and the South Indian Railway Company, is sufficiently instructive with regard to the existing fares and rates by the Indo-Ceylon route. The general complaint is that fares and rates are inequitable to the Ceylon Railway, rates which diminish as the distance between Thalaimannar and stations on the South Indian Railway Company increases, whereas the South Indian Railway Company obtains a higher rate than is actually laid down in their Coaching Tariff. With a view to make the existing arrangements remunerative to both the parties, the Ceylon Railway urged for a readjustment of the proportion of the through rates. It is suggested that the Ceylon Government Railway shall receive a fixed proportion of all through passenger fares and goods rates between Ceylon and India. So far as the goods rates are concerned, the present earnings are stated to be unremunerative

and the more so because they have to haul their wagons back empty for 209 miles back from Colombo. It is therefore agreed that this question of revision of fares and rates should be considered at a meeting of the representatives of the two Railways.

The South Indian Railway Company is allowed a double mileage for the sea-route between Dhanushkodi and Thalaimannar and the Government of Ceylon after a very careful consideration on the matter are unable to agree to the additional mileage allowed. Now, what is the South Indian Railway Company to reply to the Ceylon contention? The reply is a pretty long one. The South Indian Railway Company has pointed out that prior to the opening of the route to Thalaimannar, so far as the coaching tariff was concerned, there was only the *via* Tuticorin route and as it had no competitors, the British India Steam Navigation Company and the South Indian Railway Company were each free to fix their charges independently of each other. The only way therefore to regulate the traffic without prejudice to the public was to apply the same charge both to the Tuticorin and the Thalaimannar routes between stations in India and Colombo. In these circumstances the recognised practice is to divide the total amount charged in proportion to the mileage of each. And the journey between Thalaimannar and Dhanushkodi was separated by 22 miles of sea and it necessitated a special steamer service which claimed a sea mileage at twice the actual mileage in the division of the charges. But the Ceylon Government Railway refused to recognise anything special in the steamer service. The Ceylon Government Railway received a varying amount as their proportion of the through rate, although the distance, through which the traffic was carried by them, always remained the same. The arguments given on both sides are of a debatable character and the Ceylon Government considering their grievances to be serious and legitimate demanded from 1st July 1915, which date was afterwards postponed to 1st October 1915, full payment of fixed amount for the different classes of traffic and failing which the contract was to be terminated. The Board's decision however on this question has been on the side of the South Indian Railway Company. The only alternative therefore remaining, if the Ceylon Government Railway adhere to their demand for fixed and higher rates, is (1) to abandon the arrangements with the British India Steam Navigation Company for a partly division of the traffic; (2) to leave the two railways to charge such rates by the routes as their

circumstances required and justified; (3) to offer necessary railway facilities by both routes and (4) to leave the public free to use whichever route they please.

Mr. Green's rejoinder to Mr. Priestly of the South Indian Railway Company is that of a practical business-man. One startling revelation in his reply was that for the first time, intimation was conveyed to him regarding a previous arrangement between the South Indian Railway and the British India Steam Navigation Companies on the subject of competition.

If both the Companies (S. I. R. & B. I. S. N.) had come to any compromise it should have been the duty of the South Indian Railway Company to have made known the matter to the Ceylon Government Railway, who was a partner in this concern. It was not known until the signing and the sealing of the London Agreement of 1912, an incident occurring many years after the new route has been sanctioned, although the South Indian Railway Company has had constant opportunities of communicating the facts to the Ceylon Government Railway. Another fact that was suggested in his reply was the opening up of a cooly route from Negapatam to Jaffna Peninsula which, if carried out, would have deprived the South Indian Railway Company and the long cooly haul to Tuticorin. We fully believe in the opening up of this route as it will be most advantageous to the labouring population and to the public at large.

The charge against the Ceylon Government Railway for not carrying the cattle traffic is answered by the imperative necessity for guarding Ceylon against the introduction of rinderpest and other diseases common to cattle. The Board refers to the matter of the sea mileage being reckoned at double its actual distance in the mileage division of through rates and it is alleged that the cost of providing the steamer service has been very high and the maintenance of it is very costly. The other sundry expenses as to customs, medical charges and the commission to the Madura Company for the transshipment of these are pointed out as special features in the steamer service and therefore adheres to their claim that the steamer journey shall be reckoned at twice its actual mileage. The Ceylon Government Railway rightly therefore refuses to recognise any claim for considering the very high cost of provision and the very costly maintenance expenses, for this reason that they were never asked to bear any part of the cost of providing, maintaining or running the boards. Nor were they

your attention to this matter, because it has been misunderstood by many.

According to the Act of 1875, the Indians subjected to the penalty of the £ 3 per head had three choices open to them. That is (1) to remain under perpetual indenture, (2) to go back to India or (3) to pay the £ 3 tax. Only the latter portion under this so-called settlement has been repealed and the former two conditions are still operative, if the authorities choose to enforce the conditions. In deference to the wishes of the Indian Government, although these conditions are not enforced, yet they are there like the sword of Democles, and the moment the intentions of the Indian Relief Act is not accomplished, that is to say, in the voluntary exodus of Indians, I dare say that portion of the Act will be enforced. If that was not enforced, the authorities have ample power under the Immigrants Act to achieve the ends they have in view."

We give below another expression of the opinion published in the leader of the *Indian Views* of Durban. "It is a pity that the question of settlement of the Indian troubles in South Africa should still cause apprehension and anxiety in Indian circles. The Solomon Commission Report seems in theory to be one that would have given general satisfaction. Unfortunately, the practical working of the Immigration laws, and the method of administration of the public enactments leave much to be desired. We have on several occasions made pointed allusions to the drastic manner in which the provisions of the law is being carried out, and, much as we deprecate the senseless and stupid way in which the 'Magna Charta' is erroneously extolled, we would fain hope that the authorities will act, as far as possible, in consonance with the spirit of the finding of the Commission in regard to Indian interests in this country.

One result of the tactless and irresponsible action of those who managed the Indian affairs and their amicable settlement in South Africa is now seen in the sad division which has taken place in the community. The Indian people in Johannesburg know full well that a house divided against itself cannot stand. And yet, two sections of this community are now at 'daggers drawn' as regards public questions. Where this contentious spirit will end it is not difficult to surmise. We have always held the opinion that political associations that are lightly and airily established without real influence at their lead would be fraught with disastrous consequences. Considering the great issues at stake it is time that men of light and leading—men endowed with intelligence and a keen regard for the highest interests of their people,

should sink all differences and combine to work on a proper basis for the general good of the whole people."

We place these facts before the public with no opinion of our own but leave the readers to form their own judgment. We hitherto thought there was only one side to this question; we now see there is another. It is one thing to applaud or condemn from a distance, it is another to know where the shoe pinches and to allay the trouble. It is to be wished that Indian publicists with no preconceived notions will study the essential aspects of the question bearing in mind the philosopher's warning against the idols of the cave and those of the market place.

Latest reports from South Africa also bring the news that the troubles there are by no means ended. At a meeting of the British Indian Association held on 9th January in Johannesburg, the Chairman, Mr. A. M. Cachalia, in his long address pointed out that, "Whilst the settlement had put an end to Passive Resistance, it certainly did not remove many grievances which, though acutely enough felt, were not deemed to be of such importance as to necessitate a recourse to that most drastic of remedies. Amongst other grievances awaiting redress was that of the prohibition of the ownership by Indians of fixed property outside of Locations or Bazaars, under Law 3 of 1885, etc."

The following resolution was passed at the meeting:—"This public meeting of Transvaal Indians, whilst reiterating its desire to co-operate as closely as possible with the Government nevertheless deems it its duty, in the best interests of the country, and with a view to giving the fullest effect to the spirit of the 1914 settlement, to protest strongly against the disabilities created by the present methods of administration of the Immigration and Registration Laws, and especially against the demands now being made for photographic methods of identification in certain cases, as being contrary to the understanding with the Indian Community in 1902, and opposed to the religious susceptibilities of the great majority of Indians resident in this Province."

We however regret to find that side by side with this mass meeting, there was a rival meeting of Indians held under the auspices of the Hamidia Islamic Society to protest against the agitation of the British Indian Association. What the real cause of rupture for this division among the Indians is, we are unable to fathom. It is a pity that Mr. Gandhi did not stay in South Africa sufficiently long to see the result of his settlement. It seems as though the Union Government is playing the mouse when the cat is away. Mr. Gandhi ought not to have left South Africa, leaving the status of Indians there in this hopeless confusion.

THE LIBERTY OF CITIZENSHIP.*

(A REVIEW.)

By C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.

THE last few years of European history have marked the growth of new and hitherto unsuspected world forces. The eternal struggle between Labour and Capital is reaching a kind of climax. Socialism and Communism are by a few hailed as a penance for the evils of modern society. On the other hand, advocates have not been wanting who have favoured the bureaucracy of regimentation as the one cure for the ills of the world. These varying currents are meeting and forming whirlpools and eddies of thought.

The war has furnished the profoundest problem that was ever set before the politician and the sociologist. What becomes of the vaunted civilisation of the West, what is the use of culture, what is the fruit of science if a breath of ambition is sufficient to overturn the citadel of universal peace which was supposed to be laboriously building in Europe? What is the origin of this earthquake which threatens to engulf the results of centuries of patient spade work in the arts and the sciences? Two solutions rise uppermost in the Indian mind, which is untrammelled by any veneration for specific European tradition and which inherits the philosophic outlook of its race. The first being that there is something essentially wrong in the basis of the European civilisation itself and its outlook on the universe. To such as are of this way of thinking, the present catastrophe is the Nemesis of Capitalism and the unchecked evolution of the materialistic bias. It is not proposed here to examine the foundations of this theory though the subject is one of great and not merely speculative interest. The other solution that may be offered for the unrest and utter absence of equilibrium which has precipitated the crisis is the faultiness of European administrations in the immediate past and their falling away from truly liberal ideas.

A very suggestive publication by Dr. Bussell entitled "A New Government for the British Empire" goes so far as to postulate that the exigencies of the modern State do not allow consultation of the people on the graver moral issues which often arise. There is, it is confessed, a varying interest in public affairs and it is asserted that every discovery of science which reduces time or space, and the isolation of districts acts against Democracy and in favour of State absolutism and the theory is propounded that under modern conditions the worst and the least trusted factors are driven to the front and there is a confusion between amateur

* "The Liberty of Citizenship" by Hon. Samuel Walker McCall, LL.D. Published by the Yale University Press, 209, Elm Street, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A. Price: \$ 1.15 net.

and expert duties. This is surely to misread history and to confuse the accidental with the essential. In Europe, Democracy has not been given a wide trial and Germany and Austria-Hungary to-day are standing examples of the mischiefs rendered possible by a too centralised administration allowed to control not merely the public purse but to bend to its will the popular mind through a carefully devised system of State education and the active dissemination of subsidised opinion. The result is a marvel of efficiency but the efficiency of a machine, precise but cold and ruthless.

As against this theory of Government may be set the American standard. It is often stated that nowhere as much as in America does Johnson's maximum hold good that politics is the last refuge of the scoundrel. A finger of scorn is pointed at the professional politicians of the far West and of the avoidance by the best men of the political life. But whatever may be transient phases of American public life, no one can deny that in their constitution are embedded the most vital and helpful political principles that have been worked out as yet. These reflections have been prompted by the study of the lectures on the liberty of citizenship delivered at the Yale University by Dr. Samuel W. McCall. His thesis has been to illustrate the encroachments of law on individual liberty and to point the moral that over Government is the greatest enemy of liberty. He starts by analysing the essential functions of the State and by emphasising that the real test of the beneficence of a Government is the effect upon the individual. We may disagree with his view that the natural man has certain fixed principles and instincts which ought not to be nullified by the State, but surely he is right in the distinction he draws between Governments resting upon submission and Governments where the "subject" is an active part of the political mechanism. Dr. McCall from this point of view analyses the vote and its significance and he points out that the besetting sin of educated men is political indifference and that such indifference too often deprives the individual of the broadening effects and the cultural value of public questions. The author next studies the formation of parties and of Governments and Oppositions and concludes with a warning that Democracy and Liberty are two distinct things and that too often Democracy in its endeavour to regulate the life of the individual encounters the pitfall of over-legislation and thus becomes the enemy of real freedom. Dr. McCall disagreeing with many of the later schools of legislators ranges himself on the side of Mill who declared that the only ground on which mankind could interfere is self-protection. He is certainly not of those who would have the State interfere in all the details of daily life and he, to our minds, successfully demonstrates

that over-legislation misses its mark and so far from entering the lives of the people breeds a contempt for the laws and tends towards their infraction. To such a thinker, Government ownership is not very palatable and individual initiative is the only panacea. To him the history of inventions like the telephone and the telegraph in America is proof positive of the futility of State control as in Europe. The author is, however, addressing himself to an advanced community where the demand and supply act and react on each other and his conclusions lose much of their validity in the case of nascent industrial organisations in countries like India. The volume under review is, however, notable for its emphatic declaration of the importance of freedom to civilisation and progress and to the development of individual character and its restatement of President Lincoln's proposition that true Government is to be by the people and for the people and therefore necessarily from the people.

The volume is also of great interest in the lessons it conveys of the safeguard in the matter of the right of the various States to control their local affairs. In discussions on provincial autonomy it is too often forgotten by the advocates of one side that in a too centralised administration the ordinary citizen shrivels up. The American system of the diversity of State administration coupled with the uniformity of a Central Government confining its attention to certain large domains of activity is full of lessons to us in India worth considering when devising new constitution for our country. That system to our mind, ensures due attention to the varying capacities of the different sections of the community and different levels of civilisation attained by widely separate localities. But whether in the East or in the West the greatest guarantee of good Government is the vigilance of the people themselves and if an American can say with truth that the defects of his Government are due to the defective education of the masses, what may be said of a country like ours.

However, the constitution of the United States has attracted the attention of the best intellects of the world in recent times and the wisdom and the philosophy of their system of Government would be better realised, as the writer points out, "if we look across the sea to that continent whose cities and plains and mountain tops are now being swept over by a most appalling conflagration."

The dictum of Francis Lieber well portrays their system that "we do not enjoy liberty by grace of Government but by limitations upon its powers," because, as it is well said, the State is made for man and not the man for the State and by serving the State we are serving ourselves and our fellow-men.

We commend the book to the earnest attention of the students of politics.

FIJI MUNICIPAL ORDINANCE.

The following is the reply received from the Hon'ble the Acting Colonial Secretary, Fiji, to the petition signed by the Indian ratepayers and submitted to the Right Honourable The Secretary of State for the Colonies and published in the *Indian Emigrant* for August 1915. This information was received by us too late to admit of any comment in this issue.

COLONIAL SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
SUVA, FIJI, 17th January 1916.

To

AMEER KHAN, ESQ.,
Fiji.

With reference to the petition signed by certain Indian ratepayers of Suva and forwarded with your letter of the 29th June last, in connection with the amendment of the Municipal Institution Ordinance, I am directed by the Acting Governor to inform you that His Excellency has been requested by the Right Honourable The Secretary of State for the Colonies to inform you that, after having considered the petition, he sees no sufficient reason why the qualification of voters for the Municipality should not be the same in respect of the education test as that of voters for the Legislative Council.

(Sd.) R. RANKINE,
Acting Colonial Secretary.

EDITOR'S TOUR

The Editor, "*Indian Emigrant*," proposes to visit Ceylon, Straits and Malay States during March and April 1916, for the purpose of studying the Indian labour question and organising "*The Indian Colonial Society*."

It is expected that Indians in other Colonies also will help the formation of branches of this Society and co-ordinate their work with the Central Body in Madras.

Round the Indian Empire.

By V. K. M.

The 4th of February 1916, marks an epoch-making day in the annals of Indian Education. The day was one of universal rejoicing throughout India, as it witnessed the realisation of the cherished desires of the people for establishing an institution on thorough national lines. The foundation stone of the Hindu University was laid by H. E. The Right Hon'ble Charles Baron Hardinge of Penhurst, the Viceroy of India, on the banks of the sacred river Ganga, in the presence of various Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India, Governors, Lieut.-Governors, numerous high officials, both European and Indian, and a good representation of the flower of Indian intellects. The splendid amphitheatre, the magnificent arrangements for the various groups of visitors and other paraphernalia were all befitting the occasion. The City of Benares was greatly crowded. The jubilation lasted for five days. Under the auspices of the Hindu University Committee, a series of important lectures were delivered on the succeeding four days. Eight years ago in 1907, when a meeting was held in Benares under the presidency of H. H. The Maharajah of Benares to consider the desirability of inaugurating a national university, many people questioned the wisdom of this visionary ideal. The indefatigable work of eminent persons like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, H. H. The Maharajah of Durbangah, Dr. Sunder Lal and Mrs. Annie Besant with the active co-operation of H. E. Lord Hardinge and the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler, has resulted in the creation of the present university.

The dire necessity of recasting the present system of universities, which help to turn out only men fit to perform clerical and other business, was shown to the Government's gaze in broad lime-light. The demand for improvement went forth from all quarters. Our popular Viceroy very soon diagnosed the disease and correctly estimated the tide of popular opinion. In that brilliant and appealing speech at the foundation stone-laying ceremony, His Excellency has declared: "Nevertheless it is the decided policy of the Government of India to do all within their power and within their means to multiply the number of universities throughout India realising, as we do, that the greatest boon the Government can give to India is the diffusion of higher education through the creation of new universities. Many, many more are needed, but the new universities to be established at Dacca, Benares,

and Bankipore soon to be followed, I hope, by universities in Burma and Central Provinces, may be regarded as steps taken in the right direction." The great and noble aim of the Benares Hindu University cannot be overestimated. The fear entertained in certain quarters as regards its denominational character, has been spontaneously exploded by His Excellency's words. "But I am not terrified by the bogey of religious intolerance; rather I think that a deep belief in the reverence for one's own religion ought to foster a spirit of respect for the religious conviction of others, and signs are not wanting that the day is dawning when tolerance and mutual good-will shall take the place of fanaticism and hatred." His Excellency was convinced by his personal experience here and in other lands that education without religion is of but little worth. So the revival of Hindu learning is to be effected in right earnest and the Temple of Learning is to be found in the holy Benares itself. The Central Hindu College, which was established with the deliberate purpose of moulding the character of Indian youths by imparting sound moral and religious instruction to them, is to be the nucleus of a great organism, the development of which we wait to see with anxious concern. India's salvation depends much on the true citizens to be sent out from this noble Vidyalaya.

Among the various remarkable addresses made in connection with the foundation stone ceremony of the Hindu University, by several eminent personages, Dr. Jagadish Chandra Bose's lecture on "Life Unvoiced" stands out in bold relief. Dr. Profulla Chandra Ray's "A Message from a Student of Science" was equally remarkable for the clearness of thought and depth of vision. The greatness of a nation depends on the immortal work of such great men. Their outlook is not confined to any geographical or climatic conditions. They find the great force permeating through the universe and they interpret to us the hidden forces of nature. Dr. Bose in his inimitable address has truly observed how the greatness of nations depends upon their receptive function as well as their capacity of spontaneous outflow, by which the world is enriched. When a nation has lost its power of intellectual output and can only receive from others, it degenerates and gradually sinks to the bottom. He urges that India can regain its world status "by the intrinsic value of the great contributions

to be made by its own Indian scholars for the advancement of the world's knowledge. To be organic and vital, our new university must stand primarily for self-expression, and for winning for India a place she has lost." Knowledge can never be the exclusive property of any nation, nor can it be confined to geographical limitations. Dr. Bose is of opinion that India's contribution for the advancement of human knowledge depends mainly upon the great imaginative faculty and a due regulation of that faculty in pursuance of rigid demonstration. The difficulties that the students of science have to surmount are numerous. It is not always that they live to earn the reward of their labour. They have "to follow knowledge like a sinking star beyond the utmost bound of human thought." Indian inquirers even in the early days found out our physical limitations; and their ill-success was due to their ignorance of the artificial means of extending our range of perception. The mental factor is decidedly in favour of Indians. "In pursuance of knowledge an Indian inquirer has the burning imagination which could extort truth out of a mass of disconnected facts, a habit of meditation, without allowing the mind to dissipate itself." *The spirit of competition for personal gain and lust of power is abuse of knowledge and is worse than sacrilege.* "Through her habit of mind," says Dr. Bose, "India is perhaps better fitted to realise a wider synthesis." Investigation on the action of forces on matter, shows that the boundary lines vanish and reveals the close relation between the living and the non-living. The relation between our own life and that of the plant is not one of dreamy speculation. This has been beautifully demonstrated before the great scientific centres of Europe and America by extremely delicate apparatus, made by Indian mechanicians. The famous discoveries of Dr. Bose have opened a new vista and they have greatly stimulated inquiry in the fields of physiology, medicine and even of psychology. India is a genial ground for the growth of sciences and it is our fervent desire to see that this fountain of knowledge at Benares shall bring out in the near future all that is great and good in Hindu civilization and bring glory to this ancient land.

The cry for the spread of education is daily increasing. The question of the education of the women of our country is ruthlessly swept aside. It requires the earnest attention of all lovers of the country.

The one arm of the society is being paralysed and due care and sufficient attention is not paid to this important subject. Following upon the establishment of the Hindu University at Benares, Prof. D. K. Karve, the unostentatious and zealous patriot, whose name has been inseparably associated with the Hindu Widow's Home

Association at Poona, has taken the lead to start an Indian Women's University. This is, indeed, a bold departure from the usual track and the path is beset with great difficulties. It requires the iron will of an undaunted frame of mind to fight his way successfully for the attainment of the desired goal. The idea of a Women's University was first mooted by this sincere worker in the field of Social Reform at his presidential address of the Indian Social Conference, held in December last at Bombay. As the university is for the exclusive training of girls and women, the curricula will have to be specially adopted to meet their requirements. Secondly, the medium of instruction is to be through vernaculars. Here comes a great impediment. The famous minutes of Lord Macaulay in 1834 and the action of the Government from that day to the present day seems to be one of encouraging English education and simultaneously digging the grave for the vernaculars. It is a cry in the wilderness to encourage the study of vernaculars and to stem the tide of a foreign language, which is alleged to threaten the languages of the country. For administrative facilities and for various other reasons, there is a persistent refusal to accede to the popular cause. Even in our universities the tendency has been to abolish the study of vernaculars wherever possible and it was really cruel to take away the vernacular subject from the compulsory portion of the B.A. and the Intermediate Examinations. While the aim of the Government is made thus manifest, the wisdom of the present proposal may seem questionable. The one argument which favours the idea is that the object of this University is not to turn out cartloads of clerks and petty officials; but it aims at educating the women of the country and elevating them from their present position of degradation. Without the education of our women national regeneration is impossible.

In spite of the earnest endeavours of the self-denying workers in the field, we have great doubts whether it would be possible for them to do much without the active co-operation of the Government. It may be possible for them to roll a stone up the hill, against tremendous odds, but if the Government bid them "hands up," they have to obey and the result of all their labour will go in the twinkling of an eye. Prof. D. K. Karve, the Chairman of the Provisional Committee of the Indian Women's University and Mr. M. K. Gandhi, its Secretary, have undertaken to perform an herculean task. We quite welcome the idea of the Indian Women's University, teaching subjects most fitted to the sex and carrying on the instruction in the vernaculars; but we wish to see that before venturing on the plan, the organisers would enlist the sympathy of the Government and try to get their active support afterwards. There is no use of hurrying with the plan. Haste makes waste.

GENERAL ARTICLES.

INDENTURED EMIGRATION.

BY direction of the Committee of the Marwari Association, Calcutta, the Honorary Secretary has sent the following representation on the question of the indentured emigration of Indians to British and Foreign Colonies to the Government of India for their kind consideration:—

2. The system of indentured emigration which, so far as the Committee are aware, does not obtain in any other country in the world, has now been in vogue in India for a period of over half a century. Hundreds of thousands of His Majesty's Indian subjects, mostly belonging to the ignorant and inarticulate mass of the population, have emigrated during this period and thousands still emigrate every year as indentured labourers to the various Colonies which are beyond the jurisdiction of the Government of India. A very large proportion of the emigrants have also permanently settled down in those far off lands where they cannot look to the Government of their own country for aid in any matter. The question of indentured emigration has therefore become one of supreme national importance to India, having a direct bearing not only upon her social, political and economic development and progress but also upon her position and status as an integral part or as a member of the world-wide British Empire. In the opinion of this Association therefore the question of indentured emigration ought to engage the most serious consideration of the Government of India with a view to arrive at a mature decision as to the desirability or otherwise of allowing it to continue.

3. This system of emigration has been in force for more than a sufficiently long period to enable this country to weigh its advantages and disadvantages and as the Government of India is aware, the verdict of Indian public opinion, arrived at after carefully watching the operation of the system, is that it is not far removed from slavery and should therefore be forth with abolished. Many European ladies and gentlemen who have personal knowledge of the working of the system have also condemned it as such and the members of this Association whose knowledge of it is derived not only from the existing literature on the subject, but also from the personal narratives of ex-indentured men and women, have no hesitation in fully endorsing that view. Considering the circumstances which gave rise to the system, it does not appear strange to the Committee that it should partake of the nature of slavery, and they are convinced that as such it is doing incalculable harm to the social, moral, political and economic interests of

this country, as well as to India's position in the British Empire.

4. My Association submitted a representation to the Government of Bengal in August 1915 praying for the constitution of a Board of non-official Indian visitors to the emigration depots to minimise the evils of fraudulent recruitment and forwarded therewith copies of the statements of some returned emigrants and other papers showing the abuses that the indenture system has brought about. Although the constitution of such Boards is desirable for so long as the present system is allowed to continue, the real remedy, in the opinion of the Committee, lies in the total abolition of indentured emigration. The Committee beg to attach herewith a copy of that representation with copies of some more affidavits of returned emigrants and request that these may be read as part of this representation.

5. In their representation to the Government of Bengal, above referred to, the Committee dwelt at some length on the current method of recruiting labour as well as on the condition of their life and service in the Colonies and it is therefore unnecessary to refer to those points here in detail. Briefly I may, however, be permitted to state that people are, as a rule, recruited by fraudulent methods and despatched to the Colonies regardless of their caste, sex or even fitness for the labour they would be required to perform. Though under the persuasive but baneful influence of the recruiters they bear willing testimony to the freedom of their choice, in reality they emigrate in utter ignorance of the conditions that lie before them and without even being able to communicate with their families as to their probable destination. It is said that the conditions printed on the back of the contract are explained to them and that it is only the absence of any mention in the contract of the penalties for breach thereof that exposes the system to criticism. Although the affidavits do not bear out the statement that the printed terms are explained to the recruits, the Committee submit that the situation would not be improved in the least if the recruits were really thus enlightened or even if the omission in respect of any reference to the penal clauses were supplied. So far as the information of the Committee goes, the contract assumes terrible proportions only when they reach the Colonies and it is futile to attempt to convey to the recruits in this country any adequate idea of what does or does not constitute its breach.

6. Although the suspicion of the recruits is aroused during the voyage, it is not till they actually land in the Colonies that they are completely disillusionized. They are allotted to the different estates and become subject to the Colonial Labour Laws which, although framed to protect the labourers, have, it is no exaggeration to say, been in practice unparalleled in their severity. They

are required, not to work to the best of their ability for certain hours in the day, as they would do as free labourers, but to perform a certain amount of labour called the "task" in the course of the day on pain of being assaulted, prosecuted for breach of contract and fined or imprisoned in case of failure. It is then that they come to know for the first time that according to the colonial law they are not to receive wages at the rate of 12 annas a day, as stipulated in India, but that they are only to have opportunities for earning the same. The tasks appear to be extremely hard for, as can be seen from the wage statistics given by the Immigration Department in Fiji for example, a great number of the labourers fail to perform the full task and therefore get less than the full wage. The result is that they suffer the penalties prescribed by the laws and cannot earn even a living wage and at the end of the indenture period, many find themselves in an absolutely penniless condition, and in debt. It is not only in this respect that the indentured Indian people suffer in those foreign lands. Their social and religious customs are held in utter contempt. All distinction of caste, creed or even sex is ignored in housing them. Their marriages solemnised in accordance with their religious doctrines are not recognised as valid and even the dead bodies of the Hindu labourers have to be buried in the absence of any arrangement for cremation. Thus they are reduced to a state of abject servility and all manhood and sense of self-respect are crushed out of them. As has been stated in the representation to the Government of Bengal, the great discrepancy in the proportion of men and women has naturally led to the prevalence of immorality and irregular unions between men and women of different castes, with the result that a race of baseborn Indians with a shameful heritage and of lax morals have sprung up in the Colonies. Besides, murders and suicides also have become very common. India has thus come to be regarded in other parts of the Empire of which she forms a part as an uncivilised country and Indians as a criminal and immoral people unfit to be treated otherwise than as coolies.

7. The surest evidence of the sufferings of the indentured Indians is however furnished by the appallingly high rate of suicide prevalent among them. While in India the average rate is 50 per million per annum, it is 926 per million per annum in Fiji and 400 in Jamaica and Trinidad. Among the unindentured population however the average rate is much lower. The figures speak for themselves and the Committee consider it unnecessary to dilate upon their significance. Suffice it to say that the oppressive and servile conditions of their life and, above all, sexual jealousy owing to the unnatural proportion of the sexes make life intolerable and in despair they commit this great sin. It is sometimes argued that the conditions in the Colonies

cannot be so bad for only a small proportion of the Indians return to India. But the chief reason of this is that for fear of loss of caste and social disgrace on return to India they dare not come back. Further, even those who do return are found in many cases to be sources of moral infection to their communities in India. The recommendations made by Messrs. Mc-Neil and Chimmanlal in their report for the improvement of the system also conclusively prove the existence of gross abuses. In this connection the Committee desire thankfully to acknowledge that the Government of India have done what could be done from such a distance to safeguard the interests of the Indians in the Colonies by appointing Protectors of Emigrants in each Colony. Besides, there are His Majesty's Courts of Justice. But the Labour Laws of the Colonies are in practice against the labourers at every turn and the consequence is that they can neither seek the protection of the Government officials or the Courts of Justice nor secure their protection when they do seek it. They are liable to arrest for desertion if found outside the limits of the plantations without a pass from their employers and passes are not easily obtained when the labourer's object is to complain against his employer. Law suits are expensive and labourers dare not give evidence against their employers. Thus they are absolutely defenceless and, in the opinion of the Committee, these are evidence enough that the system admits of no improvement.

8. Nor are the free settlers, the ex-indentured men and women and their descendants, really free. They labour under many galling disabilities which stand in the way of their recovering their self-respect. As agriculturists, they are in hopeless dependence upon the white colonists for the sale of their agricultural produce. As traders, their competition is hotly resented by the colonists. Although they now form a very important section of the colonial population, little has yet been done to uplift them to a higher social, moral or political status. This depressed position of the free settlers, it need hardly be mentioned, is the outcome of the proverbial antipathy of the colonists towards the Indians as a nation and this antipathy owes its origin to the indenture system.

9. My Committee are aware, that in view of the obvious impracticability on their part of ensuring the emigrants, happiness, prosperity or even fair treatment in the Colonies, the Government of India, while permitting the Colonies to recruit their labour in this country, have abstained from taking any active part in either recruiting or despatching the labourers to the Colonies. But my Committee beg respectfully to submit that by allowing indentured emigration, the Government have taken upon themselves certain responsibilities and obligations towards the people which cannot be properly discharg-

ed under an attitude of neutrality. Apart from the sufferings of the emigrants, it is worthy of consideration that the emigration of a large number of labourers to foreign countries is causing a dearth of labour in India itself. Besides, it may be reasonably apprehended that the Colonies may also, sooner or later, be confronted with the problem of unemployment as a result of the unrestricted emigration of labourers from India. My Committee are aware, that the colonisation of these sparsely populated countries in order to convert them into prosperous possessions of the Empire was also one of the objects which the Government had in view in sanctioning indentured emigration. But when it is found that those very Colonies, which it was desired should become prosperous possessions of the Empire, are becoming centres of crime and immorality and a lasting reproach to India's good name, it is surely time that adequate steps be taken to remove this cause of reproach. The Committee therefore feel that neither from the Indian nor from the imperial points of view is the continuance of the system desirable and beg respectfully to submit that indentured emigration is neither necessary nor conducive to the proper attainment of that object. For these reasons the Committee beg respectfully to pray that His Excellency the Viceroy in Council will be graciously pleased to undertake legislation to put an end to the emigration of Indians under indenture.

DECLARATION

OF

JAL CHAMAR, a returned Emigrant from Fiji,
made before Mr. A. C. Dutt, a Presidency
Magistrate of Calcutta.

(25th August, 1915.)

I, Jal Chamar, son Kirtarath Chamar deceased, inhabitant of village Lakhuapakar, Thana Belghat, P. O. Belghat, District Gorakhpur, by occupation cultivator, do hereby solemnly affirm and declare as follows:—

1. That a little over six years ago, while I and my wife were going to Chowmukhbainar, a village in Nepal Terai, to attend a social function at a relative's house there, we lost our way and came near Gorakhpur Railway Station where we met an Ekka driver named Kharwan and enquired of him which was the shortest cut to that village. Kharwan, after asking my name and caste, said that he too was a Chamar by caste and invited us to accompany him to his house as he said that he would also go to Chowmukhbainar.

2. That Kharwan then took us to a house and detained us there for a fortnight on some excuse or

other and then one night he and some others took us, with a number of other men and women who also were kept in that house, to two Sahibs for having us registered, as he said that nobody could go to Nepal Territory without being registered and without a Government pass. Two other Sahibs used to come to the depot and count the men and women almost every day and were the owners of the depot as I afterwards came to know.

3. That one of the Sahibs felt our pulse and the other asked if we were willing to go, without mentioning where, and I said yes in the belief that he was asking about our going to Chowmukhbainar. On the following night at about 9 o'clock, we and some other men and women were brought to the Gorakhpur Station in two closed carts each drawn by three bullocks, put into a train and brought to a place which I afterwards came to know to be Howrah. As neither I nor my wife had ever before travelled by rail, we could not understand where they were taking us. As in the Gorakhpur depot, so in the train, we were not allowed to speak to one another. The two Sahib owners of the recruits came with us.

4. That after alighting from the train at night, we were taken by boat to a house on the other side of the river. The women began to cry when they were put into the boat. On the following morning the men and women were stripped of their clothes and made to bathe, for which tepid water was supplied by a Mehtar to the men and by a Mehtar woman to the women. Everyone was supplied with a dhotie, too small for the women, and a Kurta. The clothes left by the men and women before bathing were taken away by the Mehtar and the Mehtrani. My wife had some ornaments on her person but Kharwan took them off together with her other clothes and my clothes and shoes.

5. That the men and women were given a tin plate and an earthen pot each and all had to sit down at one and the same place, along with the large number of men and women who were already in that house, to take meals without distinction of caste or religion. A man named Debidin Kahar having objected to eat in the same line with people of other castes was severely beaten and compelled to eat with others. Seeing this, nobody else dared say anything about caste or religion.

6. That when we were made to bathe and change our clothes and we were given tin plates and earthen pots, a strong suspicion arose in my mind that there must be something wrong and we were not going to Chowmukhbainar. I asked Kharwan why he brought us there but he and the Durwans abused us and told us to keep quiet. We were also told by Kharwan and the Durwans of the place that the Sahib would come presently and ask us if we were going willingly and that

we must say yes to his questions or otherwise we would be sent to jail. A Sahib came and we were made to stand in a line. There were many other respectable men of high castes in the line. They having answered the Sahib's questions in the affirmative, he left the place without asking me anything.

7. That we were kept in the riverside house for a month or so during which period I saw that a Musalman Pahlwan was very severely beaten by the Doctor and the compounder for refusing to take medicine and for wanting to go home. That man after some days beat the Doctor, jumped into the river and disappeared. The Sahib came once again when we were made to stand in a line and the Sahib began to ask us one by one if we were going of our own free will. A man named Raghunath Par Singh who was also despatched along with us by the same steamer and who having served his indenture in the Nasuri Kothi in Fiji, is now working as a free man in the Rug Rug or Tapauni Kothi, enquired of the Sahib what he meant by asking whether we were going of our own free will. Raghunath Singh was at once detached from the line. The Durwans told us that Raghunath Singh would be punished with imprisonment and advised us not to question the Sahib but to answer his questions in the affirmative which we accordingly did out of fear.

8. That after a month we were made to embark on board the Steamer *Sungola* No. 4. There were several persons who were going a second time and who had previous experience of indentured life in the Colonies and they told us all about it. We did not meet those men during our stay in the depot, as they were kept separate from us. Hearing the story, the men and women, specially the latter among whom there were several belonging to high castes, began to weep bitterly and three men jumped into the sea. Several Brahmin emigrants, who were given hopes by the recruiters that they could earn much money in Fiji by working as priests, had brought with them loads of religious books. These books and their sacred threads the Brahmins threw into the water. Of the three persons who jumped overboard no trace could be had of two and only one named Basudev Brahmin was raised from the sea, but he died after four or five hours. As Basudev Brahmin emigrated with his wife, he and I were accommodated in one and the same part of the steamer and that is how I came to know his name. Some Brahmin men and women were not written as Brahmins but as belonging to some other lower castes.

9. That I was employed to work as a cook in the steamer. Tinned beef was forcibly thrown on the plates of the emigrants by a Mahomedan emigrant cook under the orders of the Burra Doctor Sahib. Those who refused to eat owing to religious scruples had to

go without any food at all at night as beef was given only with the evening meal.

10. That having reached Suva after a month and five days, we were sent to the Nuklao Depot and, after a fortnight, despatched to the Neuma Estate commonly known by the name of Waini Bikasi. In the Nuklao Depot I found the emigrants were practically forced to eat beef as, if any one remained hidden at meal time for fear of being given beef to eat, he was forcibly brought back and made to sit in the line in the presence of the Emigration Agent and beef would be thrown on his plate. Those who would throw their food away for this must go without food as they would not get an extra supply of food.

11. That in the Waini Bakasi Kothi we were given a room about seven or eight feet in length and of equal breadth, supplied with agricultural implements such as knife, spade, shovels of two kinds, fork weighing six or seven seers, and sent to work in the fields.

12. That as in the cooly depots and in the steamer, so in the Fiji Estates, the labourers cannot maintain their caste restrictions, as one room is allotted to three persons regardless of their castes or religion and as the kitchens attached to the living rooms are too small and not spacious enough even for two persons to sit in, either the three occupants of a room must give up all caste prejudices, cook their food together and eat together or, if they want to observe caste, each must cook his own food, one after another. An occupant of a room is not allowed to change his room on the ground of caste or religion.

13. That the rooms have no windows, but in order to admit light and air, the roof is so placed above the walls that rain water comes into the rooms from two sides. Besides, the partition walls between the rooms are low and the occupants of a room can peep into the adjoining room standing on his beadstead or can even jump over the partition to enter into the next room if he likes. Married people cannot therefore properly maintain privacy. The doors of the rooms are only nominally provided with bolts which cannot resist more than two or three hard knocks from outside. So it often happens that when the husband or protector of a woman is away and she is sleeping alone in her room, men of bad character easily enter into her room and she is dishonoured. The complaints of the women in such cases are taken no notice of by the Sahibs, nor is permission given to the injured women to go to Court. In fact there is no protection for women. Men of bad character always take advantage of their unprotected condition and dishonour them whenever they find an opportunity, either in the fields or in the cooly lines. The men also do not afford any protection to the women against such indecent assaults at the hands of the Budmashes

for fear of revenge. Seeing that there is no decency and no restriction, the single men, who preponderate there, generally lose their character. The women also gradually become accustomed to this state of things and extremely depraved in character and thus there is shocking immorality in the cooly lines. I have seen many women praying the Manager in vain for pass to go to Court to prosecute their oppressors. To institute a case without a pass requires a fee of 10 shillings, which the women cannot afford to pay. If the Sahibs take proper notice of such complaints, things can never be so bad. Women from this country, whether single or married, should never go to Fiji.

14. That the women have to suffer equally badly at the hands of the Sahibs and the Sirdars. The unmarried Managers and Overseers often take the women whose good looks may catch their fancy and then, after keeping them for some time, turn them out at their will and pleasure, when their eyes fall upon other women. If a woman refuses to agree to a Sahib's proposal, she and her husband or protector, if she happens to have any, are severely beaten, ill-treated and oppressed in many ways. My own wife and I suffered terribly at the hands of a Sirdar and a European Overseer of the Waini Bikasi Estate as my wife refused to comply with the indecent proposal of the Overseer.

15. That the work which the indentured coolies are required to do is extremely hard and men of ordinary physique cannot do it even with their utmost exertion. Field work is generally done under the task system and on the completion of a task, a labourer gets a shilling for his wages. There are different kinds of tasks which have to be done with different kinds of implements. The fork which is an implement of 6 forks, each 16 inches long, and which weighs between 6 or 7 seers, is used for digging up land overgrown with para grass. Each task with a fork consists of an area 9 chains long and 6 feet wide in order to root out the para grass. The length of the area varies between 9 and 20 chains according to the density of the grass. This task of rooting out para grass with the fork is not for women but my wife was once given this task for 15 days by way of punishment for refusing to sell her chastity to the Overseer and each task assigned to her consisted of an area of 25 chains of dense para grass, where every inch of ground had to be dug out to the depth of 16 inches.

16. The task that has to be carried out with a shovel is generally the excavation of new drains. A drain 1 chain long, 3 feet deep, 7 feet wide at the top and 5 feet wide at the bottom, forms one task. Besides, old drains have to be re-excavated with the shovels. These drains are deeper than the height of a man. When mud accumulates in these drains, the labourers have to dig, standing in the water, one to two feet deep mud

from a drain which is 1½ to two feet wide at the bottom, and then to throw the mud on the bank over head with their hands. Work of this kind for a length of 2 to 4 chains forms a task. Another work done with the shovel is the making of pits for planting banana trees. 300 pits, each 13 inches deep and 18 inches in diameter, on uncultivated land, form one task. But when the land has been ploughed, 400 pits each 27 inches deep form a task. Then there is a narrow shovel used for rooting out the offshoots of banana plants for replanting them. Each such plant has to be dug out from a depth of 16 inches. The digging out of 500 plants in this way and conveying them to a distance of from two to five chains forms one task.

17. That the works that have to be done with a knife are cane-cutting, separating, dry leaves of banana plants, cutting the thick jungle grass, etc.; but the amount of such work required of every man in a day or which forms a task is extremely heavy.

18. That all tasks require over-exertion. The labourers get up from sleep at 3 A.M.; prepare their food and commence work at 5 A.M. They take their food with them to the fields but do not even get sufficient leisure to eat with ease. They eat and work at the same time. Sometimes they get half an hour's time for their meals. Men of the strongest physique, if they are accustomed to hard agricultural work in India, can finish their tasks by about 3 or 4 P.M., but the ordinary men cannot do theirs even in a whole day. Sometimes the work is allotted at a long distance from the cooly lines and the labourers return home at 8, 9 or 10 P.M. and again get up at 3 A.M. Such overwork frequently brings illness and the labourers generally fall ill once or twice every month. But ordinary indisposition is not taken notice of. When a man complains of fever, the Manager or the Overseer comes to see him but unless the heat of the fever appears to be too much, he is not allowed to stay at home. Nor are the labourers permitted to go to hospital unless they are seriously ill. If a good number of the labourers accomplish a given task within a reasonable time one day, they allot a bigger piece the next day and go on increasing it, till they find that many of them cannot accomplish it in the whole day.

19. That those who are given time work are not better off in any way than the task workers. They have also to begin work at 5 A.M.; but are not let off before 5 P.M. Those who are employed in the stables have to work for still longer hours. I was employed for about four years in the stables and my work was from 3 A.M. to 9 P.M. with only half an hour's interval at 2 P.M. for meals. There were 24 horses in the stables but only three servants including myself and my duty included grass-cutting, grass-crushing, mixing molasses and bran with it, feeding the horses, sweeping and cleaning the stables, saddling the horses, etc. Besides,

we three had to work also as ferry men to take both men and horses across the river.

20. That high caste men who do not come up to their standard of efficiency as field labourers are forced to cleanse the privies and to cook beef. At the big towns, such as Suva, Nasuri, etc., where there is a large European population, indentured labourers, both Hindus and Mahomedans, are employed in the butchers' shops and slaughterhouses and they are forced to bring cows and other animals from the grazing grounds into the slaughterhouse and to carry, trays of beef and pork on their heads to the customer's houses.

21. That for a whole day's work or for a task a male labourer is paid 1 Shilling for his wages and a woman 9d. Half the usual amount of work is given on Saturdays and on Sundays there is no work. So the labourers get half wages for Saturday and nothing for Sunday. Thus if the labourers can earn their full wages for a week of 5½ days, the weekly earnings of a man amount to 5½ shillings and that of a woman to 4 s. 3d. But very few can earn their full wages, as the tasks are heavy and cannot be done in a day. Besides, deductions are often made by way of fines on several kinds of petty excuses. Those who cannot earn the full daily wages on task work can neither do so on time work, though they may work from 5 A.M. to 5 P.M., as they are considered lazy and not fit for full daily wages. For stable work I used to get sometimes 8 Shillings and sometimes 7 Shillings per week. Every now and then the Manager used to impose a fine and deduct the same from my wages. There are other estates, however, where the stable work is less hard and the wages higher, between 10 and 11 Shillings per week.

22. That some men of strong physique are taught the work of laying rails in the fields for the passage of cane trucks. These men have to work from 3-30 A.M. to 8 or 9 P.M. and for this over-time work they get 3d. extra per day. They have to lay the rails in a field where the canes are about to be cut and to remove the rails and lay them in another field for the same purpose. This rail laying work lasts for six months in the year and the same set of men have to do it all along for want of sufficient number of skilled workers. In the event of rail layers falling ill in consequence of hard labour, which happens frequently, free men are employed temporarily and are paid 2 Shillings a day.

23. That there are European Overseers and under them Indian Sardars to control and supervise the work of the labourers, but the Overseers and the Sardars exercise their power too harshly. The labourers are lashed and kicked and cuffed by the Overseers every now and then, sometimes in an inhuman manner. The Sardars also treat the labourers very roughly, but there is no redress. The Managers themselves occasionally come and beat the labourers. Sometimes they privately

employ their Jungli or Fijian coolies to beat the Indian labourers to avoid prosecution. They come to the fields armed with a pistol, a dagger, a club like a policeman's baton and a whip. A labourer desiring to prosecute the Sardar or Overseer for ill treatment is not given a pass to go to Court, although he may go without a pass if he has the money to institute the suit. But it is no use prosecuting the Sardars or Overseers or the Managers, as the indentured labourers do not venture to give evidence in Court against them and free men's evidence is not accepted by the Courts. But if a labourer beats his wife or kept woman for any offence, she gets a pass immediately on asking to prosecute her husband or protector and the Sahibs say that so long as a woman works under indenture, she is not subject to the control of her husband and protector, but she is their property.

24. That the labourers are ill treated and at the same time prosecuted even for the most trivial offences such as smoking in the field, which means loss of time, and such is the law in that country that they are fined heavily or imprisoned rigorously. I remember a case in which 14 coolies were prosecuted for beating the Sardar and Overseer with sugar canes, having been given harder tasks by them, and fines were imposed on all of them ranging from £7 to £14. Ten of them borrowed money and paid the fine but the remaining four who could not raise the loan were sent to jail for a month each.

25. That out of the 50 indentured labourers in Waini Bikasi Estate, 25 had to suffer imprisonment and 47 were fined and many of them more than once. One Chandraia Madras was sent to jail six times in three years. The treatment which the prisoners receive in jail is horrible. In the District Jail of Dulu Lulu which is six miles off from the Waini Bikasi Estate, the prisoners have to sleep at night on bare ground, on the Kutcha mud floor of the cells. There is no bedstead or bed nor are the prisoners provided with any thing to cover their bodies. There is no doctor in the jail and the sick prisoners are sent either to the Sugar Refining Company's Hospital at Nasuri or to the Government Hospital at Waini Bikasi. Besides, they have to do hard work from 5 A.M. to 9 A.M., then from 10 A.M. to 12 noon and again from 1 to 5 P.M. In the morning they are given either five plantains or 2 sweet potatoes for their breakfast and in the evening, a lump of cooked rice only weighing one pound. Nothing else is given with it, not even a pinch of salt. If any one is found to get a chillie from the jungle to eat with the rice, he is punished for breach of Jail Regulations. At night the prisoners are required to remove night-soil and cleanse the privies of the houses of the Government officers who reside in the locality. The male prisoners are given a piece of cloth, not bigger than a Gamocha, 52 inches by 26 inches, to wear, but the females are

given a banian also but nothing to cover their heads. The hair of the females is also cut. Nobody is allowed to bathe. In the Central Jail of Suva the prisoners are given 1 lb. of cooked rice with a spoonful of sugar in the morning for their breakfast. At mid-day they are given a loaf of bread about 4 chittacks in weight with a little salt and in the evening 1 lb. of cooked rice with a little piece of beef and a pound of soup and some vegetables. Those who refuse to eat beef are punished. In fact the prisoners are kept on starvation diet in every jail. Work in the Suva jail is given on the task system under Overseers. The tasks are of various kinds and very hard consisting of such works as cutting rocks to extend the sea coast. Failure to complete a task within the specified time results in solitary imprisonment and other punishment. The solitary cells are so narrow that a prisoner cannot move from side to side with ease. Besides, the prisoners are given half diet by way of further punishment. Here also the prisoners are required to cleanse the privies.

26. That the Cooly Agent affords no protection to the indentured labourers against the oppression of the Kothiwallas. The office of the Burra Cooly Agent is at Suva, 18 miles from Waini Bikasi and that of the Chhota Cooly Agent is at Dawai Labu, 3½ miles from Waini Bikasi. The Burra Agent never visits the Estates. The Chhota Agent comes once every six months. He comes in the intervals also if he is directed to do so by the Burra Agent on the complaint of a labourer. But his visits of inspection are of no good to the labourers. He enjoys the hospitality of the Sahibs of the Kothi and then comes to enquire into the complaints of the labourers in company with the Sahibs. Such enquiries result in nothing, as the labourers do not dare corroborate the complainants' stories in the presence of the Sahibs. Sometimes the Agent openly takes the side of the Sahibs. Once I complained about the heaviness of the task and showed it to him when he came. That task was four times heavier than the usual task and it was given to me by the Overseer by way of punishment for not giving my wife to him. But he abused me and said that the task was not only quite reasonable but rather light. On another occasion when he came to enquire into the complaints of 15 Madrasis about the cutting of wages and when they asked him to examine the Overseer's private note book in which the actual amount paid was entered, instead of examining the office records only, the Chhota Agent abused them saying "You Sala Indians, it is you who are thieves, not the Sahibs." On the Waini Bikasi Estate there were 18 Punjabee labourers who had long hair on their heads. Twelve of them cut off their hair for fear of being caught by the hair and beaten as they catch and beat women, and then kept their hair, which they called

sacred, tied in bundles in their rooms. In short it is no use complaining to the Cooly Agent. It costs a labourer 3½ Shilling in cash for passage and hotel expenses to go to Suva to the Burra Agent's Office, besides the loss of a day's wages. I went to Suva about a dozen times within 4 or 5 months, sometimes with my wife and sometimes alone, to complain about the ill-treatment which I and specially my wife suffered at the hands of a white Overseer and an Indian Sardar named Ram Harak Singh, but it resulted in nothing. When therefore our sufferings were published in the "Bharat Mittra" newspaper of Calcutta, the Chhota Agent came to enquire and repeatedly asked me to state in writing that the complaint was all false. He further advised me to divorce my wife and promised to give me another woman and also rewards in the shape of land. I refused to comply with his wish and his advice.

27. That during the first four years of my service in the Waini Bikasi Estate I worked under one Sundar Singh who was both Sardar and Overseer. Sundar Singh was a free man and had an Estate of his own in the neighbourhood which was managed by his son when he was in service. When having resigned his post he went to his own estate, he and his wife out of pity often used to help me and my wife with money and food when we found ourselves in want and difficulty. The Magistrate of Dulu Lulu being requested by my planter gave written order to me not to go at any time to the house of Babu Sundar Singh.

28. That I filed a case in Dulu Lulu Court against the Overseer and the Sardar Ram Harak Singh for beating me very severely, but it was dismissed, because no indentured labourers could dare give witness for me and the Magistrate refused to accept the witness of my wife and of the free Indians. I was charged 14 Shillings to file this case by the Court, while the usual Court-fee in such cases in Dulu Lulu is 10 Shillings and at Suva 5s. 4d. My wife's two teeth were loosened by a kick of the Overseer and her lips cut at the same time, but I had no money left for the Court-fee. These teeth are shaking up to this day and she is unable to chew her bread with them.

29. That I saw six women labourers who were working in the Waini Bikasi Estate sold to some free men. One of them was named Maharaja Brahmani who went from the Gorakhpur District and had her husband and child at home. She was sold to a Mahomedan of Naslaie Koro for £15. She cried and cried all day long in the Mahomedan's house and became blind at last. Another was Gangia Kurmin who was sold for £14 to a Mahomedan of Nabua which is two day's journey by steamer from Waini Bikasi. The third was Mary, wife of Solomon, a Madras Christian. Both of them were unable to accomplish their daily tasks. So she was sold to a Mahomedan for £12. The

fourth was Rajabeti, a Hindu woman of high caste, who was sold to one Khoda Bux of Nika, near Waini Bikasi, for £18. The fifth was Rajabeti's younger sister. She was sold for £18 to two Chamars who were friends. The sixth was young Kewat girl, who was commonly called Pagali. She went with her own sister but was sold to a Chamar for £15. Her sister is still in Waini Bikasi Estate. Purchasers often come, make their choice and offer prices to the Manager to cancel the agreement of and sell the selected women. The Manager accepts such offers in some cases and refuses in the case of those whom he considers useful. Sometimes a woman is removed from the protection of one man and forced to live with another indentured man with whom the Sardar or the Sahibs may happen to be pleased at the time.

30. That very few indentured labourers can save anything out of their earnings, as very few can earn their full wages and besides, the cost of living is very dear. For the last one year flour has been selling at 3lbs. per shilling. There is no other way of saving money than by reducing the expenses of food and clothing. A man may save something in this way but still he finds himself in debt as he is very often prosecuted for nothing and heavily fined by the Courts. Those who get work as cook, stable keepers, plough men, rail layers, etc. and get good wages of 7, 8, 9 or 10 Shillings a week, can save something.

31. That the Fijian labourers are treated far better in every respect than the Indians. The agreement of a Fijian coolie is for one year only and their women do not come to work in the Estates. A Fijian coolie is paid £12 annually for his wages and besides, he gets his rations extra from the Kothi which consists of 1½ pound of rice, (cost 4½d.) tinned beef, half a tin (cost 6d.) tinned fish, half a tin, (cost 3d.) Tea, milk and sugar worth 1d., biscuits worth 4d., either dalo or obie (two kinds of vegetable roots) worth 6d., tobacco worth 1d. Thus the total cost of the daily food of a Fijian labourer comes to 2s. 1½d. Besides he gets clothes worth 17 Shillings every 6 months. Fijians are not required to work under the task system nor in the cane fields. They are allowed to smoke in the fields but they are never prosecuted. They are never beaten or ill-treated in any way.

32. That being unable to save anything the indentured labourers cannot return home for want of passage money when indenture expires after 5 years. Many people do not come home for fear of being out-casted. They have therefore to remain in Fiji mostly as free labourers. But although the free labourers get higher wages than the indentured ones, they do not get work every day and so they are as much in want and difficulty as ever. A man without a wife sleeps in the houses of the free settlers where he works, but one having a wife

with him requires a house of his own and it requires £5, to erect a house, the cost and rent of the land being extra.

33. That it requires a large capital outlay to start cultivation on one's own account which most of the labourers cannot afford. Nor is it of any use to start cultivation on a small scale. An ex-labourer is not allowed to take more than an acre of land for cultivation. To secure such a plot on lease for some years, a capital outlay of something between £17 and £18 is required. So, for a house and an acre of land a man requires something between £22 and £23 which he can never invest except by borrowing at 12 per cent. interest per annum. There is some Government land available near Suva on a hill. It is very steep, unfit for ploughing and only yields some vegetables.

34. That the principal produce of the land in Fiji is sugar-cane, plantain and paddy. Maize is also cultivated sometimes after the paddy harvest. The net annual profit which an acre of land under cane yields after paying rent and expenses of cultivation amounts to £7 to £8 or a little more. This is far less than the earnings of an indentured labourer. Paddy and plantain cultivation is more profitable. In each case the annual profit amounts to £14. So it comes to the same thing as the weekly wages. Paying something in reduction of the debt incurred for capital outlay, the free cultivator has not even sufficient left in hand to live upon. So they cannot pay up their debts and most of the freemen are in debt. Cane cultivation is not at all profitable. Plantain cultivation is also risky, as cyclones often destroy the plants. Besides, the Indian cultivators are wholly dependent upon the Sahib factory-wallas and exporters for the sale of their cane and plantains and the Sahibs sometimes deceive them. Many people are therefore compelled to satisfy their hunger for a part of the year with plantains, dalo or obie and Nabi fruit. Some people who can raise an extra capital to do some business in addition to cultivation, keep cows and sell the milk which brings them a small additional income, and in these ways they procure the ordinary necessities of life.

35. That the free man who has his own house has to pay a tax of 10 Shillings for his house. He is served with a fortnight's previous notice to pay the tax. If he fails to pay within a fortnight he is required to pay 25 Shillings. But in case of long delay to pay he is sent to jail.

36. That the dead bodies of the Hindu free men or indentured labourers are usually buried and not has to be taken from the authorities at Dulu Lulu and a fee of 6 Shillings is charged therefor. The burial ground is on a hill 7 miles distant from Waini Bikasi where a piece of land 6 feet x 2½ feet is given for the

purpose. Graves are dug too close to each other; the space between 2 graves being 4 or 5 inches.

37. That there are no charitable hospitals or dispensaries for the free Indians. They have to pay 10 shillings for Doctor's fee and 2 shillings daily for other expenses in the Government free hospital for Fijians at Waini Bikasi. Many Indians get leprosy and they are removed to a Leper Asylum far away on a hill forcibly and with no previous notice. Thence they are repatriated to India. Intestinal worms kill many people.

38. That I returned to India in June last by SS. *Mulla*. In order to pay the passage for myself, my wife and my two daughters, I had to sell the land in Fiji for £10. The balance £7 required for the purpose was raised by subscription from among the local Indians.

FACTS ABOUT INDENTURED LABOUR.

By D. M. MANILAL, *Bar-at-Law, Fiji.*

I have so frequently written on the general aspects of the indentured labour system, that I now desire to confine myself to concrete instances within my knowledge, which will illustrate my general remarks.

I am personally cognisant of two instances at least, where a woman whose connection with a man was registered by our law and who therefore was a "married" woman, was prosecuted for the crime of not residing (sleeping) in the coolie lines on Saturdays and Sundays (after completing her week's tasks), when she lived with her husband, who was "a free man" outside the pale of the educational institution known as the coolie lines. The majority of the "marriages" (it may interest Indians in India to learn) in our Colony, would not be considered valid according to the law and custom prevalent in India, (a great many would be found out to be crimes of bigamy by women), as these are not between members of the same caste nor of the same religion nor always with virgins nor with old maids. The only sanctity attaching to them is the payment of five shillings to the European Magistrate, who writes to the Agent-General of Immigration, who is authorised by law to perform the marriage by making some entries in his books.

An Indian girl who was hardly ten years old was betrothed by her parents to the son of a "free" Indian. The "free" Indian was prosecuted by the estate for harbouring his son's future wife, who being the child of parents under indenture, ought, according to our law, to have lived on the estate, though her own parents preferred otherwise.

The law governing the relations between indentured labourers and their employers is certainly far from

perfect; even as it is, it can to a very great extent protect the labourers; but does it do so in practice? The law supposes that coolies of all castes, classes, sexes and ages (sometimes even boys of tender years are illegally recruited) have each studied not only the Indian Immigration Ordinance, but also the fine points of relevancy and irrelevancy and that European Magistrates are only machines for manufacturing just sentences or judgments on evidence mechanically and accurately translated to them by their interpreters. The law also seems to take it for granted that every district is efficiently and sufficiently equipped with policemen, Inspectors of Immigrants, Clerks of Peace and Magistrates and that all these functionaries thoroughly know and do their duties on all occasions without fear or favour; and perhaps it is also taken for granted that every real complaint or grievance that an Indian immigrant may have must always be founded on facts within the knowledge of some willing and courageous (they must not be afraid of the Sahib or the Sirdar) witnesses or others, who must under cross-examination by learned counsel or impatient questions from the Bench give such intelligent answers, as would, when translated, by the type of interpreters we have here, be so perfect as to satisfy the most fastidious of examiners for consistency. Unfortunately we are living in a world where such ideal conditions do not obtain; and most of the provisions of the Indian Immigration Ordinance, which appear to secure protection to indentured immigrants against wrongs from their employers, fail in their effect.

I know of districts where there were only Fijian policemen at the station (Civil) who were neither authorised nor fit to deal with grievances of Indians, where Magistrates have to be away for days and even weeks on other than Magisterial duties, where the visits of the Inspector of Immigrants are "few and far between," and where the means of travelling, transit or communication are dilatory, irregular, inconvenient, difficult, and even dangerous, if not impracticable. How are Indian indentured labourers to seek redress of their complaints against such obstacles, as appear almost insuperable, considering their condition, means and intelligence?

I know a concrete case where indentured Indians had to spend about £40 or Rs. 600 to secure a shadow of justice against their white overseer; and even then no lawyer would have advocated their cause on that fee purely from a business point of view, as the district is so inaccessible that many days and even weeks must elapse before one returns to one's proper district. I may add that Magistrates would not often like to adjourn the hearing of cases indefinitely to enable people residing in such districts to secure the services of a lawyer, who would require such a convenient date, as

would not interfere with his settled practice in another district; add to this the facts that labourers must not leave their plantations (to see a lawyer) without permission, nor absent themselves from work for any length of time, and that most of the means of traffic are controlled and influenced by people who are likely to have little or no sympathy for the troubles of indentured labourers, who in many cases are allowed to travel, if at all, only on sufferance.

The most unsatisfactory feature of the indenture system appears to be that people cannot buy themselves out of its meshes ever by offering fancy prices for their redemption. I have known a Rajput pair—the wife was certainly handsome enough to be a dangerous temptation—who alleged that the white employer was persecuting them from improper motives. These people had to spend some £30 on lawyer's fees, fines, etc., before they could obtain the approval of the Agent-General of Immigration to their proposal for commuting their indenture, and even then, because the employer was not amenable to the moral suasion of the Immigration Office, this poor couple had to wait for nearly ten months going backwards and forwards between the estate and the Court House, their lawyer's office and the Agent-General's Office, until finally their employer decided to volunteer for the front (War) and allowed these poor wretches to redeem their liberty. It is reported that this employer was killed in action instantaneously on the borders of France; and it is needless to say that he is not at all regretted by the couple I have referred to.

I may also point out that "agricultural labour during the day" for which strictly speaking labourers are recruited in India, is here made to include work in the sugar mills at night, and even work on farms where cattle are slaughtered on estates for the Butcher's trade, not to mention dairy farming or the rearing of horses. Men without any distinction of caste or creed can be required to slaughter for beef and pork, and I am told people other than bhangis or mehtars may be required to do sanitary service on the estates.—*Modern Review*.

RAILWAY RESTAURANTS FOR INDIANS.

THERE are two classes of Indian travellers at the present time. One is the anglicised Indian and the other is the Indian Indian. This distinction is mainly retained only when so far as food requirements are concerned. An Indian of the first order adjusts himself to the English style and generally orders his *chota hazari*, breakfast and dinner to the English refreshment room. He is a thoroughly reformed

gentleman and is not mindful of what he gets to eat, vegetable or no vegetable. So far there is no trouble.

It is with regard to the latter class Indians, who are generally vegetarians that arrangements are lacking for their comfort and health. The long complaint published in the recent issue of the *Railways* as to the unsatisfactory nature of the present arrangements for the catering of Indian passengers should receive the careful consideration of the Railway authorities. It says:

"A Railway in the south of India, with a view to improve the catering arrangements, built Refreshment Rooms at all the important junctions and terminal stations and even went to the extent of remitting the license fee, so that vendors might be the better able to provide travellers with fresh wholesome food. Unfortunately this arrangement has not had the desired effect as stale, inferior food-stuffs still continue to be supplied. The reason for this is not far to seek.

In the first place the European officers of the Railway have necessarily to rely on Indian subordinates for their information about the quality of the food and how it is served, on account of caste prejudices, unlike in the case of European Refreshment Rooms with which they can be and are in real touch. The vendors that obtain the licenses are now invariably cooks with no status or respectability whatsoever. Their one aim is to make money. They pay *bakshies* to the subordinate officials to wink at their mismanagement. The business is not therefore an attractive one for any decent business-like Indian contractor who realises his obligations to the Railway Company and to the travelling public. One railway loses a large sum of money every year in the remission of the license fees; but here it makes its greatest mistake; the amount it so generously foregoes does not help the public to obtain better or cheaper food, for it goes into the pockets of unscrupulous subordinate officials.

No decent Indian traveller now cares to enter the Indian Refreshment Rooms as they are insanitary and the meals supplied are stale and unwholesome.

The more orthodox of the Indian community do not take any food while journeying by railway, but these are only a small fraction. The bulk of travellers are not so rigidly conservative, so would appreciate the conveniences offered by these Refreshment Rooms if the meals supplied were fresh and wholesome, and everything else in keeping.

The following suggestions should be of practical interest to the Railway administrations if they desire to improve the catering arrangements.

The Refreshment Rooms should be so conducted that no Indian gentleman need object to use them. The

demands of the lower classes may be met by separate rooms or a hall attached to the main Refreshment Room.

All the Refreshment Rooms on each line should be given to the same contractor. The rooms should be suitably furnished, kept tidy and reasonably comfortable, and fans should be supplied. Two classes of meals should be provided. For passengers desiring it, meals should be served on tables or teapots in suitable crockery. Many of the younger generation of Indian travellers wear trousers and boots, and in this garb, it is impossible for them to squat. Filtered and boiled water should be supplied, hot or cold, for drinking purposes. There should also be a private enclosure for bathing at first class stations. The servants in attendance should be clean and attentive to wants.

A buffet or a bar should be partitioned off so that those requiring only light refreshments may procure them from outside.

Meal tickets should be sold in the Booking Offices, and intimation given by wire to the Refreshment Rooms so that meals can be ready and served on the arrival of trains so that passengers may be able to take them at leisure. Preference should be given to passengers holding meal tickets. A responsible clerk should be in charge of each Refreshment Room to attend to the requirements of passengers. All cooking should cease at train time when passengers are taking meals, and the room should be kept free from smoke; separate kitchen and store rooms should be provided.

At present most people write to relatives, friends and acquaintances beforehand for their meals, causing trouble to the other party, and sometimes disappointment to themselves, not to speak of the expense in telegraphing, conveyance hire and inconvenience to those who are asked to accommodate.

The cost of meals supplied on the above lines will necessarily be higher than they are at present so as to make the concern for any self-respecting contractor a sufficiently remunerative one, but the public will not grudge the extra charge in view of the advantages derived.

In Bombay and places in the North, Refreshment Rooms and Restaurants for the Indians are run on the latest up-to-date methods, and there is no reason why such improvements should not be introduced in the south of India. At all events the experiment might be made at a few of the Refreshment Rooms at important stations where the better classes of Indian gentlemen have to be catered for, to gauge the extent of the patronage.

The management should be given preferably to a Brahmin contractor with experience of railway traffic. A non-Brahmin or Mahomedan or European manage-

ment will not be so successful as the work to be done properly, requires personal access to the kitchen and to the dining hall.

The buffets provided in the mail trains should also be run on the same lines.

The fact of the matter is, that respectable Indians though they suffer for the time being never think of this question after they have completed their journey. They never bring the facts to the notice of the Railway authorities for improving the situation. Another fact is that educated and respectable Indians never care to take up this profession of running decent restaurants on up-to-date lines as it is they that can do it satisfactorily instead of leaving it to the uneducated folks. As the Editor rightly points out that it is *organisation* that is required, and we believe that if educated and well-to-do Indian contractors take up the management, there is every hope for improvement.

For the sake of comparison we give below the sanitary precautions taken for safeguarding the health of passengers on the American Railroad Restaurants, where the safest place to eat is a dining car.

In the Medical Summary of October, in a paper on "The Importance of Proper Sanitary Measures in the Preparation of Food-stuffs," a Philadelphia physician makes the observation that a railway dining car is the most sanitary public place in which to take one's meals. He said: "Some of our railroads . . . compel every person in their dining car service to undergo an examination every thirty days. No person with any trace of any communicable disease can hold a position in their dining cars. Here is a very important thing for the preservation of human health, which the 'soulless' corporations managed by all sorts of interlocking directors does infinitely better for us than we do ourselves. If you want a really safe place to eat, ride in a dining car—safe as to sanitation and safe from accident."

The Philadelphia physician could have gone even further had he referred to the Pennsylvania Railroad alone. The same sanitary measures are taken in all the Railroad's restaurants, and the examination of all employees in the dining cars and restaurants who have to do with the preparation or serving of food must be made at least once every thirty days. Not infrequently a dining car employee is examined three or four times in a month.

There are approximately eleven hundred men employed in the dining cars and restaurants on the railroad, and the task of examining every one of them at least once a month is not a small one; but this railroad considers it a part of its duty to the public to throw around

its passengers and employees every precaution against disease and accident.

The Pennsylvania Railroad has adopted a new regulation governing inspection of dining cars, dining rooms, storerooms and kitchens, which is just as far-reaching as the rule for the examining of employees. Medical examiners are charged with the duty of inspecting every dining car and every restaurant from one end to another at least once every month. Examiners travel over the road, so that inspections of any restaurant are not always made by the same man. They scrutinize kitchens, cooking vessels and storerooms, with the object, if possible, of finding things that should not be.

Why not the Indian Railways adopt the same plan?

THE EMIGRATION DEPOT.

WHO is he that will not blush to read of the doings of our countrymen in the realms of emigration? Where is the man who will not be ashamed to call that Indian his brother who makes his money by alluring Indian women into the Emigration Depot, thence to be shipped away on the waves to slavery? We have read much, indeed, of the activities of our Council members, but have they penetrated into the miseries of the Emigration Depot? Have they cared to touch the prospective emigrant on the back, ask him whether he knows where he is bound to, and what he expects? Are we not all satisfied with standing upon platforms and making speeches? Why should not Kesava Pillai ask for permission to go to the depot, explain to his countrymen the situation, and then ask them to go or to remain? Why not our landholders form an association to take in these coolies, who are unwilling to go but are helpless to stay, and give them work and wages?

Rules? Here is an excellent rule.

The Indian Emigration Act XXI of 1813, chapter 6, section 31 (1) says: "The registering officers or Protector shall examine the person apart from the recruiter, with reference to his intended agreement, and if it appears that he is competent and unwilling to enter into the agreement and understand his nature that he has not been induced to enter into by any coercion, undue influence, fraud, misrepresentation or mistake, register in a book to be kept for the purpose, in such a form as the Governor-General in Council, from time to time, by rules made under this Act, prescribes." Is this rule observed? Does the officer ask the question? Does he realise the spirit of the rule? Ah, idle mockery, why

should such rules exist, as if the dumb driven human cattle at the Emigration Depot are aware of them? It is only adding insult to injury. Most of the officers blindly sign the agreement without even going through the entries. Would any officer sign an agreement containing the word 'Elder' spelt as 'Yelder' without correcting it? Perhaps even the entries in the agreement forms are not made by the registering officer though the fees are paid for the preparation of every agreement by the recruiter or Emigration Agent as per section 38. The emigrants do not know what kind of agreement they are entering into. The only condition they know are those explained by the recruiters. The recruiters say that the emigrants have to serve only for five years in the Colonies and that they can return to India even after a year with amassed wealth if they like, the expenses from and to India, being borne by the Colonies.

And do you know that ninety-nine per cent. of our emigrants do not know the place of their destination? The only name they know is Natal and their destination they think is somewhere near Natal. They do not know that their destination is Trinidad or some other Islands in the West Indies which are nearly 10,000 miles away from India; they do not know that their voyage will take nearly two months or more; they do not know the kind of comforts (those who have travelled as deck passengers on board steamers know the suffering they are subjected to) they will command during this tedious voyage; they are not made to understand the cost of a voyage from India to these Colonies and whether their earnings at 12 as. 6 ps. per day (9 hours' work) after deducting all their expenses for five years, will be sufficient to meet the cost of their return voyage to India. One of the conditions is, these poor emigrants should return to India after the expiry of indenture at their own expense. It seems, a few months ago, those emigrants who were shipped to British Guiana wanted to know the exact rate of the passage for a single man from the above Colony to Madras. As this was not given all of them seem to have attempted to leave the depot. Thereupon the authorities with the help of the police had some of them prosecuted, resulting in imprisonments.

Whom are we to blame? Whom but the Government that send the police, not to arrest the emigration recruiters, but the emigrants. The recruiter gets Rs. 45 for each female adult and Rs. 85 for each male adult shipped, thus proving the existence of slave trade under the disguise of indenture. And what of the life in the depot: It is terrible. Why should we go all the way to a German prison, where our brave soldiers are oppressed, when our innocent and illiterate countrymen are subjected to depot life?

Once they are taken inside the depots all connection with the outside world is closed to them. Even their relatives are not allowed to enter into the depots unless they produce a permit pass from the office of the Protector of Emigrants, where they say they have to spend some two or three rupees as *bukshas* to some of the subordinate and menial staff. When they come to the depot with the permit pass and attempt to redeem any prospective emigrant, the most exorbitant amount is demanded from them, mostly poor villagers and farmers. Some redeem their men paying this amount, some part with their kith and kin shedding tears for want of money to redeem them. The kind of food provided and the sort of treatment—well, a Kesava Pillai alone must go to the rescue. Some of the emigrants, who are clever and bold enough, bolt away from the depots during nights, and many are unwilling to stay at the depot; but they are detained there under threats and are not allowed to go unless they become a great nuisance to the officials of the depot. The few who are content with the treatment accorded to them at the depot are those who are actually starving without any means of living. The grievances of the emigrants at the depot are many. Will Mr. Kesava Pillai stay at the depot in disguise for a week? He will quake Madras when he comes out. The criminals in the prisons have the privilege of visits from some non-official members. Why not we have unofficial visitors to the depots?

A cloud now gathers at the heart Self-Government? And we allow the wail from the Emigration Depot to fall in our ears? We take up the cry, like dogs from distant South Africa. What of the Emigration Depots before our very nose? And what of our educated men, employed as officials in these depots? In this particular instance, if the registering officers (who are mostly Indians) could only explain all the conditions as per agreement and the sort of treatment they will be having at the hands of their masters in the Colonies, no person will ever consent to go to any Colony. Here is a living Belgium in our midst. Who will act? Let us wait and see.—S.R., in the *Indian Patriot*.

HINDUS AND MUHAMMADANS.

AT a meeting of the East India Association, London, an interesting paper prepared by Mr. G. C. Whitworth, I. C. S., (retired), on "Hindus and Muhammadans" was read in his absence by Mr. J. B. Pennington on December 18. Mirza Abbas Ali Baig presided.

The complete text of the paper must indeed be

interesting but as it is not yet to our hands, we take the following from the *Indian Magazine Review*.

The object of the paper is to show how much there is in common between the two communities in origin, in practice, and in interest. Mr. Whitworth said he disliked to hear of Hindu or Muhammadan Universities, of communal electorates, and so on, and urged that points in common, not points of difference, should be accentuated.

He said that the great bulk of Indian Muhammadans were originally Hindus, so that there is no initial antipathy of race between them. "There are in India Muhammadans who are not descended from converted Hindus. Such are the Pathans, the Mapillas, the Navaitas, the Sidis, and a certain number of emigrants from Arabia and Persia. But these, all told, are a small minority, and many of them have an admixture of Hindu blood in their veins. There are a great number of Hindu tribes or castes of whom a part has in the past accepted Islam, the rest of them remaining Hindus; and we find the two sections subsisting amicably side by side, though differing in religion and as to many customs. And there are, again, the castes or tribes which, without dividing among themselves, have accepted Islam only in part, and to this day observe some Hindu elements and some Muhammadan elements of religion and custom."

He instanced, among many others, the Gautamas, the clan to which the Buddha belonged; the Bhagelas, who have given their name to Bhagalkhand; the Bhattias, of which clan the ruler of Jaisalmer is a member; and the Tomars, who were for a long time a ruling family at Delhi; and mentioned that the Jadubansis, who, as the race in which both Krishna and the Buddha were born, might be expected to be pre-eminently Hindu, have very largely embraced Islam.

Among the cultivating classes, the fishermen, the dyers, porters, bicklayers, oil pressers, etc., there are similar instances, and in other castes, including the Jadejas, the Bargujars, the Molesalams, and others, there is a compromise between Hinduism and Muhammadanism.

"Apart from connections created by actual conversion, either complete or partial, countless instances may be observed of Hindus and Musalmans acting together in full accord without any check arising from differences of religious opinion. These relations are sometimes political, sometimes social, sometimes even criminal, and sometimes, again, they bear upon religion itself.

"In the first place there is the dominating factor of intermarriage. Some of the Mughal Emperors, as is well known, had Hindu as well as Musalman Queens. Intermarriages between Rajputs and Musalmans were

so common that we have the name Rangarh to express the original issue of such marriage. The Kasbatis, as mentioned above, sometimes take Hindu wives; and the Moesalams, who are partly Hindu, may intermarry with Musalmans; and a recent Jam of Navanagar had a Musalman wife, and his son by her was declared and accepted as his successor.

The two communities have come together on occasions of importance to consider large questions of vital interest to India, to honour distinguished men and women, and to celebrate religious festivals. Indian students of both communities, at Cambridge, joined in making collections to be equally divided between the Universities of Benares and Aligarh. On one occasion Dayanand Sarasvati, Sir Syed Ahmed, and Keshub Chunder Sen, met at Delhi to consider jointly the question of religious and social reform.

Mr. Whitworth referred to societies which bring the two communities together in common service, mentioning, among others, the Seva Sadan, the Servants of India, and the Co-operative Societies. In Great Britain, students, visitors from India and Indian residents in London, meet on the common ground of being Indians, without regard to differences of creed. Dealing with "more expressly religious points of contact," between Hindus and Musalmans, it may be noted, he said, that Chaitanya, the great Bengal teacher of the sixteenth century, had some Musalmans among his followers; also that H.H. the Aga Khan has some Hindu followers—the Jhivars certainly, if not others. Again, Ramkrishna Paramahansa, the supreme modern saint of the Hindus, got himself initiated by an Islamic saint into one of the deepest phases of Muhammadanism; and the present Guru of the great Sringeri monastery in Mysore has very friendly relations with the Muhammadans, receiving addresses from them, and presenting them with shawls and other marks of honour. Musalmans also visit the Belur matha near Howrah on the occasion of the Paramahansa's birthday; and Bhai Baldev Narayan named as his masters Jamaluddin as well as Kesav Chandra Sen and Ramkrishna. Hindus also take part in the lighter side of some Muhammadan festivals, as the Muharram and the Shab-i-barat, and offer vows at Musalman shrines, as at Pekonda and Trichinopoly, and there exists somewhere in the Panch Mahals (at Champaner, if I remember right) a Muhammadan shrine actually on the top of a Hindu temple, with access to it only through the temple. The Devalaya of Bengal, a religious society, of Hindu origin, though absolutely unsectarian in character, has Muhammadans among its members."

Expressions of opinion from leading Indians and Muhammadans, and extracts from the Press of the two communities, further emphasised his point, and he added that as education advances animosities between

and within the communities may be expected to diminish. Mr Whitworth's conclusion ran as follows:—

"It is true that Muhammadans have a strong objection to any physical representation of the deity; but so had the Buddha, and so had Sankaracharya, and so has the Devalaya of Calcutta in the present day. And whatever the divergencies of the two faiths in the lower stages, they seem in their highest evolution—in the Vedanta and in Sufism—to draw very near to one another. In illustration of the great liberality of these two religions, one or two final quotations may be given. Sri Ramkrishna taught that all religions are true, and practically everything in them is true, except those points in which they declare other faiths to be false. Another Hindu teacher said to his disciples: 'Wherever God is worshipped, draw near.' And a Muhammadan has prayed in these terms: 'O God, in every temple I see people that see Thee, and in every language I hear spoken, people praise Thee. Polytheism and Islam feel after Thee.'

"Thus, I submit, there is little ground for the belief sometimes expressed that the differences of Hindus and Muhammadans are a bar to the founding of an Indian nationality. I mean a true nationality, neither based in its origin solely on ancient Indian tradition (as some modern Indian writers now argue that it should be) nor narrowed in its operation down to a desire to force its own particular form of civilisation upon all who come in contact with it (which is perhaps in some degree a European fault) but a wide nationality accepting as its birthright all past thought wherever arising, allowing large space for differences within its own borders, and recognising that there are common rights and duties, which go beyond the bounds of nationality and extend to the whole human race."

The Chairman, in supporting Mr. Whitworth's purpose in the paper, added some interesting points. He referred to Mr. Justice Ranade's scholarly researches, which showed that the impact of Moslem civilisation had had a liberalising effect on Hinduism, and that Moslem thought had absorbed the elevating ideas of Hindu philosophy. Hindu caste preserves race types; the democratising tendency of Islam makes for fusion. Mr. Dikshit, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Mr. Syud Husain, Sir Frederick Lely, and Sir James Wilson, welcomed Mr. Whitworth's paper, and gave personal experience, showing that though the Hindu-Muhammadan question still exists, great progress in mutual understanding and co-operation has been made. Sir Roland Wilson, referring to the working of Hindu and Muhammadan Law, with regard to marriage, succession, etc., thought it was possible for members of both communities to agree to be governed by general laws and not by those of their own creed.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Education and Unemployment.

A proposal was brought forward at the last meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy to the effect that the grants for the Railways for the year 1915-16 should be reduced by 50 lakhs further, and this sum should be devoted to education and sanitation. The Railways of Calcutta takes Mr. Dadabhoy to task for giving preference to education rather than to the construction of railways. Very rightly it asks;

"What is the use of educating the masses of the people unless employment can be found for them when they have been educated? It can only lead to the discontent which lead to crime and other evils. Any one who has lived many years in this country has observed how Western civilisation has, year after year, drawn into the ranks of the unemployed thousands of young men who would have followed the pursuits of their forefathers and been content, instead of, with their smattering of English, hankering after employment in Government service or in other directions offering clerical occupation, and prowling about month after month seeking such employment in vain, owing to the supply being much greater than the demand. Education is, of course, a necessary part of the duty of the State, but it should not be advanced to the exclusion of means of employment to the educated. These means should always be well in advance of education—how much in advance is a problem for our statisticians and statesmen to work out as a national duty. We are not aware what the Government do in the way of organised bureaus for observing the progress of the means of employment compared with the progress of the education of the people, as in none of this discussions at legislative meetings, either provincial or imperial, is any reference made to any such organization, and it seems to us that this is a very necessary measure to the correct apprehension of this vast and vitally important subject. Germany is supposed to be the most educated country in the world, and there are signs that her militarism was in a great part the outcome of the perplexity of her Government to find employment for her educated masses, and if that be so, it is well that the Government and the people of this country should look far ahead before launching into the whole sale education that Mr. Dadabhoy and others advocate to the prejudice of the construction of railways which are one of the greatest avenues for employment in any country."

But we presume that the Hon'ble gentleman never meant varsity education for the masses of the kind suggested by our contemporary. We equally deprecate the modern craze of "higher education for the masses," and condemn with force the indigestible education to spoon-fed crammed mediocrities who join the already swollen ranks of unemployed graduates. Literary education is no doubt essential for the learned professions. But the mass of the lower classes need a sound training in the three R's and a thorough equipment in some skilled trade, and if possible some physical, military and moral and sanitary training and a sufficient knowledge of history—national and biographical—to promote patriotism. "Better a good carpenter than a bad Bachelor of Arts," should be motto of every educationist. No amount of multiplication of schools and universities would train the youths of the country unless a broader outlook is shown to them in the choice of jobs and professions. In other words practical occupations must be found for them, and reform in education must be directed more towards technical training than literary.

As it is said, "True education should develop latent and useful talents—useful to the State and useful to the individual—false education brings out merely discontent and inefficiency."

Illiteracy in India.

Just compare from the following statistics the place of India in the world's illiteracy. India easily heads the list.

COUNTRY ...	Percentage of population over 12 years of age unable to read and write.		
	1840	1870	1900
Germany ...	18	4	1
Norway ...	...	3	1
Sweden ...	20	3	1
Switzerland ...	20	5	1
New Zealand ...	...	7	4
France ...	53	15	5
United Kingdom ...	41	10	6
Australia ...	...	...	9
Holland ...	30	14	10
United States ...	20	13	10
Belgium ...	55	20	12
Austria ...	79	45	31
Italy ...	84	53	44
Spain ...	...	68	...
Russia in Europe ...	98	85	78

(Quoted in the Encyclopædia of Social Reform, mainly from Pearson's "Civilization Table.")

The following figures relate to Asia and Oceania :—

			Population over ten years.		
Ceylon (all races)	...	...	78.8	All ages	1901
Ceylon (European races).	...	...	11.9	All ages	1901
Ceylon (other than European)	...	...	78.4	All ages	1901
India	...	...	92.5	Population over ten years	1901
Philippine Islands	...	...	55.5	Population over ten years	1908
Russia in Asia	...	...	87.8	Population over ten years	1897
Hawaii	...	...	86.8	Population over six years	1896
American Negroes	...	...	80.5	Population over ten years	1910

(Quoted from American Cyclopædia of Education.)

Discomfort to Cooly Passengers.

(Extract from Mr. J. B. Coles' report.)

M. J. B. Coles, who was deputed sometime ago by the Planters' Association of Ceylon to report in connection with the Indo-Ceylon muddle, recommend the following suggestions :—

On my return journey from the Camp (Mandapam) I travelled by the cooly train and inspected the feeding house at Dhanushkodi.

The shed in which meals were served to the coolies was burnt down in May last, and has not yet been rebuilt. At the present time meals are served to the coolies in a small shed that is also used as a store room and a kitchen. At the time of my visit it was in an indescribably filthy condition, and simply swarmed with flies. All refuse had been simply thrown out of the door, and cattle and goats were feeding on the door step. I examined the meals book and find an average of between 70 and 80 meals a day are served.

A new shed should be put up at once and arrangements made to ensure the place being kept in a sanitary condition in the future.

I travelled both ways in the S.S. *Curon*. The passengers' certificate was hung up so high in the saloon gangway that it was impossible to read it. I asked both the Chief Officer of the ship and the Ceylon representative on board if they could give any particulars as to number of passengers the ship was allowed to carry. They both tried to read the certificate but were unable to do so, and expressed regret at not being able to give

me the information I desired. I then applied to the South Indian Railway's representative on board, who told me the number of passengers was not entered in the certificate.

The life-saving apparatus on board has not been increased.

The attention of the South Indian Railway has been called to the totally inadequate life-saving apparatus carried on the ships, and I understand they have refused to take any action to improve matters. If this is the case, I strongly recommend that the Planters' Association of Ceylon should take immediate steps to get a question on the subject asked in the House of Commons.

In my last two reports I have called attention to the necessity of providing wind screens for the cooly deck, but screens have not yet been provided. Crossing from Ceylon to India it was raining and blowing hard, and the rain was carried half way across the cooly deck. Several of the coolies got wet, and all had to sit on wet decks. The Planters' Association should insist on screens being provided at once. If the South Indian Railway continue to show such absolute disregard for the comfort of cooly passengers on their ships, it is worth considering whether the Tuticorin route should not be more used.

It is no wonder then that this Railway is often called the Slow Indifferent Railway.

A Papuan Arcadia.

In a communication to the Minister for External Affairs, Judge Murray, the Lieutenant-Governor of Papua, gives the following interesting account of a visit to the station of the Anglican Mission at Boianai :—"This station," says Judge Murray, "is under Rev. Mr. Gill, and the result of that gentleman's work is remarkable. Mr. Gill, in the few years he has been at Boianai, has accomplished what would be a satisfactory result of the labours of three or four generations. There is no crime at Boianai, no child ever dreams of staying away from school, the houses are well built, the people are clean, village streets and roads are kept scrupulously in order, no rubbish is seen lying about, everyone has plenty of food, everyone seems contented, and everyone seems to have work to do and to enjoy doing it. But perhaps the most amazing thing about it is that Mr. Gill, while doing all this has at the same time strengthened the self-reliance of the natives, for, though he is the cause of all this progress, he has done it in such a way through the village council that the people really think they have done it themselves. Thus the results are likely to be permanent. On a small scale it recalled what one had read of the Jesuits in Paraguay, though there, I believe, when the Jesuits left, the whole fabric collapsed. My praise of Mr. Gill and his village may appear to you exaggerated, but I can assure you it is not."

Rev. Dr. Bevan on Labour in Fiji.

Speaking at a meeting of the Congregational Union, the Rev. Dr. Bevan said he met in Adelaide the other day a son of one of his old friends, who was a member of a committee appointed by the Indian Government to investigate the conditions of cooly labour in Fiji. It seemed to him, said the speaker, extraordinary that those who talked so much about their liberty and advancement were still engaging in, or permitting, a trade which, in many directions, was considerably worse than slavery itself. It was one of the menaces of their Indian rule. They could not allow a modern mode of slavery to grow up without a word of protest. One of the great causes of enthusiasm in them was the loyalty of their Indian subjects, and there was reason for Congregationalists to consider the question more fully, as the Indian nation in this time of war had proved its unswerving loyalty to the Empire.—*Adelaide Register*.

Murder of an Indian Sirdar.

That immorality, murder and suicide are not uncommon in the Indian Colonies, is brought out from the following account given by the *Western Pacific Herald*.

On Mr. A. A. Coubrough's Ura Estate at Taviani, a Madrassi Sirdar was in charge of the Indian labourers on the plantation, about 100 men and women. It is believed that he took steps to prevent gambling in the "lines," as thereby many of the men were practically robbed of all their hard-won earnings by professional gamblers; and thereby earned the enmity of the chief offenders.

Whatever the cause, on Tuesday, 5th instant, he was engaged in his usual work of overseeing the labour in the field and was last seen at 5 o'clock in the evening; from that hour all trace of him was lost.

His absence was reported, and a search was made for him. As he was not found in the meantime, several gangs of the labour were sent out from the Soqulu Estate to search for him on the following Sunday, but without result.

During the following week investigations into his disappearance were continued, and it was seen no doubt there had been foul play.

On Sunday last, several parties of Indians and Fijians were again out searching, Mr. Coubrough having offered a reward of £5 for the discovery of the body.

The reward fell to a Fijian. Whilst searching in the bush about three quarters of a mile away from where the Sirdar was last seen alive, he sighted a fowl. Native-like, he started in pursuit, in anticipation of a free Sunday's dinner. Whilst after the fowl, he came across

a spot in the bush where a tree had fallen over, leaving a hole on the side where the roots had been torn up. Here he noticed sticking out of the earth portion of the sole of a boot with patent protectors. He had found the body! He promptly raced back to the others, all excitement, to report his find. Investigation proved that the body of the unfortunate Sirdar had been buried in a shallow grave; probably the murderers had had no time to complete the work properly.

Dr. Trotter, the District Medical Officer, made a *post mortem* on the spot next day. The body was fully clothed, with the hands and feet tied with pieces of red cloth. There was clear evidence that the Sirdar had been strangled by a professional Thug—that was, we believe, the doctor's opinion. There were no other marks of violence on the body.

Captain Barnett had arrived from Suva the day before the body was found, to investigate the case; but had not actually taken hold of affairs at the time. He, however, lost no time in getting to work. As the result of his enquiries, and with the help of a European settler who had made the preliminary enquiries, he arrested two Indians, and has charged them with the murder. The case will come before the Court in due course. It has evidently been a deliberate cold-blooded murder, and it is hoped by all the Taviani settlers that the guilty will be discovered and be punished with the utmost rigour of the law.

The Fifth Indian V. C.

The *Indian Magazine and Review* mentions that among the latest list of eighteen V. Cs. published on November 19th, is an Indian, Rifleman Kulbir Thapa, of the 2nd battalion of the 8th (Queen Alexandra's Own) Gurkha Rifles. The official description of the deed tells in brief, but vivid words a notable story of daring and self-sacrifice. Happily, he survived the ordeal, and lives to enjoy the honour so nobly won. It runs as follows :—

For most conspicuous bravery during operations against the German trenches south of Mauquissart. When himself and wounded, on September 25, 1915, he found a badly wounded soldier of the 2nd Leicester-shire Regiment behind the first line German trench, and, though urged by the British soldier to save himself, he remained with him all day and night. In the early morning of September 26, in misty weather, he brought him out through the German wire, and, leaving him in a place of comparative safety, returned and brought in two wounded Gurkhas one after the other. He then went back in broad daylight for the British soldier and brought him in also, carrying him

almost all the way and being at most points under the enemy's fire.

Other recipients have been : *Naik Durwan Singh Negi*, of the 1st battalion of the 39th Garhwal Rifles, who gained his Cross near Festubert on November 23, 1914 ; *Sepoy Khudadad*, of the 129th Baluchis (Hollebeke, October 31, 1914) ; Rifleman *Gobar Singh Negi*, of the 2nd battalion of the 39th Garhwal Rifles (Neuve Chapelle, March 10, 1915) ; and *Subadar Mir Dast*, of the 55th Coke's Rifles (Ypres, April 26, 1915). One of them, Gobar Singh, died unhappily, before he knew he had won the coveted distinction.

Indian Plays in London.

The *Indiaman* gives the following account :—

At the conversazione of the Union of East and West, recently at the Grafton Galleries, two plays were presented, one by Sir Rabindranath Tagore and the other adapted from a story by the same Bengali author by Mr. George Calderon. The second of the plays, "The Maharani of Arakan," is founded on an incident of the reign of Aurungzeb. The play concerns a missing princess who has been brought up by a fisherman on the coast of Arakan. A king disguised as a peasant woos the supposed fisherman's daughter, just as Florizel woos Perdita in Shakespeare's "Winter's Tale." It is bright and amusing, but there is one moment when it seems as if the author were going to blunder into tragedy, when the missing princess has been found by her sister and is persuaded that it is her duty to avenge the murder of her father by assassinating the son of his murderer—that son being the reigning king, who is also her lover. Of course, the needful discovery is made at the critical moment, and all ends happily. The other play, "Chitra," is founded on a story of the Mahabharata, and is entirely Indian in incident and feeling. It deals with the love of Chitra, a daughter of the King of Manipur, for Arjuna, a prince of the house of the Kurus. Chitra, despite her sex, rides, hunts, and dresses like a man ; but, smitten with the love of Arjuna, she seeks Madana, the god of love, and Vasanta, the god of the seasons, and beseeches them to make her beautiful. The wish is granted for one year. Arjuna sees her, and, although he is living as a hermit vowed to chastity, falls in love with her ; but when Chitra feels that this love is founded merely on her physical beauty, not on admiration for, or sympathy with, the qualities of her mind and soul, she seeks the gods again and begs them to take back their gift. This they decline to do. Vasanta, reminding her that her beauty will die with the year, tells her also that the husbandman finds a more enduring satisfaction in the harvest than in the beautiful blossom of spring. Such proves to be the case with Arjuna, who learns to love

Chitra for herself before her beauty fades. A recitation by Mr. K. N. Das Gupta, a painoforte solo by Mr. Walter Yelin, and a short speech by the chairman, Mr. Frederick Whelen, also formed parts of the afternoon's programme.

East Indians Convicted.

ON MURDER CHARGE.

The St. Mary Circuit Court has found Samarat and Ramlal, East Indians, charged with the murder of Gulgar and Gherahoo, also East Indians, guilty. Hon. E. F. H. Cox defended the prisoners. Mr. Hector Josephs prosecuted for the Crown and called more than 60 witnesses. The evidence showed that the two deceased were found dead on the Koningsberg Road. Ramlal was imprisoned for assaulting his wife, and one of the deceased gave evidence then. The night when the murder took place, there was no one around, but next morning when the police enquired, Ramlal and Samarat were suspected. Their clothes were found dotted with human blood. The murderers used sticks in inflicting the wounds on the deceased.

The Jury found them guilty and they were sentenced to death.

The case lasted four days.—*Jamaica Times*.

Indian Doctor's Courage.

Senior Sub-Assistant Surgeon T. M. Swaminatha Naidu Subedar, Indian Subordinate Medical Department, who is now serving with the 96th Berar Infantry at Bushire, has been awarded the Distinguished Service Medal for conspicuous courage and gallantry in an action in Mesopotamia. Subedar Swaminatha was a year ago in sub-medical charge of the 86th Carnatic Infantry at St. Thomas Mount, and though nearly 50 years of age and not likely to have been called upon to proceed to the front, he managed to get away. Captain Batchford, I.M.S., in charge of the British Troops on H.M.S. JUNO, wrote to him as follows after the action :—"In my report to the senior naval officer I pointed out how on all occasions, on both days, you rallied your bearers and carried yourself with admirable courage. I shall not be on shore with our party this time, but, on any future occasion, I could not wish better luck than to be associated with you again. I feel sure you will, my dear Subedar, allow me to give you my salutations not only as a skilful colleague but a brave man."—*Times of India*.

A Planter Shoots a Cooly.

News has reached Gampola of the shooting of a cooly on Dotuluwa Estate by a planter in self-defence. The cooly is in hospital, where his statement was recorded. The bullet had penetrated from the back and lodged between the frontal ribs. The planter is said to have been assaulted by the coolies, for assaulting the head kangani. A warrant has been issued, but the planter's surrender at the Gampola Police Court is expected.

So says the *Ceylon Observer*, but further details about the planter are not forthcoming.

Assault by a cooly is punished by shooting but for assault by a planter, the punishment is.....perhaps a warning. Lo! the justice in plantations.

Indentured Labour.

Sir J. D. REES asked the Secretary of State for India whether the Government of India had recommended the abolition of the indentured labour system; and, if so, whether the Secretary of State had disposed of such recommendation.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I have recently received a communication from the Government of India dealing with the objections entertained to the present system under which labour goes from India to the Colonies, and with its disadvantages, and outlining suggestions for a possible solution of these difficulties. The question is still in a preliminary stage, and requires further consultation of the Government of India, as well as of other authorities interested in the matter. I shall not, therefore, be able to make any definite statement regarding it for sometime.

Mature consideration is quite necessary for a right solution of this subject.

After-the-War Settlement.

We understand from a contemporary that Sir Rider Haggard has consented to visit Australasia as the honorary representative of the Royal Colonial Institute, to ascertain by local enquiry what opportunities offer in Australia and New Zealand for the after-the-war settlement and employment of sailors and soldiers who may desire to make their homes in those parts of the Empire.

With the same object in view, Sir Rider Haggard will call at Cape Town on his way to Australia, and, at the conclusion of his visit to New Zealand, will proceed to Canada.

Is it expected that India also will have a share in the settlement?

A Disappointed Recruit.

A recruit offered himself at Napier (New Zealand) only to be refused on the score of his bad teeth. The young man, says the *British Australasian*, promptly paid £10 to a dentist for setting this matter right. To his intense disgust, he was then turned down for being below the minimum chest measurement. He went to a physical culturist, and quickly got this chest swelled to the regulation width. A third time should bring luck, but no!—the Medical Examiner discovered that he had an overlapping toe. So to hospital! He is there now, undergoing amputation of the offending member.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

RELIGION AND SOCIOLOGY.

"The Permanent History of Bharata Varsha." By Mr. K. Narayana Aiyar, B.A., Superintendent, H. H. The Maharajah's School of Arts, Trivandrum.

This is an epoch-making book which deserves to be carefully studied, digested and assimilated by every Hindu student, Oriental scholar, and Theosophist, and also by every student of comparative Religion and Sociology.

We are favoured with a copy of the first volume* of this invaluable publication. It is written in simple English and is based upon Sanskrit quotations (in Devanagari character) selected from recognized Hindu religious texts. The quotations are accompanied by free translations and author's notes thereon.

The main object of the book is to prove by direct internal evidence, that the ancient Hindu religious texts like the Upanishads, Puranas and Itihasas deal only with practical Religious Philosophy and Science of Yoga, which are not disturbed or destroyed by modern progress in the material sciences. It will be clearly evident from this book that the current interpretations of these sacred texts by the indigenous Pandits, as treating of ancient History and Geography of India, are completely unwarranted, and that they have naturally given room for unmerited and destructive criticisms from Western Orientalists, and have also somehow led to the curious and confounding elucidations from the Theosophists, all of which, in spite of their well-intentioned efforts, are entirely beside the mark, owing to their innocent ignorance of the very nature of the contents of the texts. It is rightly contended by the author that the religious texts invariably furnish ample clues and necessary definitions for all the technical terms used, and that a knowledge of them could be easily obtained from within the texts themselves. The author's researches—contained in this volume—will surely bring about the removal of all the present confusions and difficulties, by disproving the cogency of the criticisms now hurled upon the sacred texts as works containing irrelevant and incoherent facts added together at different periods. It will also disclose, beyond doubt, that the texts contain nothing like the mysterious occultisms and unscientific theories propagated by the Theosophists, which are virtually unprofitable for religious purposes.

The volume under notice is divided into three chapters, the first of which has the author's lengthy and interesting introduction. The second chapter has two

* Crown octavo, pages 519, full cloth, price Rs. 3, postage extra. To be had of the "Manager, Vedic Mission Home, Mysore, Madras, S."

policy in regard to Trinidad, Fiji and other distant colonies. In Assam the indentured coolie was more at home, moved among familiar faces and lived under the same sky as that over his native village. If under such conditions indentured labour could not be tolerated in Assam, it is only an infatuated logic that could permit it in Fiji, Trinidad or Jamaica where the Government of India exercised no authority, where the indentured coolie was a foreigner in a strange land and where he is removed from his religious and traditional environment. It has taken the Government of India ten years, however, to perceive the logic of facts rendered so absurdly plain by their own action in abolishing indentured labour in Assam. Even the embargo on indentured labour for Natal failed to rally the Government on the side of consistency, for Sir William Clark explained that it was impossible and undesirable to treat Jamaica and Fiji in the same way. The marvel is the ridiculous extent to which the Government could perpetuate an error when once begun, when, moreover, it is found that they closed against recruiting agents for Assam various tracts in which colonial recruiters were freely admitted. The imbecility with which the whole affair has been handled and the frantic efforts put forth by the Government to bolster up their failure would have been excusable if they did not at the same time promote a growing temerity in colonial recruiters and imply a brazen repudiation of Indian sentiments in the matter. At length this sorry business is to be brought to an end, and in a few years no indentured coolies will be allowed to leave the Indian ports.

We are not unaware of the advantages of Indian emigration and never waited for the verdict of either Lord Sanderson's Committee or that of Messrs. Mac Neill and Chimman Lal to attest the obvious. The fault lay in the indentured system which became the recognised form of conducting Indian emigration, but it is exactly here that these worthy bodies chose to perceive the brightest feature of the problem. We wonder what the feelings of the latter gentlemen will be when they read the passage in the Viceroy's speech, "a mass of darkness and anarchy. By advocating this policy, which reads: 'I selected for this mission a member of the Indian Civil Service and an Indian gentleman chosen from the United Provinces, the province from which so many emigrants are drawn, and I confess I hoped that their investigation would prove the death-blow of the system.'" Happily there is a large body of other opinion, the most recent being that of Mr. C. F. Andrews and Mr. W. W. Pearson, to back up the Viceroy's conviction.

C. S. K.

OUR COUNTRYMEN IN FIJI

THEIR PAST AND THEIR FUTURE.

THE memorable pronouncement of our beloved Viceroy in the Council Chamber on Monday last has brought a thrill of joy throughout the civilised world. His name will long be enshrined in the hearts of the people as the 'Apostle of Freedom.' Many a hearth and home of the poor voiceless millions of India will be blessing him, who have no other adequate way of giving vent to their gratitude. He set his face against slavery and saw it removed from the statute book.

We have been publishing in these columns the views of men like Dr. Manilal and the statements made by returned coolies about the horrors of the indenture system. His Excellency the Viceroy had deputed Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal to investigate and report on them. On the whole, the opinion of these Government nominated inquirers has been that 'the advantages far outweigh the disadvantages.'

Now we have on hand another booklet from the pen of Messrs. Andrews and Pearson, as a result of their independent inquiry. The value of the book lies more in the fact that they are Europeans who say it or rather are moved to say it and give their honest opinion.

The land of Fiji full of rivers is still virgin soil. Only a fringe of the coast and of the river valleys has been touched by cultivation. The climate is very healthy. Nature in her majesty, in her naked beauty, has appealed strongly to the Indian ever since the days of the Rig Veda. 'Sahib', said one woman to Rev. Andrews, 'This place is more beautiful than India, but man is much worse.' Among the Indians who lived on the outskirts of the town squalour prevailed. But far away in the country was found a love of nature, a delight in the soil ingrained in the Indian village. The moment conditions are favourable, the flower of the love blossoms and healthier conditions follow. Such is the moral influence of Nature on an Indian. Later the report says: 'The religious sense among the people ever welling up in their lives has been the sap in the tree of Hindu civilisation. It has produced an almost unrivalled expansion of the intellect and emotion which has left its mark upon the common people. Even to this day this intellectual and artistic aspect of life is found to be flourishing in most unlikely quarters. I have found here in Fiji among indentured coolies Hindu men and women whose



hearts are filled with poetry and nature and of God. The beauty of the rivers and the sunsets and the sea and the clouds and the night with all its stars has not been lost upon them. They have frequently spoken of these things to me in simple and natural ways. One of them, a mere lad, told me that everything that God had made was beautiful in Fiji and man alone was vile. We knew which man he meant. Again the report says: 'Through all the evil and misery of their fate they have kept the soul of goodness. Every now and then some beautiful action would come to light which showed that the sweetness of human relations had not been lost and that the pure ideal of womanhood still held its ground.' 'It was the scene of that group of Indian coolies, who came many miles to see us and brought with them the widow and her little daughter whom they revered and loved; with an extravagance, that was out of all proportion to their wealth they were willing to pay any sum if only the wish of the widow may be granted, and she might not be compelled to leave the piece of ground where her husband had lived and died.' We have given the above extract that men were not bad nor the influence of nature lost upon them. They are a set of industrious plain folk whose degradation and demoralisation has been brought about by the 'indenture system.'

The beautiful statement made by a Chamar and his wife, before the Presidency Magistrate in Calcutta, was published in our last issue. The ever greedy Kangany who with no education, no refining influence by birth or association has sold his soul to the devil. He is to get Rs. 45 per man and 55 per woman. What other nobler walk of life can he choose? It is regular kidnapping and abducting, cheating, misrepresentation and fraud. The thirty examples given in the report confirm the same. The fundamental principles of contract do no longer hold good in the case of Indian, viz., free consent and knowledge of the effect. But with regard to the other party it holds to their advantage. Indenture exists with Europeans for one year or so and they are protected by their laws and Home Government. Here an illiterate population was being ground under the most oppressive system for five years at fixed wages, so much so that those who outlive do not ever care to come back.

The present-day population in Fiji consists of a large number of planters, the native Fijians, Indians who are free in name, i.e., people who have outlived their indenture and those undergoing their period. It seems that the Japanese and Chinese and others

have come as shopkeepers in towns. The indentured population comes from Madras and the United Provinces.

We are told that Fiji is ultimately to become an Indian Colony. The Australians expect that New Zealand and Fiji will be handed over to them after the war. It is the deliberate intention of the Government of Fiji to make these islands into an Indian Colony (Note 15). The indigenous population seems to die out and Indian immigration is increasing.

Removal of all compulsion from Indian labour is strongly advocated by the report. Compulsory labour and fines and imprisonment are equally objectionable. A new form of agreement is proposed as follows:—

- (1) In return for passage for him and his family undertaking to work as wage earner for two years and not to engage in private business.
- (2) Labour may go to any employer and enter into monthly agreement. If either employer or employee break, they should forfeit his months' wages or dues.
- (3) Passage out to be guaranteed by Government and not any individual.
- (4) Terminating agreement before period, if he repays balance of passage money, should be permitted. Money should be recovered by civil action.
- (5) Freedom to travel in various islands in search of employment or even return at his own cost.
- (6) Certificate to be given to each immigration labourer showing how far he has completed his term of service.
- (7) Minimum wage to be fixed by Government but no maximum. The labourer should be free to contract his wage.
- (8) Adequate inspection by Government of the labour conditions.

Better quarters for the coolies with apartments for women folk and observance of religious toleration and freedom should be advocated. Men should be asked to migrate in families as much as possible. Such people may prefer to settle there.

A direct steamer service is a matter of urgent necessity as it will improve the situation vastly. Medical aid should be provided at a cheap cost. Religious scruples should be cared for. The sanctity of the marriage tie has been loosened considerably and divorce

seems to be prevalent for jewels and money. This leads to sexual jealousy and murder in addition to degraded morals and a failure of the Hindu ethical code. If the Government insist upon the 'merit' and does not legalise marriages solemnised in Indian way, we should represent to the Government this disregard of the sanctity of Indian marriage system as against our feelings and principles.

With regard to education, the Government left it entirely in the hands of Missionary Societies aided by them. Here the report says where the Government ought to spend nearly £ 12,000 a year they neglect. It is pathetic to see the attempts made by Indian settlers which ought to be made by Government. They evince a keen desire, especially the pre-settlers, in the northern part of the islands. Teachers are wanting; women who knew a smattering of English and Moulvis are asked to teach. All of them have built schools by voluntary subscriptions but unfortunately there are no teachers. Here comes the duty of Mother India who with her discontented Graduates and under-Graduates to feel for their countrymen abroad.

Fijians are admitted to the Councils but not free Indians. For want of education Municipal franchise is denied to them. "We were specially asked by the Indian community to put forward their views because they had such great difficulty in doing so themselves. There was no subject on which they were unanimously anxious and on which they laid greater emphasis. They are wont, in a very touching manner to look forward with confidence and hope to the removal of all their moral evils if only education could be given to their children on right lines. After what we heard of the beneficent results of liberal education in the Philippines during recent years, we felt there was much to be said from their point of view.

"It seemed more and more clear to us, the longer we stayed, that there was no side of Indian life in Fiji where the Government and the people of India might offer more practical help at this juncture than by pressing forward the urgency of a comprehensive educational policy with regard to Indians in Fiji—a policy wide and large enough to cover the whole of the Islands. We hoped also it might be possible to offer any initial aid that might be required. We have no reason to believe that a representative from India sent out to assist in such a greatly needed reform would be welcomed by the authorities in Fiji. He would also receive from every section of the resident Indian community the warmest possible welcome and support."

With regard to the Missionary Societies, it says: "False economies are often made and unqualified teachers taken from the rank of catechists are put in charge."

In spite of the fact that literacy in India itself is very low, in spite of the fact that our own immediate problems have to be solved and money found for their solution, this is a duty which we should not neglect or delay even for a moment.

India—a country which prized no gift as more precious than knowledge—a country which held that knowledge ought not to be a marketable commodity—what is thy present state? A low percentage of literacy—the lowest perhaps in the whole world—is possessed by your sons. There in the far-off Fiji, a number of our countrymen clamour for men though they are willing to pay. As in her industrial field so in the educational, we have material abundant; but for want of organisation and skilled labour, we lag behind. The Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj and the Vivekananda Mission should respond to this call. Here is a Colony which, if prosperous, would develop so much of our trade and supply so much of our wants.

A well-settled Colony is a noble asset to the British Empire—an Empire under whom our sense of realisation of 'Oneness of India' we feel. Our colonial brethren have now realised how far a sense of duty to British Throne we possess, if it was mere lip-loyalty or heart-felt response.

We understand each other better and are knit in closer bonds of love and fraternity and equality. An independent Indian Press, our own Colonial League, properly financed and equipped, could go far to meet the situation. The Government also should help us in our efforts by providing monetary help and supplying us with information and removing all obstacles that may be incidental to newly-settled Colonies, where various sorts of population are mingled. The morals of the Chinese are pronounced to be hopeless, corrupt, and if so, Indians should be encouraged to live apart uncontaminated. The Government may help by asking the planters to treat us kindly and in a sympathetic way and to listen to our proposals when reasonable. Any scheme will have to be revised in the light of experience, as unforeseen difficulties may arise. Evils that exist may be removed and guarded against. For the rest a sympathetic watch is the only remedy.

R.

THE COLLAPSE OF FREE TRADE.

THE Allies are determined upon a thorough economic boycott of the German after the war and to this end, it may be assumed, they will be prepared to make any sacrifices in the sphere of their respective fiscal policy. The resolution, it is only just to say, does not proceed out of a vindictive hatred of the enemy, even after peace is concluded, but from the humane consideration to secure the peace of Europe which will ever be in jeopardy if any one power, such as Germany, were left in undisturbed enjoyment of a militarist ambition constantly fed by industrial conquests. That the German has brought skill and science into the domain of commerce is not a legitimate ground to grumble at; but no one, it is clear, should complacently look on when industrial success is motivated with ideas of political dominion. German dreams in the latter sphere have now been divulged to the world, along also with the instruments of their realisation; and the Allies are wise in being warned by the storm that is raging in Europe. Germany, after the war, will be bound down for good behaviour, and the fetters are to be political as well as economic. We are not concerned here with the former; and it is, perhaps, too early to speculate upon the precise shape the economic combination of the Allies will take after the conclusion of the hostilities. But it is fairly certain that Germany will be made the objective for some considerable length of time of a regular fiscal fusillade from the side of the Allies, until her power for mischief is seriously curtailed by hampering her trade and commerce.

The question for us to consider is how Great Britain will be affected, as she is bound to be, by her entry by a membership into the economic *Zollverein* of the Allies. Public opinion in England seems largely prepared for the change. It may here be noted that general dissatisfaction is expressed at the strict application of the free trade doctrine to the economic relations of the mother country to the world outside. The hold of Cobdenism over the metropolitan state is visibly relaxing and the Briton is beginning to realise that a scrupulous maintenance of an open-door policy is not always to his and the Empire's best advantage. Sir George Reid, the other day, at the Australian Chamber of Commerce, observed that our future policy towards German commerce could not be the same as our policy before the war. Lord Islington still more recently alluded to the Imperial Conference to deliberate on the industrial, economic and defensive problems of the Empire. Mr. Runciman, such a pronounced protagonist of free trade, admitted that we must aid our Allies in economic as well as in other fields and that Germany must not be allowed to make industrial war upon her neighbours. So long as England is able to command

the seas, it was thought, that nothing mattered to her position either in the international commerce or in the international politics of the world. But this war with Germany, so educative in its influence, has taught that any scheme of fiscal policy that is not based upon national needs as contradistinguished from international opportunities is ruinous in the end to the stability of the nation that relied for her sustenance upon an outside economic belt. Two facts have emerged clear. One is that the industry and commerce of a people is as much their inclusive charge as the direction of their internal affairs; or, in other words, the economic life of a people is as much based upon their individual powers of self-assertion as their corporate political existence. Following directly upon this, what we may call the psychological view of economics, is the other fact that commercial retaliation is as much recognised practice as diplomatic rivalry in the comity of nations. Now, the truth about this venerable free trade principle seems to be that a country can produce economically the goods for which it is best fitted, and its essential weakness lies in the fact that when adopted as an all-round State policy, free trade just ignores the possibility of other nations not being always animated by the same altruistic consideration.

A definite gain for India, so far as the direction of her fiscal policy is concerned, is the realisation brought home by the war to economic politicians in England that there is need for a closer watch over the economic resources of the Empire. Patriotic people are rightly impatient at the sway any longer of a pernicious free trade shibboleth, which leaves the door wide open at every angle of the Empire to whomsoever might happen to possess the pluck and resource to profit by the open-handedness. The German, as is now known, was not slow to take advantage of this unsuspecting *noblesse oblige* of England, both within and without her borders, and if he had not always shown us more than the back of his cards, the lack of vision is due only to our sheer incompetence.

The thoroughness with which Germany has been exploiting the rich resources of the Empire at the dire expense of the sons of the soil is something very surprising and to Englishmen it must be humiliating, indeed—bearing in mind the commercial genius of Great Britain. Mr. Hayden, in his address at the annual meeting of the Mining and Geological Institute at Calcutta recently, gave a clear and striking survey of the facts which demonstrate "the thorough but insidious manner in which Germany had gradually acquired an industrial position of extraordinary power." The "insidious" methods employed by Germany in the treatment of the ore deposits of which British enterprise had failed to take advantage, are culpable. It has been found that Germans had acquired control of the zinc ores of Australia where a

zinc corporation had agreed to sell to German manufactures all the ore produced till the year 1919. Such hypothecation of national resources to foreigners is clearly against national interests. Half the world's supply of tungsten, which is used for the production of high-speed tool-steel, was in German hands, and among other things, the Germans had secured the supply of the monazite sands of Travancore, the wolfram of Burma, and the hide and jute trade of Bengal. The aim of the Germans in all the foreign countries which have given them liberal hospitality seems to have been to secure a monopoly from which the people of the country were rigidly excluded. So far as the British Empire is concerned, the war has brought these monopolies to an end. The great question which has now to be faced is how these manufactures are to be kept in British and Indian hands and also how the valuable resources which India possesses can be manufactured in this country instead of being exported as raw material for the benefit of other countries. India's case is the case of the infant industries. It is more or less certain that England will revert to some form of Protection, both to recoup the financial losses occasioned by the war by taxing her huge imports and to encourage production at home in the class of commodities for which she was formerly dependent on Germany. Such a change of policy in the metropolitan state is bound to react on India and a radical modification of our customs may be looked for after the war. How the alteration will affect India's national wealth cannot now be said with any precision, but the change will not be viewed with anything other than favour, seeing the trend of economic thought among our foremost politicians.

CHITTUR S. KRISHNA IYER.

LABOUR PROBLEMS IN MALAYA.

BY KEBOON GETHA.

Recruiting.

II.

A cursory view of the recruiting system in vogue now was the subject matter of my first article. A few suggestions to improve the system were made therein, which, though only a few—thanks to the eagle eye of the Emigration Department of Madras—appealed to the authorities as is evidenced by the recent introduction of registering the whereabouts of the emigrant at the Port Depot. This is a move in the right direction, but it is to be regretted that the registration of the Kangani license at his own Taluq Office is not yet introduced. This latter is very essential as many a wily recruiter are not recruiting from their

own village, town, taluq or even district. When a man of Madura induces another of Tanjore to emigrate, not as a free emigrant, but as a Kangani labourer, cannot the authorities see that some underhand influence has been brought to bear upon the emigrant? To leave one's own home, however poor he may be, is painful to an Indian and this is all the more felt by the emigrant when he has to cross the sea—an incomprehensible thing for the average labour class—and cast his lot 1,500 or 2,000 miles away from his home. What then is the antidote which the Kangani uses for this constitutional aversion? A Madura man will not be relied on implicitly by a Tanjore labourer unless the former has been a relative or a bosom friend—which by the bye is the only doubtful qualification of the recruiter at present—and certainly implicit confidence in the recruiter will only render a labourer to make up his mind to emigrate. As already mentioned, the recruiter will have his local agent and he will see that the labourer's aversion is got over. That is plain-hand truth in very many cases.

There is another reason why the Kangani license should be registered at his Taluq Office. There are recruiters, now, in India who have given false information as to their home address, in the licenses they hold just to enable them to be eligible for recruiting. A friend of mine who has been on estates for the last ten years pointed out a series of such wilful humbugs. The Labour Department of Malaya never grants a license to a Native State subject, but a number of Kanganies and Malayalees are subjects of Native States. An old unscrupulous Ezhava (Chokayan) of Pudukkadu of the (Native) Cochin State has been recruiting himself and through his agents, coolies from British District for the last ten years for an estate in Batu Tiga. Only quite recently did he get into some trouble from which he escaped, because the planter for whom he sacrificed hundreds of souls took side with him, but all the same, the fellow was made ineligible for recruiting. Thank the stars of the Malabar labourers. As ill-luck would have it, yet he has contrived to get two licenses in two of his agent's name to recruit coolies for an estate in Genuang (Johore). The matter becomes serious as these two agents have never worked on or even seen Genuang or Johore in this life till now. To crown the infamy he would be recruiting from Cochin, a forbidden place which has been his source of supply of labour to sacrifice (annihilate is the appropriate term) at one of the estates which was worst in health till recently and even now is not one of

the healthy estates in Selangor. What has the Labour Department of Malaya done to check this irregularity which deliberately makes the definition of Kangani recruiting ridiculous and which suggests that that definition has not been made after mature study of the recruiting system? The Labour Department of Malaya is a serious concern and with all its shortcomings is pro-labourer. No pains are spared by the Controller of Labour to study the labour problems and the planter is given no quarters to outwit him. But he cannot help being outwitted by illiterate Kanganies, an irony of fate indeed? Properly speaking, he is not to blame. He has no way of verifying the statements of Kanganies on the license forms, especially so when the Kangany is found on estate in some Native States of Malaya such as Johore or Kedah, the kangany being not obliged to attend the Labour office personally for the license. So the remedy for this evil, viz., granting license to recruiters who have never been on the estate or even the country, lies with the Emigration Department of Madras. The easiest and the most reliable remedy is to compel the Kangany to register his license at the Taluq Office, which on its part, should be made to elicit the following information about the Kangany:—

- (i) Is the man identified at his village and has he given correct details on the license form?
- (ii) Has he been in India all the while; if he has been out, how long, whereat and for what?
- (iii) Has he been at the estate for which he recruits on the date of the issuing of his license?

The time for enquiry will be very limited if he has given correct details and the license should not be issued from Taluq Office until these statements are proved satisfactory to the Emigration Department. The average Kangany cannot put dust into the eyes of the local enquirers and almost all ill-gotten licenses will go to the wastepaper basket of the authorities. To avoid underhand dealings on the part of the Taluq Office, the Controller of Labour can demand a statement from the employer of labour containing the following items:—

- (1) How long has he been on the estate and what was he (recruiter) at the time of his departure to recruit?
- (2) What wages was he getting and quote the number of days he worked each month while on the estate?

I dare say more than 80 per cent. of the recruiters are ordinary coolies who return to India to recruit for their Kanganies-on-estate, and a random examination of estate check-rolls will prove me correct. My friend of whom I made reference elsewhere, assured me that an estate in Bata Caves District is a typical case for reference. There was an old Kangany with two wives on the estate and he had never for once gone to recruit but his gang was being kept up and influxed by constant recruiting by some coolie or other who returned to India. The man is now dead and his name may not be in the check-roll but the checkrolls of 1909-1913 will reveal the fact and this estate is supposed to be one of the best conducted and assuredly the best paying in Malaya. This being the nearest to the Controller of Labour's Office, I suggested its name, but I can name others which, I think, is not necessary now. If such irregularities have been going on under the very nose of the authorities on a so-called well-conducted estate, am I not justified in drawing this point to the notice of the authorities? The remedy is simple. The statement from the employer will be of great use to verify the enquiry of the home authorities. I hope there will not be many recruiters to find loopholes for them to escape from the scrutiny of these local (home) enquiry if the aforesaid statement from the employer is demanded a month after the issuing of the license.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH OUR EDUCATION?

IDEA OF EDUCATION.

EDUCATION has been defined as the equation in life of individual bent and ability to the nation's needs. Judged by this accepted modern standard, the educational equipment of a nation should subserve its highest development compatible with its ideals. So, then, the pre-eminent task of those who are in charge of the destinies of nations consists in equipping their citizens with the most up-to-date facilities that shall fit them to be worthy of their country, in its onward march to an economic and rational stability. Disaster awaits that nation that cannot turn the plough and thwart the wolf at the door; the spell of ruin is cast on the people that cannot guard their purse or augment their resources. To-day laziness is a crime; poverty, a stigma; while everywhere nature stimulated by Science yields her bounteous best to him that will suffer his brow to bend to toil. The present-day struggle is not between man and nature; but between man and man, a

more dangerous and subtle adversary. He who sleeps, sleeps for ever; the nation that works not will wake no more. Avaunt, the silly dreams of starving poets; fling away the airy visions of herbaceous hermits. Faded laurels hide away a more dangerous narcotic than the freshest leaves of the most poisonous plant on earth. The empty blandishments of the Lazarite Minerva will not stay the weapon of the Bankruptcy Court. The days when minstrels fed on their lyres and philosophers on their brains are gone; the poet, to-day, browses on the hills. The present work-a-day world knows not a patron; but knows *itself*. In no period of human history is the individual more thrown upon his own resources than now; and a nation falls or rises, as the individual is weak or strong to rely upon himself. A nation is judged to-day not by its past glories, but its ideals of the future; the sanctity of the present is predominated by what is to come and not what has gone before.

NEEDS OF INDIA.

India needs a thorough revolution in her fossilised notions. Her cherished convictions handed piously down from father to son must be plucked root and branch. She should be born anew to call herself a contemporary of the living age. Her three hundred and fifteen million souls must be baptised with the new creed and faith dominating the conduct of the other parts of the globe.

By a stroke of fortune, she had fallen into the worthy hands of the British nation. She should now prove worthy of her master. Lay aside for a moment all political ambitions and polemic controversy; poverty is gnawing at your stomach. The so-called liberal professions which annually absorb thousands of India's best intellects have but increased poverty and quarrel, disease and insanitation. Law and equity can be called in, when there is substantial possession in dispute; drugs can be administered when there is a body to support. Cease this mad rush into the Law and Medical Colleges; look where the soil cries for your care. Your banks would fail, credit collapse, famine close on your crops and livestock, if you ask your poor, discontented matriculate to man your stores. The store and granary of this nation is its open fields and its solid cash the wide-eyed cattle grazing by the hay-stack. The policeman that watches as well as the robber that waylays, is the same son of the soil. If by inefficient management or ignorant handling he impoverishes his stores, he beats the policeman hollow in himself and throws his food into the gutter instead of down his throat. That is how men can be children, by trampling the food they would want to eat. If India wants to be a child still, shame on her to call herself a nation and talk politics. If, a man, let her show herself such.

SOME SIGNIFICANT SIGNS.

Signs are not wanting to indicate that India is slowly awakening to the need of the hour. But it is still doubtful whether she is serious about it. The increasing attention that is manifested in the Press, platform and her multifarious congress and conferences is reassuring. But resolutions alone won't do. She must be at it with a sturdiness of purpose and certain systematic principles. The various local governments have generously adumbrated policies of real technical education for the different provinces concerned. But the complaint is that the people are apathetic towards taking advantage of the facilities offered by the Government. The wail of one weaving school after another, one technical institution after another having had to close their doors for want of attendance of pupils is appalling. Mr. Tresseler's recent survey of technical education in Madras is a heavy indictment of the lip-service of those who still talk of technical education, but do next to nothing in inducing the young men of the country to resort to the existing avenues opened by the Government. There is no use in extenuating the follies of Indians; they have got to be serious about what they preach in season and out of season about the need of encouragement by Government for technical education. The Government has already done much and is willing to do more provided educated Indians are forthcoming to give their sons an industrial or agricultural education in their young days.

THE RIGHT EDUCATIONAL POLICY.

Literature and the liberal professions ought to be handed over to private agencies, with Government aid thrown in. Government now spends crores of rupees on the so-called higher branches of learning. It is only the wealthy few that benefit by it; whereas with close upon a century (beginning from 1834) of British education in the country, the masses remain as ignorant as they were ever before. The poor ryot out of whose hard-earned income these revenues are drawn, gets no direct return from the Government by way of educational benefit. It is the wealthy classes, the Zamindar's sons that derive all the good. These can help themselves. Such top-dressing by Government is not its true function. Let moneyed men and those with large leisure who can well afford to pay themselves for their education do so. The poor ryot gapes with pitiful ignorance at the gilded portals of the University, maintained out of his ill-lined purse for the use of those who show no sympathy towards him.

We have had enough of education for the rich. Let us have some education for the poor. The horse can be led to the water, but it can't be made to drink; the poor are averse to taking lessons of any sort. The

existing village primary schools are a partial failure, because the masses don't take to them, is a silly complaint. If the Government of the mighty British nation is to be thwarted from pursuing a wise policy by a handful of ignorant people, that Government might well cease to be. By all means at their disposal, compulsion, conscription, by any coercive power that it might now wield or hereafter invent, let them set to their task. The good sense of Indians and of mankind in general is behind their back. A good cause will never suffer by any amount of obstacles thrown in its way. Think of the immeasurable reward that Government would reap, if the people are made to grow two blades of corn where only one grew before.

A PRACTICAL SCHEME.

As mentioned already, the superstructure of our educational scheme is to be left to private enterprise. Now, beginning from the bottom, our existing primary schools ought to be given an agricultural bent in the scheme of their curricula. Elementary principles of agriculture and horticulture, soil and bodily hygiene, the three R's and the use of hand-tools ought to be taught. In the secondary stage to which the primary one must imperceptibly lead, the influence of the seasons; farm management, and allied subjects, a little more difficult than what is taught in the primary schools, but, be it remembered, eminently practical; one or two home industries, the principles of co-operation, may be taught. In the third and the highest stage, after two or three years of more practical and more difficult subjects, including the teaching of trade routes, a few principles of political economy and the national system of Government, another two or three years advantageously devoted to any one subject, such as, advanced Agriculture, Industry, Commerce, Banking, etc., would complete the course. So, then, beginning with a young lad of six or seven years, four years in the primary standards, another four in the secondary and three to five years in the upper, when the boy would have reached his sixteenth or seventeenth year, he would have learnt enough to love his land and his toil. Education is to be imparted in the vernaculars of the country.

The dignity of manual labour cannot be too forcibly impressed upon him. One hour of every school-day must be set apart for working with tools. Such subjects as *Geography* and *History* may be treated by

lectures where attendance would be enough to secure passage to the next higher class. *Examinations are to be thoroughly avoided.* The general average of a pupil must be the criterion of taking him to a higher standard. There need not be a strict compartmental distinction between lower and higher standards; the pupil who shows uncommon manual dexterity may be easily promoted to higher forms of study. I have neither the skill nor the space here to elaborate what seems to me to be the essential features of the new policy that should dominate our education. The aim is to fit the youth of the country to derive the best of his environments and thereby contribute to the wealth and prosperity of the nation which owns him. It is clear that a vast sum of money will be required. A portion of it will be released by the Government relinquishing its present enormous expenditure on the upkeep of the so-called liberal professions and any extra expenditure that Government might incur by the new policy is reproductive. They would reap twenty times its original value; money could not, it need scarcely be said, be better spent. It is essential that the Educational, Agricultural, Commercial Departments and the various Registrars of Co-operative Societies should unite in bringing out this far-reaching reformation.

CONCLUSION.

I have but attempted a brief sketch of the need of recasting the whole educational policy of India; yet sufficient has been demonstrated, it is hoped, to the intelligent reader to put him on the right line of action and thought on what constitutes one of the vital problems of our national existence. Too much emphasis cannot be laid on the necessity of a thorough change in our educational ideals, if India is to take her place with such far advanced countries as Japan, Germany or England. The last mentioned island will shortly bring about a revolution of far-reaching importance in her system of technical schools. A legislation to that effect is on the anvil, which, if passed into law, will connect the existing trade schools in that country into a co-ordinated scheme of technical education for the whole nation with solid and permanent foundations. A crusade is now being waged in that little island against the hollow pretensions of her time-honoured universities with their precious conceit of classic lore, and ere long, we may see, Oxford and Cambridge opening their portals to instal in their shrine the dictates of commerce and industry. Will India take heed?

LABOUR PROBLEMS IN MALAYA: RECRUITING.

BY

KEBOON GETHA.

III

THE very fact that Kanganies are permitted to recruit 100 to 200 labourers at a stretch according to the licences granted to them proves that the Labour Authorities in Malaya do not believe in the definition of Kangany recruiting. The truth of the matter is Kangany recruiting is nothing better than professional recruiting, with the difference that a mythical safety is attributed to the recruitment by the connived approval of former by the Controller of Labour in Malaya. To me professional recruiting is not so blood-sucking as the Kangany recruiting, as the labourers are not fed in unrealisable hopes, nor does the professional recruiter profess to know all about the place of employment of the labourer. Here the Kangany is dubbed an authority on the health and other conditions of the place of employment, but ten to one he has not even as much knowledge about the place as the man in the street, as he has never been on the estate or even had he been, his observation of surroundings has been poor or he has, as is often the case, his own axe to grind by telling the labourers a regular series of lies which will eventually run them into his trap.

If the Labour Departments of either Government are serious in checking the evils of recruiting the first and foremost thing for them to do is to disallow any one Kangany to recruit more than 20 labourers. It is very unlikely a Kangany's friends and relatives will count more than that number under ordinary circumstances, allowing for argument's sake that he recruits only on the lines indicated by the Deputy Controller of Labour, Penang. When licenses are issued to recruit 20 coolies (maximum) and when he is not permitted to go to recruit more than once in three years, a Kangany need not have to resort to many of the low tricks he now plays and with the registration of licenses at his taluqu office, his fang of mischief is more or less eradicated. The double-faced dealing of agents for Kanganies also will go by the way of all, if these suggestions are adopted.

With all the seductive powers of the Kangany and his agents, not to speak of the patronage they get at the hands of the underlings of the Emigration Department of Madras, of the Police Department, and of the local administration, recruiting to Malaya is not so regular, or adequate as the planters wish it to be. What can be the cause of it? The Kangany leaves no stone unturned to fulfill his contract of supplying the promised number of labourers and his agents help

him in case he is disabled in any way. There are estates in Malaya which are in every way more suitable for habitation for labourers than many parts of South India. The treatment accorded to labourers is not in any way worse than, except in a few isolated cases, what is meted out to them in South India. There are estates whence a labourer can save a good 'anna' for two rainy days too. With all that, the Indian labourers are far short of requirements in Malaya. I am told that fields after fields of tappable trees on rubber plantations are lying idle on account of shortage of labour. What can be the real cause of this shortage? I shall go into this question from the very start.

In the first instance a labourer's life just after his initiation into the ethics of the recruited is dull and irksome. The Emigration Depot is a hell on the day of shipping the labourers. Unless one has seen the process of preparing the labourer to be shipped he can have no idea of how degradatory to one's soul this process is. As I promised my readers a sketch of this process in my first article, I shall dwell on it at a short length.

The labourers herded together like a flock of sheep are driven to the quarantine shed where their clothes, etc., have to be fumigated. It is a pitiable sight to see so many ill-clad, ill fed, and evidently discomfited men and women of all ages and castes driven (by lashing too occasionally) in hot sun to this quarantine shed. Some of the emigration underlings armed in brief authority has a peculiar way of hitting with cane, lathy or walking sticks the wrong man in the wrong way for an imaginary crime. These petty tyrants often forget that it is not a military regiment that is marching before (or after) them, but only a clumsy lot of ill-fated countrymen of theirs who are leaving their sweet motherland to cast their lot in a foreign land and that they are not in a mood to be all-attentive to the petty orders and discipline given or outlined by these underlings of the Emigration Department. I have seen with my own eyes hundreds of times these merciless menials of the Emigration staff belabour the poor emigrants even in the presence of their superior Dr. Fosten. Veritable shame indeed for the Emigration Department. You, patriotic Indians, my dear editor, think that your brother labourers are ill-treated on our side of the Bay (in Malaya). I daresay you are mistaken. There are cases in which coolies have been ill-treated, but thanks to the Controller of Labour's vigilance and the sense of justice of the European planters, that is so rare that it could be safely omitted out of account. The real ill-treatment is at the Depot and especially at the time of shipping the labourers. The flogging that is practiced on the emigrants while on march to fumigation depot doesn't stop till after a very late hour, i.e., till after they are packed in a tug (boat). In the meanwhile emigrants

are stripped of all their clothing and a dirty, evil smelling black wrap is given them. I am not concerned with the dirt and evil odour of this wrap so much as with the hits and kicks administered to the poor emigrants in the process of replacing this for their clothes. I wish the Emigration officer had taken a little pains to make his underlings understand that the emigrants are not their slaves but as a matter of fact their masters, because had it not been for them they would, themselves, have been emigrating as labourers. Dr. Fosten seems to be all enthusiastic to safeguard the interests of the coolies before their incarceration in coolie depot. Once they are passed by him as fit and proper labourers to emigrate he seems to think they are not worth attending to. To continue the point at issue, fumigation takes only a few minutes, but the unfortunate emigrant has to wait full half an hour before he can regain his own garments and that too after being subjected to the inevitable kicks and hits from the underlings of the Emigration Depot. The labourers are then packed in an uncovered tug (or big boat). I have often seen emigrants thrown like cats into the boats and pushed by paddles to secure room for more passengers in the boats. The boatmen take the cue from the emigration department and they never spare the rod and paddle for any conceivable offence, such as sitting up and looking out, talking a little too much, or not obeying the boatwallah's peremptory orders. With the unwholesome curry and rice in their stomach, the hot burning sun over their head, the rolling heavy boat under them, and the occasional treatment with paddles on their scalps the majority of labourers lose their senses and often vomit and lie more or less like the dead for over the major part of the journey by tug. When they approach the steamer, however, all get up with the hope of being relieved of all their miseries! But, alas! it is the British Indian Steam Navigation steamer that awaits them. They are treated like cattle or poultry. Through a hole on the side of the steamer they are drawn up by the lascars and thrown down into the abyss of the lower deck of the steamer. This process actually brought tears to an American lady who was travelling in the same steamer in which I was travelling. I name no names as this article is only to bring home truth to the parties concerned and no personal attack is meant. Two young Tamil girls, one advanced in pregnancy, were subjected to this drawing up process by the lascars and the pregnant girl actually swooned just after she was thrown down. Oh! pitiable sight, indeed. Can not the labourers be allowed to get into the steamer by the ladders as the 2nd and 1st class passengers do? Who is there to appeal to? Great God in Heaven. Can you not move the heart of the British Indian Steam Navigation proprietors to look into this question more humanely?

Once they are in the steamer their (the labourers) fortune dims more forcibly. At the coolie depot they had only their superiors to be afraid of. Here in the steamer every son of his mother is a boss over the labourer. The lascar unhesitatingly hits a labourer for no conceivable offence, except that the latter didn't give room for him to pass. The coolie has none to uphold his cause. He is kicked about from place to place by the lascars, why even the Chief Officer of Gregory Apar can be proved of such a daring feat! Oh! the Chivalry of the officers of the British India Steam Navigation Service!!!

Now the coolie cannot live on air, so he goes to the Bandari, this ship's cook, who to supplement the curry, etc., to be served with the rice, administers a few hard words and sometimes a well-hit blow or kick to the coolie in addition to his gruel. The coolies go in a mob to procure their "rice" and the lascars take that opportunity to show the strength of their hands by hitting indiscriminately the poor starving labourers. Some of the officers of the steamer are well pleased by the feats of strength of their lascars and the Chief Officer Teesta at once greeted the lascar who used his fist most freely with "Atcha Bai" (very good) more than once! Let the Planters' Association of Malaya learn this truth and then it will suggest itself to the planters why the South Indians labourer abhors sea voyage. Unless and until the British Indian Steam Navigation service is purified and its officers and crew taught how to treat 3rd class passengers the flow of labourers to Malaya will be irregular and inadequate. To add to that, educated Indians who have travelled by British Indian boats to Straits or back have only the poorest of this service and that fact, though insignificant in the eyes of the planters, has much to do with the inadequacy of labourers in Malaya. I shall deal with this in one of my later contributions "the Status of Indians" in the course of these articles.

A ROTTEN STATE OF AFFAIRS.

THE trial of William Von Reede Von Oudtshoorn, at the Criminal Sessions, Capetown, on a series of charges of fraud in connection with his duties as chief clerk of the Immigration Department, concluded on the 11th instant, when the jury returned a verdict of 'not guilty' on all counts. The report of the case, which we take from the *Cape Times*, is a very lengthy one. Much of the evidence is important, as showing the scandalously neglectful state of affairs in the office.

The Judge (Mr. Justice Kotze), in charging the jury said he did not intend to say much, but he was obliged to make a few observations. In the lengthy indictment there were two main charges against the accused. One

was that he falsely induced prohibited immigrants to enter the Union, and the other was that he corruptly received sums of money contrary to the provisions of the Corruption. The first thing to strike them was the very unsatisfactory, not to say deplorable, state of the Immigration Department. He had never, in the course of his lengthy experience, found an instance where there had been such laxity and the absence altogether of any system as had been demonstrated in this case. They found that the head of the Immigration Department came in 1905 as local head of the Department, and in 1908, when there were complaints amongst the Indians, a Parliamentary Committee was appointed to investigate the matter, and before that Committee Mr. Cousins gave evidence. After three years' experience, when the matter was brought to the notice of Mr. Cousins one would have thought that he would have been more careful and more strict in carrying out a proper system in his office, but he did nothing of the kind. The first thing was the utter absence of any record kept in any shape or form of who gave authority to immigrants from India to land. This was a weak spot in the system, and was known in 1911-1912, and to this day had not been rectified. With regard to the question of references they had seen the slipshod way in which the matter was dealt with and how easy it was for references to be given and accepted by the department without further inquiry. Then Indians had access to the papers in the office and could take papers from one office to another, and it was possible for an Indian, instead of taking papers direct from one office to another, to take them to his own office for a couple of hours, and no one would be any the wiser. Mr. Cousins, in examination, had to admit that he signed applications where the thumb-prints had not been initialled. Asked when the matter came before him in the first instance, why he did not stop it, Mr. Cousins replied he did not want to stop it. Then Mr. Bamberger also, it appeared, had made out application forms and initialled the place where the thumb-prints ought to be, although there were no thumb-prints on the paper. Could there be anything more calculated to lead to attempts to defraud? The system was so loose that it was no wonder that systematic frauds had been played on the Immigration Department. The question was, whether the accused was to be punished for having acted loosely and in accordance with the system prevailing in his office, and the jury must be satisfied that in any particular instance the accused acted with criminal or fraudulent intention.

When they considered the charge, they had to bear in mind the character of all the witnesses. Mr. Cousins had admitted that if they took the files there was nothing on the record to show that anything was wrong. Therefore, they must be satisfied that there was something more than carelessness owing to a loose system.

In the same way Mr. Cousins was careless as Mr. Bamberger. With regard to the character of the witnesses, his lordship pointed out that to a greater or lesser degree they had all been parties to fraud on the Immigration Department, and several had confessed to making false statements. They had to look for corroboration in the evidence, and what corroboration was there? They had been told that in the case of Sheikh Abdulla the thumb-prints were those of Abdoola Dawad, and they were initialled by the accused. It was stated that the accused must have known that these were false when he initialled them. One witness had stated that in every case an agent appeared, Mr. Cousins and Mr. Bamberger had on several occasions got into the same loose and careless way, why should it be said that in this particular instance, because accused was not careful, he was guilty of fraud? No one had charged Mr. Cousins or Mr. Bamberger with fraud.

With regard to the value to be attached to the evidence, they would have to be cautious, as so easy was it for Mr. Cousins to be deceived than for Mr. Bamberger would it have been for Von Oudtshoorn. His lordship then read what Mr. Cousins had said before the Parliamentary Committee in regard to Abdool Cader, and remarked to the jury: 'Gentlemen, you may well smile, after the evidence you have heard. I have no hesitation in saying, and no doubt you have, none either that Abdool Cader is a leader amongst those mean, unscrupulous rascals who have been living on their fellow countrymen for years past.' Mr. Cousins was asked if he still believed in Abdool Cader. Yes, to a certain extent, he answered. His lordship told the jury to take a common sense view of the case. They had seen the lax system which prevailed, and would naturally ask the question. Would Von Oudtshoorn go out of his way to do anything false unless he was remunerated for it? In all cases the Indian witnesses stood convicted of being parties to frauds, and it was his duty to warn the jury against receiving that evidence unless they had independent and trustworthy evidence to corroborate it. If they believed the evidence they would have to do so on all or on any particular count, but if any doubt or had any reasonable doubt they would find the accused not guilty or give him the benefit of any doubt.

The jury retired and, after an absence of a quarter of an hour, returned with a verdict of not guilty on all counts. There was some applause in Court, which was at once suppressed.

Addressing Von Oudtshoorn, his lordship said that he had been found not guilty on all counts, and that he was charged. He wished to say that he was not a civil case and he was not to be treated as such. He was to be treated as a criminal case and he was to be treated as such.

GENERAL ARTICLES.

EUGENICS AND THE NEW SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS.*

BY SAMUEL G. SMITH,

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EUGENICS is a new word, but it is not a new idea. The Greeks and Hebrews were both interested in the subject, but it finds itself to-day in new company. Formerly it was dealt with by philosophers, theologians, poets, and prophets. In our time its guardianship has been assumed by men of science. When Plato wrote his Republic it was a treatise on Eugenics, and the aspiration for a better race was the foundation of the message of Jesus when he preached the Kingdom of God. Plato thought it could be achieved by new organization. Jesus preached repentance as its gateway. Modern Science has taken largely, perhaps too largely, its inspiration from biology, and wishes to produce a better man by making him an animal of finer breed.

In the section devoted to Public Education it is not so needful to find out exactly what we know, although that is important, but our chief interest is in discovering what we can wisely teach. It would be unfair to indicate that the scientific appeal is paramount, for the philanthropist and the statesman, as well as the whole brood of reformers, are equally interested. As science seeks to find out what the fact is, and philosophy to show what it means, so the present practical aim is to discover what useful thing may be done in view of the knowledge that we have and the social circumstances in which we are placed.

My countryman, Mr. Lester F. Ward, who, I think, was the first writer to point out the importance of psychical forces in the development of society, somewhere states that human history has hitherto progressed by the forces of human passions which were largely unconscious and uncontrolled, but that the time has come for the conscious guidance of future life and action, of which movement sociology is to be the prophet. It may not be quite true that men in the past did not see more than a step at a time, but it is widely true that modern life is characterised by a social consciousness hitherto unknown; and this has much to do with making the half-developed science of eugenics a practical art among associated men and women.

The new social consciousness finds itself first in the larger powers and duties assumed by the modern State.

* A paper submitted to the First International Eugenics Congress held in London, 1912.

Without attempting to trace the history of institutions, it is evident that the relation of the three primary forms of human society—the Family, the Church, and the State—have undergone profound modifications in modern times. Broadly speaking, the State assumes the control of the Church in economic questions in almost every country. The secularisation of Church property enriching the State, at least for a time, has also thrown upon our political institutions a weight of enormous burden; and not content with assuming the ancient duties of caring for the sick and the aged, some countries at least are undertaking not only to furnish education, but the opportunity of toil, or at least a moderate degree of the results of successful toil. This is not the time to discuss the wisdom of these efforts, but at any rate the modern State seems disposed to hesitate at no undertaking to secure the well-being of its people.

If the State assumed authority over the Church in all temporal matters, its conquest of the home is still more complete. Time was when the English law declared a man's house was his castle, if it was only a cottage; but that time lies far behind us. The State interposes, not alone to regulate parental authority, but to prescribe domestic duties. In highly civilised communities the law sets the standard of education, of comfort, and of character. It is difficult to limit parenthood, but it is easy to transfer the custody of the child from the parent and make him the ward of the State. The State, therefore, takes charge not only of the dependent and the delinquent child, but also the child of every parent faithless to the social standards prescribed by law. These suggestions indicate that in the modern State we have an organisation that would not hesitate to grapple with the problems of making a better race if only the path could be surely pointed out.

In passing, it may be useful to suggest that the new social consciousness is not confined to the larger State. It vitally affects persons and groups of persons within the state. The old order of life laid down society in strata, but our modern times have brought in a multitude of new interests, and there is developing a new kind of democracy, growing out of the participation of people who differ in political or economic advantage, but who come together in groups on account of artistic, literary, and scientific interests. The social spirit is helped by every opportunity for its expression, and there is not only a political consciousness in the modern State, but there is a very effective social consciousness, justly, though perhaps vaguely, characterised by the expression—the social mind. This social mind, made up of those ideas, faiths, and emotions which the social group holds in common, seeks to conquer every individual within its limits and to impose upon him definite standards of thought and conduct.

We are not seeking to build a republic as Plato was, nor with Sir Thomas More map out the geography of some Utopia. We wish to use the institutions that we have; nor will we, like St. Augustine, take refuge from a broken world in some ideal "City of God."

The problem of parenthood was not absent from the Greek mind; but it comes to us in an entirely new way because we are, at any rate, more tender-hearted, whether or not we are so clear-sighted.

One of the futilities of practical discussion is the supposition on the part of some people that if marriage be made difficult for the unfit, the race will thereby be improved. To this belief belong all the laws which are proposed for physical examination, tests and measurements preliminary to forming a home. It seems to me that all such proposals are at once excluded from the domain of practical considerations when we remember that wherever marriage is made difficult, either by law or by a high standard of living, immorality increases. Maternity and marriage are by no means synonymous. Where the State has decided that a certain class of persons are unfit to become parents, custodial care is indicated. Enlightened States have already agreed that the feeble-minded, the insane, and the pauper must not be allowed to become parents. Recent studies indicate that where the father and mother are both feeble-minded, the child is sure to be mentally deficient. The only remedy is for the State to restrain the feeble-minded woman. Germany and Austria forbid marriages to recipients of poor relief, and it is quite evident that these laws are based upon a sound judgment.

The case of the criminal is by no means so clear. Practical experience among convicts shows that a good many of them are deficient in intelligence; it might be more correct to say that numbers of them fail to adopt the ordinary social judgments with respect to conduct. It is by no means clear that there is any such relation of heredity among criminals as exists among the feeble-minded. Professor Gould gives an account of an enquiry in France extending from 1850 to 1860 into the family history of all prisoners tried in courts. As a result of this enquiry it was found that the number having previous convictions in their direct families varies from 12 to 19 per 1,000. The lowest figure was about the same as the number from the normal population. In other words, the investigation showed that if France was to be rid of crime on the theory that it was a family inheritance, it could only be done by incarcerating the whole population. The fact is that pathological specimens are found in all classes of society and from every grade of family life. It will be well for us to remember that the facts are not all in, and that the problems of eugenics cannot all be solved in the present generation.

One of the values of public education and discussion will be exhibited in the creation of a new ethical sense on the part of the individual with respect to his own relations to the social group. The teaching of sex hygiene to young persons of suitable age and perfect candour in regard to the danger of sex disease are important; but perhaps of even more value is the more elemental view of the proper terms of human marriage. So long as women love strength and men love beauty, and mating is upon the terms of preference, the human instinct does not go far wrong. Social and commercial conventions are as great impediments to proper marriage as a lack of knowledge as to fitness of temperament and organisation.

Sir Francis Galton uttered a pregnant sentence when he declared "the science of heredity is concerned with large populations rather than with individuals." This is not a question for the microscope; it involves a study of the nature of those forces which bring greatness to the social group. The strength of the social group is measured in no physical terms, but in its ideas, its passions, its ambitions; the social group grows strong by a sense of community of interests. One speech, one literature, one race, one tradition imposing themselves victoriously upon every individual produce an impregnable solidarity. It is when the social mind is broken and confused, when it is distracted in its aims and purposes, when it halts between hope and fear, that a people become decadent. The nation is already defeated that has lost singleness of aim and faith in its own future. A nation as well as an individual may suffer from nervous shock—such a shock Great Britain had in the Boer War—and the result is exhibited in various forms of hysteria—some of them under the guise of very humane proposals.

Merely biological theories are staggered by the facts of history. It is time to have done with regarding man as simply the highest of the mammals whose breed can be improved by the methods of the stock farm. The problems of race are at once deeper and vaster. As Herbert Spencer's biological interpretation of society has been practically abandoned, notwithstanding his immense services to modern knowledge, so eugenics must follow the path of sociology and give larger room for psychological forces.

The greatest events in history have no corresponding changes in human physique. Japan won against Russia, not because of a larger brain, for physically the Japanese remains as he has been for a thousand years, but because of the impulse of a new passion and the dominance of a new idea. The Moslem did not take sword in hand because of the invention of a new breakfast food or a fresh system of ventilation, but because the dull eyes of the sons of Ishmael had found their own

To return to our present problems. Without a doubt we are interested that the conditions of physical life and labour in any social group to which we are attached shall be the best possible. It is important that children should be well born. There are certain conclusions which are not sentimental, but on the contrary are essentially economic:

- (a) Hard labour must be forbidden to the expectant mother. In some communities this has found expression in maternity pensions. I am not here, however, as the advocate of any pension system.
- (b) A woman should have nourishing food both before and after motherhood.
- (c) The physical surroundings must be wholesome.

It would seem to be the duty of the municipal state to secure the proper physical environment for the home; because that is a problem too large to be solved in any municipality by the individual. It is a part of the problem of public health. The new social conscience asserts that every child born into the world should have an adequate physical, intellectual, and industrial opportunity; but the movement looking to the triumph of a vital democracy, in which the child of the cottage shall be as much in the thought of the State as the child of the palace, is more important to every group than the political or the industrial democracy. We please ourselves by seeking to throw some light upon the gloom of poverty; the pinched and pale-faced boy in the arms of a ragged woman or the new Madonna and Child of our generation.

This is a company of frank men and women, and we must be ready to face the fact that the problem of the child in the home of the better classes is just as important and much more difficult of solution. We can defend municipal activity in behalf of the poor, by saying that the economic cost of caring for the mother is more than paid to the State in the increased vitality and consequent earning power of the coming generation. But who will see to it that the children of the better classes are well born and furnished with a sufficient stock of vitality for human leadership? It is well enough to deplore that too many children come into the homes of squalor, and that the poor and the ignorant do not and cannot properly care for them. But what voice can make itself understood when it declares that the problem of the upper classes is always the greatest problem of any people. The problem of parenthood from this point of view becomes fundamentally an ethical problem. It is one that defies legislation, that mocks at literature, and that ignores religion. We mourn over the vices of the poor, but it is still true that the vices of the rich are more serious and

more numerous. Hence it is that the solution of the problem of Eugenics must at last be psychical and ethical.

We shall make faster progress in work represented by this Congress if we frankly recognise some of our limitations. The first I shall indicate rather than discuss. It is the fact generally recognised that the population expands to the food supply. It were, perhaps, a closer statement to say that it expands to the economic limit indicated by the standard of living. If conditions are easy, marriages are early and prolific, and the vital human force does not yield to either law or reason.

Another limitation with which we have to do is the chaotic condition of present opinion on the subject of heredity among normal beings. A great deal of investigation and discussion has already taken place with reference to heredity among the abnormal classes, but the real problem is not here. The social group is actually composed of those whom we call normal, who are able to earn their own living, manage their own affairs, and associate upon some terms with their fellow men.

Very little progress has been made, and very little dependable data secured pointing to an improvement of the race by conscious choice. The outstanding facts of heredity are the gift of strength or weakness, owing sometimes to the organisation of the parent—particularly the mother, but owing often to external conditions. The organs, faculties, and forces which go to make up a human being are so numerous, and the possible combinations are so vast beyond our calculation, that no one can predict the results of any particular union. This is indicated by the notorious differences among children of the same parents, brought up under the same conditions, who refuse to conform to the family type even under the strongest pressure of social and intellectual forces.

It is idle to say that the children of persons of talent are more likely to show ability than children from the average home. Parents of talent are able to give exceptional advantages to their children, and ought to show a greater number of successes. There is not the slightest evidence that talent of any particular form is ever inherited. Neither Luther nor Napoleon, nor Abraham Lincoln were anything less than biological surprises. Beethoven, Mozart, and Wagner could no more have been predicted than William Shakespeare or Michael Angelo.

The surprises of sainthood are no less remarkable than those of genius. St. Francis D'Assisi, Catherine of Siena, and Florence Nightingale had no ancestry for their character and their work.

In our time, less than ever before in the world's history, is there any definite relation between social efficiency and physical fitness. The group cannot afford to be anything less than as robust and healthy as it is possible, for the activities of the group rest upon material foundations; nations require soldiers and manual labour needs muscle. But some of the most efficient individuals have been born with bad bodies and have been doomed to poor health. When Emmanuel Kant went to study philosophy in a German university, it is said that he was advised not to attempt the task because of his weak chest. He replied he would ignore his chest, and became the great teacher of the modern intellect. Herbert Spencer was so delicate as a child that he was not given a regular education, but no Englishman had a more marked influence upon his generation. Charles Kingsley was the prophet of muscular Christianity, but Robertson, of Brighton, was the greater preacher. There was a boy born in the Midlands so small and frail that even an English nurse did not think it worth while to keep him alive; but the little chap lived, grew to see an apple fall, and became Sir Isaac Newton. We cannot afford to adopt the Greek plan of throwing away unpromising infants.

The most valuable work that can be undertaken by those interested in Eugenics is to apply the sense of social solidarity to the proper care of those children who are born into the world under the terms that now obtain. The fact is, nature is luxurious in life and resourceful in carrying out her aims. She is continually trying to repair the ravages which failure and folly make upon the strength of one generation by producing a new Adam and Eve for the fresh Garden of Eden. Nearly all children are well born. With a wider knowledge of hygiene, a better distribution of wealth and leisure, and a higher sense of personal responsibility on the part of the parents, the problem of heredity from the physical point of view would practically vanish.

Dr. Chapin, of the Children's Department of the Graduates' Hospital in New York City, investigated 600 cases of children admitted to this institution. They were a sorry lot gathered together from the slums of New York, and suffering from maimed, dwarfed, and depleted bodies. But when their history was carefully traced out, it was found that only 22 out of the 600 were badly born. The period of infancy among the poor is not only characterised by a terrible death-rate, but foul air, improper food and worse cooking; sickness, and accident rob those who survive of that measure of strength and beauty which is their due. The great problem of the world is not how to bring better babies into the world, but how to take care of such as come. The tragedy of the world is spoiled babies.

OUR EMPIRE—AFTER THE WAR.

SINCE the commencement of the War there have been many and conflicting opinions prevalent as to what would be the outcome of colonization after the War. We have now been engaged in hostilities for a period of about eighteen months, and public opinion is becoming capable of being correctly interpreted. It is almost universally conceded that the hundreds of thousands of discharged able-bodied soldiers after the War, in addition to very large numbers of partially disabled men, will for preference desire an open-air life of some character. The nature of their future occupation must vary according to the tastes of the individual. To secure an open air life in its widest extent, the opening which will appeal to most will undoubtedly be that of farming in some one of its many aspects. During the past few months we have had the opportunity of travelling over all parts of the United Kingdom, and have met and discussed the subject with all classes and conditions of people, and it is certainly remarkable to note the unanimity with which they one and all concur in the opinion that colonization in its most comprehensive sense will become one of the pressing problems after the War.

It is not sufficient to leave this most vital question for settlement when peace times return, but it becomes more and more an urgent matter that all that is possible should be done now in preparation for that time. Moreover, it must not be overlooked that there are very large numbers of men who have been discharged already from the Army, who, naturally, are not desirous of waiting until after the War, as in their individual cases the position calls for prompt and full attention. We are glad to note that our great Dominions are turning their thoughts to the subject, and not only are they thinking about the means, but in many cases really practical work has been already accomplished. We do not propose to give details here of what has been suggested or accomplished, but desire to take a general view of the whole position.

To thoroughly grasp the situation one has to look back to what has been accomplished in the past in order to see how the future can best be planned. Those of us who have been in daily touch with colonization work for many years have always been astonished at the haphazard manner in which the whole subject has been approached. Each one of our great Dominions has had its own official ways of making known to the public the merits of their respective countries, and it has been a continual tussle among them as to which should secure the sympathies of the majority to whom the subject appealed. Canada undoubtedly has not only been the foremost in the field but also the most successful. Its nearness to the Motherland accounts in a great

measure for its greater success. In recent years the Commonwealth of Australia has made greater efforts, and consequently secured a larger influx of desirable people. Here again, the various States of the Commonwealth have largely been competing with each other, and a certain amount of overlapping has taken place.

The great difference, however, between Canadian and Australian methods has been, that in the case of Canada, the Federal and Provincial efforts have been wonderfully assisted by private enterprise, not only by the great railway companies, land companies, etc., but also by the private work of a large number of citizens. Australia has largely confined its work through official sources, and we only remember one example in recent years when a private corporation has made any serious effort to assist in the matter. Whilst Governments as such have taken the lead in colonization work, in the case of Canada it has been backed by private enterprise to a large extent. This private enterprise has chiefly been given with a view of commercial profits. We should be the last to wish to see these conditions changed, but it must be quite apparent that future colonization work should be planned to meet the altered conditions.

It is often urged that there is no need for plans to be prepared now, and that it is best to leave the question until the War ends. With that opinion we ourselves totally disagree, and for the reason that every day it becomes more apparent that many thousands of already discharged and disabled soldiers are looking for immediate help. They do not wish, neither can they afford, to continue to wait, because in their individual cases the time is now, and not in the future. THE COLONIZER, since the outbreak of War, has not pressed the claims of colonization upon the public, believing that the time was not ripe and that our action might be misconstrued as being unpatriotic. Since the British Government have practically placed prohibition on the emigration of men eligible for military service, the situation has now entirely changed, and therefore we cannot be now open to any accusation of lack of patriotism in bringing the subject forward.

It has been a matter of great interest to us to have received a considerable number of letters from COLONIZER readers, in many cases actually written in the trenches, in which the writers express their anxiety and hopes for their future life in one of our great Dominions. Men in the trenches have a lot of time in which to do their thinking, and some of their thoughts have been expressed in kindly letters to ourselves.

In the past the motherland has looked rather askance at the continual stream of its citizens leaving for new countries, and its chief political advisors have considered it as a loss to the home country, and ignored the gain to the Empire. That that is fallacious is

proved by the overwhelming and magnificent response of our great Dominions and practically all our Colonies to the rally round the Flag. There is hardly a spot on the face of the earth where British citizens have settled where a most noble response has not been forthcoming—not only in men but in money for charities and other practical purposes. We take the view that the British Empire has to be considered as one unit, and that the resident in the far-off Pacific, or on the lonely Falkland Islands, is just as much a citizen of the Empire, and his personal claims deserve as much attention as do those of his fellow citizen residing in the Motherland. The transference therefore of one person from any one part of the Empire to any other is merely a change of development for him personally. The future needs most careful thought, and we should imagine that the little Englishers will never again receive any sympathy. The marvellous patriotism shown by our Dominions is the best proof that the Empire is really strengthened by the transference of the individual men and money to any part of it.

We have always held that colonization does not merely mean the transference of men, but is equally applicable to the use of capital for development of our Empire's resources. Unfortunately, in the past, British business men have not looked upon the subject in that light, and have advanced their money indiscriminately to all and sundry countries, quite overlooking the fact that the claims of the Empire should receive the first consideration. We have within our Empire all possible resources of civilisation, including every known raw material for the supply of our home manufacturers. Looking back it seems almost incredible that our capitalists have preferred to develop the raw materials needful for their business in lands not under our control, when a little reflection would have shown them that similar raw materials could have been obtained within the Empire. We have been lavish with our money, we have developed the resources of every country on the globe, and it apparently has not entered the minds of those concerned that it was doing the Empire a disservice.

In considering plans for the future, it therefore should be evident that the first consideration must always be the Empire, and that in order to develop it to its fullest extent the active co-operation of all concerned must be obtained. From our knowledge of the great Dominions, we know that intelligence plays a great part in their development, and that they would be only too happy to welcome similar intelligence on the part of the governing authorities in the central part of the Empire. Things have changed, times are altered, and we must all alter with these changes, or after the War we may lose the greatest opportunity that has ever presented itself of welding the British Empire more strongly together.

The subject is a great one, and in the space of an article it is quite impossible to do justice to it. In all our Dominions and Colonies lie vast resources of myriad kinds. The development of the Dominions is the most pressing, and as a point of fact, the least complicated, because we have already provided the machinery for their fuller development. The self-governing Dominions naturally prefer that the manner in which their resources should be developed should be left in their own hands, with which view no one is likely to disagree, as it is apparent that they must be the most able to lead the development of their own countries. The chief assistance which is needful is that of capital.

Without being accused of socialism, we feel that the subject of the co-operation of capital is one which will merit the closest attention on the part of the Motherland. In the past it has been left entirely to the individual to put forth any scheme he pleased. The merits of the scheme might undoubtedly be great, but surely it is mere commonsense to go further into the matter and to see whether the same amount of capital could not be better employed in one of our own Dominions rather than establishing a new industry in a foreign country. In the latter case the success of the industry usually is effected by damaging a similar industry in either the Motherland or one of her Dominions, so that for the benefit of the few injury may be done to the Empire. Ways and means can no doubt be devised without injustice to anyone concerned, to so order affairs that capital may be encouraged to flow into our Dominions in preference to foreign countries.

The question of preferential tariffs within the Empire is a thorny subject, and has to be considered from many points of view. There are always conflicting interests, and it will not do to consider the position of the Mother Country only, which, unfortunately, has been the tendency in the past. We have to approach it in a broader sense, and decisions must be arrived at with a view of benefiting the Empire. The question of manufactures is naturally the most difficult problem because, in our Dominions we have continual openings for improvements in manufacturing industries, and as they are developed they undoubtedly do withdraw a certain amount of trade from the Motherland. The problem is not an insoluble one and when approached carefully a clearer grasp on the subject is possible. The question undoubtedly is locked up with politics, not only at home but also in our Dominions, and it is not likely that public opinion will always choose the same path. We sincerely hope that politics may be eliminated from the minds of all, although such a Utopian idea may not seem feasible at the moment. The question has long employed the minds of deep thinkers, and will, no doubt, receive the attention which it really deserves in the near future. It

should be considered always from the point of view of making the best use of the resources of the Empire for the benefit of the Empire, and if such resources can be best employed in the individual Dominions, then that is a course which should be followed. This War has shown most clearly, if it has shown anything at all that for the future each section of the Empire must be as self-dependent as possible. The Motherland is by far the most awkwardly placed of all, because we have a marked predominance in manufactures and a deficiency in agriculture. The Old Country could undoubtedly support a larger agricultural population, and will, no doubt, receive further development in this respect. Possibly the solution may be that the Government will keep large food supplies in store, and these supplies should be all obtained from our Dominions. The question of our food supplies in War time would then not cause the central authorities the anxiety which we all know it has done recently.

Returning to the subject of colonization proper, every country presents its own problems. In many parts of the Empire the Governments and private enterprise are already busy working out plans for after the War. The subject is far too large to be more than touched upon here, but would include such problems as the reclamation of forest lands, and, in turn, the re-afforesting of other lands, the development of irrigation schemes, closer attention to scientific and mixed farming, and the further development of the products which are indispensable to our daily life. The problem of employment is also a most important one, because it will be found that the greater number of those requiring help will possess no capital, and will look for direct employment unless they can be helped in other ways. Where a man has a knowledge of agriculture, some of these other ways have already been proved successful, and can be still further developed.

Whilst on this subject we would like to refer to the position of the emigration agents in the Motherland. For many years there has been a wide spread system of agents employed by the Dominion Governments, and steamship and railway companies, whose duties were to impart correct information to those desirous of starting a new life in the Dominions. The status of such an agent has never been approached from the proper point of view. On the one hand the Governments and companies concerned have looked upon such a man as merely a commission agent, whose duties were to hand out literature, and to try and secure the man for the individual country, in return for which he was paid a small remuneration. One has to remember that amongst these men there are really two classes, the smaller group being those whose whole lives have been spent in acquiring knowledge, in many cases first hand, of the countries which they represent. On the other hand, the great majority of the other class

are purely and simply commission men with no intimate knowledge of the Empire. These agents are scattered in all parts of the United Kingdom, and their status has never been properly defined. When one considers that the whole future of a family may depend upon the advice given by such a man it seems most desirable that steps should be taken to see that the men placed in authority to give information should really possess it themselves. This would mean that the emigration agent should receive a legal status. It is not fair that the destiny of enquirers should be placed in haphazard hands. We know personally a large number of these agents, many of whom have been in the business for a long period of years, and who possess most excellent and reliable knowledge. Such a man would always give truthful information, and any mistakes which he might make would be due to honest error. We admit that the duty of such an agent is supposed to be that of merely handing out pamphlets, and that if the enquirer is satisfied then he books his passage with the agent, who thereby accepts no personal responsibility. We know also that the conscientious agent always endeavours to study up his subject and to keep himself well-informed, because he knows, as a matter of practice, that the enquirer, after reading the literature given to him, is usually undecided as to what he should do, and appeals to the agent, whom he supposes possesses the real knowledge to help him, not only because of the agent's knowledge of the Dominions, but because the agent generally having knowledge of the enquirer's aptitude takes that into consideration. That this is the case can be borne out by those in the business. It is therefore more necessary that official recognition, and that in a legal form, should be applied to emigration agents. They are placed in a position of great responsibility, with inadequate remuneration; and when a man has decided to devote his life to the emigration cause it is only just that he should receive legitimate recognition and protection. It should not be in the power of anyone who so chooses to set up as an emigration agent. He should, first of all, have to satisfy the necessary authorities that he really possesses the knowledge to advise his fellow men, and once this satisfaction has been given he, in turn, should receive the protection such as already prevails in most other professions.

Many of the subjects touched upon in this article are naturally of a controversial nature. We would, therefore, like to receive the opinion of those qualified to speak, as to what really constitutes the most practical method of carrying out the necessary ways and means for securing the end which we all desire. The Empire needs it, and the time is now ripe for discussion. Possibly the Editor will throw open his columns for suitable communications on this subject, which is one of the deepest interest to the community as a whole at the present time.—*The Coloniser*.

ABOLITION OF INDENTURE.

AT the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held on the morning of March 20th, H. E. the Viceroy presiding, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya moved a resolution urging early steps to be taken for the abolition of the system of Indian indentured labour. The Hon'ble Pandit in speaking on the motion that this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that early steps be taken for the abolition of the system of Indian indentured labour, said that this system of labour had been in existence for nearly 80 years. Consequent on the abolition of slavery in 1834 the Colonials suffered heavy loss. Hence they resorted to the labour market of India, their main aim being to get enough labour to do as much work as possible under conditions as good as possible to the capitalists. The nature of the abuse that these conditions gave rise to led to an Act being passed by Lord Ripon in 1883 which enforced prompt and careful supervision over the labourers before reaching the Colonies; but it also served to make the recruiting conditions much easier. The laws were also consolidated in 1908, but it was a pity that the Government were not perturbed by the thought of the conditions under which the coolies were suffering. They trusted too much to the Colonial Government to look after the labourers. The public remained ignorant till Mr. Gandhi expressed abhorrence at the undesirable laws under which they were suffering, and their indignation was roused by the Anti-Indian Policy of the Transvaal Government. It was prohibited in consequence, as a prudential measure in the case of Natal. Two years later Mr. Gokhale moved that immediate steps be taken for its total abolition, but this Council had unfortunately thrown it out. Latterly a Committee was appointed to enquire into this system, but it underestimated the difficulties and even seemed to go so far as to apologise for them.

THE HORRORS OF THE SYSTEM.

What then was this system by which simple men were inveigled to go into a foreign country and work there. They had to work under men whom they could not choose, under conditions which they had no voice in shaping and they were not informed that they would be punished penally even for trivial faults. Though called a contract it was not one that ought to be honoured by that name. The position of the labourers was one of helplessness. Referring to the injurious ways in which the system affected the coolies, he said that the law of 1883 indeed safeguarded them from many evils but they had also unhappily made the conditions of recruitment easier. It was maintained in this Council when Lord Ripon was Viceroy that the nature of agreement must be explained

to the coolies. This was accepted by the Council but even now the conditions were not fully explained, as fully, that is, as they ought to be. The real conditions of life they would have to lead even often relinquishing caste and religious scruples, were not explained nor were they enlightened on the real conditions under which they would have to work. Some were even asked to do butchers' work for this work was out of the items of domestic service nor was the nature of penalties they would have to undergo made plain to the man to show the real state. Pandit Malaviya referred to a coolie who owing to some default or another, was imprisoned in the aggregate for 692 days. Turning to the men who were entrusted with this recruitment, he said that they were mostly very low class men, who would not deem it wrong to practise fraud and as unscrupulous as the occasion demanded. They mostly came in the guise of a helper in pilgrim centres or station platforms and then by deception drew these unfortunate men and women to the labour depots. Again these depots could not be freely entered into by the public in search of their lost men and women and even when these latter were brought before the Magistrate it was after a good deal of tutoring combined with terrorising, and it was, therefore, not unnatural that the public often failed to disillusionize the men. Even the District Magistrate had no voice in the selection of these recruiters. The money thus got from their vile occupation was so great that it often proved an incentive to deceit and fraud. Again the conditions under which the labourers lived when on board the steamer were not good. There was not sufficient care for the modesty of women and all caste and religious rules were being broken through, and it was no wonder that many committed suicide or else threw themselves into the Hooghli. In the Colonies things were not more happy. They had to work from seven to nine hours. Hard as this was in the case of men it was harder still in the case of women, who had to work inside their homes and look after the sons and daughters in addition. Mr. Malaviya also referred in this connection to the whipping of a woman by an overseer for no other fault but that of taking with her her sick child.

ABOLITION, THE ONLY REMEDY.

Mr. Malaviya then went into the statistics relating to the wages and said that financially they were not in a very good condition. There was in fact but a very narrow margin between the wages gained and the amount required to be spent. But the cruellest part of the story was that relating to the number of prosecutions. People were subjected to penalties not only for desertion and criminal conduct but also even for insulting words and gestures. The fact was that too much power was placed in the hands of the overseers, swollen

with pride. Nor were conditions of justice favourable to these wretched men. A very degrading feature of the whole story was the immorality prevailing among these labourers, a factor to be reckoned with when explaining suicides. It was a most outrageous system in which the sacredness of marriage tie was cast to the winds, and women were exchanged as if they were a thing of nought. Such was the record of shame and crime. Could any amount of wealth that might follow from it compensate for the sad degradation? We have had enough of commissions, deputations and alterations of laws, but all this have had no effect nor would they do now. This was no time for tinkering remedial measures. Whenever they were tried they had failed and we would not be more successful now. Humanitarian and political considerations demand total abolition and the former more so than the latter. We should not deny to our labourers their birth-right as human beings. The British Government had abolished slave trade at an immense pecuniary loss to itself. The Indian Government to save the Chinese had foregone their opium revenue. Would it be too much to expect them to do this piece of justice to our own men?

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH.

The following is H. E. the Viceroy's speech on the subject in the Imperial Council:—

We have listened with interest to the speech of the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, which has been given with great clearness and moderation, and I rise at this early stage in the debate in order that the Council may know at once that the Government propose to accept this resolution. I and my Government have in fact already taken the first step towards the abolition of the system of Indian indentured labour which the Resolution recommends. In the autumn of last year the Government of India addressed the Secretary of State reviewing the whole position in the light of the information contained in Messrs. MacNeill and Chimanlal's report, and especially bringing to his notice the feeling against the system which has intensified year by year in this country. We informed him that, in our opinion, the moment had come to urge His Majesty's Government to assent to the total abolition of the system in the four British Colonies where it still prevails and in Surinam. We could well understand that His Majesty's Government with their preoccupations during the course of the war might prefer to postpone the final settlement of the question till after the conclusion of peace, but we felt that this was no reason why we should not place our views before them on the main issue of the continuance of the system together with some preliminary suggestions for the solution of the problem of what the

future should be under which recruitment and emigration should be permitted.

EVENTUAL ABOLITION.

The Secretary of State has informed us in reply that he is entirely prepared to accept the policy of eventual abolition advocated by us and we have his full authority to accept this resolution on behalf of His Majesty's Government. He has asked us, however, to make it clear that the existing system of recruiting must be maintained until new conditions under which labour should be permitted to proceed to the colonies, should have been worked out in conjunction with the Colonial Office and the Crown Colonies concerned, until proper safeguards in the colonies should have been provided and until they should have had reasonable time to adjust themselves to the change, a period which must necessarily depend on circumstances and on conditions imperfectly known at present. I am confident that every one will agree that as the policy of the abolition of this system has now been definitely accepted and will be carried out, India can afford to accept this in a reasonable and generous spirit, recognising that the change should be effected with due regard to the existing interests, especially to those important industries in the colonies, which have been built up on Indian labour and on which the prosperity of some of the colonies largely depends.

DELAY NOT DANGEROUS.

There is another reason why this measure of delay need not cause anxiety. Marked improvements have already been made in the treatment of indentured labourers, and others are now in the process of realisation. The Government of Fiji passed in 1912 a legislation substituting fines for imprisonment in the case of all ordinary offences against labour laws and has now passed an Ordinance completely eliminating imprisonment for purely labour offences. An Indian Settlement Trust is being established in the same colony to acquire and administer lands for Indian time-expired labourers, and the Colonial Sugar Refining Co., the principal concern which employs labour in the Island, has guaranteed the advance of the necessary sums for financing this undertaking up to £100,000. Similarly the Government of Trinidad has submitted to the Colonial Office and obtained the approval of a draft ordinance abolishing all imprisonment for labour offences. The Government of India also learn that the Secretary of State for the Colonies proposes to inform Jamaica and British Guiana and also in order to avoid all possibility of misconception, Fiji and Trinidad, that the power of imprisonment for labour offences must be completely eliminated from their respective labour ordinances before the end of the present year. There is, therefore, the less degree of urgency so far

as the immediate interests of the coolies are concerned, and having the pledge of the British Government for the abolition of the indentured system, India can freely accept the condition that due time should be allowed for other arrangements to be made, before the present system disappears for ever.

For that matter the delay is also necessary in Indian interests. Some of the worst evils associated with indentured labour, for instance, the morally undesirable features of coolie life in the colonies, cannot be attributed wholly or even mainly to the indenture, and might be found in much the same degree under a system of free emigration. Merely to abolish indentured emigration, a course which implies the refusal to allow any emigrant to leave the country under a contract would only bring another set of evils in its train. It would mean that recruiters would induce coolies to go without any agreement by the grant of advances or by fraud while the Government of India would have greatly weakened their power of interference. Consequently and alternative plan for controlling the conditions of recruitment and emigration has to be worked out and this must of necessity take some little time, but this need not in any way detract from the sense of gladness with which Indians of all classes will learn that the indentured system is now doomed.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA'S ACTIVITIES.

It is a source of great satisfaction to me that I am able to make this announcement in the Council to-day. I have always felt an irreconcilable prejudice against the system of indentured emigration from India to the British Colonies, and as the Council is aware one of the earliest acts of my administration and one which gave me profound pleasure was the prohibition of such emigration to Natal. This narrowed the field of the problem since the exclusion of Natal left indentured emigration open only to a small number of British Crown Colonies and to Surinam. In 1910 emigration to Mauritius was also prohibited and though the Government of India have subsequently been approached with a view to its resumption, we declined to consider the proposal. In this way considerable progress was made towards the abolition of the system which was thus left in force only in respect of emigration to the four British Colonies of Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guiana and Fiji and to the Dutch Colony of Surinam.

My Government then passed the whole question under review in connection with the report of a Committee appointed by the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, to consider the general question of emigration from India to the Crown Colonies, including the question of the general advantages to be reaped by India herself and by the particular colonies concerned. The Committee was presided over by a distinguished ex-member of the Home Civil

Service and contained two gentlemen who had served in India and one Member now in the Indian Civil Service, who had had special experience of the recruiting districts of the United Provinces. There was no reason to suppose that the Committees did not conduct their enquiry with due care and impartiality. The whole trend of their report was to show that the system afforded so much economic and material benefit to the coolies that it ought to be maintained in their interest, and when that late distinguished member of our body, Mr. Gokhale, raised the question four years ago it was on these grounds based on the data supplied by the Committee's report, that my Government were unable to accept his motion that steps should immediately be taken for the total abolition of the system.

DAMNING FACTS.

But though we did not accept his motion I was greatly impressed as no one could fail to have been, by the intensity of the feeling against indentured emigration, which the debate revealed in this Council. Shortly afterwards also facts came to my notice which caused me to think that the examination of the question by the Colonial Emigration Committee had not been sufficiently thorough and I decided to send a special deputation to examine the question anew on the spot in each of the colonies concerned, and in Surinam. I selected for this mission a member of the Indian Civil Service and an Indian gentleman chosen from the United Provinces, the Province from which so many emigrants are drawn, and I confess I hoped that their investigations would prove the death-blow of the system. In one sense, as I shall shortly explain, it has done so, but not in the immediate and decisive manner which I had hoped and expected. It must be admitted that the first impression produced on reading Mr. MacNeill and Mr. Chimmamallal's report is that the evils of the system are not so serious as has sometimes been alleged, and in fact the authors of the report have recorded their opinion that the advantages of the system as a whole outweigh its disadvantages, though they by no means ignore certain undesirable features, which they wish to see removed. But in spite of their failure to condemn the system root and branch, a detailed examination of their report has furnished material which forms an overwhelmingly strong indictment against the further continuance of indentured labour. It has brought to our notice damning facts which so far as I am aware had not been elicited by any previous enquiry and which I am sure have impressed His Majesty's Government as they have impressed us with the necessity of the system being brought to an end.

NO RELIEF TO POVERTY.

I will tell the Council briefly what these are :—From the purely material point of view the Government of India like many other people had in years gone by

looked upon emigration to the colonies as affording only to a limited extent, a means of relief for the congestion and poverty that unhappily prevail in districts, whence the supplies of emigrating labour are mostly drawn. A good deal of detail was given in the report regarding the earning capacity of the coolies in the different colonies. The opportunity was taken when examining these figures, of comparing the wages which a cooly could earn in the different colonies with the wages which were being offered to the same class of men in the numerous parts of India, where there was a good demand for labour, of comparing not only the wages but the purchasing power of these wages. The elaborate details given in the report, brought out in a very striking fashion the effect of high prices got from the labourer and his family, prices which prevailed in most of the labour colonies and the value of the cash earnings of the labourer and his family. I will not weary the Council with a mass of details. I may state that in the four British Colonies of which I have been speaking the average adult labourer, provided that he spends little or nothing except on food and clothes, can save from under 1s. to about 3s. a week. I need hardly explain that as a matter of fact he never saves anything like as much as this, but that is after all a matter of human nature. Now I do not wish it to be understood that I am in any way accusing the colonial employers of paying unreasonably low wages nor do I wish to minimise the advantages and the prospects that lie before the cooly, who has worked through his term of indenture. The labourer, who works hard and lives thriftily and keeps himself out of trouble among the surroundings which, as I shall explain presently, are morally very undesirable, is usually in a very few years after the period of what we may call his economical probation able to find for himself a home and a piece of land or employment in one of the towns from which he can soon gain a very comfortable competence. This I am ready to admit, but why should the labourer have to journey thousands of miles over the "black water" to settle in a strange country and to place himself for a long period under conditions often of an undesirable and in some cases of a revolting nature in order to achieve the desired end, when he can obtain in India the choice of either better paid labour, as for instance, in the big jute areas of Eastern Bengal or almost equally well-paid labour with the prospect of obtaining in a very few years a home and a piece of land on the Assam tea gardens. It seems rather absurd to find a man going to Fiji for a wage of 26s. a month where rice is selling at 2½ seers to the rupee, when he can readily earn 6 or 7s. a week during the jute season in Eastern Bengal with rice selling at a third of the price prevailing in Fiji, with the additional advantage that he can, if he likes, with far greater ease, take his family with him to add to his earnings, than in the case of distant colonies. It is clear then that the cooly himself does not seem to

gain very much by emigration. From the point of view of India as a whole it can hardly be seriously argued that indentured emigration to the colonies is an important safety-valve for congested districts in India, seeing the total emigration on indenture to the four tropical colonies during the years 1913 amounted only to a little over 7,700 persons, whereas in the same year Madras alone sent 117,000 coolies to the Straits Settlements and 190,000 to Ceylon.

SORDID AND MISERABLE CONDITIONS.

I now turn to a more important and far more unpleasant aspect of the case. It has very long been known and regretted that the sex proportion of the emigrants was unsatisfactory. This of course is not a matter which arises out of the question of indenture. What we are, however, concerned with is the effect which this sex ratio has on the conditions under which the indentured cooly has perforce to live during the period of indenture. Here the Government of India for the first time received full information of certain details, which showed that there must be something very wrong indeed with the condition under which these men were living. The death-rate among indentured coolies has been decidedly high in some colonies, but the Government of India had never before been able fully to examine the details regarding the share in this death-rate attributable to suicides. The figures were truly startling. The average rate of suicides were per million of all ages 45 in Madras and 68 in the United Provinces. Suicides are specially frequent among persons of the usual age of the indentured labourers, i.e., between the ages of 24 and 30 and we may make a liberal allowance in this respect, but in the colonies we find the following figures for suicides per million. British Guiana free population 52, indentured 100. Trinidad—free population 184, indentured 400. Fiji—free population 14, indentured 926. I do not think that we have to seek very far for the cause of the state of things which these figures reveal. In a Parliamentary report for March 1914 sex proportion among the average Indian population of the various colonies showed that in Trinidad and Tobago (Jamaica ?) there were nearly twice as many males as females, in British Guiana there were about 26 per cent. more, while in Fiji there were nearly 2½ times as many males as females. As might be expected from these figures there is strong unofficial evidence to show that the sexual immorality prevailing among the coolies is appalling and that the domestic relations are largely in abeyance. Such sordid and miserable conditions may well predispose an unhappy man to suicide.

BONDAGE, THE ULTIMATE CAUSE OF DEATH.

Again a necessary result of all systems of indentured labour is the enforcement in the courts of law of the breaches of its conditions. I will gladly admit that

prosecutions have largely in response to our repeated and earnest representations shown a considerable diminution, but even so the average percentage of prosecutions to indentured population during the recent years has been in Trinidad 23 per cent., in British Guiana 19 per cent., in Jamaica 12 per cent., and in Fiji 13 per cent. The same individual is no doubt often prosecuted more than once and we must make due allowance for this fact. But it is surely an inevitable deduction from the facts and figures I have just been placing before you that the ultimate force which drives to his death a cooly depressed by home sickness, jealousy, domestic unhappiness or any other cause, is the feeling of being bound to serve for a fixed period and amidst surroundings which it is out of his power to change. We may fully admit that the undesirable sex proportion may have more to do with this even than the system of indenture itself. This is a matter which in any case will have to be righted, but at any rate we are at last in a position to free ourselves from the responsibilities of compelling the cooly to remain under these conditions without the power of being able to select the place in which he and the master for whom he will work.

COLONIES EXONERATED.

I do not wish it to be thought that I am taking a prejudiced view of the action of the colonies in the matters that concern the physical well-being of the coolies. They have done their utmost. I have already told you of the action taken by the Colonial Government in Fiji to abolish the system of imprisonment for labour offences, how this action has been approved by His Majesty's Government and its extension to other colonies insisted on. I mentioned also the Fiji scheme for the settlement of Indian labourers on the land. I am not in a position to say that the action taken by Fiji was directly due to the proposals made by Messrs. MacNeill and Chimmamallal, but it is no doubt true that the recent policy of the Colonial Government has been largely in keeping with their recommendations.

I feel that we all owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Secretary of State for India and to His Majesty's Government for their prompt and sympathetic response to the representations which I and my Government placed before them and it is fitting for me to take this opportunity of publicly acknowledging their action. Their attitude in the matter fills me with the assurance that what has been promised will be performed to the letter, and that the end of the system which has been productive of so much unhappiness and wickedness and has been relatively speaking of so small advantage to this country, is now in sight. No one who knows anything of Indian sentiment can remain ignorant of the deep and genuine disgust to which the continuance of the indentured system has given rise. Educated Indians look on it, they tell us, as a badge of helotry. This is soon

to be removed for ever and it is a source of deep personal satisfaction to myself that one of the last official acts that I shall perform in the country is to tell you that I have been able to do something to ensure that the Indians who desire to work as labourers in the tropical colonies may do so under happier conditions and to obtain from His Majesty's Government the promise of the abolition in due course of a system which educated opinion in India has for long regarded intolerable and as a stigma upon their race.

A POSSIBLE BASIS OF RECONSTRUCTION FOR INDIAN LABOUR IN FIJI.

WE (Messrs. Andrew and Pearson) were asked, both by the Acting Governor and also by the Planters' Association, to set before them some tentative basis of reconstruction of Indian labour, on the hypothesis that indenture was likely to be abolished. They asked, what we supposed would be the minimum requirements, which would not infringe on the rights of the labourer on the one hand, nor deprive the employer of a return for his payment of the passage out on the other. We put down, in a very general manner, some conditions, which we regarded as vital, if the present moral degradation were to be checked. We made clear to the Government and to the Planters, that we were in no way in a position to enter into any political negotiations. We had come out for humanitarian, not for political, reasons. Anything that we put forward could only be our private opinion, given with regard to what we thought in keeping with the dictates of humanity. We committed no one else except ourselves. Furthermore, we expressed a desire to leave ourselves perfectly free to revise our own conclusions in the light of any subsequent experience. We promised that we would inform the Fiji Government of any material change in our own views, and also that we would present our conclusions, such as they were, before those who had asked us to make this independent enquiry. On these understandings we made a statement, both to a Special Committee appointed by the Fiji Government to deal with the question, and also before the Executive Committee of the Planters' Association.

The first point we urged, as immediately necessary, was to stop all recruiting whatsoever in its present form. In any future immigration, the equal proportion of the sexes must be the main consideration for some years to come. Also, where morality had reached so low an ebb, and marriage had fallen into such disrepute, no more prostitutes should on any account be recruited. Furthermore, no more single adult men should be allowed to come out for agricultural work until the sex ratio

were set right. Families alone should be allowed to enter the Colony as labourers.

The second point we urged, with equal insistence, was that Indian labour must be free in every sense of the word. There must be no penal clauses, no compulsory labour, no invidious State regulations. This did not prevent an agreement being entered into, in return for the passage out. It meant that the agreement should be free and non-penal,—what we termed a free civil contract. No fines, no sentences of imprisonment, must be attached to it, but only an action for damages in the civil court of law. If the employer should object that the Indian labourer would have no property, from which damages might be recovered, the answer would be that the employer might have the labour on the terms of a free civil contract, or not at all. The coolie took a very great risk in coming out to a foreign country for labour; the employer must be prepared to take a risk also. The employer's guarantee was the Indian labourer's well-known industrious habits, and his readiness to work under a good employer who was prepared to treat him kindly.

With regard to the length of the agreement, which might be entered into by the Indian labourer, in return for the payment of a passage for himself, his wife and family, we urged that in no case should the term of service be longer than two years. At first, we had only before us the proposition of an agreement between the Indian labourer and the individual employer. But later on, we saw the advantage, both to the employer and to the labourer, if the free labour contract took such form as that outlined in Note 13, which should be carefully studied in this connexion. The State would then undertake the whole liability, if the labourer did not fulfil his engagement. Thus the employer's monetary risk would be minimised. The Indian labourer, on his part, would be free to change his employer whenever he wished, and thus his risk of being obliged to serve under a bad employer would be minimised. Under such a system, the good employers would have abundant offers of service, while the employers, who treated their labour badly, would have none. This is as it should be. For when all is said and done, this complete freedom of choice is the final guarantee to the coolie of good treatment from the employer.

With regard to a return passage to India, we felt that in such a country as Fiji, this might be left out of the agreement altogether. At the present time, comparatively few take advantage of it, and many of these could easily pay the passage themselves. Money is very plentiful in Fiji for free Indians, and the return passage is not very costly. The offer of a free return passage is pauperising. No such offer is inserted in ordinary labour contracts drawn up with Europeans. It is

assumed that they would be able to make their own way in the world, and save money enough for themselves to do what they wish. Every Indian in Fiji, with whom we discussed this matter, regarded the offer of a free return passage as undesirable. Any hard cases, such as a break-down in health, or a sudden call to India, might be met from the Distressed Immigrants' Fund which already exists. In present circumstances, it is often a wretched sight to watch able-bodied Indian labourers sitting idle in the Depot, waiting for the return passage, when they might be up and doing. The whole thing has the taint of pauperism, and it should be abolished.

We urged, very strongly indeed, that a regular monthly steamer service should be started between Calcutta and Auckland *via* Suva. This would prevent much of the evil that is so common on the present emigrant vessels. It would also take away a certain stigma, which must always attach to emigrant ships, when they are employed for coolies and coolies only. The families who leave India for Fiji, in future, should feel, from the start, that they are free people, not bondsmen. It might be found quite possible to do away with the Depots altogether, and simply to issue passage-tickets, to be countersigned by a Presidency Magistrate, a Doctor, and a representative of the Colony, in Calcutta or Madras. This would bring Indian labour emigration more in accord with customary procedure in Europe.

The other suggestions which we made are simple and easy to follow. It will be seen that they have one main object in view, namely, the recovery of marriage and the family life.

The last proposal, in the schedule which we put forward, needs the most careful consideration of all. It forms the constructive and positive aspect of the whole matter. For what is needed, is not merely the remedying of existing evils, but the encouragement of all that is good. We felt most keenly the need of building up the community by the introduction of a few educated leaders, who should win respect for Indians in the Colony by their very presence. As matters stand, there is far too much of a low, dead, uniform level, and far too little of higher intellectual life. Unless the people in India are prepared to send out good men from India as teachers and doctors, there is very little hope of progress. The Fiji authorities are now in earnest and will do their full share, but India must be called upon to do its own share also.

We should regard it as probably necessary, in order not to do things on a mean and inadequate scale, to provide from India as soon as possible about thirty qualified teachers of good standing and respectability. Only married men should be chosen. Their incomes

should not be less than 250 rupees per month, and house rent and pension should be provided. The same number of qualified doctors would be needed also. In stirring times such as these, in India, when educated men have shewn their readiness to 'go to the front,' it should not be difficult to get competent volunteers for this form of service. But the final choice, from among those who offered, should be made with great care. A failure here would mean disaster.

One further action appeared to us to be necessary, if it could be accomplished without dislocation of labour in Fiji altogether. This was, that a pause should now be made, before further immigration took place. A break in the flow of immigration for a period of two years would do much to set many things right. One of the most important needs in Fiji is to destroy, once and for all, the distinction between the free Indian and the indentured Indian. This distinction must be wholly obliterated, if self-respect is to be restored. It must be made quite clear, throughout the Islands, that all Indians are free, and none whatever are in an inferior position. This is necessary, not only in order to remove a most invidious class distinction among Indians themselves, but also to prevent the aboriginal Fijian despising the Indians as an inferior race, a thing which he is already inclined to do.

If the question of the Planters' profits be raised, the answer would be that more use might be made, during the interval, of the free Indians who are already in the Islands. With sugar at the present 'war' price the Companies can easily afford to pay a little more for the sugar-cane that is crushed in their Mills. They and the planters can get enough free Indians to work, if they are ready to pay higher wages. There could be no better time than the present to bring about the change.

Indian immigration to the West Indies experienced such a pause and break during the year 1914 to 1915 on account of the war. Yet the sugar industry was prosperous in the West Indies during that year. The same would probably be the case in Fiji. The gain to the whole Colony, through getting things righted once for all would be far greater than any question of extra profits for the greater Sugar Companies.

We set down below in the form of a schedule the outline of the proposals which we made. We have already sent to the Acting Governor of Fiji our fuller opinion on the fourth item, namely, a free civil labour contract. This will be found given at full length in Note 13. We have also sent to him our suggestion with regard to the need of a break in the flow of Indian immigration.

TENTATIVE PROPOSAL FOR FUTURE RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIAN LABOUR IN FIJI.

1. Immigrants to come from India in future by families, rather than as individuals. Prostitute immigrants to be excluded.
2. A regular Steamer Service to run between Suva and Calcutta, bringing immigrants in smaller numbers, and at more frequent intervals.
3. Only the passage from India to be paid in future. Free return passage no longer needed in the case of Fiji. The Fiji authorities to deal liberally with any hard cases.
4. Only a free civil contract to be allowed. No penal clauses, no fines, no compulsory labour. Any civil contract entered into for a longer period than two years to be made illegal. (See Note 13 for our fuller opinion on this point).
5. Married women not to be called upon for field work except of their own accord. An allowance to be made to the husband, where the wife, for family reasons, is unable to work.
6. Separate dwellings, combined with a small piece of ground, to be given to each family.
7. As far as may be, only married overseers and married sardars to be employed on plantations.
8. The full civil sanction to be given to Hindu and Muhammadan religious marriages throughout the Colony. Leave to be granted for religious rites on the estates especially in connection with marriage. More religious holidays to be allowed.
9. Education and medical aid to be provided for all Indians in the Islands, with help from India in the matter of teachers and doctors, and possibly a grant-in-aid.—From the Report of Messrs. Andrews and Pearson on Indentured Labour in Fiji.

INDENTURED LABOUR.

THE United Provinces Congress Committee has submitted a representation on indentured labour to the Secretary of State for India. It had special reference to the report of Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal on the condition of Indian immigrants in the four British Colonies and Dutch Guiana. The following are excerpts from the same :—

AN UNMITIGATED EVIL.

The continuance of indentured emigration is justified on the ground that "the advantages of the existing system have far outweighed its disadvantages." In the

words of Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal, "the great majority of emigrants exchanged grinding poverty with no hope of betterment for a condition varying from simple but secure comfort to solid prosperity. Though liable to be prosecuted for disciplinary offences while under indenture, they realized also that in everything affecting their daily lives their legal rights were not merely defined but firmly maintained." It is further contended that "if too many labourers were judicially punished, all but the most worthless were gainers in skill, enterprise and self-respect." As regards the manifold benefits that are supposed to flow from the system, it is added that "the savings or remittances of the industrious represent only the material gain to emigrants." But in sharp contrast to the opinions of the supporters of the system are the views of several independent witnesses possessing intimate knowledge of the effects of the indentured system. And their testimony is emphatically against its maintenance. Few men can speak on the question with greater authority than Mr. M. K. Gandhi who is after twenty years' experience of this system in South Africa deeply convinced that it is an evil which cannot be mended, and which should, therefore, be ended immediately. According to Rev. Burton, a missionary gentleman who has resided for a considerable number of years in Fiji, "the coolies themselves, for the most part, frankly call it *Narak* (hell)"; and he adds from personal observation that "one of the saddest and most depressing sights a man can behold if he have any soul at all is a coolie line in Fiji." "It makes," says Miss H. Dudley, "one burn with indignation to think of the helpless little children born under the revolting condition of the indentured labour system." The late Sir Henry Cotton, who was Chief Commissioner of Assam, Rev. Messrs. Andrews and Pearson, and several others have often condemned the system in scathing terms. And my Committee after a dispassionate study of official reports have also come to the conclusion that it is a system, as demoralising to the planter or his manager as it is debasing to the indentured coolie.

DISHONEST RECRUITING.

As the system is at present worked, the very source of the stream is poisoned. The recruiting agent, generally, is a low-class man, unscrupulous and without a conscience. He is a coolie-hunter, making his living out of the proceeds of the traffic of human labour; and once a person is enmeshed in his net, he cannot hope to escape. Superior to his victims in craftiness, knowledge and resourcefulness, his growing experience enables him to manage easily different classes of men and women, to subdue the obstinate, and to deceive the ignorant. The system is popularly believed to be associated with so much fraud and injustice that Arkati

(a recruiter) has become a byword for reproach, and any one known to be connected with the recruitment of emigrants is looked down upon with contempt and fear. And this is a class of men who are employed in various provinces of India to recruit within the prescribed limit of the law labourers under indenture for the colonies. They hang about an industrial centre or a place of pilgrimage, where persons in search of employment or from religious motives congregate in large numbers. From these ignorant persons who have, in most cases, never before in their lifetime moved out of their villages, are drawn a vast majority of the recruiters' victims. My committee beg leave to differ from Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal, when they say that a great majority of emigrants consent to leave their homes for foreign lands, beyond the seas, in order to escape from a life of "grinding poverty with no prospect of betterment." As a matter of fact, in India itself there is an over-growing demand for labour at high wages, and the mill-owners of different provinces are always complaining of the shortage of hands in their factories. Similarly, there is ample field in the development of agricultural resources in the Punjab, the Central Provinces and Assam for the enterprise of agriculturists in search for prospects of betterment. The reasons for emigration, therefore, are as often as not quite different. Generally, they run away from their village, owing to some domestic quarrel, temporary disappointment or similar other reason. And crushed under the load of their temporary difficulties, hopeless and bewildered in their novel surroundings, they are easily duped by the wiles of a recruiter, who plays upon their ignorance and credulity. In the words of Sir Benjamin Robertson, "What the coolies have been told by the recruiter who has been with them for a week is what they are much more ready to believe than what they are told by the magistrate who sees them for about three minutes." They do not comprehend either the terms of their engagement or the penal liabilities attaching to it. What aggravates the fraud of which the coolie is a victim, is the omission of the penal clauses from the terms of the contract which he has to sign in India before a magistrate. He learns of them only on reaching the colony, several thousand miles away from his country. And all this is done in the name of freedom of contract and fair play between the planter and the coolie. Several witnesses before the Sanderson Committee as also Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal bear testimony to the disappointment of emigrants on discovering how they had been deceived by the recruiters in India.

How illusory the safeguards provided by law for the protection of the coolie against the misrepresentations of the recruiters prove in practice is amply borne out by the character of the examination of an emigrant by a magistrate before embarkation. The coolie, as pointed

out above, believes what he is told by the recruiter rather than what he is told by the magistrate who sees him for three minutes. Testimony to the same effect was given by some witnesses who appeared before the Sanderson Committee. The coolie is persuaded to make false statements before the magistrate who cannot be expected to searchingly cross-examine the intending emigrant. And the recruiter can with impunity break the law as it is almost impossible to bring him to book.

THE PROPOSED REMEDIES.

To remedy these defects in the system, Messrs. MacNeill and Chimman Lal have recommended (a) the inclusion of the penal clauses in the agreement, and (b) the employment of some returned emigrants as recruiters. As regards (a), my committee submit that the mere mention of penal liability in the contract, desirable as it is, will by no means ensure that its full significance has been properly explained to, or is adequately realised by him. On this point the evidence of Sir Benjamin Robertson is conclusive. The only way out of the difficulty lies, in the opinion of my committee, in the abolition of the criminal liability of an indentured emigrant for the violation of a civil contract.

With reference to (b), the committee would not have taken any exception to the experiment being made, had they not been firmly convinced that the employment of these returned emigrants would in no way put a stop to the malpractices of the ordinary recruiters, as the former have little chance of success in inducing people to emigrate without considerable embellishment of their stories or a recourse to the shady tricks of the latter, because the system is so fraught with evils that one, knowing the true facts, would unhesitatingly prefer grinding poverty at home to the allurements of prosperity under indenture. It is well worth noting in this connexion that the recruiting agency generally discourages the re-indenture of returned emigrants, as it appears to be rather anxious to keep fresh recruits in the dark as to the conditions in the colony. That this is so, will appear from the cross-examination of Commander Coombes before the Sanderson Committee.

If recruitment is based upon misrepresentations, the system in the colonies can only be maintained by the employment of force; and it is only on reaching the estates that the indentured emigrant begins to realize with bitterness the full significance and meaning of the servile condition of his life under indenture. Leaving aside the petty tyrannies to which he is frequently subjected by a brutal foreman or an insolvent overseer, he finds that in the eye of the law he is little better than a felon on sufferance. For crossing a road without a pass, absence without leave, for any act or behaviour supposed to be insolent, for disobedience

or desertion, or any other trumpery charge, the emigrant is liable to imprisonment for a period ranging from seven days to three months, with or without option of fine. And, while the arm of the law is long enough if he errs ever so slightly, "justice he gets only by accident." "Deterred by giving evidence personally" and "unable to procure witness," he finds it "practically impossible" to substantiate a charge against a planter. According to the evidence given before the Sanderson Committee, witnesses from the estate will not give evidence against the manager or overseers "from fear," the protector is generally so busy that he cannot find time to help him in prosecuting a manager, and in consequence, the coolie complainant with marks of injuries on his person fails to get justice for want of "corroborating evidence." The magistrate becomes for all purposes "a machine for sending people to prison," said a stipendiary magistrate before the Sanderson Committee, and he further stated that "it was a painful sight to see people being taken in batches to prisons handcuffed as if they were criminals when they were not criminals in any sense." His complaint against his manager or overseer is generally "frivolous," coolies "tell such frightful lies," said another witness before the same committee. Any immigrant without a pass can be arrested on suspicion as a deserter by a protector, a manager, their subordinates, persons authorised by them and by estate constables or even by constable in some colonies. Protection, therefore, means for a coolie only police surveillance or interment on the estate.

The story of the working of the penal clauses in the labour ordinances of the colonies is a painful record as unfolded in the course of the evidence tendered before the Sanderson Committee. The report of Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal also brings out the evil in bold relief. In a population of 50,000 adult indentured immigrants in the five colonies, about 7,000 complaints were filed in 1912. Leaving Surinam out of account as figures for it are not available, in the four remaining colonies only 1,600 out of about 6,000 cases were withdrawn or dismissed; or, in other words, sentences were passed on 70 out of every 100 persons who were prosecuted. In Fiji there were about 1,200 prosecutions and 960 convictions in the same year, or a complaint was filed against 1 out of every 8 coolies, and of these 80 per cent. were convicted. Jamaica with its 8,200 immigrants had 500 prosecutions of which only 15 were withdrawn. Dutch Guiana was even worse, as the percentage of prosecutions to indentured immigrants was 16.6 in 1911; and British Guiana was equally bad with its percentage of prosecutions and convictions to the total population of coolies under indenture as high as 19 and 11 respectively. The worst record, however, is that of Jamaica, as in 1911-12 the

percentage of complaints and convictions was over 22 and 17 respectively.

The abnormally high percentage of prosecutions on the estates in the various colonies reveals the true character of indentured labour. Witness after witness deposed before the Sanderson Committee that without penal liability the system would prove a failure. And this is not because the Indian labourer is bad or inefficient. On all hands he is admitted to be industrious, hard-working, amenable to discipline and easily controlled. He is not addicted to drink. He appreciates sympathy and is responsive to kind treatment. The evil is caused, according to Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal, by the fact that reliance on the courts to maintain discipline seems to have grown into a habit with the majority of managers. The trouble arises from over-readiness to prosecute technically guilty persons and the discretionary powers of punishment conferred on the magistrate. In British Guiana the percentage of prosecutions is high as "the majority (of the managers) have developed a wrong sense of proportion." Another reason urged is the presence of some Indians who carry on agitation against the system of indenture on and off the estates; thus unsettling "the minds of the coolies" and causing embarrassment to the managers. In Jamaica, "some employers were more impatient and stricter disciplinarians than others, and some are less competent to control labourers." My committee therefore beg leave to doubt whether Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal are justified in concluding that justice is impartially administered; and in suggesting that "the palliating circumstances may be recorded that they have been taught in a school which shows very little consideration for neglect or incompetence." It would also appear that in their opinion, the coolie is none-the-worse for a brief sojourn in a prison as a convict, because it is urged that "if too many were judicially punished, all but the most worthless were gainers in skill, enterprise and self-respect."

THE COOLIES' DISCONTENT.

That the coolie, however, is dissatisfied with the present state of things is only incidentally brought out in the report of Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal. There are, however, on record pathetic cases of men who started to walk back to India, believing in their ignorance that there must be some overland route to their country only to be caught as deserters or to die of starvation in the bushes. If only one such instance had occurred, the system would stand self-condemned. But cases of self-immolation are by no means rare. In British Guiana the mean rate of suicides per one million of indentured population is 100. In Jamaica, Trinidad, Fiji, it is 396, 400 and 926, respectively, as compared

with 136 and 147 per million of free Indian population in Trinidad and Jamaica respectively. While 1 out of every 1,000 coolies in Fiji commits suicide, 1 in 12,000 and 20,000 in Madras and the United Provinces respectively dies an unnatural death. And these are the provinces which send by far the largest number of recruits to the colonies every year. The suicide-rate in Fiji is 11 times as high as it is in the United Provinces, and for every suicide in Madras there are twenty in Fiji. No comments are needed to emphasize the ghastly significance of these figures or to drive home the injustice and inhumanity of a system which exacts so heavy a toll of suicides per year. Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal themselves are constrained to admit that "it is impossible not to conclude that the conditions under which the indentured labourers live conduce to a high suicide-rate."

Under these circumstances, the measures recommended by Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal are not likely to bring about any substantial amelioration in the life of indentured emigrant. Their suggestions are threefold: (a) in all colonies, provisions which are unduly harsh or restrictive should be repealed, and the scale of punishments should also be reduced; (b) the officers of the immigration department should be empowered to control employers if the latter make an intemperate use of disciplinary provisions of the ordinances, and (c) the officers of the immigration department should be empowered in all the colonies to try cases brought by employers against labourers. In regard to (a) my committee feel that nothing less than the total repeal of penal clauses in the ordinances can be satisfactory, for so long as such provisions remain on the statute-book in howsoever mild a form, the tendency to prosecute technically guilty persons cannot be wholly eradicated. It is only the incompetent employers who in majority of cases, have recourse to courts for the maintenance of discipline. And as good managers have no difficulty in controlling their men or enforcing obedience to their orders without the help of these disciplinary provisions, my committee submit that inefficient or harsh employers should receive no indulgence. The ordinances should be so framed that justice and fair-play should be secured to the employer and the labourer alike; and therefore my committee respectfully urge that there can be no half-way house between the existing provisions and their total repeal. Similarly, my committee find it impossible to express their approval of (b) and (c). My committee also beg to urge that the increased concentration of authority in the hands of these officers would not necessarily result in a keener appreciation on their part of their responsibility towards the indentured coolie. In the past they have not been able to render substantial protection to the labourer, and all other factors remaining unchanged, it is not likely that

in future they would be more successful, for two reasons among others. First, many of these officers of the immigration department, as for instance in Fiji, are the ex-employees of the planters; and it is not likely that they would take the side of the humble coolies against their late masters. Secondly, planters are everywhere politically dominant, and they exercise immense social influence. Racial bias and social prejudice would generally incline a Protector to the side of the employer; but if a Protector is strong enough to rise above such considerations, his resistance can be broken down by social pressure. The case of Protector Hislop Hill is in point. He had to resign because he insisted on fair treatment of coolies by the managers. Protectors who consider the complaints of a coolie either untrue or frivolous would alone be tolerated. And human nature being what it is, my committee have reluctantly come to the conclusion that the recommendations of Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal under this heading are inadequate, unreal and unlikely to effect any improvement in the lot of a coolie. The laws and regulations, howsoever well-intentioned they may look on paper, are bound to remain infructuous when worked by such an agency. It is not the fault of the individuals; the system is to blame. As the author of "Fiji of To-day" has said, "The system is a barbarous one, and the best supervision cannot eliminate cruelty and injustice."

SPURIOUS ADVANTAGES.

My committee are not unaware that as against the existence of serious defects in the system are urged in justification the economic advantages that accrue to the indentured labourer. Great stress is therefore laid by its advocates on the fact that India derives from it considerable material benefits in the form of the annual remittances and savings brought back by the repatriated Indians. But it is forgotten that in return India has to part every year with 9,000 adult labourers for the benefit of the colonies. It is, however, not necessary to discuss at length the economic advantages to the indentured labourer, as it is abundantly clear that the coolie does not save as much as he is represented to do. Although the minimum daily wages for men and women are fixed at 1s. and 9d. respectively, the average earnings in a year of 365 days range between 8s. and 4s. per week per adult coolie. Even if the wages in the colonies are high, the food-rates are far higher there than in India, and consequently the immigrant is not substantially better off from an economic point of view. In Trinidad there has not been any increase in the wages of the indentured labourer during the last 40 years, and the same is perhaps true of other colonies. And the presence of coolie labour indirectly keeps down the wages of a free Indian labourer. A labourer in India, on the

other hand, can now command very good wages. Mill-hands in big industrial centres like Bombay, Calcutta and Ahmedabad earn, comparatively, as much as a coolie in the colonies; and they save as much, because it is estimated that an indentured coolie saves about Rs. 150 in the course of five years. Moreover, the amounts remitted or brought back by the immigrant appear to be considerably exaggerated. Considering that ten years' stay qualifies an emigrant for an assisted passage, 2,300 immigrants brought with them £38,400 in 1912, or little less than £17 per head saved in ten years. Further, this average figure is made up of the earnings of "free" Indians for five years after the expiry of their indenture. It also includes the value of the women's jewellery which represent the savings of many men. And though it is true that some "free" Indians have achieved considerable prosperity, it is at the same time necessary to bear in mind the physical deterioration and moral ruin of the greater number. For example, at the last census in British Guiana, 99 per cent. of beggars were Indians, and out of 100 lunatics as many as 78 were Indians as against 10 negroes. But if the prosperous condition of "free" Indians has any bearing on the subject of indentured labour, it is an argument against the continuance of this system. My committee submit that if facilities were given for free emigration, a better class of Indians would emigrate and achieve greater success. The "acclimatisation" and similar other arguments are only urged as excuses in extenuation of indenture. The colonials oppose the entry of free Indians because they want coolies to work on the plantations and a "free" Indian or even an ex-indentured coolie prefers working independently to slaving for a planter.

But if the economic advantages of the system were as great as they are made out to be, even then my committee would have pressed for its abolition because of the moral taint in it. As the regulations stand at present for every 100 males there are 40 female emigrants, who in most cases are not related to them even distantly. Sometimes it happens that the emigration authorities in Calcutta may have got fewer women than the prescribed number, and therefore the shortage is made up by emigrating a larger number from Madras. In the

words of Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal, "the women who come out consist, as to one-third, of married woman who accompany their husbands, the remainder being mostly widows and women who have been put away by them." A small percentage are common prostitutes. That these women were tempted to leave their homes by recruiters is amply borne out by the enquiries made by a missionary lady in Fiji, although Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal are of a different opinion. These women, according to these two officials, go out to escape from a life of promiscuous prostitution. In that case, they succeed in escaping from the fire-pan only to fall into the fire. To quote once again from their report, "the great majority of unmarried women cohabit with one man and remain with him.....On large estates there are always women of lax morals, and there are of course a considerable number of unmarried men. The risk in allowing women to absent themselves from work is that both married and those who would otherwise remain loyal to an irregular union are most likely to be tempted by these men." This disparity in the numbers of two sexes is a fruitful source of crime on the estates. It breeds mutual distrust, jealousy and domestic quarrels which frequently end either in murder or suicide. Every now and then a man is hanged in Fiji for murdering his unfaithful woman, and 15 out of 109 suicides there were due to sex-jealousy. It not infrequently leads to serious trouble between a white overseer and his coolies. As Rev. Burton says, "the young and brutal overseers on sugar estates take all sorts of liberties with good looking Indian women and torture them and their husbands in case of refusal." The present arrangement leads to the grossest immoralities and reduces human beings to a level of brutes. No self-respecting community can ever grow in such a poisoned atmosphere. The recommendations of Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal that (a) the percentage of females to males should be raised from 40 to 50 and that (b) the age-limit of 10 years should be removed—the second suggestion neutralising the effect of the first recommendation and even tending to aggravate the evil—appear to my committee to overlook the iniquity and degradation of the system.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

The Protection of Coolies.

We are glad to note that the Ceylon Labour Commission is interesting itself in the prevention of the victimising of coolies on the railway which, it is to be feared, takes place to a considerable extent. Porters, station policemen, and, we are sorry to say, even booking clerks on occasions, both on the Ceylon and on the Indian side, seem to regard the Tamil cooly as a fair object of plunder, and are never tired of exercising their wits in discovering new means of depleting his slender stock of rupees. Though they find the experienced traveller who has made many journeys between village and estate too hard a nut to crack, they frequently succeed in getting money out of the unsophisticated "puth'al." One of the simplest ways of swindling the ignorant cooly is to lie as to the railway fare, and to prevent this, the Labour Commission is issuing forms to estate superintendents on which the fares can be shown. The superintendent fills in the fare to Talaimannar and the form shows the fare from there to any station to which the cooly may wish to go.—*The Times of Ceylon*.

No Home in Asia.

The Ceylon planter must have capital to invest in land ere he can make a successful beginning to a sound business as tea or rubber grower, and he depends entirely on native labour for economic development. The climatic conditions of Ceylon entirely preclude the possibility of white labour in competition with that of the native. The hottest months in the year are March and April, and the wettest on the west coast are June and August. December and January are disagreeable months because of the long shore wind. The conformation of hill and plain in Ceylon divides the island into climatic spheres, which are differentiated by the action of the monsoon. From June to August the south-west monsoon produces a humid, vaporous condition of atmosphere on the west, which is both depressing and enervating to Europeans. In November the north-east monsoon from the Bay of Bengal catches eastern Ceylon, and produces similar effects in that region, the two spheres being divided by the central mountain system, culminating in Adam's Peak. In the southern districts the rain may in bad seasons be continuous for about eight months of the year. During the months that the rain is excessive on the western slopes of the mountains, the eastern slopes are comparatively dry, and at the elevation of about 7,000 feet may be actually bracing: but the emigrant who proposes to make Ceylon his home is advised to study the weather chart and rainfall statistics most carefully before he decides where he will pitch his permanent camp.

With such a climate as this, the premier Crown Colony of Great Britain is not, and can never be, the permanent home of the colonist. A planter of European nationality may spend his life there, and he may build up a fortune from rubber or tea or land, but he is only a settler, a bird of passage, and he looks forward to ending the evening of his days elsewhere. Ceylon is certainly not available for white emigration of the labouring class, nor can we possibly consider India generally as affording any opening for the overflow due to European expansion.

Not only is the climate of India prohibitive to white labour, but political reasons are strongly adverse to any such scheme of immigration as would bring a stray population of white origin into competition with the native, even if India's crowded field offered the smallest chance of a livelihood. But, as a matter of fact, there is far more necessity for relieving India of some of its overburdened population than for finding room for aliens. India, like Indo-China and Ceylon, must be ruled out of any scheme for the further distribution of the white races, although as a temporary home and a field for military training for the planter, the commercial capitalist, or the great body of the ruling administration, both civil and military, the value of India as an Imperial asset is so great that if India were to be lost to us, it could only signify the disruption of the Empire. There are, of course, a few permanent European settlers in India who might rank as Colonists, English families settled in Kashmir or in the lower valleys of the Himalayas, and occasionally an English gentleman occupying the position of Zemindar or landowner; but the instances are rare, and in no case do they involve the application of European labour. And what is true of India is yet more true of tropical regions in Asia that lie more completely within the tropics. The European exists in all these regions as the overlord, the employer, the capitalist, but never as a member of the productive body of workers by whose labour the riches of the East are materialised. Even if it were possible that the white man could live and continue his race in the tropical climate of the East—in India, Ceylon, Burma, the Straits Settlements or the islands yet further east, he would be brought into direct competition with the eastern emigrant from China, Japan, and India, who not only regards Asia as his own heritage, no matter to what extent he may shift his Asiatic habitat, but who can by force of heredity and physical sensibility to his environment, live on a fraction of that which would be necessary to support the European. In short Asia affords no future asylum for overcrowded Europe, and we must look elsewhere for those climatic and geographical surroundings which make white emigration possible.—*Contemporary Review*.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

RELIGION AND SOCIOLOGY.

Permanent History of Bharata Varsha.

A SUMMARY OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

THE *first chapter* has been set apart almost as an introductory one to explain and prove the absurd and injurious conclusions, both scientific and religious, to which the current interpretations, local and foreign, are unconsciously but inevitably drifting. The apparent geographical descriptions and specifications of time as well as religious personalities treated in the ancient Hindu Religious Literature, have been shown to refer to serious and religious matters, and that their modern interpretations are not only unsatisfactory, but are also so irrelevant and incoherent that they furnish no respectable informations of any kind useful to mankind. It is further noticed in this chapter that the Literature in question is the product of literary giants, apart from its scientific and religious importance, and could not therefore be easily condemned as worthless or explained away in the present careless fashion, without clearly exhibiting one's own ignorance, impertinence, bias or apathy. Sufficient instances have also been cited to show that the current silly method of interpretation as well as the irresponsible undertakings to columnise are unwarranted and unjustifiable. In the circumstances detailed in this volume, a complete and searching enquiry was absolutely necessary to be instituted, in justice to the dignity and usefulness of the subject as well as to the veneration and gratitude due to the ancient sages as compilers of the texts in which they have bequeathed volumes of immense spiritual wisdom and knowledge for the real benefit of their beloved posterity.

The *second chapter* has been started to examine as clearly as possible the nature and scope of the varieties of religious literature owned by our countrymen for ages yet unknown to the modern Historian and Archæologist. The knowledge required for religious perfection is described as twofold, consisting of *Para* and *Apara-vidyas*, of which the former is reckoned as the ultimate knowledge by experience, which could be secured only by virtue of devotional practices specially prescribed in the *Apara-vidya*. The theoretical and practical portions of the subject have thus been clearly distinguished in the very beginning, and, the theoretical, consists of texts furnishing full instructions on the subject, has been divided into fourteen *Vidyas*, starting with the *Vedas* themselves. The scope and application of the *Puranas* and *Itihasas* falling within this classification have been

particularly examined by the author in detail; and we find that they clearly refer to the treatment of *Sabda-brahman*, *Apara-brahman* or *Purana-purusha*, and its latent energies and glories discovered and utilized by the ancient sages for religious advancement, by meditations on their evolutionary and involutionary effects. The author has thereby arrived at the right conclusion that the *Puranic* stories containing apparent descriptions of places, times and personalities as well as of Creations, Preservations and Destructions of worlds such as fourteen *Lokas*, *Brahmandas*, etc., tell tales of far more serious matters than those connected with this evanescent material world and its still more transient and pigmy inhabitants.

So far the author has examined the general significance of the subjects and their texts comprising the ancient Hindu Religious Literature in the *first section* of this chapter. It must, however, be specially noticed here that all the above explanations are entirely based upon original passages selected from authentic texts and that no personal views have been ventured to be foisted on the public, like most of the attempts of modern critics, which are often conspicuous by the entire absence of any such authority.

The next and most important subject dealt with in the remaining portion of this chapter, the *second section*, is the Hindu philosophy as applied specially to this ancient religion. This subject has evidently taken up more space than was originally intended by the author, consistent with the size and scope of his Thesis, perhaps on account of its being the very foundation upon which the whole religion with its various grades and stages for practical application, is constructed.

There is, of course, a general and reasonable impression prevailing amongst all intelligent enquirers of Indian affairs, that every national movement in India, Political, Social, or Artistic, is based upon some religious conviction working like an under-current. But the further fact, of religious convictions having invariably originated ages ago from their corresponding and long-established philosophical foundations, has unfortunately been now forgotten, and it therefore urgently demands its recognition in the permanent interests of the Vedic religion as a whole. The existing differences of views and uncertainties as to the details of various matters relating to Hinduism, accepted as it is in its general scope and function, can be easily and conveniently traced to the ignorance of the fundamental and philosophical principles, and a correct knowledge of the same may be expected to set things aright. An examination of the several important points of philosophy as explained in the religious texts has clearly proved that they are by no means liable to be contradicted even by the most recent facts established in Western philosophy. On the contrary, we see that many a new and grand theory of the modern day has been foretold and practically utilized, showing how familiar the ideas were to the ancient sages.

(To be Continued.)



Sir P. Arunachalam, Kt., M.A., (Cantab.),
President of the Inaugural Meeting, Indian Colonial Society.

SIR PONNAMBALAM ARUNACHALAM, Kt., M.A., (Cantab.), J. P.; born Colombo, Ceylon, 14th September 1853; 3rd son of A. Ponnambalam Mudaliyar of the Governor's Gate, and Sellachchi, daughter of A. Coomaraswamy Mudaliyar of the Governor's Gate and M.L.C.; nephew of Sir Mutu Coomaraswamy, Kt., M.L.C.; educated, Colombo Academy (now Royal College); Christ's College, Cambridge (Foundation Scholar and Ceylon Government Scholar); B.A., 1875; M.A., 1879; called to the Bar, Lincoln's Inn, 1875; entered Ceylon Civil Service, 1875; held various Judicial and Administrative offices; and for many years Registrar-General of Ceylon; received thanks of the Government for reorganising the Registrar-General's Department and for organising and reporting on the Ceylon Decennial Census of 1901; Victoria Diamond Jubilee Gold Medal, 1897; M.L.C., 1906; member of the Executive Council, 1912; created Kt., Bachelor, 12th February 1914, at Buckingham Palace; President of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch); of the Ceylon University Association; of the Ceylon Social Service League; served on various Ceylon Commissions; author of various consolidating Statutes now in force. *Publications:* Codification of the Ceylon Civil Law; Decennial Census of Ceylon, 1901; Ceylon Vital Statistics; Ceylon History and Antiquities; Indian Religions and Philosophies.

Extracts from "Who's Who" and "Dod's Peerage."



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. II.

MADRAS, APRIL 30, 1916.

No. 9.

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.

and public-spirited Editor of a monthly journal entitled the *Indian Emigrant*. I know him only from his writings in that periodical. It is doing excellent work. Its aim is to record the status and doings of Indians in British Colonies and foreign countries, to safeguard the interests of emigrants, and to advocate equal rights of British citizenship within the Empire.

Emigration and colonization have been a feature of Indian life from early times. The vast architectural remains in Java and Combodia, which excite the wonder and admiration of travellers, are monuments of the colonization of those countries more than a thousand years ago. Those and other streams of Indian colonists went forth to spread Indian culture and civilization among rude nations and left their impress for centuries on the political and religious life of those countries, their languages and literatures.

But in modern times emigration is the result rather of the poverty and hunger of India, which drives hundreds of thousands across the seas to seek a bare subsistence in strange lands. Ceylon, being the nearest to India, naturally attracts the bulk of the emigration, but the stream flows into remoter regions, flows into the Atlantic and the Pacific, no less than the Indian Ocean. The Malay States, Fiji in the Pacific beyond Australia, Mauritius near Madagascar, Natal and other parts of South and East Africa, Jamaica and other West Indian Islands off North America, British Guiana in South America, all owe their prosperity to the poor Indian cooly.

There are probably close on two million Indians beyond the seas. The majority of these are Tamils. I

THE INAUGURAL MEETING

OF THE

INDIAN COLONIAL SOCIETY.

THE first meeting of the "Indian Colonial Society," Madras, was held at the Polytechnic Hall, Colombo, on Wednesday, the 5th April, 1916. Mr. T. K. Swaminathan, (Editor of the *Indian Emigrant*), Founder and Organising Secretary of the Society, delivered a lecture on "Indian Emigration and the Need for Organisation."

Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., M.A., (Cantab.), late Ceylon Civil Service and Member of the Ceylon Executive Council, who presided, said in opening the proceedings:—

It is my pleasant duty to introduce to you the lecturer, Mr. Swaminathan of Madras, the enterprising

have heard it stated that it should be a matter of pride to the Tamil race to have contributed so large a proportion of these "builders of Empire." Ought it not rather to be a matter of sorrow to us that in Tamil land and in the greater part of India the masses of the people are steeped in such poverty and misery as to be forced to seek relief in emigration? The cooly's lot is not an enviable one. Being poor, ignorant and helpless, he is unable to protect himself against the cupidity and tyranny of unscrupulous recruiters and bad employers. If he is so fortunate as to have a good master (and there are many good masters), he thrives and prospers, for he is industrious, sober, honest and obedient; but if his lines are cast under a bad or careless master, he suffers infinite misery from which he finds in death a welcome relief.

The Indian Government has taken elaborate measures to protect these helpless people, but owing to the distance of the Colonies, the indifference and lack of sympathy on the part of the local Governments, the all-powerful influence of the capitalist employers, the Indian Government have found their best efforts foiled. You have heard of the sufferings of the Indians in South Africa, of the self-sacrificing labours of Mr. Gandhi. Within the last few months two philanthropic Englishmen, Rev. Messrs. Andrews and Pearson, have been to Fiji to get first-hand knowledge of the condition of the Indian cooly in his colonial surroundings, and have written a moving report as to the degrading and miserable conditions in which he lives.

But amid all this squalor, physical and moral, these visitors noted with pleasure and admiration sweet blossoms of love and purity. Rev. Mr. Andrews says: "The religious sense among the people ever welling up in their lives has been the sap in the tree of Hindu civilization. It has produced an almost unrivalled expansion of the intellect and emotion, which has left its mark upon the common people. Even to this day this intellectual and artistic aspect of life is found to be flourishing in most unlikely quarters. I have found here, in Fiji, among indentured coolies Hindu men and women whose hearts are filled with poetry and nature and love of God. The beauty of the rivers and the sunsets and the sea and the clouds and the night with all its stars has not been lost upon them. They have frequently spoken of these things to me in simple and natural ways. One of them, a mere lad, told me that everything that God had made was beautiful in Fiji and man alone was vile. We knew which man he meant." Again the Report says: "Through all the

evil and misery of their fate they have kept the soul of goodness. Every now and then some beautiful action would come to light which showed that the sweetness of human relations had not been lost, and that the pure ideal of womanhood still held its ground." "It was the scene of that group of Indian coolies, who came many miles to see us and brought with them the widow and her little daughter whom they revered and loved; with an extravagance, that was out of all proportion to their wealth, they were willing to pay any sum if only the wish of the widow may be granted, and she might not be compelled to leave the piece of ground where her husband had lived and died."

You will be glad to learn that now at last the Indian Government has been obliged to declare that the system of indentured labour, under which the coolies are kept practically in a state of slavery, must be abolished. This step, taken by Lord Hardinge on the eve of his departure from India, is one of his most valued, parting gifts to the people. Lord Hardinge said: "No one who knows anything of Indian sentiment can remain ignorant of the deep and genuine disgust to which the continuance of the indentured system has given rise. Educated Indians look on it, they tell us, as a badge of helotry. This is soon to be removed forever, and it is a source of deep personal satisfaction to myself that one of the last official acts that I shall perform in this country is to tell you that I have been able to do something to ensure that Indians, who desire to work as labourers in the tropical colonies, may do so under happier conditions, and to obtain from His Majesty's Government the promise of the abolition in due course of a system which educated opinion in India has for long regarded as a stigma on their race."

This was the first of the objects for which Mr. Swaminathan started his journal, and he is to be congratulated on the success which has been achieved through the co-operation of hundreds of philanthropic Englishmen and Indians throughout the Empire. But even when no indentured labour is permitted, but only so-called free labour as in Ceylon and to some extent in the Federated Malay States, there are many hardships and evils calling urgently for redress. We have had a rather lurid light thrown on them by the recently published Report of the Ratnapura Labour Commission. I have not the time to dwell on it now. I recommend you to read it. It shows that even under a Government, so careful of the immigrant cooly's well-being as the Ceylon Government, serious abuses may flourish. The Police Magistrate, Mr.



Crossman, whose exposure of them led to the appointment of the Commission, received scant courtesy from the Commissioners. I do not hesitate to say that Mr. Crossman's conduct in standing up for the poor coolies and protecting them against powerful interests is worthy of the best traditions of the Ceylon Civil Service; and I for one, as an old Civil Servant, am proud of him.

The facts brought to light by the Commission and the facts revealed from time to time in the cases under the Labour Ordinance reported in the papers, show how necessary it is for the public to watch closely the working of the Ordinance and the relations between employers and employees and to help the efforts of Government and its officers against the tendency, which is not peculiar to any country or people, of the capitalist employer to exploit labour harshly, especially if it is unorganized and weak. It is an anomaly and a hardship that our law has invested a purely civil contract between master and servant with criminal liabilities, which press all the more heavily on the cooly because he is poor and illiterate, and that the labourer, even if a woman or a minor, should not only be liable to be sent to jail, but should actually be sent to jail with hard labour, for breaches of the civil contract. Not long ago the Ceylon Government saw the hardship of it and proposed to give women and minors relief. If I remember rightly, the Planters' Association was consulted and agreed to it; but apparently it has been lost sight of in the troubles, imperial and local, which have distracted the attention of Government. I cannot find that legislative effect has been given to their intentions.

The Viceroy of India mentions in his speech that the Fiji Government has abolished imprisonment as a punishment for labour offences, and that the Secretary of State for the Colonies has directed the Governments of Jamaica, British Guiana and Trinidad to eliminate from their statute books, before the end of the year, the power of imprisonment for labour offences. I do not know if similar instructions have come to Ceylon. But I am sure that the Government of Ceylon will not be behind that of Fiji, and will take early steps to relieve not merely women and minors, as originally proposed, but all labourers from this cruel and degrading punishment. I have said enough to show that the conditions of "free labour" require close and constant scrutiny and that to this public attention must be turned, now that indentured labour is doomed.

Among the other objects advocated by Mr. Swaminathan's journal are the encouragement of the emigration of educated men and skilled labourers, the collection and dissemination of information from all parts outside India as to the facilities for study in arts and crafts, for trade and industry, the bringing about of a closer acquaintance between Indians abroad and Indians at home, the creation of an emigration fund for the benefit of selected emigrants, and the advocacy of equal rights of British citizenship within the Empire. All these are objects of great importance and should be strenuously worked for. The journal has now been in existence close on two years, and the necessity has been felt for the establishment of an Organisation embracing workers in all parts of the Empire to carry out these objects effectively. This is the special reason for his appearance before you to-day.

He proposes to establish a Society called the **Indian Colonial Society**, and is to-day inaugurating a series of lectures, which will be followed up in the Malay States, to which he is presently going, and other Colonies and in India. This organisation should have been started long ago. But better late than never. I need not say that we, in Ceylon, wish him all success. We are specially concerned in the establishment of equal rights of British citizenship within the Empire. Unfortunately this does not exist at present, as you would find if one of you attempted to enter Australia or Canada or South Africa. Whatever your merits and qualifications, however great your character, learning and social position, the colour of your skin will bar your entrance effectively, unless perhaps you are armed with a special license from the Governor-General of the Colony. That is a state of things not to be tolerated by any self-respecting person. It is, I know, deplored by Imperial statesmen, and will, I hope, be one of the first things to be mended at the close of this war, in which Indians and Ceylonese are serving side by side with Englishmen, Australians, Canadians, and shedding their blood in defence of our common King and Empire.

It will be a great thing if by means of such an Association, with branches in every Colony, every Indian throughout the world, however humble his lot, is made to feel that he has a friend to watch over his interests, a friend to turn to in distress, and every employer too may look to this Society for a supply of labour free from the pernicious influence of cooly-hunters and for the preservation of harmonious

relations between employer and employed. Such a Society, while thus serving the material interests of both parties, will see that the Colonial Governments make due provision, now almost wholly lacking, for the education and moral uplift of the immigrant population. Still more, it will help to keep Indians throughout the world in touch with the Mother-land and her ancient traditions and ideals, and to maintain and spread that "Spirit of India," which is her greatest treasure and has made her the salt of the earth; that spirit which is not deceived by the glamour of wealth and power, of material progress, of mastery of sea and air and engines of destruction, but amid all this mad turmoil still clings to the things of the Spirit, still finds its happiness in the duties of the home, the farm and the craft, and its riches in a simple life.

THE LECTURE.

MR. T. K. SWAMINATHAN next delivered his lecture. In the course of his speech which lasted for forty-five minutes, he sketched the history of the emigration question, ancient and modern, emphasising the urgent need of reform in the system of so-called free labour now supplied to Ceylon and Malay States. He spoke of the very large emigration of coolies to the various British Colonies. He pointed out how the existing organisations protected the interests of the capitalists and employers, and how urgently necessary it was to provide similar protection for the labouring classes. The illiteracy prevented the labourers from forming an organisation to safeguard their interests. Under the circumstances, it was the duty of the educated sections of the society to step in and assist the labourers in securing what is justly due to them. He mentioned the existence of Emigration Societies in England maintained by public funds, which are materially helping the emigrants. They serve also the purpose of advisory institutions collecting and distributing correct information for the use of the emigrants as to the condition of the place they are going to, the wages obtained there and the qualifications or occupations that are in most demand and in what parts they are most required. He advocated the formation of an *Indian Colonial Society* on the same lines with Committees in all the various Colonies.

He then dwelt on the wages question pointing out how low wages in India gave no stimulus for work and high wages were at once a spur to activity and enterprise. He compared the Indian labourer to the Irish peasant. He refuted the statement that there is not sufficient labour in India itself and the alleged complaint made in Madras, Calcutta and other parts

of India as to the shortage of labour was really a problem of paying high wages. He asked, "will not the labourer fly from one end of India to the other, if only tuppence is granted to him more than what he gets? If higher wages were granted, he said, there would be no necessity for organisations for fraudulent recruiting." Free emigration to Ceylon and Malay States is now entirely in the hands of the unscrupulous men, the Kanganies, who fatten themselves at the expense of the poor labourers, and the illiterate labourer was not in an unenviable situation. The evidences recorded in the recent Sabaragamuwa Commission Report on the condition of Tamil labourers pointed strongly to the abolition of the Kangany system of recruiting labourers. Among the recommendations suggested by the lecturer for the better accommodation of men and women, the facilities for medical relief, etc., was the doing away with the advance system which left the labourer always indebted to the employer and the Kangany.

The lecturer was strongly of opinion that the emigration of educated men and skilled labourers would bring better status to India and gain for her equal rights of British citizenship. He also spoke on the question of the admission of Indians to the self-governing Colonies of Australia, Canada, and New Zealand and said that it was not a political or a racial problem but purely an economic question. Indians would be freely allowed if only they did not lower the standard of wages in those Colonies. There are, at present, thousands of Indians in Canada and Australia and if Indians at home had only opened up communications with them and not left them as outcasts, the situation would have been entirely different.

He next dwelt on the doings of famous Indians and spoke of the work of Sir Rabindranath Tagore's father in England, of Swami Vivekananda in America, and of Professor J. C. Bose throughout the world, how they had all brought the name of India to the front among the nations of the world.

The lecturer, in conclusion, said that the present war was a fortunate thing in that it showed that Indians were worthy of equal rights of British citizenship and when the war happily did end, the British Government would have no hesitation in giving them equal rights of citizenship.

Among those who offered remarks on the subject matter of the lecture was Proctor Rajanayagam of Avisawella. A vote of thanks to the chair and lecturer by Mr. Kadirgamer, brought the meeting to a close.

THE "INDIAN COLONIAL SOCIETY."

(Ceylon Branch.)

As a result of this meeting, a Local Committee of the "Indian Colonial Society" was formed in Colombo with Mr. V. K. Rajanayagam, Proctor, Avisawella, as *Secretary* and Mr. I. X. Pereira (of Messrs. F. X. Pereira & Sons), as *Treasurer* and with others as members.

All communications may be addressed to the Secretary and donations and subscriptions remitted to the Treasurer, Colombo.

THE COOLIE QUESTION.

ANOTHER S. P. C. A.

UNDER the above title the *People's Magazine* of Colombo makes the following editorial observations on the meeting of the 5th instant:—

"Queer things came to light at Wednesday's meeting on the Emigration question, held at the Polytechnic Hall, Colombo. SIR PONNAMBALAM ARUNACHALAM was in the chair, and the principal speaker was MR. T. K. SWAMINATHAN, Editor of the *Indian Emigrant*, published at Madras. Among others who contributed to the discussion were Mr. Rajanayagam, Proctor Avisawella, and Mr. S. J. C. Kadirgamer, Proctor, Colombo. The object of the conveners was to arouse lay interest in the Labour Question, and to organise, if possible, local branches of an association for protecting the interests of immigrant coolies, to be called the *Indian Colonial Society*. Mr. Swaminathan's public-spiritedness is admirable, and Sir Ponnambalam's connection with the movement invests it with authority and importance, and ensures for it both the support of the public and the sympathy of the State. The attempt to bring the coolie problem under public notice is, we think, opportune, now that the report of the Ratnapura Commission has been published, and we hope the promoters of the campaign against what is sometimes described as legalised slave trade, will meet with the success they so well deserve.

NEW WORLDS OUT OF OLD.

Such a society as is now projected will, indeed, be welcome after the sort of institutions we have seen grow up around the coolie and his interests. Of all sons of toil the Indian labourer is about the most abandoned and hapless. Natives of England, for instance, emigrate to the rolling plains of the West or the Isles of the South, dig wells, lay out farms, plant vineyards, and in the fullness of time, reap the reward of the sweat of their brow and the labour of their hands. Within a

short period of their settlement, schools and colleges, trade guilds and political unions spring up on all hands, and a ship-load of what were once the Great Unwashed, possibly navvies or even convicts—if we may be forgiven the irreverence—who arrived in original sin and dirt, return to the Motherland as prosperous citizens and magnates, merchant princes and belted knights, forsooth, with all the swash and swagger of the real article. Their countries have meanwhile grown into Commonwealths and Dominions, they themselves have swelled into 'colonists', and have assumed a new name and lineage. More than that, they shake themselves free of all control, and dare to dictate to the parent country what it should do to mind its own business.

THE NUMBER OF THE BEAST.

Far different, however, is the lot of the poor Indian coolie who nathless contributes to the building up of the Empire. He never develops into a colonist,—with or without inverted commas, or manners. No fortune ever comes his way, and he has no voice in the management of his own concerns, let alone arranging matters for the State or giving it a bit of seasonable advice. The only institutions he helps to raise after long years of toil and moil, are the House of Detention, the Vagrants' Home, and the Home for Incurables. His existence is cribbed, cabined, and bounded by Mandapam at one end, and the morgue at the other. He arrives with the best of good characters, and leaves usually with the hookworm disease, or with vaccination on the brain. Peculiarly applicable to his tribe is the sorrowful reflection that men must work and women must weep. His career on any plantation is one long travail, and between weeping and weeding he consumes his days, becoming as much a part of the estate as the loam under the trees or the lichen on the hill-side. Lured from his village with specious promises of a bee line to fortune, the first thing he realises on yielding to the temptation is his being dumped down in the middle of some dismal camp, with a tin-ticket round his neck, and a sleek Kangany on his back.

CULTURE AND CULTIVATION.

We do not know who invented the coolie, but we would fain think that some planters,—not in Ceylon, but away in Timbuctoo—are the devil's own, especial handiwork. If a fraction of the disclosures at Wednesday's meeting may be believed, there is no penalty in our statute-book which can condignly induce an unregenerate superintendent of an estate to forsake the paths of error and treat his labour force upon a common basis of humanity. No one will seriously maintain that much intellectuality or refinement is needed to grow dadap over tea or tap Para with the herring-bone cut. And presumably the bulk of those, who feel the call of the East and come out to these parts to creep, hail

neither from Universities nor from the best of county families. We do not wish to be offensive in our remarks, but venture only to indicate the course of European economic pressure to account for the freakishness of some squatters: for the situation of master and servant is fraught with so many delicate relationships, that there is as much culture required to treat a labourer with justice and fairness as there is specialised education necessary for volplaning with a Fokker.

BEGGARS ON HORSEBACK.

In the early colonising days, the cost of travelling was so great and the terms of tenure so irksome, that none but the most affluent and, by comparison, therefore, the most desirable classes of the population, could afford to migrate. Now, however, with the conversion of private holdings into joint-stock enterprises, and the cheapening of fares, the way is made clear for the most indigent classes of the surplus population of Europe to drift to the Orient and secure at once an easy means of living and a passable social position. But nothing is so perilous to society as a prig whose new found wealth completely upsets his mental balance, and tempts him to exact a meed of respect of which his engaging deficiencies of education and character render him wholly unworthy. And with employers of that sort it is not surprising that the recruitment of estate labour has developed into a 'question.' We have heard, for instance, that coolies in the neighbourhood of a big little *Sinna Dorai* have to close down their gamp, dismantle themselves, and wallow in the mud until The Presence has passed, if they would avoid being kicked into a pulp or made into crepe. A perpendicular position in addressing the *Periya Dorai* is regarded as seditious, meriting the prompt use of the birch for its correction.

BIRDS OF A FEATHER.

Probably, some of the stories we have heard are exaggerations; others, perhaps, are pure fabrications. We should not, however, care to dismiss them all as palpably untrue in view of the fact that the South African grievance described by some organs in the English and Anglo-Indian Press as fictitious and fanciful, has been found, upon investigation, to be real enough to demand the intervention of the legislature to prevent its becoming a scandal. There is, therefore, nothing inherently improbable in the story of the sufferings of ignorant and illiterate Indian coolies under some European employers when educated Indians have fared worse in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and elsewhere, with more favourable conditions to contend with. If the treatment complained against were meted out by a foreign state to the most abject Britisher, an international situation would probably be created, which might lead to an appeal to arms for its satisfactory settlement.

The anomaly here is that one section of His Majesty's subjects dare to maltreat another with impunity and a reckless disregard of civilized opinion or humane considerations, and the authorities are apparently powerless to succour the victims or to restrain their oppressors. We wish to denounce in the strongest possible terms those ill-mannered employers who by such action as certainly tarnish the reputation of their innocent and blameless countrymen as they commit moral treason against their King and the Empire.

THE CUP THAT CHEERS.

"God, damn the Sultan" were the words of a famous divine who failed in milder language to arrest attention to the Turkish atrocities in Armenia some twenty years ago. And we would as fervently say, God, damn the employer, whether white or black, who treats his coloured labour as part of his stock-in-trade, to be exploited according to the soulless laws of supply and demand, with never a thought for his feelings, or concern for his well-being. The moving tale of his sufferings should bite into the conscience of the public, if a mere economic consideration of the question fails to lead to an improvement of his position or prospects. The grievances of the local coolie find no articulation except in the swelling statistics of our mortality lists. Great Caesar dead and turned to clay, may stop a hole to keep the rain away; but a dash of Ramasamy or Meenachi in one's morning tea, however well diluted, induces reflections of another sort, not at all comforting to one's imagination. For all fertilisers of bulls, and manures of the blood of bolters; and peradventure, no consumer can tell the difference.

TWEEDLEDUM AND TWEEDLEDEE.

Some attempt has been made to distinguish between free and indentured labour. We do not pretend to understand the distinction; but, then, as that is not the only thing we have failed to understand in connection with the coolie question, our ignorance is not very alarming. The academic difference is that the one implies a contract of service, while the other rests upon a journeyman basis. But since the law is no respecter of persons, it does not give a defaulter under the one system six weeks' simple, and under the other, a substantial pension. The same disabilities hamper both classes of workers. Whether indentured or free, a coolie who falls from grace is liable to be arrested upon information laid by the superintendent, dragged from his lines, molested all the way down to court, detained in custody, relieved of any small change, and at the end of it all, perhaps, acquitted and discharged, without any balm or salve for his wounded feelings. Sometimes, however, he gets jail for his alleged misdeeds, because he cannot find means for his

defence; and police magistrates and interpreters are usually such overworked officials that they have neither the time nor the patience always to enter into the picturesque details of the peccant one's story. These hardships are increased manifold when the victim is a woman, for, while female Fiscal peons are not plentiful at remote hill stations, the law brooks no delay, and the local prison stands yawning for prey.

THE LETTER OF THE LAW.

The ordinance relating to estate labour has been characterised as a piece of legislative eccentricity in that it invests a civil contract with criminal liabilities. If a domestic servant refuses to perform his work, he is subject to dismissal; he is seldom, if ever, prosecuted for refusing. Not so, however, with an estate coolie who is liable to be flung into jail for every alleged neglect of duty. From the nature of the case, the evidence to convict him may be had for the asking, and though an appeal is theoretically possible, in practice, it is rarely preferred. It is impossible to describe the revulsion of feeling a coolie must suffer from constant subjection to treatment of this sort. The impression must gather upon him that he is merely an ingredient, and a quite easily replaceable one at that, in the process of tea-making. Although some colour is lent to the suggestion of his humanity by the provision of a dispensary for his wife, a school for his children, and a lock-up for himself, the underlying principle of treatment seems to inculcate the view that he is part of the goods and chattels on the estate. Yet he is the mainstay of the planter as he is the chief source of the country's prosperity. He has contributed to the present flourishing condition of more than one colony in the world. British Guiana, the West Indies, South Africa, Mauritius, Seychelles, the Federated Malay States, the Straits Settlements, are all as indebted to him as we in this island are.

A POINT OF VIEW.

Yet, nothing sensational has occurred to alter his position from what it was half a century ago. He still dwells in outer darkness, and bears the burden of his 'Kangany's debts. He still suffers vicariously for the weeding contractor, and gets jail for the Kanakapulle's sake. He is still vaccinated, revaccinated, and once more vaccinated, just to make sure his wife has had the pox. He is still duly fumigated between meals, and inoculated before and after he takes his tundu. He still gets drunk on Deepavali day, and barter his last bushel of rice for a further half-pint. He is still cramped, though he still bolts. He is still caught, however, and clapped in irons, and if he contrives to escape, he still lurks in secret places for fear of the balliff, or, hungry and athirst, still dies on the wayside. And the estate still pays a dividend of ten per cent., and

the superintendent regularly receives his annual bonus. A parson still visits the township every sabbath day and mouths unmeaning jargon about the labourer and his hire, the sacred rights and liberties of the human race, and the horrible. Hereafter his flock will not inherit. It is all so strange, yet so simple when one knows it. Indeed, it is said to be much simpler when one does not know it; and if we cannot understand it, it is because we have not embraced the true faith, which the late Mr. Stead set forth as the acceptance of justifiability for any kind of crime which may come to be adopted as a principle of public policy.

INDIA AND THE FUTURE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

BY M. P. DE CHALAIL.

OF the many important questions that have been forced upon the consideration of the world by this European War, the future of the great British Dependency in the East is perhaps the most significant. Before the fatal days of August 1914, the outside world knew very little about the relations between England and India. It had a very vague notion that there was a growing Nationalist party in India which was strongly opposed to the British Government. It excited little curiosity and still less sympathy in other countries. Those scholars in the West who had tasted something of the culture of India looked at it from the same point of view as scholars look upon Assyrian or Babylonian civilisation, without recognising that Hindu culture was a living continuity and in no sense dead. Their sympathy was little more than academic, and few men among them understood the true currents of modern Indian life.

From this obscurity the Indian question suddenly emerged into the limelight with the announcement of Lord Crewe in the House of Lords that Indian troops were to be employed on the battlefield of Flanders. There was a wave of genuine and spontaneous enthusiasm created by that announcement. Much meaningless stuff was spoken and written about Indian loyalty and the beneficence of the British Rule. It was argued that Indian Nationalism was a myth, and that the magnificent response of India to the Imperial call was the clearest proof of the true feeling of steadfast loyalty which India has always shown to the cause of Britain. Such an explanation of India's participation in the war is extremely misleading. India takes her share in the Imperial burden, not in

"gratitude for the blessings of peace and good Government that Britain has given her," but because she believes in the justice of the cause that Britain and her Allies are fighting for.

Evaluation of the British Rule in India is not the object of this paper. I am concerned here to show only the influence that the altered conditions will have on Indian politics and how the future of the British Empire is bound up with a lasting settlement of the Indian problem. Before proceeding to discuss the question, I have to preface it with one or two remarks on the tendency of Indian Nationalism. It has been very much misrepresented not so much intentionally as because of the inability of foreigners to understand the Indian mind. Indian Nationalism is above everything else a cultural movement, a movement that believes in the superiority of Indian Culture and the Indian Mind. Consequently it has, as everything else in India, a religious aspect which expresses itself in a regeneration of Hinduism as a living modern religion with the vital force necessary to feed and develop the moral strength of the nation. The earlier leaders who were followers of the later Victorian Radicals were in reality divorced of true Indian feelings: and in fact they deserved all the bad epithets which the Anglo-Indian journals of the country uttered about them.

Aggressive Indian Nationalism came to sudden prominence in active politics during the Curzonian regime. The Government recognising their inability to put it down by repression adopted a policy of conciliation and under the guidance of that venerable statesman, Lord Morley, introduced a series of constitutional reforms by which the relations between the governors and the governed in India have been profoundly modified. But the majority of Nationalists considered the reforms as inadequate and refused to give up the struggle till the final goal of self-government was reached.

In all the belligerent countries, the war has put a stop to political controversies. In India also the Nationalists accepted a truce in their fight and proclaimed themselves at one with the Government in the prosecution of this war to a successful conclusion. This attitude has strengthened the Nationalists' position considerably. In England itself it has gained wide and sympathetic recognition and even among Anglo-Indian bureaucrats the ultimate self-government of India is accepted without question. It will be impossible to stem the growing tide of national consciousness and after the war England will have to face the greatest problem that has ever beset the

British Empire and upon the settlement of which must depend her destiny as an Imperial Nation.

The gravity of the situation is generally recognised in England. The significant resolution accepted in the Imperial Legislative Council that India should be represented in the Imperial Conference shows that the question is receiving the consideration of the British Cabinet. The reception of this motion in the Colonies left nothing to be desired. Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa united in commending the policy as fundamentally sound. In fine, the question of an Indian participation in Imperial problems has been generally granted as a question that will have to be sympathetically solved at the end of this war.

Political prophecy is admittedly difficult. But it can easily be seen and will generally be conceded that England, if she wishes to secure any state of permanence to her hegemony in the East, will have to satisfy the just aspirations of the Indian people. How long it will take to come about, and whether it will be gained entirely by pacific methods depends upon the political conditions of the next few years. The factors of the problem are very complicated. The forces at work are many and varied. It is impossible, therefore, to see with any clearness what a decade or two might produce in the way of political change.

The idea of Federalism seems to be in the air. Ever since the momentous decision of the great Philadelphia Convention, the world has looked with an admiring gaze upon the policy of the United States, first as an experiment and then as a model. The historian of the future, to whom things will appear in their true light, will see how de Tocqueville and Bryce have influenced the politics of the world by their brilliant and epoch-making expositions of American Federalism. It bids fair to be the idea of the future, and the British Empire which has already felt its benefits seems to be on the point of experimenting with it on a scale so stupendous as to defy ordinary imagination.

Federalism as a solution for Imperial problems was first suggested by Joseph Chamberlain who was undoubtedly the most original English statesman of his time. With the Liberal revival the gospel of "Little England" spread fast till it was buried "unmourned, unhonoured and unsung," at the beginning of the war. Federalism again has come to the front and it alone seems to be capable of solving the outstanding problems of Imperial reconstruction.

The position of India in such a Federation is the most difficult problem to solve. It seems now probable that India might be admitted into that system without demur or delay. The type of Anglo-Indian, who used to believe in the eternal guardianship of India by England, is almost extinct. The doctrine of racial superiority, of which once we heard so much, is as dead as Queen Anne.

There is another and more important reason why the ideal seems so realisable to-day. The principle of self-government alone has stood the test of this grave crisis. The war has proved to be the grave of many political theories. The Cabinet, the special idol of English thinkers on the science of Government, and the party system, the pride of English politics, have been found to be utterly incapable of meeting a grave situation. Of all English political theories the principle of self-government alone has come out triumphant, and it is not likely that the Britisher will go back on a principle which he has found to be so paying.

In the memorable dispatch of Lord Hardinge to Lord Crewe, the Secretary of State for India, it was laid down that the aim of British policy in India ought to be the creation of autonomous provinces owing allegiance to the Imperial authority represented by the Viceroy at Delhi. This is practically what India has been asking for till now. The adoption of this principle by the Government in 1912 was a momentous move towards the ideal of self-government.

This policy has now been strengthened by the altered conditions of European politics. In the reconstruction of society after this deadly and devastating conflict England will need all its talents. India at that time will be allowed to govern herself under the ægis of the British flag. All open-minded Englishmen have recognised the necessity of giving a wider life to India in Imperial politics and if, as now seems probable, all the relations between the constituents of the Empire are going to be readjusted after the war, it is certain that the claims of the great dependency will not be overlooked. English statesmen recognise that if the polity they try to evolve out of the existing elements want any appearance of permanence, India must either be wholly left out or must be given a fair share. As the former is unthinkable and well-nigh impossible, we can confidently predict that India will be given a place in the comity of semi-independent nations, of which England is the august mother.

Events are, indeed, moving fast in that direction. In India itself many members of the Viceroy's Cabinet, including Lord Hardinge himself, have publicly associated themselves with that idea. The Moslem League, which has till now stood apart from the ideal of the National Congress, has by a great majority voted in favour of a Joint Committee to draft a workable scheme of Home Rule. Mrs. Besant, who has thrown her whole energy into the matter, is using her immense popularity with the conservative masses in bringing home to them the ideal of *Swaraj* or Home Rule. In England too, Imperial reconstruction seems to be the coming catchword. The candidature of Sir G. Reid, the Ex-High Commissioner of Australia, to a seat in Parliament heralds a new era in Imperial politics. The wave of genuine enthusiasm, which has replaced the general indifference for Imperial affairs, augurs well for the new programme. There is little doubt that English statesmanship will rise equal to the situation and view it in its correct perspective: for on that more than any other thing depends the future of the Empire.

If, however, by a reaction of extreme militarism England fails to treat India fairly, the consequences cannot but be disastrous. Curzonising India will be more dangerous than Curzonising Ireland. The events of 1905, '06, '07 have proved it sufficiently. England dare not go back on her promises and attempt to rouse that aggressive Nationalism again. Lord Curzon—the high priest of Prussianism in England—himself will not try to revive his policy. Prussian Imperialism is dead. It remains to be seen how English Imperialism will cope with the situation. India is optimistic; England is confident; and the Empire feels secure in the midst of this deadly war, because the two forces have found themselves complementary.

LEGISLATIVE SHIBBOLETHS.

BY THE EDITOR.

(Non-official Visitors to Emigration Depots.)

AN interesting debate took place in the Madras Legislative Council early this month on the Resolution of the Hon'ble Mr. P. Kesava Pillai recommending a Committee of non-official representatives to inspect Emigration Depots in the various parts of the Presidency. The moral of the Resolution consists in the desire now almost universally felt to redress certain grievances that undoubtedly exist

in the methods of recruiting labourers to foreign countries. But how far the passing of a Resolution in the Council will set matters right in this instance is highly problematical. We, who have been working at this problem entirely for the past twenty months, cannot but come to the conclusion that the method for reforming recruitment should be one of an organised attempt of a propagandist work, something like that of the missionaries, to counteract the influence of the highly organised body of Associations of planters and employers of the Colonies or that a Society with responsible members should be made the medium through which labourers may be allowed to go to foreign countries on the best terms. But the tendency of the modern age, especially under the system of enlarged Legislative Councils, is to magnify the man of words at the expense of the man of action. We have tried long ago to enlist the sympathy of some of the Hon'ble members in this question and to have their co-operation in our endeavours but their attitude has always been one of indifference and non-chalance towards this vital question. "I fully sympathise with you in your laudable undertaking and wish you success." With these suave words, the Hon'ble members pat us on our back and bid us good-bye.

Happily or unhappily for the cause, the Resolution was lost by 18 to 21 votes. Our Hon'ble members seem to think that all that is necessary is to pass a law and that the reform will be accomplished. We have often observed that several legislations which have been passed served no purpose whatsoever almost from the time of the passing. Now if a Committee consisting of the 18 Hon'ble members who voted in favour of the resolution were formed, we shall not be surprised if not one fails to visit the Emigration Depots and ascertain the facts. In the first place, they are too busy and secondly, they do not deign to enter a cooly depot. We have heard the Hon'ble Dr. Nair tell us that he had heard complaints from parents in Malabar that their children had been taken away to Penang and other places without their knowledge. We should like to know what steps had been taken by him or by others to recover the children that had been thus forcibly taken away. Dr. Nair again brings forward a reason why the resolution should be accepted. He asks us to consider the labour question connected with the South Indian planters, the agriculturists of Tanjore, and says that in certain seasons of the year they find it impossible to find coolies in Tanjore. "Owing to unfair competition the interest of the people in this Presidency suffered and that in a large number of

cases the conditions of coolies taken out of the country were bad."

To any one who had studied the labour question in the Presidency, it would be obvious that the alleged scarcity of labour is due to the reluctance of employers to pay high wages. Hence the emigration, and we welcome it as a relief to the poorer classes. The late Sir Henry Cotton points out that "in India this tendency (to low wages) 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." However through the operation of economic laws, labour will adjust itself by flowing from a place of low wages to a place of high wages. If labour is wanted in this country it must be paid adequately. In our opinion if the mover and the supporters of the resolution have really the welfare of the emigrant coolies at heart, they should not hesitate in forming at once an organisation to take up a propagandist work on the lines suggested by the resolution. It will actually redound to their glory that what they have been talking in the Council was not an empty breath, but sincere words flowing out of the abundance of the heart to work for the welfare of their unfortunate fellow-men.

To recapitulate a little more of the debate. We fully agree with the Hon'ble Mr. Cardew in his opinion that a large number of abuses in recruitment would be found to occur in Ceylon and Malay States, where there is free emigration. He was also kind enough to suggest that he was willing to meet half way the proposal for arranging non-official gentlemen to visit the depots, though he could not accept the resolution. In this connection we may add that we ourselves visited one of the emigrant steamers proceeding to the West Indies during last February and we were given all the facilities by the Government Emigration Agent, Mr. Doorley, and we found everything to be satisfactory, such as sanitation, arrangement for the separation of men and women, medical attendance, etc. But when we wanted to put a few questions to the emigrants, we were told that that was the work of the Protector of Emigrants. This restraint, it struck us at the time, indicated that there was something radically wrong about the recruitment. The Hon'ble Mr. Cardew further points out that the Emigration Act refers only to indentured labour and

therefore the Government could not bind themselves to accept the resolution even with amendments without the consent of the Government of India. We cannot subscribe to this theory, viz., that the State could be a passive body even in cases where abuses exist in labour contracts, whether it is free or indentured labour. If the Government of Madras think that there are abuses even in free emigration, it must at once try to do whatever is necessary to get them remedied, even to the extent of rudely disturbing the calm slumbers of the Government of India on the pleasant slopes of Simla. All nations have attempted to regulate labour in one form or another between master and servant, employer and employee. In India particularly, the majority of the labourers are ignorant and illiterate and the risk involved in the contract of labour entered into between the employer and the employed has always been on the side of the labourer rather than that of the employer. In such cases, it ought to be the duty of the Government to

intervene and legislate for the benefit of the labouring classes.

In England, though conditions were at one time very bad, there is now a complete set of laws securing health and safety of the labourers and providing for periodical official inspections of the places used by the labourers. In other countries also, as France, Germany and the United States, the Government has extended its functions in the endeavour to secure maximum of advantages for the labouring classes. How else could we account for the Government disallowing children under a certain age to be employed in factories and workshops except under the most favourable conditions?

At least on the score of the sociological aspect of the question, remedial legislation seems therefore urgently necessary. Side by side with this legislation, there ought to be organised private bodies to watch the interests of the labouring population.

Round the Indian Empire.

The practice has grown up both in the Indian as well as the Anglo-Indian press to encumber the welcome accorded to coming Viceroys with some well-meant advice. There is nothing particularly noteworthy in the amenities exchanged at these pleasant functions, except a general desire on either side to do well by the other. We congratulate Lord Chelmsford on his appointment and welcome him warmly to our midst. But we think it profitless and pedantic to assume the role of a cicerone to the new arrival who, for one thing, is no stranger to India. For the rest, it is rash to forestall the future by taking any resolutions at the start, when at any time in the rapidly changing conditions of India destiny may move an amendment and when it does, it generally carries. The India of yesterday is vastly different from the India we know to-day, nor is there any guarantee that to-morrow conditions will have only reproduced. Five years of an Indian viceroyalty is not the thing it was—events move too rapidly for convictions to settle or policies to mature. But certain prominent thoughts may be indicated regarding the course of evolution in Indian

polity, which may guide administrators in the right course of statesmanship. The loyalty of India is unimpeachable and slight aberrations therefrom ought to be ignored. The Government that embarks upon repressive measures on the basis of such suspicion will never commend itself to Indian sentiment. It is difficult to be too precise about India. The 315 millions of her population contain as many distinct types of thought and acquirement, and in various stages of development as there are colours in a kaleidoscope. There are the Hindus and the Muhammadans, the English-educated literate class democratic to the core, the highly sensitive and orthodox section of both these classes sniffing at any breath of reform in social matters, and the large peasant class who form the main bulk of the population, who know next to nothing of the changes in administrations or the social conditions of the country. Then there is the Anglo-Indian community prominent in commercial circle, with vested interests but politically aloof from the Indian classes. To administer justly and impartially by this bewildering variety of interests, represented by an unhomogenous population, needs an amount of courage, farsightedness and liberality, not

often found in a single ruler. The loudest section, the Anglo-Indian first and the educated Indian next, are the bodies close to the ear of the Government, and in so far as these represent the *real mass* interests of the country, they ought to be heard. But the first and final object of every Viceroy is the peasant and his rehabilitation in the scheme of a to be self-governing Empire.

Excessive pre-occupation with the political state of our country is to be avoided in the interests of its own all-round development. Much is not likely to be gained by brooding over the subjection of India to the Government of the United Kingdom and by mere speculations about bettering her position. This is not to say that all thoughts on the subject are utterly irrelevant, but just there is the danger, unless a line is drawn, of believing that the *ultima thule* of national activity is the attainment of the political vote. History records instances of conquered peoples holding in bondage the victors, bondage submissively borne in the interests of civilisation. That the Greek held the Roman captive is an effective illustration of the truth of national greatness not consisting in the political domain alone. It cannot be argued that the only weakness of India lies in her political dependence on a foreigner: there are evils in her national system transcending in weight and urgency the political subjection. Now these might well be the objective of the reforming zeal in the country. The remedy is in the hands of the people themselves, the process involves very little interference with the prejudices of the ruling race. We started with the purpose of pointing out the peril of over-emphasising politics. In the first place, it tends to obscure the importance of other issues that make up the larger part of national life—the economic, artistic, scientific and cultural. These constitute the permanent values of civilisation and no greater honor can be paid to a nation than that her peoples are regular contributors to the cause of culture and enlightenment. There is yet another danger. A subject people are apt, as is only too common in India, to look up to the State for undue encouragement and appreciation of the said national virtues, because obsessed as they already are with their depressed political role, they find but little leisure and spirit to cultivate them. A habit of leaning on the State for the development of such a large portion of national life results in confusing the aims of administration and thoroughly misunderstanding the place of one's country in the role of nations. As often as the State is supposed to fail in the discharge of these duties which do not properly pertain to it, the volume of political disquietude is bound to grow, bringing about a serious depression of

mind and activities. India seems to verge on the brink of this national distemper. Her patriots cannot do nobler service to the motherland than turn the sense of the nation from a too exclusive concern in mere politics.

Quite a volume of literature, both grave and gay, has gathered round the returned emigrant. Let no one say that he is an insignificant individual. The heroism associated with crossing the "black water" is more than equalled by the activity displayed by the Government and their executive in getting at him, his fashion of appearance, habit of thought, the character of his company, and the geography of his movements. Royal Commissions have sat and schemed to locate him, ponderous official enquiries have been instituted, and mile-long red-tape has been unwinded in the Police, Home and Foreign Departments to fix the focus of judging the returned emigrant. As a result, the returned emigrant to-day passes muster with the German Missionary—with the immortals too, the anarchists and the anti-British. It is an error to imagine that the returned emigrant is of one species; different persons take to different aims, but the motive in each case is mischief: to embarrass the Government and delude the people. What harm in a repatriated indentured coolie? Great Scot, he spreads scandal in his village about the treatment accorded to the Indian coolies by the English colonists and is thus an obstacle to peaceful recruiting. Thanks to Lord Hardinge, the occupation of this emigrant variety seems gone. Have you been to America and mixed with the Sikhs there? It is enough to make India a hell to you and all those who go near you. On official authority, the pacific slopes of America possess the virtue of indoctrinating the mild Indian, be he however learned, however cultured, however loyal, before he saw that bewitching piece of land,—with wicked notions about British rule in India, tending positively to upset peace and order in the secure realm of His Majesty's Indian Empire. It is useless to inquire who started this game at hitting the foreign travelled individual, but he or they, whoever is the author of it, deserves to live in the pages of India under British rule. The repatriated coolie is to be rendered innocuous as already mentioned. But the revolutionary schoolmaster from British Columbia? Hem! his hands seem strengthened. The Kaiser is behind him. Who knows? The Komagata Maru Inquiry probably had no sufficient evidence. Now, we protest strongly against the actions and movements of the executive of this country which regard the foreign travelled, educated Indian as suspect. We plead for an open-handed policy and greater frankness on the part of the powers-that-be.



GENERAL ARTICLES.

OUR EMPIRE—AFTER THE WAR.

THE appearance of our article on this subject in our last issue has created a good deal of interest amongst those who are engaged in the important business of arranging for the future of emigration.

It would appear that most of our great Dominions and Colonies are making some preparations, but that in many cases the subject is still under discussion by the Legislatures in different parts of the world. As a consequence, many of the official representatives in Great Britain feel that the time has not yet arrived when they can make any pronouncement on the subject. Each and every one of them, however, feel that their first duty is towards the settlement of their own soldiers when that happy time arrives, consequently it takes foremost place in their thoughts.

The Dominion of Canada has appointed a Royal Commission, which is now sitting, and which is taking evidence on the subject and preparing a report for the Federal Government. In view of this it is therefore somewhat premature for us to be able to express any opinion, but from the names of the leading men who are connected with the Commission, it would certainly appear that the subject will receive the most careful consideration.

The New Zealand Government has already appointed a Discharged Soldiers Information Department, and the Government is taking all possible means for ensuring the resettlement of returned disabled soldiers.

The *Morning Post* of London announces in a cable from Sydney that a conference of representatives of the Federal and State Governments has adopted a scheme for the settling of returned soldiers on the land. The bases of the scheme are, first, the provision of land by the States, which is to be available for the dependents of deceased soldiers and for returned soldiers; second, the provision by the Federal Government, of funds and loans to States for purpose of making advances through agricultural banks or other Government institutions against improvements, stock, and implements; third, the advance by State institutions to soldiers and settlers of money at cost, plus reasonable working charges; fourth, the inviting of subscriptions to a special Repatriation Fund with the object of providing for the subsidiary requirements of returned soldiers, the fund to be vested in trustees, who are to make loans without interest; and, fifth, the immediate establishment of State training farms, on which inexperienced men are to serve a probationary period, in order to determine

whether they produce aptitude for the work, in addition to which arrangements are to be made for training men on approved private farms. The scheme, which seems to be eminently practicable, should be extremely beneficial to the Commonwealth. It is estimated that—assuming the War ends this year and that the necessary money is raised in the Commonwealth within three years—that by the end of June, 1919, it will be possible to settle upwards of 42,000 suitable persons on the soil.

In connection with the Dominion of Canada, it is interesting to note that in recent statements made by the presidents of the leading banks in their annual reports, reference has been made to the very important nature of this subject. Sir Edmund Walker, president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, in his report, dealt very fully with the importance of looking after the returned Canadian soldiers, and also of making preparation to meet the large volume of immigration which is expected after the War. Sir Edmund anticipates that at the end of the War it is to be expected that the orders for munitions will cease consequently there must be a great reshuffling of industry on a very large scale in Eastern Canada. He prophesies that Canada will probably have been enriched in some respects by the War, and that therefore the demands upon her industries are likely to be increased, although not at first to an extent which will absorb the full output of the factories.

He expresses the hope that the returning soldiers and immigrants will turn to the land far more generally than they have done in the past. In the course of his address, Sir Edmund made the following interesting statement:—

"We have learned a lesson from indiscriminate immigration; we know what it means to have citizens who are not yet Canadians in their sense of loyalty to the Empire, and if we are wise we shall base our estimate of the value of each new arrival upon larger considerations than that of mere material prosperity. Can we plant in many centres, and in every province in Canada, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, soldier-farmers who will themselves be centres of loyalty and whose grandchildren will boast that they were sired by men who fought in the great War for liberty? If we can, we shall have done much to assure the safety of Canada and its institutions, and we shall thus make this country far better worth while than if we miss this golden opportunity. To succeed, however, we must organise so as to secure the land at fair prices; we must lend the necessary money on such terms that its return will be effected by a reasonable rent charge; we must continue to lend for latter improvements in the same manner; and finally, so long as the soldier-farmer shows that he is making good, we must back him somewhat

better than the man who has not fought for us. Only the Government can do these things, but I am sure that it can be done so as to help merely those who deserve to be helped, so as to secure success in the majority of cases, and so as to pay in some slight degree our debt to those without whose courage all that we and our forbears have done to make Canada a nation would be as naught."

Mr. E. F. B. Johnston, K.C., at the Royal Bank of Canada meeting, laid great stress also on the importance of preparing for the future of immigration. He referred also to the poor system in the past of planting settlers and forgetting all about them. In the course of his address he laid stress on the fact that Canada must be prepared "to meet the disposition of the hundreds of thousands of men of our own country, and the millions of Great Britain, who at the close of the War will be without an occupation. Their present life will more or less unfit them for the routine of daily labour. They will not be the same men as when they left the plough, the factory, or the shop. War and army life are very different from peace and the solitariness of the workman. What provision is being made by way of preparation or otherwise for the soldier who leaves a life of excitement and comradeship in the trenches, and is asked to take up the monotony of the hammer, or the plough, or to go back to the sale of goods over the counter?"

"The partial, and perhaps the chief cure, it seems to me, will be immigration, based on a same system and governed by practical methods. So far, our methods of immigration have been most primitive. The bringing out men to this country, and planting them miles away from a neighbour, without knowledge of practical wants or conditions, poor, and with no means of getting help, has resulted in what we might expect. Many of these settlers have grown tired and almost desperate with the lonely life, and the lack of sympathy, and have drifted back to the centres, and become a burden. In addition to this they have ceased to perform their functions, and have become consumers, instead of producers, adding to the country's load, instead of to the National wealth, by means of industry and production from the land. We should place these settlers in blocks, not composed of any particular nationality, and a practical farmer should be appointed by the Government in various localities to show them what to do, and how to do it. The Government should help these people for a year or two, and make every bank its agent to advance means of a limited amount to help the settler along. The Government might very properly, under proper safeguard, indemnify all back advances to these men up to a few hundred dollars each, against which the land and stock and crops would be a security."

We have given the remarks made by these gentlemen of commercial position in Canada as echoing the voice of the many thousands who are desirous of seeing the subject handled with intelligence as well as with discretion. Since the appearance of our last article there has not been time for any communications to reach us from the overseas authorities, but we have pleasure in giving below a few official statements made on the subject.

THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

Interviewed by a representative of the *Colonizer*, Mr. J. Obed Smith, Assistant Superintendent of Emigration, remarked that, in view of the fact that two Commissions were now studying the question of the settlement of people upon the land after the War, it was difficult for him to express a definite opinion upon the subject discussed in the last issue of the *Colonizer*. One Commission had been appointed by the Imperial Government, with Lord D'Abernon as Chairman. This Commission, said Mr. Smith, has already examined emigration experts in this country, including himself, and their evidence is to be found in Blue Book C. D. 8516, published at 2s. 9d. The Commission went to Canada for a while, but, at the outbreak of the War, returned with their task uncompleted. In addition to this, a matter still more closely connected with Canada, is the appointment of the Royal Commission under the Dominion Government, of which the Hon. Senator J. A. Loughheed is Chairman, and Professor W. J. Black, a former president of the Manitoba Agricultural College, is Secretary. This Commission is known as the Dominion Economic Commission. Amongst other things the terms of reference appointing the Commission read as follows: "In this connection enquiry should be made as to the means by which, and the lines upon which, the Federal Government, whether on its own sole initiative or in co-operation with the Provincial Governments, can best carry out an effective scheme of colonization. The return to Canada, after the conclusion of the War, of the Canadian troops, now gallantly fighting beyond the seas for our Empire, and the probable immigration into Canada of other British soldiers and of men from the allied armies after peace shall have been established, should also engage the attention of the proposed Commission." This, said Mr. Obed Smith, has, of course, little or nothing to do with the settlement, at the present time on the land in Canada, of persons not of military age, or such as can be spared from agricultural service here, or who should be permitted to leave the country for the purpose of engaging in agriculture elsewhere. It is important, however, to note that, owing to the crop of 1915 in Canada having been unusually heavy, threshing operations were continued well on into the winter, thus precluding many men from engaging in the preparation of the land for the coming

spring, as was possible in previous years when the crop was not so heavy. It is equally obvious, therefore, that there is not, and will not, be the same amount of land ready for seeding this spring as there was at the close of the winter of 1914; hence, the opening for a large number of men to work on the land in the Dominion. That, however, is a matter altogether apart from the question of whether the Imperial Government will permit suitable men to leave the country. It must also be borne in mind that the policy of the Canadian Government, since the War broke out, has been not willingly to encourage any person to go to Canada whose services might be required for the defence and support of the Empire.

WHAT AUSTRALIA IS DOING.

"The duty of the nation in respect to the employment and future welfare of Australian soldiers now fighting our battles is a matter which demands immediate and earnest consideration."

In this way the first official statement concerning Australia's efforts to cope with after-war problems, with regard to returned soldiers, began.

From the Commonwealth arrangements have already been made for the despatch for "service abroad" of 300,000 men—300,000 of the pick of the manhood of the Commonwealth. These men have come from all parts. They have marched in hundreds from the country to the cities to enlist. In one instance, thirty set out for Sydney, 320 miles distant. It was a "snowball" march. As they marched from town to town they increased in numbers, and were 200 strong when they reached Sydney. They came from station, farm, orchard, mine, and from the little business-houses of the thriving country centres. And others will continue to come until the Allies have succeeded in decisively defeating the common foe of to-day. These men are, in many instances, giving their all in the cause of the Empire. For the working man's muscle, his time and his labour, are his sole assets. When they have given up all and are prepared to risk their lives in this way, the least that could be done for them is to see that they shall not be without the means of earning a living when they return. It is well known that many will seek to do this in various ways; some in ways to which they had hitherto been unaccustomed, and not always of their own choice. To many the prospect of getting their "old job" will not be bright, to others the former occupation will have lost its attraction as the result of the military training and the out-of-doors life they have experienced during the days of the War. Others, again, will be physically unable to undertake the class of work which before they enlisted was a pleasure to them.

LAND FOR EX-SOLDIERS.

For all there must be ample arrangements made. The authorities in Australia recognised these facts at an early stage, and the Federal Parliamentary War Committee set about making the necessary arrangements. An ex-Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, Mr. J. C. Watson, who possessed both the knowledge acquired by actual experience among the workers and among the public and political bodies whose duty it is to attend to the requirements and safeguard the interests of the people, was chosen to put into shape a comprehensive scheme covering the whole Commonwealth, and aiming, first, at the successful resettlement of returned Australian soldiers. When these are attended to—and naturally they have the first claim—there seems to be no reason for not extending the system to accommodate large numbers of the millions of other British subjects who have donned khaki since the outbreak of War.

Mr. Watson began by visiting all the Australian States and ascertaining by personal investigation just what each section of the Commonwealth could do so far as his scheme was concerned. His idea was also to have one big system rather than half-a-dozen or more smaller schemes, with the danger of clashing, duplicating, and overlapping.

He has recommended that the movement shall be controlled by the Federal Parliamentary War Committee as a central executive; that there shall be a State Council in each State of the Commonwealth, composed of two members of the Federal Parliament appointed by the Central Executive, members of the State Parliament appointed by the State Government, and representatives of the municipal, commercial, and industrial interests, the whole of the State Council to total 12.

PREPARING THE WAY.

The preliminary work of these bodies is to obtain information concerning the returned soldiers; to classify them under their respective avocations, ascertain the Crown lands available for farming and settlement purposes, prepare particulars of public and municipal works available for employment, establish Soldiers' Employment Bureau, and to arrange for securing employment for returned soldiers whose injuries prevent them following their former occupations.

Properly organised along these lines the system which Mr. Watson leads should be able to cope with all the cases of soldiers returning and requiring assistance, and there seems no reason to doubt Australia's ability to give adequate attention to her heroic sons.

Perhaps the most attractive phase of the whole scheme is that which touches land settlement and the primary industries. No portion of the British Empire holds out greater attractions than Australia to the man able and willing to "fit in" with the industries which

are concerned in the development of a country's natural resources, and especially when the State is prepared to control the conditions of settlement and to give sound advice and solid assistance to the soldier-settler. Already Mr. Weston has had a number of very valuable estates in different parts of Australia offered to him for use in connection with his land settlement scheme. The State Governments are also co-operating in the matter and are making available large areas of Crown lands and providing facilities for getting equipment to the land and products from it.

AREAS AVAILABLE.

The average reader probably fails to realise the position of land settlement in the great island Continent of the Commonwealth.

As a matter of fact, it may be stated that only 1.25 per cent. of the total area of Australia has so far been actually alienated, or finally disposed of by the Crown, so that it is private property; less than 3 per cent. is in process of alienation, or held by settlers who are paying the purchase money under certain conditions and terms; 29 per cent. is held under various forms of leases, so that it might at various times revert to the Crown. There is still more than half of the total area left unoccupied; 67 per cent. in fact. This is not held by private individuals for speculative purposes, but is owned by the State or the people, and is really waiting to be taken up and to have the natural resources put to profitable use. Australia in area is twenty-five times the size of the United Kingdom, so that there is to-day in the Commonwealth land that would cover a dozen United Kingdoms simply waiting, as stated, to be made the medium of maintaining under happy, healthy conditions, millions of people.

When these facts are fully appreciated, it will be recognised that, given proper treatment, there need be no fears as to the placing of the men who may be thrown upon the labour market at the termination of the War, or who, unfortunately, during the currency of the War may, for various physical defects, be classed as "wastage," and discharged from active service. But the scheme is one that requires proper treatment. It may involve the expenditure of millions of money, but, if established on a firm basis, the greater the scheme the greater will be the success.

RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION.

Throughout Australia the State Governments are co-operating in various ways. To fully develop the greater areas the facilities which railways alone can provide are essential. Each State controls its railways; practically the whole of them are state-owned, and are used not to bring in dividends to shareholders, but to serve the valuable purpose of opening up new country by helping settlers to get their equipment to their

holdings, and their products to market. It is an interesting fact that, before the War began, more than half amount spent on railways, and while the trains were of the capital involved. The States are pushing on with their railways in a way that will help to make available increased areas.

Then there are, within easy distance of the markets, stretches of land suitable for intense cultivation, but where ordinarily the rainfall is either inadequate or uncertain. At the same time there are rivers near the water of which might be well used for irrigation. In several States schemes have been adopted which will make it possible for a large number of settlers to make a comfortable living from comparatively small blocks. The Governments supply the land and the water, and give sound advice to the settlers concerning the form of cultivation most suitable, and also assists them in other ways. Under these schemes there should be room for many ex-soldiers, if properly selected. Fruit and vegetable gardening, dairying, fodder production, and mixed farming on a small scale may be carried on successfully.

At a conference held recently in Melbourne, the State authorities agreed to provide the land necessary in connection with the resettlement of six soldiers, and the Commonwealth Government had undertaken to find the capital required.—H. K. in the *Colonizer*.

INDIAN LAND SETTLEMENT IN FIJI.

A step in the right direction is now being taken by the Fiji Government to settle Indians on lands acquired by a Trust and invested in the Crown. This aspect of emigration is quite in consonance with the famous despatch of Lord Salisbury in 1875. We welcome this change in the attitude of this Government, which, we hope, will soon be followed by others.

An interesting paper was laid on the table at the last meeting of the Legislative Council, Suva, dealing with the question of Indian Land Settlement, under terms involving a loan of £100,000 from the C. S. R. Company to the Government.

The following is a letter, dated May 21, 1915, from Mr. T. Hughes, representing the C. S. R. Company, to the Secretary of State.

London, May 21, 1915.

Sir,—As arranged during my interview with Lord Islington yesterday, I now have the honour to place upon record that my Company is prepared to assist the Government of Fiji in meeting the demand for land by

Indians who have completed their service under indenture, by providing up to £100,000 for the establishment of Indian settlements in the districts adjacent to our mills in that Colony.

The money would be available in sums as required for providing suitable areas for the intended purpose. We would be prepared either (1) to acquire freeholds at reasonable rates based on the actual present values of the individual blocks, or (2) to accept long leases. In each case, solely for individual occupancy by Indian settlers and without any stipulation as to the crops to be grown. We should be satisfied to limit the rents as follows:—For land of which the freehold has been transferred to us, 5 per cent. of its cost and of the cost of the improvements such as sub-division by roads also clearing and draining if required; for leased land, the rental we pay, plus allowance to recoup the cost of improvements effected.

Alternatively we will provide, upon a 4 per cent. basis, sums up to £100,000 in all, during, say, the next three to five years, for an "Indian Settlement Trust" upon which the Government and my Company are represented.

At this stage I merely indicate as above the broad lines of my Company's proposal without attempting to fill in any of the necessary details; but, the end in view being the *bona fide* settlements of Indians, it is desirable to eliminate the possibility of land speculation by them.

I would add that our only object in making this offer is to assist the Government in meeting the Indian demand for land in Fiji which, in our opinion, if not satisfied will have grave consequences upon the welfare of that Colony in which we already have so large a stake.

Following are extracts from the acting Governor's letter on the subject, dated September 7, 1915.

The proposals are the outcome of the report to the Government of India by Mr. James McNeil and Mr. Chiman Lal. In this connection I beg to invite attention to pages 261-625 of Part II of the report. It will be observed that the report criticises very adversely the position owing to the absence of facilities offered to Indian immigrants to obtain land in Fiji. You are aware, from despatches on the land question, that these criticisms are justified and it is hoped that the change in the existing system that has been authorised, which is aimed at avoiding direct negotiations between the non-native would-be lessee and the native owner and by which endeavours are being made to induce the Fijians to hand over their surplus lands to the Government to be leased on their behalf, may result in better provision being made for requirements of East Indians. I am not, however, sufficiently sanguine of the results of the new Native Land Regulations to justify me in recommending that no further action is necessary in regard to

the land requirements of Indians. It seems clear that the needs of the immigrants and the pressure which, if Indian immigration to Fiji is to be allowed to continue, the Indian Government would be prepared to exert to ensure that those needs are adequately and immediately provided for, necessitate other steps being taken without delay to provide for these needs.

The Company are prepared, if granted certain facilities, to endeavour to undertake to provide land suitable for Indian settlements.

The following are extracts from a despatch by the acting Governor on the proposal.

The proposals made by the Colonial Sugar Refining Company were submitted for consideration and report to a Committee consisting of the acting Colonial Secretary, the acting Receiver-General, the Commissioner of Lands, and the Agent-General of Immigration. I enclose for your information and consideration a copy of their report. I concur generally in the views of the Committee, and if you are prepared to approve the principle of lands being obtained for the purpose indicated and concur in the suggestions of the Committee, I will submit the matter for the consideration of the Legislative Council.

I may add that the Government has from time to time, especially during the administration of Sir George O'Brien, acquired some areas for Indian settlements which have proved in most cases useful and remunerative. There are now neither Indian settlement lands nor Crown lands available and suitable for the extension of this system.

The Executive Council, before whom I placed the Committee's report, has advised unanimously that the scheme for general settlement of East Indians on the land should be one under Government control, whether the land required is acquired by purchase or on leasehold.

Following are extracts from the Committee's report:—

Your Excellency caused the Committee to be informed that at an interview accorded him by you yesterday, Mr. Hughes stated that if the Government accepted the offer of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company to advance sums up to £100,000 for the purpose of an "Indian Settlement Trust," the condition referred to in his letter as to the settlements being in the district adjacent to the Company's mills could be considered as withdrawn, thus leaving the Trust free to acquire lands in any district, but subject to an understanding that the principle of "the settlements following the Indians and not the Indians following the settlements" would be adopted by the Trust.

The Committee is strongly of the opinion that for many reasons which they need not state, there is urgent

necessity for the establishment of Indian settlements. They consider, however, that the proposals of the Company that they might be allowed themselves to acquire either freehold land or land on long lease would be much less advantageous from every point of view than the establishment of settlements under the proposed Trust. The Company's offer to advance funds for the purpose at so low a rate of interest as 4 per cent. under the conditions referred to, is one which, in the opinion of the Committee, should be accepted.

The Committee recommended that an Indian Settlement Trust should be established by law, Trustees, say, five in number, four of whom should be appointed by the Governor and one nominated by the Colonial Sugar Refining Company being appointed to carry out the provisions of the law.

The Trust might be authorised to borrow such sums, not exceeding in the aggregate £1,000,000, as may be required for the purposes—

(a) of acquiring freehold lands in such localities as the Trust deem fit ;

(b) for surveying, marking, draining and improving and improving lands so as to render them fit for occupation by East Indians.

Lands acquired by the Trust should be invested in the Crown, but the management and control of the lands should be vested in the trustees so long as the Trust exists.

The Secretary of State wrote on December 4, on the subject. Following are extracts.

As it is very desirable that the scheme should be carried out, if possible, with the willing consent of the natives, I am prepared to approve your suggestion that a proportion, say one half of the purchase money should be paid to the native owners, to be used by them for such purposes as may be approved by the Governor, such as the rebuilding of their houses and churches, the provision of water supplies or boats, or for any similar object of a partially permanent nature.

In the last resort it may be found necessary in some cases to acquire the land compulsorily and I am advised that this can be effected under the provisions of Ordinance 16 of 1906. It will not therefore be necessary to make any special provision for compulsory powers in the Ordinance providing for the establishment of the Trust.

The Ordinance should contain a clause providing that all expenditure by the Trust on the acquisition of land should be subject to the approval of the Governor.

GUIDE TO CHINA.

There are three main routes leading to China from Europe and America, namely the Siberian Route, the Suez Route, and the North American Route. Most travellers coming by the Siberian, or Europe-Asia Transcontinental Route would make Fengtien (Mukden) their gate of entry into China, whence they will be carried by the Peking-Mukden Line to Tientsin or Peking, and further on by other lines to Hankow, Chingtao, or Nanking; or else they may either take steamer from Dairen direct to Shanghai, or cross over to Japan via Vladivostok or via Chosen before visiting China.

On the other hand, travellers coming by either the Suez Route or the North American Route will land either at Hongkong or Shanghai. Shanghai is connected by rail with Nanking, which in turn is connected by ferry with the Tientsin-Pukow Railway, as well as with Soo-chow, and Hang-chow and by steamer with all the Yangtze ports, including Hankow, which is the terminus of the Peking-Hankow Railway. Hongkong is connected with Canton both by rail and steamer, as well as with Swatow, Amoy, and Foo-chow by steamer.

Outline of Route to China. (1) *Siberian Route.* There is a through-ticket arrangement between London, Paris, Berlin, and other chief cities of Europe, and Tientsin, Peking, Hankow, Nanking, Shanghai, and other chief cities of China, three Express Trains weekly being operated from each end, and the time required in transit between Western Europe and Eastern Asia being 13 to 14 days. The cost of travel by the through-ticket arrangement (including railway and steamer fares, sleeping berth charges, meals, and other necessary incidentals) between London and Shanghai may be roughly estimated as 1st class £57 17s. 6d., 2nd class £40 6s. 7d.

(2) *Suez Route.* Four large steamship lines carry on stated services between Europe and Asia, namely Messageries Maritimes (French), Nippon Yusen Kwaisha (Japanese), Norddeutscher Lloyd (German), and Peninsular and Oriental S. N. Co. (British). All the steamers of these lines call as a rule at Hongkong and Shanghai. The whole course by ship between London and Shanghai takes 38-40 days. The time of transit between London (or other cities in N. Europe) and Shanghai may be lessened by about a week by taking the Express across the Continent to Marseilles, Genoa, Naples, or Brindisi, though entailing an additional expense.

(3) *North American Route.* This route from Europe to Asia is effected by the Atlantic Lines of Steamers, the North American Overland Routes, and the Pacific Steamship Lines. The time of transit and the expense of travel depend altogether on the choice of the lines,

and it is impossible to give a uniform statement regarding these items for the route as a whole. Although, however, there are different lines open to the choice of tourists, that *via* New York is probably the one most frequented, and the journey from London to Shanghai *via* this route, may be estimated as taking 32-40 days (London to the W. coast of N. America, 12 days), costing 1st class £71 10s.; 2nd class £39, (including steamer and railway fares, together with the cost of sleeping-berth and meals), while by the Canadian Route the expense is slightly less. If Japanese steamers are taken on the Pacific the cost will be considerably less—e.g. from London to Shanghai 1st class £58, 2nd class £40.

Passports and Customs. *Passports* are necessary for travel in the interior of China, away from the treaty ports. These passports, called *Hu-chao*, issued by the consuls of the different nations and endorsed by Chinese local magistrates, entitle the bearer during the specified (the maximum term, 18 months) to travel freely in the provinces mentioned, either for the purposes of trade or pleasure, and to purchase provisions, etc., required for the journey, as well as to hire conveyances, couriers, or beasts of burden.

Customs. There are three kinds of custom-houses—the *Haikuan* ('Maritime Customs') or *Hsin-kuan* ('New Custom-Houses'), the *Chiu-kuan* ('Old Custom-Houses'), and the *Li-chin-chu* (or *Li-chin* offices). The three services are each under separate management.

The *Hai-kuan* are controlled by a famous service organized by the late Sir Robert Hart. The service consists of officials of different nationalities, who are presided over by the Inspector-General and Sub-Inspector-General, only the subordinate members being Chinese. The main work of the service consists in the collection of export and import duties, transit duties (*Tzu-kou-pan-shui*), coastwise trade duties, opium *Lichin* duties, and tonnage dues. The Maritime Customs service also has control over the bonded warehouses and other warehouses, lighthouses, and other affairs connected with harbours and water routes. *The Tariff* (Export and Import duties) was fixed at 5 per cent. *ad valorem* by the Treaty of Nanking (1842). But in 1860 by the *Tientsin Treaty* a few exceptions were made, the rate being raised in the case of certain articles, while others were freed altogether. Fire-arms, gunpowder, and salt are prohibited articles. *The Transit Duties* are levied at the Maritime Customs offices in place of the old customs and *Lichin* duties. The transit duties are fixed, according to the *Tientsin Treaty*, at $\frac{1}{2}$ of the import duty in the case of dutiable articles, and at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem* in the case of duty-free articles. By paying the transit duties, imported merchandise destined for the interior is freed from the various exactions of native customs (Old Customs and *Lichin* duties), which often amount in the end to several times the original cost of

those articles. *The Coastwise Trade Duties* are levied, at the same rate as the transit duties already mentioned, on native articles imported through any China port after having been shipped from another China port, (at the latter port, the articles have to pay export duties at the same rate as in the case of export for foreign countries).

The Chiu-kuan, or Old Customs, are traced to very early times, even to the time of Chou Dynasty (1122-225 B.C.). It is clearly on record that in 136 B.C. the famous *Wu-Ti* of the Han dynasty levied taxes on trade. On the founding of the capital at *Chin-ling* (the present Nanking) in 317 A.D., under the Eastern Chin (or *Tung-chin*) Dynasty, custom-houses were established at certain important towns on highways, as the names *Shih-tou-tsin* and *Fang-shan-tsin* (near Nanking) bear witness to this day. Under *Te-tsung* of the Tang Dynasty (780-804), these custom stations were established throughout the Empire. Under the late Ching or Manchu Dynasty, the customs service was controlled by the central authorities at Peking, and the exactions came to consist, besides the regular *ad valorem* duty on merchandise, of various fees, such as the fees for certifying that the goods have been duly taxed and for the examination of the goods, the discount on silver paid for duties, etc., etc.

The Lichin duty is commonly believed to have originated in the time of the Taiping Rebellion,—the Peking Government out of sheer necessity resorting to this new taxation as a war-time measure. Originally the rate was fixed at 1 per cent. *ad valorem*, but nowadays 2 per cent., 3 per cent., even 5 per cent. is levied at certain places; and the taxation, instead of being considered final when once levied, is repeated at different *Lichin stations*, when goods are being carried to long distances. The Old Customs and *Lichin* duties together often mount up in the end to several times the original value of the goods. The goods for which the transit duties have been paid at the port of their importation are, as already pointed out, freed from these vexatious exactions.

Besides the above-mentioned taxes there is another kind of tax called *Lo-li-shui*, a duty levied at the gates of cities, corresponding to the former *octroi* of France. At the Chung-win-men Gate, Peking, there is this *octroi* office (*Shang-shui Ya-men*), which levies a 3 per cent. *ad valorem* duty on goods belonging to foreigners, and 5 per cent. on the personal effects and 10 per cent. on merchandise belonging to Chinese. In Tientsin there is the *Chou-kuan-chu*, which levies the *octroi* on liquor, tobacco and opium. In Shanghai various trade associations have established what is called *Fen-chuan Kung-so*, an office which looks after the payment of *octroi* duties for its members. The rates are not at all uniform throughout China; though goods belonging to foreigners are generally taxed at a lower rate.

Climate; Time of Visit. *Climate.* In speaking about the climate of China Proper, we shall do so under the three headings of North, Middle, and South China. We must remember, however, that there are no definite natural boundaries to mark off these divisions. Roughly speaking it may be said that North China is the basin of the *Huang-ho*, Middle China that of the *Yangtze*, and South China that of the West River. Some writers regard China as being divided into three parts by two mountain ranges—*Pei-ling* ('North Range') and *Nan-ling* ('South Range')—running from the western highlands, adjoining Tibet, toward the E. coast (though these ranges go only half-way). We may say for the sake of convenience that North China extends from the Mongolian and Manchurian frontiers to lat. 35° N.; Middle China from lat. 35° to 24° N., and South China from lat. 24° to 20° N.

In North China, the winter months (November to March) are bitterly cold, the rivers are mostly frozen,—the mercury registering on an average 5° below zero Centigrade (or 28° Fahr.). But the weather is generally bright and unclouded; there is often hot sunshine accompanied by freezing gales (with the coming of the N.E. monsoon)—70° to 80° in the sun and 10° to 20° Fahr. in the shade. On the other hand, the summer is warm (average temperature, 20° C. or 78·8° Fahr.), accompanied by a copious rainfall; certain parts of North China are subject to frequent ravages of floods. The best time to visit North China is in spring and autumn, when the weather is comparatively dry. Middle China is less subject to extremes of temperature than either the N. or the S. During the rainy season, which comes earlier than in the N., that is in April and May, the rivers everywhere become swollen,—many of the river-side towns often being partially submerged for several days. The dry weather comes in February, March, September, and October, which are the most agreeable and healthiest times in the year. South China, through the middle portion of which runs the Tropic of Cancer, is warm, but not so warm as many would infer from its latitude. The rainy season comes in summer, and the winter months are generally dry. There is a great difference in humidity between these two seasons, it often happening that there is ten times as much rain in summer as in winter.

The climate of China is greatly influenced by the prevailing winds. The S.W. monsoon blows from April to October and often with great force in June, July, and August. These summer months are hot and rainy. The water vapour carried by the S.W. monsoon steadily grows less as it goes N., as may be inferred from a diminishing rainfall; thus the average rainfall in Canton is 70 in., in Shanghai 30 in., and in Tientsin 16 in. The N.E. monsoon blows between the middle of October and the following March, being strongest in

December, when the weather is generally dry. The S. coasts are often visited by typhoons, cyclonic storms of great power, which, taking their rise in the China seas, pursue a north-westward course, working tremendous havoc everywhere.

Time of Visit. From the foregoing description of the climate, it will be seen that on the whole the best way to see the whole of China in one visit is to spend the autumn in North China, the late autumn and early winter in Middle China, and late winter and early spring in South China. But the climate of China is nowhere and at no time unbearable, and by taking proper precautions this most interesting land may be visited at all seasons of the year.

Tourist Agencies and Guides. There being no organization in China similar to the Japan Tourist Bureau, the only firms there to give facilities to foreign tourists are Thomas Cook & Son and the international Sleeping Car Co. The former have their offices in Hongkong and Shanghai, also a representative in Peking, while the latter has an office in Shanghai.

Guides or interpreters can be secured either at the above-mentioned tourist agencies or by application to the principal foreign hotels. They speak English fairly well, but owing to the great divergence of dialects among local provinces, they cannot accompany one throughout the whole journey. Their usual fee is Mex. \$ 2·50 per day.

INSPECTION OF EMIGRATION DEPOTS.

AT a meeting of the Madras Legislative Council held on Thursday, 6th April, the following resolution was moved by the Hon'ble Mr. P. Kesava Pillai :—

"That this Council recommends to the Governor-in-Council that Committees of non-official representatives of the Indian community be constituted to inspect emigrants at the depots prior to their embarkation from the different ports in this Presidency."

In doing so, the Hon'ble Member said that his resolution was a very modest one and did not involve any controversy. Indian emigrants suffered considerably in former times, and he was glad to say that the times had changed and better times were in store for the emigrants. There were expressions of sympathy for them from all classes of peoples, officials and non-officials. The recruits were taken from their villages on promise of high wages. The District Magistrates should take special care in those matters. They should

see that men of character were engaged in the recruiting work. Unfortunately there was not much of adherence to that principle. Women were employed to induce women and girls to resort to emigration depots. He was glad to notice that the conditions on which the coolies were recruited were very satisfactory. He wanted to see some sort of organisation made by which the emigrants at the depots were inspected by a Committee of non-official representatives prior to their embarkation in different parts in this Presidency.

The Collector was supposed to make inquiries and find out if the coolies were willing to go away to other parts of the world and to accept the conditions. The coolies seemed to be under the hypnotic influence of Agents and they would readily answer the Collector that they were willing to go. Once the coolies were within the emigration depots, even the parents were not allowed to visit them. Even jails were allowed to be visited by non-officials, but Emigration depots were not. The Agents were getting Rs. 15 per cooly and that was a sufficient inducement to kidnap the people. The *Hindu* quoted from a Malabar paper last night that young Moplah boys were taken and hidden under the berths of railway compartments. That was a very serious state of affairs. Non-officials should be empowered to visit emigration depots and make enquiries. Other measures also should be adopted to prevent abuses. In the light of the debate in the Imperial Legislative Council, this Government should take notice of this question affecting the people. The indentured emigration would be put an end to from what His Excellency Lord Hardinge had told the people of India. His Excellency had also told them he would bring it to the notice of the Secretary of State with a view to the eventual abolition of the indentured emigration system. That seemed to be the beginning of the end. He hoped that high officials would also try to eradicate the evil. Time was propitious for moving this resolution which he hoped would be accepted by Government.

DR. T. M. NAIR.

The Hon'ble Dr. Nair in supporting the resolution said that he did not know if the indentured coolies were the worst treated of all coolies. Even if the indentured system was abolished, they had to look to the proper treatment of coolies taken out from India. He had heard complaints from parents in Malabar that their children had been taken away to Penang and other places without their knowledge. There were many things which they had to look into and put down. Every possible check that could be put on emigration depots ought to be enforced. The remedy suggested by the Hon'ble Mover was only one of the remedies. Apart from the ill-treatment of the coolies they had also to consider the labour question connected with the South Indian Planters, the Agriculturists in Tanjore,

etc. In Tanjore in certain seasons of the year they found it impossible to get coolies. Owing to unfair competition, the interests of the people in this Presidency suffered. In a large number of cases the conditions of coolies taken out of the country were worse. The least the Government could do was to accept the resolution. If they wanted to work the system better, proper class of non-officials ought willingly to come forward and sacrifice their leisure in making inquiries regarding emigration of the coolies. If not, the remedy would be worse than the disease; for the cooly recruiter had got a considerable capital and non-officials deputed to the task should be above the temptations of the cooly recruiter.

MR. A. G. CARDEW.

The Hon'ble Mr. Cardew said that his individual opinion was that in free emigration the majority of the abuses would be found to occur. In the protected emigration which at present was carried out under indentured system precautions against abuses were very considerable. He saw a sensational article in a newspaper which concluded with the words that "here is a living Belgium in our midst." He at once thought that something ought to be done to render such statements impossible in future. He thought of appointing a non-official visitor to the depot. He was very glad to state that though he could not accept the particular resolution, the Government were prepared to go a long way in the direction indicated by the resolution. He did not believe that any of the extraordinary abuses existed in the depot which newspaper writers depicted, in such harrowing terms. Mr. Doorley was in charge of the depot and he was a very sincere and conscientious officer and he would allow no cajolery and humbug to be practised on coolies unwilling to go to the Colonies. He, the speaker, was very anxious to arrange that non-official gentlemen of respectable position and of repute like the late Dewan Bahadur Adinarayanayya should have opportunities to visit the depots and inspect all places and satisfy themselves that no force, pressure or cajolery was used. He, the speaker, placed himself in communication with Mr. Doorley and he said he had no objection. The abuses did not occur in connection with the protected emigration. The non-official visitor would be able to see whether the depots were crowded, whether the drainage, water supply, food and clothing arrangements were good, whether the males were separated from females, etc. The visitor would be able to get any information from the emigration agent. Persuading coolies not to emigrate would not be practicable. That would meet the wishes of the Hon'ble Mover. But he could not accept the resolution.

MR. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri said that if Government's difficulty was that they had no power to interfere, it would be easy to provide that by extending the Emigration Act to bring free emigration also under some control. He suggested an amendment that after the words "Governor-in-Council" the words "that all emigration outside the Presidency be brought under Government control" be inserted. He was not prepared to accept the view that the control of the Protector of Emigrants either on this side of the water or on the other side was effective. That institution, he thought, must be pronounced to have broken down. The Protectors did not know the vernacular; they were not brought in first-hand contact with the emigrants; nor did they converse freely with them to find out the conditions under which they emigrated. The Hon'ble Mr. Cardew said that the Committee members should not do anything to dissuade the people from the emigration. He did not think that under that condition any people would like to be appointed in that Committee. The business of the Committee should be to see that there was no fraud in the way in which they were taken. He protested against that condition. The people from abroad had full power under our Act to talk to the people and make to them all sorts of representations; but they of this country were to have no power to talk to them as freely as possible and prevent their exodus if necessary against the interests of the employer of labour and planter outside India. He differed from Sir Francis Spring and said that after examining the matter for a series of years they found that the emigrants were the subject of attacks from the fevers of foreign soil and did not get enough recompense for the troubles and hardships that they were called upon to undertake. It was therefore with a view to protect the labourer that they brought in the resolution. If Government said they would not allow such a thing, he did not see how the impression could be resisted that they were doing so, somewhat to the prejudice of the employer of labour here and the planter in India.

MR. A. G. CARDEW.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. G. Cardew said that the definition of the Emigration Act, 1908, only covered agreements for labour hire to countries beyond the limits of India other than Ceylon and Straits Settlements. The immigration to Ceylon and the Strait Settlements was entirely outside the Act. It required legislation to bring that emigration under control. Consequently the amendment as it was framed could not be accepted. The emigration to Straits Settlements was at one time under control under the old Act twenty years ago; under negotiations carried out by the then Government with the Straits Settlements, it was removed from control. Every instance of abuses referred to by the

Hon'ble Members referred to coolies going to Straits Settlements or some free area. Regarding those free areas Government could not bind themselves to accept the resolution even in the amended form, because it required actual amendment of the Act and negotiations had to be carried on by the Government of India with the authorities of the Straits Settlements that free emigration should be brought under control. In any case this Government had to consult the Government of India. This Government could only deal with indentured emigration. He was anxious to remove the abuses, if any, that existed in the indentured emigration depots and to give an opportunity to a non-official to visit the depots and satisfy himself that there were not abuses and to discover abuses and to bring them to light. Government could not allow non-officials to enable coolies to break their contract, and go back to their homes. All that the Government could see was to see that emigration was carried on without abuses. Government had not got the power to appoint a committee and say to them to go into the depots. Sir Francis Spring had pointed out that it was hardly a practical scheme to allow a procedure of that sort. The question of indentured labour had already been brought under review by the Government of India. In the depot of Trichinopoly, Government had appointed a non-official gentleman to visit it. It would not be wise for the Council to attempt further.

H. E. THE PRESIDENT.

H. E. the Governor before putting the resolution to vote made a short speech in the course of which he said that the Hon'ble Mr. Cardew pointed out that Government had no right to enter the emigration depots and the Hon'ble Dr. Nair pointed out they could enter the depots under the guise of sanitary inspection. That course suggested by Dr. Nair was not open to Government. There was no difference between the Government and the Hon'ble Members in their attitude. Rightly or wrongly Government were of opinion that they could only act in regard to indentured labour in the respect suggested by the resolution. The Viceroy had published to the whole world that the indentured system was to come to an end and that in the transition period it required careful adjustment. Government of Madras was bound to co-operate in carrying out that decision. Whether this resolution was carried or not, Government would consult the authorities and apply the system of non-official visitors to the emigration depot in Madras also. Government had already secured their assent. The proposal was to appoint a committee without the assent of the Colonial authorities. He would prefer to work with those authorities and carry them with the Government as far as possible. The essence of what the Hon'ble Mover wanted had already been conceded to him by the action of the Government.

MR. KESAVA PILLAI.

The Hon'ble Mr. Kesava Pillai speaking on the original resolution said that under the Act the Hon'ble Mr. Cardew seemed to think that the houses of emigration agents were private and none have a right to enter and that Government had no control over unindentured people. That Colonies should have that power in India and have such control over the body and person of the coolies and that Government had no power to interfere, was rather a depressing feature. A large number of coolies going to Straits Settlements died of fever. Madras Government should address the Government of India to bring emigration under control. The Hon'ble Sir Francis Spring speaking of coolies going to other countries to better their prospects and returning to India well off would do well to read the report of the discussion on the subject in the Imperial Legislative Council. Then he would know how they returned to India morally broken, how many murders and suicides were taking place among the coolies taken to those countries. That being so the non-official visitors or anybody else should tell the coolies in the depot the conditions prevailing in the countries to which they were about to embark. If non-official visitors could go to the depots only in company with the agent and could not make any independent enquiry, the object was frustrated. He did not know what difficulty the Hon'ble Mr. Cardew felt in accepting the resolution.

MR. A. G. CARDEW.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. G. Cardew in reply said that a certain understanding had been arrived at with the representatives of the Colonial Government. That was defined in the correspondence. The terms of the arrangement were read out to the Council. He could not undertake at present to go back on that arrangement if the arrangement be tried and if it worked satisfactorily they might go a step further. He could not at present accept the resolution which went beyond the arrangements made with the representative of the Colonial authority. He would advise the Hon'ble Mover to accept the arrangement and see how it worked.

The resolution was lost, 18 voting for and 21 against.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

1. *The Inequalities of Human Race*, by Mr. Arthur De Gobineau; published by Mr. William Heinemann, London, price 5s. net.
2. (a) *The Great War of Ancient India*, price Rs. 1-8.
(b) *Legends of Vikramaditya*, price Rs. 2-8.
(c) *The Barbarians of Ancient India*, by Thakur Rajendra Singh Biswan, price Rs. 1-8.
3. *The India Office List, 1916*, published by Harrison & Sons, London, price 12s. 6d.

A review of the above books will appear in our next number.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Indians in Transvaal.

Immigration Act Case.

Johannesburg, Feb. 16 (Special).—The Magistrate (Mr. Hadfield), sitting as a special Magistrate, under the Asiatic Immigration Act, to-day heard an appeal by an Indian against the refusal of the Registrar of Asiatics to accept a permit.

Appellant claimed the right under the permit to reside in the Transvaal. In giving evidence, he said that in 1902 or 1903 he came to the Transvaal. In 1903 he received a permit, after his entry. He had had no permit to enter the Transvaal. In 1904 he went to England, and returned to South Africa on his permit. He went to England in 1906, and returned. In 1907 he went to India, and in 1915 he came back to the Transvaal.

Mr. Cousins, Registrar of Asiatics, said that if his interpretation of the Act was correct he was right in refusing to accept the permit. He had no record at present in regard to the Asiatic Immigration Act beyond the records which had been given in the Court. His interpretation would or would not be in accordance with the interpretation of his predecessor. The Registrar of Asiatics found himself an officer appointed to administer the Act, and given what the Supreme Court itself had termed "*quasi judicial duties*." In that capacity he had to protect this country against the entry of persons not authorised to enter in the strict terms of the law. He had to call upon applicants to produce sufficient and full proof of their claims to enter the country. The present applicant had failed to produce that proof, and in terms of the Act he, as Registrar, had had to refuse the application.

Mr. Cousins went on to maintain that the applicant had entered the Transvaal unlawfully. Applicant appeared before the officer and made a declaration of residence in the Transvaal prior to the war, and based on that declaration the permit was issued to him. If he made that declaration he made it in flat contradiction of his present application. He made a false declaration, and he obtained his permit under the ordinance by a false representation to the officer. He had no authority to enter the Transvaal Province. It was not a question of possessing a permit. It was a question of authority to enter the Province. He had no authority to enter the Province of the Transvaal by virtue of the permit in question.

Mr. Jordan (for the appellant) said that the Registrar did not challenge the finger impressions of the permit. The Registrar, he contended, had no right to go against such permits unless he could prove that they had been

obtained fraudulently. All applicant's papers were in order. There was nothing to show that he had obtained his permit by fraud. Unless the Registrar could prove that permits were fraudulently obtained he had no *locus standi*.

Mr. Hadfield remarked that he thought a great deal could be said on both sides. He would reserve judgment.

Mr. Jordan:—There are other cases dependent upon this. Another man is likely to be deported on the same point.—*Natal Mercury*.

Liquor Traffic in Fiji.

A deputation waited on His Excellency the acting Governor of Fiji at Government House on the morning of March 8, in connection with the liquor traffic amongst the Indians.

The deputation was introduced by the Rev. F. L. Nunn, of Rewa, and included Dr. Manilal and a number of prominent Indian residents of Rewa and Suva.

Dr. Manilal presented the following petition to His Excellency:—

(1) That at a representative meeting of Indians held at Nausori, on the 26th ultimo, the following resolution was unanimously passed:—

"In view of the growing use of intoxicating liquor amongst the various races and classes of people in Fiji, this meeting of representative Indian and others residents of Nausori, petitions the Government to induce legislative measures to bring the Colony into line with other parts of the Empire and thus emulating the example of His Majesty the King and the highest officers of the Army in coping with the liquor traffic in Fiji. The present system of partial prohibition has failed and we consider that only the total prohibition of buying and selling intoxicating liquor applicable alike to all races and classes throughout the Colony is the only system that will give satisfaction."

(2) That considering the seriousness of the war your petitioners humbly hope and trust that the Government of Fiji will see its way to carry out the reform indicated in the above resolution, for which act of righteousness your petitioners will ever pray for your long life and prosperity.

His Excellency made a few remarks on the petition which were translated by Dr. Manilal. He approved of the spirit of the petition and the resolution. He knew that if such legislation as asked for were passed, it would benefit all the population in this Colony, but there were vested interests which had to be considered. Much money had been invested, and people were likely to suffer if such legislation were passed, and any proposals to that effect would meet with a great deal of opposition. Therefore, he could not hold out any hopes;

he had not given the subject any thought before that morning; but he would give it every consideration. At the same time he mentioned that he was not aware of any law for total prohibition in any part of the British Empire; the hours for selling liquor had been restricted.

His Excellency remarked that the present legislation prohibited liquor to Indians and others, and if the petitioners were sincere in their endeavours, they would help the police to put down the illicit traffic.

His Excellency finally promised to give the petition consideration.

Agricultural Colonies for Discharged Soldiers.

Mr. T. Keshavlal L. OZA, M.A., writes the following to the *Indo-Prakash*:—

The problem of finding useful employment for our discharged soldiers is of so immense reach and significance that the British Government has done well to devise a scheme whereby the veterans on their discharge will be allowed a gratuitous entry into a co-operative colony, or at least an independent freehold upon the allotment system. France had tried this experiment in 1845 and Captain Kennedy bears witness to the splendid success of the military agricultural colony at Algeria. In his interesting book entitled "Algeria and Tunis in 1845," he mentions how a detachment of soldiers cultivated a large tract of land, bred cattle, and supplied seeds and trees. Agricultural implements were manufactured in workshops attached to the farm, and the whole establishment presented the appearance of a united self-supporting colony. Nor was this in any way extraordinary. The military service is well adopted in many of its elements for the adoption of an association for industrial organisation. The barrack is already a military communitive building. The mess of a regiment is a common meal, very little differing from that instituted by that most military of law-givers, Lycurgus. Even the discipline which has been organised for destruction would be highly serviceable for production (since the soldiery will produce its own food and will thus ease off economic pressure to some extent). The soldier knows also the power of united number, of simultaneous exertion, of co-operative efforts. Thus perhaps will be realised Mill's prophecy concerning the future of co-operation:—

"Eventually, and perhaps in a less remote future than may be supposed, we may through the co-operative principle, see our way to a change in society, which would combine the freedom and independence of the individual with the moral, intellectual, and economical advantages of aggregate production; and which without violence or spoliation, or even any sudden disturbance of existing habits and expectations, would realise the best aspirations of the democratic spirit by putting

an end to the division of society into the industrious and the idle, and effacing all social distinctions but those fairly earned by personal services and exertions."

It is well-known that a large complement of our countrymen are fighting the battles of the British Empire with unexampled gallantry. And it behoves the Government to reward their services by allowing the free use of land, over a hundred millions of which await the plough. The discharged soldiers will convert waste lands into rice-fields or grow cotton, etc., upon them. Our agricultural graduates will be forthcoming to initiate them into the secrets of scientific farming. The soldiers would learn to use dung, night-soil, and various forms of rubbish as fertilisers; to improve wheat by crossing, and cereals by selection; to use clean seed, i.e., the seed possessing a high degree of purity and germinating power, to improve the implements of tillage; to treat plant and animal diseases by means of biological appliances and technique, etc., etc.

Allied to each other by the ties of associated possession and co-operative effort, they would achieve a success similar to that of the Staker, Rappite and Zoarite Communities of North America.

Dr. Sunder Singh on Tagore

In the Central Technical Auditorium last night Dr. Sunder Singh gave an excellent address on Rabindranath Tagore, the Hindu poet, to an appreciative audience of nearly 1,000 people.

The doctor traced the development of this great teacher's powers and work, which culminated, after much domestic and personal suffering, in a realization of the meaning and purpose of life. He showed what Tagore's message was to the whole world, and particularly to the materialistic west. The poet shows that love alone will redeem the world and that there is but one Divine Spirit in all humanity, and by removing the barriers of prejudice and ignorance only can that Divinity shine forth and the brotherhood of humanity become a reality.

Sir Edmund Walker ably presided at the meeting, and, appealing for a generous contribution in aid of the Bengal Ambulance Corps, pointed out how loyally the people of India had responded to the call of Britain; how they had felt it their duty to defend the weaker States, and that this ambulance corps had become one of the great volunteer works of India. The shedding of India's blood on the battle fields of Europe, in company with Canadians and other heroes from the Dominions, would insure a spirit of comradeship and help us all to feel that we are really one in spirit.

Mrs. John W. Gavin, with Miss Alice Trotter at the piano, rendered a number of Tagore songs, which were greatly appreciated by the audience:—*The Globe* Toronto, February, 5.

Union of hearts with India.

It is our duty as Canadians, our duty as citizens of the British Empire, to show that difference does not mean hostility—that people of all races and religions can work together for common ends. No man can be a good citizen, either of Canada or of the British Empire, unless he is a cosmopolitan, because within the British Empire there are almost as many races and religions as there are in the world . . .

So with the British Empire. Make it a real union of hearts. We perhaps do not need this advice in regard to the relations between Canada and the United Kingdom. But how little we in Canada know about Australia and New Zealand. Still less do we know about India. And, after all, what would all this controversy about despotism and democracy matter, if we had a real union of hearts with India? How secure we should all feel if we knew that our British union, our alliance with France and Russia, Belgium and Siberia, Italy and Japan, were based, not upon policy, but upon the human affection that binds man to man.—*Toronto Daily Star*.

Rights of small nations.

Mr. Rowell, leader of the Opposition in Ontario, recently spoke as follows:—I am sure that we must all feel that India, by her devotion and sacrifice in this War, has earned her right to appeal for a place in the Imperial Conference representing the free nations of the Empire, and while one must not prejudge the action which the Conference will take, one instinctively feels that all the free nations of the Empire will be prepared to lend a sympathetic ear to India's appeal.

The Imperial Conference has a right to speak for the whole Empire, and from it we could have a united statement and an appeal to which all the nations of the Empire would cheerfully respond. Do we realize how such an act would stir the imagination and quicken the devotion of the more than 300,000,000 of people in India, representing about 75 per cent. of the total population of the Empire? What a response it would insure against any German or Turkish advances; what a symbol it would be of the Empire's unity; what a demonstration of our solidarity; what a convincing proof of the determination of the free peoples who have enjoyed liberty and self-government to preserve these rights and to help the smaller nations of the world to preserve theirs.—*Canada and India*.

Indian Immigration—A Solution.

We come here upon one of the most troublesome imperial problems, but the swift moving history of these days is going to thrust it upon us whether we will or no, and we cannot turn it aside as we have done in the past. Indian immigration has given the Empire trouble in Africa, in Australia and in Canada. But in no one of these parts of the Empire has the problems which it presents been solved. Certainly it has not been solved in Canada, and the present situation was an impossible one even if there had been no War. But the War has not only made it more impossible, but as well most urgent, and its solution in the interests of the whole Empire is now due.

Of course, this problem is as difficult as it is troublesome, and its solution will demand patience and wisdom and fine statesmanship. But with these qualities there must be a way out. Certainly the use of Indian troops in nearly all centres of the present struggle as brothers in arms and citizens of the Empire will mean that we cannot, without very good and satisfying reasons, shut the Indian immigrant out from certain parts of the Empire where he would specially like to go and where he would seem to fit in and serve a need.....

The man who thinks with pride of British traditions and who believes that Britain has tempered justice with mercy in her dealing with subject peoples all through her history can look upon the spectacle which India presents to-day with considerable satisfaction. And the outlook for the future in India's history is bright and hopeful. The thing that British statesmen must learn for the future is, not so much to give greater freedom to the masses of India, for it would seem as if they had up to the present about all the freedom and opportunity they could profitably use, but to give to India's educated sons the opportunity to direct and guide her development according to their own plans and ideals. And we believe they will learn that.—*Christian Guardian, Toronto.*

The Indian (Ceylon) War Fund Committee.

We have received from Mr. S. P. Charles, the Honorary Secretary of the Indian (Ceylon) War Fund Committee, Avisawella; the twenty-sixth list of subscriptions of the above Fund, with a request to publish the same in our journal which is as follows :—

XXVI.—SUBSCRIPTION LIST.

	Rs.	Cts.
Collected from Labour Force, Nichola Oya, Rattota per Mr. C. A. Evans ...	111	75
Collected from Labour Force, Ganga-watte and Bitterne, Maskeliya per Mr. E. R. Cave Browne ...	27	50
Collected from Labour Force, Theydon Bois, Nawalapitiya per Mr. A. D. Dholakia ...	57	00

Collected from Labour Force, Sundringham and Yarravale, Agrapatnas per Mr. P. Byrde ...	196	20
Messrs. Costa and Sons, Merchants, Matale ...	10	00
Messrs. Paul Soris and Co., Badulla ...	5	00
Total ...	407	45
Amount previously acknowledged ...	15,586	51
Grand Total ...	15,993	96

Evidently the collections are largely from the Labour Force in the Plantations of Ceylon. It is but meet that they who form the bulk of Ceylon should have a representation in the Legislature of Ceylon.

Interesting Immigrants.

On board the Japanese steamer *Kwanto Maru*, which arrived in Melbourne recently from Talcahuano, Chili, were 220 Patagonian immigrants, whose ultimate destination is the Northern Territory. The people are under contract to the Commonwealth Government, and are made up of various nationalities, the numbers being :—British, 28; Spaniards, 113; Russian, 45; Italian, 30; Argentino, 1; French, 1; Servian, 1; and Greek, 1. All of the British immigrants are of Welsh descent and comprise three families, the names being Davies, Williams and Brunt. The Davies family is made up of Mr. J. R. Davies, his three sons and their wives and children. The grandfather is the only one who can speak English, his descendants being able to converse only in Welsh and Spanish, the latter being the language of Patagonia. The reason of their coming to Australia is peculiar. Emigrating to Patagonia many years ago, Mr. Davies took up land in a portion of the country 800 miles from the nearest town. There he farmed and raised stock successfully, but could not find a market. The family lived a lonely, self-contained life. From their land and their stock they obtained plenty of food, but it was found impossible to secure the ordinary comforts of civilisation. They received no money, for there was no one to whom they could sell their produce. Even the clothes had to be made by the womenfolk from homespun yarn.

As the years went on and there was no prospect of matters improving, the family began to think of making a change. When the chance came of moving to Australia, it was eagerly seized upon, and arrangements were made to depart. A long journey brought the family to the seaboard at a place called Port Matrin, from which a voyage of twelve days in a small Chilean vessel landed them at Talcahuano, in Chili, where they embarked on the *Kwanto Maru*.

All the settlers are of a happy, cheerful disposition, and are possessed of inordinately large families—which should make them particularly welcome in the unpeopled north.—*British Emigrant*.

The Women of the East.

Miss Mullen of Bombay, was the guest of honor at a tea given by the Political Equality League of Canada at the headquarters of the United Suffragists. Mrs. J. H. Kennedy presided over the tea things, and the many present enjoyed the fascinating address given by Miss Mullen on the life of the Women of India. It came as a revelation to many when the speaker told of the emancipation that has come to the women of the East, who can now occupy positions outside the home, and have a system of co-education. Women of every caste, even the ladies of the Purdah, attend the circus and revel in bargain days, and many Hindu widows are now marrying again.

The Ebb and Flow of India's Surplus Population.

The *Tropical Life*, London, writes the following in its March number :—

The *Indian Daily News*, like ourselves, attaches great importance to the enormous profits that a carefully organized ebb and flow of emigrants (commercial as well as agricultural, men of brains as well as men of brawn) can bring to the Mother Country of the wanderers. "We reprint elsewhere from *Tropical Life*," wrote our Calcutta contemporary in their issue of January 12th, "an article on 'Japanese Emigration to Brazil,' which shows how the Japanese manage their emigration as a business. It will be noticed that the minimum period (18 months) is much shorter than the British periods. The Japanese Government considers emigration a thing to be encouraged, as it ultimately means returned colonists with money and capital. Italy has profited enormously from her emigration, and, in fact, modern Italy owes its recent great prosperity to capital returning from Argentina. The whole Indian system is antiquated and behind the times, and is a sort of prehistoric peep business."

The above has more than one point on which the *Indian Daily News* and *Tropical Life* cordially agree, as will be remembered by those who have studied our various articles on the need of organizing a system whereby the surplus population of one portion of the Empire can more easily be distributed and spread out among those centres needing additional labour supplies than is the case at present. We hope, therefore, that those who have been fighting to keep up the flow of labourers from India to other producing centres will preserve in their efforts, now that they know what at least a portion of the Press has told them concerning the importance that it is to India for the stream to be kept running. The *Indian Emigrant*, of Madras, has, of course, a good deal to say on the matter, as in its January issue, when it concludes an article with the following words : "What India most desires is not political independence, but economic freedom to move

about the Empire in search of fresh fields and pastures new without let or hindrance."

The following are the suggestions and recommendations made by the Commission appointed to enquire into the conditions of Immigrant Tamil labourers in the Province of Sabaragamuva, Ceylon :—

- (i) The improvement of the qualifications of estate dispensers (paragraph 36).
- (ii) The increase of the medical staff at the Government hospitals at Balangoda, Ratnapura and Kegalla (paragraph 37).
- (iii) The introduction of a system of daily reports by the dispenser regarding all cases of sickness among estate labourers (paragraph 38).
- (iv) The compulsory use of wheeled or hand stretchers in place of the cumbly and poles now generally used for conveying sick coolies to the Government hospitals (paragraph 39).
- (v) The registration of the issues of "sick" (paragraph 40).
- (vi) The employment of trained midwives on estates (paragraph 41).
- (vii) The improvement of the sanitary condition of lines by more regular inspection and by the proper disposal of rubbish (paragraphs 43-45).
- (viii) The discontinuance of the illegal practice of the employment of Sinhalese watchers to arrest estate coolies suspected to be absconding (paragraph 53).
- (ix) The explanation to the cooly newly arrived from India of the terms of service, nature of work, rates of pay, &c., at the time of registration, and the more general use of Form B (Appendix K) by recruiters, the object of this procedure being to reduce to a minimum the practice of recruiting on false pretences (paragraphs 57-59).
- (x) The immediate repatriation at the expense of the estate of all coolies proved to have been recruited on false pretences (paragraph 60).
- (xi) The amendment of the law relating to the issue of court certificates (section 26 of Ordinance No. 13 of 1889) by requiring the court to give notice to the superintendent of an estate which a cooly alleges he quitted for a particular reason, and by specially enacting that in no case shall the court certificate be issued to the labourer (paragraph 82).
- (xii) The amendment of the definition of "labourer" in Ordinance No. 13 of 1889 in order to exclude the employment of coolies on affidavits (paragraph 83).
- (xiii) The amendment of the form in Schedule B, referred to in section 16 of Ordinance No. 13 of 1889, by the addition of the words "inclusive of deaths occurring in the Government hospitals" to Part III of the form (paragraph 11).

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

TOPOGRAPHY.

An Official Guide to Eastern Asia : (China, Vol. IV)

Prepared by the Imperial Japanese Government Railways, Tokyo, Japan.

This is the fourth volume of the series of guides to Eastern Asia compiled by the authorities of the Imperial Japanese Government Railways, and deals with China, Manchuria and Chosen, South-Western Japan, North-Eastern Japan having been respectively treated in the first three volumes. These compilations are evidently intended for the guidance of Westerners, or most of the information, if we may judge from the volume under review, regarding routes, etc., is of direct use to that class of people. The routes marked are those between Europe and Asia. But the volume is not without use for others too, if once they get to China. There are separate chapters on the communication facilities obtainable in the country, the post, telegraph and telephone services, descriptions of the land and its people, the political system of the country, a historical sketch of the various dynasties that held sway in China, the sociological features of the mass of Chinese, their religion and education, literature and language, trade and industry, and a history of Chinese Art. Thus the guide is more than a guide as we understand the term: it is a sort of encyclopædia of things Chinese. We give elsewhere a few excerpts from the Chapter on "Preparatory Information," which may be found useful by English readers. No pains have been spared to make the guide as complete as possible, maps are inserted wherever found necessary to elucidate the text. The publishers, in the preface, hope that "it will meet the demands of travellers who are yearly attracted to China in ever-increasing numbers." In this we quite agree. The index and vocabulary added to the book render the volume, moreover, of considerable value.

The Tropics, By C. R. Ewek, F. R. G. S., Grant Richards, Ltd., London. Price 16sh. net.

This somewhat bulky book contains a summarised description of the tropical lands of Africa, Central and South America, Asia and Australia, their natural products, scenery, inhabitants and industries and the possibilities of their future development. In his introduction, the author explains why he undertook the production of the book thus: "The purpose of this book is, first, to provide the general reader and those specially interested in the national resources, people

and topography of the lands within the tropics with a broad description, in the compass of a single volume, of these lands; and, second, to afford a basis for the consideration, as far as it concerns the tropical races, of what the author (here and elsewhere,) has ventured to term a new science of 'constructive human geography,' or constructive economics. In his study of the world's peoples and their surroundings, in the endeavour to educe and establish this proposed science the author found there was no existing book dealing with the tropics as a whole. The field is, of course, enormous one, covering, as it does, about one-third of the land surface of the globe, and embracing lands and peoples so widespread and varied as those within the torrid zone; and it is with some diffidence that the result of the task is put forward. Yet it is believed that the work—apart from its second and special purpose—will fill a vacant place in the literature of topography, and it is to be recollected that the social, economic and climatic conditions of the people and lands of the tropics may be regarded as an entity from the point of view of their relation with the people of the temperate zone, who are called upon to administrate or develop what are, in effect, the world's backward and coloured communities. . . . The tropical lands and their people, upon whose description we here enter, afford an almost limitless scope for observation and constructive work in the field here advocated. But whether or not such considerations may enter into the mind of the reader, these lands offer much that is of interest and attraction. Further this book happens to be published during the Great War, and some interesting considerations arise therefrom. We have generally regarded many of the tropical peoples as barbarous. But barbarities have been committed, during the War, by one of the most advanced and Christian nations the Germans—such as the world has probably never witnessed among Western people, or west of Suez. On the other hand, the coloured troops or adherents of Britain and France have comported themselves with dignity and restraint. More, from India, from Fiji, from Zanzibar, from the remote Moslem dependency of Borne, in the heart of Darkest Africa, have come voices spontaneously raised in indignation of Teutonic barbarity and proffering men, money and support to the righteous cause of Britain, the character of whose rule has impressed even the savage potentate who rules under the equatorial sun." It is here unnecessary to follow the author in his descriptions of the various tropical regions of the world. The sixty-four illustrations and maps add much to the interest of the reading-matter and the book taken as a whole is well worthy of being placed on the shelves of any good library.

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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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.

OURSELVES.

"Without Malice to any one, with Charity for all, with firmness in the Right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in."

Abraham Lincoln.

We are sorry to inform our readers, especially those in the overseas, that owing to an inexorable force of circumstances we were compelled to suspend the publication of our Journal for May and June. Now that we have passed over the difficulty, we resume our publication and with this triple number, we close the second year of our existence.

The general consternation produced in the country some years ago by certain anarchic events led the Government of India to bring the Press under a strict control by the passing of the Press Act of 1910.

It was not in the least expected that recourse will be had to the operation of this Act six years after it was passed, when conditions are expected to improve with time; nor were we under the least apprehension that the work commenced by us exactly two years ago for improving the lot of our countrymen abroad would almost be nipped in the bud. As every one in India would be aware, that during the last few months, the Press have been subjected to great restrictions and their freedom almost threatened. We, who have been doing our little work almost unknown and unaided, were taken by surprise one morning when a security of Rs. 1,000 was demanded of us by Mr. C. B. N. Pelly, the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Madras. It is needless to go into the circumstances under which we were asked to furnish the security, in as much as the matter was one of technicality. The Magistrate seemed to have acted on some false information given as to the scope and the nature of our work. But on our furnishing a satisfactory explanation the Magistrate was pleased and the security was withdrawn and we were allowed to go on with our work unhampered. We therefore take this opportunity of expressing our grateful thanks to the Government of Madras and to Mr. Pelly for their generous consideration in this matter. We are also indebted a great deal to the Press for their kind references (published elsewhere) during our hour of trial.

We place these facts before the public as an apology for our subscribers and exchanges for the delay in the issue of our Journal.

• INDIAN EMIGRANTS FRIENDS.

It gives us great pleasure to announce that we have now in our list six *Life-Members*, two of whom are from Ceylon and the other four hail from the far off Fiji. The amounts subscribed by them, are as follows:—

Mr. V. Moothaiya Pillay, Merchant, Fiji	£7
Mr. Abu Saleh	
Mr. Mohammad Taher } Fiji	£10
Mr. M. Sriraman	

Some more funds are expected soon and these amounts form the nucleus of a Permanent Fund for the "Indian Colonial Society."

A Life sketch of all our Patrons and Life Members will appear in this journal under "Indian Emigrants Friends."

INDIANS IN BRITISH GUIANA.

IMMIGRATION IN 1914-1915.

British Guiana is one of the important Colonies which are ever in need of more and more immigrants for the development of the agricultural and industrial resources of the colony. Indian labour being comparatively cheap, the need for Indian labourers is constant. The report on the work of the Immigration Department of the Colony just issued for 1914-1915 contains several useful information regarding the position of our countrymen there and their wage-earning capacity. During the year there were indents for immigrants from India to the extent of 1610 and of these only 819 reached the colony in two steamers. In consequence of the steamers chartered for August and September sailings having been requisitioned in connection with the war, there could be no further sailings for the year and recruiting had to be suspended. This want of the required indentured agricultural population was regretted in the Colony in view of the impetus given to the sugar industry by the rapid and steep rise in the prices of its products. The Immigration Department therefore wants that the organisation in India for recruiting and emigration should be kept intact and ready for work as soon as opportunity offers.

Of the 819 arrivals, 569 were males, 198 females, 31 boys and 26 girls. Of these 314 were Madrasis of whom it is said that they have worked well and appear to prove themselves satisfactory colonists and

desirable additions to the ranks of the agricultural labourer. When the Madras is depicted by some class of men that he is either business-like nor loath to work the following remarks as extracted from the reports of the District Agents give a direct lie to such observations not based on facts:—

No. 1 District. "These Madras Immigrants have been very favourably reported on by their employers. They prove themselves as a rule to be better workers than their fellow immigrants from other parts of India and are able to earn good wages. They show an aptitude for work in the factory, as porters, etc. They are well conducted, their only fault being a tendency to be quarrelsome amongst themselves after pay day, they feed themselves more generously than their fellow-workers from Calcutta."

No. 2 District. "These immigrants have given general satisfaction, both as regards their industry and general conduct."

No. 3 District. "They are an intelligent lot of people, hardworking and amenable to discipline. Their earnings are good and compare favourably with immigrants who have been in the Colony for two or three years. They are certainly an improvement on the class of Calcutta immigrant which has been introduced within recent years."

The Colony indents for 2,200 persons for the coming year and of them at least 636 are expected to be recruited from Madras. Of the 2,503 people introduced from India five years ago 181 have been repatriated and 42 remain under indenture while 2,266 have become free of indenture and being at liberty to live where they please have found themselves homes for the most part either on sugar or other estates, in the villages or on their own plots of land in the country districts. The total East Indian Population in the Colony is 133,984.

MARRIAGES.

It is a deplorable, nonetheless legitimate, grievance that attempts are being made to limit the number of marriages. During the year 327 marriages were registered under the provisions of the Immigration Ordinance as against 359 in the previous year. When every year increasing number of persons immigrate to the Colony, such restrictions in marriages cannot but tell on the morale of the people. The Department attributes the decrease to the neglect of the contracting parties to comply with the simple requirements of

the Ordinance that many such unions are unrecorded and that the children born of them are registered as illegitimate. This is cruel to be sure! No such instance is reported of evasion from the compliance of the requirements of the Ordinance. At best the immigrants may not know the requirements of the Ordinance and their ignorance ought not to be punished with an act which brands them with, to say the least, infamy. The Colony has a duty to perform in preserving the civilisation the settlers enjoyed in the land of their birth especially in the sacrament of marriage and it is inconceivable that compliance of petty formalities should be meted with a strong and obnoxious penalty. This is a serious matter to which the attention of the Colonial authorities should be directed and the sooner such obnoxious provisions of the Ordinance in all Colonies wherever these exist are modified the safer it will be for the immigrants.

HEALTH.

The Surgeon-General's report dealing with the administration of the estates from the medical side shows ready cooperation on the part of the estates and this is not merely as regards the indentured people. We are glad to note that there is a general desire on the part of the estates to afford the same hygienic and sanitary advantages to the free immigrants as are secured by statute to the indentured population. As a result of the special recommendation of Mr. James Mc Neill, one of the Commissioners, recommended by the Indian Government to inquire into the condition, etc., of immigrants in the Colony a special return of the sickness rate on the several estates amongst indentured immigrants was for the first time issued. There were 7 cases of suicide during the year, 4 among the indentured people and 3 among the free born or free of indenture by effluxion of time.

WORK AND WAGES.

Regarding the work and wages in British Guiana the following facts are given:—

Plantation Golden Fleece, the largest estate in the Colony, viz., Plantation Golden Fleece, the number of persons actually worked was below the minimum of 100 persons, viz., Plantation Rose, the smallest estate in the Colony. This does not necessarily mean that the work is weak, but depends on the nature of the work, as to the proportion of the labour force to the land area for the

needs of the plantation, and also on the employer's standard of industriousness. The women in general are not pressed to work. The remarks made on the subject of Work and Wages in my last Annual Report should be borne in mind; but as Plantation Golden Fleece is again this year conspicuous in this connexion, it will not be out of place to repeat here the arguments urged by the Manager of that estate in explanation: "It must be remembered that the indentured immigrant works for himself during most of his spare time in the rice-fields, many of them growing sufficient paddy to supply the family consumption throughout the year; and though this reduces their efficiency as workers on estates, I agree with the views of the late Immigration Agent General, that they should be allowed to take land for this purpose. Undoubtedly there are some with sufficiently robust physique to enable them both to earn the minimum wage month after month and grow their own paddy out of working hours, but when dealing with the average earnings of a large number of immigrants, it will always be found that the one interferes with the other."

This extract on the subject speaks for itself.

Waste in working days is very great. Of the 313 working days in a year the males lose a number of days by jail and hospital. They also lose on account of bad weather and holidays. And at best they are therefore daily wage-earners. If the immigrant has a wife the average percentage of working days lost by her on account of pregnancy and nursing appears to be 33 per cent. In Lusignan the average earning of a male is 57.40 dollars a year and the cost of living 46.76 dollars and the saving is 10.64 dollars. In the case of females average earning is 37.98 dollars and cost of living 37.60 dollars and surplus earning is 38 cents. The surplus of a couple is 11.02 dollars. In Golden Fleece the couple's surplus is 11.14 dollars. This statistics were applied by the method suggested by Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lall.

CRIME AND OFFENCES.

The total number of cases of all classes that came before the Supreme Court in the Criminal Jurisdiction was 117 of which 86 received conviction. Of them 56 East Indians stood trial and 38 received conviction.

Of the total number (481) of persons in the prisons of the Colony on the 31st March, 1915, 223 were East Indians, but these figures include those undergoing punishment for breaches of the labour laws. Leaving

these out, the percentage of East Indians to the total number under imprisonment was 37 per cent. Of the total number in the Penal Settlement 48 per cent. were East Indians. This large percentage is due doubtless to the deadly nature of the implements of the East Indian's daily work, his cutlass, fork and shovel, which are in consequence so fatally handy. Excluding labour law offences the percentage in the ordinary jails on the 31st March, 1915, was only 25 per cent.

Owing to the increased immigration of natives of Madras, vacancies in the Staff of Interpreters available for service in the Supreme Court, Magistrate's Courts and Interpreting work generally, are being filled preferably by Tamil and Telugu Interpreters of which there have been hitherto two. There are now five in the Department.

In the Reformatory School at Onderneeming out of a total of 114, only 16 or 14 per cent. were East Indian boys.

There were three cases in which East Indians were charged with murder during the year, and one in which a charge of manslaughter was laid.

NEW LEGISLATION.

Many complaints have been made by East Indians from time to time that promissory notes purporting to bear their marks were never made by them. They sometimes alleged that they were in fear of some person whom they thought might trick them out of their property by making fraudulent notes against them, or who had actually threatened to do so. To meet the situation an Ordinance was passed in March last amending the law as to Bills of Exchange. This Ordinance enacts that where any person signing in characters which are not European or by mark, signs a Bill of Exchange for a sum not exceeding £100 as drawer, acceptor or endorser, or signs a promissory note for a sum not exceeding £100 as maker or endorser, such signature shall have no effect whatever unless it is made in the presence of and attested by an Immigration Agent, Justice of the Peace, Inspector of Police, Warden, Sub-Warden, Commissary, Land Officer, Government Medical Officer or by the Proprietor, Manager or Deputy Manager of a plantation or estate employing indentured immigrants.

This new provision of the law has not yet become widely known, but where known it has been hailed with delight. Steps are being taken to bring its provisions to the notice of those concerned and it may confidently be expected to prove a very popular and useful measure.

Mention is made elsewhere of the institution of State-aided Co-operative Credit Banks. Ordinance No.

9 of 1914 provides for the registration and proper working of these Banks which should prove of great benefit to the smaller proprietors and to the cultivators of leased land by enabling them to obtain the necessary advances against their crops at a reasonable rate of interest. Hitherto the local money-lender has had matters pretty much his own way with results not at all satisfactory except in so far as he himself was concerned.

OCCUPATION AND INDUSTRY.

East Indians are employed in the various departments of the Public Service and municipalities of Georgetown and New Amsterdam. Many are employed as dispensers in the Government and sugar estates' hospitals and as Compounders on immigrant ships. 242 hold appointments as Police Constables and 242 have precepts as rural constables. A large number are occupied as messengers, porters, gardeners and day labourers. Five have become members of the legal profession and three of the Medical, one of the latter holding an appointment as Government Medical Officer.

RICE INDUSTRY.

The reports from the several Immigration Districts show that rice planting continues to be a favourite and profitable occupation of the East Indian, indentured and unindentured alike, though the latter is naturally by far the greater producer. Good returns were generally obtained and remunerative prices ruled.

The area cultivated with rice throughout the Colony during the year is returned by the Department of Science and Agriculture at 47,037 acres as compared with 33,660 acres in the previous year. Of the 47,037 acres, however, 6,624 were planted with two crops, the total area of rice reaped in 1914-15 was therefore 53,661 acres.

The export for the year was 16,268,922 lbs. as against 21,117,530 lbs. in the previous financial year. The shipment abroad may be accounted for by the fact that exportation was, because of the war, prohibited during the earlier months of the year except with permission of the Executive, and that the higher price of imported foodstuffs led to a greater demand for home consumption.

SAVINGS BANKS.

The number of East Indian depositors on the 31st March, 1915, was 8,774 and the sum at their credit \$562,626.80 (£104, 713 18s. 4d.) being 708 depositors and \$29,278.67 (£18,808 0s. 8½d.) less than last year. 6.6 of the total East Indian population had deposits at their credit and the average per head of the total East Indian population was \$4.46. The decrease was partly due to people

shortly after the outbreak of the Great War, and subsequent recrudescences, the effects of some absurd rumours spread from time to time from mischievous and sinister motives. It will be interesting to know what amounts lapsed to the Government on account of deceased immigrants who left no heirs.

POLITICAL STATUS.

The number of East Indians registered as voters under the Political Constitution Ordinance 1891, for the period 1st October, 1914, to 30th September, 1915, was 227 as compared with 223 for the previous year. As noted by Messrs. Mc Neill and Chimman Lall, the East Indians, though under no political disability, have hitherto taken little interest in political affairs. In the village communities, however, they are more active, being well represented on the local authority in several districts.

GENERAL CONDITION OF UNIDENTURED EAST INDIANS.

There were 58,129 East Indians free of indenture resident on sugar estates at the close of the year representing 53 per cent. of the total unindentured population and their condition is reported satisfactory. Messrs. Mc Neill and Chimman Lall pointed out in their report that the Indian immigrants and their descendants enter into all professions and occupations and the fact that about one half of the total number remain on the sugar estates after expiry of their indenture cultivating land and working for wages shows that the relations between employers and labourers are generally satisfactory. The Report says:—

It should not be lost sight of that in British Guiana the East Indian is welcome not only during the period of indenture: valuable as are his services then it is well recognized that the greater good to the Colony as a whole is reaped when the time expired immigrant instead of returning to India takes his place as a member of the general community.

In other parts of this report information is given as to landed property and it may be of interest to note here that the inauguration of a system of Co-operative Credit Banks under the control of the Local Government Board gives promise of sorely needed help and encouragement to the small cultivator, who in the past has endured much at the hands of the professional money-lender. Of the 125 members of the first started of these Banks, no less than 76 are East Indians.

There were some 15,903 head of cattle at the end of the year on the several sugar estates owned by East Indians. Of these 1,006 were the property of people still under indenture, the balance 14,897 belonging to indenture free people. A similar census as regards sheep and goats shows the former class own 733 head and the latter 3,866 head. In 1913-14 the cattle on estates totalled 13,895 head and the sheep and goats 4,128 and they were distributed among the indentured and unindentured in about the same proportion as in the year of report. In addition to the above several thousand heads of cattle sheep and goats are owned by East Indians off the sugar estates. The census of agricultural industries of the Colony prepared by the Director of Science and Agriculture for 1914-15 gives the number of cattle in the Colony as 89,500: sheep and goats 34,500. The East Indians form 44% of the total population of the Colony and it may safely be taken that they more than hold their own in the matter of cattle, sheep and goats.

In view of the renewal of immigration from Madras two more languages have been added to qualify in the East Indian languages spoken in the Colony. It is very consoling to note that in the Standing Board of Examiners a place is given to an Indian, the Rev. James Persaud.

FACTS ABOUT DUTCH GUIANA.

Dutch Guiana or Surinam, embracing an area of 2500 geographical miles, has actually under cultivation only a small percentage and is proportionately only thinly populated.

In the vast coast region, running parallel with the Atlantic Ocean, and along the lower valleys of the divers rivers, the soil is very fertile, destined as it were to yield all kinds of tropical production for export.

To fill up the deficiency of labourers to till the soil it was decided in former ages to introduce Negro slaves from Africa, when however the abolition of slavery was a decided fact, and the labour conditions accruing from it had to be faced, the supply and introduction of indentured labourers from elsewhere had to be resorted to.

In order to provide the plantations with the necessary hands, premiums were proffered by the Government on the importation of free labourers. This effort however soon proved a failure, and it

became clear that it was the Government's task to undertake this importation if any result was to be obtained. To this end an immigration department was created after those existing in British Guiana which were highly praised, and a set of laws was framed; finally an immigration fund was established.

After some experimental importations of labourers from elsewhere, especially of Chinese, Barbadians and a few Portuguese, the planters at last decided after 1872, the year in which the convention between the Netherlands and Great Britain came into effect, to restrict their choice to British Indians, till in 1894, for the first time, and afterwards regularly, the immigration of Japanese also was carried on.

The great expenses attached to the importation necessitate the providing for rules which bind the immigrant to produce the amount of labour he is indentured for.

Be it true that in this way the immigrant is somewhat under restraint, on the other hand he is assured of a fair treatment thanks to an exact delineation of the duties of his employer, and a strict control on the side of the authority.

The proviso's in connection herewith, as far as regards the British Indians, are laid down in the convention of 1870 with Great Britain; further regarding these as well as other immigrants in the Royal Decree of 1872, No. 27, lastly in several colonial ordinances, and in the agreements separately contracted with each immigrant.

This set of proviso's, though of course liable to improvement, may in general be styled adequate, so that in the event of a good application thereof, any advantage which might be taken of the relative want of freedom of the immigrants, is excluded. A compilation of the most principal provisions relating to the Surinam Immigration Department, above mentioned, will be published in next issue.

The modifications recently made in said compilation are inserted in the abstract of the Immigration Department for the year 1913, and in a version of the Government Decree of May 21st 1915 No/41.

After the issue of the report of Messrs. Mc. Neil and Chiman Lall, the Dutch Government is doing the needful to modify the laws on immigration in accord-

ance with the remarks of the said gentlemen, so far this has not been done yet.

According to the prevailing contract, work is done by day wages or by task work. The minimum daily wages for a male immigrant is 60 cents (24 cents English) for a female 40 cent. (16 cents English). Tasks are so given that an ordinary male labourer may earn without extraordinary exertion during seven hours a minimum of 60 cents.

It is a fact that the average minimum wages computed over the whole year, has not been earned neither by male nor female labourers.

The causes of this phenomenon are many, chiefly to be traced to laziness and unwillingness to work, bodily disability of the labourers, short duration of labour, insufficient control of the work, etc.

Of course it is not possible to do away with all these causes, they being the unavoidable consequences of the labourers.

In connection with the aforementioned, it deserves attention that the quality of labourers introduced during the last years, is alarmingly decreasing, the consequence of which is that the average amount of labour by British Indian immigrants is considerably less than formerly.

Surinam, being, as said above, an agricultural colony, needs in the principal place a population consisting of agriculturists.

Indentured immigration succeeded by colonisation has thus proved to be the best means to solve the population problem. No stone has been left unturned to encourage the immigrants to settle in this colony, after the expiration of their contract, as agriculturing colonists.

The settlement of the immigrants has however been largely extended after the issue of the ordinance of 19 April 1895 Government Gazette No/24, the provision was annulled which stipulated that those to whom a piece of land was granted in free use have lost their right to a free return passage.

The liberal provisions referred to (pages 67-70) of above compilation, are besides gathered and issued by ordinance of 11th December 1914 Official Gazette 1916 No/24 and are in some respects more liberal than the former provisions.

In Surinam there is no Jury.

To be a voter for the election of members for the Legislative Council (Koloniale Staten), it is necessary to be a Citizen of the colony, aged 25 years, and in possession of all civic rights, and besides, to pay a tax at the rate of fl. 1400 yearly and upwards, or an amount of at least fl. 40 in the direct taxes.

The number of East Indian voters who satisfy these conditions, amounted to 60 and the total number of free East Indians resident in the colony on December 31st 1913 was 26, 847.

THE PRINCIPLE OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

To the "Round Table" groups of men belong the credit of a co-operative movement started in 1910 for carefully studying the Imperial affairs of the British Empire. As an outcome of the movement, an excellent book has recently been published under the title of "The Problem of the Commonwealth" by Mr. L. Curtis. It deals with the history and nature of the British Commonwealth setting out mainly the relations which should subsist between Britain and her Colonies. What position India should hold in that Commonwealth will be treated in a book which, we are told, will be shortly published under the title "The Commonwealth of the nations".

But the principle underlying a "Commonwealth" of any nation is foreshadowed in the current number of the "Round Table." The following relate only to the internal relations of the people of a Commonwealth and it should be carefully studied by every student of politics who takes a real interest in the affairs of his own country or Commonwealth (Ed.):—

A Commonwealth is a society of human beings living in one territory united by a common obedience to laws the purpose of which is the enlargement of liberty. It is not an abstract personality, like the Prussian State, claiming unquestioning obedience from its citizens. Nor is it a voluntary association of people temporarily united by bonds of interest or contract. It is a community the members of which are individually dedicated to promote one another's liberty and welfare, in obedience to the principles of justice and truth which they embody in their laws.

It is, indeed, a misnomer to speak of the commonwealth at all. It is nearer the truth to speak of the

people or the nations of the commonwealth, for it is the people who are the commonwealth, and what unites them is not loyalty to a government, but loyalty to one another and to the principles which inspire their constitution and their laws. The constitution of the commonwealth is based upon love for and trust in the individual; for the excellence of the community is taken to consist in the prosperity, happiness and good conduct of its members, and in nothing else. Accordingly the qualities which it seeks to develop in the citizen are not docility or obedience, but character—that is self-reliance, self-respect, a high sense of duty towards others, grasp of and fidelity to principle and right. Its institutions do this in two ways: first, by ensuring that liberty and opportunity without which the individual cannot freely follow truth and justice, and do the best work for others; and, secondly, by throwing upon all those citizens who are sufficiently educated and sufficiently civilized to be able to subordinate their own interests and desires to the general welfare the responsibility for the laws by which they are governed. Liberty, indeed, is the lifeblood of the commonwealth, because only in freedom can a man serve his neighbour as he should. But liberty is inseparably yoked with responsibility. Hence democracy, in the sense that public policy and the law which governs social relations should be determined by the free votes of all qualified citizens, who thereby become solely responsible for the conditions under which they live, is an invariable characteristic of the true commonwealth.

The purpose of the commonwealth, therefore, is the development of a society of free responsible men and women, bound together to create ever better and fuller conditions of life for all, in obedience to law. Absolute dedication to the service of one's fellow-citizens is the foundation upon which the commonwealth rests, and this is manifested in the primary obligation which rests upon every citizen of obeying the laws of the land, laws which are designed to protect the weak from the strong, and to ensure liberty and justice to all, and which may call upon the citizen to give his life and his substance in defence of the community or the principles for which it stands. This obedience, however, is exacted because the law and the Parliament which enacts the law are subject to the control of the responsible citizens themselves. In a commonwealth, indeed, the duty of the citizen is not confined to obeying the law. He has no less an obligation to take an active and vigilant part in improving and perfecting the law. Accordingly the institutions of the commonwealth, inasmuch as they give to every citizen an equal opportunity of framing and amending the law

which regulates the social life of the community, admit no circumstances in which he is entitled to disobey the law. None the less the spirit of the commonwealth recognizes that while he has never the right, he may at times have the duty, of refusing to obey unjust law, after resort to every constitutional means of redressing wrong has failed. The events of 1648 and 1688 in England, and the disobedience to the fugitive slave laws of the U.S.A., are nearly as important episodes in the history of the true commonwealth as the long tradition of the supremacy of law. It may be, says Captain Mahan, "That the law, however regular in its enactment, and, therefore, unquestionable on the score of formal authority, either outrages fundamental political right or violates the moral dictates of the individual conscience." "Under such conditions the moral right of resistance is conceded—nay, is affirmed and emphasized."

Resistance to law, however is the most momentous act a responsible citizen can take, for it breaks, or threatens to break, the bonds of common obligation which unite men in securing to another liberty and justice. But the spirit which animates the commonwealth recognizes that, provided its object is not the repudiation of the obligation which members of the commonwealth owe to one another, but the amendment of laws which stand in the way of the fulfilment of that obligation, disobedience until the laws are amended, may at times become a duty. The ultimate foundation of the commonwealth is not loyalty even to the law of the land, but fidelity to conscience—to justice, love, and truth.

THE FUTURE OF INDIAN EMIGRATION.

WANTED A DEFINITE POLICY.

BY THE EDITOR.

After the pronouncement by H. E. Lord Hardinge of the doom of indenture, the Colonial Office have been busy considering what system should be substituted for the system of indenture. From a dispatch from the Secretary of State to the colonies to the Governor of Fiji, published elsewhere, we understand that an Interdepartmental Committee should be appointed in the autumn of the present year. It is also suggested that the Governments of the West Indian Colonies, British Guiana, Trinidad and Jamaica should arrange for the holding of a Preliminary Conference in the West Indies and its views submitted to the Committee. Accordingly an inter-Colonial Conference has met in Port of Spain, Trinidad, and in Fiji very recently. At this Conference reference is

made to the labour conditions prevailing in Malay States and from the trend of the discussion, it may be seen that it is not very unlikely that the example of Malay States may be followed and the system of "free" immigration obtaining there may be adopted with its existing abuses and substituted for the indenture system. Those who are conversant with the system prevailing in Malay States need not be told that the substitution of Malaya Labour code for the indenture system will be a case of from the frying pan to the fire.

It is therefore incumbent upon all patriotic Indians and Publicists to take effective measures to protect the interest of Indian labourers under a system of free emigration, which, as it stands, to day in Ceylon and Malay States, affords no safe-guard against abuses.

This is fully corroborated by no less a personage than Sir P. Aroonachalam who, when presiding over a lecture on "Ideals of Social Service" by Professor G. H. Leonard of the University of Bristol at Colombo, remarked as follows on the Labour System in Ceylon:—

"But there is one important question which has engaged its attention and in which we earnestly ask the co-operation of Professor Leonard and his friends in England. It will be a surprise to him to learn that in this the premier crown colony of the Empire, after over a hundred years of British rule, there is a labour system which in some of its aspects is little better than an organized slavery, though it lurks under the name of Free Labour, and that breaches of civil contracts are punishable and are daily punished with imprisonment with hard labour. He will be still more surprised and shocked to learn that under this system even women and children are sent to jail with hard labour. I hold in my hand an advertisement which appeared in a daily paper a few days ago, which recalls the slavery days in the Southern States of America. It offers a reward of Rs. 50 and expenses paid to any person who arrests half a dozen bolted coolies from an estate in Matale. Among them is a woman who is described as "sickly with a baby in arms and a boy 8 years and a girl 3 years." I wonder that the Superintendent of this estate was not ashamed to insert such an advertisement and to organize a hunt for a poor sickly woman with a baby

in arms and burdened with two more children. No, I do not wonder at this. The Superintendent knew the Ceylon Public. They are so demoralised and dead to all right feeling that they see nothing out of the way in such a proceeding. On the 18th May last and again on the 9th June, the League (Social Service League of Ceylon of which Sir P. Arunachalam is the President) addressed the Government on behalf of cooly women and children imprisoned for labour offences and begged for remission of the unexpired portion of the sentences on these women, two of whom were sentenced to a month's rigorous imprisonment each by the Police Magistrate of Badulla on a charge of insolence, and the third by the Police Magistrate of Kandy to a like sentence for quitting service without notice, she being further ordered to go back to the estate on the expiration of her sentence.

It was pointed out to Government that these unfortunate women were compelled to herd with prostitutes and other bad characters in jails; that the Government of Fiji had abolished imprisonment as a punishment for all labour offences, and that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had directed the Governments of Trinidad, British Guiana and Jamaica to eliminate from their Statute Books, before the end of the year, the power of imprisonment for labour offences. The appeal of the League was in vain, and on the 6th of July it was resolved on the motion of Rev. Rigby, that the infliction of imprisonment for labour offences, i.e., for acts which are scarcely more than breaches of a civil contract, is unjustifiable, cruel and degrading, and especially so in the case of women and children, and that the Chairman and the Secretaries do take such measures as may be necessary to secure that this form of punishment for labour offences be eliminated from our Statute Book. This is not going to be an easy business, for the capitalist interest here as everywhere else is overwhelmingly strong and, as I have said, our form of slavery lurks under the name of free labour. We shall need the support of all the noble men and women of England, the champions of the poor and the outcaste in all lands, to cut out this cancer from our beautiful island. Such indignant words to proceed from so eminent a person as Sir Arunachalam truly notes that there is something rotten in the State of Ceylon.

We have several other instances of gross cruelty the most recent of which was told by Mr. V. K. Rajanayagam, a Proctor of influence and large hearted sympathy, who is also the Local Secretary of the Ceylon branch of the "Indian Colonial Society."

In this case a batch of 5 coolies, consisting of women and children, who had come out of an estate in the Kelani Valley District of which one Mr. C. F. Hutchinson is the Superintendent, were arrested on warrants issued on a public holiday by the Police Magistrate of Avisawella, were tried and sentenced to 2 to 6 months' imprisonment. Two cases were, however, withdrawn, as the children were very young; but a girl was bound over in one surety to be of good behaviour for 6 months. The curious part of this case was that the Proctor himself, i.e., Mr. Rajanayagam, who defended the accused was charged by the Superintendent for harbouring the coolies, who had only come to him for legal advice.

This is the state of free labour in Ceylon, and what passes for it in Malay States may be gauged from a letter sent to us from a cooly and published in page 296.

What then is the remedy?

The real cure lies in the awakening of the national conscience which books no wrongs or injustice and the overthrow of the selfish ideal of the rich and educated classes giving place to service of humanity. So soon as we recognise this, the solution for all our ills and hardships is nigh at hand.

What is now needed is a public organisation to watch the interests of the labouring population, which should be the medium through which all labour should flow out of the country. There are such organisations in China and Japan and the European countries. We have now the nucleus of such an organisation in our "Indian Colonial Society," Madras, having in its programme of work the welfare of these classes primarily in view. The scope of the Society may be extended and its usefulness increased and the object of ameliorating the lot of the Indian emigrants achieved if adequate support is given to the movement to extend its sphere of work all over the world.

We trust that the leaders of public opinion would now come forward with a definite policy for the future of Free Indian Emigration and the lines on

which it should be worked. Surely the Hon. Mr. Malaviya who laboured so hard for the abolition of indenture must have had in view an alternate policy to replace it.

However, the following cablegram sent by the Secretary, *West India Committee*, to their Hon. Correspondents in British Guiana, Jamaica and Trinidad on June 7th to assist the delegates of the inter-colonial conference in their deliberations, contains some useful suggestions.

"Inform Immigration Conference delegates this Committee favours free Indian immigration under Government control. Government to make financial arrangements increasing recruiting women and families. Short labour contracts, say two years. Bonuses on completion. Reasonable commutation rights, no imprisonment, encouragement, facilities land settlement, regular steamship communication India—West Indies. Above system should run experimentally concurrently with existing."

For the present, we would add the following suggestions in addition to the above:—

1. The abolition of the kangany system of recruiting and of the giving of advances through the Kanganies to the labourers.

2. The appointment of an Indian Protector of Emigrants, at all places wherever Indian labourers are permitted to go, with a sufficient staff of Inspectors to visit the estates and report on the condition of the labourers.

3. Regulation by Government in consultation and co-operation with the "Indian Colonial Society."

THE "INDIAN EMIGRANT" AND THE PRESS ACT.

(PRESS REFERENCES.)

The Leader, Allahabad, writes:—

Not satisfied with the injury done to *New India*, and through that paper to the country, the Government of Madras have demanded a security of Rs. 1,000 from the periodical, the *Indian Emigrant*, and it has consequently stopped publication. What a grievous pity! The *Indian Emigrant* was an excellently conducted publication which conveyed much useful information about our countrymen exiled abroad, mostly as indentured labourers, and did much needed national service by upholding their elementary human rights. It may be admitted at once that it was not

always full of flattering tributes to colonial governments or their immigration departments; its function was to expose hardships and bring grievances to light. Has such a journal no useful function to perform? We were frequent readers of the *Indian Emigrant*, and the feeling with which we always laid it aside was one of admiration for the public spirit which prompted Mr. T. K. Swaminathan, its editor, in taking up the cause of our humble brethren the indentured labourers. Emphatically, the *Indian Emigrant* was not a seditious publication, unless every critic of the acts of Government, including Mr. Gokhale, that is to say, every educated Indian, is seditious. Glory be to the Governor of Madras in Council for furnishing in quick succession at least two illustrations of the beauties and blessings of our inimitable Press Act!

We are glad to learn that the Government of Madras have withdrawn the demand of security from the *Indian Emigrant*. Why it was demanded at all remains still a mystery, as the reason for the withdrawal of the demand is equally unknown. Such is the working of the Press Act. It confers the most arbitrary powers on the executive Government. Some supercilious Anglo-Indian papers may be unable to understand how in the same breath 'Indian-edited' papers can complain of the lack of freedom and indulge in very free criticisms. But they carry their lives in their hands, for any moment they may find themselves penalized for their dutiful discharge of their function, and without knowing wherein they offended, and without redress in a court of law. Anglo-Indian papers are happily immune from the terrors of the Anti-Press Act and can therefore afford to indulge in ill-mannered sneers at their helpless Indian contemporaries. They do not however, raise themselves by such writings in the estimation of impartial observers.

New India, Madras, writes:—

The following notice has been issued, and we hope the very useful work the *Indian Emigrant* was doing under its capable Editor, Mr. T. K. Swaminathan, will be allowed to continue. The public indignation is so great against the Press Act at the moment that it is quite likely that the Local Government will give way in this instance and allow the journal to continue its noble work.

"We are sorry to announce to our Subscribers and Exchanges that a security of Rs. 1,000 is demanded from us by the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Madras, under the Press Act of 1910. As we are unable to furnish the necessary security, we have applied to the Madras Government for exemption. Pending their orders, we have suspended the publication of the *Indian Emigrant* for May, 1916. Should the orders of the Government be unfavourable, we very much regret we shall be compelled to stop the Journal altogether.

It shall, however, be resumed if the orders are favourable.

Under the circumstances, we crave the indulgence of our subscribers for this mishap."

We publish this with deep regret and hot indignation. Why should this useful little monthly be trampled out of life by the Press Act? It has been the result of much self-sacrifice and careful labour on the part of its Editor. It fills a gap in Indian periodical literature. Wherein has it sinned, save in love of country and service of the helpless? Are we to have a crusade against all Indian papers in this Presidency?

It is a great pleasure to hear that the Government have withdrawn their demand for security from our very useful contemporary. We are glad to think that the universal denunciation of the Madras Government by the Indian Press—119 articles have appeared—has helped to save the *Indian Emigrant* from the clutches of the Press Act, and has freed it to go on its harmless and useful way unhindered. We heartily congratulate our colleague that the halter has been removed from his neck.

Indian Social Reformer, Bombay, writes:—

The *Indian Emigrant* is a monthly journal published in Madras, devoted, as its name shows, to the interests of emigrants from India settled in different parts of the world, especially those over which the British flag floats. This is the only periodical of the kind in India, and Mr. C. F. Andrews told us, on his return from Fiji, that its writings were often reproduced and noticed in the Colonial Press. It has on the whole been conducted with sobriety and moderation. It was, therefore, with considerable surprise that we learnt some days ago that the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Madras had demanded a security of Rs. 1,000 from it; and that it had, in consequence, ceased to exist. We are glad to learn since that the demand has been withdrawn and that the journal will resume publication. The Government of Madras is of all provincial Governments the one which has evinced the last disposition to avail itself of the powers conferred on them by the Press Act, and the withdrawal of the demand from the *Indian Emigrant* shows that even in the few cases where it has resorted to them, it has done so in no unreasoning or implacable mood.

Bombay Chronicle, Bombay, writes:—

The announcement made on Saturday that the security demanded under the Press Act from the "*Indian Emigrant*" has been withdrawn came as a surprise, as was the news which first told us that a security was demanded from this journal, which has always advocated a cause which found no stronger supporter than the ex-Viceroy. But the action of the Madras Government with regard to this journal illustrates the worst feature of the Press Act, that it makes the latter a dangerous weapon in the hands of the Executive. As Mr. Natarajan well put it, the treatment meted out to the "*Indian Emigrant*" illustrates the manner in which the Act is sometimes put into force when an expostulation should be sufficient. That the blunder should have been made by the

Government of Madras who, as Mr. Natarajan pointed out, have made the least use of the Act, only aggravates the danger of placing the temptations in the way of the Executive who are only too liable to succumb to them.

United India and Native States, Madras, writes:

The *Indian Emigrant*, published at Madras, was the only periodical in India for safeguarding the rights and interests of the Indians who have settled in the British Colonies and elsewhere. Its criticisms were generally fair and moderate while it was conducted with conspicuous ability. But the Chief Presidency Magistrate called on the proprietor of the journal, to deposit a security of Rs. 1,000 under the Indian Press Act and the journal therefore stopped publication. The action of the Madras authorities caused considerable surprise as the *Indian Emigrant* was not guilty of any journalistic excesses. We are, however, glad to learn that the Government of Madras on further consideration have decided to waive the demand for security and the journal will accordingly continue to be published as usual. It is satisfactory to find that the Government have withdrawn from their original position instead of persisting in it. It would have been a misfortune if the only journal which advocates the liberties of the Indian settlers abroad and whose articles, as Mr. C. F. Andrews pointed out, attracted great attention in the Colonies, ceased to exist as a result of the application of the provisions of the Press Act. Although Government seem to have acted with haste in the first instance their subsequent withdrawal of the demand for security has created the most happy impression among the Indian community.

Advocate, Lucknow, writes:—

All of us felt very sorry and angry that such a valuable organ as the "*Indian Emigrant*" should have been crushed by the demand of security by the Bureaucracy. There was great indignation all over the country and in the public meeting here. The Olympian cracles from the Ootacamund heights have decided to withdraw the demand of a security. We thank them for it. But why did they take such a step against the "*Emigrant*"? They have to explain that, if they want to convince the outside public of the necessity for their action. What made them take this well-advised step of withdrawing the ill advised demand of a security? Is it because they heard the knell of Press Act rung on the near Victoria Public Hall, Madras, as well as the distant Kaisar Bagh Baradari, Lucknow? Will the Madras Government withdraw the security demanded from "*New India*" also? Or are they going to ignore the seething tide of public opinion? As for the "*Indian Emigrant*" its duty is clear, to uphold the claims of our countrymen abroad freely without fear.

The Punjabee, Lahore, writes:—

Another withdrawal under the Press Act.

According to a Madras telegram, the demand of a thousand rupees as security from the editor of the "*Indian Emigrant*" has been withdrawn by the Chief Presidency Magistrate. This is the second time that an order issued under the Press Act has been withdrawn. We do not know all the facts of this case, and until we know them, we cannot express any opinion in regard to it. We will make but one comment. If the order of withdrawal is the outcome of a decision on the part of the Local Government to follow a more liberal policy, then there is reason to hope that similar action may yet be taken in the case of "*New India*." We will hope for the best.

THE "INDIAN COLONIAL SOCIETY."

[A BRANCH FOR SOUTH AFRICA.]

The Editor, *African Chronicle*, Durban, writes:—We publish in another column a remarkable address delivered by Sir Arunachalam, a Cabinet Minister of the Ceylon Government, at the opening of a branch of the Indian Colonial Society in that Island; we venture to think that the learned Chairman has, in the choicest words, impressed on the mind of his audience, the useful nature of this institution. The founder and organising Secretary of the Indian Colonial Society, is, as our readers are aware, Mr. T. K. Swaminathan, the enterprising and able Journalist who is conducting the *Indian Emigrant* with great tact and energy, and it is pleasing for us to record here that his efforts to ameliorate the condition of our countrymen beyond the seas, is meeting with encouragement and we have no doubt ultimately it will lead to success. Ceylon is an important centre of commerce, and in addition to that, it has received a very large number of Indian immigrants who have now made that island their home, and therefore a branch of the Indian Colonial Society is destined to do great work if it was worked on practical lines. We understand that Mr. Swaminathan is contemplating to establish branches of the Society in the Malay States, Mauritius and other places also, and seeing that there has been a stoppage of indentured immigration to these places, an organisation of the kind will certainly promote the well-being of those who have settled down in these countries.

At the time when an agitation was set on foot for the stoppage of indentured immigration to Natal, we pointed out in these columns that the stoppage of indentured system alone is not calculated to remove the disabilities of the Indians in this country unless certain important steps are taken effectively to improve the condition of those who are domiciled in this country. Time and experience, day by day, bring home the conviction even to prejudiced minds that our contention is proving correct, and that therefore, unless strong, sustaining and earnest endeavours are made to further the interests and elevate the condition of the domiciled Indians in this country, there is every indication of them and their off-springs losing their national instincts and traditions and turn out a hybrid race.

The Indians in the Colonies, especially in South Africa, could not adequately recompense the originator of the idea for organising the scattered forces of the Indian

into a homogenous Indian Nationhood, and every Indian in this country ought to thank Mr. Swaminathan for the magnificent work he is doing to bring about a closer union of the Indians in the Colonies, and in view of the fact that the work of the Indian Colonial Society is pregnant of great possibilities for the Indians throughout the Empire, we hope that steps will be taken to form a branch of this Society in this country.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Kuala Lumpur, 13th July 1916.

The Editor,

Indian Emigrant, Madras.

Sir,

It is with deep regret and anxiety I have to bring these fateful grievances of myself and fellow countrymen who seriously suffer from want of good supervision so that justice may be carried out for our protection in this country.

In these countries there are numerous Malay chiefs, Royal families & Sultans in each State, such as Perak, Pahang, Selangor, Kedah, Negri Sembilan, Johore, Kelantan & Trengganu who hold large tracts of land as various kinds of Estates worked mostly by Tamil coolies. Such coolies, when admitted, were under the impression, that their wages shall be safely paid off as in other Estates. But to my strange expectation that the above-mentioned respectful personalities, are not paying their wages as there is a strong rule in this Government that complaints against such persons shall not be admitted into courts and report into I. I. Office are not accepted.

Thus a large number of Tamil coolies who serve in such Estates or places are suffering indescribably. If any of such coolies strongly demanded for their wages, they are rebuked and sometimes thrashed and so they keep quiet and bolt away to their country leaving their wages astray and thus the name of the Government is defiled.

Therefore I humbly crave your Department to take special attention on this line and remedy this prolonged fraud against coolies and see them paid regularly.

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sd.) Solai

G. S. S.

[We beg to draw the attention of the Controller of Labour, F. M. S. to this letter who we believe, is the proper authority to be referred to in matters of this kind and we are sure he will do the needful in such cases. It is no less a duty on the part of Indians coming across with such instances, to go to the rescue of the poor innocent coolies. Ed.]

General Articles.

ORIENTAL IMMIGRATION

By W. C. BILLINGS.

WE are indebted to the *Journal of Heredity* for the following paper which was read before the twelfth annual meeting of the American Genetic Association, August 3, 1915 at Berkeley, California. The author of the paper who is a surgeon in the United States Public Health Service and Chief Medical Officer Immigration Service, Angel Island (San Francisco), views the question from the eugenic standpoint and shows that the problem of Oriental Immigration on the Pacific coast of America is of much less importance to Eugenics than that on Atlantic coast, because intermarriage is rare between the orient and the occident. In doing so, he incidentally refers to the working of the Immigration Laws which is based on humanitarian principles and we commend the italicised portion found in the next page of the paper to our colonial authorities to execute their Laws in much the same fashion.

It is a pity that Indians have not yet begun to think of the problem of Indian Emigration eugenically. We have set forth these ideas with a view that a beginning may be made at least now to think in that direction:—

From the viewpoint of eugenics alone the administration of the immigration law (including the Chinese Exclusion Law) is not so important, because not so far reaching, on the Pacific coast as the execution of the same law at ports situated upon our eastern boundary. It may be of as great, or possibly even greater, importance upon the Pacific coast if viewed from other standpoints,—for instance that of economics, standards of living, and possibly, in the opinion of a considerable number of people, that of simple fairness. The reason for the lesser degree of living interest, in so far as the application of the laws mentioned bear upon the subject of eugenics, is simple, and is tersely put by the man who has the ability, in such a pre-eminent degree, of sensing the feelings and attitudes of all sorts of peoples, when he says "and never the twain shall meet."

The application of this expression to the problem of eugenics and the administration of the Immigration Law upon our west coast, which really amounts to saying the problem of eugenics in its relation to the

citizens of our country and the Oriental, is not in the slightest degree a reflection upon the peoples of any of the countries concerned,—it is simply an expression used in an explanatory way to accent the point that, as a purely eugenic consideration, the execution of the immigration law upon the Pacific coast is not of very great moment for the very simple reason that, upon both sides, there seems to be, speaking broadly, absolutely no disposition to inter-marry.

In the opinion of the Rev. B. C. Howorth, who spent nineteen years in Japan as a missionary, and who for the last eight years has been employed by the United States Immigration Service as Japanese interpreter, there are on our whole Pacific coast not more than twenty instances of intermarriage between Americans and Japanese, and in the opinion of John Endicott Gardiner, for sixteen years resident in China and for thirty years Chinese Inspector in the United States Immigration Service, one might count on the fingers of both hands the number of American-Chinese marriages between San Diego and Seattle. Both of these men are in close touch, respectively, with Japanese and Chinese matters and conditions and are able to give an approximately accurate estimate of the extent of intermarriage.

CONTRAST ON TWO COASTS.

The immigration received at our Atlantic ports, while certainly racially heterogeneous enough to satisfy the most extreme longing for variety, still admits, and as time goes on will admit more and more, of an opportunity to study from a eugenic standpoint the ultimate product of the "melting pot." The explanation of this opportunity is as simple as is the explanation for the lack of opportunity previously spoken of,—it is simply that, given propinquity, Occidental races will intermarry to almost any extent, but under such conditions as have so far existed in the United States the Occidental exhibits no tendency to intermarry with the Oriental and that lack of inclination seems to be entirely mutual.

The administration of the immigration laws at California ports is supposedly the same as at all ports of entry located wherever they may be, with the addition of the Chinese exclusion law. Naturally the last named law applies at certain other places, but it is at those ports situated upon the Pacific coast that the opportunity, or necessity, for its greater scope exists.

The expression "ports of entry" used in an immigration sense must not necessarily be connected in one's mind with seaboard cities alone,—it means any

place where the Immigration Service has its officers regularly located, and may be a thousand miles from the coast. There are, for instance, sixty-five places stretched along the Canadian border through any of which aliens may lawfully enter the United States provided they present clearly their eligibility to do so, and twenty-five of these places have what are called "boards of special inquiry" for the consideration of those cases in which the right to land, under the immigration laws, is not clearly established. On the Mexican border thirteen ports of entry are located.

All ports of entry consider the application for entry to our country of all aliens, from any country whatever, with the one exception of Chinese, while certain cities are designated as Chinese ports of entry and any Chinese not entering through one of them is surreptitiously in the United States; these places are San Francisco and San Diego, Cal.; Portland, Ore.; Boston, Mass.; New York, N. Y.; New Orleans, La.; Port Townsend and Seattle, Wash.; Tampa, Fla.; Honolulu, Hawaii and San Juan and Ponce, P. R.

In considering the administration of the Immigration Laws at California ports we have then to consider San Francisco, San Diego, Andrade, Campo, Calexico and Tia Juana, and to bear in mind that while there are two laws, one called the Immigration Law and the other the Chinese Exclusion Law, they both, from any but an official standpoint, are alike in their aim and result, namely, the keeping of undesirable aliens out of the United States.

The immigration to California ports is, broadly speaking, entirely Oriental, consisting of Japanese, Chinese, Koreans and Hindus, the number of arriving aliens of Occidental lineage being so small that for the purposes of this paper they may be disregarded.

All aliens, including of course Orientals, have to comply with the general requirements of the immigration laws, but in a certain sense the arrivals at California ports have to go somewhat farther in that the Chinese have to meet the restrictions of the Chinese Exclusion Law, while our Government has an agreement with the Japanese Government regarding a certain type of Japanese immigrant.

EVOLUTION OF THE LAWS.

The immigration laws of our country have evolved gradually and changes have been made from time to time in order that they may meet conditions not existing, or not realized, at the time of their framing.

To the organic laws must be added such interpretations and constructions of them as have been made by various departmental officials and the resulting total presents at times a rather difficult and intricate executive problem, especially if it be borne in mind that the humanitarian aspect is a factor that cannot, and should not, be overlooked, because in the application of these laws we are not deciding something concerning inanimate chattels but are dealing with human beings who have done no wrong and whose hopes and fears and aspirations are the same as ours.

The first immigration act was approved March 3, 1875, and the last March 4, 1913. Between the two there have been eighteen acts amending, either by elimination or addition, some portion of acts previously passed. The law as it stands to-day consists, we may say for the sake of clearness, of two portions—namely, the portion bearing directly upon the moral, social and financial condition of the alien and his past history in regard to these conditions, or in other words, to coin an expression, his "immigration status;" and the medical portion, which concerns itself entirely with the mental and physical condition of the immigrant.

Quoting from Section 2 of the Act of February 20, 1907, as amended by the Acts of March 26, 1910, and March 4, 1913, "the following classes of aliens shall be excluded from admission into the United States: . . . Paupers; persons likely to become a public charge; professional beggars, . . . persons who have been convicted of or admit having committed a felony or other crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude; polygamists, or persons who admit their belief in the practice of polygamy; anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States, or of all government, or of all forms of law, or the assassination of public officials; prostitutes, or women or girls coming into the United States for the purpose of prostitution or for any other immoral purpose; persons who are supported by, or receive in whole or in part the proceeds of prostitution; persons who procure or attempt to bring in prostitutes or women or girls for the purpose of prostitution or for any other immoral purpose; persons herein-after called contract laborers who have been induced or solicited to migrate to this country by offers or promises of employment or in consequence of agreements, oral, written or printed, expressed or implied, to perform labor in this country of any kind, skilled or unskilled; those who have been, within one year from the date of application for admission to the United States, deported as having been induced or solicited to migrate as above described; any person whose ticket or passage is paid for

with the money of another, or who is assisted by others to come, unless it is affirmatively and satisfactorily shown that such person does not belong to one of the foregoing excluded classes and that said ticket or passage was not paid for by any corporation, association, society, municipality, or foreign government, either directly or indirectly; all children under 16 years of age unaccompanied by one or both of their parents, at the discretion of the Secretary of Labor or under such regulations as he may from time to time prescribe: Provided, That nothing in this Act shall exclude, if otherwise admissible, persons convicted of an offense purely political, not involving moral turpitude: Provided further, That the provisions of this section relating to the payments for tickets or passage by any corporation, association, society, municipality, or foreign government shall not apply to the tickets or passage of aliens in immediate and continuous transit through the United States to foreign continuous territory; and provided further, That skilled labor may be imported if labor of like kind unemployed cannot be found in the country: And provided further, That the provisions of this law applicable to contract labor shall not be held to exclude professional actors, artists, lecturers, singers, ministers of any religious denomination, professors for colleges or seminaries, persons belonging to any recognized learned profession, or persons employed strictly as personal or domestic servants."

It will be seen that the portion of the law which has just been quoted relates to what I have called the "immigration status" of the alien. The medical portion of the same paragraph of the law reads as follows, "The following classes of aliens shall be excluded from admission into the United States: All idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, epileptics, insane persons, and persons who have been insane within five years previously, persons who have had two or more attacks of insanity at any time previously; persons likely to become a public charge, persons afflicted with tuberculosis or with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, persons not comprehended within any of the foregoing excluded classes who are found to be and are certified by the examining surgeon as being mentally or physically defective, such mental or physical defect being of a nature which may affect the ability of such alien to earn a living."

In the general application of these provisions of the law at San Francisco, at which port over 90% of the work of California ports is done, the arriving aliens are examined as to what I have called their immigration status by Inspectors of the Immigration Service,

who are appointed to that position after civil service examination, and physically by Medical Officers of the United States Public Health Service who are assigned to temporary duty as medical advisers to the Commissioner of Immigration.

These men board all incoming passenger ships from foreign ports immediately after the vessel is given pratique by the quarantine officer and while the immigration officers are busy determining whether or not there are any persons among the passengers who are exempt from immigration examination, such as United States citizens, foreign government officials and their suites, and in selecting such persons as unquestionably conform to all the requirements of the law, so that they may release such persons immediately from the ship, the medical officers are closely scrutinizing the first cabin passengers with a view to determining whether or not they present symptoms of any of the diseases which are mandatorily excludable. If no such symptoms are observed, and the immigration officers have found nothing undesirable or questionable, permission to land directly from the ship is given. The medical officers then conduct an examination of the crew to determine whether or not any of them present symptoms of a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease. In the event that they do they are not allowed to land while in port and are taken back to the country from whence they came on the return voyage of the vessel. At the present time all second cabin and steerage alien passengers from all ports in the orient are taken from the ship to the immigration station on Angel Island, where a much more thorough physical examination is made than is possible on shipboard.

Fiscal year	VOLUME OF IMMIGRATION.			Photo brides
	Males	Females	Total	
ending				
1905	598	209	807	133
1906	594	218	812	121
1907	1,063	329	1,392	238
1908	432	188	620	112
1909	267	222	489	146
1910	376	348	724	266
1911	842	1,028	1,870	845
1912	1,165	1,436	2,601	1,230
1913	1,863	1,529	3,392	1,317
1914	2,018	1,856	3,874	1,595
Grand totals	9,218	7,363	16,581	6,003

Because our Government and the Government of Japan have an agreement whereby Japan will not issue passports to laborers, and if a Japanese arrives without a passport the burden of proof that he is not a laborer rests upon him, and we have the Chinese Exclusion Law, it very naturally seems to many people not familiar with the conditions that Oriental immigration would not be in sufficient numbers to be of much interest. Such, however, is not an actuality as there are so many exceptions.

All Japanese, except laborers, may come to the United States, and the result in numbers arriving at the port of San Francisco alone, for the last ten years is shown in the preceding table. During the corresponding ten years the total number of aliens of all nationalities admitted at San Francisco was 76,240.

The column headed "photograph brides" represents one of the most interesting classes of Japanese immigration although the term is, strictly speaking, a misnomer inasmuch as a photograph although, very naturally, often exchanged, is in no way a necessary or indispensable part of the arrangement. The term "proxy brides" which is frequently applied to the same class is, in so far as it implies the presence of a third party, also a misnomer, as, properly speaking, there are no proxy marriages in Japan.

The agreement referred to between the American and Japanese Governments to stop the emigration of laborers was made in 1908 and at that time a very considerable number of Japanese laborers were domiciled in this country, particularly upon the Pacific coast. Section 37 of the law already quoted allows domiciled aliens to bring their wives to join them and these men very naturally take advantage of the privilege. Marriage in Japan is arranged by the parents of the contracting parties and consists of removing from the register of her own family the name of the bride and adding it, in the official register of the administrative district in which he lives, to the names of the family of the groom. There is no civil or religious ceremony unless the contracting parties happen to be Christians. The ceremony of removing the name is followed by a social gathering of friends and assumes a congratulatory character.

This custom, which constitutes the legal marriage of Japan, can be followed even through the contracting parties are not both present and the woman becomes the legal wife of the man, leaves Japan with her passport made out as Mrs., and arrives here the wife of a domiciled alien. Six thousand and three have so arrived at San Francisco in the last ten years.

CHINESE ADMITTED.

The word "exclusion" used in connection with the Chinese law doubtless leads many people into the belief that *now* there are no Chinese admitted to the United States for the first time. Such is not the case, as the following are exempt classes under the Chinese Exclusion Act, coming to the United States for the first time on passports or other means of identification:

1. Officials (including Presidents of any of the "Six Companies," made ex-officio members of the Consulate in order to be admitted.) Wives, children (natural or adopted) and servants of officials, born in any foreign country whatsoever. There are no restrictions on the official class other than the passport requirement.

2. Merchants, their wives and their children, whether natural or adopted. (Merchants may return to the United States without a new passport after spending a year in the United States as merchants on testimony of two credible witnesses other than Chinese.)

3. Travellers and their families. (After completing their travels they may remain in the United States by becoming merchants or teachers.)

4. Teachers and their families. Teachers may return to the United States on same conditions as merchants.

5. Students. These may return to the United States on the same conditions as merchants or teachers.

6. While no Chinese laborers have been allowed to come to the United States for the first time since November, 1882, nevertheless those who were in this country on that date, or who had been here and came back within ninety days of that date, were allowed to go to China and return at will up to the time of passage of the Geary Act in 1893, and since then have been allowed to go and return provided they fulfilled the requirements of registration according to law, had property worth \$1,000 in the United States, or debts owed to them aggregating that amount, or had a family, and provided they returned within one year, generally speaking, or within two years if circumstances entirely beyond their control had arisen and thereby legitimately detained them.

It will be readily appreciated that with these six classes of Chinese allowed to enter the United States, the total annual Chinese immigration is of considerable volume.

Chinese immigration to this country began in 1848 when the brig "Eagle" brought two men and one woman from Hongkong—it increased rapidly but irregularly; and in a speech delivered before the United States Senate on March 7, 1878, the Hon. A. A. Sargeant estimated that, up to October 1876, 233,136 Chinese had come to the United States and that 93,273 had departed therefrom, leaving a total of 139,863 in the country on that date.

The restrictions of the exclusion law, the departure for China and other places and the natural mortality have very greatly reduced the number of domiciled Chinese until at the present date there are probably not more than 100,000 in our country.

The exclusion law does not exclude with such inflexibility that at the present time there is no Chinese immigration as a glance at the following table showing the arrivals for the last ten years will prove.

CHINESE, including alleged citizens, landed at San Francisco alone, during the years specified. (Fiscal year ending June 30, 1915.)

Year	Male	Female	Total
1905	1,701	67	1,768
1906	1,741	102	1,843
1907	2,047	99	2,146
1908	2,889	165	3,054
1909	4,294	278	4,572
1910	3,700	252	3,952
1911	2,787	189	2,976
1912	3,130	172	3,302
1913	3,145	239	3,384
1914	3,404	206	3,610
1915	3,694	242	3,936
	32,532	2,011	34,543

JAPANESE:

1915	2,788	2,113	4,901
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It was previously stated that second and third cabin aliens from Oriental ports were brought from the ships upon which they arrive to Angel Island where in conjunction with the immigration examination, the medical examination is proceeded with. The aliens are taken to the hospital and, the sexes being separated, lined up under charge of a male or female nurse as the case may be and the eyelids of every one turned by the Medical Officer conducting the examination and the conjunctiva thoroughly

inspected to determine the possible presence of trachoma, which is one of the mandatorily excludable diseases. In the case of the women the medical officer makes, coupled with the eye examination, a minute inspection of the face, hands and general appearance. The slightest suspicion of any untoward condition, such as a lung or heart involvement, a skin eruption, evidence of temperature, etc., etc., is followed by a sufficiently extensive examination appropriate to the condition to determine the diagnosis; but in the absence of any suspicious signs this concludes the physical examination. The men are all stripped to the waist, the eyelids are turned and the heart and lungs tested; at the same time notice is being taken of any skin eruption, scars, deformities, or any departure from the normal, including pronounced poor physique. If any of these conditions are observed the alien is held in the hospital a sufficient length of time to obtain a proper clinical history and to arrive at some conclusion as to the underlying cause of the condition. At the conclusion of these procedures each man is taken individually behind a ward screen and completely stripped, in order that any existing abnormality below the waist may be observed. During these examinations the possible presence of tropical disease of any kind is particularly borne in mind, and it is at this time that we detect such of those tropical conditions as obtain and which do not require the use of the microscope to establish a diagnosis, or hold for later laboratory investigation persons presenting symptoms of any disease in which the specific organism is known, this latter step being necessitated because officially the attitude is assumed that it is unjustifiable to certify as present a disease of specific origin until the specific organism has been isolated. These examinations having been completed and all conditions necessitating certification to the immigration officials having been noted, each alien, both male and female, is required to furnish a specimen of feces for hookworm examination. When these specimens are properly prepared they are sent to the laboratory for microscopical examination.

By pursuing the system outlined the medical officers have, during the last three years, detected and certified to the Commissioner of Immigration over 100 different diseases, certain ones running into numbers of considerable degree, as for instance approximately 3,000 cases of hookworm disease detected and cured before being allowed to land. The list includes, besides the conditions that we in this country are accustomed to meet, such diseases as beri-beri, morphinism, uncinariasis, small-pox, trachoma, clonorobiosis, balantidic dysentery, liver abscess, sprue, elephantiasis, leprosy and tropical dysentery.

It may be possible with the progress of time and the accompanying extension of travel with its broadening effect, and the probable partial obliteration of strict geographical lines, that intermarriage between Oriental and Occidental will be very much more frequent than at present. If that be the case it is reassuring to know that aliens arriving at our California ports suffering from mental, moral, or physical defects, or loathsome or dangerous contagious disease will, through the operation of the Immigration Law, and in so far as they come within that law, be denied admission to our country.

COLONIAL OFFICE POLICY ON INDIAN LABOUR.

DISPATCH FROM DOWNING STREET.

The following is the full text of the dispatch, dealing with Indian Immigration received by His Excellency the Acting Governor of Fiji:—

The Secretary of State to the Acting Governor,
Downing Street,
March 24, 1916.

Sir,—With reference to your dispatch, No. 439, of 29th November last, and No. 30 of 27th January, I have the honour to transmit to you the accompanying copy of correspondence with the India Office on the subject of Indian indentured emigration to the Colonies.

2. You will observe from the dispatch from the Governor-General of India in Council, dated the 15th of October last, that the Government of India now urge His Majesty's Government to assent to the total abolition of the system in the four British Colonies where it still prevails (*i.e.*, British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica, Fiji and in Surinam).

3. You will see from the letter from the India Office dated the 10th ultimo that the Secretary of State for India is satisfied that it would not be possible for the Government of India to continue to defeat, by a bare official majority, resolutions in their Legislative Council urging the abolition of indentures; that, in his opinion, the strong and universal feeling in India on this subject make it a question of urgency; and that he has accepted the conclusion that indentured emigration must be abolished.

4. You will note from the dispatch from the Secretary of State for India to the Governor-General of India in Council, dated the 11th ultimo, that the

Secretary of State for India has already addressed the Government of India accordingly, and has intimated that he accepts their policy.

5. Though from the point of view of the Colonies concerned, the decision which the Indian Government and the Secretary of State for India have taken is to be regretted, I recognise that the final decision upon this question must rest with the Indian Government, and I am satisfied that no useful purpose would be served by inviting a reconsideration of the decision.

6. I have, therefore, agreed to the appointment of an inter-departmental Committee to consider what system should be substituted for the system of indenture, and have meanwhile suggested that recruiting under indenture should be allowed for a further period of five years, and should cease at the end of that period. The India Office letter of the 10th ultimo and the telegram to the Governor-General in Council of the 24th ultimo show that the Secretary of State for India is anxious that the change of system should be brought about with as little disturbance as possible of the economic interests of the Colonies, and that he has made it clear that the existing system must be maintained until a new and properly safeguarded system has been devised.

7. The anxiety which the Secretary of State for India has shown to safeguard existing interests will be warmly appreciated by those in the Colony under your Government who are most likely to be affected by the abolition of indenture.

8. In approaching the consideration of the steps which should be taken with a view to determining future policy in this matter I am of opinion that no useful purpose would be served by appointing the inter-departmental Committee referred to above in paragraph 6 until I am in possession of the views of the Governments of the four Colonies concerned as to the system which should be substituted for the system of indenture. This opinion has been accepted after informal discussion by the India Office.

9. As present advised, however, I contemplate that it would be desirable that such a Committee should be appointed at a reasonably early date, say, in the autumn of the present year.

10. In a similar dispatch which I have addressed to the Governors of British Guiana, Trinidad and Jamaica, I have suggested that those Governments should arrange

for the holding of a preliminary conference in the West Indies, in order to consider the new situation, and decide upon their future policy in regard to immigration from India.

11. I have not suggested that the Government of Fiji should be represented at the proposed conference, as, owing to the distance of the Colony, this would result in delay, and I am not at present clear whether it will be desirable for Fiji to follow in all respects the policy adopted by the West Indian Colonies in regard to emigration from India. I have, however, given instructions that a copy of the report of the proceedings at the West Indian Conference should be forwarded direct to your Government.

12. I take this opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your dispatch, No. 478, of the 29th of December last, enclosing a transcript of the Indian Immigration Amendment Ordinance, 1915, which embodies the alterations in the Fiji Immigration law arising out of Messrs. Mc. Neill and Chimman Lal's report.

13. I have caused a copy of your dispatch, No. 30 of 27th January and a copy of the new Immigration Ordinance to be communicated to the Secretary of State for India, and I shall address you further in regard to them when I have received Mr. Chamberlain's observations, and those of the Government of India to whom they have been referred. I am, however, of opinion that whatever changes may be introduced in the present system of Indian Immigration it is desirable that the recommendations contained in the Report of the Indian Commissioners should, as far as possible, be complied with immediately.

14. The most important of these recommendations have reference to the *penal provisions* contained in the Immigration laws of the various colonies, and especially to those which sanction the punishment of imprisonment for purely labour offences. I am aware that in Fiji fines have been substituted for imprisonment, in the case of all ordinary offences against the labour laws, by the Indian Immigration Amendment Ordinance 1912, and I gather that Ordinance No. XXXI of 1915 has completely eliminated the power to imprison for labour offences from the Fiji labour ordinances. I should, however, be glad to receive an assurance to this effect, as I have decided that the power to imprison for labour offences must be *definitely eliminated* from the labour laws of all the four Colonies which recruit indentured labourers from India, and I have given the Secretary of State for India an

assurance that this will be done before the end of the present year.

15. In regard to the other recommendations of the Commissioners, it is clear that those dealt within paragraphs 23, 31, 34, and 48 which relate respectively to education, medical service, direct steamer service, with India and the recruiting of married couples with families, cannot be fully carried out immediately, but must stand over for consideration by the inter-departmental committee above referred to. It is also clear that the proposed reduction of the import duties on dhal, grain and rice will require further consideration in view of the heavy loss of revenue involved.

16. I note that the Commissioners recommend that the *weekly hours should be 40* in ordinary times and that the Committee, whose report is enclosed in your dispatch, No. 30, consider that they should be 45. I am taking steps to ascertain the views of the Indian Government upon this point. In regard to paragraph 25 of the Committee's Report it would seem reasonable that cement drains should only be provided if ordered by the Chief Medical Officer and the Agent-General of Immigration, and I agree (paragraph 27) that the Chief Medical Officer should be allowed reasonable discretion as to the provision of hospital accommodation, though it is essential that *hospitals* should be reasonably accessible to all estates employing over 30 labourers.

17. The other recommendations of the Commissioners which are for the most part endorsed by the Committee, should be carried out as soon as possible. I attach special importance to the recommendation that *pregnant and nursing women should be entitled to rations or diet*, and that milk rations should be issued to children under five years of age. I also endorse the view that immigrants should be granted small plots of land and given facilities for keeping cows.

18. With regard to *ankylostomiasis* (paragraph 3 of the Committee's Report) I propose to await any observations which you may wish to offer after you have had an opportunity of discussing this question with Dr. Heiser, of the International Health Commission, of whose visit you were apprised in my telegram of the 29th of January last.

19. You will no doubt lay a copy of this dispatch before the Legislative Council at an early date.

I have, etc.,

A. BONAR LAW.

WAGES OF TAMIL LABOUR IN CEYLON.

The *Ceylon Morning Leader* in its issue of May 11 discusses the question of wages in the light of the Sabaragamuwa Labour Commission Report as follows:—After all, it is the wages that bring the cooly to Ceylon. What does the cooly expect to get? What does the Commission expect him to get? And what, in fact, does he get? There is some conflict here. To begin with, it is curious that though this was a Commission to probe into the grievances of the coolies, the Commissioners only examined two coolies, while they heard no less than 35 Europeans, nearly all planters. The Commissioners often tell us what they find from the evidence of Superintendents; of the cooly, they have little to say, except that there were practically no complaints by them to the Superintendents. Many of the coolies, questioned why they did not complain of this grievance or that trouble to the Superintendent, either show themselves aghast at the suggestion of such audacity, or declare that they were never allowed to go near him, or that the Superintendent did not understand the language and drove them away, or that they never had the chance. There would naturally be no complaints, but that does not imply that there would be none of that suffering which the Commission was appointed and expected to investigate. For instance, in 1913, 227 of the 950 coolies on Niwitigala died. *They made no complaint, but just died.* The absence of any complaint from them would not prove that they did not suffer death, would it? But there is perhaps another reason why the Commissioners did not care to examine coolies. They would not have believed them, if they had. Mr. R. N. THAINE, Government Agent of Sabaragamuwa, in a Report to Government on the hardships of the coolies, is greatly impressed by "the tendency of people of this class to exaggerate their grievances, especially when they find they are the subject of inquiry by the authorities"; and so, of course, he would not encourage this most improper tendency, and where he could not help asking questions, would not believe the replies. "My own view," says he, "is that the stories of cruelty are gross exaggerations," and again:—"I do not think that any credence can be attached to this complaint," which, of course, settles the matter, and so easily, too. Wherefore, those whom the Government appointed to inquire into the grievances of the coolies, avoided questioning coolies and preferred, instead, to question those against whom the coolies' complaints were directed. They are quite satisfied with this result.

Now for our three questions: What did the coolies expect to get as wages? And what wages do they actually get? TUKARAM LACHIMAN was getting Rs. 12 to Rs. 13 a month in India as a weaver. He was induced to come to Ceylon on the promise that he would easily earn Rs. 12 a month. He actually gets no more than Rs. 1-5-0 or Rs. 2 a month. PARVATHI, a woman, whose husband was a European's butler in India and earned Rs. 25 a month, was told that she would be a kangany over women and earn about Rs. 13 a month. In point of fact, she says:—"Sometimes I get Rs. 1 a month, and sometimes 50 cents." Her husband was in jail on the day she testified. ASANA, whose father earned anything between Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 a month and employed 150 men in India, was enticed to Ceylon on promises of Rs. 16 to Rs. 20 a month "with food,—mutton, fowls, &c." So he stole Rs. 300 from his father's hoard and came away with the kangany, who plundered him of his cash. His actual wages are Rs. 1 to Rs. 1-5-0 a month. TUKA RAM BALIAH earned between Rs. 16 to Rs. 25 a month in India, as a weaver. He was enticed to Ceylon on promises of regular wages of Rs. 25 to Rs. 30 a month with work only till noon. His actual wages are between Rs. 1-5-0 to Rs. 1-7-5 a month. He never once got more than Rs. 2 a month. LAKSIMAN was promised Rs. 30 a month, with work only till noon. He longed to be free from the estate and one day he bolted. He then had no more than Rs. 2 with him, although he was a kangany with 16 men under him. Of course, it must be remembered that every man got some rice in addition, the rice being part of the wages, and counted as such. Lest the reader should receive this testimony with the bias of Mr. THAINE and decline to "attach any credence to it," we may perhaps quote Mr. THAINE himself on the point.—"As regards the complaint that the coolies never had enough money or wages to enable them to purchase sundries, &c., it is a fact that in the majority of cases, coolies only receive as their wages at the end of the month small sums varying between 75 cents and Rs. 8. But the amount of wages payable in cash at the end of a month depends upon various circumstances, such as the number of days worked, the quantity of rice issued, and the deductions made on account of advances or debts. From inquiries made, I am satisfied that great care is taken not to deduct too much on account of advances"—not to deduct too much from 75 cents, for instance—"it being the object to give the cooly sufficient cash to enable him to purchase sundries and other necessities. The allegations of starvation are entirely without foundation"—they were amply proved afterwards

by Mr. BOONE and others, when coolies were found dying or dead of starvation. "If a cooly does not work, he cannot expect to be paid or to receive his required quantity of rice. I do not suppose it will be contended that the conditions existing in India are different."

Perhaps not. But does not the cooly come here from India because he expects something rather better than he can find by staying in India? How does the Englishman approach the situation in his own case? Does he not expect better pay and better conditions of comfort and social station by coming to Ceylon? Mr. THAINE says the coolies' statements are usually exaggerated, that men of that class are unreliable, that he attaches no credence to their words. Well, we have Mr. THAINE's words, too. For example:—Mr. A. P. BOONE writes (January, 1914):—"Forty coolies stated prostrating before us, saying they were starving.....the coolies were obviously being starved. Many of them were fit only for hospital. Dr. PERERA told me that from all sides he was hearing similar reports.....they were unable to resist such diseases (hook-worm) owing to being under-fed.....Four deaths occurred from starvation.....From what I saw, I can believe it." The Commissioners say (paragraph 75 B):—"Dr. LUNN drew attention to a number of half starved coolies..... Nor do we find any inquiry was made (by the European Superintendents) into the methods of the kanganies whose coolies were found in this half-starved condition..... To what extent this lack of supervision over the distribution of rice was responsible for the condition of the coolies and contributed to the high mortality, it is difficult to state." Mr. THAINE declares that the allegations of starvation are entirely false. Mr. BOONE, Dr. LUNN and the Commission find such allegations entirely true. Mr. THAINE says the cooly is unreliable and unworthy of credence. Comment is needless. However to return to the question of wages: Mr. THAINE says that the majority of coolies receive as wages in cash between 75 cents and Rs. 3 a month. The coolies say they get between Rs. 1-5-0 and Rs. 2. But the Commissioners report that it is possible for a good working cooly to earn as much as Rs. 15 to Rs. 20, and at some seasons from Rs. 25 to Rs. 30. They add that "these wages can be earned and are actually earned by a very large number of coolies." We have heard the evidence. Which is true? That which Mr. THAINE says, viz., that in the majority of cases, coolies only receive 75 cents to Rs. 3 as wages or that a very large number earn Rs. 20, Rs. 25 and 30 a month? And that was the way this Commission tried to help the cooly in Sabaragamuwa.

INDIANS IN RHODESIA.

The following petition, published in the "Indian opinion," has been addressed to His Honour the Administrator of Southern Rhodesia by the *British Indian Association of Bulawayo* on behalf of the community of British Indians in Southern Rhodesia:—

We trust that the Government of India will take steps to enquire into the matter and redress the grievances. The fact that the position of Indians in the colonies will be improved after the war is no remedy for the present ills; rather the existing hardships do not in any way guarantee future good treatment.

1. That your Petitioners represent the large majority of British Indians resident in Southern Rhodesia, and are authorised by resolutions duly passed at duly convened meetings of Indian residents in these Territories to present this Petition on their behalf.

2. That your Petitioners and those they represent have more than £150,000 invested in this Territory in landed property, merchandise and book debts.

3. That by reason of the provisions of the Immigration Laws and Regulations thereunder in force in these Territories the British Indians resident in Southern Rhodesia are subjected to many restrictions and suffer many grievances.

4. That the said British Indians are also aggrieved with the action of certain Municipal Bodies and Licensing Boards in reference to the refusal to grant licences or renewals to traders and hawkers.

5. That *inter alia* your Petitioners complain:—
(a) of Regulation 7 relating to marriage certificates for that Marriage Certificates are not granted to Indians married according to the rites of the Mahomedan and Hindu religions. In general marriages take place when the contracting parties are very young and it is frequently impossible to obtain the Certificate A. It is also in many cases where the parties have been married for some period and have left the place of marriage, impossible to obtain the Certificate B. Thus there are great and frequently insuperable difficulties in producing the evidence required by law and it is submitted that the Law requires serious modification.

(b) Refusal of applications for Certificates of identity under Section 17, sub-section 2.

Your Petitioners submit that these applications should not be refused in the case of *bona fide* applicants.

Great hardship is and has been caused in many instances by reason of refusals without reason assigned. If in case of refusal reasons were assigned the Applicant would have the opportunity of showing that the objections were groundless.

The present rule of practice requiring identification from a European resident before granting a certificate of identity works hardship and should be abolished.

- (c) Your Petitioners further submit that condition 2 attached to the Certificate of identity is unreasonable and should be eliminated.
- (d) At the present time owing to the irregularity of the sailing of ships between India and South Africa caused by the war it is frequently impossible for a person to return within the period mentioned in a certificate and it is submitted that in such cases the period mentioned in the certificate should be extended or that all certificates should be considered as extended during the period of the War.
- (e) It is submitted that Indians who have been admitted to these Territories in the past and who have gone to India or elsewhere prior to the promulgation of the existing Ordinance should be allowed to return on proving their identity and previous residence without being obliged to comply with the formalities prescribed by the present Ordinance.
- (f) It is submitted that Indians resident in these Territories should be allowed to engage such Indian Assistants or labourers as they may require for the purposes of their business or farming operations on giving due security for the repatriation of such assistants or labourers at the expiration of their term of service and for this purpose that Section 7, sub-section 5 of the Ordinance should be amended.
- (g) It is submitted that the provisions of the Ordinance should be amended to allow Indians residing in the Union or Bechuanaland who desire to proceed to India via Beira or to return by that route to travel through these Territories. At present they are stopped at Bulawayo or Umtali and obliged to return. In the case of Indians residing in the Union who do not desire to return to that country the authorities refuse to issue permits stating such are not required. A period of one month is saved on the journey to

India if Indians embark at Beira instead of Cape Town.

- (h) By a recent regulation the Portuguese Immigration Authorities will not allow any Indian to pass to Rhodesia unless informed by Rhodesian authorities that the permits are in order. Application is made to the Rhodesian Authorities requesting them to communicate with the Portuguese authorities and they refuse to do so unless first requested so to do by the Portuguese authorities. The Portuguese authorities refuse to take the first step and in consequence great delay and expense has been occasioned to Indians lawfully returning to this country. It is submitted that an understanding with the Portuguese authorities could be arrived at to avoid this.
- (i) Many Indians who come within the definition of a prohibited Immigrant have entered the Territory with permission but do not appear to have been duly registered on entry. Unless proof of entry or subsequent registration is found in the Official Records any such Indian is liable to be deported. It is alleged that in numerous cases the reason of the non-entry in the Official Records is due to error or omission on the part of the then Immigration Officers, and in such cases it is submitted on proof that the entry was not illegal the person should be allowed to remain.
- (j) Numerous deportations having taken place during the past year of Indians resident in these Territories but who originally entered these Territories without permission. There are believed to be many Indians now in the Territory who have been here for many years without permission.
- The Authorities in Cape Town in 1914 on the representation of the Indian Association appointed a Commission to inquire into the matter and allowed a period of six months in which any Indian might enter his name voluntarily and such as entered their names voluntarily were allowed to remain in the Union. Your Petitioners suggest that a similar opportunity for voluntary entry of names should be granted to those Indians who are at present within this Territory but whose names have not been duly registered. This Association are willing to assist the Immigration authorities in every way in their power to induce Indians to enter their names during any period of grace that may be granted.
- (k) Licences.—The grounds on which a Council or Board may refuse to grant a Certificate are set forth

in Section 1 of Ordinance 6 of 1910. Councils and Boards frequently refuse Certificates on grounds other than those mentioned in the Section.

Pending the hearing of an appeal from such decision the applicant is unable to carry on business and is heavily penalised by loss of business. It is submitted that all such appeals should be decided within a specified time or otherwise that the appellant should be allowed to trade pending the decision of the appeal.

- (l) That it is desirable that the hardships and grievances from which the British Indian Community in these Territories is suffering should be removed,

Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray that Your Honour will be pleased to give your favourable consideration to this their Petition and will cause the same to be brought to the notice of the Legislation Council and other authorities to the end that such amendments to the existing laws may be passed as will remedy the grievances above set forth. And your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray, &c.

EMIGRATION FROM CALCUTTA.

The following is the resolution on the annual report on emigration from the port of Calcutta to British and Foreign Colonies.

Though emigration was resumed in the year under review, the effect of the European war was again marked, and shortage of tonnage prevented more than half of the colonial demand being satisfied. Apart from this the chief feature of the year was the discontinuance of recruitment for Surinam and the delegation to the Protector of Emigrants of the power vested in the Local Government to grant licenses to Masters of emigrant vessels.

As in previous years three agencies represented the British colonies, but this year the Durbar Agency for Surinam ceased to work. The demand for labour increased from 5,132 in 1914 to 5,846 in the year under review, but owing to the lack of steamers the supply fell from 2,508 to 2,314, of which Fiji secured more than half. The number of licenses issued to recruiters in 1915 was 556 or 87 less than in the year 1914, two-thirds of the decrease being due to the suspension of the Surinam Agency's operations. Sixteen recruiters' licenses, including two granted in 1914, were cancelled during the year

misconduct being the cause in 12 cases against 32 in the previous year. As in 1914, recruiting operations were conducted in Bengal, Behar and Orissa, Ajmere, the Central Provinces and the United Provinces, but no emigrants were recruited in the Punjab. The total number of emigrants registered was 5,975 or 830 more than in 1914. The majority (91.40 per cent.) came as usual from the United Provinces, the Basti, Gonda, Gorakhpur and Fyzabad districts supplying the largest numbers. Of the 5,968 emigrants admitted in the sub-depôts and in the central depôt at Benares, 1,858 were rejected on medical examination as unfit to emigrate, and of the rest, 3,151 arrived at the Calcutta depôts. This number was subsequently reduced by rejections, releases and other causes to 2,952, of whom 2,438 were shipped during the year and 514 were left for subsequent despatch. The sanitary arrangements in the depôts were good. The total number of emigrants admitted to hospital was 336, of whom five died as against 230 admissions and 18 deaths in 1914, the mortality among the depôt population showing a satisfactory decrease of 31 per cent. over the figure for the previous year.

During the year, 1,155 emigrants left the colonies, of whom 12 brought savings amounting in the aggregate to Rs. 2,12,157, the average for each emigrant being Rs. 183 as compared with Rs. 151 in 1914. On the other hand, 1,043 emigrants, including 783 adults, came without any savings. Remittances from emigrants resident in the colonies showed a general decrease in the case of all the colonies except Mauritius, from which a sum of Rs. 1,55,527 or Rs. 16,315 more than in 1914, was remitted to this country during the year. Natal, however, again remitted the largest sum, despite a fall of Rs. 37,710 as compared with the preceding year, but the amount sent again probably includes remittances from traders as well as labourers.

One hundred and eighty-nine estates of deceased emigrants, valued at Rs. 13,692, were administered by Government during the year. Of these the heirs of 76 were traced, 65 lapsed to the Indian and Colonial Governments, and the remainder were under enquiry at the end of the year. The emigration accounts closed with a deficit of Rs. 20,116 due to the falling off of receipts from embarkation fees in consequence of the decrease in the number of emigrants shipped.

Dr. Banks held the post of Protector of Emigrants throughout the year, and the thanks of the Governor in Council are due to him for the efficient manner in which he carried out his duties.

Indians in the United States.

A PROTEST AGAINST THE EXCLUSION BILL.

The following is a copy of a letter addressed from New York on June 1, by Lala Lajpat Rai to Senator Smith, of South Carolina, and other members of the Senate of the United States:—

On behalf of the Hindus who are at present residing in the United States, permanently or temporarily, I have the honour to submit the following respectful representation for the consideration of the Honorable Senators regarding certain provisions of the Immigration Bill now before the Senate of the United States (viz., H. R. 10384, of the 64th Congress).

It is a gross injustice and, if I may be permitted to say, an outrageous reflection on the Hindus, to be selected as the only people on God's earth who are to be excluded from entry into the United States as a race. It has been acknowledged by the highest scholastic authority in the world that the Hindus are from the Aryan stock; that their ancient language, Sanskrit, and many of their present spoken languages belong to the Indo-European branch of languages, and that they are the inheritors of a great and noble literature and civilisation. In fact, of all the people inhabiting the Continent of Asia, they are with the Persians and Caucasians the nearest of kin to the majority of the inhabitants of the United States. Their exclusion as a race is not only an undeserved and unjustifiable reflection on their national honour, but is equally unworthy of the high-mindedness of this great nation which stands for equal opportunity and open door for the meanest of God's creatures on earth. It is submitted that if it be absolutely necessary to exclude any particular class of the Hindus from entry into the United States, that may be done by naming that class.

The last but one proviso to section 3 relating to the possibility of students being required to execute bonds is sure to work very hard on that class. The students, as a class, are not likely to be in a position to give any kind of security beyond their personal obligation to abide by any conditions that may be imposed on them by the Immigration authorities under the rules contemplated by

that proviso. It is hoped that it is not intended to discriminate against students, who, at any time during their stay in the United States, may find it necessary to work for their education. The provision on page 7 laying down that "if the excepted persons (in which class students are included) fail to maintain in the United States a status or occupation placing them within the excepted classes, they shall be deemed to be in the United States contrary to law and be subject to deportation as provided in Section 19 of this Act," makes any further rules regarding their entry and residence, such as execution of bonds, quite unnecessary. In case, however, it be still considered necessary to keep this provision, it is respectfully suggested that the making of any rules affecting students be left to a Board of University professors subject to the final approval of the Labour Department of the United States.

In connexion with Sections 18 and 19 relating to the place to which the rejected and deported alien is to be sent back, a discretion may be allowed to such rejected or deported alien to proceed to any port or country, other than the one from which he or she originally came or to which he or she belong; at his or her expense.

The period of five years provided in Section 19 is an unduly long period and very hard on the aliens already admitted under the existing law. In any case it is very unjust to give retrospective effect to that section as against persons who were lawfully admitted into the country under the existing law, particularly those who have completed the term of residence required by the law in force at the time of their entry. This provision exposes those Hindus who have been in this country for more than three years now to deportation and possible prosecution in their own country, for political opinions expressed by them during their residence here—a result which is opposed to the time-honoured traditions of this country.

The Hindus trust that the United States legislature will not sanction anything which is opposed in spirit to the high ideals and noble principles for which this country stands and which it has in its past history laid down and maintained to the glory of its people.



NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Winner of Our Prize Essay.

MR. K. M. PANIKKAR.

The prize of Rs. 100 offered by Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar for the best Essay on "Indian Emigration" was won by MR. K. M. PANIKKAR, a student of Political Science at Christ Church, Oxford. It is a pleasure to hear also that the University authorities there were pleased to confer on him a distinction in Political Science and Economics diploma. We understand that he is preparing a thesis in connection with his political and economic studies and we wish him every success.

The prize, though small, was offered only as an encouragement for further studies and the winner of this prize, has more than justified his claim. He asks us not to send him money but to supply him with certain books useful for his further studies, costing only about ¼ of the prize money. As for the rest of the prize he has generously offered a donation of Rs. 50 to the "Indian Emigrant" and Rs. 25 to the Depressed Classes Mission which in his words are "the two most deserving political organisations in our country." As a keen student of Political Science, he has added to the Prize Essay a few more chapters germane to the subject and leaves the entire rights of publishing them in a book form as a monograph of the "INDIAN COLONIAL SOCIETY," the sale proceeds of which also shall go to the Society. The Essay will be published in the succeeding issues of this journal.

ANOTHER PRIZE ESSAY.

In this connection, we may announce that Mr. A. S. Abu Torab of Fiji has offered a prize of Rs. 50, which will be supplemented by another Rs. 50 and thus a prize of Rs. 100 will be given for the best Essay on "Indian Labour; inland and foreign, with special reference to its improvement in quality tending to the industrial advancement of India."

SHAMEFUL NEGLECT OF INDIANS IN W. INDIES.

One more fact connected with the prize winner is that he is prepared to spend his vacation in touring round West Indies (Br. Guiana, Trinidad Jamaica and Dutch Guiana) and organise branches of the "Indian Colonial Society" among the Indian residents there if only half the expenses are borne by the public the other half being borne by himself, the charges amounting to

Rs 450 to Rs. 500 i.e., £30 to £35. This is indeed not very big sum. We, Indians here have shamefully neglected our countrymen especially in the West Indies so much so that they have almost ceased to have any touch with the mother country and Indian traditions and customs are lost to them altogether. Let us move quickly in the matter and greet them with our good wishes. Those who are interested in their welfare are kindly requested to send their donation for this specific purpose either to us or direct to Mr. K. M. Panikkar, Christ Church, Oxford.

Indian Emigration to East Africa.

STRICTER RESTRICTIONS.

SIMLA, AUGUST 5.—The following letter received from the Government of the East Africa Protectorate is published for general information:—

June 27th, 1916.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that the Government of the British East Africa Protectorate has recently had under consideration the desirability of enforcing more strictly the provisions of the Immigration Restriction Ordinance 1906 and the Immigration Restriction Amendment Ordinance 1910, copies of which are enclosed herewith.

2. Section 11 of the original enactment provided that any person appearing to be a prohibited immigrant under Section 5 (a) might be permitted to enter the Protectorate on payment of a deposit according to nationality. In the course of time this restriction has shown to be acting as a deterrent in the case of persons who might well be admitted to the country, and the amending ordinance was promulgated whereby the immigration officer was empowered to accept security in lieu of the deposit.

3. In the great majority of cases no arrangements for this security are made prior to embarkation and in such cases persons have hitherto been allowed to land in order that they may be given the opportunity of finding a surety. This concession had led to abuse and is in itself objectionable, in as much as the deposit prescribed by Section 11 of the Ordinance of 1906 is payable before landing and if this section is read together with Section 3 (1) of the Amending Ordinance of 1910, it is clear that the demand for security must also be complied with before landing.

4. The Government has therefore decided that all immigrants should either make the necessary deposit or provide the security required before leaving the ship on

arrival in port. The strict enforcement of this regulation will take effect as from the 1st of September 1916 and I have the honour to request that steps may be taken to make this procedure known in those districts from which immigrants to British East Africa usually arrived. Persons who cannot deposit the necessary sum or has failed to find the requisite security will after that day be sent back to India and the Government of this Protectorate will not hold itself responsible for expenditure thus incurred.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
(Sd.) C. C. Bowring,
Chief Secretary to the Government.

Intending immigrants should be warned of the risk they run in proceeding to the protectorate, if they are unable before landing to deposit the sum of Rs. 40 or to comply with the demand for the requisite security in lieu of the deposit.

Horrors of re and over Vaccination.

An instance of the acute suffering entailed on the cooly class of people by compulsory vaccination at Mandapam was prominently brought to notice at San Sebastian, Colombo. Among the crowd of patients in the verandah of Dr. I David's dispensary there was one, a Cochinlese cooly, who with a heavily bandaged arm was awaiting the arrival of the doctor. A representative of the "Ceylon Independent" who noticed the man, went up to him imagining he had met with an accident to obtain details. "Accident indeed" the man replied to a question, "this is the effect of vaccination at Mandapam," and the man began to call on all the Gods in the Hindoo Pantheon for vengeance on those responsible for vaccinating him. When the outburst had subsided, his story was related.

It would appear that he arrived in Colombo about eighteen days ago from South India, after the usual detention of a week at Mandapam. He was vaccinated with others, of course, whether he wished it or not, and permitted to come over to Ceylon.

ON ARRIVAL HERE.

He found the vaccination had taken effect and the marks visibly larger. The whole area began to swell and extended to the whole arm. He tried native medicines such as margossa leaf, poultice, cow dung, saffron and

oil, &c. The arm on being bared presented an ugly sight. The vaccine marks, were all in one patch, a mass of slough about four inches square of putrid flesh.

As soon as the doctor arrived the man was attended to. The entire patch of rooting flesh was scooped out, washed with carbolic lotion and afterwards treated. The representative enquired from the doctor and learnt that the case was somewhat serious, superficial necrosis having set in, and that if the man delayed another twenty-four hours he would have died of tetanus.

"It is a pity," he said, "that these coolies, who are as ignorant as they are filthy, are allowed to go away after being vaccinated without being provided with antiseptic dressings. The coolies generally live in unhealthy, insanitary surroundings and are liable to be infected with germs, especially with open sores like vaccine marks on their bodies. The need of proper supervision of those vaccinated is certainly great, and they must at least be required to call at a doctor's till they are healed."

He added that in the course of his practice he had come across several cases of a like nature. They were due to the carelessness and ignorance of the coolies themselves. He would not say that vaccination brings in such results, but want of supervision and care, the absence of antiseptic dressings certainly did bring about blood poisoning and tetanus.

"If" he said, "the authorities compel the coolies coming from South India, to be vaccinated, the responsibility of seeing that the men do not neglect themselves also rests with the same authorities."

We say ditto.

East Indian Mission Station at Constant Spring, Jamaica.

Commendable efforts are being made, says the *Daily Gleaner*, to establish an East Indian mission station at Constant Spring in connection with the Half-way Tree Parish Church. Quite a number of East Indian families reside in this neighbourhood and the mission will serve an exceedingly good purpose.

The building is already under construction and will, it is expected, be soon completed.

It is understood that besides being used for religious worship, a day school will be conducted in the building; and that it is proposed to approach the Government for

a grant to meet the expenditure that the up-keep of the school will necessitate.

It is creditable to the memory of the late Mr. Morris Wortley, son of Rev. Canon Wortley, and who died fighting in the Empire's cause, that up to the time he left Jamaica he used to journey up to Constant Spring as often as he could make it convenient and teach the East Indians things that it was good for them to know. In fact, it is said that the starting of the mission is very much connected with the quiet journeying of the late Mr. Wortley to Constant Spring.

We pointed out in our columns more than once the activities of foreign Christian Missions amongst our countrymen in these Islands in the fields of educational and religious work. This has been and is so even in India. But in a far off place like the West Indies such an absolute influence without even a tinge of Indian traditions and customs cannot but produce disastrous results. It is high time that Indians send out from here teachers both religious and secular to work amongst our countrymen there and realise their responsibility of giving them the right sort of education and preserve to some extent such Indian traditions as are worth preserving.

Transport Facilities for 1916.

The following notice, with reference to the transport of Indian Immigrants, has been issued by the Hon. Acting Colonial Secretary, Fiji:—

The Acting-Governor directs it to be notified for general information that His Excellency has received a telegram from the Secretary of State for the Colonies intimating that the contractors (Messrs. James Nourse, Ltd.), for the transport of Indian immigrants expect to be able to furnish not more than two vessels this year, the first of which will probably sail from Calcutta in the middle of August and the second in the middle of September. It is expected that the first vessel will be available for the transport from Fiji to India of returning East Indians.

The contractors are experiencing great difficulty in arranging for the transport of immigrants, as some of their vessels have been requisitioned by the Admiralty for purposes connected with war, and, although every endeavour has been made to obtain vessels to replace those requisitioned, the contractors and others have

failed to obtain suitable vessels. So far as can be ascertained at present it seems most unlikely that more than two vessels will leave India for Fiji this year; and His Excellency considers that it must be taken as decided finally that only the number of East Indian immigrants that can be transported by two vessels will be introduced this year, and that applications that have been received from immigrants must be proportionately reduced.

Dangerous Administration.

It would appear that some weeks ago an Indian who was a lawful resident in Laurence Marques unlawfully entered Johannesburg. He was arrested by the Johannesburg Police and produced before the Magistrate, which worthy functionary ordered him to be removed from the Province. No order to the effect as required by the "Union Immigrants Regulations Act" was made and the poor man was detained in Police custody for some days and then taken to Pretoria under Police escort. The man volunteered to return to Laurence Marques, where he was lawfully resident, at his own expense, but this offer was rejected. On enquiries made by his attorney in Johannesburg the fact has emerged out that this unfortunate man was deported to India instead of being sent back to his lawful place of residence in South Africa. Further it has been learnt by the attorney from the correspondence exchanged between himself and the Government that the man was dealt with by the Police, not by the Interior Department upon instructions of the Acting Principal Immigration Officer at Pretoria. We are, however, glad to find that the British Indian Association of Transvaal have taken up the matter on public grounds. Certainly the Indian Community at Transvaal is not to be left at the mercy of an officer of the type of the Acting Principal Immigration officer, who is we understand the notorious Mr. Consins. We need not remind the public that his conduct as immigration officer has been always arbitrary. He was once convicted for the contempt of the supreme Court and was perilously near such convictions on more than one occasion. Verily the liberty of the Public is not at all safe in the hands of such an officer and we venture to hope with our contemporary the *Indian opinion* that the Government will put a term to the pernicious and dangerous activities of Mr. Consins.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Legends of Vikramaditya, by THAKUR RAJENDRA SINGH, Price Rs. 2-8.

The great War of Ancient India, by the same author, Price Rs. 1-8.

The Barbarians of Ancient India, by the same author, Price Rs. 1-8.

Thakur Rajendra Singh has published three useful and valuable publications, all relating to the events of ancient India. *The Legends of Vikramaditya* is an English translation of a Hindi book dealing with the life and times of Vikramaditya, which is itself a translation of a Sanskrit work believed to have been written by Soma Deva. The book is at best a repository of the folk-lore of Northern India. Vikramaditya was one of the greatest kings that ever sat on the throne of Hindustan and the myths and folk-lore are a striking testimony to the amazing character of his career. Of them all "the Throne with 32 pages" is perhaps the most striking and has become historically famous and in translating it to English Thakur Rajendra Singh has shown to English-knowing world what a high civilisation and chivalrous spirit Indians of old had.

Just at the present day when a great war is raging on the European continent it is only in the fitness of things that an attempt should have been made to present to readers of English a connected narrative of the great war of ancient India as recorded in the Sanskrit epic, the *Mahabharata*. To the vast majority of the Indians the *Mahabharata* is quite a sealed book. In the book before us the causes, the issues and the lessons of the great war of *Mahabharata* are given in a narrative and they are presented in a graphic fashion which will appeal to the readers.

In the *Barbarians of Ancient India* the story of the extermination of the Rakshasas of old Lanka, is so strikingly told. The title of this book is suggested by a comparison of the Rakshasas of old with the present Germans. In this book is given the story of Ramayana, a work of imperishable lustre embodying lofty poetic ideals of human virtue and affording a glimpse of the life of ancient Hindus. Rama as the embodiment of an ideal ruler, an ideal son, an ideal husband and Sita as an ideal woman were of goodly embodiment born in this world to elevate mankind. Their sufferings and trials are full of lessons to humanity and the *Ramayana* as an epic may

be compared with a few epics of other nations but excelled by none. Thakur Rajendra Singh has really done a useful service to India by bringing out in the three volumes before us a glimpse of the greatness of ancient Hindus.

TRAVEL.

The Pocket Guide to the West Indies by A. E. ASPINALL published by Messrs. Duckworth & Co., London, Price 5sh.

The author of this excellent Guide Book needs no special introduction to the public at our hands, as he is already well known as the author of several works on West Indies. He has brought to bear his wide knowledge and varied experience of these islands in this Guide Book which is planned on a thoroughly practical method so as to afford immense benefit to the traveller and the sight seer. The history, archaeology, Government, trade and industry of each colony are so well described that the more of these facts are studied by the globetrotter, the more fascinating does the tour become. The book is, therefore, more than pocket guide and the value of the work will be better appreciated if the readers know that many of the books written about West Indies are now unfortunately out of print.

No one who contemplates a tour to these islands should be without this useful and informing book. A few more pages allotted at the end to a Vocabulary of English, French and Spanish languages spoken in these islands will enable a traveller to dispense with a personal guide altogether.

The book is very well illustrated and contains excellent maps.

Historic Jamaica by FRANK GUNDALL, published by the West India Committee for the Institute of Jamaica; Price 5sh.

About the year 1908 a suggestion was thrown out by the Editor of the "West India Committee Circular" on the need for the preservation of historic sites and buildings in the West Indies, while commenting on the appointments of a Royal Commission to enumerate and report on the historical monuments in England. The suggestion was well received and the present writer was appointed to prepare a list of historic sites, buildings and monuments parish by parish. The book embodies series of articles which appeared in the same Journal from October 1909 till October 1914.

The work is one of an archaeological and antiquarian interest and it will no doubt interest those whom it concerns.

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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AUGUST 31, 1916.

No. 1.

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.

PARALYSIS OF PUBLIC LIFE.

THE poison of self-seeking had penetrated through every class and every community within the British Commonwealth. It was reflected in the disorganization of the British Commonwealth itself, in the civil dissension, the class war, the party divisions, the apathy and paralysis of public life. Fortunately, the war itself has begun this reform in the quarter where it most matters, in the individual himself. The system has not yet been changed, but countless thousands of men and women have learned there are greater things in the world than riches and self-indulgence, that public service is the destroyer of class distinctions and economic barriers, that happiness lies in active work for a great cause. They have learnt to admire that self-sacrifice, thoroughness and subordination of self to the community

which is the strength of the Prussian system, and to realize that if the Commonwealth is to survive and unity to be restored, they must develop these qualities for themselves. They have seen that somehow or other the slovenliness, the slack sense of public duty, the belief in high sentiments instead of high conduct, the glorification of rights over duties, which has been the root of our troubles, in politics, in industry, in organization, in the armies, must be got rid of. And fortunately the war has not only made many see that it must be so, but has inspired them to begin the reform in the only way in which it can be made, by setting to work to do their own duty in their own sphere as thoroughly and selflessly as they can.—

The Round Table.

A sorely needed lesson to the Public Men of India, especially to those of this benighted Province.

THE CLAIM OF CITIZENSHIP.*

By K. M. PANIKKAR.

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WE claim to belong to the British Empire, and as such we maintain we have certain rights which the Colonies have disregarded. This assumption we now come to examine.

* A chapter from the *Indian Emigrant* Prize Essay which is to be published in a book form under the title "An introduction to the study of the Problems of Greater India" by Mr. K. M. Panikkar, Winner of our Prize Essay Competition.

How could an Indian claim to be the citizen of an Empire "which refuses him admission to the uninhabited wastes of Australia, which imposes humiliating conditions on him in countries which his labour-power has developed, which shuts the door of higher appointments in his own country." How could he claim citizenship of the Empire when he is not a citizen but a subject in his motherland. How could he claim equality in Africa when he does not possess it at home? These are objections which no one who wishes to handle realities can forget. *The Indian is not a citizen of the Empire: but he asserts his right to be one.* He does not give official recognition to the refusal of Canada to open her doors to him. He resists the claims of S. African Union and insists on statutory equality. And in India his position is fast changing from that of the subject to the citizen. He refuses to accept the decision of the Colonies as final and proposes to resist it with all his might. The Indian claims British citizenship as his right—a right of which he is dispossessed at present.

Presuming that his claim is granted, what follows from it? That is the great Imperial problem which the future alone can solve. A solution of that problem must necessarily precede any permanent Imperial union. No scheme of Federation which ignores this fundamental question will solve the problems of the British Empire. In the British Empire must be settled once and for all times whether the two great civilisations of the world are to unite their forces or to fight with each other.

An Australian democrat whose opinions are entitled to great respect said to me that the difficulty of granting political franchise to Indians does not so much lie in the lack of political capacity or disinterested patriotism among the leaders but on the question of general education. In a democracy, he says, it is not the leaders that matter but the average man. He is prepared to admit that the "educated Indian" is his own or anybody's equal in any sphere. But as long as Indian masses remain ignorant, general political franchise is impossible and the inequality between Europeans and Indians must remain.

This is the newest but not the least dangerous form of the Imperialist gospel. You train your masses to be political machines and we shall then consider you

equal to us. Those who have watched democracy work in European States, "with its educated masses able to distinguish and discriminate between the issues presented to them" will easily see what a temptation the new Imperialist is holding to us. Give up the ideals for which your fathers have lived and died, destroy your social organisation, follow our lead and worship that Golden Calf—the State; then imperial citizenship will be yours. They forget that in Hindu society politics are not the end but a means of general well-being; and as such they belong to those of its members who are deputed to do that work. Citizenship to the Hindu does not mean universal suffrage. It means that he has the right to follow his Dharma without being interfered with by anybody. This does not mean that the masses are not to be educated: for education as ability to read the Sunday newspaper is a thoroughly European ideal. Hindu education is a social education. It is an education in his social duties. The Indian has great contempt for the unco-ordinated mass of details which form the knowledge of the average man in Europe.

It is this conflict of ideals that makes the problem of our relation with Britain so interesting. A pacific solution of the problems that arise from these divergent views of society will be the most momentous step towards a higher civilisation. Statesmen in England have not come to view the question in this light but they seem to have realised the importance of a permanent adjustment of our mutual relations.

Federalism is the word of the moment. To keep the civilisations conveniently apart giving them full chance of mutual influence, while uniting the political relations is the fundamental idea of Federalism as far as India and the British Commonwealth are concerned. And British citizenship will then mean for Hindus in various parts of the British Empire, as freedom to belong to an independent Hindu society without foregoing the rights to political development. This is what I mean when I advocate British citizenship for Indians. Only from this point of view, it seems to me is our acceptance of British citizenship justifiable.

Statutory equality is a necessary corollary from this proposition. If this is granted the other follows without question. The minor disabilities vanish when

the root-cause of it all, racial and cultural difference, is adjusted. To-day the problem has attained its full seriousness because neither the European nor the Indian will yield to the other. The European firmly believes that he is the Chosen of God. His gospel is the Whiteman's burden. The white skin, according to him is the sign that "the Lord our God has ordained us to carry his work in this miserable world." This is the spirit that animates the idealist empire-builder, when he is not thinking about the trade following the flag.

The Hindu is not prepared to admit these pretensions. In his heart of hearts is lurking a belief that his race and not that of the European is the Chosen one. The day when India stood dazzled by the splendour of Europe has gone, never to return; the day when our thinkers believed in Herbert Spencer and Comte and our poets looked to London and Paris for inspiration has passed beyond recall. India, as Aurobindo Gosh has said, has begun to believe. The days of philosophic doubt based on the premises of our missionary friends died an unnatural death with Keshub Chandra Sen's defection from the cause of religious revolt. From that day begins modern India with its unshakable faith. Militant Hinduism displaces the timid heart-searching doubt of the Brahmos. The Arya Samaj is the typical institution of the new Hinduism, just as Brahma Samaj was that of the transition. The spirit of the Aryas is the spirit of racial pride, of belief in the Hindu mind, of unshakable faith in our constructive genius. The germs of militant imperialism are already visible in their missionary spirit and if India was an independent power, the Aryas in Politics would have belonged, one and all of them to a school of Indian Imperialism.

This is at the basis of the intense feeling aroused by the Colonial question. The Indian is not a political animal but he is sensitive where his race and religion are concerned. The challenge of the Colonies is not a challenge to our political life. It is a challenge to our race: it is a challenge to our religion. It is a challenge to our culture. That touches the Indian on his most sensitive point. He is bound to take up the question in right earnest and fight it to the last; for, to yield here, is to yield not to European political institutions but to European civilisation.

Mr. Gandhi held to the right point when he objected to any reference of Asiatics as such in the Union Immigration Act. Educational tests, political disfranchisement, etc., are secondary considerations and the S. African Government showed keen political insight when it yielded on the point. Educational test is one that applies in each individual case and not to Hindus as collectively. There the question involved is administrative expediency and not a consideration of racial inequality.

Canada made a great tactical blunder when she raised the cry to "exclude Hindus." Such a war cry leaves us no door to retreat. It forces us to fight to the last: because as Hindus we are bound to maintain, till the last drop of our blood that we are the racial and social equals of any other people.

The claim of citizenship, such as we have interpreted it, is the only peaceful solution to these problems. We shall hope that when this war is over and the members of the British Empire try to re-adjust their internal relations, India will not forget this fundamental claim that she is entitled to make as a civilised nation.

SOME SUGGESTIONS.

Till now we have mainly concerned ourselves with what might be called an attempt to present our case in the proper light. We have seen that the conflict is essentially a question of race and to fight it out to the bitter end would be a crime against civilisation. Statesmanship here as elsewhere lies in the compromise of conflicting claims, and an essay which treats on the problems of Greater-India must be said to have failed in its purpose if it did not suggest some remedies for alleviating the tension and averting the struggle between India and the Colonies.

As I have pointed out before, the gravest hindrances to a racial rapprochement lies in the fact that the Colonial Indian is an ex-indentured labourer. The employer naturally considers him as an inferior being. It will be extremely foolish to think that any other consideration is possible under these conditions. The abolition of Indenture will therefore mark a definite step in our better relations with the Colonies.

Secondly, there is the fact that the Indian who emigrates to the Colonies does not in any great degree

represent Indian culture or society. Not only in India, but all over the world, emigration is considered as a reformatory process for the idle and the improvident. Add to this the fact that in India emigration, at least till recent years, was confined for social reasons to the lowest order of society. The only remedy we could suggest is the voluntary emigration of higher classes, gentlemen in learned professions, merchants, skilled artisans and others whose social position will entitle them to respect. This has taken place to some extent in Colonies adjacent to India. In the Straits Settlements, the Indian Colony consists not only of labourers but of doctors, barristers, wealthy merchants and prosperous tradesmen. In such a case their influence will naturally be felt. Another suggestion is that we in India should see that our countrymen abroad have the benefits of Indian civilisation. Our temples and priests must follow them; Indian booksellers must have their offices there and Indian magazines and papers must be regularly supplied from home. It seems that books in Indian languages are not procurable in the Colonies. Even a Ramayana could not be bought either in the Fiji or in the West Indies. The disastrous effect of this neglect will easily be understood.

The evil can easily be remedied by founding a society on the model of the S. P. C. K. for the purpose of selling Indian books in the Colonies. The necessity of some such organisation will easily be granted.

These are things that could be done by individual enterprise and patriotism, but there are greater things that our brethren will demand of us. Political amelioration by the methods above suggested is at best a very slow progress. It will not show any decided improvement unless supplemented by political agitation at home. As I have pointed out, the present difference between Government feeling and Indian feeling in such matters will inevitably disappear. The Government of India will be one with the people of India, at least in foreign affairs. To bring about such a consummation must be the aim of our political work. Once that stage is reached we have a solid basis for self-government. In such a case Colonial governments dare not ill treat our brethren for fear of reprisals. If Australia persists in her language test, the Government of India will find it easy enough to exclude all Australians who cannot write 50 sentences in any of

the Indian vernaculars. Canadians will find the Indian ports shut to them if Hindus are not admitted in the Dominions, nor can they complain if we insist on such methods.

The immediate political action for us therefore must be a widespread agitation to bring the policy of the Government of India in line with our interests. The efficacy of this plan was wonderfully illustrated during the South African crisis. The Madras speech of the Ex. Viceroy showed once for all that for effective settlement of these questions the Indian Government must voice Indian opinions. The old method of urgent despatches from the Viceroy to the Secretary of State for India and a milder one from him to the Secretary for the Colonies, and a very faint echo of all these reaching the Imperial representative in the Colonies, must be done away with. The Secretary of State for India must become a formal representative of India in parliament rather than the parliamentary minister to govern India. This is a necessary preliminary for all projects of self-government and we must remember that it is to self-government that we should look forward to remedy the present evils and better the condition of our brethren in Greater India.

MY HONG KONG EXPERIENCES

BY ERNEST W. JACKSON.

EARLY in the year 1916 it was decided by the members of the Canadian India Committee of Toronto that a representative should be sent to India. It had long been felt that the Committee could not hope to fulfil its mission while its work and interests were confined to Canada alone; that the view thus obtained would be one sided and but partial to the whole; that Canadians could only learn about India and the Indians by seeing them for themselves; and the same with respect to Hindus and their knowledge of Canada and the Canadians. This would be the first attempt by the Committee to establish an interchange of visitors who would be able to bring personal knowledge and experience to bear upon reports that were otherwise only a matter of hearsay or opinion. The difficulty of obtaining first-hand information of any kind regarding the attitude of mind amongst native Hindus toward Canadians, it was thought, might also be overcome in this

Efforts were made to collect funds for the purpose. With considerable labor and self-sacrifice on the part of a few devoted members, by the latter part of April the sum required had been raised. I was then asked if I would be willing and were free to undertake the mission. It was urged that the matter was pressing, and must be taken in hand at once. I quickly concluded to accept the opportunity, tendered my resignation to the Royal Bank, and began preparations for departure. In about two weeks from the time the proposal was made I had purchased tickets for the journey as far as Hong Kong. A few days later, April 27th, 1916, I left by Canadian Pacific Railway for Vancouver. I arrived in Vancouver May 1st, 1916, and after visiting a couple of personal friends there, embarked on S.S. *Empress of Japan* at noon, May 4th, 1916.

We arrived at the harbour of Hong Kong early in the morning of Friday, May 25th. A British official came on board and examined the passports of all the passengers. I and a few others who had none were told to report at the Office of the Superintendent of Police. Later, when we had anchored within the harbour, another official came aboard and asked for those who had no passports. He asked me my destination, business, etc., and told me to go up to the Police Headquarters and ask at the permit office there for a permit to travel from Hong Kong. It was at 8-30 a.m. when I went up, along with an American, who also was without a passport, and two Hindu gentlemen. At the permit office the officer in charge asked me a few questions about my destination, business, etc., and then said he thought we had better see the Chief Superintendent of Police. We were admitted in due course into the Office of the Chief Superintendent, when I told him my name, that I had no passport, and wished to be given a permit to go on to India. He asked how I had come to Hong Kong, and told him by the "*Empress of Japan*," from Canada.

Why did I not have a passport?

Because I did not know I required one. But I had a letter of identification, which I gave him. He examined it, and made a remark to the effect that it was no good.

What was I going to India for?

To study and travel.

Was I a missionary?

No.

What was my purpose in going to such a country, where there was all kinds of trouble, and the life and people were not the kind I was accustomed to at all?

I liked travelling, was interested in India and the Indians, and wanted to know more about them.

Was I a German; did I want to stir up trouble when I got there?

I was no German; my father was English; I was Canadian all through.

How long did I intend to stay there?

Several months, perhaps a year.

Why did we meddle in these things, when there were governments and authorities to look after them and we knew nothing about it?

Our purpose was not to meddle or cause trouble in the least, but simply to learn the state of affairs and promote friendly feeling.

Did I have money left me, or who was paying my expenses?

Friends who were interested in India in the same way as I was had put the money.

Were these friends in some society?

Some of them belonged to different societies of which I was a member.

He asked for the names of the societies they belonged to, the names of the persons who had subscribed the money that was given me, and various things about them. He then asked me to produce my letters of introduction I had, and showed him one to a lady in Hong Kong and to several friends in India. He looked them over, and then said he would have to make a thorough search of my baggage. He sent for a man, who emptied my pockets and examined everything I had. Most of the articles were given back at once, but several letters and papers were kept. The Chief Superintendent then filled up some kind of a printed form and gave it to the man he had summoned. We went out to the boat and brought back my baggage to the police headquarters.

We then went to the detective rooms, where my baggage was opened, and several officers, including the Chief Superintendent, began to look it over, examining the books, looking for any of their names in lists of proscribed publications, reading the literature and pamphlets. The Chief Superintendent remarked about a paper he had examined that there was nothing wrong with it. At noon the baggage was closed up and sent to another room to be looked through next morning. I was told I would have to remain at the police headquarters for the time being, and was assigned a room in the building, the Chief Superintendent remarking, "Fix him up comfortably, he is only a youngster." I asked why he was holding me up in this way, and whether he would not give me a permit and let me go on. He said he could give me the permit, as far as that went, but that I would be almost certainly turned back when I got to India, and might receive much worse treatment. He thought he was justified in holding me, and expected he would have to send me back to Canada, as with the literature and letters I had I would certainly be looked upon with great suspicion by the authorities in India.

The detective, when he left me in the room, said: "Just make yourself at home here; you will find this much better than a cell." I was left there with some of my baggage containing my clothes. The rooms were in a corner of the flat occupied by the Chinese and Hindu constables. It contained two beds, one with a pillow, dirty sheet and two blankets, and a washstand without a basin. I asked before he left me if he could tell me why I was being detained, and I was really not a prisoner, but interned until they had decided what to do with me; that I was at liberty to move about the corridors, but not to leave the building. A kind of dinner was brought to me, such as was served the constables.

In the afternoon I was taken down to the detectives' rooms again and asked if I knew a man whose name appeared in a leaflet which had been in my pocket. They told me that the gentleman sitting in front of me was his brother. I told him I had not met the man, but had read his articles in the papers and was a member of the same order. I asked later about this officer, and learned that he was the Deputy

Chief Superintendent of Police there. The rest of the day I was left to myself, and all day Sunday and Monday, except for a visit of a few minutes from the officer on watch, and the detective once or twice in the day. One of them asked if I was getting enough food, and I told him I did not care for meat, with the result that more vegetables were sometimes given me, and pudding now and again.

On Tuesday morning I was called to the Chief Superintendent's Office and introduced to a lady resident in Hong Kong, to whom I had a letter of introduction. She was given the letter to read, and asked if she had anything to say. She remarked that she had not seen her friend who gave the letter for a good many years. The Inspector asked me if I wished to say anything. I replied I had nothing to say, and was then allowed to go back to my room.

Tuesday afternoon the same detective came up and asked me to go with him to the steamship office and purchase my return ticket. I asked why I was not allowed to proceed to India, and what reasons they had for deporting me. He showed me a paper he had, initialled by the Chief Superintendent, on which the instructions were given him that I was to return to Canada by the boat on which I had arrived, at my own expense. No written order was given to me. In the course of conversation I was told that others had been treated just as I had been for the same reason. He agreed to my suggestion that it was not the want of a passport that led to my deportation, but that there must be something more than that.

We went to the American Express Office, where I cashed my traveller's cheques for \$200.00. We then went to the Canadian Pacific Railway Offices, where I purchased a ticket for Toronto. The detective assured the agent when he asked for my permit, that the Police Department would see that it was all right.

We returned to the police headquarters, where I remained till Wednesday morning, when the plain-clothes detective came again, and we went down to the boat, where I and my baggage were left by him, he coming on board and delivering my permit to leave Hong Kong, to the purser of the boat. I asked him if I was not to have something in writing to show for

identification and giving the reasons for my return; also what they were doing with my papers. He said he did not know about that, and he only showed me what instructions he had.

We arrived at Victoria, B. about 6 p.m., Tuesday, June 20th. About half an hour after we docked, a steward on board came to me on the deck aft and asked me to get my baggage and come up forward, that an Immigration Officer and a constable were waiting for me. The chief officer was going to bring them back to our deck, but he had objected, and got them to wait forward. We took up the baggage, had the grips inspected by the Customs in the shed, where he left me, and I was conducted with my grips to a patrol wagon waiting outside, in which I was taken to the City Police Station. There I was taken before the officer in charge, who took all the articles from my pockets, made a list of them and the amount of money I had, put the same in a bag and locked them up in the safe. I was asked by him what I was there for, and I answered that I did not know, but would like to; that as far as I could judge, it must be on suspicion of something. He conducted me across the corridor to the cells, remarking he would put me upstairs, where I would be away from the rest of the prisoners. I went upstairs, and he locked the door, returning after a time to conduct me to a corridor of six cells, and told me mine would be number two, and that he would be back with some blankets shortly. I asked him how long I was to be kept there, and why, and he replied that it was up to the Immigration officials, and it was they who had ordered me to be confined there. He came later with some blankets. There was no one else in the cells near to mine, but the doors were all open to another corridor back of mine. There were two or three Chinamen, a negro, and a young Englishman moving about the corridors. I was left there till the afternoon of the next day, and was given the usual gaol fare.

The afternoon of Wednesday, the 21st June, I was brought downstairs, given back my belongings and money, signed my name in a book they had, in the place indicated by them, and, with the two grips, taken by the police in the patrol wagon to the Immigration Agent at his office. He asked me a few questions about the Canada India Committee and the copy

of my circular letter of introduction, which, together with a communication from the Chief Superintendent of Police, Hong Kong, appeared to be all he had about my case. He made remarks about the lack of information from which the Committee suffered, and their ignorance and misunderstanding of the whole immigration question, to which I replied that it was just to supply that information and ascertain the facts, that the Committee was organised, and for which I had been sent out by them. Particulars were taken of my name, address, occupation, age, family, health, appearance, etc. He then dismissed me, saying that he had nothing further to detain me for. He also said that a box of my papers, which the captain of the "Empress" had failed to deliver, and which he would have sent him for inspection, would be sent on to me at Toronto when he was through with them. I gave to another officer my Toronto address. With an assistant inspector I went to the docks, had my trunk passed by the Customs, the Inspector examining such books and papers as I had, and keeping out my book of addresses. My baggage was taken to the Vancouver boat dock at my expense, and I was left to arrange my passage on the S.S. "Princess Alice" to Vancouver, where I arrived next morning. I left Vancouver, that night by the Canadian Pacific Railway, and arrived in Toronto, Tuesday, June 27th, at 2 p.m.

A question in the House of Commons, August 1, 1916.

THE CANADA INDIA LEAGUE.

Mr. King asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether it was upon orders or advice from the Colonial Office that the public authorities in Toronto had seized all the documents of the Canada India League in that city and had detained Mr. E. W. Jackson in connection therewith; whether he was aware that this League was established to promote better feeling and wider knowledge in Canada concerning India and whether in view of the need for all parts of the Empire being drawn together in present amity, he proposed to take any action.

Mr. Bonar Law: No, sir; but I am certain that the Canadian Government have not taken action in the matter without good reason.

THE CONDITION OF LABOUR IN THE AVISAWELLA DISTRICT, CEYLON.

THE EDITOR,

THE INDIAN EMIGRANT,
MADRAS.

Dear Sir,—

As I am told that you are championing the cause of the illiterate and helpless poor ignorant immigrant coolies who are brought to these parts by unscrupulous recruiters and Kanganies through deception and exaggeration, at any rate to an appreciable degree, I am penning these few words to you for publication in your valuable Journal in the hope that you will wield your pen on their behalf with more materials before you. I am practising as a Proctor in the Minor Courts of Avisawella for the last nearly five years and I can safely claim without any fear of contradiction to have the largest practice among the cooly clients in this district and as such I had opportunities of acquainting myself closely with their grievances, disabilities, hardships, etc. If statistics of the prosecutions that are lodged in this court for labour offences—statutory offences for technical breaches of civil contracts—for the last five years is taken, you will find that the prosecutions are increasing rather abnormally and the punishments for convictions are enhanced in a similar manner. There was a time when labourers are given only two weeks' hard labour even in very bad cases, but the punishment was enhanced every time a new magistrate comes in and to-day a young civilian in the name of Mr. R. B. Naish who was appointed in England by the Secretary of State for the colonies only a year and ten months ago is giving three months' hard also. In fairness to this gentleman it must be presumed that his intentions are good and conviction honest, but it cannot be denied that he is unsuited to the task as he lacks experience and is young in age. To send a labourer to goal to undergo 3 months' rigorous imprisonment for a mere technical breach of a civil contract must undoubtedly be under an antiquated and wretched law enacted for the benefit of a particular class of people and to think of such a punishment to-day from a young European gentleman fresh from the fountain of liberty and justice is to say the least disappointing. Therefore

it is clear that there is something wrong somewhere. Moreover, if the prosecutions are impartially lodged and without sinister motives purely with the object of checking genuine evils or to punish deliberate offenders or to check malingering or even to set an example to the other labourers to maintain discipline in estates, an impartial on looker will naturally be reluctant to interfere; but the history of the labour prosecutions in the Avisawella Police Court by the Kelany valley planters at least for the last three years will shew that the prosecutions are actually prosecutions and in at least 95 % of cases the prosecutor does not come to court with clean hands. It is only when an aggrieved cooly goes and complains to the Superintendent on a pay day that his Kangany has taken by force a portion of the wages, or the cooly complains to the local Magistrate by petition that the Superintendent and Kangany jointly swindled his wages and when questioned he was thrashed, or goes and lodges a complaint through a Proctor

or when a cooly applies for a Tundu (Tundu is a document or a written memorandum by an employer of coolies for the benefit of a prospective employer to the effect that he is willing to discharge them from his employment upon receipt of the sum of money specified in the document as due by them to the grantor and the new employer pays the debt and takes the coolies on into his employment A new Law Reports, Ceylon 113) to pay his legitimate debt and leave the estate or when a cooly gives notice of his intention to quit the service of the employer after one month according to law, &c., &c., that the Superintendent sometimes at the instigation of the Kangany and sometimes of his own accord rushes to court and prosecutes the cooly and sends him to goal. For the last 24 months I have been defending in about 300 cases more or less and in nearly 290 the defence was that the accused either gave notice to quit or applied for a tundu or was not satisfied with the wages, &c., and in almost all these cases these facts were proved by documents not denied by the prosecution. It was only the other day a gang of five coolies 2 women and 3 children were prosecuted in this court for quitting service when they came to me

for advice regarding an assault committed on them by their Kangany for refusing to cancel a notice to quit service sent to the Superintendent through me a few days before. This was from an estate called Labugannawa, a division of Sitawaka Estate in Avisawella of which one Mr. C. F. Hutchinson, the complainant, is the Superintendent and the names of the coolies are (1) Muttammah (mother, aged about 35) (2) Agaramuttu (daughter, aged 16) (3) Rasamany (daughter, aged 14) (4) Nagaraj (son, aged 10) and (5) Sinnammah (daughter, aged 8). 1 and 2 were convicted and sentenced to six weeks' rigorous imprisonment each, 3 was bound over to be of good behaviour on one surety of Rs. 50 and the other 4 and 5 were discharged as they were minors, warrants were however issued at first against all these coolies and arrested and put in the lock up. I however appealed to the Supreme Court and in the case of 1 and 2 sentence was reduced to a fine of Rupees five and 3 was asked to sign a personal bond to be of good behaviour.

These poor coolies came to my office to make this complaint and waited in the office till I returned from the courts. This was on the 22nd June 1916. I returned from the courts on that day at about 6 P.M. as the court was sitting till a late hour and on my return to the office they complained to me of the assault, &c. I told them to come the next morning to lodge a complaint before the Magistrate and I went to my bungalow. These coolies did not go back to the estate that night but slept in the verandah of a room adjoining my office. Early in the morning (23rd June) the Superintendent heard about this and came by car in search of them. These coolies through fear got inside the room which was open and barred it from inside. The Superintendent then went to the Magistrate's bungalow, spoke to him in the bungalow obtained warrants and came with a Police Constable to execute the warrants. The coolies did not speak out and did not open the door which was barred from inside. The Superintendent wanted to force open the door and so my clerk who was waiting my arrival in my office verandah prevented the breaking of the door by creeping through a window that was open and getting inside the room and opening the door gave the coolies over to the

Superintendent Mr. C. F. Hutchinson. For this act my clerk and myself were prosecuted for knowingly and wilfully harbouring these coolies and on the 26th ultimo we were tried by the present Police Magistrate Mr. R. B. Naish and as I was found not guilty, I was acquitted and discharged, but my poor clerk was convicted and fined fifty rupees in default two months' rigorous imprisonment. I am appealing against my clerk's conviction.

This is how the immigrant coolies and even their legal advisers are treated in this premier crown colony and unless you take up their cause and agitate for better and more humane treatment we will not only lose our self-respect in the estimation of the outside world but also suffer untold hardships for the aggrandisement of the capitalist and the planter. Excuse the long space covered by this letter please.

Your's faithfully,

AVISAWELLA, }
2nd September, 1916. } V. K. RAJANAYAGAM.

[Reference was made briefly to this case in the July number of the I. E. The cooly cancer is fast spreading among non-coolies and those who take up their cause. The entire Labour troubles in Ceylon and F. M. S. are due to the presence of the unscrupulous kangawnies and until they are rooted out of existence, hard indeed will be the lot of the poor labourers.

The Sabaragamuva Labour Commission was the outcome of the interference of the Bombay Government on behalf of certain coolies recruited from the Bombay Presidency, who were ill-treated in Ceylon. Could the Madras Government look on with indifference when thousands of coolies of this Province are treated in the above fashion?

This is a matter in which the people also should move. What on Earth are the "Madras Servants of India Society" or "the Congress Committee", doing here. Why not they depute one of their Servants or Members to the Colonies to study and report on the cooly question in the Colonies. Really the "Servants" are becoming "Masters" of India. Ed. 1 E.]

A HUMANE LEGISLATION IN SURINAM.

THE Dutch Government of Surinam by a Decree of May 21, 1915, No. 41, the following rules, relating to nurseries for children on the plantations, were decreed.

Article 1.

Employers of immigrants shall be bound to provide nurseries on the plantations, for children under 10 years of age as referred to in Article 56 of the Royal Decree of March 22, 1872 (Government Gazette No. 8) and in conformity with one of the models outlined in the diagrams attached to this Decree.

No deviation from these models, or exemption from the obligation referred to, shall be permitted without the consent, in writing, of the Immigration Agent General and the Medical Inspector except in the event of the children, considered by the District Commissary to need such care, numbering less than 5.

Article 2.

No building shall be erected or existing building be used for the purpose of a nursery, without the consent of the District Commissary, after consultation with the District Medical Officer.

Article 3.

The site on which the nursery stands shall be cleaned from all weed and shrubs for a distance of 20 meters all round, the surface always flat and dry and covered with shell, at least 5 square meters, to a depth of 10 centimeters. The surroundings must always be well drained.

Article 4.

The accommodation of the nursery requires a floor space of at least 1½ square meter to be allowed for each child.

Any kind of roofing materials, thatch included, may be utilised, if the Medical Inspector offers no objection, provided that it keeps out the rain.

Boarding and ceiling may only be dispensed with when shingles or thatch is used.

The roof shall be provided with eaves, gutters and draining pipes.

An adequate supply of water must be supplied by pump or tank to permit of the children being bathed, if necessary, more than once daily.

A sufficient number of sleeping places shall be provided for the children, also an ant-free safe in which to keep their food, and a clothes press, large enough to hold one clean suit for each child.

The nursery shall have good drinking water from a waterbutt properly screened and fitted with a tap, it shall also be fitted with the necessary bath tubs,

waterpot, enamelled basins, spoons, towels, soap, buckets, brooms, mops and whatever may be in addition decided necessary by the District Commissary, the Immigration Agent General or the Medical Inspector.

Article 5.

It shall be the duty of the District Medical Officer to inspect the nursery on his visits to the plantation, and to take whatever measures may seem called for in the interest of the children's health. He shall have the services, whenever necessary of any male or female nurse from the plantation hospital.

He shall report the result of his inspection in the hospital register referred to in Article 15, of the Ordinance of January 21, 1879. (Government Gazette No. 8) and shall draw the notice of the District Commissary forthwith to same.

The Manager shall after consultation with the District Medical Officer, appoint the requisite number of female nurses for the children, these shall be not less than one for every 15 children.

They shall receive for each day's work of not more than 10 hours at least 40 cents Dutch.

The nurses shall, under the Manager's supervision, see that the rules are duly complied with and they shall treat the children kindly.

The nursery shall be visited daily by the manager or by an overseer appointed by him.

He shall take care that good order and cleanliness is maintained and shall see that the doctor's instructions regarding the children's attendance and food are duly carried out and further more that the nurses be immediately discharged and replaced by others, should the doctor require it, on the ground of their incompetence or bad conduct.

The floored part of the nursery must be scoured with sand at least twice a week and kept always clean and tidy.

Article 6.

Milk and other food may be ordered by the District Medical Officer for any child who, in his opinion, is insufficiently fed, this shall be in conformity with the scale fixed by the Government of Surinam for plantation hospitals, pursuant to the provisions of article 13 of the Ordinance of January 21, 1879 (Government Gazette No. 8).

[We should search in vain through all the Statute Books of the British Colonies for a similar piece of legislation. Instead of the British taking a lesson from other Governments, it will be a great thing if other Governments do not copy British methods of treatment of Indians in the Colonies. Much of the anti-asiatic legislation in the foreign countries as Portuguese East Africa, U. S. A. is due to the example of our British methods.]

GENERAL ARTICLES.

SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

A Lecture in Japan.

THE following is the text of the address which Sir Rabindranath Tagore delivered in Osaka at the Tennoji public hall:

It has come to me as a delightful surprise to be received with such overwhelming warmth of welcome as has fallen to my lot since my arrival in your country. I had a dismal idea that poetry could have very little expectation from young nations who have to compete with others having a longer start and a more hardened conscience, who have to make up for their lost time for having come late in the arena of the modern age—the age of commercial scramblings and political piracies. Surely natural selection has a vigorous contempt for all poets—who are born neither with the protective convenience of a tough skin nor canine teeth of formidable ferocity. The traditional harps of the poets are an encumbrance in the race of life, and the struggle for existence runs its course triumphantly trampling upon all rhymes and rhythms under its ruthless feet.

Therefore it was a great relief to me to be treated in a manner that convinced me that your hearts still have room for the green of the earth and the blue of the sky—and your cherry blossoms will still have their chance in their competition with shrill machines and brand new inventions of this age of the corrugated iron sheds, gramophones and cinematograph shows.

From my young days, my thoughts have constantly turned to Japan. And since, in later years, I have witnessed the wonderful rise to eminence in Asia of your great nation, it has been one of my special desires to visit Japan, where the east and the west found their meeting place and carried on their courtship far enough to give assurance of a wedding. It was my desire to know where and how Japan's past found its affinity in its present, and where lies the secret of her power which has the flexibility of a tempered steel blade, which bends, but does not break, and whose strokes are all the sure for being adaptable to new circumstances.

When my thoughts went back to Japan in earlier days it was to remember those times when the Buddhist monks, starting from my country, crossed over the high mountains, traversed the great upland plains, and passed over the mighty rivers of China, till they reached the

sea. They encountered difficulties not only of climate and geography, but also of language and custom. Yet they went forward, strong in their belief in man's fellowship, and they proved the truth of their belief in living deeds. In their case, therefore, while the outward difficulties were so great the inward path was made straight before them by the enthusiasm of their faith and the devotion to those truths of life which they had discovered and explored. When those who had learnt the message from them reached at last the shores of Japan, their ideals found a home among your people. I could not help contrasting the almost insurmountable difficulties, which these earliest pilgrims from our shores must have encountered, with the ease and comfort in which I have just been able to accomplish my journey. What must have taken many years in those earlier days can now be completed in less than a month.

Yet this modern civilisation with all its mechanical appliances for making life comfortable and progress rapid on the outside, has become itself a barrier in its turn with regard to the inner spirit of man, because it has made our life so intricate that it has lost its transparency of simplicity. Our things are more in evidence than ourselves. Our engagements are too numerous, our amusements are too frequent. The surface scum of life has become thick and muddy. At the odds and ends, the vast waste materials of civilisation floating about it, have created a growing barrier, not only shutting out our deeper nature but smothering it to a great extent. Exhibition of man's nature has taken its place on the surface, where richness is in his materials, his strength in his organisation, his heroism in his ambitious undertaking, his mind in his science. Man's heart is squandering its strength in its craving for the dram drinking of sensationalism,—pitifully asking for its continual doses of fresh news and fresh noise,—losing its healthy taste for food in its insatiable thirst for stimulants.

It is the stupendous unreality of this modern civilisation, always changing its shapes and shifting its course, furiously riding upon the dust-storm of unmeaning restlessness, scattering about it in the wind shreds of things torn and mangled, decaying and dead,—all this is making the real man invisible to himself and to others. In the days of heroic simplicity, it was easy to come near to the real man, but in modern times it is the phantasm of the giant. Time itself which is everywhere, and the man is lost beyond recognition; and while the means of communication are multiplying free communication itself is diminishing in its reality. The whirlwind of modern civilisation has caught Japan as it

has the rest of the world, and a stranger like myself cannot help feeling on landing in your country that what I see before me is the temple of the modern age where before the brazen images, an immense amount of sacrifice of life is offered and an interminable round of ritualism is performed. But this is not Japan. Its features are the same as they are in London, in Paris, in Berlin or in the manufacturing centres of America.

Also the men you meet here for the first time have the same signs of the push and the pull of the rotating machine-wheels of the present age. They jostle you, they drag you on with the rush of the crowd, they rapidly take note of your exterior and offer their exteriors to be taken in snapshots. They have a curiosity for the superficial details, but not love for the real person. They are satisfied with the unessentials, because these can be gathered easily and got rid of as soon these can be handled and soiled and swept away in the dust bin with as little loss of time as is possible. For everything must make room for the next ephemeral, the shock of sensations has to be carried on, and the man who have no time to lose must be amused in a hurry. They try to break chips off the permanent for making play thing for the temporary. At first sight what you see most in this land is the professional, and not the human.

These are the drawbacks of the present time. And the obstacles, that I shall have to surmount in order to come near to the heart of your country, are far more difficult than those which our ancestors had to deal with in their communication with you. For it was only the barrier of nature, and not human nature which stood in their way. But now man has to be reached through the barrier of time, and not space, and this is the most difficult task to perform. But I must not lose heart. I must seek and find what is true in this land—true to the soul of the people,—what is Japan, what is unique, and not merely a mask of the time which is monotonously the same in all latitudes and longitude. I earnestly hope that I shall not have to be satisfied with bird's eye views and flash light impressions, with snapshot pictures of all that hides you from view: and I shall claim my privilege as a poet whose only gift is the gift of sympathy and love, to be allowed entrance into a corner of your living heart and to carry away your love with me to the land which can justly feel proud of herself for having been able to send to you as her gift not machines, not munitions of war, but her best that she could offer to all eternity.

Before delivering the above address Sir Rabindranath was entertained at a Japanese dinner by the leading Journalists of Osaka.—*Englishman*.

JAPAN AND INDIA

AN INTERVIEW WITH SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

(From the "Manchester Guardian.")

Sir Rabindranath Tagore, who is now in Tokio, has had an extremely cordial reception in Japan, which has a significance more than literary and more than personal, for it is one of the many indications of the growing intimacy between Japan and India and of the evolution of a new Asia awakening to a consciousness of unity. He is staying with a distinguished Japanese artist, and it was at his host's home, hard by the Meno Park, that he received me (writes a special correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian").

The house is purely Japanese in structure and furnishing, and as Sir Rabindranath talked a gardener watered the tiny strip of garden behind him, with its inevitable gold fish, miniature rocky hills, and dwarf trees. His speech is gentle, with the delicate softness of a tongue attuned to a language less harsh than our own, but it has a full range of expression, and it becomes intense when he speaks of the present and the future of his own country. In a brief address at Osaka he had touched, in a fashion perhaps not wholly gratifying to the New Japan, upon Eastern and Western civilisation. I reminded him of that, and asked him to elaborate his ideas.

"Japan," he said, "is rapidly acquiring the mechanical apparatus of Western civilisation, but I think it would be a grave misfortune if she cut loose from her own ideas and her own past. We have been through the same phase in India. When Western civilisation and Western education came to us they exercised a great fascination upon our youth, and for a time our own thought and our own traditions seemed to them worthless and fit only to be cast aside. Then came a reaction perhaps as extreme in the one direction as that in the other, and action and reaction are at work to produce an adjustment, for an adjustment is necessary. I have not been in Japan sufficiently long to say whether this is happening here also, but I feel it must be so. The Western apparatus which Japan has borrowed is like a garment rather than part of the individual himself. It is universal and

external. True, the West has taken a long time to evolve it, but it has no peculiar character of its own, and the East can borrow it and transplant it rapidly. Precisely for that reason it cannot of itself satisfy the soul of a nation. Thoughtful men in Japan with whom I have talked tell me that they are conscious of this, that they feel the need of harmonising Japan's present with her past, and it is this feeling, I believe, which explains the extreme cordiality with which I have been received.

"You ask me to characterise the difference between the Eastern and the Western outlook. That is very difficult, although the difference is very real. In the East we are conscious through all individual things of the infinity which embraces them. When I was in England I felt there was an incessant rush of just individual things upon me; it was not a question of noise and bustle and haste only, but the whole atmosphere lacked the sense of infinity. Upon me it had the effect of hampering reflection and meditation. No, I should not describe the difference as one between spirituality and materialism, though that is the way it is often put. I have known too many noble and devoted men in England who practise renunciation and self-sacrifice and strive for humanity, to deny your Western civilisation spirituality. No country could stand the shock of this war if it lacked spirituality. But it is a different kind from ours. It is not penetrated, as is ours, with the abiding sense of the infinite.

"Do I think that Eastern thought, the Eastern outlook can be reconciled with the mechanism of Western civilisation? I think it can and must be. In the East we have striven to disregard matter, to ignore hunger and thirst, and so escape from their tyranny and emancipate ourselves. But that is no longer possible, at least for the whole nation. You in the West have chosen to conquer matter, and the fine task of sciences to enable all men to have enough to satisfy their material wants, and by subduing matter to achieve freedom for the soul. The East will have to follow the same road, and call in science to its aid.

"Whether this characteristic outlook of nations is a matter of race is a hard question. I know that in England my thoughts were not free, and I had to

return to India for them to acquire their freedom. The colour of the sky, the air, the soil, all colour and shape and thought, help to make the philosophy of one nation different from that of another. Though I look forward to science and the mechanical arts of civilisation becoming a common possession of the whole world, I have no fear that the mind and soul of the whole world will become uniform, for these things are external like a garment, and do not touch the inner core of a people. I conceive a kind of federation of nations, in which each contributes its own characteristic philosophy.

"It does not surprise one to hear that the Japanese think it their country's mission to unite and lead Asia. The European nations, for all their differences, are one in their fundamental ideas and outlook. They are like a single country rather than a continent in their attitude towards the non-European. If, for instance, the Mongolians threatened to take a piece of European territory all the European countries would make common cause to resist them. Japan cannot stand alone. She would be bankrupt in competition with a united Europe, and she could not expect support in Europe. It is natural that she should seek it in Asia, in association with a free China, Siam, and perhaps, in the ultimate course of things, a free India. An associated Asia, even though it did not include the Semitic West, would be a powerful combination. Of course that is to look a long way ahead, and there are many obstacles in the way, notably the absence of a common language and the difficulty of communication. But from Siam to Japan there are, I believe, kindred stocks, and from India to Japan there is much of religion and art and philosophy which is a common possession.

"The Japanese have made remarkable progress, but, given equal opportunity, India would do as well. We are not inferior intellectually to the Japanese. Probably in the crafts we are so, but we are superior in pure thought. They have been free to educate themselves and to send their young men to all the universities of the world to acquire knowledge. But every Indian feels, and every candid student of India must admit, that you have conceived it to be to your interest to keep us weak and have discouraged education. In the laboratories you dislike us to acquire science and to pursue research.

"The Tata Foundation is an illustration. Here at last, we thought, India's opportunity had come. But the Government has taken control of it and killed it, and that splendid gift is now barren and worthless. The war comes, and you say to us: 'Industrialise yourself; make the things we need.' There is something ludicrous about this, for you have consistently and persistently striven to repress and cramp our economic development. It is hopeless for us to try to educate ourselves or develop ourselves. Your Government in India is so perfectly organised that you can render all such striving futile. But it is bad for you as well as for us. When one nation keeps another in subjection, when its authority is so perfect and complete that it can execute its arbitrary will with effortless ease, it saps its own love of liberty, its own vigour, its own moral strength. It discovers that when it comes into conflict with a virile nation."

CANADA AND INDIA.

The Canada-India League is a year old. Its first Annual Meeting was held on May 12th, 1916, at the Central Y.M.C.A., and no doubt some notes on the Cause it desires to further and an account of its work will interest the readers of "Canada and India" and others.

For several years Dr. Sunder Singh and friends had been devoting their time and energy to the service of Humanity by supporting and helping the Sikhs in British Columbia. Their struggles to secure mere human rights, which even the least favored of the immigrant races had hitherto received in Canada, is too little known or understood throughout Canada, England or India.

Dr. Sunder Singh, like other Easterners, was trained to believe in the life of the Spirit as being the only reality. The Hindus as a people pray every day

"From the unreal lead us to the Real,
From darkness lead us to Light,
From death lead us to Immortality."

He regards this British Columbia struggle as one of the many ways in which man is striving to make Brotherhood a living Reality, and for that reason commands a certain amount of his attention.

In May, 1914, Dr. Sunder Singh came east for the purpose of again appealing to the Dominion Government.

He saw Sir Robert Borden and others at Ottawa. The "Komagata Maru" and her Hindu passengers had attracted the attention not only of Canada, but of the whole world to the Hindu question.

Early in 1915, as a result of some addresses given by Dr. Sunder Singh under the auspices of the Society of Friends in Toronto, a meeting was called to consider what could be done to help the Hindus in Canada, and after some discussion the first formal meeting of this League took place on April 1st, 1915, with some dozen or so people present.

At the early meeting much discussion took place with a view to determining a practical line of action. It was considered that as the war was absorbing our attention, and the constitutional issues at stake in the British Columbian situation were such as to make it difficult to open the subject without arousing political and bitter antagonism, the policy of the League should be confined to promoting a better understanding between the Canadian and Indian peoples, and to secure a change in the regulations to permit the admission of the wives and families of Hindus now resident in Canada. Do we realize what this means to the Sikh? How can we bring the truth home to ourselves? How would we feel if our dearest ones were forcibly separated from us? These are questions which surely should agitate every right-minded human being, whatever his race, nationality or creed, and however much the war might occupy his thoughts.

By June, 1915, the paper "Canada and India" saw the first light. It had been undertaken by Dr. L. A. Davis, then Secretary of the League, as "a journal of information and conciliation." This friend saw the urgent need of a paper in a movement like ours, and brought it out as a bi-monthly. It has recently been decided to publish "Canada and India" every month. To carry on this work more efficiently, we ask our sympathizers to get subscribers for the paper and do what they can to pass it on to people interested in the question.

In July the work of the League began in right earnest. A campaign for membership was commenced which continued throughout the winter. A large number of parlor meetings were held in this city, where much interest was aroused. Several public meetings were conducted, notably the one at the Central Technical High School Auditorium in February, 1916, when Dr. Sunder Singh addressed an audience of over 500 people on Rabindranath Tagore. He also spoke before University

students, religious bodies and other societies. Other members of the League have spoken at meetings which have been a good training ground for them and others. In this way accurate and reliable information and real facts about the cause have been given to the public. A great help to our cause has been an Indian lady resident in Toronto, who addressed many gatherings and women's organizations.

We feel keenly the need of experienced help for our Indian friends. If only one lecturer would come from India, or one or two Indian ladies, they could do valiant service now. This need seemed so pressing that we planned to ask for help. It was impossible at this time to lay our case before Indian friends by correspondence, and the chances of a Hindu from Canada being allowed to return to India was very small, so it was decided to send a Canadian. A sufficient sum of money was therefore raised through the generosity of friends, and in April, 1916, Mr. E. W. Jackson was started on his mission, to first study India, its peoples and problems, second to secure the help referred to above and to aid in bringing about a better understanding between Canada and India, and thus help in lessening racial prejudices. But even a Canadian bent on a mission of enquiry and conciliation, it must be noted, is not free to enter India at this time.

We found it necessary in order to carry on our work to have a central office, and a room was rented for the purpose. Hardly had we been settled, however, when the place was burnt down, and we had to start over again. Fortunately, very little of our furniture (kindly lent us by a member) and our literature, were not even touched by water, and we were able to move without delay to the Bay Street office, which we continued to use until May, 1916. Our present headquarters at 283, Huron Street, Toronto, are much more commodious and satisfactory in every way, because it has all the convenience of a dwelling house and a central meeting place for members and helpers. Friends are always welcome to this centre.

During this year we were able to produce a fair amount of literature, which has been distributed, together with many books and pamphlets dealing with the subject. Some correspondence regarding the work of the League has been conducted with friends at the Coast and abroad. The League has sent letters to various churches, assemblies, synods and public bodies regarding the situation and seeking their co-operation.

Letters have also been sent to editors of papers, expressing the views of the League, and in reply to mis-statements of facts as a matter of self-defence.

We have at present nearly 100 paid-up members. The annual subscription is only \$1.00, so that persons with limited means can join the League. Many of our members are cheerfully contributing a small monthly sum, and that, together with donations from friends, have been the source of income. We need all friends who are interested in humanity and justice to unite with us and become members.

At the Annual Meeting it was deemed advisable to state the objects of the League, which are as follows:—

(a) To promote the practical spirit of human brotherhood through personal, national and racial co-operation.

(b) To promote within the British Empire affection and loyalty and a greater sympathy and better understanding between the various races.

(c) To promote a wider appreciation of Canada's relation to India, and to secure its equitable adjustment.

There are so many misconceptions and misrepresentations about our ideals and motives that we hope the above will make them clear. The first clause is the general statement; the second is its application to the Empire, and the third is the particular result we aspire to in our own work as a League.

There is so much misunderstanding about the Canadian Hindus generally, and the "Komagata Maru" especially, that the League desires to state a few facts. The "Komagata Maru" arrived in Vancouver in May and sailed from there on the 22nd July, 1914, about the time the War was being considered a possibility. The League, upon enquiry, has found no evidence that the expedition was promoted by the Germans. That statement was first publicly made in Toronto by Mr. H. H. Stevens, M. P., about September, 1914. It is a curious fact that neither he nor his friends mentioned it while the Komagata Maru was here either in court or in the papers. The Indian Government, in a commission of enquiry into the affair, has stated that no evidence had been submitted by the Canadian authorities to support the rumour, and therewas nothing to show that the Germans had anything to do with it. We do know this, that for the two preceding years the East Indians on the Coast and their friends in India realized that the way to find out what their rights were as British subjects, would

be by chartering a boat of their own, and thus bringing the whole issue to a test. There are advertisements in Punjabi to show that such an effort was being made in India long before the ill-fated expedition really took shape.

In spite of having spent over \$200,000.00 and endured untold hardship and suffering the Hindus on the Coast to-day are still in a most pitiable condition.

Canada is a young country. She is at the very forefront of the Western materialistic advance. India is old. She is the heart of the Orient. Her ideals are spiritual. How to bring the new and the old together in a spirit of equality and conciliation is the main object of this League. We believe that after this war, which will be known as the Great Change, a better spirit will prevail in humanity. In the meantime workers have to labor to bring about this result. The world is at the parting of the ways, and we should help in bringing about the new and better day.

Our needs are many and great, but a few of them are:—

- (1) Members for the League.
- (2) Subscribers, for the "Canada and India" journal.
- (3) Helpers, especially friends well versed in law, to help us in legal points on the whole situation. We also require help in our office. If stenographers will give us a few hours a week it will greatly aid us in our work.
- (4) The Hindus, being an agrarian people, the co-operation of farmers is especially sought, so that immigrant Hindus can be put to work on the land, and thus demonstrate their fitness as producers in a practical way.
- (5) We need branches of the League to be established in different parts of Canada. Will kind friends please note this fact and do what they can in their own community to start a small centre for spreading the truth. Any information and literature regarding our work can be had by writing to the Secretary, at 293, Huron Street, Toronto, Canada.

In conclusion, whilst thanking all our friends for what they have done during the year, we appeal to the public as a small and struggling band of insignificant workers, believing our cause is just. We pray, therefore, all lovers of humanity to give us still more active support.

RENOUNCE YOUR "WHITE AUSTRALIA" POLICY

FROM THE *Pastoral Review*, SYDNEY.

WE need not remind readers of our policy in connection with a "White Australia" as applied to the Northern Territory. It has been placed before them for so many years, and with such constant recurrence, that they are probably very weary of it. The seriousness, however, of the unpeopled and undefended condition of that extensive stretch of territory, and its great importance to the country, must be our excuse for so continually reverting to the subject.

At last a change seems to be coming over the general opinion that it is not only possible, but essential, to populate the tropical areas of the continent with a white race. We do not pat ourselves on the back, and say, "We are responsible for this dawn of reason," nor "We told you so," but we are very glad to see that responsible men, Government officials, and the principal newspapers realise, or are beginning to realise, the impossibility of the White Australia policy in toto. The Administrator of the Northern Territory (Dr. Gilruth) began his administration full of hope and confidence that the country could be made to prosper without altering that policy. He fought hard to justify his belief, but has been unable to retain it, and now confesses that a "White" and a prosperous Northern Territory are two very different things, and when such a man as Dr. Gilruth recognises that fact, a long step has been made towards the realisation of a saner policy. Again, the principal daily papers in the Southern States, which in the past have been all for total exclusion of the coloured element, have begun to devote leading articles to the necessity of adopting some system of indentured tropical labour "to develop the latent resources of the country." A "White Australia" within limits is very commendable and necessary, for we want no "alien" problems, but limits there must be, and the purpose of this article is to set forth those limits.

Our sympathies go with the aspiration for a "White Australia" to this extent. In all employments that can be satisfactorily discharged by white men we should regard it as reprehensible to oust them by any form of alien labour. But tropical agriculture—and here it may be said that the problem under discussion does not apply only to the Northern Territory, but to the greater part of the Australian tropical coastal areas—we hold to be a class of labour to which no white man should be con-

demned. After the expulsion of the Kanaka from Queensland drunkenness became rife among, and consequently interfered with the work of, many of the gangs of white labourers employed on the sugar harvest. This was not entirely due to habitual dissoluteness, but to a lowered vitality, resulting from exhausting labour under conditions hopelessly antagonistic to a white man's constitution. Politicians realised the serious position in which they were placing the Northern Queensland planters by prohibiting Kanaka labour, but they declared it were better the sugar industry should perish than that Queensland should be contaminated by indentured coloured labour. Thus were the rich tropical areas of Northern Queensland then, and those of the Northern Territory since, condemned to remain unprofitable wastes. We cannot expect to retain them if we cannot use them. Other nations whose populations are bursting their boundaries will not passively look on for ever at such a dog-in-the-manger policy. It may be said that it has been demonstrated that tropical products can be produced by white labour at a profit. This is a hollow argument, though, for they have to compete with cheap labour in every other country where those products are grown. It may also be said—in fact, has been—that one white man can do the work of two coloured, but this was amply refuted some eight or nine years ago by several sugar mill managers in Queensland at a conference held to protest against the expulsion of the Kanaka. One said: "During the past year 40,516 tons of cane were cut by white labour at Mulgrave by 451 whites, and 23,813 tons by 209 Kanakas." Another said that white men, cutting on the wages system, average 30 cwt. a day, against 3 tons by the Kanakas. Similarly in the Northern Territory, the inefficiency and excessive cost of white labour has been proved incontestably again and again.

The necessity, then, of introducing coloured labour within limits is, as we have stated, beginning to be generally realised. There is no country in the world possessed of low-lying tropical areas where whites make a living solely by their own unaided efforts. They superintend, but those they oversee are units of dark-skinned races. Science teaches that the black or dark skin is not nearly so susceptible to heat as white, and nature on this account has peopled all her hot tropical areas accordingly. Therefore it is obviously unnatural to expect white people to work manually in tropical countries subject to great and continuous heat and an abnormally high degree of humidity. It is not the occasional hot and humid or

"sticky" day that kills, but when those conditions become monotonous. Even a few successive warm days of high humidity (or high percentage of moisture in the atmosphere) in the southern coastal belts is quite sufficient to cause a fairly general feeling of listlessness and numerous prostrations. Let those "White Australians" who suffer and sweat under an average summer wet-bulb temperature of less than 60 deg. over most of Victoria remember that in Northern Australia there are white men and women working under an average summer wet-bulb reading of 75 deg., 80 deg., and over. The wet-bulb thermometer must not be confused with the dry bulb or one in general use. The latter gives no indication of the humidity, and its readings are no index to the oppressiveness of the weather. A wet-bulb reading of 75 deg., for example, would represent considerably more trying weather than a dry-bulb reading of 100 deg., with only a low percentage of moisture in the air. In Darwin, the monthly mean of the maximum daily dry-bulb temperature never goes below 87 deg., and for nine months of the year keeps above 90 deg. Fahr., while the humidity average for January is 78 deg. Wet-bulb readings taken in a well-constructed house at Darwin in July gave the following results:—The average for the month at 9 a.m. was 72.4 deg., and at 3 p.m. 80.2 deg. Some idea of the severity of the heat may be gained from the fact that when the wet-bulb thermometer reaches 88 deg. work must cease, or heat apoplexy will supervene. As a comparative reading, the record wet-bulb temperature in Melbourne has never exceeded 75 deg. These few figures are sufficient to indicate that any tract of country liable to a wet-bulb temperature of over 75 deg. day after day and month after month is not, and never can be, fit for a white population unassisted by workers specially adapted by nature for such conditions.

The limit of an endurable climate, then, may for our purpose be taken as being a wet-bulb temperature of 75 deg., and turning to the accompanying map (not published here) which appeared in *The Review* some two years ago, we see this wet-bulb isotherm, as it is called—a line drawn through all the points where the average daily reading in summer is 75 deg.—runs across the north of Australia and some distance down the east coast, taking in all the comparatively low-lying tropical country. Within this strip indentured coloured labour from Java, the Archipelago to the north of Australia, China, India, or the South Sea Islands should be allowed free scope under white supervision, but it must not be allowed to pass south of the line represented by the 75 deg. wet-bulb isotherm. Sir George Grey proposed in

1890 or 1891 the same principle, though his boundary was a hard-and-fast line drawn along $23\frac{1}{2}$ deg. of south latitude, viz., the Tropic of Capricorn, but this included a very extensive area of perfectly good "white man's" land, where there is no necessity for black labour. The more we can restrict the area in which we must have coloured labour the better, so the 75 deg. temperature line which gives a truer and more exact division between temperate and tropical climes than the general boundary supplied by the line of the tropic may be considered the better proposition of the two.

The indentures should be of, say, five years' duration, although at the expiration of that time the men could be allowed to sign a fresh agreement for a further period of years. Restrictive legislation would have to be framed to prevent them obtaining vested interests in the country, but that would present no great difficulty. Children born in the country would be subject to the same conditions as their parents, and would have to leave with the latter, or after a fixed number of years. Of course, we realise that the great problem will be to deal satisfactorily with the half-caste, but owing to limited space this question must be discussed in a future article. It is a problem that can be solved, must be solved, for even if the question of climate did not make a White Australia impossible, the war has put an end to it. After peace is declared the colour line will become more and more indefinable, and we shall be compelled to recognise the fact, for Britain will say to us, "Renounce your 'White Australia' policy or suffer the consequences. Your blood will be upon your own head."

[Though we may not agree with the writer on the question of indentured colour labour or the suggested limits of the colour line, this article, at any rate, emphasises the futility of continuing the "White Australia" Policy. Possibly, when this war is over, as the writer points, Australia and all the British Colonies will and must be thrown open to any citizen of the Empire.]

A SUGGESTION FROM FIJI INDIANS.

ON THE FUTURE LABOUR SYSTEM.

The following letter was addressed by a number of Indians in Fiji on July 15, to Mr. P. Castaldi, Secretary to the Indian Immigration Committee, Suva, Fiji.

Sir,—We have been made aware from newspaper reports, etc., of the questions that are exercising the

mind of your committee regarding the future prosperity of this Colony, in which our countrymen are admittedly a most important factor.

2. As regards the proposal to substitute a system copied from the Federated Malay States, we beg most respectfully to submit that such a change would revive penalties similar to those already lately deleted from our existing indentured labour code. And the power that the employer would possess to place a labourer under arrest for real or imaginary impertinence or disobedience, etc., would lend itself to many abuses: also the power the magistrates would possess in the matter of the penalties for such offences might be abused. A glance at the March, April and June 1916 numbers of the *Indian Emigrant* published in Madras would convince one that under this so-called free immigration there are great wrongs in the matter of the recruitment, stay at depot, embarking and voyage.

3. In view of the foregoing we beg to suggest that the system outlined by Messrs. Andrews and Pearson in their admirable report deserves to be given the first place in your consideration.

4. We also submit that whatever system is finally decided upon the code enacted concerning it must be translated into plain and intelligible Indian vernaculars, such as may be readily understood by intending Indian emigrants who should be each furnished with one copy of the tract gratis or at nominal cost.

5. Besides, we desire to recommend the necessity, from the point of view of improving labour conditions in all parts of the world and in justice to the risk undertaken in modern manufactures, of having some legislation similar to the Employers' Liability Act and the Workman's Compensation Act prevalent in England.

6. In conclusion, we beg to record our heartiest gratitude for the scheme agreed upon, to secure regular and frequent steamship communication between Fiji and India at nominal rates of passage which is a boon to the colony and to the Indian people in particular, the magnitude of which boon it is scarcely possible to realise fully at this stage but which we feel sure will be the means of developing this beautiful country by leaps and bounds.

SIR RIDER HAGGARD AND EMIGRATION.

AT the farewell luncheon given to Sir Rider Haggard at the Royal Colonial Institute in London before leaving for Australia, he said:—"It is a well-known phenomenon that after war great unrest ensues, and following that considerable emigration. For instance, in 1903, after the Boer War, there were 250,000 emigrants, and of these 123,000 went—where do you think?—to Australia? No: to Canada? No; to South Africa? No. They went largely to the United States of America. I want to keep them within the boundary of the Empire in future. That is my whole object—one of the objects of my life, and the object also of our immediate concern. I want to try to save every man, woman, and child who leaves these shores—to save them for the Empire. Why should they go to the Argentine and other countries, when all these lands of our own are waiting to receive them, and, if properly approached, will receive them with open arms?"

The following interesting criticism on the above by the Editor of the *Pastoral Review*, Sydney, reveals some of the reasons why Britishers themselves prefer to emigrate to foreign countries such as Argentina, United States, etc., rather than to the British Colonies. Perhaps the chances of settlement are good there and may be equally good to Indians to emigrate to Brazil and other places rather than suffer disabilities in the British Colonies. Only it must be attempted in an organised way:—

Sir Rider Haggard asks why they should go to Argentina and other countries in preference to Australia. The answer is very simple, and before wasting his time as he has been doing, he should, first of all, endeavour to alter the present state of affairs in this one big colony, Australia. Here the farmer is the slave of the town unions; he is handicapped to such an extent that he gets off the land as soon as he possibly can. He has two sets of income and land taxes to pay and two sets of death duties (Federal and State). He has high import duties to pay on all his plant, even his wheatsacks, woolpacks, and frozen meat wrappers are taxed; in Argentina all such are duty free. His railways are few and far between, and what he has, being State-owned are necessarily of the worst description. He has local taxes, stock taxes, &c., rained upon him. A large part of his time is occupied in making out returns, and on top of it all he has now had the price of his produce fixed at a rate which is driving a dairyman and wheatgrower out of business. Wheatgrowing in Australia in normal times can never be profitable, because the cost of planting, harvesting,

and marketing is so high. Only in abnormal times will it be possible to make it a profitable undertaking. Stock raising, wool, dairying, fruitgrowing, and mixed farmings are what Australia is suited for. And the latter four only when handicaps are removed. Not one speaker at the luncheon, and not one speaker at the numerous gatherings out here to meet Sir Rider, has touched the spot. Until it is recognised that the farmer's life has to be relieved of its present encumbrances, all the promises of land and for immigration are futile.

The whole policy of the reigning Parliament in Australia is to limit the population. That is a deadly doctrine. Surprise will be expressed at this statement, but it is true nevertheless. The Federal Parliament and some of the State Parliaments are entirely under the orders of the Trades Union Caucus. That body has made a close ring of favoured labour, no others need apply for work. It is directly opposed to immigration, excepting by men with a certain amount of money, which is to assist in keeping the present state of things going. It matters nothing to the trades unions if the farming community loses its money; it has been passed on to the farmer, and other farmers will be ignorant and green enough to come and take their place. Every rise in wages or decrease in hours of labour is passed on to the producer in higher freight rates or higher taxation. He has to bear the whole of it, without even the prospect of getting fair market price for what he raises. It is "heads I win and tails you lose" with the unions. First of all, the farmer has to pay for the increase of wages of their members, and then has to supply the towns with cheap food. Yet Sir Rider Haggard expresses himself as satisfied with the promises he has obtained. Has he received one promise that if a number of farmers or soldiers are sent here they shall be given a chance of making a competency when they do come? Has Sir Rider Haggard heard during his visit that the dairymen of New South Wales and Queensland are selling their dairy cattle because it won't pay to make butter at present fixed price? Has he heard how many farms in Western Australia have been thrown into the hands of the Agricultural Bank because of the impossibility to make them pay? Has he heard of the condition of the settlers at Yanco in New South Wales, and has he discovered where they are to find a market even if they do manage to grow anything? Has he heard of the scandalous Government pamphlets which induced many of the settlers to come here? If he hasn't, his visit has been of little or no use. If, on the other hand, he were to point out what is the true position and publish a book on the reason of our farming stagna-

tion and £90 per head debt, he would do Australia a real good turn, and might help us to improve matters. It is a magnificent country, but ruined by governments comprised of lawyers tinkers, tailors, schoolmasters, blacksmiths, and such like. Before we can expect progress, and before we can expect men with money to prefer us to Brazil, Argentina and other South American countries, where everything is done for the man on the land, we must give our farmers a chance.

First of all, taxation must be lower for producers than for consumers. All articles used for growing or marketing produce must be put on the Customs free list, as is the case with our rival country, Argentina. Railway freights must be reduced, and responsibility for loss and damage taken by the railway authorities. Government stock routes and reserves must be kept in good order. If we want farmers with money we must give inducements such as other countries give; otherwise not only shall we stagnate, but, as we are doing at present, lose our farmers to other lands. If Sir Rider Higgard will bring about this improvement, his visit will be justified, otherwise he will have been beating the air.

THE GOVERNMENT OF DEPENDENCIES.

The war we are engaged in has been characterised as a war of principle rather than of conquest. It has been provocative of deep cogitation by students of history as well as by Statesmen as to the nature, scope, and the ultimate aim of international relations. In so far as the twentieth century Armageddon is being inspired on either side by moral more than material considerations, we may look with some degree of confidence towards the evolution by the superior combatant of a constructive ideal that will place international interests on a more permanent basis. The intervention of Great Britain at the last hour of the crisis augurs well in this direction. The superior moral force exerted by her statesmen and publicists on the issues of the war is bound to lend its conduct by the Allies to the vindication of the just and humane principles which form the covenant of the Entente Powers. These facts offer a cheery prospect for the better understanding and good will of the peoples of the world. Taking the instance of the British Empire, the observation has been made by her responsible statesmen that within the empire, the ~~idea~~ of Dominions is gradually giving way to the idea

of Commonwealth. Mr. P. H. Kerr, M. A., Editor of *The Round Table* has contributed an informing study on the political relations that should subsist between the advanced and the backward races, to one * of the recent book publications of Messrs. Macmillan. Naturally, he illustrates the theme by taking the classic example of British Dominion in India. The worn-out webs of this connection which have been beaten out to death by successive British Statesmen from the seventeenth century onwards, are handled by Mr. Kerr with a deftness of touch and dignity of thought made illuminating in the light of *post bellum* political philosophy. It will be easily understood that the problems which arise out of the contact between peoples of different levels of civilisation can be successfully solved only on the plane of humanity and on grounds of higher morality of nations as well as individuals. From a critical study of actual experience of such connection, Mr. Kerr draws three general principles. The first is, that "so long as there are peoples seriously behind the present level of the most civilised nations, commercial intercourse is bound to lead to evils which can only be ended by a more civilised people assuming charge of the Government of the more backward race." The second is, that "when this has been done the ruling people ought to govern the dependency as trustees for all mankind, having as their ultimate aim the raising of the inhabitants to the level at which they can govern themselves and share in the greater responsibilities of the world." The third is, "that the joint settlement of the masses of races of widely differing levels of civilisation or colour in a single area is injurious to all and that as far as possible they should be kept geographically segregated, while free inter communication is provided for the superior elements in both, in order that, while retaining their individuality, they may gradually reach mutual understanding."

There are manifold practical issues which arise out of the application of these general principles, which require the highest Statesmanship and greatest restraint for amicable settlement. Mr. Kerr emphasises

[*AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATION by A. J. Grant, J. D. I. Hughes, Arthur Greenwood, P. H. Kerr and F. F. Urquhart. Price 2/ net. A more detailed review will appear in the next issue—Ed. I. E.]

two other points which deserve notice. "The difficulty of the relations between backward and advanced peoples is immensely increased by the difference in colour. The fact that one man is white and another is black or brown or yellow and that each has physical features which mark him off from the others, tends to make people judge all individuals according to the general level of the colour group to which they belong. Nothing could be more fallacious, or more productive of the bitterness and hatred which estrange. Whatever judgment we may form of the general level of these groups, large members of individuals in each of them are entitled to rank among the most civilised of men by their learning, their character, and their capacity for leading their fellows. To deny these men an equal status is unjust, and can work nothing but harm. The future peace and harmony of the world, gravely imperilled already by the bitterness of the colour line, will depend upon the maintenance of mutual confidence and understanding between the leaders of the different groups of mankind. Honesty, integrity, truthfulness, charity, these are the tests of character and true civilisation, not the pigment of the skin or the moulding of the features. Civilised men must learn to appraise their coloured fellows by these tests and these tests alone."

LORD CHEMSFORD ON EMIGRATION.

Extracts from a speech delivered at the Imperial Council on September 5 by His Excellency the Viceroy,—

INDENTURED EMIGRATION.

One of the most important questions which is now occupying the attention of my Government and of the Provincial Governments whom we have addressed on the subject is that of a scheme to be substituted for indentured emigration as it is sometimes described. This is perhaps hardly a correct way of putting it as it implies that we are trying to work out a scheme for the purpose of supplying labour to the colonies, whereas the scheme we are contemplating relates to a very different matter, viz., the control of the operations of persons so engaged. Labourers have a right to emigrate if they wish, and it would be very unwise and very undesirable on our part to prevent them and we are therefore trying to devise arrangements which will secure that recruitment in this

country is conducted under decent conditions, that a proper sex ratio will be maintained and that on arrival in the country of their destination they will be properly treated and allowed to engage themselves on terms at least as free as those obtaining at present in the Malay peninsula where a labourer can leave his employer by giving a month's notice. These are the conditions which in our letter to the local Governments we explained are regarded by the Government of India as necessary for a satisfactory system of emigration. I think it will be clear to all who have studied the question that the Government of India would be departing gravely from its duty if it allowed emigrant labour to leave this country without proper protection and safeguards. There are a certain number of labourers, I believe a very small number, who emigrate as genuine free labourers, that is to say, unassisted by pecuniary help and uninvited by any interested agency; but if we confine ourselves to the abolition of our existing indentured emigration a position will arise in which the parties interested in procuring Indian labour will be free to induce labour to emigrate by pecuniary help under any conditions they like so long as the labourer does not go under indenture. The abuses likely to arise out of such a state of things would be very serious. I need only refer to the state of affairs which existed before the amendment of the Assam Labour and Emigration Act in connection with the so-called free labour. The consequence of this system was, as Sir Charles Rivaz put it in his speech before the Legislative Council in 1901, that a horde of unlicensed and uncontrolled labour purveyors and recruiters sprang into existence who, under the guise of assisting free emigration, made large illicit gains by inducing, under false pretences, ignorant men and women to allow themselves to be conveyed to Assam. These emigrants were, it is true, placed under labour contracts on arrival in that province, but the abuses complained of arose in connection with the recruitment and not with the contract. Similarly, when the system of indentured emigration first arose in India the only precaution required was that intending emigrants should appear before a magistrate and satisfy him as to their freedom of choice and their knowledge of the conditions they were accepting. It was shown in a report submitted in 1840 that abuses undoubtedly did exist in connection with recruitment in India, abuses which the constantly increased safeguards provided by successive Acts of the legislature were designed to correct. Uncontrolled recruitment cannot, it is clear, be permitted under any circumstances. Lord Hardinge promised and I associate myself with him, to

deal with certain points raised by my hon. friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya during the last session of the Legislative Council. These points were the better supervision of colonial recruiting in India, the insertion of information regarding the penal conditions attaching to labour contracts in the indenture signed by intending emigrants and the undesirability of labourers in the colonies being compelled to do work repellent to their caste ideas and religious beliefs. Regarding the first matter we have already consulted the Local Governments very fully when asking their views as to the precautions which will be required after the abolition of indentured emigration. As to the second point, you are no doubt aware that Fiji has now abolished imprisonment for labour offences. Other colonies are arranging to follow suit. But there will be still certain provisions remaining which, we think, should be brought to the notice of intending emigrants. We have arranged to do this as soon as the various colonial legislatures concerned have passed the amendments to which I have alluded. We have also asked the Secretary of State to press the third point on the attention of the Colonial Governments concerned. I should like to say just one more word about the reference we are making to the Local Governments. The conditions under which we are to allow labour to be recruited in India and under which it should be employed in the colonies are peculiarly matters on which Indian popular opinion has every right to be heard and on which we desire its full expression as an aid to us in formulating our proposals. We have therefore asked the Local Governments to consult private persons and associations who are specially interested in or have special knowledge of, this important question, and we hope that the case which we shall be able to put forward for the discussion which will shortly take place on this subject in London will represent not only the result of our own experience and judgment but the views of the most intelligent sections of the Indian community.

INDIANS IN BASUTOLAND.

The "Indian Opinion" publishes the following copy of a letter, dated June 9, 1916, addressed by the Basutoland Indian Association to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the High Commissioner for South Africa:—

"With reference to my Association's telegram of the 7th instant, I have the honour to now represent to you the following facts:—

"One Ramsamy who has been resident in Basutoland since 1898 has had a notice served upon him by the Assistant Commissioner, Leribe, to leave that territory within one month from the 16th ultimo, without any reason being given therefor; and Moonean, who has been resident in Basutoland since 1908, has been similarly treated.

"Besides the aforementioned, the following other persons have also received notice to leave Basutoland, namely Vengtas Nagia, Arnagenum, Lachman Maharaj, Baboo Mahomed, Manikum, M.M. Tommay, and Vengatsamy Naidoo, in which they have lived respectively for 14, 12, 10, 8, 1, 1 and 1 years.

"I am desired by my Association to state that arbitrary orders of this character have had the effect of arousing the gravest concern and a good deal of unrest in the minds of British Indians resident in Basutoland, who in this territory, have never associated the Imperial Government with orders of this kind, and for which, so far as my Association is aware, there is no justification. If Indians, who are old-established residents here, are to be liable to compulsory removal from Basutoland upon short notice, as in these cases, obviously the tenure of existence here of the Indian community is most precarious, and so soon as it is known to European and other firms, upon whom we rely for support, our businesses will suffer a rude shock from which they can hardly recover.

"My Association is unable, in the absence of any evidence, to assume that the persons, against whom the above orders have been made, have done anything to warrant the issue of these orders, but, assuming, for the sake of argument, that they have, then, in my Association's humble opinion, they were entitled to have the facts brought to their notice so that they might have an opportunity of defending themselves, in accordance with the principles of British justice upon which British Indians are entitled to rely.

"In these circumstances, my Association earnestly begs to request that the orders already given may be withdrawn, or, at least, that the abovenamed persons may have an opportunity of knowing and meeting the charges, if any, made against them.

"Thanking you in anticipation that His Excellency may be pleased to give his earnest consideration to this representation."

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Mr. R. MacDonald on the abolition of Indenture.

Writing to one of our Honorary correspondents, he says:—

"I read with unqualified pleasure the announcement in the Supreme Legislative Council for India that the Government of India had resolved to put an end to Indian indentured labour. That system of labour is not only an insult to the people who have to submit to it, and a danger to the Colonies and Dependencies where it is practised. It assures that human beings of a different race may be used by others for the meanest and most sordid purposes, as mere beasts of burden and as means of making profit. The nation which supports it must be injured in its finest susceptibilities and it is upon these susceptibilities that the greatness of all peoples rests.

The history of indentured labour in all lands, moreover, is a history of disgrace, of meanness, of oppression.

The decision of the Government of India ought to be welcomed therefore, not only by Indians but by British men and women as something which indicates that we have passed into a healthier and a purer atmosphere and that we are beginning to hold in full respect the Indian people:

"I congratulate both India and ourselves."

The "Hindustanee Student."

We are requested to publish the following appeal:—

The Hindustanee students, who are studying in the various institutions of this Union have an association called "The Hindusthan Association of America" with their monthly publication "The Hindustanee Student." This Magazine has proved invaluable by uniting and encouraging our students already abroad, and by directing and educating those in India who plan for a higher education. Articles of utmost interest are contributed to this magazine by the leading Hindustanee and American Scholars of the day. It is the only one of its kind in the world which is published in the interest of the students of India by the Hindustanee students living in foreign countries. It also acts as a powerful constructive force in bringing about a closer understanding of India in America. But, on account of its financial circumstances, it is now in danger of extinction.

At the present time the magazine is failing to clear expenses. Increasing the subscription price seems inadvisable as the majority of our students are self-support-

ing. Advertisers are not yet educated to an appreciation of the value of the magazine. Direct aid, therefore, is necessary, if the work is to be maintained.

Being forced to depend upon others, the President of the H. A. of America has appointed a committee to collect a Fund for the "Student." Taking into consideration the present circumstances, the H.S. Fund Committee plans to raise at least \$2,000 (about 7,000 rupees) at once by subscriptions. This will be placed in the hands of the same committee which will act jointly with the Advisory Board composed of the Deans and Presidents of five well known Universities of the United States. The money thus collected will not be mis-spent if it is used for a purpose like this.

On behalf of the Fund Committee, I appeal to you to help to raise the desired fund. Any donation will be thankfully received.

Very sincerely yours,

University of Michigan } (Sd.) NARAYAN S. HARDI-
Ann Arbor, Michigan } KAR,
U. S. A. } Chairman, H. S. F. Committee.

P.S.—If you need further information about the fund, please write to the Secretary, Rafidin Ahmed, 114, West Newton Street, Boston, Mass. When sending the contribution kindly make checks payable to the Chairman.

N. S. H.

The New Editor of the "Review of Reviews."

By ST. NIHAL SINGH.

St. Nihal Singh writes to us:—

Since the beginning of the present year the REVIEW OF REVIEWS (London) has been conducted by Miss Estelle W. Stead, the eldest daughter of Mr. W. T. Stead. My intimate relationship with Mr. Stead, extending over several years prior to his leaving this field of action in 1912, gave me many opportunities to learn that he and his daughter viewed life from much the same angle, and that a tie of intellectual and spiritual sympathy bound them together. No one can read Miss Stead's memoir of her father, published by William Heinemann in 1913 without being impressed by this fact. In view of this affinity, Miss Stead's assumption of the editorship of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS implies that this organ will be conducted in the spirit of her father.

The three numbers that she has edited—those for February, March and April—fully justify this expectation. The notes entitled "The Progress of the World" show the same breadth of view and staunch liberalism that characterized Mr. Stead's monthly survey of the world.

The review of Reviews, Magazines and Books cover a very wide field and are judiciously done. The selection of special articles and cartoons displays good judgment.

Mr. Stead always took great interest in India, and championed the cause of her children month after month. Miss Stead is closely following her father in this respect. Her notes in the March and April issues very wisely urge upon the new Viceroy of India the necessity of sympathizing with the Indian aspirations which formed the key-note of Lord Hardinge's policy, and which was the secret of his popularity. She does not like to see millions of eligible Indians being shut out of the army by the arbitrary decision of the authorities, that only certain clans and castes are capable of being made into good soldiers. She is raising her voice against Indians not being given the higher military rank, and is inviting the attention of her countrymen to what India wants from the British at the end of the War.

The United States Immigration Bill.

The Burnett Immigration Bill, which has already passed in the House of Representatives of the United States, is now before the Senate. This bill should be of great interest to Canadians, if they hold practically the ideals of the unity of the British Empire which they theoretically express. The people of one portion of the British Empire, British subjects, who are at present fighting the battles of the Empire with as lavish expenditure of men and money and with as much devotion and enthusiasm as we ourselves, are by its provisions to be excluded as a whole from the United States. The bill, in its original form, included "Hindus" in the list of undesirables—idiots, lunatics, insane, etc.—who are to be excluded from admission. Later, the word "Hindus" was struck out, but there was retained the geographical area, which leaves the decree of exclusion practically the same.

It is difficult to understand the reason of this pointed insult to the people of India by the Government of the United States, when the statistics of the Immigration Department are considered. "Since the year 1820 to the year 1916, just 6,669 immigrants from India have entered the United States. This number is 0.02 per cent. of the total immigration since that date. The recent figures of the current year for the first three months which do not exceed 16 in all, will also show that India is the only country on the surface of the earth which has sent such a small number of immigrants to this land." These figures certainly cannot give the fear of a dangerous

invasion, and it might be supposed that the ordinary regulations of the Immigration Act would be sufficient to preserve their incoming within reasonable bounds.

The Hindusthan Association of America, which has a large number of American educators as Associates and Honorary members, have sent a letter, opposing this bill, to President Wilson, and have deputed Mr. Lajput Rai, an attorney and political leader of India, to represent them. In the letter it is said: "America has always stood for humanity, for freedom, for the encouragement of democracy and brotherly love. But this unfair, unjust and unnecessary immigration bill, in which the exclusion of the East Indians is demanded, will stand out prominently as a black spot on the page of American history."

[Mr. Lajput Rai's Memorandum was published in our last issue.]

FREIGHT ON FOOD STUFFS.

The following cablegram from Durban was sent to us:—

"Durban 1st July.—At a mass meeting of the Indian Community held at Durban to-day, R. B. Chetty presided, was resolved to appeal His Excellency Viceroy and Governor-General of India to use influence and authority over shipping companies with a view to enforce reduction of freight on necessities of life essential to Indians which have been rendered beyond reach. Poor owing to high freightage. Another resolution passed appealing Union and Imperial Governments to intervene in matter as great distress is prevailing among poorer class. Viceroy legislators, leaders of public opinion and Press of India have been requested to use influence over shipping companies for reduction of freight."

Chetty.

We note that there was a similar mass meeting of Indians in the town of Maritzburg (S. Africa) protesting against the action of the shipping "rings" in imposing freights in an arbitrary and unreasonable manner on the vital necessities of life.

This is a condition of affairs prevailing in Fiji and other Colonies also. We urge upon our Government to take immediate steps in this matter which affects the life and death of our countrymen abroad.

We shall enter into this question in detail in our next number.

Vaileka, Ra, Fiji Islands,
7th August 1916.

OBITUARY.

A correspondent writes:—

Great sorrow is felt for the loss of one of our countrymen and bosom friend, Mr. P. N. Jaganatha Mudaliar Avargal, son of Kaveri Ammal, No. 4, Swami Chetti Street, Komaleswaranpett, Mount Road, Madras, who passed away on the 5th August at 12 midnight at Wairuku, Ra, after a long and painful illness, the immediate cause of death being, tuberculosis.

The deceased gentleman was born in 1886 and came to Fiji 8 years ago as a Clerk and Tamil Interpreter, in the District Commissioner's Office, Ra. He retired from the Government Service on 31st May 1916 on account of illness.

His appointments in Fiji were as follows:—

Appointed Interpreter,	1908 in June, Ra, Fiji Islands.
" Clerk and Interpreter,	Ra, 1908 in June.
" Clerk, Road Board	1909.
" Pound Keeper	1910.
" Postal Clerk	1913.

He leaves a wife and 2 children and a brother Mr. P. N. Purushotham Moodaliar, Late Clerk and Interpreter, Navua Fiji. His poor mother lives at Komaleswaranpett, Madras.

The cremation ceremony took place on 6th instant at 12 noon. The following Indian gentlemen who attended ceremony were as follows:—

Messrs. Badri Maharaj, W. R. Naidu, P. N. Purushotham Mudali, Doraisami Mudali, Kandasami Mudali, Murugappa Mudali, Sahadeva Naiken, Gopal Gounder, Waithi Gounder, Ramasami Gounder, Thopla Gounder, Ellappa Gounder, Malliah Chittigadu and others about 50 in number.

The deceased was educated in the Pachiappen's College, Madras, and he was a good scholar in Tamil.

A man who could write the accompanying has been recruited as an agricultural labourer.

15th August 1914.
Suva, Fiji.

Thuru General
Coolie Agent, S.

Please take this Rignation notice I cannot worke Dont give trouble I come as Applicant worke here to much suffering I not say moor words as soon Has a passiable give Remain,

Yours Sincerely,
J. S. K. Varathen.

Because he was a Coloured Man.

At the Police Court before Mr. Roger Greene, Chief Presidency Magistrate, Suva, Fiji, Mr. Ameer Khan, stablekeeper and storekeeper summoned Dr. Buckeridge, a dentist and Mr. C. Nichols on a charge of assault. The facts are that on one day (12th April), when the plaintiff with two friends were talking at the bar of the Pier Hotel, the Defendants found the presence of these men talking to one another a nuisance and said to Ameer Khan "Chuppe Row." Ameer Khan replied in the same way. The latter thereupon came and struck Plaintiff with his fist and Nichols also did the same. On hearing the witnesses on both sides Mr. Greene, the Magistrate, said that he was sorry that the matter had not been settled between the parties.

In giving judgment Mr. Roger Greene said he knew that Ameer Khan did speak loudly, but the conduct of the bar was on the publican, not on the man who happened to be in there drinking. Dr. Buckeridge evidently thought he had that right, and it was clear that he started by telling plaintiff to "chupperow." Ameer Khan rightly saw that his rights were interfered with. Dr. Buckeridge came round and struck him in the eye. He had no justification for that at all. There was a bit of a feeling in the town that if a man was in a place like the bar of a hotel and a European had a few drinks in there, he had rights over a coloured man which were not conveyed by law. When a man started that sort of business he was brought lower than the other man. There was a lot of this going on, and he said from the Bench that it had to stop. A white man if he wanted to be respected must learn to respect himself. In the same way that Dr. Buckeridge started this business, Nichols when he came along—and he had had a good deal to do with Indians—was probably going to give Buckeridge a lesson in what ought to be done. In this case these men tackled the man simply because he was a coloured man. He (the C.P.M.) was as good a judge of human affairs in this town as the next man, and these men overlooked the fact that Ameer Khan was human, and in any case was a citizen of the Empire. He thought the assault was unwarranted, and he would deal with the case under another section.

Defendants were each fined £10, with the alternative of two months' imprisonment.

They were also ordered to pay £1 9s. costs, £1 16s. witnesses' expenses, and £2 2s. for counsel's fees in each case.

We wish that British Justice is everywhere like this.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

TAMIL APHORISMS.

Athi Chudi or Tamil Aphorisms (with illustrative moral tales) published by Messrs. Ganesh & Co., Madras. Price As. 8.

The moral aphorisms written in classic style by the famous poet of Southern India, Auvayar, who is almost regarded as an incarnation of the Goddess Saraswati, are illustrated in this book by short tales. If moral instructions are to be given to the young school going children, no better book could serve as a model.

We particularly recommend this book to all our friends in the Colonies to introduce it as a text book in all schools wherever instruction in Tamil is given.

HISTORY.

The Kings Indian Allies. The Rajas and their India by Saint Nihal Singh, published by Sampson Low, Marston & Co., Ltd., London. Price 7sh. 6d. net.

As a rule, books written by St. Nihal Singh are contributions to the general historical literature of India. A close study of this recent book under review discloses certain facts which disprove the opinions generally held about Rajahs and their ways, viz., that they are a self-indulgent class of people with no high ideals or noble ambitions. Perhaps what Mr. Singh writes about a few enlightened Rajahs may not be true at all of a majority of these Rulers who number myriads, 710 as pointed in his book. British Indians are not at all prone to think that these Rulers will ever be helpful in the regeneration of their country and consequently people are apt to imagine that the whole book must have been "got up" by a few interested Rajahs. The writer disclaims all such interest and says: "No Government has asked me to prepare it or has subsidised it. I hold a brief for none of the Rulers of whom I have written." This fact is patent from the impartial observations made by the writer who points out both the excellences and drawbacks of the Rulers. In Chapter II of the book the author has beautifully classified the types of Rulers in the administration of their states. The Maharana of Mewar, the Maharaja Sindia of Gwalior, the Maharaja of Mysore, the Maharaja of Bikanir, the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, Maharaja of Gondol each typify a class of Ruler different from the other. He points out that the typical Raja of this generation who concedes privileges of self-government to his subjects without being compelled to do so by popular agitation is the Maharaja of Bikanir who in one of his speeches outlined his political philosophy.

"The aim and end of all Governments is, and ought to be, the good of the people, and that Government justifies itself best which secures the greatest possible good of the greatest possible number of people entrusted to its care."

We wish that all the Rulers are of this type. Every Native State should possess a copy of this publication which is well written and profusely illustrated.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore—His Life and Personality by K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Messrs. Ganesh & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 3.

It is not often the noisy politician alone that builds up a nation. The poet, the historian, the artist and the statesman, each has his contribution to the sum total progress of a country. The Post Laureate of India has thus quickened the life of this country with his lyrics of love and the sweet songs of the spirit. To interpret Tagore properly is really to understand the Indian Renaissance now going on before our eyes. It may be quite pertinently asked, why need we a book about Tagore when we can read his works and interpret him for ourselves. This is answered by Mr. Rollo in his foreword as follows: "For the full understanding of Rabindranath's works, very much more is needed than the poems themselves. The great need is that we should be enabled to identify ourselves with the poet and cease to find strangeness in his ways of emotion and of speech and particularly in his symbolism. This is not easy for the average reader, whether he be Westerner or Indian. We need the service of one whose mind bears kinship with that of the poet, and who can interpret his works from within." Perhaps this is fully justified of the author.

We needed a Boswell for a Johnson and a Swami for the Paramahansa and perhaps Mr. Sastri for Tagore.

Mr. Sastri after giving a sketch of Sir Tagore's Life, Personality and his varied characteristics, which are themselves enlivening and ennobling, he discusses his writings one by one, the Gitanali, the Gardener, the Post Office, the King of the Dark Chamber, etc., showing the profoundest wisdom conveyed in perfect words. "What, after all, has this great Poet said?" is the question tempted to ask in moments of weakness or lethargy. Is it Poetry, Art, Music, Religion, Sociology or Politics? On every one of these subjects Tagore has his say and his sayings ought to be carefully noted and followed. As Mr. Sastri points out in the concluding portion of his introduction, Tagore's genius is many-sided and his achievements are multiform. We cannot better summarise his message of Life than in the Poet's own words, "Man's abiding happiness is not in getting anything but in giving himself to ideas which are larger than his individual life, the idea of his country—of humanity—of God."

RULES

OF

The "Indian Colonial Society."

Started January 1, 1916.

HEAD QUARTERS:—MADRAS.

1. The Society shall be called the "Indian Colonial Society."

2. The objects of the Society shall be—

(a) To bring about by organised work a closer and more intimate acquaintance of Indians at home with those abroad.

(b) To encourage the emigration of educated men and skilled labourers and to provide facilities for the colonisation of the unoccupied tracts of the British Empire.

(c) To open up communications with the Indian Colonists for the development of the trade, commerce and industries of the Mother Country. In short, the formation of a Bureau of information on these subjects.

(d) To form a Labour Agency for supplying surplus labour to British Colonies, to disseminate correct information about them and to create work in India or abroad for the unemployed by having an Employment Bureau.

(e) To start an Emigration Fund for the Journal and its work, such as printing, travelling expenses for propagandist and organising work; for scholarships and prizes, etc., for the encouragement of the study of the economics of emigration.

(f) To hold periodical lectures and conferences and to render all help to those who wish to travel to the Colonies either as tourists or business men.

(g) To advocate equal rights of British citizenship within the Empire.

and such others as may be conducive to the best interests of the Mother Country and her Colonies. The Society invites co-operation of all individuals and bodies which have similar aims and objects.

3. Its head-quarters shall be at Madras for the time being and branches may be opened at any of the

British Colonies and foreign countries wherever British Indians have settled or are resident.

4. All persons interested in and sympathising with the objects of the Society shall be eligible for membership. The annual subscription for ordinary members is Rs. 5 per annum (inland) and Rs. 7-8 or 10 sh. (foreign). Gentlemen who compound for their annual subscription by a minimum payment of Rs. 100 and Rs. 500 in a lump sum or in not less than four instalments in six months shall be Life-Members and Patrons respectively.

5. The monthly Journal "Indian Emigrant" shall be the Organ of the Society and it shall be sent free to Ordinary Members, Life-Members and Patrons.

6. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Central Executive Committee of not less than 5 and not more than 9 members, at least three of whom shall be resident in Madras, consisting of a President, a Secretary and a Treasurer all selected from among Patrons and Life-Members, at the annual meeting of the Society. In the absence of the required number of Members for the Committee, the organising Secretary shall manage the affairs. An annual statement of accounts of the Society showing receipts and expenditure, proceedings of meetings and lectures conducted under its auspices and other matters connected with the Society, shall be published in the Journal as occasion demands.

7. Besides the Central Executive Committee there shall also be an Advisory Committee of not more than 50 members resident in the various Colonies and foreign countries and selected from all members. This body is intended to keep the Society at head-quarters in touch with all the movements going on in the Colonies and elsewhere and for the giving of suggestions for taking practical work for the welfare of the Colonists and for the general improvement of the Society.

8. The subscriptions collected from ordinary members shall be utilised primarily for the upkeep of the Journal and any surplus money remaining after meeting the expenses of the Journal, including the remuneration of its Editor and the Staff, etc., shall be utilised for the objects of the Society and it shall be kept as a floating fund and operated upon by the organising Secretary.

The subscriptions of Life-Members and Patrons shall be wholly invested as a Permanent Fund for the Society, the interest of which alone shall be utilised for the object of the Society.

9. An annual meeting of the Society shall ordinarily be held within four months after the close of the year for the purpose of submitting a report on the work done during the previous year containing also a statement of receipts and expenditure, which should be published in the Journal. At this annual meeting shall take place the selection of members for the Executive Committee by the votes of the members.

10. As the real welfare of the Society is dependent on the Advisory Committee, every Colony or country should send to the headquarters the names of such persons who have special knowledge of the conditions of the place and whom the residents of that locality wish to be represented at the Committee. This should be done at a meeting convened for the purpose by the Indian residents of the place. The names should be sent before the annual meeting due notice of which will be issued.

11. The Central Executive Committee may frame bylaws for the future guidance of the Society.

12. The Society shall hold every five years an **Indian Colonial Conference** which shall be represented by delegates from all the Colonies and various countries at such time and place as may be decided upon by the Ex. Committee. The first of such a Conference shall be held in Madras as early as 1919 or even earlier, if possible. At such conferences the general principles of the Indian Colonial policy shall be discussed with special reference to the needs and requirements of each Colony or place.

BRANCHES.

Branches of the I. C. S. in India, the Colonies and other countries will be required to observe the following rules :—

- (1) The adherence to the objects and principles of the Society.
- (2) Seven members shall form a minimum number for the formation of a branch and

the annual subscription for 7 copies of the Journal to be paid to the head-quarters.

- (3) The Local Secretary should forward his Annual Report for incorporation in the General Report of the Society and he may hold lectures, meetings, etc. and do all propagandist work.

AN APPEAL.

It is expected that before the first Indian Colonial Conference is held, i.e., before the beginning of year 1919 a sum of a lakh of rupees should be collected to make the Conference a thorough success. We therefore invite the co-operation of all Indians, at home and abroad including labourers, merchants, traders, manufactures, and men in learned professions.

In order to conduct the Journal "*Indian Emigrant*" successfully at least Rs. 2,500 is required annually, and with a further sum of Rs. 2,500 for a year we expect to begin practical work of a propagandist nature in the various Colonies. This means a 1,000 permanent subscribers at its roll.

Those who wish to understand the varied problems of Indian Emigration and to materially help the Society may do so by purchasing a copy of the Society's book, "**An introduction to the study of the Problems of Greater India**" now ready for sale. Price Rs. 1 (Inland) or 1 sh. 6d. (Foreign).

How to collect a lakh of rupees may seem a problem. If, however, every Indian should make up his mind to pay *One Rupee* for the Society on some important national day as Deepavali, Ramzan or Christmas, as the case may be, the amount will easily be collected. Therefore all Indians abroad should begin from now to organise, organise, organise.

Donations list copies may be obtained from—

T. K. SWAMINATHAN,
Founder and Organising Secretary.

The Indian Emigrant

AN IMPERIAL MEDIUM OF

Emigration, Colonisation, Trade and 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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SEPT.—OCT. 31, 1916.

No. 2.

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.

THE COLONIAL TRADE BUREAU.

We invite the attention of our readers to the advertisement appearing on the cover page of this issue of the "*Indian Emigrant*." This feature has been added to our work in consonance with the aims with which we started the Journal. Colonial traders desirous of business connection with India and *vice versa* will be supplied with all available information likely to prosper their interests. Information as regards prices, names of manufacturers and sources of supply will be furnished on requisition. We do not hold ourselves responsible in any way for the results of any information or opinions given.

THE EDITOR.

INDIA'S POSITION IN THE EMPIRE

By

C. Y. CHINTAMANI.

THE war has brought to the forefront the supreme question of India's political status. What is to be her future position in the Empire, and what the system of her internal government? The fervid utterances of cool-headed and responsible British statesmen and the still warmer sentiments expressed by unofficial politicians and the press of Britain in the early months of the war, must be fresh in your minds and need not be recited. Britain went into the war for the practical assertion of the right of nations to freedom, and India was not to be denied. The British Empire, of which India is the largest single whole, was to be a really free Empire. India was not for long to remain a mere dependency, she was to be recognized as a partner of the Empire. She was in the Empire, she was to be also of it. Imperialism was no longer to stand for the aggrandizement of the white peoples at the expense of what are called the coloured races; the latter, at any rate in India, were no longer to be mere subjects of exploitation for the benefit of those who might be designated as His Majesty's colourless subjects who had been and were dominant. Even the white colonists of the self-governing dominions seemed for once to be thinking kindly of Indians. In the absence of this new-born generosity of disposition towards our country, we always asserted our indefeasible right to

absolute equality of status with His Majesty's more favoured subjects, and the first signs of a recognition of our rightful position naturally gave us fresh hope and encouragement. It has been said before, but it may be reaffirmed, that our national demand is not a new-fangled one sprung into being because of the incautious enthusiasm of British speakers and writers.

It is not that we are taking advantage of their rhetorical excesses. Nor is our claim a commercial one in the sense that a return is wanted for our loyal services to our Sovereign and his Empire. I rather thought that the reproach against us was that we were not—I will not quote a familiar phrase—a commercial people. Our loyalty may not be officially certified to be 'unconditional' but it is as true-hearted and abiding as the fidelity of any people on the face of the earth to their Sovereign and Government. We claim what we have always been entitled to and have always claimed as our just right, we seek for no condescending favour. It is true, however, that our demand has become more urgent during the last twelve months than it was before. But there is good reason therefor. The Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for the Colonies who is also the leader of the Conservative party in the House of Commons, and other British statesmen equally eminent and equally responsible, have made repeated public declarations that the constitution of the Empire will undergo a change after the termination of the war. Mr. Asquith has spoken of a 'refashioning of the fabric of the Empire.' Mr. Bonar Law has stated that the colonies—he did not mean the Crown colonies—demanded that after the war they should be admitted into the Councils of the Empire and given an effective voice in the settlement of Imperial problems, that His Majesty's Government admitted the justness of the demand, and that the best means of achieving the desired consummation was engaging their attention. The Prime Ministers of Canada and Australia were invited to attend the sittings of the Cabinet, and the whole of the United Kingdom expressed its enthusiastic approval of that step. When the Prime Minister was questioned in the House of Commons about the representation of India at the recent Economic Conference held at Paris, he was pleased to give an unhesitating reply in the negative but he promptly asked the much-talked of Mr. Hughes of Australia to attend it with Lord Crewe and Mr.

Bonar Law. It has been stated by Sir Clement Kinloch-Cooke in the *Fortnightly Review* that a committee of the Cabinet is sitting to formulate proposals regarding the constitution of the Empire after the war. But in the whole of the discussions very little reference to India is found, and what there is of it is not altogether hope-inspiring. The Secretary of State for India has hardly had a cheering or comforting word to utter during the whole of the sixteen months he has occupied the position of what Sir William Wedderburn once described as the seat of the Grand Moghal at Westminster. He has found time to put through Parliament two such uncalled for and retrograde measures as the Indian Civil Service Act and the Government of India Act, and the Prime Minister has spared parliamentary time for their passage through both Houses in all their stages, but the annual debate on Indian affairs has been suspended during the last three years and there has been no comprehensive, authoritative statement on the policy of His Majesty's Government in relation to India. In this country itself Mr. Charles Roberts' 'new angle of vision' seems to have become very obtuse and has made itself visible to our untrained unofficial eyes in the uncouth forms of internments and prohibitions under the so-called Defence of India Act, a too free employment of the weapon presented to the executive Government by the arbitrary Press Act, controversial and unacceptable legislation, increased expenditure on the police and more particularly on the C.I.D. branch of it with a reduced outlay on education, and in other similar forms.

ARE THE COLONIES ALSO TO RULE INDIA?

But we are confronted by a far worse menace. It has been given out that the present self-governing dominions are to be admitted after the war into partnership with Britain in the governance of the Empire, i. e., the un-free parts of the Empire, i. e., those of the 'coloured' races, i. e., the Crown colonies and dependencies—of India among them, India which is the greatest and the foremost of the present dependencies. Think, my brethren, think very carefully what this involves and implies. The politicians of Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, will or may become members of a Parliament of the Empire as representatives of their respective countries, they will or may be appointed

members of the Cabinet, there will be nothing to prevent one of them from being appointed one day as Secretary of State for India or being sent out here as Viceroy or as the Governor of a Presidency. I do not say that the whole of the peril that is attendant upon the threatened transformation of the Imperial constitution will necessarily become a reality sooner or later. But the very possibility of it is a dire misfortune which we must and will do everything in our power to avert. We ought not to, and we will not, tolerate the very idea of a widening of the area of our subjection. If the attitude of Canada and the other dominions towards India had always been the quintessence of perfection,—and you know whether it has been anywhere in the vicinity of even elementary fairness,—if they had always respected India scrupulously, and looked upon Indians as 'equal subjects' of our common Sovereign entitled to just and honourable treatment, we should still have the strongest objections, on practical no less than sentimental grounds to a further degradation of our already low political status, which is the meaning of the euphemistic phrase 'the admission of the dominions to partnership in the governance of the Empire.' Mr. Gandhi and the Indians settled in South Africa and the Sikh immigrants in Canada have familiarized us only too painfully with the actual attitude of the colonists towards our countrymen. Therefore, the vista that opens before our eyes is far from pleasing. Why indeed should anybody think of inflicting such grievous wrong upon India? What are these colonies of yesterday and the day before by the side of this hallowed land of ours, with a sublime past which stretches back to the beginnings of humanity, with a culture and a civilization which will for all time shed lustre on the human race, with qualities of the heart and the head, inherited and acquired, in respect of which her children need fear no comparison with any people in any country, and looking forward with hope and confidence to a future which will not be unworthy of her ancient past? Why should they be our rulers, why should we suffer them to be? Even as regards England herself, the Government of India was officially instructed by the Court of Directors eighty-one years ago that the meaning of the famous Section 87 of the Charter Act of 1833 was that thenceforth there was to be no governing race in

India. If a governing caste is still a fact in the year of grace 1916 we have been endeavouring by all lawful means to effect an obliteration of all distinctions of race, we have uniformly declined to accept any compromise on the race question, we mean to insist with greater determination than ever that there should be no 'rulers' and 'ruled' but 'equal subjects' with common and equal rights and obligations and living on terms of what a late Governor of Madras called 'manly comradeship.' How much more galling then it is that we should be invited to contemplate subjection to the colonies to which we owe no obligation which they do not owe to us in equal measure, and whose superior title in any respect we see no reason to acknowledge? Brother-delegates, it is our imperative duty to make it known to all concerned in the most unequivocal language that we can summon to our aid, that India's position in the Empire shall in all respects be identical with that of the present self-governing dominions. Her relation to England should be similar to their relation to England; her relation to them should be the same as their relation to her. Both privileges and obligations must be mutual and reciprocal in the complete sense of these terms. To think of a compromise on this matter is to show our willingness to commit political suicide as a nation, and certainly we have not met here to perform that inglorious operation. I associate myself wholly and entirely with my esteemed friend the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri in an observation he recently made, that we will put up with much suffering before we shall accept the domination of the colonies over us, and I feel sure that in saying this I am expressing the unanimous opinion and feeling of all members and every member of this Conference. It is to be hoped that the Government of India will lose no time in informing His Majesty's Government of this keen feeling of India.

INTERNAL GOVERNMENT.

A SELF-GOVERNING INDIA WILL BE A SOURCE OF STRENGTH TO THE EMPIRE.

If we claim absolute equality of status with the self-governing dominions in the sphere of inter-imperial relations, what is our demand in relation to the internal Government of the country in the future? I for one should like to think that to put the question

is to answer it, as anyone who has followed events during the past twelve-months should be able to tell. We ask that the Government of India shall cease to be a despotism, be it never so benevolent. We are convinced that the existing system of administration, by a bureaucracy of temporary sojourners in the land not accountable for their actions, methods or omissions to the permanent inhabitants of the country either in a direct or in an indirect manner, has outlived its utility and is not adequate or suited to India's present and future requirements. We are impressed by the lesson conveyed by the progress accomplished in countries which enjoy freedom and have responsible Government, while the state of less fortunate lands is a warning against any fond hope that medieval forms of Government can or will help the advancement of nations. It is not contended that a system of Government should be established in India identical in every detail with the system that prevails in any one free country. We are not oblivious of the advisability of building upon existing foundations. He misunderstands our position who thinks that we propose to destroy existing institution and build altogether anew on the debris. We believe it to be quite possible to transform their constitution so as to make them truly and adequately representative of and responsible to the people. Nor is it any part of our programme that any steps should be taken which may have the effect of weakening the British connection with India. There is no sane Indian who contemplates this, and it is a pity that now and then illiberal Englishmen should seek to darken counsel by casting a doubt upon our *bona fides*. If complete internal self-government has not affected, except in the way of strengthening, the close relation between England and Canada or South Africa it is a gratuitous assumption that in the case of India whose children imbibe loyalty with their mother's milk the effect will be different or disastrous. History forbids us to think that the French Canadians or the Dutch South Africans would to-day be looking up to England with affectionate respect if the attempt to govern them from the Colonial Office had been persisted in. No one dare now suggest to a French Canadian union with the great Republic, which itself would still be a daughter state of England but for the great folly of the eighteenth century, while the glorious achievements of the twin Dutch soldier-statesmen and the

fate of General DeWet have been correctly described as of the nature of a political romance, for which the Tory Cassandras of 1906 have lived to bless the memory of Sir Henry Campbell-Benneman, the good man and true who has left to humanity the priceless saying that good Government can never be a substitute for self-government. After generations of avoidable suffering, the mis-called Unionists—Yes, the most unbending of them, such as the Earl of Selborne and the writers in the *Times*—have frankly avowed that Home Rule for Ireland is inevitable and that it is bound to be an accomplished fact after the cessation of the war. In point of fact Ireland should be having a national Government today by consent of all the parties but for a few high-placed intransigents led, very appropriately, by a former Governor-General of our country. All safeguards and reservations necessary or deemed to be required for the supremacy of the Sovereign and the Imperial Parliament have been inserted in the Government of Ireland Act, and the most radical Indian home-ruler does not dream of objecting to similar effectual legislative guarantees to ensure their supreme authority in the governance of India. What actually will happen is that every class of the people of India, every section of the Indian opinion, will vie with one another in emulous rivalry to manifest their devotion to the land which in dealing with India will have confirmed the title as the mother of freedom. We have got all our facts from England and Englishmen, and they have told us how German colonies and dependencies have welcomed liberation from the yoke of Berlin as Britain and France have wrested one of them after another from the hated German sway. And why? As our British teachers have told us, because they were allowed no freedom. Human nature is not different in India from what it is in other countries. It was Lord Curzon who said that one of the secrets of successful Government in India was to treat Indians as of like composition with Englishmen themselves. Therefore, there is positive as well as negative testimony to support our plea that a self-governing India will be a pillar of strength to Britain and the Empire and not in any sense and in any manner a source of weakness and anxiety.*

* Extract from the address by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, President of the Tenth United Provinces Conference held at Jhansi on the 8th October 1916.

In conclusion, the learned President closes his address as follows:—

There is much in the situation to depress a thoughtful mind, but men gifted with a long vision see much that is of hope for the future and no devoted worker allows himself time for unnerving reflections. Well has it been said that pessimism in a civilian is like cowardice in a soldier. No one with faith in God can take a dark view of the future, he will say with the poet, 'I have not made the world, and He that hath made it will shape it to some perfect end.' Even if all our efforts were destined to end in nought we must in any event do our Duty, our *Dharma*, and we ought not to let posterity reproach us for selfish inaction. Success or failure, recognition or ridicule, reward or suffering, must be treated by patriotic men as alike irrelevant circumstances of their public life; in no conceivable contingency ought they to regard themselves as free to relinquish their public work, except when the public interest itself may call for a temporary abstention. It is a commonplace that the sons and daughters of India are religious before and above everything else. The essence of religion, as one Rishi has it, is to do good. We wish ill to nobody on the face of the earth, we are taught to pray, *लोकस्मस्तु सुखिनो भवन्तु*,* but we are at such a juncture in our national fortunes that we must give the first place in our affections to our own Motherland, and to say with William Lloyd Garrison, 'My country is the world; my countrymen are all mankind.' Let free Englishmen remember with James Russell Lowell that 'true Freedom is with heart and hand to be earnest to make others free,' and further, that the 'others' are not only the subjects of foreign states but include those over whom Britain exercises sway. And let us, Indians, carve on the tablets of our hearts and minds, the hallowed sentiment of our own land translated into the line,

जननी जन्मभूमिश्च स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी.†

* May all peoples be happy.

† The Mother and the Motherland are greater than Heaven itself.

UNITY OF EAST AND WEST

BY SWAMI PARAMANANDA

From an Address Delivered Before the Convention of Cosmopolitan Clubs, U. S. A., December 28, 1915.

THE significant fact of the present day is, the coming together of different peoples of the earth. The light of science has through many wonderful discoveries and inventions diminished to a great extent the vastness of space; or, in other words, science has destroyed the feeling of isolation and distance. Today we can travel from one end of the world to the other in a comparatively short time; we can transmit messages to the most distant points of the globe; we can even converse through the untiring aid of physical science, especially in the direction of electricity and locomotion. The meeting here this afternoon, the very existence of Cosmopolitan Clubs throughout the country, bears testimony to the growing tendency of all the different branches of the human family to draw closer together.

But we may ask: What is the practical value of this intermingling of races and nations? First of all, it breaks down all the fictitious barriers which divide mankind into separate groups. In the second place, as we gain first-hand knowledge of one another, our ignorance, prejudice and fear vanish. And in the third place, it enriches both our inner and outer life by giving us a larger point of view. The more we know of one another, the more we learn to appreciate the standards and ideals of others, and a new feeling of tolerance is born within us—not a mere condescending forbearance, but a feeling based on true sympathy and love. Exclusiveness is always a great impoverisher and hence a great drawback to progress. The spirit of the present age is to destroy self-centeredness both in the individual and in the nation. Today none but a very ignorant and hide-bound person can shun another on the ground that he is alien or foreign. There was a time when Occident and Orient seemed like two different worlds with totally different ideals and aspirations. There was apparently no hope of union between them. The general feeling was, as Mr. Rudyard Kipling expressed it,

"East is East and West is West

And never the twain shall meet"

But today, as each beholds the other at closer range, the gulf is disappearing. This, however, is not due to

the fact that the Orient is becoming more and more occidentalized, but because the West is gaining a truer understanding of the East, as the East is of the West. I am happy to say that the discovery of the Ancient Literature of the Orient, or what is known as the Sacred Books of the East, has contributed largely towards this end. Nothing indeed has been more effective in destroying the prejudice between the East and the West than bringing to light once more the Sacred Literature of Ancient Egypt, China, Persia, Arabia and India; and both Orient and Occident owe a great debt to the late Prof. Max Muller for his tireless labors in this direction. Through the comparative study of the different Bibles of the world, we are more and more led to the conviction that the words "heathen" and "unbeliever" cannot be applied to the followers of any faith. Also we are shown that the difference between the Christian and non-Christian world does not lie in the fundamental and vital principles but only in the outer names and forms. The same ideals of purity, charity, truthfulness, selflessness, which are strikingly set forth in the Christian Bible, are taught with equal insistence in all the Bibles of the world, even those which existed thousands of years before the Christian era. This does not lessen the value of one or the other, but it reveals to us that there must be an underlying cord of unity among all peoples and only as we discover that will the human race be knit into one family. Mere coming together outwardly through greater facilities of travel could never create true unity. Our intellectual and spiritual comprehension of one another must increase if lasting unity is to be established.

We must never forget that we are all members of one vast cosmic family; that each individual forms a part of the great whole and consciously or unconsciously he must contribute his share towards the world's civilization and progress. Learning to give this share consciously and intelligently should be the chief study and supreme duty of every human being. As a man's life is not complete until he has full and harmonious use of his hands, feet, senses, mind and intellect, so is it with the cosmic universe. Its life also is complete only when every nation, every race, every individual is working freely and harmoniously with every other.

Each nation has produced great souls and each has something to contribute towards the welfare of the world at large. The Occident has been the centre of wonderful material achievement, while the Orient has for ages been the mainspring of spiritual culture. Many mighty rivers have risen there to carry the water of spiritual life Westward. Yet this does not mean that the Occident must give up her own peculiar line of activity and try to imitate Oriental ideals; or that the Orient should abandon her spiritual birthright and try to pursue the external glamor of Western civilization. Both have their peculiar sphere and purpose. Each race and people must possess something distinctive. Why should all be alike? It is rather as each fulfils its own special ideal, that we can hope to realize unity and brotherhood. True brotherhood does not consist in merging one ideal in another. Nor should we regard material achievement and spiritual achievement as alien to each other. Material blessing and spiritual blessing are both necessary. These two streams have risen from the same source and only when they mingle their waters and flow in united current will a complete civilization be attained.

Superstition, prejudice and ignorance have held us apart long enough. Now the time has arrived when the two children of the same father, the East and the West, must join hands and look upon each other as members of the same family. Once a man was traveling in the desert and, looking out through the mist, he beheld a figure approaching him. He thought at first it must be some evil spirit and great fear seized his heart. But as it drew nearer he saw that it was an earthly form; then gradually it assumed the appearance of a human being and his fear diminished. At last as it came face to face with him, he discovered that it was none other than his own brother from whom he had been separated long before. In place of fear, love and joy rose in his heart. So will it be with East and West when they come together and recognize each other as brothers. Unbiased and increased knowledge of Orient and Occident will dispel all mistrust and misapprehension and will help us to realize the truth that "Above all nations is humanity" and the soul of the East and the West is one.

IMPERIAL FEDERALISM *

BY

K. M. PANIKKAR.

ANOTHER writer who has made some positive contribution to the study of this all-important question is Bepin Chandra Pal. In a book recently published by Thacker and Spink of Calcutta this independentist leader has recanted his immature opinions of 1906 and expounded a world-ideal. The book has attracted considerable attention, not only due to the position in the political world of India which Pal had occupied once, but because of the well-known erudition and philosophic spirit of the writer.

Bepin Pal was the chief advocate of independentism in the days of universal Boycott and uniform Swadeshi. His famous Madras speeches were taken as the acknowledged programme of the New Nationalists. They have since then achieved a historical importance as being the best exposition of what was then called the New Spirit in India. They have also been well-known to English readers through the prominence which Sir Valentine Chirol gave them in his notorious book on "Indian Unrest."

Mr. Bepin Pal has recanted his extremism with becoming gravity. "I frankly confess" he says "that the Federal ideal, not only in relation to the different communities and provincialities of India but comprising within itself the different units of the existing British Empire was not revealed in the early years of our nationalist agitation. The time was not yet ripe for it. To proclaim this ideal in 1905, or 1908 would have been suicidal to the Nationalist Cause." The time has come, he now thinks, for a constructive policy instead of the negative ideal of independence. This constructive policy he finds in what he calls the Federal ideal.

Not only the independentist but also his more cowardly counterpart, the Moderate, is furious with Mr. Bepin Pal for deserting from the Cause of Nationalism. The Extremists of 1906 see in him one who has forsaken the greatest of all ideas, National independence. The moderates find in him a turncoat who wants to clothe his moral cowardice in high flowing philosophical garments. Even accepting these readings for the sake of argument, we must

* Part of a Chapter from a forthcoming book called "Indo-British Empire—a study on the future of India."

insist that much should be forgiven to one who by force of imagination and strength of ideas has contributed much to the growth of an Indian National consciousness.

Mr. Pal's adherence, to the cause of Imperialism, we think, is not a change of opinion but an advance in thought. More serious study of world problems and the science of society led him to believe in the necessity of a synthesis higher than that of the Nation state. His study of Indian ideals convinced him that the Hindu mind had never entertained the spurious idea of isolation and independence, but always held to the higher ideal,—Freedom and Federation. Such a freedom and federation, he came to know, is attainable at present only through the existing connection with Great Britain. This is the psychology of his change of front; but we can say of him as it was said of Burke, that though he changed fronts he never changed his box.

What is Pal's Federal ideal? That is what we propose to discuss in this section.

He says that India must first of all be a self-governing unit. How India is to be made self-governing and whether it should be with representative institutions and responsible ministry, or whether it should be a gradual Indianisation of the existing machinery he does not actually say. He speaks of a Federated Indian Empire but does not explain or discuss it. It is a necessary preliminary for his Imperial Federalism. He therefore assumes such a state of affairs. He insists that such self-government is only a question of a very short time and that we must look beyond the immediate future which is absolutely assured to us.

Thus it is evident that he is a Home-Ruler in domestic policy. He takes it as achieved from the day that the capital was transferred to Delhi. The Hardinge Dispatch means to him the governmental acceptance of the policy of Home Rule. Lord Hardinge in his momentous dispatch advocated, according to Mr. Pal, the right Nationalist policy. He sees in it the vision of India as a "Congeries of autonomous provincialities federated to one another and represented in their collective life and authority by a central federal Government in the historical district of Delhi."

This is the true Nationalist attitude and Pal is right in taking it as an accepted fact. It is not the business of the thinker but that of the statesman to see to the working out of that scheme. What is wanted is clear thinking beyond it. Home Rule is ours and with or without the help of the Congress we shall achieve it if we keep our heads clear and work steadily to that end. Mrs. Besant's league has done very good work in that line and, if one can trust to the signs of Indian political sky, the Home Rulers will clear the colonial self-governmentists out of the field in a short time. Then the fundamental question will present itself in all its force; what is our ultimate Goal?

Mr. Bepin Pal has no hesitation about the answer. He insists that India should become a partner of the British Empire and thus lay the foundation of the federation of the world. With Britain and her Colonies we must form an Empire which is a higher synthesis than that of simple autonomy. The antithesis between nationality and humanity must be gradually reconciled in a social evolution higher than the one in which such a conflict exists. Mr. Pal finds such an evolution in the Empire.

The Empire therefore is, according to him, essentially a social idea. The political emphasis that is now given to this conception is wholly wrong. It is only incidentally political. It is primarily a higher stage of social evolution; a larger social organism composed of many smaller social organisms. A true empire, he says, is that which can in its corporate life and constitution offer a rational reconciliation of the particularist conflicts and competitions of the different national units comprised within it.* This can be taken as a sufficiently explicit explanation of the true imperial conception. The point to note is, as Mr. Pal says elsewhere, that "Even the sovereign authority over many nations won't convert a nation into an Empire. A nation might multiply itself to any extent, might expand its territorial possessions to any length but it would still be a nation and *not* an Empire. When a nation assumes the name of an Empire on these grounds it only adds what may be called a terminological usurpation to its already achieved territorial usurpation."

*P. 117 et seqq. *Empire and Nationality*.

By this definition it will be seen that the United States of America though a republic in the form of Government is really an Empire and the British State though in name an Empire is still (in theory at least) a unitary Nation-State; The United States affords a real "ground of reconciliation of divergent national ideals, different national geniuses and conflicting national interests; it mediates between different national units and through this mediation knits them together into a larger social unity." This social unity has been achieved and that is why America is at present trying to build up a higher social organism to which the ill-sounding name of Pan-Americanism has been given.

That a higher social synthesis is the necessity of the time will hardly be questioned. Neither is it open to doubt that the Empire-Idea is the next stage in such an evolution. Nor do I think it will be denied that the British State, constituted as it is by different nations inheriting different civilisations affords an unique opportunity for such a development. The question that really arises out of Mr. Pal's study is this. How is such an Empire to be constituted? How is its central executive to be elected? What should be the limitations of that central authority? What should be India's exact position in such a Commonwealth? How is this Federal Empire to guide its world-policy?

On these points Mr. Pal is silent, we can only say that he has not yet treated about them. In his volume on Nationality and Empire he does not even allude to these questions. One of them which no thinker can omit to note—that is, what India's position should be in the Commonwealth?—he disposes of in a few sentences in the introductory essay. Possibly he intends to bring out another volume which will treat in detail about such imperial problems. From his present volume it is impossible to conclude anything except that he believes in Imperialism to be a higher state of social and political evolution and that Indian Nationalism, if it wants to be true to Indian culture, should accept the Empire-Ideal. We are in full agreement with him so far. But the problem is not even fully stated by such vague generalisations. Granted that the Empire-Idea is a higher ideal and that the Indian Nationalist to be consistent with his own religion should welcome such a social synthesis,

the question remains, whether two such fundamentally different civilisations such as the Indian and the English could exist side by side without creating a conflict of ideals; whether the Empire-Idea will be a reconciliation of such a conflict of ideals, and whether the question of racial conflict will find solution in a social synthesis. These questions get but meagre treatment from Mr. Pal. We cannot blame him for it for as he acknowledges his book is no systematic treatise but a collection of articles published in some of the Indian Reviews. His object in writing those articles is to 'press the Imperial-Federal-Ideal' upon the attention of his countrymen and in doing so he has contributed a step towards the correct understanding of that problem.

Thus we see that Bepin Pal believes in a Federated Indian Empire enjoying self-rule surrendering some of its rights and taking additional security and guarantee by a union with the British State which is to be of a Federal character. From this position he does not advance. His proper place therefore is that of a Home Ruler who has taken one step forward from that ideal. He believes in Self-ruling India, forming a member of the British State which by such a step will become an international commonwealth. This ideal is undoubtedly higher and nobler than that of the Independentists and more complete than that of the Home Rulers. But it seems to me that it is still inadequate.

THE FIJI BORN INDIAN

BY

BABU RAM SINGH, FIJI.

A Fiji-born Indian is one who is born in Fiji of Indian parents, ninety-nine per cent. of whom come to Fiji under the system of indentured labour.

At least 75 per cent. of the Fiji-born Indians are born in the "Coolie lines" on the plantations in Fiji. Sad and piteous are the tales we hear of the birth of an Indian child on a plantation, and still more so of their deaths. The mother of the child is certainly an Indian woman. It is difficult, however, to pronounce as to who is the real father of the child. Let it be safely said that an Indian is the so-called father called upon to meet all the expenses of bringing up a child. In the cases where an Indian is the father, it is doubt-

ful, in at least 50 per cent. of the cases, if any recognised form of marriage is contracted between the parents before the birth of the child. Then again, the law of marriage here makes it legal for an Indian to marry any Indian woman, a high-caste Hindu may be united in marriage legally to a low-caste one; a Hindu may, in the same way, be lawfully united to a Mohamedan. It seems that to the legislature here, there is no distinction between a high caste and a low caste Hindu, or a Hindu and Mohamedan. To them there is only one term known, and that is "Indian". To them, it appears all Indians are equal and same, socially and by religion. It is, then, such a law of marriage here that breaks the caste where there was one, and ignores the bonds of religion an Indian Coolie had received as his birth-right, and known and adhered to since his childhood. In return, however, it gives him neither a caste nor a new religion, and leaves him without one. The Indian marriage ordinance is as sound as the legislature could make it; but the average Indian coolie can not read the laws laid down, nor can he understand them if they were explained to him by the best man available for it. All that the Indian coolie knows is that the fact of his or her marriage is to be registered by the Immigration Office on payment of a certain amount, and that whenever necessary, no matter on what grounds, to serve what purpose and to meet what end, a divorce could as well be obtained on payment of a certain amount. With or without such a form of marriage, and in most cases with the name of the father unknown, the Indian woman brings forth a child on the plantations in Fiji. The place where he is born is the "COOLIE LINES", a better description of which could not be given than in the words of Messrs. Andrews and Pearson. "The indentured coolies told us that they could hear any word which was said through the thin wooden partition. They could tell exactly what a man or woman was doing next door, at all hours. A coolie could even get up on a box and look over the partition into the next room, so that the privacy of married life became impossible and all sense of shame and decency was lost. We frequently went into the quarters where the coolies lived and found that this was the case". An Indian coolie had told the Rev. Gentlemen that the "Coolie Lines" were "like a stable"—and the truth is apparent to one who sees them with his eyes.

No nurse or midwife is allotted to any plantation; neither one could be had in the near vicinity. No matter however bad the case requiring the necessity of attendance of a nurse or midwife, a planter would not think that a coolie woman should have a nurse or a midwife to attend on her. Is the attendance of a nurse or a midwife a luxury meant only for the rich and the well-to-do? Let a doctor answer it. From a humanitarian point of view, a nurse or midwife is needed for the requirements of the woman labourers, even if it were for economy's sake, one nurse, midwife or a lady doctor to four or five neighbouring plantations. A hospital on each plantation would be more economic both to the planter and the labourers. Without a hospital on the plantation, the men are herded like so many cattle. A planter who could not or would not afford these, does not deserve to get labourers under his control.

THE EMIGRATION REFERENDUM

AND

INDIA'S OPPORTUNITY

BY THE EDITOR.

A rare chance is now offering itself to the leaders of public opinion to inaugurate a new and definite policy for the future of much abused Indian Emigration and to suggest the lines on which the system should be worked hereafter. We, Indians generally, are often times accused that all our agitation consists of vociferous talk or violent writing and, what was more important, practical work, was far away from our nature. This accusation is decidedly true to a very large extent if we only consider the number of resolutions carried by acclamation in Public Meetings and Conferences, while the practical utility of them was beyond realisation. We have not yet learnt the lessons of self-help, and co-operation. Self-respect and a sense of duty towards others especially to those who are placed in less fortuitous circumstances are the qualities which ought to be developed by those on whom the responsibility of leadership is placed. On the other hand what we have often found among the public man is self-interest, self-aggrandisement and mutual jealousy or want of organised effort.

Taking this particular question of Emigration, the whole country rose to one man some five or six

years ago during the S. African crisis. The conditions of the Indians in that colony have since remained practically the same and no one is troubling himself about it to-day. Again the agitation about indentured labour began in fits and starts and ended in the famous resolution at the Viceroy's Council by Pandit Malaviya. It was thought probably that the legislative methods of removing the ills and hardships peculiar to emigration are sovereign remedies. What about the free labour going to Ceylon and Malay States? That system is as bad as indenture, if not worse. Even if facts are placed before the public, the public are characteristically indifferent.

The question of money seems to be the biggest consideration for all public work. We fail to believe in the platitudes of platform orators who make us believe that money will be forthcoming if men are found. Many a noble institution have died or are dying and many a genius have been lost to the public, for want of financial support. The Hon'ble Pandit collected vast sums of money amounting to crores for founding a University intended to give a kind of education to the few educated, while the uplifting of the ignorant and the labouring population, who number millions and who form the real backbone of the country, has not appeared to the Pandit a matter of sufficient importance. It is not our purpose to go into the reminiscences of persons or things but we only point out the gravity of the situation. In this connection, the increasing interest taken in and the good work done for the labour workers in England and on the Continent deserve our careful study.

Very recently in England an institution has come into existence known as the Central Labour College. It was founded in Oxford in 1909, but the education given there being unduly influenced by the classic Oxford due to its proximity, the College was removed to London in 1911 insisting on the labour point of view in all its educational work. There are similar institutions all over the Continent. In Italy, *L'Umanitaria* a philanthropic organisation was founded at Milan in 1905 whose aim it is to give a certain number of workers an education which will fit them for becoming factory inspectors or for taking official positions in the various labour organisations or in the labour exchanges. It is high time that India should possess an institution for elevating the character and the intellectual or

moral tone of the millions of India's labour population.

Now this subject has been brought to the fore front by the Governments both Imperial and Provincial. In the recent speech at the Imperial Council, Lord Chelmsford has pointed out that "the conditions under which we are to allow labour to be recruited in India and under which it should be employed in the Colony are peculiarly matters on which Indian popular opinion has every right to be heard and on which we desire its full expression as an aid to us in formulating our proposals."

What exactly is the *popular opinion* on this question, it is very difficult to say. We have recently heard the cry from Bombay and Bihar and echoed in Madras "why not stop Emigration? Abolish Indian Emigration Act." There is equally a strong sentiment amongst a certain section of people in favour of actively encouraging emigration by regular, organised and better safeguarded system. In this state of notoriously divided opinion, popular opinion in the matter will not be considered valid or authoritative unless the following plan is adopted. A Conference of men interested in the welfare of the labouring population and of those who have studied the economics of emigration should first meet and discuss the preliminaries, i.e., of allowing or not allowing labour outside India. If former, under what stipulation and if latter, how best to utilise the existing labour and find work for the unemployed. In the course of such a scientific discussion of the problem, various interesting side issues are sure to arise regarding the productive powers of the country in their relation to land, labour and capital. The proceedings of this conference should then be published in the several papers and the views, suggestions and criticisms of the public invited thereon. In addition to the above procedure an independent deputation of two or more Indians should be immediately sent to the various colonies receiving indentured or free labour and their conditions studied first hand and a full report of the members of the deputation should be published recording fully the existing conditions prevailing there in the same way as it was done in the case of Fiji by Messrs. Andrews and Pearson. In the light of this report and of these criticisms a sound scheme could be drafted for submission to the Secretary of State for India at the London Conference.

As matters stand at present, there is not sufficient time for a complete discussion on the subject and whatever proposals Indians of thought and leading may make now will only be based on hearsay and inexperience and will give rise to further agitation later on by perhaps the labouring population itself. Instead of rushing in to legislation or expressing immature opinions, the Indian public would be well advised to wait some time until these preliminaries are finished and fully possessed of facts and figures drawn from first hand knowledge of the conditions prevailing in the colonies, they will be in a position to speak with authority and wisdom. The leap we are taking from 1916-17 will never be such a long one as that taken already from 1834-1916. A year of grace more will surely bring better result than the eighty-two years passed till now from the date of indenture. We therefore fully agree with the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma when he interpellated the Imperial Government to postpone the London Conference until the War was over and we also trust that leaders would not indulge in the vainglorious talk of want of men and workers, provided of course the necessary sinews of war are first forthcoming.

The composition of the proposed London Conference which is expected to sit in January but which has to be postponed in view of the above considerations, if the Indian popular opinion is to be given a fair hearing, affords another interesting study. It is a travesty of circumstance that an inter-departmental committee appointed to consider the future policy of Indian Emigration should not consist of even a single non official Indian to represent the interests of India's labouring population while the interests of the planting communities of all the British Colonies have been fully represented.

This utter disregard of Indian representation in a matter which vitally affects India's labour prosperity only shows that India's place in the Imperial Conference or the Councils of the Empire is a distant vision. A self-respecting India should never lose this opportunity of asserting her right to partake in the decisions which affect the fortunes of her own country men.

[This is entirely a matter affecting the masses and the middle class. Those who wish to express their opinions on this subject will find the pages of this Journal open.]

C. P. AND BERAR PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

Dr. Gour's Presidential Address.

The following are extracts from the presidential address delivered by Dr. Gour at Amraoti at the sittings of the C. P. and Berar Provincial Conference :—

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA.

Educated and enlightened India has unanimously and in unflinching terms declared for self-government within the Empire and I feel sure that British Statesmanship, which has in the past enthusiastically supported the cause of liberty, unsheathing its valiant sword for the freedom of weak and smaller nations, will appreciate the aspirations of the people of India and meet them in no ungrudging spirit, henceforth treating her as a "trusted partner" and not merely as an humble dependent. I interpret the cry of unfitness, from whichever source it comes, as a lame and unsubstantial excuse for refusal, and India is not hereafter prepared to silently submit to such ungenerous treatment. Nothing renders the people fit for self-government better than self-government itself. The history of all self-governing nations has been the history of nations who have learnt self-government by experiment.

Our representatives in the Imperial Legislative Council have recently submitted to the Viceroy a document in which they have formulated a scheme of reforms which they and we all consider necessary for the better Government of this country. I need scarcely say that their recommendations have received enthusiastic support among our people. In this connection, allow me to say that the Indian National Congress, the Moslem League and the other representative and influential bodies have also framed similar schemes so that the voice of educated India is unanimous as to the demand of autonomous Government for this country. And after a century of British rule and Western culture it is natural and well justified, for Mr. Campbell-Bannerman has said "Good Government can never be a substitute for self-government." These are wise words and pregnant with meaning and we hope and trust that their significance will not be lost in dealing with the question of self-government for India.

INDIAN EMIGRATION.

The position of the Indian emigrants to foreign countries is far from satisfactory. Efforts have been made from time to time to ameliorate their condition, but no efforts, so far made, have sufficed to abate the animosity of colonists, whose attitude in the matter is as selfish as it is unsatisfactory; for while the Colonists cannot do without Indian labour, they cannot tolerate the Indian residing amongst them as free men after they have ceased to be labourers. The so called indenture system

is, consequently, nothing short of slavery, and as the Government is powerless to create improved relations between the white colonists and Indian settlers, the least it can do is to prohibit their further emigration. Before he laid down office, Lord Hardinge had made it abundantly clear that the system of indentured emigration stood to gain much by emigration. "But recently his successor, Lord Chelmsford appeared to doubt the wisdom of absolute prohibition. We need scarcely say that all India feels deeply upon this question of Indian emigration, and that it is unanimous in its view that the colonists have no rights to the Indian labourer if they are incapable of according them better treatment. Moreover India wants its own labourers, since the scarcity of labour is keenly felt and both agriculture and industries acutely suffer from the dearth of labour, the stock of which has lamentably been reduced by the ravages of plague and pestilence. It is impossible to open up new industries or to improve or expand the area of cultivation without an adequate supply of labour, not to mention the recruits required to fill the ranks of the existing labour corps. From every point of view, therefore, it behoves the Government to amend its emigration policy.

The Editor of the *Indian Emigrant* gives other instances of cruelty practised upon labourers in Ceylon and gives his opinion that what is now needed is a public organisation to watch the interests of the labouring population, which should be the medium through which all labour should flow out of the country. He points out that there are such organisations in China, Japan and the European countries and brings to the notice of the public that Madras has an *Indian Colonial Society* having in its programme of work the welfare of the labouring population primarily in view. The fate of Indians going abroad to earn their living is hard indeed. The 'abroad' does not mean any altogether foreign territory. It means non-Indian territory ruled over by the Crown. The treatment of Indians in the Colonies is a sad commentary on the British professions of solicitude for Indian interests. The Indenture system has been playing havoc with the wage-seekers from India for a good long time. We suppose that if our Government had been more careful in safe-guarding India coolie interests, the 'Abolish Indenture' cry would never have appealed to the Indian public. 'Free immigration' is no angelic system, either. Paternal watchfulness has been wanting on the part of the Government which is morally responsible for the fate of the ignorant masses which supply coolies for the Colonies. It is 'no good to bewail the past.' Let us work earnestly for the amelioration of the Indians abroad. Let us do our duty towards our brethren and let us hope that Government will do its duty in the proper manner. To the succour of the oppressed must all fly who have a conscience within their bosom!

The Mahratta.

GENERAL ARTICLES.

ORGANISED EMIGRATION.

THAT emigration is an important problem now attracting the serious attention of the people of this country cannot be gain said. A subject which was once considered worthy of discussion only at the Annual Session of the Indian National Congress now finds a prominent place in the Provincial and District Conferences and even at Public Meetings. Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar in his masterly Presidential Address at the District Conference held at Tanjore on the 23rd September deals with the subject in a manner deserving of its importance at the present time and gives a mass of information which is well worth perusal. The following are excerpts from the same :—

Not the least noteworthy of the manifold services rendered to this country by His Excellency Lord Hardinge during his tenure of office was his recent pronouncement in favour of the abolition of indentured labour. As a result of the report of Messrs. Andrews and Pearson on the evils of indentured labour in Fiji, and even prior to that report, there had been considerable feeling stirred up in this country by the revelations made from time to time, evidencing a most discreditable state of things as attendant upon the system as practised even at its best. Crime and suicide are evils which attend on its wake. Morality and good fellowship have no play, and as a debasing and dehumanising factor, there is hardly anything that can be conceived of equal in effect to the system of indentured emigration. But it must not be forgotten that what led to that system and to the facility with which the indentured labourers were procured by recruiting agents was the short-sighted policy of our land-holders themselves who, especially in the Tanjore District, insisted on keeping up the rigours of the old Pannay system. The Pannayars were practically slaves who were paid in grain and were transferable with the estate. According to a recent computation their remuneration amounted to 1½ to 2 measures of paddy a day. The lot of the Pannayar however was not always as miserable as it tended to become latterly. The Mirasdar of old treated the Pannayar practically as a member of his household and whatever his legal position might be, in practice the Pannayar had so much

consideration shown to him that he had not much to complain of in his lot; but owing to increasing competition and the strain of the enlarged land revenue which pressed hard on the Mirasdar himself, he in turn began to press upon the Pannayar, and many of the amenities which alleviated the existence of the latter were denied to him, and his duties emphasised whilst his rights were questioned or even denied. The result was that the Pannai labourers began to emigrate in large numbers to the Straits Settlements. The figures are startling. It 1899 it was 44,000; 1900, 93,030; 1901, 54,000; 1902, 38,000 and in 1903 it was 47,000.

While I am fully alive to the responsibility of the landholder and the Mirasdar in this matter, the blame is not entirely on his shoulders. It must be recognised that this question of emigration most vitally affects agricultural labour. The Mirasdars are louder and louder in their complaint that labour is becoming scarce by reason of emigration to the Straits Settlements and elsewhere. How has this handicap to agriculture been produced? I am one of those who believe that not only this, but various other grave situations in this country, have arisen from a failure on the part of the higher classes and castes to comprehend the swiftly changing circumstances of the time, and the ideas and personal initiative and self-assertion which are spreading over the land. Indifference and contempt towards the labouring classes as a result of such thoughtlessness have had perhaps a great deal to do with the result. A kinder and more considerate treatment of the labouring classes, an active desire on the part of those belonging to higher strata in society to help such classes to raise themselves in status, and encouragements held out to them to become landholders on a small scale might have avoided the evil and certainly such a policy would have gone far towards minimising the graver aspects of the problem. It must be remembered that this situation has arisen in other countries and has been grappled with by them and but for the deliberate attempts made by the great land-owning classes in England when emigration was at its height to the United States, the agricultural trouble would have been keener there than it is ever likely to be in this country. In the decade between 1891 and 1901, the population

of Tanjore was seriously affected owing to the effects of emigration that took place to the Straits, Burma and Ceylon, and it has been officially stated that the slight preponderance of females to males at the last Census is due largely to the emigrants leaving their families behind. (*Vide "Imperial Gazetteer,"* Vol. XXIII, p. 230.) It must further be remembered that according to Mr. K. L. Datta, who was deputed by the Government of India to report on the rise of prices in India, it has been proved that the growth of cultivation in this country is not keeping pace with the growth of population, and that considering the growth of the population, the supply of food-stuffs has been short.

I notice that in your session of 1913 you insisted on the necessity of every intending emigrant producing a certificate from the village Magistrate to the effect that at the time of emigration there was no subsisting contract to which he was a party. It is noteworthy that in the recent speech of His Excellency the Viceroy he recognises that the Government of India would be departing gravely from its duty if it permitted emigrants to leave this country without proper protection and safeguards. The mere abolition of the existing indentured emigration will not suffice to ease the situation, as is hinted at by the Viceroy. The most gratifying feature of the speech, however, is the just recognition by the head of the Government that the conditions under which labour is to be recruited are, to quote His Excellency's own words, matters on which Indian public opinion has every right to be heard, and on which he desires its full expression as an aid in formulating Government's proposals.

So far as the indentured system was concerned, Tanjore never suffered very much from it. The emigration statistics given at page 27 in the *Statistics of British India 1911-12*, relating to indentured emigration carried on under the Emigration Act, and relating to persons who proceed to the Colonies under the system of indenture, shows that the number of coolies who leave Madras under that system is 4,782 or 34 per cent. of the total number, the largest number being supplied by North Arcot, Chingleput and Vizagapatam, the District of Tanjore not supplying as much as it did once. I certainly hold that the remedy for all this, to a

certain extent, lies in our own hands. But in this discussion it must not be forgotten that our Government is practically giving what to many of us appears too great an advantage to the Governments of the Straits Settlements and the Colonies for the recruitment of labourers to develop the resources of their plantations. Mr. L. H. Clayton, Superintendent of Indian Immigrants, Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States, published on the 24th November 1910 an account of the Tamil Immigration Fund and its working. He pointed out that for years previous to 1907 there had been complaints from employers importing Tamil labour, that coolies imported by them were attracted away to the service of other employers. Thereupon an Immigration Committee was appointed by the Government of the Straits Settlements and on their recommendation the Tamil Immigration Fund Enactment was passed. Under this law, a cess on the amount of work done by the coolies is levied upon all employers of Tamil labour, and the proceeds are collected into a fund styled the Immigration Fund. This fund is not part of the general revenues of the Government and the purposes for which the fund can be used are, (1) payment of free passages for Tamil labourers and their families from the Madras Presidency; (2) general expenses incurred in connection with the recruitment of labour in the Madras Presidency. The Government bears all the expenses of administering the fund, pays the salaries of officials and clerks, maintains large camps at Madras and Negapatam, where coolies recruited by Kanganies are housed, pending shipment by steamer. Whenever the balance to the credit of the fund justifies the course, a recruiting allowance is paid to employers in respect of each coolie imported by them from India. As pointed out in an article published in the *Malay Mail* a few months ago, practically thus all the money collected by the employers in the form of assessment goes back directly or indirectly to those employers who import labour.

In a speech delivered by Mr. Aldworth, Controller of Labour, at the Annual Meeting of the Planters' Association of Malaya on the 28th April 1916, it was practically admitted that every sort of inducement was given to the Tamil labourer to emigrate to the Straits Settlements, and proposals were made

by him to increase the facilities and to attract the Tamil labourer even more than was done in the past. In his own words: "The number of voluntary emigrants is steadily if slowly increasing, but of course, necessary steps must be thought out carefully; the coolie may need some inducement." In these words lies the key of the emigration problem. The Governments of the various Colonies are straining every nerve to provide inducements for our coolies to leave this country. They give him free passage, attract him by promises of higher wages and induce him to leave us. The volume of emigration has been thus on the increase. In 1906 the arrivals in the Straits Settlements were 52,041, departures 21,789, net gain 30,162. In 1915 the arrivals were 75,323, departures 50,320, net gain 25,003. These figures represent the totals of the immigrants who arrive in the Straits Settlements, but as is well known the bulk of them are Tamil immigrants, and most of them emigrate from the Negapatam port. How are we going to combat this? The first thing to be borne in mind is that the prosperity of this country will, for some considerable time to come, entirely depend on the progress of its agriculture, and even were India to become an industrial community, as is the object of many reformers, yet whether here or in any other country in the world, the backbone of all wealth is agriculture; and without labour agriculture is ineffectual. There is no getting away, therefore, from the primal situation that the constant stream of agricultural labour going out of the country is a serious handicap to us. It is no use our blaming the Kanganies for holding out false inducements. We must offer the labourers some real inducements to stay.

I am aware that our hostile critics are pointing out that we are unable and even unwilling, to keep our labourers in the country because we cannot rise superior to our caste and other prejudices. Undoubtedly, as I have indicated already, a thorough comprehension of the changing situation of these times and a sympathetic treatment of the raiyat would go far to solve the problem; but it is the duty of the Government at the same time to do their share of work. The duty of the Government does not stop with even the abolition of indentured labour. Referring to a petition by the Mirasdars of Tanjore addressed to the Government to prevent emigration

of labourers to Ceylon and the Malay States, and adverting to a speech by the Hon. Mr. Kesava Pillai in moving a resolution for appointing non-official Indian visitors to inspect emigrants prior to their embarkation from different parts in the Madras Presidency, the Government, when asked to enact certain measures for the supervision of free emigration to Ceylon and the Federated States, stated in their reply that whilst allowing that non-official supervision might be started, the Government deprecated their acting as missionaries to discourage emigration. Thus, it is obvious that whilst the Government of the Straits Settlements is willing to offer an active inducement to the coolie to go to their plantations, the Madras Government is not willing to evince any active interest in preventing the coolie from emigrating from these shores. There is active canvassing on one side and indifference on the other. The results must be patent. Greatly as we may regret the attitude of the Government in this matter, we should, at the same time, recognise that the duty of keeping our agricultural labourers in this country is primarily our own matter. In the last Madras Provincial Conference, there was passed a resolution advocating the desirability of appointing a committee of supervision in connection with coolie emigration. We should not only see to the enhancement of the wages of the labourers and thus compete with the employers in Ceylon and Straits Settlements, but should also follow the examples of the planters of the Colonies, and fight with them on their own ground. The Indian raiyat is naturally home-loving and it would require much less inducement in the way of treatment and wages than he secures by going abroad to keep him in India. Whether the Government, therefore, now or at any future time, takes upon itself the duty of regulating free emigration or not, we should utilise our existing societies and associations for the purpose of explaining to the intending emigrant the exact nature of the step he is taking and to prevent the results of the canvassing and the misrepresentations on the part of the Kanganies. I have no doubt that, if organisations of this kind were started and worked on business lines, the Government would give the same facilities to them as they at present give to the organisations started and developed at the instance of the Governments of the Straits Settlements and Ceylon.

The Government of Madras practically abdicated their function of controlling emigration in consequence of an agreement purported to have been entered into by them with the representatives of the Straits Settlements. The net result is that now no person can enter a camp in which the so-called free emigrants are lodged. The Hon. Mr. Kesava Pillai in his speech insisted that all free emigrants should appear before a regularly constituted Government authority, and he pleaded for an increase in the number of Protectors of Emigrants who would be appointed by the Madras Government. He submitted that the costs should be recovered from the Colonies concerned. It seems to me that the resolution moved by the Hon. Mr. Kesava Pillai was a moderate and a reasonable one. Free emigration too often is only nominally so. The emigrant is, in too many cases, not informed as to where he is going, rosy accounts of his future and his destination are given to him, and the report of Messrs. Andrews and Pearson itself bears evidence to the extent to which recruiting agents can go in the way of attracting constituents. In that very readable magazine, *The Indian Emigrant*, the suggestion is made, and it is a very legitimate one, that the officials in charge of the protectors of emigrants should be Indians, who can and will approach the emigrants without restraint or reserve, and who will put the true situation of affairs adequately to them in their own language. It is to be hoped that when the Hon. Mr. Todhunter returns (now Mr. Majori Banks is appointed) from his deputation to Ceylon and the Malay States for the investigation of the conditions of labour recruitment from South India, the Government of Madras will be enabled to bring about a reform in the methods of recruitment. Until the Government accedes to the popular demand, voluntary missionary organisations travelling from village to village, preaching to the land-holder the necessity for more sympathetic treatment and picturing the true state of things to the raiyat, is an absolute necessity, and hardly any work is more urgently necessary in the present stage of agricultural labour in Tanjore than the above. May I plead that no better work can be attempted by the District and Taluk Congress Committees than this? Organised, systematic and continuous work in all such matters is our desideratum.

THE LABOR QUESTION.

DIRECT STEAMERS TO INDIA.

A meeting of the committee appointed by the Governor of Fiji to advise as to the adoption of a system of providing labour to replace the existing scheme of indentured Indian immigration was held at the Public Buildings Suva on Monday, June 19.

The committee decided to communicate to the Press, after each meeting, a memorandum showing questions considered and actions taken. It was decided to invite by notice in the newspapers members of the public to communicate to the secretary of the committee, Mr. E. Castaldi, Public Buildings, Suva, any suggestions or views on the subject of the reference to the committee. It is requested that such communications be made as soon as possible, so that they may be circulated among the members of the committee before July 20, the date fixed for the next meeting of the committee.

The chairman Hon. Eyre Hutson communicated to the committee a memorandum, and the following extracts are furnished for the information of the public:—

"I desire to offer the following observations, for the information of the committee, on the correspondence contained in the Council Paper submitted with this memorandum, and to direct the attention of members of the committee particularly to the following portions of the correspondence;

(a) The system of immigration from India under indenture is to cease as soon as possible, and, in any case, within a period of five years;

(b) An inter-departmental committee is to be appointed in London in the autumn of the present year to consider what system should be substituted for the system of indenture;

(c) The Secretary of State has decided that no useful purpose would be served by appointing the inter-departmental committee until he is in possession of the views of this Government, and of those of other Governments concerned, as to the system which should be substituted for the system of indenture;

(d) It is desired that the Fiji Government should report separately on the new situation, and decide as

to its future policy in regard to immigration from India.

2. "I invite the attention of members to paragraph 17 of the dispatch from the Governor-General of India to the Secretary of State for India dated October 15, and to the telegram from the Secretary of State for India to the Viceroy to be found on page 4 of the Council Paper; and also to the sixth paragraph of Mr. Chamberlain's dispatch of February 11, 1916, on page 16 of the Council Paper.

3. "It will be seen also from the Viceroy's dispatch of December 3, 1915 (page 15 of Council Paper), that the Indian Government stated that they are prepared to allow Indian emigration to Fiji to continue under a system of recruitment approximating to the Sirdari or Kangani system, that they considered any system undesirable in which the individual planter can base a claim to the individual coolie on the ground that he has paid for importing him—and that the Indian Government's suggested system, which should be financed by the Colonies through a tax on coolie-cultivated estates, or coolie-produced exports, must remove the need for securing the planter in the employment of any particular coolie's services.

4. "It will be observed that Mr. Chamberlain has admitted the Viceroy's views that the introduction of a system of recruitment on Sirdari or Kangani lines would present difficulties in the case of distant Colonies, that it would be costly to arrange for the continuous voyage of emigrants under proper conditions. Mr. Chamberlain has stated that he does not consider that that proposed system is entirely practicable, and has requested the Viceroy to inform him whether the introduction of arrangements similar to those in force in regard to emigration to the Federated Malay States would satisfy Indian public opinion—that question has not yet been answered. I have reason to think that it is probable that a system based on the Federated Malay States Labour Code is one which is likely to be viewed more favourably by the Indian Government than any other, subject to one condition, which appears to me to be absolutely essential to secure its approval.

5. "Before giving an outline of the system of emigration under the Malay States Labour Code I will allude to the essential condition referred to to secure its adoption for Fiji. I refer members to

paragraph 4 of Mr. Bonar Law's dispatch of February 21, 1916. He there states that the establishment of regular communication between India and the Colonies which recruit Indian labour would be indispensable to the success of any system of the character of the Sirdari or Kangani system. I venture the opinion that the same condition applies equally to a system of emigration under the Federated Malay States Labour Code. I am confident that the Indian Government will make it a *sine qua non* that there must be frequent and ample opportunities offered to enable emigrants to return to India freely and at small cost, if they desire to do so—at their own expense.

6. "I, therefore, invite members to consider how the Colony can provide means for establishing, as soon as possible, and, in any case, on the conclusion of the war, a regular communication between India and Fiji. This, in my opinion, is the pivot on which the whole proposals will turn for or against the Colony. My own idea is that the Government should offer to raise sufficient funds by taxation to pay a substantial subsidy for ten years for a monthly steamship service—the steamers under contract should carry immigrants and returning emigrants at a nominal charge for passage. The vessels may call at Singapore each way which would open facilities for freight to and from London transhipped at Singapore. I am confident also that a substantial and valuable trade will be built up between India and Fiji. The vessels need not make Suva the terminal port but may proceed to Auckland, provided the contract contained ample safeguards for reserving sufficient cargo space for Fiji requirements. In order to raise sufficient revenue to meet the cost of the subsidy proposed, I recommend that a tax be imposed on coolie-produced exports. A comparatively small tax on those exports would raise the amount required. It may be considered that such a tax would not be equitable because others besides producers of the products so taxed would derive benefit from the establishment of the subsidised steamship service. To meet this objection it would be admissible that one-fourth of the total subsidy should be met from general revenue, other than the export taxes referred to—even if this entailed the abandonment of the subsidy now paid to the Canadian and Australian mail steamers. I will, when explaining the Federated Malay States system under its Labour Code,

explain that there will be an annual capitation fee leviable on planters for labourers engaged after their arrival in the Colony.

7. "At the present date there is only one copy of the Federated Malay States Labour Code available, but twenty copies were telegraphed for some weeks ago. It is, therefore, only possible for me, at present, to furnish members of the committee with the following short summary of the more important provisions of the code.

"The first act of the Government under the code is the appointment of a committee called the Immigration Committee, and the establishment of an Indian Immigration Fund. The general functions of the committee, subject to certain extent of control by the Governor, are to regulate the introduction of labourers, and their disposal after arrival in the Colony, assisted by a controller of labour, who is appointed by the Governor, and paid from general revenue—the committee is also empowered to borrow from time to time, at such rates of interest as the Governor may approve, such moneys as are deemed necessary for the purpose of making the payments authorised by law. All payments made by employers, whether by capitation rates or otherwise, are paid into the Indian Immigration Fund, and may be disbursed as follows:—

(a) To provide free passages to labourers to the Colony.

(b) The cost of recruiting.

(c) Quarantine expenses on arrival in the Colony.

(d) Transport of labourers to their destinations in the Colony.

(e) Maintenance of a home for decrepit labourers;

(f) Payment of interest of money borrowed by Indian Immigration Committee.

(g) Cost of clerical work in preparation of registers prescribed by law.

(h) Expenses of Immigration Committee, including cost of travelling.

"The committee is empowered to assess a rate to be paid by every employer in respect of every labourer employed on working on the place of employment

during each quarter of the year, and such rate shall not exceed in Malay States three dollars, say, 6*sh.* a quarter.

"*Note.*—For Fiji it would seem necessary that the total annual rate should be sufficient to cover cost of payments detailed above, less the cost of introduction or free passage, which must be borne by the export taxes and by general revenue. In the cases of persons who engage in business which makes no contribution to the export taxes, and who employ labourers introduced by the Government, the annual payments should be fixed to include the cost of introduction. Under the Malay States Code Indian, Chinese, Japanese and other labourers are introduced into the Colony to do agricultural, construction mining and mill work. The labourers are introduced under a verbal agreement under which they promise to work for any period not exceeding one month, or as an alternative, for the performance of any specific work. At the termination of the period, a renewal of the agreement is presumed upon the same terms, unless verbal or written notice of termination has been given by either side. Either party to an agreement may terminate this without notice, upon payment to the other party of a sum equal to the amount of wages which would have accrued to the labourer during the term of such notice. Immigrants who have received a free passage from India under promise to labour receive a certificate. Indian labourers are usually only recruited from Madras, but the term 'immigrant' includes any Asiatic native of British India.

"Free or assisted tickets for *bona fide* labourers and their families may be issued on behalf of the Indian Immigration Committee in the Malay States, and in Madras by the Emigration Agent; (a) to all holders of Kangani licences or recruiter's licences issued on the authority of the committee; (b) to all labourers and their families who have not been recruited by any Kangani or recruiter, but present themselves at the Government depot in Madras, and promise to work in the Straits Settlements, Kangani licenses authorising to recruit labour for any particular estate are issued by the Controller of Labour in the Malay States.

"Recruiters' licenses giving a general authority to recruit labour are obtainable from the Emigration Depot at Madras.

"The Indian Immigration Committee prescribes quarterly rates to be paid for the ensuing quarter or quarters of the year in respect of every Indian labourer employed during the quarter—rate not to exceed three dollars or, say, 6*sh.* per quarter. Such sums are paid into the immigration fund to defray expenses in connection with free passages, recruiting in India, quarantine, etc., etc. As the payments to be made by employers to the Immigration Committee would be on a quarterly basis, and calculated as the code prescribes on the average number of labourers working on the plantation during each quarter; and as a further fee, say, 10*sh.* would be required to be paid by the employers to the immigration fund for each new labourer who has been engaged coming from another plantation or employer, and not by way of introduction charges, the above arrangement would appear to be an equitable one, as the law would prescribe heavy penalties for employers enticing labourers to leave their employment on one plantation to go to another. The aforesaid payments, or capitation fees, would be based on the number of labourers employed at fixed periods during each year, and there would never be a sheer loss falling on any employer, i.e., not to a serious extent.

"If a labourer falls sick, his employer must send him to hospital, and the employer must pay hospital expenses for thirty days. If a labourer remains in hospital for more than thirty days, the employer must still pay hospital expenses, but may claim repayment for the period in excess of thirty days from the labourer after he recovers. If, however, the sickness is due to the labourer's own fault, he will have to pay hospital expenses himself. The charge for labour in a Government hospital is 24 cents (5½*d*) per diem, and this is also the rate recoverable from the labourer treated in an estate hospital. Employers who do not send their sick labourers to hospital are liable to a heavy fine. Headmen and kanganis must report to their employer when any labourer is absent from work through sickness. If they do not do so, they are liable to a fine.

"Wages for work done are payable in accordance with provisions of the law. Wages must be paid within the time provided or the employer will be liable to imprisonment, whilst the non-payment of wages is deemed a reasonable excuse for the labourer

to abscond. All wages must be paid in cash and labourers can purchase food, clothing and other articles wherever they please. It is not lawful to compel them to buy from any particular person. Rations in accordance with the prescribed scale may be ordered to be supplied, and reductions at the rate of 15 cents (3¼*d*) per ration in respect thereof may be made by the employer from wages. In the case of children a reduced scale is permissible. No labourer can be made liable for the debt or default of any other labourer. Labourers must obey all local sanitary regulations, and if ordered to go to hospital for treatment they must obey. No labourer may be separated against his will from his wife or children under the age of fifteen. Any person who molests a labourer in his work, or entices a labourer away from his proper employment, or employs a labourer who is known to have absconded from his proper employer, or conceals an absconding labourer, may be fined or sent to prison.

"An employer who dismisses a labourer without notice and without reasonable cause or who refuses to allow a labourer to leave after his agreement has expired or after he has given due notice, is liable to be fined. A labourer who without reasonable cause neglects his work, is careless, disobedient, or insolent, or who absconds or leaves his employment without due notice, is liable to fine or imprisonment. Every labourer who does not perform twenty-four days' work in a month is liable to imprisonment unless he has a reasonable excuse. Any labourer may lay a complaint before a controller of labour, and if a labourer informs his employer that he desires to do so, the employer must write and inform a controller of labour. A controller of labour may settle disputes in which labourers are concerned, and may summon witnesses. All persons are obliged to answer correctly questions put to them by a controller of labour."

The committee endorsed the views put forward by the chairman, viz. that one of the first steps to be taken was to devise means for offering to subsidise, after the conclusion of the war, a line of steamers, to provide frequent and regular communication between India and Fiji; and a sub-committee consisting of the Receiver-General, the Hon. J. M. Hedstrom, the Hon. E. Duncan, E. W. Fenner, Esq., and

J. L. Hunt, Esq., was appointed to go into the subject, and submit proposals in detail, as far as possible, for the consideration of the committee.

The committee at its subsequent meetings will consider the question of the possibility of recommending some extension of the system of emigration as permitted to the Federated Malay States.

From the Fiji Times.

THE £100,000 LOAN.

A GOOD SCHEME.

OPINION OF HON. H. MARKS.

"I think it is a grand scheme," said the Hon. Henry Marks commenting on the Government's proposition for the utilisation of the £100,000 loan offered by the Colonial Sugar Refining Co. for the establishment of Indian settlements in the Colony of Fiji. "As it is based on the principle of making two blades of grass grow where only one grew before, it cannot help being of advantage to the Colony."

Mr Marks pointed out that the Government could not possibly secure the money required for such a scheme at the low rate of 4 per cent. offered by the C. S.R. Co. That in itself represented a considerable concession. At first, he said, the company had stipulated that the Indian settlements should be established in the districts adjacent to their mills, but subsequently they had agreed to the withdrawal of that condition, thus leaving the controlling body free to acquire lands in any district, but subject to an understanding that the principle of the settlements following the Indians and not the Indians following the settlements" should be adopted.

"There is a big Indian population growing up in Fiji," said Mr. Marks, "You have only to look at the number of Indian children that are coming along. All these have to be provided for in some way. If we do not afford them some means of gaining an honest livelihood they will constitute a menace to the Colony because they will resort to crime of all kinds. In making this offer to assist the Government in meeting the Indian demand for land; the C.S.R. Co. is probably largely influenced by a desire to avert grave consequences upon the welfare of a Colony in which they have already such a large stake."

"The company's proposal," he said, "is the outcome of the report made to the Government of India by Mr. James McNeil and Mr. Chiman Lal, in which they criticised very adversely the position owing to the absence of facilities offered to Indian Immigrants to obtain land in Fiji. The Acting Governor (Mr. Hutson) frankly admitted that these criticisms were justified. It has, therefore, been arranged that if the natives will not consent to sell the land compulsion must be resorted to. In order to obtain the willing consent of the natives, however, the Secretary of State has approved of Mr. Hutson's suggestion that a proportion, say, one-half of the purchase money should be paid to the native owners, to be used by them for such purposes as may be approved by the Governor such as the rebuilding of their houses and churches, the provision of water supplies or boats, or for any similar object of a partially permanent character. If the natives refuse to sell the land the Secretary of State has advised the Governor that it can be compulsorily acquired under the provisions of Ordinance 16 of 1906."

"It is no use putting Indians on land which has not been prepared for cultivation. They would not have the means of getting it ready for planting. This scheme, however, provides for that."

"I have in my mind a splendid tract of land at the mouth of the Rewa River. It is admirably adapted for sugar cane cultivation. The C.S.R. Co. attempted to buy the land, but the natives would not sell. If that land were acquired by the body controlling this scheme, it would be a splendid start. At present the land is unoccupied. There is no means of carrying the water off it, so it is swampy and unfit for cultivation. The Indians could not of their own accord find the money to properly drain the land. Under this scheme, however, this land could be purchased effectively drained, and made ready for cultivation. 'The desolate land shall be tilled.' And we shall have initiated this scheme successfully. The company does not make any stipulation as to the nature of the crop to be grown. It has no need to do so. The Indians would not grow maize in the neighbourhood of a sugar mill, because they know that cane is a much more profitable crop. Land which is near a mill may be worth £12 or £15 an acre, while the same land without a mill in the district would not be worth more than £2 or £3 per acre"

OUR EMPIRE—AFTER THE WAR.

AS the War progresses in its apparently interminable length, and the end, although now more certain in its result, is not yet in sight, one fact daily becomes clearer, and that is the wastage of the prime of manhood in all the nations involved. We are not concerned with the losses of our enemies, although, to all logical minds, it must be evident that the longer the War lasts so will "white civilization" become relatively less, in the proportion of the world's population, for generations to come.

The work of the world will, therefore, devolve in a larger degree on coloured mankind, and all will admit that such is far from desirable, as it tends to decrease the higher tone of life, and will produce serious problems in time. We have no desire to decry the willing and highly intelligent part played in this War by coloured races who have, to their credit, appreciated to the full that in this battle for Freedom, their interests are completely bound up with the success of the Entente Powers.

The full nobility of the citizens of tropical sections of the British and French nations has been abundantly evident, and is a striking emblem of the justice and fairness with which both countries have ruled their subjects of alien races. The Empire of India has afforded us help in all ways, and the loyalty of its Princes and their subjects must have afforded much cause for deep thinking for the Kaiser and his myrmidon host of military advisers who made the great error of treating India as a downtrodden series of nations only too willing to throw off the "hated sway of their English tyrannical rulers." All praise to the intelligence of the citizens of India, who have shown themselves keenly alive to the absolute freedom and the Home Rule they possess to the full. [The last line is bosh—Ed.]

This continual lessening of the able-bodied citizens of the belligerent nations bears most deeply upon the future development of our Empire. Its importance is fully recognised by most of the members of our present Home Government, and was voiced recently at a dinner given in London by the West India Club to Sir Edward Morris, the Premier of Newfoundland. Upon that occasion Mr. Bonar Law made some very apposite remarks upon the future of emigration, and stated that, "In my belief, the problem of reconstruction after the War will be a difficult task; it will try severely the character of our people and the capacity of our Government, more even than the task which we have had in winning the War. I am not going to speak of problems at home,

though I think of them much, but there are two in connection with the Dominions to which I will refer. One is the question of emigration. It is not an easy problem. After this War, with the loss of so much of the most virile of our manhood, it will be the duty of this country to keep at home as many as we can keep; for, after all, the strength of the centre of the Empire is necessary if the Empire is to be strong. That is one side, but there is another. We must give to the men who are fighting our battles the best chance of the widest outlook which is available for them. There will be emigration, and the Government, whatever it is, will be much to blame if two things are not made certain—that, whatever emigration does take place, shall be within the British Empire, and shall not lessen the strength of the Empire as a whole, and that, whatever emigration there is to be, shall take place under the best conditions for the men who have fought our battles.

"This War, so far as our Dominions are concerned, is being carried on under conditions which never existed in the world before. It required, and does require, great good-will and good sense on the part of both the Dominions and the authorities at home to enable an arrangement to work by which one set of men should contribute lives and treasure and have no voice as to the way in which those lives and that treasure are expended. That cannot continue. There must be a change. The War has done more, I believe, than many generations in other directions could have done in welding the Empire together. We feel that we are one, and it rests chiefly with the men of the Colonies and of the Dominions—for I am sure of this, that here at home the people of this country are ready to accept any system of closer union which the Dominions desire to see adopted—it is chiefly on these that will rest the task of trying to find some method by which, in the future, the unity which has characterised us in the War will be found to be as durable when peace comes."

Mr. Bonar Law appreciates the difficulties which confront us and that emigration must in future be considered from an Empire point of view. The Motherland and the Dominions will all require the services of the manhood of the Empire, and each will have special claims upon them. The future cannot be faced in the old parochial manner, and it seems to be also recognised that, whilst freedom of movement within the Empire is only just, yet some restrictions are desirable in regulating the movement of emigration outside thereof.

Our Empire offers every possible employment of manhood and of capital within its boundaries. Personal

freedom is imperative, but there are ways and means by which, without any interference with personal choice, official help can be so forthcoming that it will be to the interest of no one to contemplate a new home otherwise than within the boundaries of the Empire.

From what we have gathered the Central Empires already fully appreciate that their citizens for a long time to come will be unwelcome in almost every desirable country in the world. Their wholesale abuse of the liberties of other countries has undoubtedly created a distrust of all things German, both men and goods. The autocratic rulers of those Empires already seem to see that their future interests demand the retention of their people, and emigration, if allowed at all, will be under severe control. The powers of the German shipping interests are naturally much perturbed at such a possibility, which will add greatly to their difficulties in endeavouring to re-establish their old-time domination.

Absolute personal freedom of movement is the key-stone of the British Empire, and it is hardly likely to be restricted by arbitrary laws. Persuasion and the offering of inducements can accomplish what is needful. We must run the Empire upon the lines of a successful business firm, who never, willingly, allow a useful servant to leave their employ, but treat him well by offering him better inducements to remain with them. Our Empire can treat each and every subject as worthy of their help, providing only, in turn, he is worthy of such aid.

We are faced with many problems, and as Mr. Bonar Law shrewdly stated, "the problem of reconstruction after the War will be a difficult task; it will try severely the character of our people and the capacity of our Government, more even than the task which we have had in winning the War." We will want as rulers men of experience, men with brains and knowledge of the Empire. Political experts capable of hair-splitting, of pettifoggery, of eloquence upon the domestic troubles of Slushington-upon-Mud, won't be wanted. A truly formidable task confronts us in rearranging the future, and every intelligent voter should bring his mind to study how best it may be done.

An amusing "mystical dream" appeared recently in *The Times* from an unknown contributor, wherein a formidable dragon in Derbyshire terrorised the people and could only be appeased by an annual immolation of lawyers. The writer evidently was aiming at the preponderance of members of the legal profession amongst our ruling powers. He is quite correct, we have too many of

them. Whilst it is almost impossible for us to live or die without legal aid, yet lawyers are not the men to run a commercial business. We appreciate their knowledge and fly to them the moment we are in trouble, yet we all know that a lawyer is rarely a good commercial man. The legal habit of taking matters to "avizandum"—to use a Scottish phrase—is not conducive to the quick decisions necessary in business life. The eloquence of legal men unduly impresses the proletariat, and the ready wit of a barrister outshines the knowledge—yet oft combined with poorness of speech—of a commercial man. The man in the street has been misled in the past by eloquence of speech—let him in the future look deeper into the question.

In whatever way we rearrange our methods, one thing stands out pre-eminent, and that is, that the entire Empire must have a voice in their settlement. Our Dominions and our Crown Colonies will not have shed their blood and treasure in vain, and will for the future feel, even more strongly than in the past, that the Motherland, whilst being the inevitable dominant centre of the Empire, is knit in woven webs of suffering and of triumph with their future for all time—interdependent. The Kaiser may well peruse, and ponder upon their truth, the words of Mr. Bonar Law, "the War has done more, I believe, than many generations could have done in welding the Empire together."—*Coloniser*.

[The above article needs reflection.]

JAPAN'S NEW FACTORY LAW.

Chief Points in Imperial Ordinance.

WE are indebted to Mr. E. F. Crowe, C. M. G., His Britannic Majesty's Commercial Attaché at Yokohama, for the following particulars of the new Factory Law in Japan writes the *Indian Trade Journal*. These particulars have been translated from the *Official Gazette*. The Law came into force on the 1st September 1916. The number of factories affected by the Law is estimated at over 30,000, employing nearly a million hands. It is to be noted that the Ordinance does not apply to factories belonging to Government Departments.

Chapter I.—The General Rules.

Chapter II.—Employees and Support of Bereaved Families.

Article 4.—The Factory owner shall grant a just allowance to any employee who has been injured, is taken ill, or has died while at work, in case where it is proved that the accident is due to a serious blunder

committed by the employee. In case, however, the party entitled to the abovementioned aid has received compensation in accordance with the Civil Law for damages arising from the same cause, the factory owner can deduct the sum from the amount of compensation due to the party.

The afore-mentioned obligation on the part of the factory owner is not removed by discharging the employee except in cases specially provided.

Article 5.—In case the employee sustains injuries or contracts illness during the term of employment the factory owner shall provide for the patient, free of cost, medical treatment.

Article 6.—In case the employee is unable to earn wages, through inability to attend to duties during medical treatment, the factory owner shall, during the absence of such employee, grant him a compensatory allowance of not less than one-half the regular wages. After the lapse of three months, however, the factory owner can reduce the allowance to one-third of the employee's wages.

Article 7.—When the employee is still disabled to the extent specified below, even after recovering from the injuries or illness, the factory owner shall grant an allowance as per classification given below:—

1. Wages for over 170 days for an employee who is disabled for life to the extent that such employee cannot attend to his or her own needs.
2. Wages for over 150 days for an employee who is disabled for life and unable to do laborious work.
3. Wages for over 100 days for an employee disabled from following regular employment, and who is not likely to be restored to former health. The operative who is disfigured for life shall be entitled to the same allowance.
4. Wages for over 30 days for the employee who can still follow his or her former work, though their health may be affected.

Article 8.—In case the employee dies, the factory owner shall grant the bereaved family an allowance equal to the wages for 170 days.

Article 9.—In case the employee dies, the factory owner shall give to the family, who is responsible for the funeral a sum of over Yen 10 towards the funeral expenses.

Article 10.—The wife of a workman killed shall be entitled to an allowance.

In case the employee was unmarried the party entitled to the "compassionate allowance" shall be the deceased's nearest relative living with him or her at the time of death.

Article 11.—The following order shall be observed among the deceased's relatives who are on the same legal standing:—

1. Precedence shall be given to the heir or heiress of deceased or to the head of the family.
2. A male shall take precedence of a female.
3. In the case of lineal descendants, a male shall take precedence, and among the females the eldest shall take precedence.

Article 12.—In default of the party provided in Article 10, the compassionate allowance shall be granted to one of those specified below. In case, however, the deceased left a statement as to the disposal of the allowance, or expressed a wish in this connection to the factory owner, the desire shall be complied with—

1. The heir or heiress of the deceased or the head of the family.
2. The employee's brother or sister who was in the same house with the deceased at the time of death.
3. The relative or persons living in the same house as the deceased and who subsisted on the income of the deceased up to the time of death.

Article 13.—The compassionate allowance provided in Article 6 shall be supplied at least once a month. The expenses provided in Article 5, shall be paid monthly.

Article 14.—In case the employee entitled to the support provided in Article 5 is not likely to be cured after three years' medical treatment, the factory owner can suspend the said allowance after payment of the wages for over 170 days.

Article 15.—The factory owner shall be absolved from the duty provided in the present Chapter in the following cases:—

1. When the employee applies for aid after the lapse of one year after being discharged. Except—

tion shall, however, be made in connection with injuries and illness for which the allowance has previously been granted.

2. When the injuries or illness, which were cured after receiving medical treatment at the expense of the factory owner, recur after the workman has been discharged.

Chapter III.—The Engagement of Employees, their Dismissal and Recommendation.

Article 21.—In each factory there shall be kept a list of the names of all employees.

The list shall give the details outlined by the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce.

Article 22.—The wages of employees shall be paid in currency at least once a month.

Article 23.—The factory owner shall pay without delay the claim for wages made by the relatives of a deceased employee, or by an employee who has been dismissed.

In these cases any fund contributed to by the workmen, under whatever name, shall be refunded without delay.

Article 24.—The factory owner, in engaging an employee, cannot enter into any contract running counter to the provisions of the foregoing two Articles unless due permission is obtained from the Governor of the Prefecture.

Article 25.—In case the factory owner administers the workman's savings, he shall previously fix some steady means for doing so, and obtain the sanction of the Prefectural Governor therefor.

Article 26.—In case the factory owner intends to engage as an apprentice a lad who has not yet completed his course at the ordinary Primary School, he shall provide measures for his education and obtain the sanction of the Prefectural Governor therefor.

Article 27.—When a minor is discharged, or a workman who is entitled to the allowance provided in Article 6, or workman falling under Nos. 1 and 2 of Article 7, who is dismissed, intends to leave within fifteen days of receipt of notice of discharge, the factory owner shall bear the necessary travelling expenses. The above rule is also applicable to a workman, whose allowance has been suspended in accordance with the provisions of Article 14, going home within fifteen days of the suspension of such allowance.

Chapter IV.—Qualifications for Apprentices.

Chapter V.—Penal Regulations.

Article 33.—A factory owner, who is guilty of violating the following Clauses, shall be punished with a fine not exceeding Yen 200 :—

1. When he ignores the orders issued by the Prefectural Governor for the alteration of Regulations relating to the "compassionate allowance."
2. When he has resorted to fraudulent means in engaging workmen.
3. When he violates Art. 24.
4. When he has illegally evaded, or attempted to evade, the whole or a part of his duty in giving aid to a workman or to a bereaved family of an employee.
5. When he has illegally evaded or attempted to evade the whole or part of his duty in paying a workman's wages, his savings, or travelling expenses provided in Clause 1 of Article 27.
6. When he has administered the savings of a workman without obtaining the sanction provided in Article 25 or when he does not act in accordance with the methods for which due sanction is obtained.
7. When he has engaged a child who has not completed its education at the ordinary Primary School, without previously obtaining the sanction provided in Article 26.
8. When he has acted in violation of the provisions of Clause 4 of Article 28.

Article 34.—Anyone who has resorted to fraudulent means in recommending a workman shall be punished with a fine not exceeding Yen 200.

Article 35.—The factory owner shall be punished with a fine not exceeding Yen 100 when his action falls under one of the following Clauses :—

1. When he has neglected to compile a list of names of workpeople.
2. When he has neglected either the compilation of the regulations for granting "compassionate allowance" or reporting the same to the authorities.
3. When he has paid employers in any way besides with currency.

THE INDIAN COLONIAL SOCIETY.

MADRAS BRANCH FORMED.

A fairly well-attended meeting was held at the Mahajana Sabha Hall, Madras, on Friday, the 13th October, with Mr. S. Kasturiranga Aiyangar, Editor, The "Hindu," in the chair, with the object of forming a Madras Branch of the Indian Colonial Society for the study of Indian Colonial problems.

The Chairman called upon Mr. T. K. Swaminathan, Founder and Organising Secretary, to explain the objects of the Indian Colonial Society and the need for founding a branch in this city.

Mr. T. K. Swaminathan

After explaining the object, said that the Society had been in existence since January last. In connection with his work as Editor of the *Indian Emigrant* he devoted attention to a study of the question of Indian Emigration to Colonies, and visited Ceylon sometime ago and enlisted the sympathy of several influential people there and in the other Colonies as well as in England. He delivered a lecture in Ceylon under the Presidency of Sir P. Arunachalam in March last, but, owing to shipping difficulties, he could not visit the Federated Malay States. He described several hardships of the Free Labour going to Ceylon and F.M.S.

Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar

said that the object of the Society was to enlist the interest of persons in the metropolis in the work and life of their fellow-countrymen in the Colonies, and to make it possible for living touch to be kept up between the members of the same race living in the Mother Country and in the Colonies, and to supply a bureau of information. The importance of study and investigation into the conditions of emigration was manifest. Recently an enquiry had been started by the Madras Government and the Hon. Mr. Todhunter was deputed to go to Ceylon to investigate matters. Not only in Ceylon but in the Malay States also, recruitment was conducted on unsatisfactory lines and the Kangani system was an evil. But in order that organised efforts might be brought to bear on the question and public opinion might be created in this country, the question had to be studied in all its bearings for the purpose of keeping in touch with the Colonies. They had a very good nucleus for the work in the *Indian Emigrant*. He commended the objects of the Society for their acceptance.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyangar

referred to the work done by the South African Indian League with Mr. G. A. Natesan as the life and soul of that movement, but with the close of the South African trouble, the fund started in connection therewith and the League itself were closed. Thanks were due to Mr. Swaminathan who now came forward to take up the whole question of emigration, and the present opportunity should not be lost in founding a branch in Madras of the Indian Colonial Society. The time was opportune, and the War was going to bring up a solution of all those problems. It was said that a Conference would be held

in December or January, when the questions of the position of Indians and of the indentured emigration of Indians would be considered in London, and to that Conference representatives from India should be sent. India should make out her case and urge her demands based on self-respect. The Madras Government had, after all, thought it wise to accede to the popular demand in the papers to associate an Indian with a European in conducting an enquiry into the question. At the Tanjore District Conference it was resolved to send one of their men to start enquiries, and Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar offered to defray the expenses of any one representative that might be sent. The difficulty was about workers and not money. (In our opinion, it is the other way.)

Mrs. Annie Besant

referred to an article in the *Manchester Guardian* which, in alluding to the speech of H. E. the Viceroy at the last meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, asked if he "was going to reverse the policy of Lord Hardinge?" If the Government tried to give some form of indenture the friends of the emigrants would find themselves in a more difficult position than before. The suggestion made seemed to call upon them to make a special effort to put themselves on a better footing, so that a recrudescence of the old evil might not come upon them here. Indentured labour in Mexico worked great hardship, and the conditions of labour were far worse than the old chattel slavery. The labourer had no property value, and an account that she had read some years ago showed that it was not only a question of race, of colour, but the whole system was utterly bad. But when they had the difference of colour, the system became even worse, and they all knew that a particular evil connected with the system here was an utter disproportion of the sexes, so that no kind of decent living was possible either for men or women. They knew also of the number of suicides. Mr. Swaminathan had studied the conditions of labour in Ceylon, and she thought that at the present time they could not do any practical service more useful to large numbers of poor people than a study of the question of emigration. Her own view was to stop emigration, because there was need of labour here, India became poorer by the absence of labourers from this country. The conditions of the labourers required to be improved here, so that they might be willing to stop in this country and discard the inducements thrown out before them by the emigration agents. The inspection of emigration depots was another matter requiring attention, and they might press Government to admit non-official inspectors, such a man, for instance, as Mr. Kesava Pillai. There was so much to be done and the need was so great that she felt that any little thing that they did was a duty that they owed to the people who were affected by emigration.

Mr. K. N. Aiyar

suggested that the Society might confine its operations to the Colonies, such as Ceylon, Fiji Islands and Malay States, to which Madrasis emigrated, and to try and ameliorate the hardships there rather than extend its sphere of action to a wider field.

Swami Sharvananda

described the hardships undergone by the emigrants to the Malay States, and emphasised the need of the

Society taking steps to improve the intellectual and spiritual life of the emigrants in those States.

The Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma

then moved the following resolution:—

That a Society shall be formed to be called the Indian Colonial Society whose object shall be—

(a) To bring about by organised work a closer and more intimate acquaintance of Indians at home with those abroad.

(b) To claim and obtain the right to the emigration of educated men and skilled labourers and to provide facilities for the colonisation of the unoccupied tracts of the British Empire.

(c) To open up communications with the Indian colonists for the development of the trade, commerce and industries of the Mother Country. In short, the formation of a Bureau of information on these subjects.

(d) To form a Labour Agency for supplying surplus labour to British Colonies, to disseminate correct information about them, and to create work in India or abroad for the unemployed by having an Employment Bureau.

(e) To start an Emigration Fund for the Journal *Indian Emigrant* and its work, such as printing, travelling expenses for propagandist and organising work; for scholarships and prizes, etc., for the encouragement of the study of the economics of emigration.

(f) To hold periodical lectures and conferences and to render all help to those who wish to travel to the colonies either as tourists or business men.

(g) To advocate equal rights of British citizenship within the Empire, and such others as may be conducive to the best interests of the Mother Country and her Colonies.

The Hon. Mover, in commending the resolution to the meeting, said that he was thoroughly at one with Lord Hardinge in the matter of abolishing indentured labour, but Government was under the impression that something must be done to regulate labour, so that emigrants might have protection in the Colonies and that as far as possible the Malay system would be followed and encouraged. When that was announced, there was some sense of disappointment, and they were not quite sure what was meant by the Malay system. It was thought that although the resolution with regard to the abolition of indentured labour must be kept, still the future policy might not be all that Indians could possibly endorse. He interpellated the Government as to when the Conference alluded to by H. E. the Viceroy would meet, and also suggested that that Conference might be postponed until the War was over. The reply was that Conference would be held in January in London, that it would not be postponed and that one or two members of the Government of India would decide the question in Conference with Colonial Statesmen. The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who had brought the resolution on indentured labour, wished to ascertain from Government the true position, and inasmuch as the ordinary method of moving resolutions was not open to the members at the Simla Session, he hit on the expedient of drafting a Bill

and giving notice of a motion for absolute prohibition of emigration from India except in some definite ways. Owing to some technicality the motion could not be brought up. The matter was urgent, because they had to find out what the position was going to be. Statistics were now available, which showed that emigration from this country was not at all necessary inasmuch as the returns of labour here were more lucrative than returns obtained by free or indentured labour in any of the Colonies, and that the net profit by the emigrants to Colonies was much less than that derived in Bengal. From the moral point of view and also from the higher standpoint of India's self-respect, there was no need to send Indians to foreign countries, although they should not stop free emigration. Judging from the immediate necessity of the hour, the Society should take upon itself the devising of immediate practical measures of sending one or more of its members to England to watch and safeguard their interests and represent their views as far as might be to the authorities and the British public. Money might be forthcoming, if men were willing to undertake the work. Madras and the United Provinces were the two provinces in India interested in the matter, and it was hoped that the Society would place all conveniences at the disposal of members who might undertake the work.

Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer having seconded the resolution, it was carried unanimously.

Donation Announced.

The Chairman then announced that, in connection with the fund started by the *Hindu* for the purpose of helping the solution of the South African question, there was a sum of Rs. 1,700 in his hands which he was prepared to place at the disposal of the Society as a nucleus of its funds.

Mr. Kasturiranga Aiyangar and Mrs. Annie Besant have promised to become life-members of the Society by paying a subscription of Rs. 100 and Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar has consented to become a Patron.

Election of Office-Bearers.

On the motion of Mr. T. V. Muthukrishna Iyer, the meeting elected Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar as President and Mr. T. K. Swaminathan as Secretary of the Society.

The meeting then terminated. (The above is a report as appeared in the *New India*, Madras.)

THE MEMORABLE MEMORANDUM.

Some 19 out of 22 elected non-official Members of the Imperial Legislative Council, have submitted the following Memorandum to H. E. the Viceroy to advance the cause of self-government in India:—

There is no doubt that the termination of the war will see a great advance in the ideals of Government all over the civilised world, and especially in the British Empire, which entered into the struggle in defence of the liberties of weak and small nationalities and is pouring forth its richest blood and treasure in upholding the cause of justice and humanity in the international rela-

tions of the world. India has borne her part in this struggle and cannot remain unaffected by the new spirit of exchange for a better state of things. Expectations have been raised in this country and hopes held out that after the war the problems of Indian administration will be looked at from a new angle of vision. The people of India have good reasons to be grateful to England for the great progress in her material resources and the widening of her intellectual and political outlook under British rule, and for the steady if slow advance up to date.

Commencing with the Charter Act of India of 1833 up to 1909, the Government of India was conducted by a bureaucracy almost entirely non-Indian in its composition and not responsible to the people of India. The reforms of 1909 for the first time introduced an Indian element in the direction of affairs in the administration of India. This element was of a very limited character. The Indian people accepted it as an indication on the part of the Government of a desire to admit the Indians into the inner Councils of the Indian Empire so far as the Legislative Councils are concerned. The numbers of non-official members were enlarged, with increased facilities for debate and interpellation. The Supreme Legislative Council retained an absolute official majority, and in the Provincial Legislative Councils, where a non-official majority was allowed, such a majority included nominated members and the European representatives in measures largely affecting the people, whether of legislation or taxation, by which Europeans were not directly affected, the Europeans would naturally support the Government, and the nominated members, being nominees of Government, would be inclined to take the same side. Past experience has shown that this has actually happened on various occasions. The non-official majorities, therefore, in the Provincial Councils have proved largely illusory and give no real power to the representatives of the people. The Legislative Councils, whether supreme or provincial, are at present nothing but advisory bodies, without any power of effective control over the Government, Imperial or Provincial.

The people or their representatives are practically as little associated with the real Government of the country as they were before the reforms, except for the introduction of the Indian members in the Executive Councils, where again the nomination rests entirely with the Government, the people having no voice in the selection of the Indian members. The object which the Government had in view in introducing the reforms of 1909 was, as expressed by the Prime Minister in his speech in the House of Commons on the second reading of the Indian Councils Bill, on April 1st 1909, that it was most desirable in the circumstances to give to the people of India the feeling that these Legislative Councils are not mere automata, the wires of which were pulled by the official hierarchy. This object, it is submitted, has not been attained.

Apart from this question of the constitution of the Legislative and Executive Councils, the people labour under certain grave disabilities which not only prevent the utilisation but also lead to the wastage of what is best in them and are positively derogatory to their sense of national self-respect. The Arms Act, which excludes

from its operation Europeans and Anglo-Indians and applies only to the pure natives of the country, the disqualification of Indians for forming or joining Volunteer Corps and their exclusion from the commissioned ranks of the Army, are disabilities which are looked upon with an irritating sense of racial differentiation. It would be bad enough if these were mere disabilities. Restrictions and prohibitions regarding the possession and use of arms have tended to emasculate the civil population in India and expose them to serious danger. The position of Indians in India is practically this that they have no real part or share in the direction of the Government of the country and are placed under very great and galling disabilities, from which the other members of the British Empire are exempt and which have reduced them to a state of utter helplessness.

The existence, moreover, of the system of indentured emigration give to the British Colonies and the outside world the impression that Indians as a whole are no better than indentured coolies who are looked upon as very little, if at all, above the slave. The present state of things make the Indians feel that, though theoretically they are equal subjects of the King, they hold a very inferior position in the British Empire. Other Asiatic race also hold the same, if not a worse, view about India and her status in the Empire. Humiliating as this portion of inferiority is to the Indian mind, it is almost unbearable to the youth of India, whose outlook is broadened by education and travel in foreign parts where they come in contact with other free races.

In the face of these grievances and disabilities, what has sustained the people is the hope and faith inspired by the promises and assurances of fair and equal treatment which have been held out from time to time by our Sovereigns and British statesmen of high standing. In the crisis we are now going through, the Indian people have sunk domestic differences between themselves and the Government, and have faithfully and loyally stood by the Empire. The Indian soldiers were eager to go to the battlefields of Europe, not as mercenary troops but as free citizens of the British Empire which required their services, and her civilian population was animated by one desire, namely, to stand by England in the hour of her need. Peace and tranquillity reigned throughout India when she was practically denuded of British and Indian troops. The Prime Minister of England, while voicing the sentiments of the English people in regard to India's part in this great war, spoke of Indians as the joint and equal custodians of one common interest and future. India does not claim any reward for her loyalty, but she has a right to expect that the want of confidence on the part of Government, to which she not unnaturally ascribes her present state, should now be a thing of the past, and that she should no longer occupy a position of subordination but one of comradeship. This would assure the people that England is ready and willing to help them to attain self-government under the ægis of the British Crown and thus discharge the noble mission which she has undertaken and to which she has so often given voluntary expression through her rulers and statesmen.

What is wanted is not merely good Government or efficient administration, but Government that is acceptable to the people, because it is responsible to them. This

is what, India understands, would constitute the changed angle of vision. If, after the termination of the war, the position of India practically remains what it was before and there is no material change in it, it will undoubtedly cause bitter disappointment and great discontent in the country and the beneficent efforts of participation in common danger overcome by common effort will soon disappear, leaving no record behind save the painful memory of unrealised expectations. We feel sure that the Government is also alive to the situation and is contemplating a measure of reform in the administration of the country.

We feel that we should avail ourselves of this opportunity to offer to the Government our humble suggestions as to the lines on which these reforms should proceed. They must in our opinion go to the root of the matter. They must give to the people real and effective participation in the Government of the country and also remove those irritating disabilities as regards the possession of arms and a military career which indicate want of confidence in the people and place them in a position of inferiority and helplessness. Under the first head we would take the liberty to suggest the following measures for consideration and adoption:—

(1) In all the Executive Councils, Provincial and Imperial, half the number of members should be Indians. The European element in the Executive Councils should as far as possible be nominated from the ranks of men trained and educated in the public life of England, so that India may have the benefit of a wider outlook and larger experience of the outside world. It is not absolutely essential that the members of the Executive Councils, Indians or Europeans, should have experience of actual administration, for as in the case of Ministers in England, the assistance of the permanent officials of the department is always available to them. As regards Indians we venture to say that a sufficient number of qualified Indians who can worthily fill the office of members of the Executive Council and hold portfolios is always available. Our short experience in this direction has shown how Indians like Sir S. P. Sinha, Sir Syed Ali Imam, the late Mr. Krishnaswami Iyer, Sir Shams-ul-Huda and Sir Sankaran Nair have maintained a high level of administrative ability in the discharge of their duties. Moreover, it is well known that the Native States, where Indians have opportunities, have produced renowned administrators like Sir Salar Jang, Sir T. Madhav Rao, Sir Seshadri Iyer, Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao, not to mention the present administrators in the various Native States of India. The statutory obligation, now existing, that three of the members of the Supreme Executive Council shall be selected from the public services in India and similar provisions with regard to Provincial Councils should be removed. The elected representatives of the people should have a voice in the selection of the Indian members of the Executive Councils and for that purpose a principle of election should be adopted.

(2) All the Legislative Councils in India should have a substantial majority of elected representatives. We feel that they will watch and safeguard the interests of the masses and the agricultural population, with whom they are in closer touch than any European

officer, however sympathetic, can possibly be. The proceedings of the various Legislative Councils, the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League bear ample testimony to the solicitude of the educated Indians for the welfare of the masses and their acquaintance with their wants and wishes. The franchise should be broadened and extended directly to the people, Mahomedans or Hindus, wherever they are in a minor is being given proper and adequate representation having regard to their numerical strength and position.

(3) The total number of the members of the Supreme Council should be not less than 150 and of the Provincial Councils not less than 100 for the major provinces and not less than 60 to 75 for the minor provinces.

(4) The Budget should be passed in the shape of money bills, fiscal autonomy being conceded to India.

(5) The Imperial Legislative Council should have power to legislate on all matters and to discuss and pass resolutions relating to all matters of Indian administration, and the Provincial Councils should have similar powers with regard to provincial administrations save and except that the direction of military affairs of foreign relations, declarations of war, the making of peace, and the entering into treaties other than commercial, should be vested in the Government of India. As a safeguard, the Governor-General-in-Council, or the Governor in Council, as the case may be, should have the right of veto, but, subject to certain conditions and limitations.

(6) The Council of the Secretary of State should be abolished. The Secretary of State should as far as possible hold in relation to the Government of India a position similar to that which the Secretary of State for the Colonies holds in relation to the Colonies. The Secretary of State should be assisted by two permanent Under-Secretaries, one of whom should be an Indian. The salaries of the Secretary and the Under-Secretaries should be placed on the British Estimates.

(7) In any scheme of Imperial federation, India should be given, through her chosen representatives, a place similar to that of the Self-Governing Dominions.

(8) The Provincial Governments should be made autonomous as stated in the Government of India's despatch, dated August 25th, 1911.

(9) The United Provinces as well as the other major provinces should have a Governor brought from the United Kingdom with an Executive Council.

(10) A full measure of local self-government should be immediately granted.

(11) The right to carry arms should be granted to Indians on the same conditions as to Europeans.

(12) Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers and units of a Territorial Army established in India.

(13) Commissions in the Army should be given to Indian youths under conditions similar to those applicable to Europeans.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE LABOUR DEPUTATION.

A good deal of useless and unnecessary criticism appeared in the papers recently regarding the deputation appointed by the Madras Government to investigate into the labour conditions prevailing in Ceylon and Malay States. While we were quite satisfied with any officer European or Indian for the purpose and when the announcement was made that Mr. Todhunter has been appointed for this special duty, we hailed the day as bringing salvation to the poor cooly. For, one has only the eyes to see and his heart would melt. The *Free Labourer*! Providence alone is his Protector. His labour laws are those dictated by his kangany and his Superintendent, though for all theory there is the ordinance. It is all in the blackest letter possible. It is more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Then what difference does it make if an Indian is associated with the official or not. It is said "two heads are better than one." It is also said that "too many cooks spoil the broth." Now two gentlemen are appointed an official and a non-official, Mr. Marjoribanks and the Hon'ble Mr. A. T. Maracair. The Press is again full of protestations. The *Indian Patriot*, a noble name though, gives nothing but benediction to the Khan Bahadur. He is described as a thoroughly independent man, a resolute champion of the backward classes and above all absolutely simple and homely. We too say ditto to this. But he is also connected, as the same Journal says, with the British Indian Steam Navigation Company, which is a European firm and the carriers of the coolies to Ceylon and Malay States. It is this which is anything but a recommendation to the appointment of the Indian Member to this particular work. Of course he is not a gentleman with any preconceived political notions to be carried away in his judgment. As regards the opposite view, as to the fitness of that gentlemen, the following appears in the editorial comment of the *West Coast Spectator*:—

"We expressed the hope the other day that the selection of an Indian to accompany Mr. Todhunter in his emigration enquiry will not take after the Government's nomination of an Indian to the Vice-Chancellorship of the University. The Government have now selected the Hon. Mr. Maracair, and we are disappointed. This gentleman is a shipper of cattle to Ceylon and if we are correctly informed is connected with the Ceylon Labour Commission which recruits labour in South India. We

do not mean any disparagement to Mr. Maracair, but we cannot help remarking that the disappointment is great."

We are quite indifferent as to the choice of the Government, since we know what the condition is and the two members may not have anything new to say more than what has already been said in the Local and Ceylon papers. At all events we will wait and see.

CASE OF HARBOURING ESTATE COOLIES.

Proctors Clerk's Appeal Dismissed.

Mr. Justice Schneider delivered judgment on September 27th in the Avisawella case: Mr. C. F. Hutchinson, of Sitawaka v. Mr. V. K. Rajanayagam, Proctor, and his clerk E. A. Wickramatilleke for harbouring coolies who had bolted from complainant on Labugannawa. The Magistrate acquitted Mr. Rajanayagam but fined the clerk Rs. 50. He appealed per Mr. A. St. V. Jayawardena.

His Lordship—says the charge should have stated that the act of harbouring was done "wilfully and knowingly" and that the coolies in question "absented themselves without leave," because they are essential ingredients of the offence. But nothing turns upon this omission, because the Magistrate realised the actual nature of the offence as also the accused. The evidence is that coolies from Labugannawa, an estate about two miles from Avisawella, where accused lives and works, had left on 21st June without leave, and were seen at the office of the Proctor, under whom appellant is a clerk, at about 8 or 9 A. M. on 22nd June. Two men watched them from that hour to about 6 P. M. They were at first on the outer verandah and at 6 P. M. in the office where the appellant was till 11 A. M. On 23rd June the Superintendent knocked at the door, which was locked, calling out the names of the coolies, who answered him. The Superintendent obtained warrants against the coolies and returned to the office with a constable. They knocked at the door and the coolies replied from inside that they could not get out. The appellant then appeared on the scene. The Superintendent asked him whether he knew whether the bolters from Labugannawa were in the house. He said he did. He then unlocked the door of the office, went in, and opened the door at the back, when the Superintendent got in and arrested the coolies, who were later convicted of desertion. The Superintendent had received five notices to quit, dated 18th June, signed by the coolies and authenticated by the appellants' master. The answer given by the appellant to the Superintendent, the fact that the coolies had left the estate without leave, that they were found locked inside

a room, the entrance to which could be obtained only by unlocking a door, the key of which was in the appellant's possession, the fact that the estate is only two miles from the town where accused lives and works, establishes the charge against the appellant. It is quite possible that these facts are capable of an explanation consistent with the innocence of the appellant. It was his duty, if so, to give it. He has made no statement nor given evidence. As Wood Renton, J., said in *Peiris v. Perera* (1912, 15 N. L. R. 197) "the failure of an accused person to give evidence is a circumstance of which Courts are entitled to take account." "It is right" said Darling, J., in *Rex v. Bernard* (1908 Criminal Appeal Reports (Cohen) p. 219) "that Juries should know, and, if necessary, be told, to draw their own conclusions from the absence of explanations by the prisoner." That observation applies *mutatis mutandis* to Judges sitting alone, I therefore dismiss the appeal.

The above needs no comment.

MAKE THE BEST OF THEIR ENVIRONMENTS.

A writer in the *Jamaica Times* makes the following suggestions to those who desire to improve the conditions in the lives of the poorer classes bringing them health, happiness and contentment.

We must educate. The people must be educated. It is for us to bring out with education, all the latent possibilities for good, which we know the people possess. To help them to understand the faculties they possess, make them appreciate nature, and their surroundings. Teach them to observe, and use their individual discriminating powers; to reflect on, and understand the home they live in, and above all prepare them for all the circumstances of the life they must live. Begin with Hygiene, at the very lowest rung of the ladder. Make them think and live the best in them. Don't turn them loose before they have learned and demonstrated self-respect. Make them understand that after education in the schools, begins a true education with the hoe, fork, plough, teach them to use these implements with honour, not as a disgrace. Make them realize that all cannot serve in offices; all cannot be masters. Teach them the dignity of all work. For all this, we require understanding and sympathetic teachers; a higher age limit and universal compulsory education. When the above practices are in full working order, the working classes will easily compel better wages; the unfloored, deplorable huts where large families crowd together and call home, will disappear; comfortable

cottages will take their places, such as are even now owned by those who have seized opportunity, worked hard, lived honestly on their small earnings; been thrifty and industrious. Then will be heard no more about poverty; no more about being asleep, every man and woman will be up and doing that which lieth close at hand. Then will be peasant be not so simple as not to manure his rented land thereby taking off better crops. By his improvement and good care of such land, the Government will be favourably impressed, and easily induced to protect tenants by statute to a better system of Tenure of Land.

INDIA AND AUSTRALIA.

The Sydney correspondent of the *Times of India* writes:—

Australia has been deeply stirred by the splendid loyalty and the equally splendid generosity displayed by all classes of British India since the outbreak of the war. The appointment of Lord Chelmsford as Viceroy will give Queensland and New South Wales an additional interest in the problems affecting India, as it is not long since he was Governor of both these States, and we know from personal experience that India could have obtained no better man. He will be put to a very severe test by following in the wake of Lord Hardinge, whose qualification for the post were exceptional in every way. The latter's speech on the Budget at the Council Meeting on the 24th March, which was pretty fully cabled to the Australian papers, impressed us with its statesmanlike grip of a situation which is complex in the extreme. India, like Australia and Canada, is almost sure to be represented at the next Imperial Conference, which will mark the inauguration of a new era in the Government of the Empire. At that Conference the question of the admittance of coloured labour to the Dominions is bound to be discussed, but what decision will be arrived at so far as Australia is concerned will probably depend on whether a Labour or a Liberal Government is in power. If the former, then the hope of arriving at some compromise is very small as the Labour Party in Australia has several shibboleths, and one of them is that Australia shall be peopled by the whites alone. The Liberals have the same shibboleth, but they are more open to reason, and the whole question will be discussed by them in the light of recent events, which, both as to India and Japan, have had a tendency to modify our ideas. What modifications would result in our public policy can at present be only surmised.

• AN INDIAN'S VIEW.

Mr. B. B. Mahatho writes:—

Seeing that the Government of India is devising a plan, and is desirous of insuring better treatment to the labourers; and believing that the Indians of the Province know better than anybody else the ill-treatment and abuse to which the labourers are subjected: may I suggest that the Indian public bodies of Natal send resolutions to assist the Indian Government to the following effect:—

(a) The Protector in the country of destination must be a public spirited Indian, appointed by the Indian Government, with power to nominate Inspectors. (b) The Inspectors should be appointed by the Protector to each district, who should visit all the estates and other places where the labourers are employed at least once every month, and he must be an Indian of unblemished character, invested with the power of withdrawing and transferring at any moment any labourers who appear to him to be ill-treated and deserve better treatment. (c) The Protector must be invested with the power of withholding for ever the supply of labour to employers for repeated ill-treatment. (d) The Protector and the Inspectors must be responsible to and paid by the Indian Government. (e) The labourer should have the right of paying off his passage money if he so desires. (f) The labourers should not be required to carry a pass on their person, and be subjected to molestation by any policeman. (g) The term of contract of service should be three years only and the remuneration should be 20 for the first year, 25 for the second year and 30 for the third year, with better rations and quarters.

[NOTE.—Our correspondent seems to think that if the conditions are improved and more safeguards introduced, the system of indenture is otherwise good. This is where we differ; and we shall be deeply disappointed if the people of India entertain for a moment the question of renewing any system of indentured labour.—Ed. I. O.]

LABOUR OFFENCES IN CEYLON.

The following Draft of a proposed Ordinance is published:—

An Ordinance to amend Ordinance No. 11 of 1865, entitled "An Ordinance to consolidate and amend the Law relating to Servants, Labourers, and Journeymen Artificers under Contracts for Hire and Service."

Whereas it is expedient to amend Ordinance No. 11 of 1865, entitled "An Ordinance to consolidate and amend the Law relating to Servants, Labourers, and

Journeymen Artificers under Contracts for Hire and Service": Be it therefore enacted by the Governor of Ceylon, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof, as follows:—

(1) The following sub-section shall be added to section 11 of the principal Ordinance. (2) No woman and no child under sixteen years of age shall be sentenced to imprisonment for any offence under this section, or to imprisonment in default of the payment of a fine for any such offence. Provided that in the case of the following offences, namely, drunkenness, insolence, and any other misconduct tending to the disturbance of order or discipline, a woman on the occasion of a second or subsequent conviction may be sentenced to simple imprisonment for a period not exceeding one month. Provided further, that nothing herein contained shall preclude a court from dealing with a child under sixteen years of age under the provisions of "The Youthful Offenders Ordinance, 1886."

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS.

The object of this Ordinance, which is introduced in accordance with a resolution of the Planters' Association and the direction of the Secretary of State, is to relieve women and children under sixteen years of age from liability to imprisonment for neglect or refusal to attend work and similar offences under section 11 of Ordinance No. 11 of 1865.

Popular opinion in Ceylon would seem decided to press for the complete abolition of imprisonment for labour offences. The Social Service League, we understand, is taking the lead in the matter. The *Ceylonese* reflects the public attitude toward the question in the following words:—"The Government's Draft Ordinance is disappointing. The effect of the proviso relating to women guilty of certain offences would be to nullify the little concession that was made. For planters will take care to see that in future all charges against women come under the proviso and women will be sent to prison as usual. We are unable to find out why the Government of Ceylon should hedge in a half-hearted concession with provisos and exceptions. There is no reason why the concession should apply only to women in the face of the positive instructions given by MR. BONAR LAW that 'the power to imprison for labour offences must be definitely eliminated from the labour laws of Fiji, British Guiana, Trinidad and Jamaica before the end of this year.'"

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

"Political Ideals" by C. DESLIE BURNS. The Oxford University Press, London, Price 2 sh. 6d.

Among the various books and booklets, that find a rapid circulation among students and the reading public, this little book of Mr. Burns ought to occupy a prominent place. Ideals generally and political ideals particularly are not constant factors in the life and growth of a nation, as he himself admits. Since it is so, a fresh outline and outlook on politics and political ideals ought to be greeted with hearty welcome.

His chapters are very well ordered and exhibit an excellent logical continuity from first to last. It is clearly to be seen throughout the book, that a great change is to come and that it would not be wise for any to be idle now and to awaken like Ryp Wan Winkle when it is too late.

Mr. Burns ought to be specially congratulated on his splendid candour without injury to the higher realities of historical perspective; and on the ring of sincerity that pervades through the book from end to end.

We sincerely hope that students of politics of whatever school or denomination will greet this tribute to modern political literature with warmth and in numbers.

The writer, moreover, exhibits a catholicity of taste while adhering to the strictest canons of criticism and bade us into a truer conception of history, when he says, 'It is as well to regard the larger political issues' as 'International'. We tend to think of politics in a provincial manner. Thus all perspective is lost, and the development of our village streets seems more interesting than the greater forces which, almost unseen, transformed it. There are some, who cannot even count as real what they cannot measure with a two foot-rule. He adds, 'to conceive politics more greatly and to deprovincialise history is to give some sort of new meaning and value to our own lives.'

In another place speaking about the ideal of Liberty, he says: 'Not only is liberty the basis of civilised life, but the progress of civilisation depends on a development of personal independence and local autonomy. So that the Athenian ideal (of Liberty) is not a thing achieved once for all, which we may accept and rejoice in: it is still an ideal, because, although we have much more than even the Athenians had, there is still more to be attained. Thus liberty remains a word of power, and all parties agree that we must persevere and develop whatever amount of it we have acquired.'

And in his chapter on Medieval Unity, he makes a very striking remark. There is a vague feeling that war among the nations of Europe is more terrible than war of any one of these against 'savages' or 'the yellow races.' There is more than a tendency to regard European war as almost civil war, whereas other warfare is only regarded as civilising war against savages is not rational simply because it is slightly less irrational than war against our equals.

No war is civilising, even though some wars obstruct civilisation less obviously than others.

And in his chapter on 'Modern Imperialism' the writer administers a fine corrective to specious imperialists. He says, it is futile 'to feel imperially' if you 'think provincially.' Liberty has been made to excuse license, and order has been made to justify tyranny. So also Imperialism often shelters a provincialism which is all the more pernicious because unrecognised.

Elsewhere in the same Chapter he says, "The egregious insolence of a Kipling may impress the unthinking. A bombastic for provincialism styling itself 'Imperial' may give assurance to human animals who have hardly begun to understand what civilisation means, whose interests are confined to what they call 'sport' and whose enthusiasm can be roused only by the beating of drums. Thus the uncivilised inhabitant of London or Berlin is led to imagine that he is divinely appointed to make all other men into an image of himself and he believes it all the more readily in proportion as he lacks a perception of what is really valuable in England or Germany." And thus, he says, 'No political ideal can be reasonably used to act as a steam-roller of progress to blot out all the intricate unevenness of the race in the interest of a crudely, unimaginative view of unity.'

Lastly, treating about 'Federalism' he writes, it is no longer possible to consider that vast number of men, inhabiting for example, Australia, Canada, England and Ireland, not to mention Egypt and India, as united in groups one of which must dominate all the others. That would involve insolence, provincialism and the suppression of local vitality. The only possible way, therefore, of regarding the whole vast group as one is by supposing that each component group is united as an equal with the others in a Federation.

What we mean by such a word is that each group is most likely to know what is best for itself; that none may be treated as politically incompetent by any other; that each may express through its own institutions, governmental or legislative, its own conception of its own interests. And he concludes the chapter with these words 'Imperialism if it is to develop must be reconciled with Nationalism and there seems to be no possibility of this except through Federalism'.

Thus he arrives at the only conclusion possible under the existing complex state of political outlook 'Political education is what is most needed; political purity may be left to take care of itself.' And we have no hesitation in welcoming the book as a good stirring in time.

ANNUAL.

The India Office List, 1916. Messrs. Harrison & Sons, 45, Pall Mall, London, Price 12s. 6d. net.

The value of this useful publication cannot be over estimated, as it combines in it a variety of information on questions of Indian administration with up to date statistics and also a record of services of officers in the Home establishment of the Secretary of State and in civil employment in India whose pay is at least Rs. 1,000 a month. Though there is nothing special in the 1916 Edition of the book, it could not be without its use for every office as a ready Reference Book on men and things pertaining to India.

The Indian Emigrant.

AN IMPERIAL MEDIUM OF

Emigration, Colonisation, Trade and 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.

AN EARNEST APPEAL TO ALL INDIANS.

It was with no flourish of trumpets that we started the "*Indian Emigrant*" in August 1914 with the object of rallying round the scattered Sons of India to our common Mother and on entering on this pleasing task, we had not in the least counted upon the magnitude of the work or the difficulties that would confront us in conducting it. The more we study this subject of Indian Emigration the more fascinating did it become. But we now find ourselves we have reached a stage at which to stand still or to recede from, would be to proclaim our inability to grapple with its serious problems and to work out their solution in a practical way. So far as our work is concerned, it is mainly for the benefit of our brethren settled in far off lands and unless every Son of India outside his country realises that he has a duty towards his Mother Country and comes for-

word to help us in our work no substantial result could ensue. True it is, it is the duty of this Mother Country to come forward and help her children. But the Mother being *old* and *decrepit* is no longer able to help her growing children. The YOUNG INDIA feels for the Greater India with all the love and affection born of a common Mother. Will the GREATER INDIA reciprocate?

The objects we have set before ourselves and for which some spade work has been done so far, are those which commend themselves to the ordinary mind and which cannot be belittled. The single task of elevating the character of the labour force of India at home or abroad is alone sufficient for a life work. Added to this problem, which has an important bearing on the agricultural and the industrial advancement of India, we have the duty of keeping ourselves in living touch with those who have gone into the wide world, of exchanging our views with theirs, of studying their conditions first hand by visiting them as often as possible and of giving them something of India's heritage, its art and education, its religion and philosophy.

This involves no big sacrifice but only the mention of a kind word. If every Son of India abroad who sees and subscribes for a copy of the "*Indian Emigrant*" recommends it to every other brother Indian to do the same, our task of serving the "Greater India" would be greatly facilitated.

T. K. SWAMINATHAN,
Editor.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.

BY THE EDITOR.

WHILST the great problem of political reconstruction of the Empire is occupying the minds of the leaders, it is with a sense of relief that we turn our attention to the industrial problems of our country. It was an Italian statesman who said that economic prosperity precedes political freedom and that land labour and capital should be utilized to its highest productive power before any nation could aspire to attain perfect development and progress.

Before we discuss the subject of industrial democracy, it is better to analyse what democracy itself means in politics. In the political field, it has been defined as a system of self-government (*i.e.*, Government by the people) in which equality of opportunity is afforded to every individual equal to that of every one else to make the best use of his capacity, and to lead a normal human existence, as far as it is possible for him to do so. This system contemplates a relationship between the Individual and the State, such that the will of the men of mature age is directed towards the benefit of the State and not of the Individuals. In a word, it is the good of the State which is put above the good of the Individual. This privilege of exercising the individual Will is often termed the suffrage or the right of voting. Direct representation of the Individual will is only possible in the smallest communities; but in larger communities, this direct representation is included in a representative form in which every one has the voice of choosing his political representative to the Assembly of men who hold a trust for the mass of the people and to whom the mass look up for help and redress. This is ideal Democracy.

It has been asserted that a similar freedom of action exists in the Industrial Democracy. This remains to be examined.

In the first place, it is easily conceded that the industrial activity of every nation is determined, other things being equal, by its labour force, its organisation, its quality and its quantity. India with its teeming millions of labourers, which was once considered the industrial centre of the world is now a purely agricultural country fit to supply only raw products to the manufacturing countries of the world. She no longer

produces or is able to produce the fine muslins of Dacca, the velvety carpets of Ellore or the embroidered shawls of Kashmir. How is it then it has come about that India, which had all the advantage of cheap labour, raw material and also the skill, experience and the practice of centuries, is now a slave to the foreign markets of the world. How is it then India which once had great cities and temples, large trade, commerce and industries, grand literature and philosophy is now sunk in oblivion without a rank among the nations of the world. To enter into this question is to enter into the political and economic history of India. But the following pithy words of the late Mr. Ranade will explain the situation clearly. He says in one of his lectures, "The political domination of one country by another attracts far more attention than the more formidable, though unfelt domination which the capital, enterprise and skill of one country exercises over the trade and manufactures of another. This latter domination has an insidious influence which paralyses the springs of all the varied activities which together make up the life of a Nation and this influence was so paramount at one time in British India, that there were grave reasons to fear the worst consequences of this inevitable change." But the greatness of Mr. Ranade does not lie in the diagnose of the disease but in the remedy he suggests for the cure. How to bring India to its former status? He says towards the end of this lecture: "We have to organise Labour and Capital by co-operation and import freely foreign skill and machinery, till we learn our lessons and need no help. We have rusticated too long; we have now to turn our apt hands to new work, and bend our muscles to sturdier and honester labour. This is the civic virtue we have to learn and, according as we learn it or spurn it, we shall win or lose in the contest." This is the same lesson which Carlyle once said in different words, "Two men I honour and no third. First, the toil-worn craftsman that with earth-made Implement laboriously conquers the earth and makes her man's. Venerable to me is the hard hand, crooked, coarse; wherein notwithstanding lies a cunning virtue, indefensibly royal, as the sceptre of this planet. Venerable too is the rugged face, all weather-tanned, besoiled, with its rude intelligence, for it is the face of a man living manlike."

"A second man I honour, and still more highly: Him who is seen toiling for the spiritually indispensable; not daily bread, but the Bread of Life."

Let us then take the first man and honour him. Unfortunately in this country, he is more often spurned and left to his fate than considered as a member of the society doing his share of the work for the improvement of the economic, social and material well-being of the people. Time was when the Sudra, the poor labourer, had his own function in the ordered nature of the society. In his own restricted sphere of duty, he did his work, he was contented and happy. But under this disorganised modern social system brought about by western ideas and civilisation, the whole industrial system of India is revolutionized as is the social. The poor labourer is without an organisation, his sphere of competition is widened and consequently he is compelled to work at low wages. Whatever may be said of the caste system, this much is certain that it secured harmony in the society. As a well-known Indian writer (Mr. P. N. Bose) has recently said in his book "Illusions of New India" "the forces making for material development were effectively controlled and equipoised by those which lead to ethical and spiritual development. While caste secured the advantages of division of work, and of the hereditary transmission of intelligence and manipulative skill, it restricted competition within well-defined limits and thus minimised the manifold evils of excessively hard struggle for existence." A writer of great repute, Dr. Ananda Comaraswamy of Ceylon, tells us much the same thing in one of his articles which appeared in the *Athenaeum*, October 2, 1915. He remarks, "Given the natural classes, one of the good elements of what is now regarded as democracy was provided by making the castes self-governing; thus it was secured that a man should be tried by his peers (whereas, under Industrial Democracy, an artist may be tried by a jury of tradesmen, or a poacher by a bench of squires). Within the caste, there existed equality of opportunity for all, and the caste as a body had collective privileges and responsibilities. Society thus organised has much the appearance of what now may be called Guild Socialism. The system of caste is thus designed rather to unite than to divide."

The Industrial democracy of the past in India may be considered by many as despotic, or exclusive, but

the despotic or exclusive principle had in it all the elements which gave to industry a certain amount of elasticity, quickness and general efficiency obtained by each man pursuing his own trade. This despotic principle is visible even in politics. In England, at the time of the Reform Bill the House of Commons was influenced unduly by the great land-owners, and even in the United States, the most democratic country in the world, the representatives were acting in the interests of powerful individuals or corporations.

It is not that we are holding a brief for our ancient system of social organisation, but what we deplore is that a chaotic condition of society has come to exist as a mischievous result of the *laissez faire* doctrine of the modern economists and applying it wholesale to Indian conditions. The Indian system of organisation of society is entirely based on religion and ethics and even to-day English economists are considering whether morality could not be made the basis of economic study. If in the Industrial organisation of India a stable condition is to be restored, it must be based on social ethics. Any one who sees the present struggle of the labouring classes cannot but realise the awful state to which they have been reduced. It is true we cannot bring back the old order of things in the industrial and commercial world, but what we can and ought to do is to understand the new order and work out a scheme which will produce the maximum amount of wealth for the community, and at the same time ensure to each member of the society sufficient for a healthy existence. Such a scheme implies not only better production of wealth but also better distribution of wealth. It is this aspect of the problem which has been ignored by the greedy capitalists and employers of the west. To counteract the influence of the selfish interests of the capitalists, Labour organisations have been formed in all the industrially advanced countries of the world. Taking advantage of the disorganised state of Indian society and the apathy of practical politicians who do not see far a head in industrial matters, foreign capitalists in India have organised themselves into powerful bodies or corporations while the fate of the labouring classes has been left to the working of the economic laws of supply and demand, as if those laws could be worked without men or organisations. The baneful results arising out of a want of organisation on the part of Indian labour are the low wages,

the evils of overcrowding in cities and towns and the consequent bad sanitation, the degenerate state of health and morals and crimes and suicides and above all the wretched position occupied by women and children. But the present condition of Indian labour is similar to that prevailed in England 75 years ago and may be best expressed in the words of Geoffrey Drage, the Secretary of the late Royal Commission on Labour which sat in 1891.

"Fifty years ago, according to all competent observers, England seemed to stand on the brink of a social revolution. The views that are expressed in the memoirs of the day are placed in a far more lurid light by foreign visitors like Engels, who came to study the conditions of labour here. Their works leave no room for doubt. Did any doubt remain, the numerous parliamentary papers and inquiries of the time would bring conviction home to the most stubborn mind. Wages were low and paid in kind, under what is known as the truck system. In other words, the employer supplied inferior goods instead of money, and the workman could not deal at any but the employer's shops on pain of dismissal, which meant the workhouse or starvation; the hours were long beyond belief, accidents were common, no regard was paid to human life, the dwellings were hovels unfit for human habitation. If the men were treated badly, women and children were treated worse. Cases are reported in which women, with only a blanket round them, were harnessed like beasts to trucks of coal underground; children were let out in groups under overseers who brutally and shamefully ill-treated them. There is no infamy, no misery that is now related of the unskilled sweated industries, that cannot be paralleled and outdone by the condition of the skilled labourer half a century or so ago. My learned and distinguished friend Dr. Baernreither, looking back at these times, impartially declares that the history of the West records perhaps no greater plundering of man by man than of the employed by the employers of that time."*

One of the most important ways of improving the situation is by starting Labour organisations not only to control wages but improve the moral and the intellectual tone of the workers. The distinct types of Labour organisations of the West are,—The *Trade Unions* representing a combination of wage-earners in a single trade or two; the *Industrial Union* composed of all kinds of wage-earners working in a

given industry; and the mixed *Labour Union* composed of all kinds of wage-earners from many trades and industries. We shall not enter into the structure of these Labour organisations but only point out how much has been achieved by these institutions for the elevation of the labouring classes. To-day the workers organisations in the west have grown to such a power and influence that they are able to shape the institutions of their country and modify even the legislature to suit their own purposes. They have their own labour leaders sitting in the House of Commons and Royal Commissions to discuss labour questions. In the reform of the House of Lords, Lord Rosebury had even proposed to create peers from the working classes.

The hope for the future emancipation of labour in India lies in the recognition that the labourer is a part and parcel of the Society and any tendency in the industrial organisation working for the degeneracy and the lowering of the self-respect of the individual equally works for the degeneracy and the lowering of self-respect of the Society of which he is a member. The elevation of the labouring classes is therefore not only a moral duty but religious act of the body politic. A labour organisation for the uplift India's labour population is therefore a religious duty devolved upon the political leaders and Social Reformers of this country.

It has been asked what is the remedy for all the labour troubles in India. It is the want of a Labour Organisation to safeguard the interests of the labourers. The question is, will the leaders come forward and organise it?

SOME INDIAN EMIGRATION PROBLEMS.

MR. POLAK'S LECTURE.

UNDER the auspices of the Indian Colonial Society Madras, Mr. H. S. L. Polak delivered a lecture on the 15th instant at the Y. M. C. A. Auditorium on "Some Indian Emigration Problems" with Mr. S. Kasthuri Ranga Iyengar in the chair.

THE LECTURER

said that it was only fitting that the meeting should be presided over by one who had been so long associated with the problem of Indian Emigration. On the very question of the

DESIRABILITY OF EMIGRATION

nowadays there were so many divided opinions. There was not wanting a school of thinkers in Europe that was very strongly opposed to emigration. There would always be a small number of adventurous and enterprising spirits who would go away from their Motherland and seek fresh fields and pastures new, because they were imbued with the spirit of a pioneer, and danger and risk had special attractions for them; but they numbered singularly few and mankind did not consist of pioneers. All those who emigrated from one country to another did so because of social and economic difficulties in their own country. That school of thought pointed out that it was a complete fallacy to suppose that those economic and social conditions were really going to be improved or effectively remedied by emigration unless it was on so large a scale as to debilitate the whole country. The Russo-Jewish and Irish emigration were examples of that problem. The economic and social conditions of Ireland were so terribly bad that the Irish emigrated in such large numbers to the United States of America that emigration created a new Irish-American problem which was a difficult one for America itself to solve. Pointing to the Russo-Jewish emigration problem, it was pointed out that the people had been compelled to emigrate because of the intense racial and religious prejudice that existed against them rather than actual economic trouble, although that also existed. A considerable proportion of the Russo-Jewish emigrant population had taken up various small trading concerns in South Africa, and it happened that a Russian Jew, although he was really by origin an Asiatic, nevertheless to South Africa he went as a European, and coming into close competition with the Indian trader had created that feeling of hostility that exist to-day against a section of Indians now engaged in trade. They thus saw how widespread were the ramifications that existed by reason of the tendency on the part of considerable numbers of people to emigrate by reason of bad social, political or economic conditions of their own country, and the conclusion was that in the long run emigration in such circumstances did not remedy defects and did not really improve those who had emigrated, though they might get some financial and material benefit, but morally, emigration brought no improvement either to them or to the country from which they had gone, and the problem still remained unsolved. The entire Russo-Jewish problem could not be solved except in Russia itself. That problem had some bearing upon the emigration problem in this country. An examination of the problem from the point of view of the nature of

emigration, its general character and the individuals who emigrated, would show how closely the question of Indian emigration was involved in the general problem of national uplift in India. They might put aside the special cases of individuals who migrated because of a real and genuine spirit of enterprise, and their number was very small. But there was a larger number of people who went relatively voluntarily under no contract and under no special inducements by strangers and had gone there with a view to acquire greater material benefit. Examples of that class were found in the kind of emigration that took place from the Bombay Presidency. East Africa was now inhabited by Indians from the Bombay Presidency, and the whole of clerical and trading community of South Africa derived its origin from Western India. If one examined what particular advantage that emigration had been to the emigrants or to India itself, one might be justified in questioning the advantage on either side. Very many of those people were men leaving behind them their women in this country. In the foreign country they took other wives, and when they returned to their own places, they again left behind in the foreign country their second wives and children born to them unprovided for. That kind of emigration brought about demoralisation. Though such instances were not common enough, the importance of the problem had to be realised. One result of emigration in such cases was that the emigrants became unscrupulous, though the unscrupulousness was much less than that of a large number of European business men. In the Transvaal, except specially licenced persons, no Asiatic was supposed to have anything to do with unwrought gold from the mine unless he was an actual worker on the mines. There was however one village in India that had acquired a great part of its wealth by the reason that many of its members had been in the Transvaal and had indulged in illicit traffic in gold and got evil proceeds of that traffic to India.

FREE EMIGRATION

was another kind of emigration from India to which pointed attention was drawn in Lord Hardinge's despatch last year. That so-called free emigration was based upon the inducements of professional recruiters and also those thrown out by Sardars or Kanganis, and it was upon those special representations made by persons who were specially sent for that purpose and who had special private interests in getting as many persons as possible to those places whose advantages were specially advertised that that particular type of emigration depended. The third kind of emigration was what was known as

* Geoffrey Drage, *Eton and the Labour Question*, p. 9.

INDENTURED EMIGRATION

which was under contract entered into with other parts of the Empire to serve unknown employers and to accept unknown conditions of labour. The question of indentured labour had been a subject of anxious consideration since its inception, and the Government of India eventually ended the system. They all remembered the powerful appeal made by many members of the Imperial Legislative Council in Calcutta in 1910 led by Mr. Gokhale, and as a result of that debate the Government of India consented to prohibit absolutely the further recruitment of indentured emigration for the then province of Natal, and since 1911 there had been no recruitment of indentured labour to any part of South Africa. It was only in 1912 that the problem was carefully investigated resulting in the famous debate on the subject of prohibiting indentured labour and Mr. Gokhale's resolution was not accepted at that time, but 3½ years later when the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya asked for putting an end to the indenture system, the Viceroy gave an undertaking that that would be done, but that a certain period should elapse and that certain conditions should be observed before effect could be given to it. At the same time the Government of India in their despatch of 1915 condemned the system by stating that it was not part of their duty to provide labour supply for the Colonies. That must be the fundamental position that India must take up, and it was also believed in important official circles that it was no part of the function of Government to supply an alternative scheme to the present indenture system. What after all was the Indian emigration problem to-day? It was something like 320,000 people who annually migrated from this country. Only 8,000 of those were affected by indenture. The Government of India, Provincial Governments, Imperial Government and Colonial Governments were all breaking their heads because of the necessity of substituting something else in the place of indentured system. Something like 1,500 went to Dutch Guinea and Surinam. Obviously there was no need to consider the labour requirements of a foreign country. They had to consider certain needs of the Crown Colonies, such as British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and the distant Island of Fiji. The Indian population of British Guiana was something like 130,000 and the number of people recruited under Indenture for three years ending with 1913 was no more than 1,300. In Trinidad the Indian population was 117,000 persons, and the number recruited from India during the same period was not more than 2,200. Similarly in Jamaica the number of persons under indenture for 1913 was less than 900, but the number in 1914 was zero. It

would thus be seen that if any form of labour to any of the above colonies was stopped, there would not be any considerable injury inflicted. The Government of India itself thought very little of the claim that the three Crown Colonies had upon India. In the case of Fiji, during the last few years, the emigration was on an average 3,500 per annum, and it was felt, that if Fiji was deprived of that kind of labour, the local Industries would suffer greatly. Speaking for himself, he did not see what that had to do at all with the people and the Government of India. If there were a certain number of capitalists in Fiji who had built up a large industry or a series of industry upon the labour foundation, it was one of the risks of trade that those capitalists ought to be prepared to assume, and India was not called upon to supplement the lack of caution that those gentlemen found themselves guilty of in the long run. He did not for one moment accept the opinion entertained in some official circles that a period of five years should elapse from the time decision was taken before system of indenture was brought to an end. He thought that not more than one year ought to be permitted to elapse before the system was brought to an end. In the case of Fiji, in order to show that India was not unreasonable, he would suggest that for a period of one year after that *i.e.*, up to 1918, there might be allowed a system of induced labour on the lines applicable to Ceylon or Straits Settlements. It was a fallacy to suppose that the stoppage of emigration entirely to those places would not enable the Government of India to have any hold on the Governments of those places with a view to improve the conditions of indentured labourers. Stoppage of indenture to Natal did not affect the situation in 1913. The real question was as to how far, if at all, it was possible to deal with the question of induced labour which prevailed in Ceylon, Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States. There was no contract of indenture but the Sirdar, or Kangani, as an agent of the planter with whom he was working induced his friends to go to the place where he himself had laboured. That kind of recruitment lent itself to enormous abuses, and the Government of India were doing their utmost in various ways to put an end to a system of official or special recruitment of labour by parties who had nothing to do with outside places and by absolutely conscienceless people who injured India. He understood that there existed in Mysore Indians who, recruited under the kangani system, were practically in semi-slavery, because they were unable to get away from indebtedness with which they found themselves encumbered. It was

found necessary* also for appointing commissions or enquiries into the actual existing conditions in so near a country as Ceylon under a free kangani system. It was suggested that an improved kangani system might be devised, and with one's knowledge of human nature it was doubtful if one could ever improve the kangani system. He should very much like to see a law enacted by which all direct recruitment by paid agencies was prohibited. He was delighted to see that the Government of Madras had sent a commission of enquiry to investigate the conditions in Ceylon. They were told that there was going to be a

CONFERENCE IN LONDON

between the representatives of the distant Crown Colonies and representatives of Colonial Offices and representatives of Government and possibly also of India to investigate the matter, with a view to come to some conclusion for substituting the present system. He hoped that the people of India would not be lacking in the important duty of insisting on sending a direct representation on that conference by a popularly elected Indian. It might quite well be that there were a large number of official Indians in this country who were better acquainted with the Indian Emigration problem than Indian Non-Officials. In this country, however, there was natural suspicion of official agencies, and whether it was justified or not he could not say. Any conclusions that might be come to by such a deputation would be liable to be regarded with considerable degree of suspicion, whereas even a mistaken conclusion, to which a Non-Official Indian might come to would not be liable to be regarded with the same amount of suspicion. It should be possible for Indian Non-Official deputations to go to Ceylon and Straits Settlements and make personal and disinterested investigations which would reveal many interesting things which it would be to the interest of India to know. There was a class of Indian emigrants who had decided to stay in the outlying parts of the Empire and were not coming back to this country. They had great temptations in those countries to which they succumbed and had the effect of demoralising them. In course of time, their children would grow up in those places without any knowledge of Indian Motherland. Those children also received education largely based on European models. A colonial born Indian was neither an Indian nor a European, but a hybrid. He had no roots in India and he did not take root in the country dominated by western institutions. India should therefore make a provision to keep in touch with the colonial born Indian. The colonial born Indian population

now in South Africa, which was a minority of the Indian population might become later on a large majority. Just as it was the duty of the Government of India to insist upon protection being given to Indians who had already gone abroad, it must be the duty of the people of India to see that the social and the economic conditions of those people were of the very best. He did not believe that the status of the Indians outside India could be made better than the status of the Indians in India itself. It was remarkable that the Colonial born Indians of Natal rushed to the passive resistance movement without knowing what India was. That spirit must be encouraged, and Indians who went abroad should not be allowed to become denationalised or un-Indianised. The problem of the Indian abroad was indissolubly linked with the problem of the Indian in India, and unless it was so regarded it was not going to be satisfactorily solved.

MRS. ANNIE BESANT

who spoke at the request of the Chairman, said that there were two points which she would like to put before them. The first was with regard to Ceylon. For some little time past she had been collecting details as to the working of the so-called free labour system in Ceylon, and it appeared to her to be only another form of modified slavery. The difficulty that was constantly occurring there was non-payment of wages at proper time, and forcing of the labourer to buy food and clothes in shops kept by the employer or by the kangani, so gradually running him into debt. Once in debt, the labourer might be handed over to a new employer with the whole gang of other coolies also in debt. The debt was paid by the purchasing planter, who then became the practical owner of coolies whose debts he had taken over, and in that fashion they would again go back to a real slavery. The labour laws were cruel in the extreme. If they watched Sinhalese papers, cases continually came up where labourers were sentenced to one or two or three months' rigorous imprisonment for trifling breaches of labour laws, and they were helpless in the hands of the planter and the magistrates. Such evils were not peculiar to Ceylon nor to other places where they had coloured labour. Similar conditions were found in the nineteenth century in England, and it was only lately that they had abolished the system of forcing men to spend their wages in shops kept by their employers. Those subtle forms of slavery might, unless they were careful, replace the indenture system. But they were the more dangerous, because they were more subtle. The real difficulty lay in the question of emigra-

tion as a whole, and it was almost impossible to make human and decent systems to supply ignorant labour to men of another race outside the country of labourer. They might forbid the separation of families, they might prohibit the husband being sent to one estate and the wife to another, but the difficulty was in seeing those reforms carried out. It was not the good planters with whom difficulties arose. It was the condition of law that enabled an unscrupulous planter to take advantage of the law and so enslave his men. Those were the points that she ventured to draw attention to for very careful consideration, before any new plan was adopted or the present plan of "free labour" was endorsed for general use. The other point was with regard to some of the colonies where Indians were so largely shut out. It would be well for Indians to realise that the objection to importation of Indian labour was more economic than racial in a country like Australia, where the labourer gained a far better rate of wages than in another country, and they were naturally jealous lest, in the struggle between capital and labour capital should practically buy up a large amount of cheap Indian labour and dump that down in Australia in settling wages dispute and the defeat of the Union labourers. There was only one way to meet that difficulty, and she had discussed it with a number of labour leaders in Australia. Indian labourers should accept the principle of combination and enter the Trade Unions there and help the white labourers instead of being used in the labour struggle there against them. If it were possible—she did not know how far it was possible to induce the Indian labourer to accept the principle of combination—that they should not emigrate as units but as organised bands, then it would be possible to secure for them better conditions and gain some amount of colonial sympathy, when it was felt that they would never be used to injure the labour conditions of the colonies. It was right to remember that the conditions of labourer in England were too terrible for words early in the nineteenth century. By struggles bitter and cruel those labour classes had earned a position of strength and comparative comfort. They could not expect them to throw that away and allow the labour market to be swamped by large numbers of people who lived on very low wages, and whose ignorance made them tools of the capitalist class. The question of importation of Indian labour into colonies where white labour was already well organised and was earning decent condition of life, and the question of the importation of Indian labour to places where there were planters who wanted cooly work and had at their mercy the men who went to work there—

those questions required different remedies, and each demanded a close study. The last point she wished to mention was the condition of things arising in East Africa where it was likely that Indian labourers could form a successful colony of their own. Mr. Ritch went over there to help Indians, and he was deported under material law. It was said that the conditions there were favourable to Indian emigration. If they were now to have conditions under which emigrants would be reduced to the level reached in South Africa, East Africa also would cease to be a place desirable for Indian emigration. The danger spot there required careful watching.

Mr. Polak said that he entirely confirmed every word of Mrs. Besant about the conditions of East Africa. Although certain non-British Europeans were allowed to go to East Africa, he alone was refused permission. When he asked for the reason he was told that it was not in the public interest to give any reason.

THE CHAIRMAN

said that it would be a great help to the Indian Colonial Society if Mr. Polak would make up his mind to further its objects. Besides Ceylon there were other parts of the world to which Indian labourers emigrated and about which they had not got ample information. The Government of India had already pronounced their opinion that the Indentured labour was the most disgraceful system of recruitment of labour, and ought to be abolished. As regards free emigration, it was desirable that a law should be enacted to prevent any trade in human labour. It was not a question of interfering with the independence of personal rights. If a man was induced to go to a distant country the conditions of which were not known to him, it was a matter of public policy that the State should provide prohibition against such induced emigration. Each individual was at perfect liberty to go anywhere he liked, but where middle men were employed in order to seduce people from their homes with attractions that they would be well-cared for and become prosperous, then the law should protect people from such insidious agencies.

THE HON. MR. B. N. SARMA.

proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, and pointed out that a notice of motion for the introduction of a bill somewhat on the lines suggested by Mr. Polak had been given by the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Conviction was being forced every day upon them that unless they secured Self-Government on a much more national basis in India, the emigration problems would never be solved satisfactorily.

THE XXXIst INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

THE Hon'ble Mr. Ambika Charan Mazumdar, the President of this year's Congress held at Lucknow, December 1916, after the usual introductory remarks on the Bureaucracy, the Press Act, the Arms Act, the Defence of India Act, etc., speaks on "Immigration, Swadeshi and Home Rule." The following is an extract from the address relating to the last three subjects. In conclusion the President closes his address with a summary of India's demands which is also reprinted below:—

IMMIGRATION.

Gentlemen, it is with a sense of pain, shame and humiliation that I approach the question of immigration and indentured labour. India, the granary of the world, is unable to maintain her surplus population and thousands of her children, like her raw materials, are sent away to other countries for employment for the bare necessities of life. The immigrants, so absolutely necessary for the development of the resources of South Africa, Australia and Canada, are treated there as helots and India is regarded to-day throughout the civilised world as the recruiting ground for coolies necessary for manual labour. I do not hesitate to denounce this degrading system as the last relic of slavery within the British Empire. The question is said to be not free from difficulties, but all these difficulties are due more in the relation of Great Britain in regard to her self-governing colonies than to the condition of India herself. Mr. Gandhi's heroic struggles in South Africa are fresh in the minds of our people and Lord Hardinge's effort to ameliorate the condition of the Indian settlers in the British Colonies evoked more sharp criticism than active sympathy in the United Kingdom. It is galling that peoples of yesterday who have scarcely a tradition of their own should be permitted to treat as slaves people whose civilisation goes back to the morning of this world. Lord Gladstone in opening the Parliament of the South African Union only a few years ago reminded them of this fact and bore striking testimony to the worth of the Indian people. He said,—"I have made special study of the Indian history and have later visited India. I wish more South Africans could go there and by so doing rise to the highest appreciation of what the Indians were. They would then think

less of India as a country which sends its coolies to the South African Coast. In fact India has developed perhaps far above the line attained by some parts of the British Empire in its civilisation and efforts to rise to a higher life." But what avails such testimony? Slaves at home can never be treated as free men abroad. I use the word in the sense in which Mill has used it. "They are slaves," says Mill "who cannot help themselves." Complete Reciprocity and Reta'iation are the only remedies for this degrading humiliation inflicted upon our people, and Home Rule alone can furnish the necessary prescription. So long as the Canadian, the South African and the Australian are free to settle in India and also to find their way to the public services of the country, no tinkering measure, no controlling wages will solve the question.

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

Gentlemen, if the ill-fated Swadeshi Movement had been directed in its proper channel and not checked as an unhealthy growth, the question of the industrial development of India, which has now attracted the anxious attention of Government, might have admitted of a much easier solution. The war has disclosed that in 1905 the Indian Nationalists declared hostilities not against Great Britain, but against Germany and Austria, and that if the Authorities in India had taken a more dispassionate and far-sighted view of the situation, German and Austrian trade in India would have died ten years ago and without a naval blockade. The fault, however, did not lie wholly with the Government, but the people had also to bear a share of the responsibility. However that may be, the question of rebuilding Indian industries out of their ashes is not free from serious difficulties, and unless Government is prepared honestly and resolutely to come forward to make atonement for its past sins of commission and omission, it may never be solved. Much is said about the phenomenal progress of Japan and Sir Thomas Holland has recently thrown a flood of light upon her industrial development. But what is the secret of her success? Amidst all the disquisitions and speculations which have gathered round the question there looms large one fact which can neither be overlooked nor disputed. Japan possesses a National Government which India does not. In Japan there is no clashing of interest be-

tween the people and the State, but in India although the interests of the Government may not collide with those of the people, its industrial policy is to a large extent controlled by considerations independent of the interest of India. Gentlemen, I pause here for a moment to thank the Government of the United Provinces which is the only administration that has as yet taken any practical interest in the development of some of our industries.

If, however, for any reason the Government finds itself handicapped in the way of building up new industries on its own account, as in Japan, it can at any rate do much to help and encourage such industries. It can add a portfolio of industries to the member in charge of commerce and carry on an investigation through experts as to which industry is best suited to what part of the country, regard being had to the production of raw materials, facilities of communication and labour. Then as Indian capital starts any business on a sound and substantial basis, the Government may come forward to purchase a portion of its shares in order to secure both an effective control over it and an abiding interest in its success. And, above all, it may guarantee to such a concern a certain rate of profit or dividend for a period sufficient to enable it to stand on its own legs, while it may render no inconsiderable help by becoming its customer for its own purposes. It may also remove all unjustifiable excise duties and grant railway concessions. If the Government will do all this, it will discharge its function as a benevolent state and remove the shyness of Indian Capital in an unequal competition with its formidable foreign rivals. If this cannot be done the Government will be well advised not to waste its money over academic conferences and commissions to serve no other purpose than that of raising false hopes and aggravating public discontent.

In this connection I would make a passing reference to an important question in regard to which the opinions of public bodies and associations are being sought, but which, as far as I can see, has not excited much public interest;—I mean the proposal to transfer the railways to private Companies. It is a great economic question and ought not to be as lightly treated as it appears to have been done in certain unexpected quarters. The Railways are one of the most important state concerns whose earnings consti-

tute by no means an inconsiderable portion of the State revenues. The great highways of trade and commerce are public domain and belong to the State. To transfer them to any private individual or individuals or to allow them to manage them may be an act amounting to a serious infringement of public rights and an abdication of a State function. We are looking forward to a time when the Government will become national if not in its *personnel* at least in its aims and purposes and the railways owned by the State and controlled by the state will then be conducted upon national lines and will be hand-maid of the national industries by offering facilities for their growth and development. The time has come for the definite acceptance of this policy.

A NATIONAL MILITIA.

Gentlemen, no people can be either self-respecting or respected by others unless they are able to defend themselves. A people always dependent upon Government for the safety of their life and property must be an intolerable burden on the state and a source of weakness to it. A vast empire like British India, without a National army, protected by a nominal force of 70 thousand European soldiers and 140 thousand Indian troops may be a wonderful feat; but it is a most dangerous experiment. If the Indians were trained but as volunteers only five years ago, although the Congress has been demanding the privilege for the last twenty-five years, the humiliating spectacle of Lord Kitchener, Lloyd George and Lord Derby alternately coaxing and threatening the British people for raising an army of two millions might easily have been avoided and at all events a general conscription, so distasteful to British tradition, might not have to-day become such an imperative necessity. India, with her teeming millions properly trained and equipped, standing behind England can present an invincible front against any power in the world. The question is not one of men and materials, but of trust and confidence. But has not India given sufficient proof of her fidelity and devotion to the British connection? If not, England must stand self-condemned before the eyes of the civilised world.

Such is the situation. Bureaucracy has accomplished its work. It has established order and tranquility. But it has outgrown itself. Its continued existence is fraught with mischief and unable to cope

with the rising forces of popular opinion and with the demands created with the new spirit, it has had recourse to a policy which has excited grave public discontent. What then is to be the remedy? That remedy is what has been so effectively applied in other countries similarly circumstanced; and the remedy which suggests itself to the Indian mind, as it occurred to John Stuart Mill and to Edmund Burke, lies in the grant of

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

Call it Home Rule, call it Self-Rule, call it *Swaraj*, call it Self-Government, it is all one and the same thing—it is Representative Government. The idea is not a new one, nor is it the revelation of any evangelist. As far as I am aware, the idea dawned upon the people in 1882 when the agitation on the Ilbert Bill first revealed to the people the helplessness of their situation. A *National League* was then formed and a burning pamphlet called the *Star in the East* was issued which was written in a style and language which if employed at the present day would have surely stranded the writer in serious difficulties. Lord Ripon fully anticipated the demand when in his famous Resolution of January 1882 he told the people that "local self-government must precede national self-government". Although the first Indian National Congress passed no resolution directly bearing on the question, the notification under which it was called into existence clearly stated that one of the objects of the future assembly was "indirectly to form the germ of an Indian Parliament which if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an answerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institution". And Mrs. Annie Besant in her admirable book, *How India Wrought for Freedom*, has pointedly referred to the utterance of the Grand Old Man of India which clearly foreshadowed the coming demand of the Indian people for self-government. Ever since then the idea worked and matured itself when in the brilliant session of the Congress in 1906, it found an emphatic and unequivocal pronouncement from the very same patriarch of the Indian political world in his trumpet call for *Swaraj* which has since then stirred the Indian mind to its utmost depth to find the true remedy which it had so far sought in vain. A generation has risen whose sole and wholehearted demand

is nothing short of self-government as the sovereign remedy for the present unsatisfactory situation.

OUR DEMANDS.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I now propose as a summary to the foregoing discussions to submit a few "daring and impertinent" proposals for the consideration of the Government both in England as well as in India. A memorandum presented by nineteen members of the Supreme Legislative Council has met with the criticisms of both sides. Some have regarded it as premature and falling short of our demands, while others have denounced it as extravagant. The circumstances which brought about the submission of this memorandum have already been explained to the public; while, as I read it, this memorandum represents neither the irreducible minimum nor the unenhanceable maximum of our demands; nor do I understand the signatories to it to mean their proposals are to be carried out on the morning following the day on which the Treaty of Berlin may be signed. The signatories to the memorandum have, however, done me one great service. They have borne the brunt of the fusillade and made my passage less difficult, so as to enable me to press forward unnoticed under cover of their fire. As to the other side of the shield our misfortune is that we are unable to see where the extravagance comes in. We have no superfluities in any direction and for such a people as ourselves to indulge in extravagance seems to be out of the question. Extravagance may seize the minds of those who have got enough and to spare. However that may be, here are our demands which God willing are bound to be fulfilled at no distant date.

1. India must cease to be a dependency and be raised to the status of a self-governing state as an equal partner with equal rights and responsibilities as an independent unit of the Empire.

2. In any scheme of readjustment after the war, India should have a fair representation in the Federal Council like the colonies of the Empire.

3. India must be governed from Delhi and Simla, and not from Whitehall or Downing Street. The Council of the Secretary of State should be either abolished or its constitution so modified as to admit of substantial Indian representation on it. Of the two Under-Secretaries of State for India one should be an

Indian and the salaries of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British estimates as in the case of the Secretary for the Colonies. The Secretary of State for India should, however, have no more powers over the Government of India than those exercised by the Secretary for the Colonies in the case of the dominions. India must have complete autonomy financial, legislative as well as administrative.

4. The Government of India is the most vital point in the proposed reforms. It is the fountain head of all the local administrations and unless we can ensure its progressive character any effective reform of the local governments would be impossible. For this the Services must be completely separated from the State and no member of any service should be a member of the Government. The knowledge and experience of competent members of a service may be utilised in the departments, but they should not be allowed to be members of the Executive Council or the Cabinet of the Government itself.

5. The Executive Government of India should vest in the Governor-General with a number of ministers not less than one-half of whom should be Indians elected by the elected non-official Indian members of the Supreme Legislative Council. These members should hold office for five years. Thus this ministry of the Viceroy will possess the composite character of a parliamentary and non-parliamentary cabinet.

6. The Upper House of Representatives in Canada is composed of 90 members. The Supreme Legislative Council in India should consist of at least 150 members. These members should be all elected. But for the transitory period one-fifth may be appointed by the cabinet, not more than one-fourth of whom may be officials.

7. The annual budget should be introduced into the Legislative Council like money Bills, and except the military estimates the entire Budget should be subject to the vote of the Council.

8. The Provincial Governments should be perfectly autonomous, each Province developing and enjoying its own resources, subject only to a contribution towards the maintenance of the Supreme Government.

9. A Provincial administration should be vested, as in the case of the Supreme Government, in a

Governor with a cabinet not less than one-half of whom should be Indians elected by the non-official elected Indian members of its Legislative Council.

10. The Provincial Legislative Council should in the case of a major province consist of 100 members and in the case of a minor province 75 members all of whom should be elected by the people and each district must have at least one representative of its own. For the transitory period there should of course be the same conditions and restrictions as in the case of the Supreme Legislative Council.

11. As the executive and the legislative functions are to be separated, so there must be complete separation of the judicial from the executive functions of the State. The judicial administration, whether civil or criminal, should be wholly vested in the High Courts both as regards control as well as the pay, prospect and promotion of its officers. The High Courts should be subordinate only to the Supreme Government.

12. The Arms Act should be repealed or so modified as to place the Indians exactly on the same footing with the Europeans and Eurasians. The Press Act should be removed from the Statute Book and all the repressive measures withdrawn.

13. India should have a national militia to which all the races should be eligible under proper safe guards and they should be allowed to volunteer themselves under such conditions as may be found necessary for the maintenance of efficiency and discipline. The Commissioned ranks in the army should be thrown open to His Majesty's Indian Subjects.

14. A full measure of local self-government should be immediately granted throughout the country, and the corporations of the Presidency towns, the District and the Taluk boards and the district municipal corporations should be made perfectly self governing bodies with elected members and elected chairmen of their own. They should be freed from all official control except such as may be legally exercised by the Government direct.

15. Mass education should be made free and compulsory. Suitable provisions should also be made for the development and encouragement of indigenous industries.

GENERAL ARTICLES.

THE FOREIGN STUDENT IN AMERICA.

BY CHARLES DUBOIS HURREY.

Secretary of the Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students.

DURING the past, students have been accustomed to go from one nation to another in order to pursue their studies and investigations. It is evident that some of the causes of this interchange of student life are the following:

1. The awakening Orient which is influencing students in China and the Japanese Empire to seek Western learning.

2. The growing identification of interests between North and South America, resulting in the sending of an increasing number of Latin American students to the United States.

3. The rising of nationalism which leads students within a given nation to seek the best possible education abroad with a view to strengthening their own national life.

4. Intensive specialization: progressive students who are ambitious to excel in their chosen life work are studying with the ablest experts in their line of investigation.

5. Organizations which make provision for scholarships such as the Rhodes Foundation, and scholarships made possible by the Indemnity Fund for Chinese students; also a certain number of government scholarships from different nations wishing to strengthen and expand their programme of industrial education, the normal school system, etc.

Among the many problems facing the student who leaves his native land for a period of two to five years, there is none more embarrassing than the attitude and treatment of customs official and immigration officers at the port of the country in which he lands. The foreign student frequently has difficulty in making arrangements for railway transportation and the handling of his baggage; serious mistakes and unnecessary delay are a great trial to his patience. It has also been discovered that quite a few students from abroad are unsuccessful in finding satisfactory accommodations for room and board during

ing their college course; some are living in surroundings which lead to the breakdown of character and the undermining of efficiency. The majority of foreign students welcome most heartily any help that is given them in the selection of course and in enrolling in their classes.

No greater opportunity can be offered the American student and professor than the promotion of acquaintance among the students from various nations; many of them have a feeling of strangeness and it is not surprising that this frequently results in homesickness and discouragement.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of a working knowledge of English for each foreign student before he reaches North America. It is a sad fact that a considerable number of students arriving from foreign lands have no knowledge whatever of English and therefore find it exceedingly difficult to enter University classes. Another problem confronting the foreign student is that of partial self-support during his student days; some have very limited resources and are in need of employment which will help them meet their necessary expenses.

It is gratifying to discover that most foreign students are eager to inspect American institutions for social betterment and the uplift of society; they are keen to visit industrial plants, welfare agencies and the various kinds of educational institutions.

It is not surprising that an Oriental student who has heard much of the democracy of North Americans should be perplexed when he finds himself in the midst of fraternities and other secret societies in our colleges. He does not understand the various traditions, customs, prejudices and practices of his new fellow-students. He is also eager to discover the best books and periodicals which will help him in a well-rounded preparation for his life work.

Not a few foreign students are deeply interested in the attitude of American students toward moral perils and also the methods of combatting the evils of gambling, drinking and impurity among students.

The outbreak of the war has emphasized the importance of promoting international goodwill among the five thousand foreign students in the United States. This most difficult task challenges the best thought of American students and professors. "How

shall I make the most profitable use of my vacations?" is a question frequently on the lips of the foreign student. It is surprising that students from the same foreign nation often times do not know one another, nor the location of other students from the same country.

The problem of providing comfort and assistance in times of misfortune, sickness or accident is one which is calling forth the splendid service of many American friends, and we are glad to notice that in the institutions enrolling the largest number of foreign students, provision is made for frequent and regular consultation between faculty representatives and foreign students concerning personal and other problems. Doubtless, a majority of the students now among us from abroad are perplexed with reference to the proper attitude toward such great issues as "Peace and War." It is gratifying to know that a number of study groups have been organized in different institutions for the investigation and prevention of international war.

The Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students is made up of men of large international interests and its principal object is indicated by its name. The headquarters of the Committee are at 124 East 28th Street, New York City, and through its secretaries as well as by other means, it offers its services for the solution of some of the problems mentioned above which deeply concern the foreign student. Representatives of the Committee are ready to meet students upon their arrival in the United States and assist them in securing transportation, finding satisfactory living accommodations and in the registration and enrollment in classes. Throughout the year local committees in the leading colleges and universities arrange for receptions and other gatherings of special interest to students from abroad; this service enables foreign students to become acquainted with representative American homes and people. Many of the best American students are helping the foreign student in his struggle to learn the English language. One Committee is eager to extend this very practical service in all of the institutions and local committees are ready to assist foreign students to secure necessary employment in order to reduce their expenses.

During leisure hours and vacation periods our Committee makes provision for guiding groups of

foreign students in visiting interesting institutions such as hospitals, settlements, school buildings, reformatories, Christian Associations, etc. By this means the student gains much valuable information which he may apply in the solution of problems in his own country. Our Committee expects to publish and distribute a directory of all foreign students in North America and is also preparing a vest-pocket handbook of information regarding North American student life, which may be presented to the foreign student upon his arrival.

By means of eight intercollegiate conferences and conventions held in different parts of the country, our Committee is assisting foreign students in hearing inspiring addresses and in the study of some of the most vital, moral and educational problems of our day. The fellowship with choice American students thus afforded, enables many a man from abroad to understand the secrets of a successful fight for character and for effective living.

In all of the varied services of our Committee, an effort is made to avoid every semblance of patronage or superiority; the virtues of different races are magnified and little is said of their vices. It is our desire to promote a spirit of true comradeship and brotherhood in the realm of the heart and intellect in order that an abiding friendship may be established among the future leaders of all the nations.

[To Indian students wishing to enter into a living touch with foreign students in America, we would recommend them the journal, "*The Cosmopolitan Student*" Cambridge, Mass, U. S. A.]

THE NATURE OF CITIZENSHIP.

(From the Round Table)

The State is the primary and fundamental form of association among men; that association which includes and makes possible every other form of association, whether it be a limited liability company, a trades union, or a municipal or county government. The essential nature of citizenship is described in *The Commonwealth of Nations* as follows: The quickening principle of a State is a sense of devotion, an adequate recognition somewhere in the minds of its subjects that their own interests are subordinate to those of the State. The bond which unites them and

constitutes them collectively as a State is, to use the words of Lincoln, in the nature of dedication. Its validity, like that of the marriage tie, is at root not contractual but sacramental. Its foundation is not self-interest, but rather some sense of obligation, however conceived, which is strong enough to overmaster self-interest.* This doctrine is the central theme of *The Commonwealth of Nations*. And, subject to certain interpretations, it is unquestionably true. It is obligation, not privilege, duties, and not rights, which lie at the root of citizenship, and which, in consequence, are the foundations upon which every healthy and progressive State must build its communal life. This obligation, however, is not owed to a monarch or to an abstraction labelled "the State," as is the Prussian view. It is owed to the whole body of one's fellow-citizens, organized as a community in obedience to law.

The essential notion of political obligation is admirably expressed in the original constitution of the Pilgrim Fathers in New England in which they

by these presents and solemnly and mutually in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid: and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for the general good of the Colonies, unto which we promise due submission and obedience.

The State is the word we use to denote this fundamental form of human association, that which is based upon the irrevocable dedication of the members to one another for the practical conduct of social life. The common view that the State has the right to dispose of the life and property of its citizens obscures somewhat the essential truth that it is not the rights of the community over the individual, but the unlimited duty owed by the citizen to his fellows, which is the foundation of citizenship. Citizenship is at bottom recognition of the fact that men have to live in society and that the primary duty of the individual to his neighbours is to obey those laws which they together drew up for the guidance of the communal life, and which secure to the individual his rights, prescribe his

* *The Commonwealth of Nations*, Part I., by L. Curtis, p. 8.

duties, and protect all the members of the State from injustice and wrong, until he can persuade his fellow-citizens to amend them. There may be times when the citizen feels bound to resist an unjust law, or the wrongful exercise of the authority of the State, by the government of the day. But circumstances can never arise which release him from his obligations to his fellow citizens themselves, or entitle him to put personal or sectional interests before the welfare of the whole, or which justify him in repudiating his obligation to comply with the general body of laws which represent the agreement of the community as to the conditions under which they can best and most fairly conduct their common life. This ultimate truth is not so apparent to-day as it ought to be, because, the world being still divided into separate sovereign States, citizens can migrate from one State to another. But, even so, the individual can get rid of his obligation to obey the laws of one State only by undertaking a similar obligation in another. The "cityless" man, or the "Stateless" man is an outlaw. The inescapable obligation of citizenship will only become plain when all mankind is united in one world State.

But while obligation is the primary essence of citizenship, liberty is its essential correlative. If a citizen is bound to obey the law, he must have an equal voice with his fellow citizens in determining what the law should be, once he is qualified to use it. But the essence of liberty is responsibility. A citizen is entitled to liberty, not in order that he may do as he pleases, but in order that he may use that liberty in the service of the community as a whole; not because he is a privileged being, but because he cannot help to improve the conditions of communal life if he is the servant of the will of others, and does not bring his own unfettered judgment and activity into the common pool. It is this idea of liberty which distinguishes a commonwealth from other States. In an autocratic State the emphasis is laid on the duty of implicit obedience to authority, generally reinforced by divine right, with results we can see in Germany to-day. In many modern democracies the emphasis is laid upon the rights of the citizen rather than upon his obligations, a course which must ultimately end in the paralysis or dissolution of the State. In a true commonwealth the emphasis is laid on liberty in the sense that the citi-

zen must have it in order that he may thereby make himself a more useful citizen.

In practice this idea leads, by an inevitable process, to the steady transfer of political power and political responsibility from a monarch or an aristocracy to an ever widening circle of citizens. For those who become members of a commonwealth find that they cannot fulfil their duty to their fellow-citizens properly unless they are able to take an active part in helping to improve the laws under which the community lives, when once they are able to grasp what the duties of citizenship are, and are sufficiently educated to be able to discharge them properly. A true commonwealth can fall neither into the error of entrusting all power and responsibility to one or to a few, as did the later Roman Republic, nor into the errors of entrusting responsibility for its destinies to backward peoples until they have received the education and training in local self-government to enable them to recognise their responsibility to all their fellow-citizens. The principle, indeed, which guides the citizens of a commonwealth in all their political actions is loyalty to the constitution and the laws which unite them in the bonds of mutual service to one another, and an active determination continuously to amend those laws from time to time, not in deference to ever varying political theories, or the interests of race or class or nationality, but so as to promote in ever-increasing degree the progress and welfare of all its members.

It is this combination of absolute dedication to all one's fellow-citizens with the right of active participation in the work of law-making and government which is the essence of the citizenship of a true commonwealth. And, as *The Commonwealth of Nations* shows, it has been this principle, born in Greece, and perfected and developed by the Anglo-Saxons, which has been the key to the political progress of the human race.

[Mr. L. Curtis, the author of the books, *The Problems of the Commonwealth* and *The Commonwealth of Nations* in dealing with this important problem of citizenship has grossly exaggerated the difference between the white and the coloured races of the Empire forgetting all the while that "States had developed and civilisations were flourishing in Asia at a period when Europe was still plunged in a barbarism as primitive as that prevailing in other continents."]

REGULATIONS FOR THE COLONISATION OF SURINAM.

The following is a translation from the Official Gazette of the Colony of Surinam.

Ordinance of 1st December 1914 containing regulations respecting the parcelling out of tracts of crownland for agricultural pursuits on a small scale and for the purpose of promoting the settling of immigrants as colonists.

In the name of the Queen!
The Governor of Suriname.

Having taken into consideration, that it is desirable to further regulate the rules respecting the parcelling out of small tracts of crownland in free use, lease or ownership for petty agricultural pursuits and for the promoting of the settling of immigrants and other people as agricultural colonists;

Has, after consultation with the Executive Council, and after having obtained the sanction thereto of the Legislative Assembly, enacted the following Ordinance.

ARTICLE 1.

Citizens of the colony, emigrants and immigrants who have completed their term of indenture and against whom there exist no definite reasons to refuse them such boon, can, if they are desirous of applying themselves to agricultural pursuits, obtain for that purpose the available grounds on crown land.

ARTICLE 2.

(1) These grounds are allotted on the settlements laid out by the Colonial Government and beyond such settlements.

(2) The Governor shall determine which of the localities shall be considered as settlements.

ARTICLE 3.

(1) The allotment of grounds on the settlements shall take place according to the division into plots as fixed by the superintendent of the crown lands department.

The district commissary shall be at liberty to, parcel out a portion of a tract of land in free use or lease, provided however, that such portion shall comprise and are of not less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ hectares.

(2) So far as the local conditions may allow, the grounds to be allotted and situated beyond the settlements shall generally have a front width of 100 metres.

ARTICLE 4.

(1) Grounds destined to be parcelled out to agriculturists as referred to in Article 1 shall, on being so parcelled out for the first time, be allotted in free use with the exemption from paying any ground or real tax. This exemption shall lapse six years after the commencement of the half year succeeding that in which the first allotment in free use took place.

(2) Holders in free use of such land shall not be at liberty to lease out or transfer their ground to any other person so far as transfer may be concerned, without the consent thereto of the superintendent of crown land in respect of tracts of land situated beyond the settlements, and as regards tracts on settlements, without the consent thereto of the district commissary concerned. In the event of this consent being granted, the right of free use and the claim to the aforesaid exemption shall, for the balance of the period therefor, be transferred to the succeeding free use holder of such land.

(3) Grounds which have been worked by previous free use holders or lessees thereof but on which grounds the condition of the cultivation is not proportionate to the period for which the said exemption has been already enjoyed, can, under such same exemption, be transferred or parcelled out again for a period to be fixed of so much shorter duration than six years as the condition of the cultivation may justify.

ARTICLE 5.

(1) If the condition of the cultivation of any already wholly or partly cultivated ground justifies it, the free use holder or lessee of the land parcelled out in free use or lease can be required to pay an extra compensation for the use of the cultivation on or in such ground.

(2) The amount of such compensation, the manner of and the period for payment shall, in respect of grounds situated beyond the settlements, be fixed by the superintendent of crownland, and as regards grounds on settlement, this shall be fixed by the commissary of the district in which such grounds are situated.

ARTICLE 6.

(1) After the expiration of the period of exemption as referred to in Article 4, a yearly rent shall be due.

(a) For grounds situated beyond the settlements, 50 cents Dutch per $\frac{1}{4}$ Hectare, or fraction thereof;

(b) For grounds situated on settlements, f. 6 up to f. 10 per Hectare; the amount for each settlement shall be fixed by the Governor after consultation with the Board of Agriculture.

(2) The rent shall be due on the first day of the half year succeeding that on which the lease commences on the understanding that, if the lease commences by right through the expiration of the period allowed for free use, the rents shall then be forthwith due after the expiration of such period. From the 1st day of January the rent shall be due for the whole of the year.

(3) The rent for a whole year in respect of grounds situated on settlements shall become due in five equal instalments, the first of which shall be due on the first day of April, the second instalment on the first day of June, and each succeeding instalment always two months later. As for grounds situated beyond the settlements, the rent shall become due in two equal instalments, the first of which shall be due on the first day of June, and the second instalment on the first day of December.

(4) The rent for a half year in respect of grounds on settlements shall become due in three equal instalments, the first of which shall be due on the first day of August, the second instalment on the first day of October, and the third instalment on the first day of December, and as regards grounds situated beyond the settlements, the rent shall be paid in one lump sum on the first day of December.

(5) On the lease being terminated, the rent shall not be further due than up to the last day of the half year in which the lease has so terminated.

ARTICLE 7.

(1) The free use holders or lessees of grounds situated beyond the settlements who prove to have regularly cultivated such grounds, or if in the case where the grounds comprise an area exceeding two hectares, if they have at least cultivated the

entire area thereof, and if they have also complied with their obligations arising from an agreement for free use or lease, can, after the expiration of two years, obtain in ownership, free of cost, their tract of land extended if possible, to an area of 10 hectares.

(2) The titles of ownership of these grounds shall be granted free of cost and transcribed also free of charge in the Public Register through the Superintendent of Crownlands.

ARTICLE 8.

(1) Applications for grounds as referred to in Article I in free use or lease shall be addressed.—

(a) so far as it concerns grounds situated beyond the settlements, to the superintendent of crownlands.

(b) so far as it concerns grounds situated on settlements, to the commissary of the district in which the grounds are situated.

(2) These applications are decided by them; an appeal from their decision to the Governor is allowed.

(3) On the termination of the period for free use, as referred to in Article 4, the tract of land shall pass over lawfully to the free use holder of such land unless the latter shall, previously to the expiration of the said period, renounce in a declaration to be made before the district commissary concerned his claim to take such tract of land in lease.

(4) The occupancy of the ground may take place immediately after the agreement is made with the free use holder or lessee of such land.

(5) The Governor shall, with due observance of the provisions of this Ordinance, fix the conditions under which such agreement is to be made.

ARTICLE 9.

(1) If the free use holder or lessee fails to pay in time one or more of the instalments due for the rent, or if he has been in default to comply with any conditions which he is bound to carry out in accordance with such agreement, a warning and afterwards a writ shall be given him by, or on behalf of, the district commissary whereby a period of at least 14 days shall each time be fixed for him in which to carry out his obligation. The writ provides

that in case of default of payment within the period fixed therefor the free use or the lease be withdrawn.

(2) If after the expiration of the period fixed in the writ, the free use holder or lessee continues to be so in default, the district commissary shall be entitled to withdraw such free use or lease in a Resolution setting forth the reasons for so doing a copy of which Resolution shall be given to the party interested within three days. The free use holder or lessee can within one month after the date of such Resolution appeal therefrom to the Governor.

(3) On such appeal being rejected or if the period has expired without any such appeal having been put forward, the Procureur General shall by an order in writing cause the free use holder or lessee to be notified that he shall have to quit the ground within a period of 30 days. If he fails to comply with this order, the free use holder or lessee can, even against his own will, be removed from such ground.

ARTICLE 10.

(1) Immigrants imported into the colony through the intervention of the Colonial Government and who have faithfully carried out their contract and are provided with a paper of good conduct and to whom tracts have been allotted in Crown land for agricultural purposes on a small scale shall, even if they have thereby lost covenanted right to a free return passage to their country of origin, obtain at their request, and to the charge of the Colonial Treasury, a free passage on the same footing and to the same extent as they were previously entitled to in pursuance of a general ordinance or pursuant to the agreement made with them by the Colonial Government.

(2) The immigrant referred to in the preceding paragraph shall, if their stay in the colony is appreciated by the Colonial Government and if they renounce their right to a free return passage assigned to them in the said paragraph, receive out of the Colonial Treasury, and under the conditions to be fixed therefor by the Governor, a premium of one hundred guilders.

(3) The premium can be increased to two hundred or be still raised afterward if any such immigrant is lawfully married and if his lawful wife also renounces her right to a free return passage.

ARTICLE 11.

The Colonial Government shall be entitled to give advances to those who may be practising agricultural pursuits on a small scale, provided however that they shall give proof of their industry, ability and good conduct.

ARTICLE 12.

(1) The provisions of this Ordinance on its being brought into effect shall be applicable to the free use or lease of tracts of land allotted for the purpose of agricultural pursuits on a small scale, on the understanding however that any free use holders of such tracts, so far as the period of free use or the amount of the rent is concerned, shall not come thereby in a more unfavourable condition than shall be in accordance with the proviso under which the allotment to them took place.

The assessments for rent fixed prior to this Ordinance having come into force shall remain unaltered.

ARTICLE 13.

No dues or costs shall be chargeable in favour of the Colonial Treasury for any documents to be drawn up in pursuance of the provisions of this Ordinance.

ARTICLE 14.

• This Ordinance shall come into force on a day to be fixed afterward by the Governor.

From that day shall be repealed the publications of—

23 June 1842 (Official Gazette No.9)

13 July 1846 („ „ 8).

19 December 1855 „ „ 19).

1 August 1863 „ „ 23).

19 April 1895 „ „ 24).

Done at Paramaribo, the 11th day of December 1914, with the proviso that this Ordinance shall come into force from the 1st day of January 1917.

Issued on the 20th day of March 1916.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE PRESENT POSITION.

(By H. S. L. Polak.)

The following appeared in the Madras Mail of the December 12th, 1916.

MR. POLAK, WHOM WE COMMISSIONED TO write us the article on the position of Indians in South Africa which appears on this page to-day, is too well-known a worker in their interests, which are the interests of all of us in India and the interests of Imperial unity, to need any introduction. We have no wish to create avoidable bitterness between India and the Dominions, but it is as well to show that postponement of a settlement on account of the war does not mean that we in India have allowed matters to drop out of mind. The situation however, is on the whole much improved.

* *Ex Africa semper aliquid novi* HAS BECOME so much a part of our current belief that I have found quite a pleasant disappointment, in circles in which I have moved since my recent return to India, that I have not come with particularly bad news, but that the situation in South Africa to-day, as regards the resident Indian population, is relatively easier than it has been for several years past. This is not to say, however, that there are no troubles affecting the Indian community, but that, for the moment, nothing is actually agitating it, though there are heavy and threatening clouds on the horizon.

RETROSPECT.

The South African Indian question cannot be considered apart from the passive resistance struggle of the last few years, and it would be as well, therefore, to remind ourselves of what that struggle was about, and what the settlement of 1914 effected. The head and forefront of the offence to the Indian community had been the registration law of 1907 that came still born from Parliament. Although the law was on the statute book until 1913, when, save as regards the protection of minors, it was repealed, it was hardly ever resorted to by the Government, after the fiasco of compulsory registration under it, in 1907, was made apparent. The Immigration Act of 1907 had introduced a racial bar in the law of the Transvaal. The Union Act of 1913 did not remove this, and racialism in the legislation did not disappear until 1914. The Courts, in interpreting the various immigration laws, had reached the conclusion that wives and children of lawfully resident Indians were prohibited immigrants, as Indian

marriages were not statutorily recognised. The Indian Relief Act of 1914 recognised these marriages for purposes of immigration. The £3 tax upon ex-indentured Indian labourers, which had come into force in 1901, and whose repeal the Union Government had refused, in spite of the understanding with the late Mr. Gokhale, in 1912, was repealed by the 1914 Act. The right of South African born Indians to enter the Cape Province, which had been taken away by the 1913 law, was restored in 1914. The Government were at length induced to promise protection to vested interests, which had been endangered for years by Government action. The old fear of an Asiatic invasion largely disappeared in Government circles, which eventually accepted the assurances of the Indian leaders, coupled with the great restrictive powers given to the administration under the Union Immigration Act, and the stoppage of the supplies of indentured labour from India, and the principle of consultation with the Indian leaders, in matters affecting the welfare of the Indian community, was definitely accepted by the Government. When Mr. Gandhi left South Africa, in 1914, the fight for the points upon which passive resistance had been based was won, and some degree of mutual confidence between the Government and the Indian community was restored. That confidence, in spite of the occasional tactless and unsympathetic administration of subordinate officials, has, on the whole increased since then.

PRESENT DIFFICULTIES.

But a number of matters were left over, at the time of the settlement, which it was not designed to cover, and which had not been made the subject of passive resistance, and some difficulties, whose real nature was not at the time appreciated, have since begun to reveal themselves. The old trade jealousy still exists. The war has not uprooted it, and although the new conditions and the help given by India and by Indians in South Africa during the present world crisis, is widely appreciated in South Africa, greed and selfishness have not been dethroned there. In many towns in the Cape Province, Indians are being refused trading licences. In the Transvaal, Municipalities which have been granted the control of licences in respect of the sale or storage of food-stuffs are using their power to refuse to issue any new licence to Indian traders and even to reject applica-

tions for renewals, on the flimsy pretext that the applicant is an undesirable person, but with the real object of destroying Indian trade, as the sale of other articles in a country general dealer's store depends very largely upon the sale of food-stuffs. Even a Multani silk hawker has been refused a licence on the ground that he may sell, say potatoes! An Indian trader, to whom a grocer's licence has been issued in respect of one store in a Municipality, on the ground that he is a desirable person to possess, one, has been refused one for a branch-store, in the same Municipality, on the ground that he is undesirable—the refusal having nothing whatever to do with the condition of the premises. Thus Transvaal Indians are threatened with ruin, and the threat is bound, in course of time, to extend to the other Provinces of the Union. It is quite possible that, unless the Government or the Provincial administration step in, resort will once more be had to passive resistance, but this time against the offending Municipalities, rather than against the Government.

In the Transvaal, Indians may not become the registered owners of landed property. The prohibition is legally evaded under the Transvaal Company Law, but the remedy is expensive and humiliating. Indians at the Cape are facing fresh trouble in regard to railway-travelling. In the North, social separation has existed for some time, in response to the strong race-feeling of the Boer population. So far, the coloured population at the Cape has been free from the indignity and discomfort, but attempts have recently been made to institute the northern practice of segregation. In Natal, which has contributed the bulk of the *personnel* of the two Indian Double Bearer Companies that have volunteered for service in East Africa, and have done fine work there, an attempt is feared to deprive Indians of the right to elect Indian municipal councillors, a right that, hitherto, they have refrained from exercising. It will thus be seen that the self denying ordinance adopted by the Indian community, not to press upon the Government the redress of grievances during the war has not been met in the same spirit by certain sections of the European population and certain Municipalities, who hope, in the absorption of public energy in the war effort, to give effect to their hidden policy of expulsion of Indians and trade monopoly for whites.

Among other existing grievances that will have to be dealt with statutorily or administratively, sooner or later, are the removal of the inter provincial barrier against internal immigration of Indians, and the non-recognition of Indian marriages, save for immigration purposes.

There is no doubt that the "angle of vision" in South Africa has been somewhat changed since the 1914 settlement. A new spirit exists, and the Government have stated their anxiety that the Indian community shall feel a sense of security. Whether that spirit will prevail after the war it is hard to prophesy, though signs are not wanting that hard times lie in wait for the South African Indians.

EARNINGS OF LABOUR IN INDIA.

THE following is extracted from the Despatch (No. 41 dated the 15th October, 1915) from the Government of India to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India published in the *Gazette of India* on the subject of the **present system under which Indian labourers are recruited for certain Crown colonies**. This portion relates to the economic aspect only:—

"We have seen, then, that the wages earned by indentured coolies in the colonies range between 4s. 3d. and 6s. 3d. per week, or say, 18s. and 26s. a month, the highest earnings being in Fiji. Deducting the cost of rations at 3s. 3d. a head, the net earnings in the latter colony come to 3s. a week, or say 12s. 9d. a month. But there are many places in India where as good or almost as good wages are paid for unskilled labour, excluding the Punjab where the labourer is stronger and more efficient. In Eastern Bengal, wages run as high as 1s. 4d. a day in the jute season which lasts for several months. The published wage statistics for the eastern districts of Bengal, which are however, not entirely reliable, give the rate for ordinary agricultural labour at from 13s. 4d. to 20s. a month. More accurate figures obtained by the personal enquiries of an officer on special duty, showed that the labourers in Mymensing earn from 8d. to 10d. a day: while others obtain from 5s. 4d. to 9s. 4d. a month with their food. On the above figures an average wage of from 4s. to 5s. a week may be fairly assumed. Calculating the cost of the same rations as are given or bought in Fiji, at Eastern Bengal prices, the Eastern Bengal coolie's weekly food expenditure is 1s.

4½d. and deducting this from the average weekly wage rate of 4s. 6d. the balance is roughly 3s. 2d. The Eastern Bengal labourer's position is thus nearly as good as that of an indentured coolie in Fiji. He has to pay house rent unless, as is usually the case, he sleeps in a jute godown or the cultivator's verandah, while the Fiji labourer is housed for nothing. The Eastern Bengal labourer is often an emigrant from Bihar, who leaves most of his family behind him where no doubt they earn a trifle, while the very few children that the Fiji coolie takes with him contribute to the family earnings, and his infant children receive rations. But the above figures are enough to show that in point of actual excess of wages over the bare cost of living there are places in India, outside the large towns, where a coolie can do as well as in most, if not all, of the colonies without the great disadvantage of having to leave his country and indenture himself to an employer, who may be considerate or the reverse, but whom he is bound to serve for five years, or go to jail if he refuses. It is true that in the areas in the east of the United Provinces and in Madras, whence the indentured coolie is mostly drawn, the wages are miserably low, and congestion is intense. But there is no reason except the lack of a recruiting agency to take him there, why the United Provinces coolie should not follow the example of his Bihar neighbour and go to work in Eastern Bengal, where the field for labour is very large. In the towns and the urban mills the wages for labour, with a small degree of skill that does not take long to gain, are nearly as high as in Eastern Bengal, though house rent and cost of food are higher. A coolie ought thus to be able on purely arithmetical considerations, to save from 2s. a week upwards. It is certain that the Indian demand for labour is far more than enough to absorb the 6,129 coolies that left Calcutta for the colonies on indenture in 1913, even if thereto be added the 1,607 coolies that left Madras for the same destination in the same year. There is, however, a real advantage to the coolie, and it is a very real one, in colonial emigration. It gives the coolie the chance, after his indenture is over, of obtaining land, from which he can derive higher profits and live a life the conditions of which are in many ways more pleasant, than anything which is open to him in India though it is to some extent attainable in this country. In Assam, for instance, where labour under indenture has now been abolished, the tea garden labourer is usually allowed a plot of land to cultivate in his spare time: and when he leaves the garden an abundance of fertile waste land is available from which he can take up a plot at very little

expense, and with the title of a ryot holding direct from Government."

The Review of the Trade of India in 1915-16 contains the following Statement of facts and figures which bears out fully the remark that wages are inadequate on plantations.

In 1915-16, as compared with the previous year, there were no fluctuations of importance in the earnings of labour, except in the brewing industry in the Punjab and the tea industry in Assam. Notwithstanding the heavy war orders in the jute and wool industries, there was no great rise in the wages paid, owing to the fact that the mills, especially the jute mills, were on the whole well supplied with labour during the year under review. The wages paid in the paper, mining, and rice industries were similar to those paid in the previous year. In the cotton industry in January, 1916, as compared with the corresponding period of last year, there was also no marked change in the wages, but compared with the pre-war period the rates showed an increase of 3 per cent. the rise being chiefly in the sizing and weaving departments. The following tables show the wages paid for the last three years. It should be noted that returns refer generally to a representative mill in the chief locality of the industry, since returns are not yet received of wages paid in the various mills of each industry.

Average monthly wages paid in selected Industries in India.

Industries.	1914.			1915.			1916.		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Cotton ...	17	3	8	17	12	0	18	0	8
Wool ...	17	14	9	20	5	5	19	8	8
Jute ...	15	9	8	15	11	0	15	6	0
Paper ...	19	12	0	19	6	0	19	5	0
Rice ...	51	2	0	51	3	2	51	2	0
Mining (coal) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Brewery ...	15	14	11	16	3	9	17	2	1
Tea (Act coolies)* ...	5	8	7	5	14	8	6	1	2
Tea (Non-Act coolies)* ...	4	8	9	4	8	0	4	9	3
General average for Tea ...	4	15	1	5	1	1	5	2	10

It will thus be seen that in the rice, paper, wool and cotton and brewery industries, the average wage is fairly

*NOTE.—These statistics are compiled from the Resolution on Immigrant Labour in Assam. They are the average monthly cash wages calculated on the wages earned by the total number of coolies on the books during the months of September and March, including *thoca*, diet, rations, subsistence allowance, and bonus per head.

high; but even then, there has not been any appreciable increase owing to the rise of prices caused by the war.

The worst feature is found in the Assam Tea Estates where the average wage is miserably low. It must be one of the conditions that unless the average rate of wages falls at least not less than Rs. 12, no labour should be recruited to Assam. We found that the monthly wages of coolies in the paper industry is Rs. 12.

It will be interesting if similar statistics are taken for Ceylon, Malay States and other Colonies.

THE INTERCOLONIAL CONFERENCE.

WE publish below from the *West India Committee Circular* the report of the delegates appointed by the Governments of British Guiana, Trinidad, and Jamaica, who met in Port of Spain in June last to consider the question of immigration in view of the decision of the Indian Government to abolish the indenture system:—

We have the honour to report as follows:—

1. His Excellency the Governor opened the Conference with a short address dealing with certain features of the question and then withdrew, after which we proceeded to give consideration to the correspondence which has passed between the India Office and the Colonial Office on the subject of the acceptance by the Secretary of State for India of the conclusion that indentured Indian Emigration must be abolished.

2. We held meetings at Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, on the 24th, 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th June, 1916.

3. We desire first, on behalf of the Colonies which we represent, to express our great regret that the emigration of indentured Indians should have evoked the feeling amongst Indian politicians of implied stigma against the race which is referred to in the 14th paragraph of the despatch from the Government of India of the 15th October, 1915. About 44 per cent. of the population of British Guiana, one-third of that of Trinidad, and a much smaller though most useful proportion of that of Jamaica is East Indian. In this East Indian section of the population there are lawyers, doctors, merchants, land-owners and others held in esteem, while generally the Indian population is so well considered that the different Colonial Governments are desirous of increasing the numbers

of so industrious, thrifty and law-abiding a people, and to that end are anxious to remove by all practical means any condition which may be repugnant to Indian opinion and to afford to the immigrants, present and prospective, the freest scope for development, believing that in the contentment and prosperity of so large a number of industrious inhabitants security can be found for the welfare of the Colonies.

4. We have fully discussed the question of the necessity for adding to the present labour supply by immigration and are unanimous in the opinion that the continuance of immigration from India is of vital importance to the Colonies represented by us, not merely from the point of view of their development but for the maintenance of their existing industries, and is "for the benefit not only of the immediate interests affected, but of the Empire as a whole," as expressed in the India Office despatch of 10th February, 1916.

5. We would point out that the Colonies are at present very partially developed and that it is to the interest of British trade that the present output of sugar, cocoa, coffee and other tropical products should be maintained and as greatly added to as the supply of labour will permit, in order to increase business with the Mother Country, Canada, and other parts of the Empire.

6. We have considered various methods of maintaining and adding to the supply of Kangani system. labour necessary for this purpose, and plans for its introduction into the Colonies. With reference to the Kangani system referred to in paragraph 17 of the despatch of the Government of India of the 15th October, 1915, we have been unable with the information at our disposal to devise any such modifications of that system as would render it applicable to the West Indies. The following appear to be the chief difficulties:—

- It would be necessary to draw Kanganis from the present Sirdars on estates, and it would be impossible for the work to be satisfactorily carried on in the absence of these Sirdars.
- Even if the Sirdars could be spared and were sent to India, it would be unlikely (having in view the localities whence they originally emigrated, i.e., the North-Western and Central Provinces) that they would be well received in their villages on their return, and they would therefore be unable to obtain people from those villages. In order not to return empty-handed, they might be tempted to employ methods which would revive some of the evils attendant on the existing system of recruitment

(c) At present more than 500 recruiters, residents of India, cannot secure a sufficient number of emigrants, and this being so, no reasonable number of Kanganis, new to the work, would be likely to attain success under the altered conditions.

(d) The expense of sending Kanganis from the West Indies to India would be too great, and generally the distance of the West Indies from India militates strongly against the success of such a system.

7. As regards the collection and despatch of labourers, a system of principal Agents and Depots should be retained, and only persons of good standing in the communities where Immigrants may be obtained should be employed as Sub-Agents. No one should be employed unless and until approved of by the Indian Government, and remuneration should be by monthly salary, so as to do away with the objectionable *per caput* system of payment.

8. The question of whether the financial obligations involved by any scheme of immigration can be accepted, must, of course, be a matter for decision in each Colony, but presuming a willingness to undertake the necessary financial responsibilities, the following schemes recommend themselves to us.

9. We would in the first place recommend a scheme similar to that proposed by the Hon. P. C. Lyon, in a memorandum which forms an enclosure to the despatch from the secretary to the Government of Bengal (Financial Department), to the Secretary to the Government of India (Department of Commerce and Industry), dated Darjeeling, the 2nd November, 1915. That scheme in its essentials would be as follows:—

The labourers would contract, for a period not exceeding two years, to serve the Government of the Colony as agricultural labourers. Distribution of the immigrants would be in the hands of the Government. The right would be secured to the immigrant to select, within limitations, the plantation upon which he would labour, and to modify that choice from time to time.

10. The only alternative, consistent with the views of the Indian Government, would appear to be that monthly contracts should, during the first two years, be entered into by the immigrants on their arrival in the Colony with owners of approved estates where hospital and house accommodation are available and sanitary arrangements are satisfactory.

11. Whatever system is adopted in lieu of indenture, it seems clear that special care should be exercised in selecting for the new Immigrants estates on which conditions are favourable for unacclimatized labourers. The immigrant should go direct to some place where he can be certain of work and of medical care, and where he would be given an opportunity of learning the conditions of life in the Colony and generally afforded opportunity of fitting himself to become a useful colonist.

12. We are in entire accord with the opinion of the Indian Government that the present system of inspection, shipping, and sanitary regulations should be maintained.

13. We are of opinion that efforts should be made to inaugurate a monthly service of steamers between India and the West Indies for the free transport of emigrants to the Colonies and for their return to India on the conditions hereinafter mentioned. This would not only ensure proper means of transport, but would tend to foster trade between India and the Colonies. These steamers might leave India with immigrants and travel via the Cape of Good Hope to the West Indies, whence they could return, when not required for the direct voyage to India, with a cargo for England, and from England via the Suez Canal with a cargo for India, thus avoiding the necessity for returning in ballast and thereby reducing cost.

14. For the purpose of equalizing the hours of work in each Colony as suggested at p. 206 Part II. of the report of Messrs McNeil and Chimman Lal, we recommend that the task work should be such as would enable an adult male to earn a shilling a day and an adult female ninepence per day with only ordinary exertion, and that the task to be fixed be the amount of work which a labourer of average physique can perform in seven hours without extraordinary exertion. Day workers should be paid not less than 1s in the case of adult males and not less than than nine pence in the case of minors and females, the day to be a day of 9 hours, with intervals for rest and food aggregating not less than one hour. Work is usually performed by task and able-bodied and acclimatized labourers can, if they so desire, accomplish a task and a half or two tasks of this description in a day.

15. We are of opinion that the recommendations of Messrs. McNeil and Chimman Lal with respect to detached quarters for married people should be gradually brought into operation.

16. We recommend for the adoption the suggestion of Messrs. McNeil and Chimman Lal that the minimum ratio of females to males be raised to 50 per centum irrespective of age, and are of opinion that whenever it is possible to find a sufficient number of females willing to emigrate this ratio should be increased, but we consider that the attention of the Indian Government should be called to the actual present ratio of sexes among the Indian population of the three Colonies represented:—

British Guiana between 80 and 83 females to 100 males.
Trinidad between 75 and 77 females to 100 males.
Jamaica 74 females to 100 males (in 1911).

We are further of opinion that unmarried females are not desirable if under 15 years of age, unless they emigrate under the charge of their parents, relations or guardians.

17. As regards marriages, requirements would, we think, be met by the appointment of a number of Hindu Priests and Moham-medan Kasis and Imams or Meahs as Marriage Officers of a special kind. These Marriage Officers should be required under a penalty to supply the necessary information as to the marriages performed by them to the persons appointed as Marriage Registrars. This would, of course, be in addition to any existing provisions for marriages by ordinary Marriage Officers.

18. We are of the view that the ways and means of financing immigration are a matter which each of the Colonies concerned must be left to settle for itself, but that it should be arranged that the cost of immigration *per caput* including passage charges should, as far as practicable, be the same in each of the Colonies; and that it is most desirable that there should be no competition between the Colonies as to the terms to be offered to Indian Immigrants, and that the same agents should be employed by all the Colonies concerned, with a *pro rata* division of their salaries and pensions.

19. We are of opinion that, regard being had to the altered conditions proposed for the conduct of emigration, a Colony should not be called upon to pay any part of the cost of the return passage of the immigrant. If, however, an assisted return passage is considered to be necessary in order to obtain a sufficient number of immigrants, the assistance given should not exceed the following scale:—

An immigrant wishing to return within five years of his arrival in the Colony should repay a proportionate share of the cost of his introduction and pay the whole cost of his return

passage; at the end of the sixth year he might be assisted to the extent of 1-10th of his return passage; at the end of the seventh year, 2-10ths; at the end of the eighth year, 3-10ths; at the end of the ninth year, 4-10ths; and at the end of the tenth or any subsequent year to the extent of one half.

20. We consider that the teaching of Indian subjects should be a recognised part of the curriculum of the schools attended by East Indian children, with a view of their being able to keep touch with India, and we advise that provision to that effect be made in each Colony's Code of Education.

21. The question of alternative sources of supply was considered but we came to the conclusion that it was desirable, if possible, to increase the Indian population rather than introduce new elements and we had not sufficient information in our possession to make a definite recommendation as regards labourers of other nationalities. We consider, however, that enquiries should be made by the Colonies concerned with regard to the possibilities of immigration from other sources.

22. We availed ourselves of an opportunity afforded us of hearing the views of a deputation from the East Indian National Congress of Trinidad. The deputation was unanimous in its support of a continuance of immigration under an improved system, and there appeared to be a consensus of opinion that the immigrant should not on his arrival be left to his own devices.

23. In Appendix A* will be found Memoranda giving particulars as to climate, land settlement, and other subjects likely to be of use to intending immigrants.

24. Appendix B* contains observations which throw some further light on certain matters alluded to in the despatch from the Government of India of the 15th October, 1915.

25. We beg leave to express, on behalf of the Colonies represented by us, our deep appreciation of the anxiety evinced by the Secretaries of State for the Colonies and India to safeguard the interests of the West Indian Colonies concerned in the matter of immigration.

26. We desire to place on record our appreciation of the services rendered during the sittings of the Conference by the Secretary, Mr. T. B. Jackson, who was kindly placed at our disposal by the Government of Trinidad.

P. C. CORK (Chairman),
E. ST. JOHN BRANCH,
Delegates of Jamaica.
J. HAMPDEN KING,
H. E. MURRAY,
Delegates of British Guiana.
A. DE BOISSIERE,
WILLIAM G. KAY,
Delegates of Trinidad and Tobago.

TRINIDAD, B.W.I.
30th June, 1916.

SCHEME FOR PERMANENT USE.
(Opinion from Fiji)

THERE is not much to hope or learn from the report of the above Conference. Fiji, which was not represented in this Conference, has made better practical suggestions for the improvement of the system. The following is the opinion of Mr. T. Hughes of the C. S. R. Co., Fiji, which is well within practical politics and if adopted will do much to disarm public criticism in India:—

Before explaining the Company's proposal as to the condition of the agreement, we wish to make another suggestion, so that the Government of India may themselves be assured and may be able to give the native critics ground for the assurances that each emigrant from India to Fiji is a voluntary recruit and fully understand the conditions promised in Colonies. Also to provide assurances both to the Indian authorities and the native leaders that the welfare of the Indians in Fiji is amply safe guarded, we suggest that Fiji proposes the appointment by the Madras Government of 2 officials at Colonies' expense. The officials would probably be of the native magistrate grade, it is improbable and perhaps least desirable that a European be appointed. We suggest that one of these be resident at Madras attached to the staff of the Emigration Agent with duties similar in some measures to those of Major Kennedy who is associated with Assam Labour Board. The other should be stationed in Fiji and act there in a capacity similar to that of a "Consul" in connection with the residents with whom he should keep direct touch by periodical visits to the country districts.

* Not reprinted.

Alternatively the official for Fiji might be added to the staff of the Agent-General of Immigration, although in our opinion a position similar to that of a Consul who could make representations direct to the Local officials would better satisfy with Indian sentiment.

It may be considered that such officials would add to the existing troubles both of the agent in India and of the Government and employers in Fiji. But we feel sure that in practice the adoption of the above suggestion will be found the best way of avoiding gross misrepresentation and biased statements which have hitherto done so much harm to Colonial Emigration. In India real cases of fraud or misrepresentation would be eliminated thus leaving Colonial Immigration upon a more stable footing, and in Fiji such an appointment could not prove otherwise than advantageous both to Government and the employer, because the incumbent would deal with any complaints made to him upon the basis obtaining in India with similar classes of people.

As to the conditions to be offered, it is unnecessary to take into account other than the officially expressed views and we think that the following proposals would commend themselves to the authorities concerned. We suggest that all immigrant individuals and families be required to serve the Government of Fiji or its nominee for a term of 30 months (i.e. half the present period).

The Immigrant to be free of the liability from imprisonment for purely labour offences and to have right of commutation upon 3 or 6 months notice provided the employer receives a proportionate refund of the cost of indenture.

A new act will probably be necessary and this to empower the Fiji Government to transfer any immigrant from any employer to any other employer during the term of industrial residence and in the case where the 'Consular Official' considers it advisable in the interest of the immigrant to do so. It should also provide for the liabilities of the employers generally when required by Agent-General of Immigration to accept such transfer in proportion to the number employed.

The above proposal should meet the main objection in the duration of the present contract, to its penalties and to individual control of the individual labourers.

The matter of the sex ratio and the allied question of the immorality due to the paucity of the women and to the grade of the women who now emigrate we propose to meet it as follows.

In order to make Colonial Emigration more attractive to women and generally to induce the immigration of better classes of married people we suggest,

That although work should be provided at current rates for all female immigrants through the period of their industrial residence, they should work only at their option.

That the proportion of the female immigrants to male immigrants should be gradually increased and that means that no women be accepted as an emigrant to the Colony unless accompanied with husband or parents, enquiry having shown that the present mortality and suicide rates while under engagement in Fiji are largely due to the despondency and ill health.

We suggest that all immigrants men or women should receive full wages, half in cash and half in food during the first three months, after arrival irrespective of work performed.

We also consider that all children should be rationed without charge during their parents period of industrial residence.

The need for continuing the present provision for free return passage should also now be reviewed and it may be worth considering whether the many additional advantages now proposed to be offered to emigrants do not warrant withdrawal of this concession.

REIGN OF TERROR IN EAST AFRICA.

Mr. H. S. L. Polak writing in the December number of the *Modern Review* a criticism on the "Round Table" Imperialism, the ideas of which are contained in the recent publications of Mr. L. Curtis, "Problems of the Commonwealth" and the "Commonwealth of Nations," incidentally refers to the position of Indians in East Africa. Ascribing the present intolerable condition prevailing there to the South African influence, he points out the good work turned out by Indians in that colony and shows how, of late, race antagonism has begun to spread and Indian gentlemen have been arrested and imprisoned for life. We trust that the Government of India would make enquiries in to the truth of the matter and allay the discontent:—

East Africa, to-day, is within the boundaries of the British Empire because of Indian pioneer work, still proceeding, and with a history of at least three centuries behind it. For this statement, there is the uncontradicted testimony of British official witnesses before the Sanderson Interdepartmental Committee of Inquiry into the question of Indian Emigration to the Crown Colonies. One would have thought, then, that Indians would have

an irresistible claim upon the gratitude and good-will of the British Administration of that Protectorate—virtually a Colony. Without the Indian, the country would become immediately insolvent and rapidly relapse into an unproductive wilderness and a state of semibarbarism. Yet, astonishing as it may seem, the governing authorities have not deemed it necessary or desirable, for several years, to nominate an Indian member of the Legislative Council, though the little neighbouring island of Zanzibar has its Indian representative on the Executive Committee. Time was when the Indian community received far more consideration from the powers that be, but that was before a sinister and utterly selfish influence began to make itself felt. Since the Boer War, a number of South Africans have settled in the territory and particularly in uplands, which they have attempted, with no small measure of success, to convert into a white man's preserve, confining the Indian, so far as may be, without inconvenience to his white fellow colonist, to the unhealthy and far less pleasant lowlands at the coast. And even at Mombasa, one portion of the town is set aside exclusively for European residence, on the pretext of sanitary defect in the Indian community, though the house of Mr. A. M. Jeevanjee, at Nairobi, some years ago, was the only place found suitable for the accommodation of Col. Winston Churchill, on his memorable tour through the Protectorate. And now there is a growing outcry for the restriction of further Indian immigration into a country that owes its present existence to Indian enterprise. Race-differentiation has, slowly but surely, characterised the methods and attitude of the Administration, unchecked by the effective criticism of healthy public opinion, until, so lacking in sympathy and out of touch with the Indian community has it become, that, on the outbreak of the present War and the proclamation of martial law, Mr. Ritch, who had settled there and become the trusted adviser of the Indian community, and, incidentally, had built up a large legal practice (naturally at the expense of vested interests, in close association with local officials, whose "prestige" had been upset by his independent attitude towards them and advice to the Indian community), was one day suddenly and secretly deported, without trial, and even without reasons being advanced for the extraordinary violation of personal liberty to which he was subjected. To this moment, no-one, outside of official circles (all of whom deny any knowledge or responsibility) knows why he was removed from the sphere of his legitimate activities, in this summary fashion, though the reason is fairly obvious, even to the most obtuse. Mr. Ritch had committed the dire offence,

unpardonable in the eyes of the local bureaucracy, of stimulating political thought in the Indian community and helping to give form and substance to its fear and anxiety, by founding, with a few enthusiastic friends, an association for the community's protection against the ever-growing encroachments upon its rights and privileges, under the pressure of South African influence, always hostile to the exploitation of the country's resources by other than white enterprise. And this association, which was commencing to criticise the methods and attitude of the Administration, threatened to become a power—a very undesirable one—in the land. Hence the necessity of killing it in its infancy. Hence Mr. Ritch's summary deportation from the scene of his mischievous activities. Upon his removal, a reign of terror was inaugurated, and in the name of martial law, without trial or charge laid, several Indian gentlemen (one of them a high government official who had loyally served the state for over twenty years), rightly or wrongly supposed to be connected with that dangerous institution, were arrested, ordered to be shot, and only after the intervention of a high judicial officer, sentenced to imprisonment for life. What their offence is has never been revealed to them; but it is significant that, though they are still serving their sentences, a countryman, convicted subsequently of blackmail upon other leading Indians, has not been allowed to return to East Africa upon the expiry of his term of imprisonment. Almost as significant was the recent refusal, under martial law (though its withdrawal was daily expected), to permit the present writer to land at Mombasa, whilst his steamer was in harbour, though his fellow-passengers, including aliens, were freely permitted to visit the shore. In spite of repeated application, no reason for this strange procedure was vouchsafed, though he carried a passport personally issued to him by the Acting Under Secretary of the Interior at Pretoria. "It must be evident to you," he was informed, "that it is not always in the interest of the public service to give reasons for any action carried out at such times as this." The old, old shibboleth! Presumably it was feared lest he might upset the delicate equilibrium of the local Indian Community! No wonder that British East African Indians breathed forth a prayer of joyous thanksgiving when Mr. Bonar Law recently stated that the administration of the conquered territory in East Africa would be placed under the control of a Colonial Office representative, who would be responsible and report to the Imperial, and not the Union, Government. No wonder the Zanzibar Indians are fearing the day when, for ad-

ministrative purposes, the island will be annexed to British East Africa, and thus be brought under the dreaded South African influence from which, at present, it is almost immune.

THE LABOUR QUESTION.

(As it may affect the Planter.)

THE following facts were given to the *Western Pacific Herald*, Fiji, by a planter who was present at Mr. T. Hughes' address to the planters at the Planters Association room, Fiji.

Under the system now in force Indians are introduced from India under a five-yearly agreement at an average cost of about £ 18 per head. A small percentage of women are also brought to the Colony on the same contract, and under existing laws are compelled to work, with certain exemptions, at lighter tasks than the men, and prove good workers as a rule. The cost of introduction of men and women therefore works out at about £ 3 12s per annum.

Under the proposed alteration of the law, as outlined by Mr. Hughes, there will be a very material addition to the cost. The term of indenture will be two and a-half years, so that the cost of introduction for men will be about £ 7 4s per annum. Women are to be introduced in a greater proportion than before, it is suggested 60 men to 40 females; and what is of even more consequence, although the planter has to pay her introduction expenses, he cannot compel her to work and therefore cannot reckon on her as a working factor.

The position resolves itself into this. Under the present system a planter requiring 100 labourers introduces that number of Indians (men and a certain proportion of women) who must work for five years at a cost of £ 18 each, the introduction fees being equivalent to an annual cost of £ 360.

Under the new scheme, he will not be able to compel the women to work. They may do so, but he cannot rely on them. So he will probably, to keep up his supply, introduce 90 men and the proportion of women he must bring with them will be, 60 equal to 150 statute adults. These will cost £ 2,700. As the agreement will be only for two and a half years, this will entail an annual charge of £ 1,080, an increase in the annual cost of £ 720. No account has been taken here of the cost of introducing the families of the immigrants, which means additional burdens on the employer.

In addition to the direct increase in the cost of introduction, there will be more buildings required to house the women who do not work, and numerous other expenses, for rations, etc.

It is suggested that on a sugar plantation, of average area, the increased labour cost exclusive of any probable rise in the rate of wages, (which is not considered likely) will average between 2s 3d and 2s 6d per ton of cane.

Can the average planter stand this and live? We are not now referring to the few planters who perhaps have secured land on exceptionally advantageous terms or perhaps hold the free hold, or have an exceptionally productive area; but the man with say 700 to 800 acres of medium quality land, for which he employs perhaps 100 labourers to cultivate. The cost of producing the cane now perhaps varies from 7s 6d to 9s 6d per ton, according to the quality of the soil and the seasons, and his average price is from 10s to 12s 6d per ton. Such a man will find that the increase will absorb all his small surplus and he will be kept with his nose to the grindstone from year to year, working for the C.S.R. Co., until he gives up in despair.

The Company must, if they want to keep the European planter alive, make a substantial advance in the price paid for the cane. But perhaps by the time the new labour system comes into force, the Indian settlements under the Loans Ordinance will be in operation and there will be sufficient Indian cane planters, so that the C.S.R. Co., will be independent of the European planter, who has been one of the means of this wealthy company making such huge profits out of Fiji in the past.

INDIAN AFTER THE WAR.

ONE of the mysteries of the war is the attitude of India. Military law and a strict Press censorship have combined to deprive the outside world of information, eagerly sought, as to the part played by the great eastern dependency in this struggle and the reflex action of this momentous world-conflict upon the minds of the Indian people. That India has generously aided the Allied cause by large contributions of men and money is disclosed from time to time in official despatches. Millions of dollars have been provided for various purposes in connection with the European campaign. The Hindus have raised and equipped the Bengal Ambulance Corps, composed entirely of Hindu doctors, stretcher-bearers, and hospital orderlies. India has also supplied hospital ships for the British wounded. Through the Indian National Congress

the country has proffered aid in various ways. Indians in the early stages of the war fought in Flanders and France side by side with Canadians and Britishers. They have fought in the Far East at Tsing Tau, in Mesopotamia, East Africa, the Cameroons, Gallipoli and Egypt. The Indian Cavalry Corps, the finest horsemen in the world, have shown great dash and bravery. Many native soldiers from India have been decorated for bravery in the field. Side by side with these splendid tokens of India's loyalty to the British Empire are significant signs of political unrest and a more vigorous assertion of the right of India to generous treatment after the war, when proposals for the reconstruction of the fabric of Empire will be put forward.

The war has changed India in common with European nations. It has exercised a remarkable influence on the political thought and outlook of the natives. They have given of their men and their treasure freely to aid Britain. There, as in Canada, the people know that the fight in Europe is a decisive struggle between conflicting ideals, on which hangs the fate of liberty and civilization in the western world. India has been caught up in the rushing tide of international affairs for her it is the tide of destiny. The ramifications of this world-conflict have extended into the remotest corners of the conservative Orient. East and West have met as comrades in arms in the battle for individual and national freedom. For the West victory over Germany will bring an increasing measure of liberty and security. What of East? The Bishop of Madras, in the *Nineteenth Century*, writes.

"People in England are apt to imagine that the great outburst of loyalty in India at the beginning of the war has put an end to political unrest, and that when the war is over we shall find ourselves in smooth waters; but that is an utter mistake. If educated Indians desired a larger share in the government of their own country before the war began, that desire will be far stronger when the war is over....All Englishmen would acknowledge that these are honorable ambitions, and that the vision of the India that is to be is a noble and inspiring ideal, and that there is nothing in this ambition or this ideal in any way inconsistent with perfect loyalty to the British Empire, or with the full and frank recognition of the fact that for many years to come the strength and efficiency of the British Government are absolutely necessary if the ideal is to be attained."

These are timely words, and, coming from an English ecclesiastic, courageous words. It is time for Englishmen to recognize the right of subordinate nations to

evolve along their own individual lines. The policy of Anglicization has failed wherever tried. It will not succeed in India. That great country, with its teeming millions of people, has earned the right to be heard in its own cause when the Imperial Council meets to discuss the future of the British Empire. (*The Globe, Toronto.*)

WHAT IS NATIONALITY?

A REVIEW.

Nationality in Modern History: By J. Holland Rose, Litt. D. *Published by Rivingtons. 31, King Street, Covent Garden, London. Price 4s 6d, net.*

This is a series of ten lectures, published in book form, delivered by the author at Cambridge in 1915. The study of nationality as a factor in modern history begun by the professor prior to the war has undergone no modification by the present conflict; but there are a few questions issuing out of the conflict which are not entirely excluded from the scope of the author's survey. His aim throughout has been historical, namely, to study the varied manifestations of Nationality among the chief European peoples. In lecture VIII, the author has attempted an analysis of the principle. Letting alone the reservation, which the author has made through "lack of space," of the study of some lesser national movements in Europe and the growth of nationality in the United States and the British Commonwealths, and in Japan, the volume under review contains enough well-arranged material and suggestive reflections that should provide instructive reading to statesmen as well as students of history.

Nationality became a conscious and definite movement in Europe only in recent times. It may be said to have been perceived first in the writings of Machiavelli. The solidity of the European states before the war was due to the operation of this universal principle at work. What is Nationality, using the term in its abstract sense? Is it determined by race? Considering the question in the light of the science of ethnology, Mr. Holland Rose arrives at the just conclusion that only in a very crude form (like that which now prevails in Germany and the Balkans) does Nationality depend on race. The Belgian litterateur, Laveleye, well expressed the thought: "The proportion as the culture of a people advances, identity of race and of blood exercises less power on it, and historic memories exercises more power. Above ethnical nationalities there are political nationalities, formed by choice (one may say), rooted in love of liberty, in the cult of a glorious past, in accord of interests, in similarity of

moral ideas, and of all that forms the intellectual life." Clearly then, in moral circumstances Nationality does not depend on race. Does it then, depend on language? The author adduces, the crowning proof that language does not determine Nationality by citing the case of Switzerland. The Swiss comprise portions of three peoples, which speak French, German, and Italian; yet they remain at peace, though over the borders their kith and kin are at war. How is this possible? Merely because language does not determine nationality. Does it then depend on a State? To summarise the relevant arguments put forth by Mr. Rose regarding this theory, a nation that depends on a state is mistaking an organism for the life and soul of that organism. In modern times, National feeling has fashioned states, and is always at work refashioning them in accordance with new needs. Nations make states; not states, nations. The one exception is Prussia; so long as she limited herself to the unification of the German people, she achieved remarkable success; but so soon as the Prussian State sought to Germanize other peoples, it utterly failed. Herein, surely lies one of the chief causes of the deep hostility between the Germans and other peoples. The Germans have glorified the state and have sought to force their *Kultur* on neighbouring highly civilised peoples, who resent that process. Even if, by some miracle, they succeeded in this war, their effort would be doomed to failure, as surely as that of Napoleon the Great. For it violates a fundamental conviction of the modern man. Lastly, Mr. Holland Rose examines whether Nationality may be an enunciation of the World-spirit theory of Hegel? Here too, the author's conclusion is in the negative. Indeed, he says, it cannot explain the complex phenomena of the rise and fall of nations. That certain peoples have now and again displayed marvellously increased vigour is true; but that phenomenon is generally due to one or more of the following causes: There may be a fusing together of various tribes by some able leader or under the impulse of religious persons (as happened to the Arabs after the time of Mohammed); or, again, a nation threatened with conquest may have put forth its abundant rallying powers to check the invader; or, again a people may have become stimulated by becoming the exponent of some great idea; or, again, geographical discoveries and mechanical inventions bring some peoples to the front and depress the fortunes of others. "Looking at the causes that make for the rise and fall of nations, we discern a great variety; they range from warlike ambition or the spur of hunger, to impulses of an ideal nature, such as religious zeal, or newly aroused national pride, or

Wars of liberation. Sometimes a new energy raises the people to a higher level of thought, art, or invention. Again, it drives them to the conquest of new markets. How is it possible to refer any one cause impulse of so bewildering a variety; Label your *causa causans* 'world-Spirit' if you like; but remember that it is a very Proteus, now flashing forth as a warrior, then shrinking into a huckster; now an artist or poet, then a politician; now a philosopher, then an explorer; now an admiral, then a mechanic or engineer. You must run through the whole range of life in order to fill up all the characters that your spirit may assume."

What constitutes Nationality? In the words of Mr. Holland Rose, "It is an instinct, and cannot be exactly defined, it is the recognition as kinsmen of those who were deemed strangers; it is the apotheosis of family feeling, and begets a resolve never again to separate; it leads to the founding of a polity on a natural basis, independent of a monarch or a state, though not in any sense hostile to them; it is more than a political contract; it is a union of hearts, once made, never unmade. These are the characteristics of Nationality in its highest form—a spiritual conception, unconquerable, indestructible. So soon as clans, tribes, or provinces catch the glow of this wider enthusiasm, they form a nation."

Mr. Holland Rose characterises this war as the *reductio ad absurdum* of the national movement in its recent narrow and intolerant form. Let us examine this statement. The persistent attempt of one nation (Germany) to overbear its weaker neighbours in order to achieve world-supremacy has sufficed to unite against it nearly all the world; and the frightful exhaustion which failure must entail will be a warning to would-be world conquerors for centuries to come. Further, the more brutal and perfidious the violation of International Law, the stronger is the demand for the re-establishment of that law, with adequate guarantees for the future. In the domains of politics, finance, and law violent action always begets a strong reaction; and we may be sure that when the base (Prussian) nationalism of recent years has brought its protagonists to ruin, there will be a potent revulsion in favour of international ideals. If all the European Powers consent to substitute the will to reconcile for the will to conquer, the task is half accomplished.

Mr. Holland Rose is a strong advocate of Nationality and would see the conclusion of the war reconstitute the map of Europe on this principle. The book under review furnishes ample historical data on the theme.

C. S. K.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

ANNUALS.

The Canadian Annual Review, 1915. Edited by J. Castell Hopkins, F. S. S., F. R. G. S. Published by the Canadian Annual Review Publishing Co. Ltd, Toronto.

Our interest to get into closer touch with the self governing Colonies of the British Empire led us to apply for a copy of the above publication and we were favoured with it, not without the condition that a complete series of our journal should be supplied to them. We did not quite understand then why such a stipulation was made, but when we received a copy of the Annual, the reason was obvious. It was to keep them in touch with the political movements of this great country.

This massive volume of 880 pages is indeed more than a reasonable return for the support given by the Government of Canada and the general public, in the immense labour put into the volume from year to year and in what the editor mostly rightly calls, "the vast mass of historical and general information collected and co-ordinated in its pages." As its name implies, it is a complete annual review of the political affairs of this young auxiliary nation. Naturally enough, the subject of war takes up nearly half the volume while the other half is devoted to the treatment of Canadian topics, Province by Province. The whole book is an excellent reading of the political life of Canada.

So far as India is concerned, a few pages are devoted to it. India, which appeared to the writer a political enigma, is characterised as a splendid figure of doubt to Western statesmen and to its British rulers and he says that the gradual grafting of western liberty and democracy upon a tree of Eastern autoeracy has elements so conflicting and confusing that he who would prophesy is, indeed, a brave man.

But the present war must have made clear what the political outlook of India should be. As the author himself points out "Of the war developments of 1915 not the least important was the growing change of feeling in the self-governing countries of the British Empire as to the present and prospective position of India. A large increase of self-government became a subject of natural thought instead of one which raised fears of vast import; the possibility of giving India some voice in the policy of the whole Empire became a matter for consideration. Even the question of moderate Hindu immigration under regulation and limitation assumed a form of reasoning discussion rather than of violent out burst of prejudice.

The Ghurkas and British troops have fought together upon several occasions; now the Australians and Indians of varied race and creed had shared in terrific battles and in the torrid privations of much warfare in the Dardanelles; while the Canadians have seen the natives of India fighting side by side with them in France." Hence, writes the *Toronto Star* of April 3, "For the present we ought to do all in our power to establish good relations between Canadians and natives of India. They tell us that after this War, we must broaden our vision and get into world-politics. Let us begin with our friends in India and especially with Indians in Canada."

Thus the oversea's representatives are in full sympathy with our aims and aspirations for a self-governing India and if such words have any meaning at all let us not hear any more of the heinous complaint that Canada forbids the joining of the wives and children and relations with those thousands of Indians who have settled in Canada and made it their home.

New Zealand official year Book 1915, by Malcolm Fraser, Government Statistician Published by Government Printer, Wellington. Price 2sh. 6d.

We are indebted to Mr. Malcolm Fraser for a copy of this year book. With this year it completes its 25th year of existence. The volume is divided into 33 sections, each section dealing with topics of great and small interest from education to insurance. Statistics are given of the various aspects of New Zealand life, and these figures are supported and illustrated by letter press and by a considerable number of diagrams.

To most of us it may seem that there are no Indians in New Zealand. On the other hand, it is starting to read from the Statistics that the total of the Hindus and other natives of India for the past five years 1910-14 is 985 as against 280 during the preceding quinquennium; Since July 1914, 74 natives of India have left the Dominions. The estimated Chinese population of the Dominion on the 31st December 1914 was 2,466 of whom 117 were females, an increase of 29 of that sex since the census of 1911. Though Indians number a little over a third of the Chinese, we should think that great scope lies for the educated Indian to make a name and fortune. Before admission to the Dominion one has only to pass an education test.

The most interesting part of the book is the Essay on the "external trade of New Zealand" published as a supplement at the end of the book. The Essay displays a thorough knowledge of the theory of economics and a close reasoning on it.

SOCIOLOGY.

Vedic Academy Series Nos. 1—4 and 8. Published by Pandit G. Krishna Sastri, Vedic Mission Home, Mysore. These are pamphlets dealing with the ancient Hindu system of thought as expounded by the famous Appaya Dikshitacharya of south. A short sketch of his life and teachings are given in series No. 2. and the subjects discussed in the others are, Vedanta in popular language, Ideal house holder, Our indigenous system of education. In discussing the last subject, the author quotes extensively from "The Illusions of New India" by Mr. Pramathanath Bose, B. Sc. (London) and pleads earnestly for reforming and improving the present system of education on national lines to suit modern conditions of life and to benefit the masses. This is decidedly necessary if Home Rule is our goal.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To

The Editor :

"THE INDIAN EMIGRANT,"

MADRAS.

12th December, 1916.

SIR,

I should feel obliged if you will kindly spare a portion of your valuable journal for the purpose of canvassing the opinions of the public on the subject of admitting to Colonial bars Indian lawyers who are not Barristers-at-law but who are otherwise qualified to practise in the highest courts of law established in India.

I think it will not be seriously contested that the Indian lawyers practising in the High Courts of Judicature established by Letters Patent in Madras, Calcutta, Bombay and Patna, known locally as Vakils, are second to none in efficiency and knowledge of the law and a good many of them are to-day adorning as judges the benches of the Indian High Courts with honour and distinction. Such being the case, I fail to understand why some concession should not be granted to them to enable them to practise in the Colonial Courts. Unless it is the intention of the Colonial Governments to make their respective bars a preserve for the English and Irish Barristers and Solicitors, there is no reason on earth to deny these privileges to Indian Vakils, who by education and practice, are in no way inferior to the Barristers as a class. There have been instances where people who could not get through some of the elementary public examinations held in India, have however succeeded in getting themselves enrolled as Barristers. I wish you or somebody else interested in the welfare of Indians will take up this question and convince the rulers that in the interests of the large population of Indians it is not just that such arbitrary barriers should be placed in the way of their advancement. On the other hand, freedom to practise in any British Colony or Dominion is such an essential ingredient in the rights of British citizenship that with its open recognition a newer reason will be added for a political fusion of the two races under a common Suzerain.

Yours truly,

R. G. Sambardam.

The Editor,

THE INDIAN EMIGRANT.

MADRAS

20th December, 1916.

DEAR SIR,

I herewith enclose a circular issued by the Planters' Association, Kandy, Ceylon, to the Superintendents of Estates, and members of the Association, which I came across purely by chance and I shall thank you to give publicity to the same in your valuable journal.

It would seem, in my humble opinion, that the planters do realize and are aware of the hard conditions to which the labour is subject in the estates and that they are only labouring hard to "prevent" the publication of such hardships to the outside world. It would indeed be better if they labour in the same strain to prevent the ill-treatment and hard conditions to which they are subject at present rather than continue it in secrecy. I have no doubt the good planters of Ceylon are equally anxious to improve matters and there are indeed not a few who have actually begun to work in that direction.

Yours faithfully,

V. K. RAJANAYAGAM.

Kandy, 24th November, 1916.

DEAR SIR,

I am instructed by my Chairman to inform you that his attention has been called by Government to the recent advertisements for bolters who, in many cases, are mere children and mothers with infants in arms, which appear in the local press.

Having regard to the strained relations at present existing between the Ceylon and Madras Governments with reference to the importation into Ceylon of Indian Labour and to the conditions to which such labour is subject on estates, it would appear to be unnecessary to call attention to the great harm done to the good name of Ceylon by the advertisements in question. The increasing frequency of such advertisements, however, tends to the belief that Superintendents do not realise the mischief that is being done.

The members of the Madras Government who are opposed to the emigration of Indian Labour—and they have a strong following—call attention to the fact that these advertisements are practically similar to those formerly used in America for the recovery of slaves, and thus support their argument that conditions in Ceylon are akin to those of the old days of slavery.

It is difficult to realise the necessity for or utility of advertising in the manner in question. Presumably, the person responsible does not labour under the belief that the present employer or harbourer of the bolter will, on reading the advertisement, correspond with the Superintendent and send the coolies back. It is possible that a person who makes a practice of employing or assisting bolters does not read the English newspapers.

My Chairman would therefore earnestly appeal to all members of this Association to assist him in discountenancing such advertisements and doing their utmost to prevent any further publication thereof.

The Press have also been asked not to publish such advertisements.

Yours faithfully,

NIGEL I. LEE,

Acting Secretary,

Planters' Association of Ceylon.

The Indian Emigrant

AN IMPERIAL MEDIUM OF

Emigration, Colonisation, Trade and 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. III.

JAN.—FEB. 28, 1917.

Nos. 6 & 7.

ORGANISE YOUR LABOUR FORCES.

BY THE EDITOR.

LESS TALK AND MORE WORK.

OF all the problems which have been engaging the attention of the people in this country for the past two months, none—not even the Home Rule Movement—has evoked such a remarkable outburst of enthusiasm and an expression of bitter feeling as the Indentured Emigration. To Mr. C. F. Andrews belongs the credit of setting the agitation in motion at Allahabad on 9th of January, 1917. The spirit of contagion has caught at once the whole of India from one end to the other. Stress has been laid at the numerous meetings held in various parts of India (we regret we have no space to print all their proceedings) on the iniquities of the system, the horrors, the dishonour to men and women, the wretchedness and misery, the criminality and suicides and all other grievances. We, in all earnestness, ask "Who is responsible for all this?" We repeat the very questions asked by the Chairman, no less than Sir S. Subramania Iyer, L.L.D., who presided at a meeting to appeal to Government for the immediate abolition of indenture, "Who is it, I ask, who champions the cause of the masses? Why are the educated Indians assembled here?" If, championing the cause of the masses means nothing more than the passing of a resolution or two, if supporting the masses entails no other responsibility than listening to a few speeches, we say

enough of this sickening talk and the less we speak of the masses and their misery the better. No. The speakers say they have printed pamphlets and distributed them to all the villagers, they have placed students and men to watch the depots and capture the labourers and explain to them the real condition of affairs. Is the work to end here? The poor labourer, not satisfied with this assurance, wants something substantial, Work and Wages. Are the organizers of the Anti-Indenture League prepared to provide the captured men with the necessary work. If they do so, the problem of Emigration and Indenture is solved. This is, in truth, *championing their cause*.

The time for talk has gone. The time has come when the question must be definitely and practically settled. Let us therefore take stock and examine the situation. The labour problem in India has two sides to it, the domestic and the foreign. The foreign side is represented by several planters and Planting Associations in Ceylon, Malaya and other Crown Colonies. The domestic side concerns the indigenous planters, the landowning classes, the industrialists and other employers of labour. The former classees have such a thorough organisation and large funds at their disposal that they are able to secure Indian labour at all costs and by all means. The latter, though not as efficient as the former in their organization, need not trouble themselves much about getting labour at a minimum wage, because there is plenty of it and to spare. Between these two conflicting interests, the poor unorganised labourer is sandwiched.

INCREASE OF LANDLESS LABOURERS.

According to the census of 1911, 72 per cent. of our population are engaged in agriculture. 69 p.c. in ordinary cultivation and 3 p.c. in market gardening. And out of 209 millions engaged in ordinary cultivation, 167 millions are cultivators of their own or rented land and over 41 millions (to give the exact figure 41,246,335) are landless agricultural labourers and less than a million are estate managers, etc. The percentage in the class of the agricultural labourers is gradually rising decade by decade, and the percentage supported by industries is proportionately diminishing. Taking the figures,

1891 number of agricultural labourers	18,673,206.
1901	33,522,682.
1911	41,246,335.

As regards labourers supported by industries, Sir Edward Gait in his Census Report for 1911 says:—"As compared with 1901, there has been a decrease of 61 per cent. in the number of persons supported by textile industries. This is due mainly to the complete extinction of cotton spinning by hand. Weaving by hand has also suffered severely from the competition of goods made by machinery both in Europe and in this country." Thus he points out that the tendency has been to make the weaver and other artisans also take to the plough as their principal means of subsistence. There is likewise a decline in the percentage of population supported by other industries. Mr. P. K. Wattal in his book on 'Population Problem in India' which is an excellent analysis of the Census Reports, gives the following figures for the Punjab, as typical of what is happening elsewhere, in U. P., Bengal and Madras, "Cotton ginning which supported 139,301 in 1901, supported only 89,743 in 1911, or a decline of 36 per cent. The wool industry, naturally an important one in the trying winter of the Province, supported 32,361 persons in 1901, and only 17,023 or 47 per cent. less in 1911. The silk industry shows a decline of 19 per cent.; glass, a decline of 60 per cent. The opening of flour and rice mills has taken away the occupation of rice pounders and huskers by about 35 per cent."

These are figures grave enough to those who wish to champion the cause of the masses.

As to the alleged shortage of labour in India, we would only refer to an article which appeared in the

India of London from the pen of Sir Henry Cotton, a greater authority than whom we know not on the Indian labour problem. Speaking of the difficulty of labour for tea estates in Assam, Sir Henry points out that that difficulty, we may be sure, will never be solved until some portion of the 20 or 30 per cent. dividends which now find their way to the pockets of the shareholders is transferred to the wages account of the concern. We pointed out in our last number on page 84 that the average monthly wage in the Assam tea estates was Rs. 4 to 5, whereas in other industries it was Rs. 10 to 12. Hence the labour difficulty is felt less by other industries than the tea industry of Assam.

EMIGRATION ESSENTIAL.

Under these conditions, Emigration is a necessity to relieve the pressure on the soil, due to unemployment and low wages. In support of this fact, we have the authority of so great and eminent a statesman as the late Justice Ranade himself. Even so early as 1893, he said "A vast majority of the surplus poor population of an agricultural country can only be naturally fitted to work as agriculturist labourers; and the slow development of our manufactures, borne down as they are by the stress of foreign competition cannot provide at present the much needed relief of work suited to their aptitudes. Inland and Overland Emigration, the overflow of the surplus population from the congested parts of the country to lands where labour is dear and highly remunerative, can alone afford the surely needed relief. Inland Emigration, however, cannot be, in any way, compared in its volume or in its immediate and remote bearings on national prosperity, with foreign Emigration to the British, French and Dutch Colonies beyond the seas. Few people are aware of the comparative magnitude of this relief, thus afforded to our surplus population, and of the magnificent field for extension which is opening before our vision in the possibilities of the future."

CURE FOR INDENTURE.

We do not thus share in the opinion of those who say that Emigration must stop. If it should, let us go about doing the right way. Let us organise the Labour Forces. Let us help the existing industries and start new ones. Let us find out work for the unemployed. Let us increase the wages of the workmen.

This is not a matter for mere academic discussion to be disposed of by a few speeches and protestations. This is a life and death problem to the millions of labourers. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in her eloquent appeal rightly asks "who is responsible, you men of India, for this (this curse of indenture), that our men should go abroad for bread? Why is not your patriotism sufficient to have resources enough to give bread to these who go to seek bread abroad?"

It is admitted on all hands that indenture must go and it is in the hands of Indians themselves as much as in those of the Government to make it go. Seeing that emigration must continue under the existing economic condition of the country and in the interests of the labourers, what we must consider now is how best to bring this movement under our own control and dictate our own terms and conditions to the Colonies to the best advantage of the labouring classes. This is a duty which involves great self-sacrifice and, until we are prepared to do that sacrifice and organise the Labour force of India and improve its quality and quantity, very little progress will be expected in this direction.

The wisdom of some of the commonly suggested methods for curing the ills of Indenture is somewhat questionable, while the cheap and easy going cure by legislation for abolishing indentured labourer would bring untold difficulties in the way of the labourers bettering themselves, unless at the same time we organise all our intellectual and industrial resources with a view to the providing of better labour facilities at home and the controlling of labour conditions abroad, free and indentured alike. Considering the almost similarly disgraceful conditions attaching to "free" labour, we wonder why the Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya with all his enthusiasm for the cause of the Indian labourer abroad has shut out altogether for free Emigration the Province of Burma, which supports thousands of Indians and why he has included Ceylon and Malay States alone under countries of exception where the labourer can go on agreement. Does he imagine those places to be Eldarados where the condition of labour is ideal?

If the abolition of Indenture is to be succeeded by the supposed free system existing in Ceylon and Malay States, we are avoiding the Scylla only to fall into the Charybdis.

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION COMMISSION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

At the time when the advocates for the absorption of the four self-governing colonies of South Africa, viz., Natal, the Cape, the Transvaal and the Free State, warmly agitated for Union, the public were held out with the hope of economy, peace, plenty and prosperity; but now seeing that their hopes have been shattered the very same advocates have, since recent times, been consistently advocating for the abolition of all provinces and the local Administrative bodies on which the main bulwark for the Union was based. In the last Session of the Union Parliament, the Union

Government initiated a warm discussion about the existence of the Provincial Councils and in order to get over the difficulty, the Parliament appointed a Commission to investigate into the matter and to report to the House the best method to be adopted for dealing with the Provincial Council system. The terms of reference of the Commission are as follows:—

To enquire and report specially:—

- Whether the system of Provincial administration in accordance with Part V of the South Africa Act, 1909, is such as is conducive to efficiency, economy, and the best interests of the Union; or whether any other system of administering all or any of the matters specified in section eighty-five of that Act is calculated better to attain that end;
- Whether it is desirable that the divisional council system in vogue in the Province of the Cape of Good Hope or any similar system should be established in any other Province either in substitution for or in addition to the system prescribed in Part V. of the South Africa Act, 1909, and if so, the form, powers, and duties of the local institutions so to be established and the extent to which (if at all) powers of rating or taxation should be conferred on them;
- Whether the existing arrangements in any Province with regard to the cost to the State of providing education (other than higher education) should be modified in that Province, either in the event of such education continuing to be a matter to be administered by provincial authorities or of its becoming in whole or in part a matter for direct control by the Government of the Union or for administration by local institutions.

The Commission comprised of Messrs. J. W. Jaggard, M. L. A. (Chairman), Low, M. L. A. Patrick Duncan, M. L. A., J. T. Ploughman, Provincial Secretary, and two other members of Parliament, commenced its sitting at the Town Hall, Durban, when Mr. P. Subramania Aiyar, the Editor of the *African Chronicle*, deputed by the Natal Hindoo League, to give evidence on behalf of the Indian community, submitted the following memorandum. Thereupon a warm and lengthy discussion arose between the commission and Mr. Subramania Aiyar, and the commission promised to place on record the views of the Indian representative.

STATEMENT.

The retention of the Natal Provincial Council is essential for the existence and well being of the Indian Community, for a large Indian population exceeding 120,000 have their permanent abode in this Province, and having acquired vested rights, any interference with the existing form of Government in this Province is calculated to seriously dislocate the social, political, educational and economic interests of the Provincial Indian Community.

For a period extending over half a century, Natal has received a large number of Indian Immigrants, who were induced, in order to develop the country, to

colonise and settle in the Province on the strength of a Proclamation issued in 1843 by Her Majesty's Government to the effect that "there shall not be in the eye of the law any distinction or disqualification whatever founded upon mere distinction of colour, origin, language or creed, but that the protection of, law in letter and in substance shall be extended impartially to all alike."

It is indeed obvious that the Indian Community's acquiring so large a vested right and interest is due to deliberate and solemn promises made by His Majesty's Government, and this assurance has been emphasised in a despatch dated the 10th March 1910, by the Imperial Government, when the Indian Community protested against the absorption of Natal in the Union Government. Despite the promise held out for "broad and generous" treatment, since the Union Government undertook control, the Indian subjects of the Crown have not derived any benefit from the Union, nor are they contented and happy. More stringent laws due to colour and race prejudice have been enacted inimical to the interests of the Indian Community. The various laws that proved oppressive and deterrent to the progressive development of British Indian subjects are still made operative notwithstanding the fact that at the inauguration of the Union and it was understood that all subjects of the Union will be given unstinted freedom for the exercise of their talents, and full justice will be afforded impartially. Although more than five years have elapsed since the inauguration of the Union regime, the invidious distinctions and restrictions that characterised the pre-Union regime still shines not only prominently, but the re-actionary tendency seems to be on the ascendant.

Seeing that the Union Government have not deemed it fit to adopt and pursue in accordance with British traditions and ideals, a really progressive policy towards the British Indian subjects of this Union, and as it is incumbent on our part to protect the future interests of our children, the Indian Community cannot consent to the alteration of the Provincial boundary or to the dismemberment of Natal for reasons stated hereunder:—

- (1) For more than half a century the Indian Community have been accustomed to the form of Government which Natal enjoyed and which has, allowing sufficient margin for the shortcomings incidental to all human institutions, afforded protection, in however meagre a form to the Indian Community to live in, progress and prosper.
- (2) The present Provincial Administration has afforded reasonable facilities, in however small a measure it may be, for primary education for Indian children in accordance with the promise originally given when Natal entered into a covenant with the Government of India for the supply of Indentured Indian labour.

- (3) Any interference with or alteration in the existing Provincial Council system will inevitably lead to the obliteration of the political individuality of Natal, which is calculated to endanger the vested and inherent rights of the Indian Community.
- (4) Seeing that the adjoining Provinces such as the Transvaal and the Free State have been perpetuating a retrogressive policy towards British Indians, the abolition of the Provincial Council and a substitution of Divisional Councils is pregnant of grave possibilities for the future of the Indian Community in Natal.
- (5) In the event of the abolition of Provincial Council, which action is liable to be construed as a breach of faith with the people of Natal and the maintenance of which has been guaranteed by the Act of Union, the legislative power, as to the following subjects which affect a large section of the Indian Community, will be *ipso facto* transferred to the Union Government:—
Municipal Institutions.
Education (Primary and Secondary).
Agriculture.
Markets.
Fish Preservation, &c.

In each of these the Indian Community is vitally interested, and having regard to the fact that two of the Constituent elements of the Union Government, *viz* the Transvaal and the Orange Free State have displayed their feelings and settled policy by the total prohibition even of property owning and of denying the grant of the elementary rights of British citizenship to Indians, the local Indian Community are naturally apprehensive of losing their small rights by any change in the Provincial Council system.

- (6) In Natal, a great section of the Indian Community pursue with their families and children agricultural occupations and market gardening &c., struggling hard to earn a bare livelihood, and it is not possible to expect the Indian Community to be sanguine of their vested rights and privileges in this Province when we have reason to apprehend that the whole Union policy is apparently dictated as it has been in the past by one of the great national influences of South Africa, a policy which if not actively and palpably hostile to the progressive development of the South African Indian Community, is certainly reactionary and antagonistic.
- (7) The one bulwark against the development and intensity of this policy has been and is the Provincial Council system, and it is

felt that while its strength may not be great, and while its record may not be entirely perfect, its abolition would work great hardship to a loyal Community representative of the great Dominion of India, which has contributed liberally to the moral and intellectual progress of the human race under the aegis of British Rule, and which has made untold sacrifices for our King and the British Empire in the Great War for upholding the cause of Freedom, Truth, Righteousness, Justice and in a word, Civilization.

Therefore, in view of these reasons, the Indian Community would favour the retention of the present system of Provincial Administration.

But it is admitted that in order to bring about efficiency and economy, and to promote the best interests of Natal and the Union, certain reforms are necessary with a view to render the Provincial Council a more useful body, and it may be achieved in the direction indicated below:—

Seeing that it is practically impossible for a vast country like South Africa to be governed by a central government, each Provincial Council must be made the chief centre of local government, which should have full control over the local affairs, the action of the Provincial Council being accountable to the electorate, provided, however, the Indians' claim for a voice in local self-government is granted, which right has been conferred on the people of India by Great Britain; and this concession will promote greater efficiency, economy and harmonious working of local administration.

So far as the interests of the Indian community are concerned, it is to be regretted that the Botha Government should handle so contentious a measure as this question at the present crisis in the history of the Empire, and I shall not be far remote from the truth when I say that with the abolition of the Provincial boundary, at any rate in Natal, will commence the beginning of the end of the existence of the Indian in this sub-continent. The Indians in South Africa look up to our mother country for help in the matter but the only remedy for ameliorating the lot and improving the position of the Indians in other parts of

the Empire, lies in the grant of "Home Rule" to our motherland.

The cost of living has gone up tremendously due to a very high freightage. The poorer section of the people earning 30 s. to £2 per month are suffering immensely. Strong representations have been made to the Government to take control of all food stuffs but so far without success. At a mass meeting of Indians held recently, an appeal was made to His Excellency the Viceroy of India, and so far we have not heard of any action being taken in the matter. Last month, when the acting Prime Minister, and Minister for Railways and Harbours the Hon. Mr. Burton, was here in Durban I had the honour of an interview with him, and he not only entirely sympathised with the present unfortunate condition of the Indians, but also he promised to communicate by cable with the Imperial and Indian Governments with a view to concerted action in the control of shipping rings. I hope the responsible leaders, especially the Legislative Council members will take prompt measures to deal with the shipping companies in order to adjust matters in an equitable manner.

I understand that the Dominion Parliamentary representatives from over-seas, are about to pay a visit to India in order to study both political and economic questions connected with our motherland. The Hon. Sir Marshall Campbell, M. L. C., Mr. Ollivier, M. L. A., and Mr. Papenfus, M. L. A. have been elected as delegates to represent South Africa, and during this visit, it is understood that they would be the guests of the Government of India. While opportunity may be taken to discuss the general grievances of the Indians in the Colonies, I especially desire to draw public attention to the anomalous fiscal policy perpetuated by the Colonies towards India and her trade. I may quote South Africa as an example. In accordance with the fiscal policy of this country rebate is given on all goods imported from reciprocating British Colonies. India not being classified as a reciprocating British territory, all goods coming from our Motherland, are obviously treated as if they are alien goods. Especially at the present time, when the price of all articles of consumption, are sold at a very high price, an arrangement with South Africa for reciprocity, will be calculated to ease the situation here.

INDIA AND THE DOMINIONS.

BY P. SUBRAMANIA IYER,
Editor, *African Chronicle*, Durban.

The great war in which England is now engaged is creating a profound change in the outlook of all progressive minded peoples. The interdependence of the various States and Nationalities for the supply of their daily wants, nay even luxuries, was not perceived by the average citizen prior to the declaration of this war; but day by day, with the prolongation of this huge struggle, the whole world seems to find itself topsyturvy, and even those who, like the average white Afrianders, at one time thought that they were the beehive of the universe, seem to change their conception of the world around them. Perhaps, before the termination of this war, England and her self-governing Dominions may come into an understanding, if not a compact, in matters referring to the governance of this vast Empire, and whatever may be the eventual outcome of these deliberations, it behoves the people of India to be ever watchful and see that we are not left in the cold in the prospective structure of the Empire. It is fresh in the memory of our readers how the Indian colonists have been treated in the Dominions, and it is too well-known to need recapitulation how they have been deprived of their rights day in and day out on some pretext or other, and therefore it should, indeed, be apparent, that any scheme of Imperial Federation which does not assign to India her legitimate and equal share deserves nothing but unrelenting opposition. Having lived in this country for a considerable length of time and having had opportunities to come into close contact with the political feelings and aspirations of white colonists, I have ventured to address this to the people of India with the hope that they may be in a position to judge for themselves their ultimate destiny under an administration comprised of little Englishers and backveldt Afrianders, Australians and Canadians, Maories and others.

The ills to which India is afflicted could be remedied by the grant of Home Rule, and Home Rule alone. Anything short of this ideal, is likely to prove a failure, because, the material, moral and intellectual progress of India depend more or less on the opportunity given to her sons for an unrestricted exercise of their talents. Given an equal opportunity alongside of races inhabiting other Dominions and foreign nations, it is more than certain that Indians will hold their

own in whatever sphere of activity they may be engaged in, and in whichever climes they may be.

Our friends are freely writing and discoursing in India both in the Council Chamber, on the platform and in the Press about the expansion of Indian Commerce and industries. If they mean an expansion of trade and industries within the territorial limits of India, by all means they are welcome to harbour such ambition; but if they mean for capturing the markets over-sea, they will be woefully disappointed in their expectation. For, all the self-governing Dominions, viz., Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa have closed their doors against all future Asiatic Immigration, and no Asiatic, however wealthy or learned he may be, will be eligible for admission into these Dominions. Such being the case in matters having a political bearing towards the people of India our countrymen will do well to find a solution to this problem. Let us consider for a moment the fiscal policy of the Dominions towards our motherland. On several occasions, this writer has commented severely on the hostile commercial attitude of South Africa towards our country, and when the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale was on a visit to this country, his attention was drawn to this question but so far, nothing seems to have been done in the direction of a remedy. The more closely one studies the fiscal policy of the self-governing dominions towards India the more convinced one becomes of the injustice and hostility shown. The foundation on which the British Empire was laid is Free Trade; but strange to say that with the solitary exception of India, the Dominions which form the component parts of the Empire, are all protectionists pure and simple. The Imperial statesmen, notwithstanding their expressed desire to perpetuate the traditions and policy of the Empire in fiscal matters, have given a free hand to the Colonies, because they are self-governing, to pursue any policy they choose to adopt in matters relating to trade, and as a result of this concession to colonial sentiment, the Colonies and the Mother country seem to be sailing in cross currents in commercial waters.

We have to make these observations, because we feel as a member of the British Empire, India has a right to express an opinion in this matter, and as British Indians we naturally feel the antagonistic system or policy pursued by one portion of the Empire towards the other; especially, the hostile attitude of South Africa towards India in matters of trade is resented by many, and it is bound to meet with reaction-

ary effect sooner or later on the Empire at large. Prior to Natal joining the Union of South Africa, the fiscal system now in force was inaugurated and let me assert, it is very unfortunate that leaders of public opinion in India should have failed to bestow their attention on this very important subject both to India and to the local Indians. As our readers are aware, Natal or for the matter of that, the Union of South Africa owes its industrial existence to the introduction of cheap indentured labour, and at least the many advantages derived from the supply of cheap labour ought to have been a sufficient inducement to concede to India better facilities for freedom of commerce. But unfortunately nothing has been done in that direction to promote the commercial expansion of India, while Natalians obtained everything from our motherland for a mere song as it were, in return for no corresponding benefits. India supplied coolies at wages ranging from ten shillings per month in order to enable the white planters to develop their industries, and the sugar magnate, enriched as he was obviously to demonstrate his gratitude and affection for his coolie, suffered to tax indirectly the very food of his indentured labourer. This is not all, Indian products, especially articles of consumption and other necessities of life, apparel, in fact most of the goods used by Indians in sundry other ways, have been subjected to such heavy import duties as to render it well-nigh impossible for a poor Indian to get them. Thus, trade with India has been discouraged if not tabooed, by a self-governing colony which has derived untold benefits from indentured Immigration, and it would be self-evident that such a treatment to the Commerce of India, for no equitable reason whatever, is undeserving, and I imagine it is calculated to retard the expansion of Indian commerce in this country. Not only has local Indian trade been thus unjustifiably restricted owing to this protectionist or rather suicidal policy, but the impression that this policy has made on other countries is gravely damaging to the interest and prestige of India. It might have been comprehensible if the articles so heavily taxed could have been produced in South Africa, but contrary is the case. Moreover, as the land and immigration policy of this Union present no symptoms of alive and progressive tone for decades if not centuries to come, I fail to see any intelligent reason for adopting so prohibitive a tariff on goods that would

never be produced here, and which are indispensable to the very existence of the Indian in this country. On the whole, a mild impeachment of the fiscal policy of the Union would not be unbecoming at the present occasion, and if I say that "Gallant Little Natal" has been ungrateful to India in many ways, I am only putting the cap that just fits her. Natal, has not only failed to return "thanks" for what India has done, but she has treated her sons and her commerce with truculent hostility. Natal has given favoured nation treatment to Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, while she has treated India, after getting the best out of her sons, as an alien and the commerce of this great country with undue severity. A study of the statistics of imports and exports will prove the truism contained herein.

Exports from South Africa during 1916.

To Canada ...	... £	21,869
„ India ...	... £	84,364
„ Australia ...	... £	303,174
„ New Zealand ...	... £	34,803

Imports to South Africa during 1916.

From Canada ...	... £	978,079
„ India ...	... £	1,265,627
„ Australia ...	... £	454,535
„ New Zealand ...	... £	11,681

A reference to the statistics above quoted will satisfy our readers as to the position India occupies in matters of both export and import trade with South Africa in comparison with other self-governing dominions, and yet, India is denied the right of "favoured nation treatment", but is treated as unfit for preferential duties, while goods imported from Australia, New Zealand and Canada are entitled for a rebate. Indeed, the rank injustice shown towards Indian goods will become still more convincing when one studies the customs tariff quoted below. The Lord Chancellor of England once expressed his great reluctance to tax the peoples food; but in South Africa, the Ministers having no such fear or compunction, act quite the reverse of the Lord Chancellor's dictum, and tax the poor peoples' food who have no voice in directing the policy or the administration of the country. It will be apparent from the appended tables, that there are two kinds of tariff (customs duty) on all articles of consumption; one for goods generally used by Europeans, who exercise the franchise rights, and the other

for goods consumed solely by Indians, who have not the vote, and as such have no voice either in the administration or in determining the policy of the country. It will be obvious that the goods consumable by the former are subjected to light duties while the latter display figures which deserve the censure of all right thinking men and women. We have appended the tariff in tabular form in order to enable our readers to clearly and intelligently grasp their import and thus form their opinion as to how India, her commerce and her sons are treated abroad in the Dominions.

Customs duty on articles generally used by Europeans.

Rebate is given upon goods, the growth produce or manufacture of the United Kingdom and reciprocating British Colonies :

Goods.	Duty.	Rebate.
Butter per lbs,	2½d	3 per cent.
Cocoa "	2d	"
Coffee "	1½d	"
Fish "	1½d	"
Lard "	1½d	"
Meat, Fat and other similar substances used as food	1½d	"
Condensed milk per £100	½d	One shilling.
Onions per lb.	½d	"
Boots and shoes	25 p.c.	3 p.c.
Jam, baking powder per lb.	2½d	"
Oatmeal per £100	2	"

Customs duty on articles imported from India and used by Indians.

No rebate is given on Indian goods imported from India.

Goods.	Duty.
Rice per lbs. 100	One shilling.
Ghee per lb.	3½d
Dholl per lbs. 100	2
Tamarind per lb.	2½d
Mustard oil	20 per cent.
Spices per lbs.	2½d
Almonds "	"
Asafoetida	20 per cent.
Cardamom seed per lb.	2½d
Anice seed "	"

Goods.	Duty.
Cummin seed per lb.	2½d.
Coriander seed "	"
Cinamen seed "	"
Chillies "	"
Cloves "	"
Methi seed "	"
Turmeric "	"
Aprian seed "	"
Black Cummin seed per lb.	"
Dry Ginger "	"
Nutmeg "	"

INDENTURED LABOUR.

SPEECHES BY MESSRS. ANDREWS AND
MRS. SAROJIN NAIDU.

A great demonstration of the citizens of Allahabad was held on Friday, the 9th January, in the compound of the *Leader* office to urge on the Government of India the necessity of taking immediate steps to terminate the indentured labour system and prohibit all recruitment for the distant Crown Colonies and Surinam. The Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru presided. There was a great gathering of people of all classes and of all creeds testifying to the strength of the feeling in the matter. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mr. Polak also spoke on the occasion.

THE CHAIRMAN,

in opening the proceedings said the subject of indentured labour was not new. The speech made by Lord Hardinge at the Imperial Legislative Council had, however, inspired the hope that the demoralizing system was soon to be ended. Lord Hardinge also sent a dispatch to the Secretary of State urging that indentured labour should be stopped. Unfortunately, however, the speech of Lord Hardinge contained a remark to the effect that some time should be given to the colonists to adjust themselves to the new conditions. Taking advantage of this they were now urging that they could not do without indentured labour. It was, of course, not to be expected that the colonists affected by the abolition of indentured labour would keep quiet. But it was the duty of Indians not to allow the system to be continued any further. It was in no way better than slavery. To argue that indentured labour should be continued because the colonists could not do without it was like arguing that a thief should be

allowed to steal because he could not live without stealing. (Applause.) It was no concern of Indians whether the trade and plantations of the colonists flourished or were ruined. The former were only concerned with the abolition of the demoralizing system. The Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru deeply regretted that Mr. C. F. Andrews could not attend the meeting owing to severe illness, but the audience would know his thoughts through a paper written by him which would be read by Mr. Polak.

MR. ANDREWS' SPEECH.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I feel that the time has come to speak out, in the name of our common humanity against an intolerable wrong.

I have chosen Allahabad as the centre at which to make my first public utterance because it was the Hindustani women of this province, who were once respectable women from your villages, whom I saw with my own eyes, in Fiji, suffering the worst shame that women can suffer,—forced by an inhuman and servile system into a life of prostitution. They did not know their fate before they went out. They were in complete ignorance of the conditions under which they would be compelled to live. In a large proportion of cases they were cajoled and cheated. And when it was too late they found out to what fate they had come.

A TRUE INCIDENT.

Let me tell you a true incident. A high caste Hindustani lady, of good family whom I met in Fiji received a telegram late one evening telling her that her husband was seriously ill. She started at once for the railway station and on her way was kidnapped and sent to the emigration depot in Calcutta. She was too frightened to answer the questions that were put to her, and found herself put on board ship and out on the open sea. Here amid the crowd of immigrants her modesty was assailed. She fled for protection to a Bengali gentleman who was going out as a clerk to Fiji. She told him her story. He placed her in charge of a respectable married coolie, asking him and his wife to take care of her. Thus she remained safe during the voyage. But as soon as the voyage was over she was separated from her protectors. The young Bengali gentleman had to go and take up his appointment at a place on the north of the island, a sea journey's distance. Meanwhile this Hindustani lady was put to do coolie plantation work and again her virtue was attempted. Days and nights of utter misery were passed. Then one day the Bengali clerk went down to the harbour to see the ship arrive from Suva. He was walking along the shore road

when suddenly some one threw herself down at his feet. It was the Hindustani girl. She had escaped at last, with her honour still unstained. He took her back with him, and, as the one hope that was left, married her himself and paid the money needed for her release. There was no other course, if her virtue was to be preserved. It was a noble deed. Yet what a fate! Night and day the poor girl still laments her fate. She can never forget her home in Hindustan, which she will never see again.

Here then is a true story of one of the many thousands of women who have been taken off to Fiji. The proportion is fixed that one woman shall go out with every three men. A certain number of women go out with their husbands. The rest of the women for all practical purposes are divided among the men and one woman has to be at the disposal of three or four or even five men. One overseer thus explained the system as he worked it on his estate. 'I first' he said 'separate off the married couples. And then I divide the rest of the women among the men, telling so many men that they must go to this or that woman. If I did not do this there would be endless sexual quarrels'. Gentlemen, if this is not a kind of legalised prostitution then, I don't know what to call it.

The results of such immoral conditions are hideous beyond words. This is the way a business resident of Fiji describes it in a New Zealand paper:—

'The Indian Immigration Ordinance declares every woman to be the vassal of four men. In consequence the moral life led by these people is depraved in the extreme, marriage laws being a thing unthought of. Their domestic habits are filthy beyond description, it being quite common to find twenty to thirty men, women and children sleeping and eating in one room. Sexual immorality is not a vice to be ashamed of, and in consequence children become acquainted with sin and shame at a very early age. If we look at the criminal court lists, fully 90 % of the crimes are Indian crimes. The leper station in Fiji has 300 patients and again we find the Indians vastly predominating.'

If New Zealanders gain an outrageously distorted idea of Indian morals from their impressions of Fiji, is it at all to be wondered at? Fiji, with this degraded Indian population, is at their very doors. India itself is thousand of miles away. They naturally get their impressions of India from Fiji. But whose fault is it? Surely not the deluded Indian villagers who go out, but the fault of an utterly degrading system which ought, long ago, to have been abolished from God's earth.

CRIMINAL STATISTICS.

Let us take the criminal statistics themselves in order to take count of the evil. In Fiji, among the indentured Indians, one in every 950 has committed suicide in each year, or, in other words, the suicide rate is twenty times as great as that of India, or of the two great recruiting provinces of India. With regard to the crime of murder, the facts are even more startling. In these provinces, there is only one conviction for murder for every 2½ lakhs of people each year. In Fiji, there has been one conviction in each year for every 3,000 persons, or a murder rate in Fiji 80 times as high as in India. It is noticeable, too, that the greater portion of the people murdered are women, whilst the majority of suicides are men. Do these facts and figures not tell their own tale? Take, for instance, the last recorded year, that of 1914; out of 15,603 indentured coolies in Fiji, eleven committed suicide, ten were convicted of murder, seven were murdered, twenty-seven were convicted of the violent crime of wounding, thirteen were wounded, two were convicted of man-slaughter and three were killed by man-slaughter. The number of coolies actually charged in the courts with committing these crimes, together with those who suffered under them, amounted to nearly 100 persons, or one in every 140 of the adult indentured population of the colony were, in 1914, involved in violent crime, ending in murder, man-slaughter, suicide, or violent bodily assault. Can anything good be said of a system involving such a horrible condition of affairs? These horrors have now been stereotyped by reason of the existence of indenture, which actually lays it down, in a Government code, that three men are allowed for every one woman.

But these admitted horrors do not represent the full tale of misery. Listen to the following from the *Western Pacific Herald*:

'News has just reached Suva of another of those "cutting up" incidents so common amongst Indians in Fiji, which occurred on the Waidoi estate. In this case the motive is the usual one of jealousy, a woman being the victim and a man the aggressor. Although badly hacked the woman is expected to recover. We understand that the owners of the estate were aware that trouble was brewing, but were prevented by the regulations from removing the man to another plantation, which action would have prevented the crime. Another aspect of the case is that if the assailant is sentenced to more than six months, his employers suffer by losing the time, as the indenture cannot be extended for a longer period than six months. The law as it stands has an undoubted tendency to encourage

the employer to hush up any such cases which may occur amongst his labourers.'

'CRIMINAL OF FIJI'.

Mr. Pearson and I, when in Fiji, were told repeatedly by barristers, Government officials, and merchants, that the Indian had become the 'criminal of Fiji' that over 90 per cent. of the violent crime in the Islands was 'Indian crime', and that there was a real danger that this disease of 'Indian crime' would infect the aborigines. We also found that the Indians had got the reputation—not unjustified—of being 'the greatest gamblers in the colony.'

But by far the most terrible fact, which met us on every side, like a black blight or vast devastation, was the loss of any idea of the sanctity of marriage and the consequent sexual depravity rampant everywhere, until nearly the whole Indian population were infected with a deep rooted immorality. Some one has described the condition of the sexes in the coolie-lines of Fiji as the morals of the poultry yard', and the phrase, by reason of its painful accuracy, sticks in the memory.

But the corruption of morals does not end with the indentured population. It has involved even the free Indians, one of whom said to us: 'Our women have lost all shame, they change their husbands as they change their dress.' An abominable trafficking in young girls was prevalent; divorces were equally common. Castes and religions were mixed together in common jumble. Promiscuity was the rule. And no Indian religious marriage whatever was at that time recognized by the law of the islands.

The following story was told to us by a missionary who knew the two brothers concerned, and tried to get their sentences commuted. Two brothers of a respectable Hindu family were guardians of their younger sister. They caused her to be married by Hindu religious rites to a husband whom they regarded as suitable. The Hindu religious ceremony was fully and duly performed. Then another man intervened and induced the sister to be married to him by means of a certificate of registration of the statutory marriage solely recognised as legal in Fiji. The Hindu marriage was illegal. There was no legal redress. When the brothers realised that there was no other remedy, they went and killed their sister, and gave themselves into custody. They declared at the trial that they had done it for the honour of their family and their Dharma. They were condemned to be hanged.

One further story may be told, which shows that the sacred ideals of Hindu religion were not dead. A

Hindu widow, who had kept her character stainless after her husband's death in Fiji, was worshipped almost as a goddess. I saw her little daughter living on the tiny plot of ground which her husband had let to her. She was in great distress, because this land was about to be taken from her. Her Hindu neighbours came to me and asked me to intercede. They told me that they were ready to pay a sum, equivalent to 4,500 rupees, if only the widow and her little daughter might remain in their midst undisturbed.

Gentlemen, here are the facts that I have laid before you in all their naked horror. I have seen these things with my own eyes and my heart has bled at the sight. For these people, who have been reduced to such a condition, were a few years before, the simple, harmless Indian villagers whom we all know and love. The fault is not theirs that they have come to such a pass. It is the fault of the system which has made them its victims and for whose continuance the Government of India are alone responsible. What we claim any demand is one simple, obvious thing—the immediate abolition of the whole system.

If a man is suffering agonies from a rodent cancer, we do not trifle with it and we do not put on sweet-smelling ointments or soothing poultices; we set our most skilled surgeons to cut it out. Gentlemen, this system of indenture is a moral cancer, a hideous leprosy eating into the very life of India itself. The only remedy is to cut it out—and to do so at once.

Mrs. SAROJINI NAIDU'S ELOQUENT SPEECH.

After the reading of Mr. Andrews' speech at the meeting on Indentured Labour, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the Post-Orator of India, delivered the following appeal.—

Citizens of India, I think we represent almost every province, here to-night. The words that you have heard from the previous speakers must have made your hearts bleed. Let the blood of your hearts blot out the shame that your women have suffered abroad. The words that you have heard to-night must have kindled within you a raging fire. Men of India, let that be the funeral pyre of the indenture system. (Applause.) Words from me to-night! No, tears from me to-night, because I am a woman and though you may feel the dishonour that is offered to your mothers and sisters I feel the dishonour offered to me in the dishonour to my sex. I have travelled far, gentlemen, to come to you to-night only to raise my voice, not for the men, but for women, for those women whose proudest memory is that Sita would not stand the chal-

lenge to her honour but called upon mother earth to avenge her and the earth opened up to avenge her. I come to speak on behalf of those women whose proudest memory lies in this, that Padmini of Chittoor preferred the funeral pyre to dishonour. I come to speak on behalf of those women who, like Savitri, have followed their men to the gates of death and have won back by their indomitable love the dehumanised soul of their men in the colonies abroad. I come to speak to you in the name of one woman who has summed up in her frail body all the physical sufferings the women of India have endured abroad—in the broken body, the shattered health, of Mrs. Gandhi (Applause) I ask you to witness the suffering, the starvation and the indignities that have been suffered by the women because they loved their men and their men suffered for a cause. These women, *satis* in the fullest sense of the term, shared with their husbands the martyrdom and the personal sorrow rather than prefer their own comfort while their men suffered for the sake of national honour and self-respect. I ask you in the name of that murdered sister, that sister about whom Mr. Andrews told us, that found in death the only deliverance from dishonour. I ask you in the name of those two brothers who preferred to save the honour of their family and the religion in the blood of their sister rather than let her chastity be polluted.

NATIONAL HONOUR

Do you think you who are clamouring for self-government to-day—do you think, you who are dreaming dreams of territorial patriotism, you are patriots if you cannot stop the agony that is sending its echoes to you night and day—night and day from those men who are in no way better than dogs, from those women who are growing worse than brutes? Self-Government shriek—for whom? And for what? For a dishonoured nation that does not know how to avenge the insult offered to its mothers? Self-Government for whom? For men whose hands are folded while their women shriek, men whose voices are silent even in the face of the most terrible insult that can be offered to man? Wealth! What is wealth to us? What is power to us? What is glory to us? How shall the wealth and power and glory of a nation be founded save on the immutable honour of its womanhood? Are we going to leave to posterity a wealth got with dishonour? Are we going to leave to the unborn generations a sorrow and shame that we have not been able to wipe out? Men of India, rather the hour of doom struck than that after to-night you should live to say: 'We heard the cries and yet we were deaf. We heard the call for help, but we had not the courage. We felt in our

hearts the challenge to our national honour and yet we were cowards kept still for fear of punishment that might be given.' If after to-night, men of India, if after to-night I say, it is possible for the most selfish interests to use the humanity of India to enrich, almost as a manure, the sugar plantations of the colonies, if it is possible, I say, to let the forces of the greatest evil on earth to daunt you in this campaign, you are not only unworthy and degenerate sons of our mothers whose name stood for glory in the past, but you are the murderers, the suicide of national honour and national progress. You discount the future, nay, you slay the future. There can be no future for a nation when present men and women do not know how to avenge their dishonour. Does it matter that you, as one of the speakers said, could sleep in your beds, with the thought that your daughters are safe, that your wives are safe and that your mothers are set upon a pedestal? Are not those wives and mothers, are not those virgins that might have been honoured mothers, citizens of India? What are they, gentlemen? What are they but the refuse that even fire will not care to burn? I have come to-day to speak, but I think the fire within me is so strong that it bids me be silent, because words are so weak. I feel within me to-day the anguish that has been from year to year the lot of those women who had better be dead. I feel within me the shame, the inexpressible, the immeasurable, the inalienable shame, gentlemen, that has been the curse of this indenture system of labour. And who is responsible, men of India, for this, that our men should go abroad for bread? Why is not your patriotism sufficient to have resources enough to give bread to them who go to seek bread abroad? Why is not your patriotism so vigilant, so strong and so all comprehensive that you are able to guard the ignorance of them, that go abroad, not merely to death—for death, gentlemen is tolerable—but dishonour which it is not within the province of self-respecting manhood to endure. Ours has been the shame, because ours has always been the responsibility, but we were asleep or we were dreaming of academic powers, we were discussing from platforms the possibilities in the future, but we were not awake to the degradation of the present. Therefore the shame is ours in a measure that can never be wholly wiped out either by our tears or by the blood of those who have endured the dishonour for the sake of material profit and wealth. So, to-night if our patriotism means more than the curiosity to come by thousands to hear a few speakers, if it means more than the hysteria of the moment, if it means more than the impulse to pity, then I charge you, men of India—I do not appeal to you, I charge you, I lay upon you this trust, I entrust you with

this burden, on behalf of those suffering women, on behalf of every woman in this audience, on behalf of every woman from the Punjab to Malabar, I entrust you with this mission, to wipe out the dishonour that lies on our name. It is we who suffer, gentlemen, not those degraded people—it is the honour of the women in your homes who cannot show their faces. That mark of crime is written here on us because we have no destiny apart from our sisters. Our honour is indivisible, so must be our dishonour. That is, our destiny is one, and whether for glory or for shame we share alike. And we women who give our sons to the country, we cannot endure our sons to think that their mothers belong to a generation part of whose womanhood was dishonoured.

"WHEN A NATION GROWS BITTER."

Have I not said enough to stir your blood? Have I not said enough to kindle within you such a conflagration that must not merely annihilate the wrongs of the indenture system but recreate in the crucible a new stirring, a new purpose, a new unity of self-respect that will not sleep, that will not rest, that will be a sword to avenge, that will be a fire to burn. It will be the trumpet call to liberty that only comes when a nation grows bitter, that only comes when a nation says, 'the health within me is rotten.' It is the bitterness that comes when we hear these wrongs abroad. It is the bitterness that comes when we feel that we have let ourselves sleep. It is when we have that indignation against the wrong-doer abroad and the wrong-doer in our homes that we shall be able to see that we have felt the spirit of Sri Krishna reborn within ourselves for re-establishing our national righteousness. Is national righteousness possible when the chastity of your womanhood is assailed? Is national righteousness possible when the men of India sit still and see such crimes? Is national righteousness possible till every man amongst you becomes a soldier of the cause, a devotee, a fanatic everything and anything which means destruction of the wrong and triumph of the right. Gentlemen, it is a stormy sea that we have to cross, a storm-tossed sea in a crowded boat that may or may not stand the burden of our sorrow, but like Khusrû of old shall we not say, even when the night is dark, when the waves are high, when there is a rush in the boat, when there is no pilot with us shall we not say—

Nakhuda dar kashiteay ma gar na bashad gu ma bash.

Ma khuda dareem ma ra nakhuda darkar nest.

What though there be no pilot to our boat? Go, tell him, we need him not. God is with us, and we need no pilot.

GENERAL ARTICLES.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS RESULTING FROM THE WAR.

The Efforts Nations are Making to Solve the New Conditions Created by the War, and to become Industrially Independent.

[The war has opened the eyes of several nations including Great Britain to the importance of self-sufficiency in industrial matters. It has even been asserted that the future war will be a trade and industrial war. The position of India in the future trade conflict of the world would be something more terrible than the political conflict unless the lawyer politicians and the trade firms of this country turn a bit of their attention to this important subject of "trade after the war." We are already feeling the stress of the times first in the manufacture of paper for running our journals, in the manufacture of Sugar for home consumption and for various other daily necessities of life. Protection and State aid have been the cry of India and the war has clearly changed the vision of even free trade England. She is now realising her folly in letting the enemy have the full control of foreign trade and she is now protecting her home industries by a system of high tariffs.

[The following is a stimulating article published in the *Duns Review* which indicates what other nations are doing in the direction of improving their industries. There is plenty of work in this direction for those who cry for Home Rule.]

THAT the vast organization of the world's commerce depends, in the last analysis, on the internal industry of each nation is a truism that is being strikingly illustrated as the war continues. Every country is now facing great economic problems. They are more important and far-reaching than ever before known. They are fundamentally the same, although they vary as to details. The attempts that are being made to solve them are also essentially similar. Their present solutions are, seemingly, more or less temporary, but they have a direct bearing on the permanent reconstruction of the whole machinery of international trade after the war is over.

The necessity for finding new sources of supply of many classes of imported goods and of meeting

new export demands has taxed the ingenuity of the nations outside the war zone. Every country has been striving, so far as possible, to stand on its own feet industrially during the last twenty-eight months. This has had two effects that seem likely to result in tremendous changes in the character and direction of the currents of the world's commerce when trade again moves steadily and peacefully over the ocean highways. One of these effects is the expansion of manufacturing in each country of its own raw materials; the other, the consequent increase in quantity and variety of the goods that will seek international markets.

The United States has been particularly successful owing to the development of its abundant resources, and to its geographical situation, in overcoming many of the handicaps that have been imposed by the war in Europe. America is now not only making for its own use many articles that formerly were imported, but is also exporting them in considerable quantities. The character of production has changed also. The American manufacturer has been known in many of the world's markets simply as a producer in great quantities of certain classes of merchandise. He has been regarded as a specialist in quantity rather than in variety. This condition is now changing rapidly. The American manufacturer is entering the export fields with many things that heretofore he has been making exclusively for his home trade. Orders from abroad have come to him almost unsolicited, and he has hastened to avail himself of the opportunity to expand. Not only that but he is changing his local standards to fit the requirements of his new customers, and is striving to learn and satisfy the diverse condition of foreign markets. As the volume of his production increases, he is able to sell at lower prices and still to maintain or to better the quality of his goods. Factories are being equipped with improved machinery nowadays long before the old shows much signs of wear. If a new machine will do more and better work, there is no hesitation about installing it. Everything in American industry is moving at top speed. It has to, for the high cost of labour must be offset by the use of automatic machinery wherever it can be employed to decrease the cost of production and increase and improve the output.

For these reasons the closing of sources of supply of imported goods has been felt far less in the United

States than almost anywhere else. Aside from certain dyestuffs, the lack of few imported articles is noticeable except in enhanced prices. When the cost rises beyond a certain point, however, the domestic manufacture of a substitute for the imported article begins. The same process of restoring the economic equilibrium is now going on all over the world to some extent. Sometimes it is attained by mechanical ingenuity, and sometimes by a temporary return to the methods or devices commonly used in days long gone by.

The handicaps of distance, high ocean freights and exchanges have brought about some curious changes in this respect in the daily life of many countries. For example, on account of the steady increase in the price of matches, flint rocks and steel are being sold in large quantities at Soochow, in the Shanghai Consular District, according to a recent report of the American Consul General. A large number of shops are now selling these substitutes for matches, and many peddlers are also making a living by disposing of these articles. This business has been so successful that some of the Chinese retail dealers express the belief that in due course, flint and steel may ultimately supersede matches, particularly so long as most of the products of this kind are imported. The imports of matches into China decreased from \$4,700,000 in 1913 to \$3,300,000, in 1914, Japan furnishing approximately 75 per cent. of this supply.

In Europe and South America and wherever wax matches are commonly used, the shortage or the high price of paraffin wax is causing local manufacturers to seek substitutes of other material that is readily obtainable locally. In many places, among the poorer classes, flint and steel are coming back into use.

The way necessity is hastening the development of natural resources is no less striking. In Barcelona, Spain, the price of gas has risen nearly 50 per cent. since February 1st, (1916) owing to the increased cost of coal and coke. These commodities have trebled in price since the outbreak of the war, owing to the freight rates from England or America being from three to six times greater than formerly. The prices of all other materials employed in the manufacture of gas, as well as the repair and upkeep of the illuminating plants, have also risen considerably. Benzol, which before the war was 13 cents per kilo, has risen

to \$1.08; carbolic acid has advanced from 27 cents per kilo to \$1.62; naphthalene has quadrupled in price, and tar is now nearly \$22 a ton. Before the war it was \$9.

These prices, which were given in a recent American Consular report, indicate how the coal situation is affecting industry in Barcelona, which is the leading consumer of coal in Spain. On the other hand, this shortage and the consequent high prices are causing new mines to be opened. In time it is believed that Spain will be able to supply her own fuel requirements and to be economically independent in that respect. Argentina is facing practically the same problem as Spain. The scarcity of shipping facilities has caused a serious fuel shortage. Owing to the supply from Cardiff being cut off, and because of the high ocean freights from the United States, Argentina has been importing coal from South Africa—an entirely new source of supply. The Government has called for an inventory of the coal in public and private warehouses, and has requested that wood be used wherever possible, to meet the situation temporarily.

In Tierra del Fuego, the southernmost point of Argentina are deposits of peat and lignite which are said to be of unusually good quality. They are now being tried, and are giving satisfactory results. The most promising fields, however, which Argentina's needs are causing to be developed rapidly, are the peat deposits near Montevideo. Preparations are also being made to increase the domestic output of oil, and the local manufacture of alcohol for fuel is rapidly expanding.

Italy is entirely dependent upon imported coal. Under present freight conditions, which have forced the price of imported coal to an almost prohibitive level, the shortage is becoming acute. Efforts are being made by the Italian Government to extend as far as possible the use of waterpower for the production of mechanical energy in substitution for coal. Last January a decree was issued authorizing the Ministry of Finance to extend concessions for the diversion of public watercourses by modifications of existing cuttings, etc., without the formality of submitting the question to technical authorities for report.

It would be well nigh impossible to name all the articles whose manufacture has been initiated or is

being considered in various countries owing to high prices or to importations having ceased. They include all sorts of raw materials. For example, according to the *Straits Budget* (Singapore) experiments are now in progress in Ceylon with a view to the exploitation of forest reserves in order to determine to what extent various chemical and other products made from wood, which have hitherto been imported into the island, can be manufactured locally. These will include the manufacture of acetic acid and by products, such as acetone, creosote, etc.; also charcoal obtained through the distillation of wood spirit and wood pulp. Experiments have been initiated by the Government and preparations are in an advanced state. Experiments are also being carried out in connection with the manufacture of wood pulp, alcohol, etc. This is only preliminary to the establishment of mills with distillation and other plants in the north central provinces, where enormous resources of wood can be tapped.

In Japan the tremendous increase in shipbuilding is bringing about the local manufacture of paint for ships' bottoms. The present demand is for about 2,500,000 pounds of such paint per year, valued at \$500,000. About four-fifths of this paint is imported, but prices are rising rapidly and it is becoming more and more difficult to get a sufficient supply. These circumstances have caused at least one company to be formed to manufacture this one kind of paint. A large plant is to be built at Yokohama. The new company is to use a process invented and patented in Japan which, it is said, will produce paint that is cheaper than that now imported and as good in quality. No imported material will be required for the manufacture.

A similar situation in regard to the paint trade has arisen at Shanghai, and is being met in the same way by local manufacturers. Not only that, but large stocks of coloring material of European manufacture, held by Chinese merchants at Shanghai, have recently been disposed of to buyers from Japan, Europe and America at very high prices. This has stimulated local paint and color manufacturing at that port to an unprecedented degree.

In many remote or little-known-about corners of the earth the acute shortage in manufactured goods can

not be remedied by local industry. It can be met only by importation or by doing without. In Djibouti on the Red Sea, for example, in the region of which Aden is the chief port, Consular reports mention that the supplies of soap, safety matches, hardware, cutlery, cooking utensils, simple agricultural implements, sewing machines and cotton prints are getting very short. The demand is chiefly from the native population, and price is more considered than quality.

Shortage in one thing or another is world-wide, and with the ocean-carrying trade in its present situation the deficiencies of many commonly used articles that the peoples of the earth have come to regard as necessities cannot be speedily repaired. In many parts of the world, for instance, stocks of ink, lead pencils and stationery are reported low, and primitive substitutes are being employed on account of the advanced prices for the imported articles.

Many countries, particularly those directly affected by the war, are jealously guarding their resources and limiting or prohibiting the exportation of many classes of merchandise and raw materials. Egypt, for example, has been accustomed to export large quantities of eggs. For some time the shipments of eggs have been prohibited by the Government. The embargo was lifted for the month of March, however, and Egypt was permitted to export 10,000,000 eggs during that period, after which the prohibition again became effective.

Still another means of regulating commerce, less drastic than absolute prohibition of imports or exports is the imposition of customs tariffs. Customs tariffs are always changing more or less all over the world, but since the exigencies of war have had to be met many countries have made greater and swifter revisions of their import and export duties than ever before. After the end of the war and with the establishment of peace on a firm basis, still further and even more important changes in this respect are likely to take place in every country. One indication of this was the recent economic conference at Paris. Whether the end of the present war will bring commercial peace also is still one of the greatest of economic problems that awaits solution.

CANADA AND THE COLOURED PEOPLE.

SOMETHING THAT NEEDS THRESHING OUT.

WE reprint the following article (editorial,) from the *Demerara Daily Chronicle* August 1st as published in the *Jamaica Times*.

"The point raised at the sitting of the Combined Court by Mr. E. G. Woolford and further discussed on the motion of Mr. Wood Davis at the annual meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, raised one of those large and vexed questions of Imperial policy that are most difficult to adjust. It seems that recently Canada has imposed restriction upon immigration which prohibit the landing of coloured people from the West Indies and British Guiana into the Dominion of Canada. According to the letter from Mr. Vezey, the local Superintendent of the R. M. S. P. Coy., "Under the Immigration Act of the Dominion of Canada they can prohibit the immigration of any race unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada or of any specified class. We are informed that they do not want coloured immigrants from the West Indies, but that recently they have made an exception for coloured tourists from the West Indies who wish to pay a short visit to Canada during the summer months, and who hold return tickets."

The reason for the introduction of this prohibition is at the present time a mystery, and there are those who think that at this period in the history of the Empire, when it is standing four square against the might and ambition of the Hun, such questions should not be discussed. At the Chamber of Commerce, for instance, Mr. Laing expressed the opinion that until they had ascertained the facts that forced the hand of the Canadian Government no steps should be taken, and that appears to be a reasonable enough contention. The resolution of the Chamber of Commerce resolves that these restrictions should be removed, but gives the Council opportunity to postpone action until the cessation of the war. In the meantime, therefore, there will be ample time to ascertain the cause of the action taken by the Dominion of Canada. It is the action itself, however, that has given rise to offence in these colonies and not the reason for taking such action. It is possible and indeed probable that the reason is the one that actuates

all the Dominions in restricting certain classes of immigrants, and that is, the economic reason. The exclusion of Japanese and Chinese from the Pacific province is not based on any prejudice against the colour of these would-be subjects of the Dominion, because that would be absurd since these people had an ancient civilisation centuries before the American Continent was discovered.

A REAL DIFFERENCE.

The economic trouble, however, in the Pacific provinces is a very real one. By the frugality of their lives these people from the East can pinch and scrape and undercut and undermine all those at present engaged in industry in those provinces and it is in deference to the wishes of those people that the restrictions have been imposed. Whether it is the same cause that has induced the Canadian Government to act in a similar way towards the people of the West Indies and British Guiana is a matter that has yet to be discovered. It does not apply with the same force however, for two reasons. In the first place it is doubtful whether the West Indian is such a pronounced wage-cutter, if he is a wage-cutter at all as the people from Japan or the people from India. In the second place Canada has invited these Colonies to join her in a trade treaty, and there has been a good deal of discussion in the Dominion of Canada advocating the Federation of these Colonies, to the Dominion itself. With Japan there is no trade treaty. There is distinct economic pressure, and there are no Imperial ties to observe. With India there is no trade treaty. There is economic pressure, and there are Imperial ties which complicate the question.

CANADA TRIED FOR OUR TRADE.

The West Indies are on an entirely different footing. If Canada can petition the Imperial Government to appoint a Commission for the purpose of securing the lion's share of our trade, it would seem that in Canadian eyes we possess a certain commercial value, but if after having compelled the Imperial Government to devise means whereby she shall occupy a favoured position in our markets to the exclusion of all other parties she turns round and seeks to exclude from her land a great majority of the people of these colonies, she has been guilty of chicanery which these colonies will not easily forget and which will make

the creation of that Imperial brotherhood which we expect to arise as one of the outcomes of the great War, very much more difficult to attain. Mr. Woolford pointed out in the course of his speech in the Combined Court that "it will be a reproach to the British Government if soldiers of this colony whose services were acceptable to the British Government for the defence of the Empire should not be allowed to enter certain portions of it." He might have gone even further than this. It is well known to us here that amongst the first to join the Canadian Regiments raised so soon after the outbreak of war were a considerable number of coloured Demerarians, who are to-day fulfilling as brave a role in the defence of the Empire in the trenches of France as any of the soldiers the King has enrolled under his banners.

AN INSINCERE EXCUSE,

Mr. Vezey in his letter to Mr. Wood Davis, stated that 'the Dominion of Canada can prohibit the immigration of any race unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada.' May be this will be put forward as the reason for instituting these restrictions, and if so it will merely be a feeble mask to conceal a violent colour prejudice. Coloured Demerarians and coloured West Indians who can go from Canada and hold their own with Canada's best in the trenches of France can hardly be held to be unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada. It is difficult at the present time to conceive of any reason that can be put forward by the Dominion of Canada to justify these restrictions, but pending precise information, without which judgment would be premature, it would, we agree, be unwise to express such strong opinions upon the subject as we undoubtedly should, were our suspicions confirmed. In the event, however, of the Dominion of Canada being unable to furnish any satisfactory reason for its action in this matter, the West Indian Chambers of Commerce should get together and not merely deprive the Dominion of the advantages she has gained by the reciprocity treaty, but institute such a boycott of her goods that she shall speedily learn that unless she is prepared to receive our people she need not expect to receive our goods or have her goods received. Imperialism that confines itself to commerce and that is frigid in sentiment is one of those sordid bonds that wrecked the roseate hopes of the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain.

(Retaliation is the only cure for this colour malady).

THE FIJI IMMIGRATION CONFERENCE.

IN our last number we published the report of the West Indian Intercolonial Conference on Immigration. We supplement this with the text of the report of the Committee which sat in Fiji to discuss the same question. The report, which is addressed to Sir Bickham Sweet Escott, the Governor, runs:—

Your Excellency,

In accordance with our letter of appointment, dated the 7th of June, 1916, we have the honour to submit the following report on the result of our inquiry and deliberations, and to offer the following recommendations as to the scheme which may be adopted in substitution of the present system of Indian immigration to this Colony.

2. Your Committee met for the first time on the 18th of June last. We met also on the following dates: 20th and 24th, July, 11th, 14th, 25th, 28th, and 29th August, 1916.

3. In advising Your Excellency as to the scheme which should be adopted to replace the existing system of Indian immigration under indenture your Committee have considered it expedient to confine their recommendations to outlining the main principles which we consider should be followed, leaving it to Your Excellency to embody some of our recommendations, should they meet with approval, in a new Labour Ordinance which it will be obviously necessary to enact. These main principles which we put forward are explained in the following Resolutions which have been adopted by the Committee.

RESOLUTIONS.

4.—(1) That having in view the distance of Fiji from India, the cost of transport (*i.e.*, introduction of labourers) and above all the fact that owing to the entire absence of native agricultural labourers the agricultural industries of the Colony established by the investment of a large amount of capital are wholly dependent on introduced labour; and in order that, in the terms of the despatch from the Under-Secretary of State for India to the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated the 10th of February, 1916, the inevitable change in the conditions of recruitment and engagement should be brought about with

as little disturbance as possible of the economic interests of the Colony, and to enable the Colony, which welcomes the immigration of labourers from India to carry on for the benefit not only of the immediate interests affected, but of the Empire as a whole the industries which have depended upon imported labour, His Majesty's Government be requested to secure liberal treatment to the Colony.

- (2) We advise that at the outset the position should be dealt with tentatively, in order to provide a workable scheme for the next few years, so that the experience then gained may be gradually adopted to permanently meet the requirements both in India and in Fiji.
- (3) We advise that the system may be described as one of "assisted and protected emigration."
- (4) To meet the opposition to the present system of recruiting, it is recommended that the proportion of female to male emigrants be gradually increased, and that a proportion of families secured by sirdars, on fixed pay, be gradually substituted for the individual emigrants hitherto obtained by recruiters paid on a per capita basis.
- (5) As sirdars, it is proposed to send to India each year selected Indians who have families settled in Fiji. While in India, these Indians should be attached to the Emigration Agents' staff and be paid fixed monthly wages from the date they leave Fiji until they return with emigrants. Their work should be to assist the Emigration Agents in obtaining recruits by families or otherwise, and to explain to intending emigrants the conditions of work in Fiji and the facilities for settlement in the Colony.
- (6) Should experience in the next few years tend to show that the paid recruiters, as at present employed, can be entirely dispensed with, the change could be made gradually and without endangering continuity of the labour supply which is vital to the Colony's interests.
- (7) To meet the question of transport and as arrangements for regular transport cannot possibly be made until shipping conditions become normal after the termination of the war, it is recommended as a temporary measure, that

provision be made, each year, for the requisite number of sailings from India to Fiji, but with every alternate vessel returning from Fiji to India.

- (8) In order to provide the means of more frequent and direct communication between India and Fiji, we recommend that the Government of Fiji endeavour to make arrangements after the conclusion of the war, for a steam service under contract, to provide for not less than four round trips between India and Fiji in each year, the said service to be run under such conditions as may be fixed by the Government of India; provided that the contract should provide for passages of labourers at the lowest cost possible.
- (9) It is recommended that in consideration of free passages to Fiji, all adult emigrants be required to agree to serve the Government of Fiji, or its nominees, for a period commensurate with the cost of introduction (subject to the right of commutation and transfer) under conditions to be prescribed by Ordinance for industrial service which shall leave the immigrants free of liability to imprisonment for purely labour offences; provided that women who are the mothers of three or more living children, shall be exempted from liability to work—if such women, however, desire to work, work shall be provided for them at the usual rates of wages; provided further that any married woman may be exempted from liability to work, either by payment of the amount of commutation fixed, or by the extension of the husband's period of industrial service, sufficient to cover the unexpired period of her liability to work.
- (10) The Ordinance to be enacted should provide *inter alia*, as follows:—
 - (a) That on arrival in the Colony the immigrants shall be registered as labourers. A person desiring to employ a labourer must become a registered employer. The power to register employers shall be vested in the Agent-General of Immigration; subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by Ordinance. (The legal provisions referred to may possibly be on

the lines of the Malay States Labour Code 1912 Part VI, so far as it relates to registration.)

- (b) That the immigrants shall have the right of commutation upon six months' notice or if good cause be shown to the satisfaction of the Agent-General of Immigration without such notice.
- (c) That the immigrants shall have the right of transfer to another employer at any time on good cause being shown to the satisfaction of the Agent-General of Immigration.
- (d) That applications for commutation or transfer should be made through the Agent-General of Immigration.
- (11) That if an immigrant on arrival in the Colony, or at any time during the period of his industrial service, refuse or neglect to act in pursuance of his promise to work as a labourer he shall on proceeding to be taken by the Agent-General of Immigration, be liable to be proceeded against for breach of civil contract, and that a Court of Summary Jurisdiction be empowered to make an order for fulfilment of service. Should such immigrant in the opinion of the Agent-General of Immigration prove to be incorrigible, he should be committed to a depot, not being a gaol, there to be detained, at the expense of the Immigration Fund, until he can be repatriated to India at the expense of the Immigration Fund.
- (12) It is considered that in view of the proposed substantial improvement in the conditions offered, there is no necessity for disturbing the present conditions respecting work and wages, except that during the first three months of industrial service, all immigrants—men and women—working shall receive full wages, half in cash and half in rations irrespective of the work performed.
- (13) It is also advised.
 - (a) That during the first twelve months after arrival in the Colony children under eleven years of age shall be entitled to rations to be determined by Regulation to be made by the Governor-in-Council, and that children under five years of age shall be

given milk rations during the whole period of the industrial service of their parents.

- (b) That immigrants introduced under the proposed new system be not entitled to a free return passage to India, but that in any contract to be made for transport, provision be inserted limiting the charge, in the cases of those returning after period of industrial service, to as small an amount as possible.
- (c) That immediate steps be taken to require the issue of rations to pregnant and nursing women for a period not less than six months; also to require employers to provide suitable plots of garden land for each male labourer, and facilities for labourers keeping cows. The extent of the area of garden land to be fixed by Regulations of the Governor-in-Council.
- (d) That on the adoption of any new code of legislation to govern the new system of immigration, such code be translated in appropriate Indian dialect or dialects, and that copies of such translations be made available to the immigrants free of charge.
- (14) That a Committee to be called the Indian Immigration Committee be established and also an Indian Immigration Fund. The general functions of the Committee, subject to control by the Governor, shall be to regulate the introduction of labourers, and their disposal after arrival in the Colony, assisted by the Agent-General of Immigration. In addition to any grants which may be made from time to time to the Immigration Fund from General Revenue, the Committee shall be empowered to borrow from time to time, at such rates of interest as the Governor may approve, such moneys as are deemed necessary for the purpose of making the payments authorised by law.

The Committee shall also be empowered to assess a rate to be paid by every employer in respect of every Indian labourer employed or working on the registered place of employment during each quarter of the year.

All payments made by employers, whether by capitation rates or otherwise, shall be paid into the Indian Immigration Fund.

The Indian Immigration Fund shall be charged with the expenses named in section 7 of Ordinance No. I of 1891, and shall in addition bear the expenses necessary to provide—

Free passages to labourers to the Colony, and for the maintenance of a home for decrepit labourers;

The payment of interest of money borrowed by the Indian Immigration Committee;

The cost of clerical work in preparation of registers prescribed by law, and the expenses of the Indian Immigration Committee including the cost of travelling.

5. We offer the following remarks in regard to some of the foregoing Resolutions:

Resolutions (4) and (5).—In suggesting the use of sirdars, or selected men from Fiji, to be paid fixed wages and to assist in recruiting, your Committee has followed the recommendations put forward by Mr. J. McNeill and Mr. Chimman Lal (see paragraph 59 of their report). We realise that this proposal will not meet all objections to the present recruiting system, and that the Government of India will probably enforce reforms which it may consider necessary. We do not desire that undue weight should be given to this recommendation which even if adopted, can only be an experiment, the value of which will require to be tested.

Resolution 9.—This Resolution embodies the important proposal that immigrants should, under the suggested new system, be introduced into the Colony by the Government, under an agreement of industrial service. Your Committee consider that the words "commensurate with the cost of introduction" would necessarily imply a term of not less than 42 months. A suggestion was made that the period may be such as would require an able bodied immigrant to earn a fixed aggregate amount before he could claim to have completed his promise to labour; also that the system may properly be a combination of both proposals, so that while an immigrant may expect to have to

work regularly, subject to his right of commutation, for a definite period, he could by his own industry shorten that period by registering a given sum of wages earned. Opinions as to that amount were divided, owing to the undetermined probable cost of introduction and of other increased expenses proposed to be placed on the planters. We desire, however, to emphasize our opinion that it is essential, in view of the heavy cost to be borne by the planting interests, that the period should not be less than three and a half years, or 42 calendar months. We suggest that it will be necessary, whatever period be approved, that provision be made, if possible, that the periods of industrial service for those introduced during the first two years by the new system shall not be completed before the engagements of those previously introduced. This is important in assisting the change from the old to the new system.

In regard to the proposed exemption of women to the liability to work, we desire to record our concurrence in the recommendation made in Mr. J. McNeill and Mr. Chimman Lal's report (page 314), viz.:—That during advanced pregnancy and after child-birth a woman should be entitled both to remain idle and to receive free rations or diet ordered by a Medical Officer; and that the whole period should not be less than four months and probably six months. This question is referred to specifically in Resolution 13 (e) so far as issue of rations is concerned.

Resolution 10 (b).—The recommendation requiring an immigrant to give six months notice of his desire to commute his agreement of industrial service is put forward as much in the interest of the immigrant as in that of the employer. We realise that it is during the first few months of residence that the Indian immigrant is likely to be dissatisfied with his new surroundings and life, and provided he is given adequate protection during that period he is likely to tide over the first six months of his industrial service and become a useful wage earner and to gain experience in local agricultural methods which are likely to be of benefit to him as an eventual settler.

Resolution 11.—This resolution is intended to provide means for restraining immigrants from willfully evading their promise to labour, and from preventing them from becoming vagrants if they prove to be incorrigible; and to protect the Immigration Fund from a heavy drain in loss of labourers, such incorrigible persons should be removed to an Immigration Depot and there detained pending repatriation. It would, of course, be necessary to make Regulations to govern their detention and treatment while in the depot.

6. Your Excellency has been pleased to communicate to us a copy of the Secretary of State's despatch No. 182 of the 29th of June last, and your Committee has been informed that the Colonial Sugar Refining Company Limited and the Planters' Association intend to nominate representatives to proceed to England to attend the preliminary conference which it is proposed will take place at the Colonial Office in the early Autumn. Your Committee welcome this decision because we realise that these representatives will be able to place before the conference many details covering matters affecting the proposed scheme, particularly as regards the anticipated cost of the various proposals, which your Committee find impracticable to submit in this report without unduly delaying its submission to your Excellency.

7. Your Committee in submitting the foregoing proposals have not lost sight of the recommendations made by the Special Committee who reported in November last, and whose report is contained in Council Paper No. 12 of 1915. Your Committee consider that the recommendations made in that report should be adopted, so far as possible; but having regard to the very heavy additional cost which it may be found necessary to impose on the planting interests of the Colony under the new system of immigration, we realise that it may be extremely difficult to enforce the adoption of those recommendations in their entirety.

8. The Honourable J. M. Barron, as representing certain copra planters, did not attend the last two meetings of the Committee, and although he was present when the Resolutions were adopted, having left Suva, he has been unable to sign the report.

EYRE HUTSON, Chairman,
Colonial Secretary.
R. RANKINE,
Receiver-General.
G. W. A. LYNCH,
Chief Medical Officer.
R. M. BOOTH,
Agent-General of Immigration.
J. M. HEDSTROM,
Elected Member of Legislative Council, Eastern Division.
HENRY M. SCOTT,
Elected Member of Legislative Council for Suva and President, Chamber of Commerce.
ROBERT CROMPTON,
Elected Member of Legislative Council, Southern Division.
Suva, 29th August, 1916.

E. DUNCAN,
Elected Member of Legislative Council, Vanualevu and Taviuni Division.
H. L. KENNEDY,
Elected Member of Legislative Council, Northern Division.
J. L. HUNT,
President Planters' Association.
H. J. THOMAS,
Representative of the Ba Branch of the Planters' Association.
R. A. HARRICKS,
Representative of the Nadi Branch of the Planters' Association.
E. F. POWELL,
Representative of Rubber Planters.

MINORITY REPORT.

Following the adoption of Resolution 8 refers to the proposal to provide, after the conclusion of the war, for more regular steamship communication between the Colony and India, I proposed the following Resolution:—

"That in order to meet the cost of the suggested improved steamship service with India, the subsidy required for such service may be provided by a tax on Indian labour-produced exports, and that one-quarter of the subsidy necessary may be met from General Revenue apart from that derived from the export tax referred to."

This motion was not seconded. The general feeling was that the reference to the Committee did not require us to submit proposals to meet any public expenditure or for raising revenue necessitated by any scheme which may be adopted. The majority of the Committee were of opinion that those questions should more properly be dealt with by the Legislative Council, when the time arrived to make provisions for the expenditure that was considered necessary.

I consider that the Committee in adopting Resolution No. 8 has not gone far enough; and that it should have either indicated, by a suggestion or recommendation, the means that may be adopted to provide the funds necessary to subsidise the proposed

service should it be considered absolutely essential, or the Committee should have indicated that the planting community was prepared, if necessary, to make large sacrifices towards that end.

Considering, as I do, that one of the main requirements that is likely to be insisted on by the Indian Government in connection with any new system of immigration to the Colony will be on condition that the new system should be supported by a very substantial improvement of the steamship communication between India and the Colony. I feel that I cannot refrain from recording my dissent to the Committee to which I have referred.

EYRE HUTSON,
Chairman.

29th August, 1916.

INDIAN NATIONAL SCHOOL IN FIJI.

THE following instructive address was delivered by Mr. N. B. Mitter at a public meeting of Indians held in Lautoka in November last to concert measures for starting a National School for Indian children in Fiji. The address is reprinted from the *Western Pacific Herald*:—

Assembled gentlemen and dear brethren,—It is a sad luck to me that I, being a Bengalee and Bengalee language my mother tongue, do not know Hindustani enough to impress in your mind the necessity of the great and noble scheme that we have met together to discuss to-day. So, in view of this fact there will be many errors and in correct languages in my speech which I hope you will excuse.

The subject to discuss to-day is most noble but at the same time the most difficult one and unless we devote our heart and soul to the cause I am afraid we shall not succeed. It is a great joy to me to see to-day so many Indian hearts meet together to discuss this noble cause—Educational scheme. It is, beyond any doubt, a good and progressive sign that after such a long period of Indian settlement in this Colony, the Indians have felt at heart their drawbacks owing to want of education. I see to-day with my inner eyes, and my heart fills with joy and emotion that the future of this Indian community in Fiji is very bright. The law of nature is that until one feels the want—the necessity of a certain thing he cannot achieve it; and when one does feel this necessity it means that he must achieve it and nothing in this world can thwart him from doing so. So brethren, if you have felt the

necessity of education and felt it at the core of your heart I say that you shall succeed in your resolve and nothing can retard you from your success. The only thing required of you is devotion and, if you can give it to this cause, your future is as bright as the rising sun. Now come on—come one and come all—like men, shake off all your slackness and despondency and put all your strength and energy together to uplift this great cause and prove yourselves once more worthy of being "Bharat Santans" and of the best traditions of your mother country, "Hindus-thans."

Now brethren, I shall try to explain to you what education is. I do not reckon that true education means to receive the highest degrees of the University. The correct definition of true education is that which leads the soul to perfection. The culture of all the branches of knowledge is education. I do not at all call those educated who receiving the highest degrees of the Universities, lead an abhorrent life by throwing themselves into the hands of their passions. I may say that ideal education is that which gives strength to the arms, devotedness and faith to the heart, knowledge in the brains, and a righteous conscience. If one can attain all these, his education is true education.

The object of calling this great assembly to-day is to discuss as to what course should be adopted so as to enable us to give our dear boys education in the truest sense of the word so that they can once more learn and glorify the traditional "Dharma" of their race. For this purpose we intend to start an Institution. This Institution will not be a mere copy of the existing Government Institutions in India or those in this Colony; but it will be an Institution where our children will learn to be self-supporting, virtuous, brave, patriotic, and self-sacrificing. Our object is to give our boys that education which will help them to earn their livelihood in any part of the Globe quite independently. I do not like at present to describe in details as to what text-books should be selected and what branches of education should be given in our school; all these questions will be discussed and decided later on when the school is established. We are here to-day to sow the seed of this great scheme and the future tree must depend solely on the quality of the seed that we sow. So we will have to be very careful in making the start.

Now brethren, I do not think that it will be out of place to point out to you what your actual position is at present and foreigners, who have got no knowledge of India or Indians, think of you. You can all plainly see

the immoralities and numerous other vices that exist amongst our community in this Colony. People have gone downwards to such an extent that they do not hesitate in the least to commit the most heinous crimes and sins on earth. The fear of God and the presence of religion have disappeared entirely from both the communities—Hindus and Mussalmans. In fact, the Indians in this Colony have reached the last step of degradation from where they cannot step further. Now I ask you brethren, is it not a matter of great surprise to see the sons of those great Aryans sunk in such degradation? Can one for a moment conceive that the race that produced great souls such as Ram Chandra and Yudhistir, Harischandra and Valmiki, Buddha and Sankaracharya, Ramkrishna Paramahansa and Dyananda Saraswati, Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore—the race that produced goddesses like Sita and Sabitri, can come to such a deplorable condition? But it is a broad fact which cannot be denied. Now the question will arise in every mind "what is the cause of this?" To my mind, I cannot give a better and clearer explanation than the fact that education, true education, has disappeared from our midst and thus we have forgotten those noble qualities which had once glorified our forefathers—the Aryans. The way my countrymen are leading their lives in Fiji is most disgraceful, and I consider it is a great shame on the part of this community to be advertised to foreigners who have no knowledge of either India or Indians as the typical Indian civilization.

The Indians in Fiji have proved themselves before the world to be the most heinous creatures on earth, so the world is treating them. I do not put the whole blame on you, brethren, but you are no doubt partly guilty. You cannot expect others to perform the daily household duties for you. It is your duty to look after your own affairs. Your children cannot get proper education owing to the absence of schools in Fiji, but you cannot blame the Government that it has not furnished you with the same. Government has got many things to attend to, and it cannot possibly meet all your demands. Your duty to your children is first and foremost. It is your lookout that your children get proper education. As you consider that it is a business of yours to take so many meals a day to live on, so you should realise that it is also your duty to make provisions for your children to get education. It is in no way inferior to that of your living, if not superior. From to-day, my good countrymen make it a point that when you take your daily meals, consider in your mind that you have spent a portion of your earnings to procure

food for the preservation and culture of the souls of your children. If you find it nil, you have committed a great sin by paving the way for the downfall of our future generations and your country. According to our Hindu Scriptures, no man has any right to marry until he can make provision for the nourishment and education of his children. If one does so he is considered to be a great sinner. So my appeal to you, my good countrymen, pay out a portion of your earnings for the cause of education and for the sake of "Dharma." I appeal to you, both rich and poor, pay whatever you can afford, no matter how small it is, for this noble cause. A rope made of the combinations of grass can tie a mad elephant—, so the combination of your faithful effort can serve a great purpose. Don't stay behind, come forward and perform this "Dharma"—the "Dharma" of your race. Do not forget that it was your race that gave civilization to the world when the whole world was in utter darkness. In the past, it was India's Dharma to teach her doctrine—civilization to the world who needed it—and now you are performing this same Dharma for your own sake.

Many of you have made small fortunes after coming to this Colony: many of you have made good provision for future generations in respect of pecuniary requirements. How many of you have made arrangements for their education? None, or almost none. What is the use of leaving a big fortune to your children when no education has been given to them? It simply means paving the way for their degradation. If an uneducated youth is left with a big fortune he will do more harm and Adharma to the world and to himself than a youth without money. In the former case his fortune would help him to do Adharma, while in the latter he would be busy earning his livelihood and would get no time and chance to get corrupted. So I prefer you better not leave fortune for your children if you cannot make provision to give them education.

Now, brethren, is it not a great shame on the part of your community and on the part of those rich amongst you that you have done nothing for the culture of the intellectual capacity of your children when you could so easily afford to do so? If you, my countrymen, all join together with heart and soul, I wonder what on earth you could not accomplish!

I do not intend to prolong my speech further, as there are many others who would like to say something. I shall conclude my speech with a few words more on the fundamental principle of the scheme of education. Firstly, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that we have no capable leader in this Colony to guide us; and

the scheme that we have taken up in our hands is a very difficult and intricate one. It requires very intelligent brains to conduct things like this. So we will have to think deeply and consider thoroughly before we do anything concerning this scheme.

Another point I would like to draw your attention to. To impart education to young minds is one of the most difficult tasks on earth. All cannot be teachers, and all teachers cannot give good education. A child's future career rests on the teacher from whom he gets his first training. The teacher is like a mould, and the child's future depends on the sort of mould he is put into. So we will have to be very careful in selecting a teaching staff. It does not matter if it costs much to get capable teachers. We will have to afford it, because this is the most important point on which success in the future solely depends.

Now, if you will permit me, I shall present to you a few resolutions which I consider should be passed in this meeting to set the foundation stone of this great scheme. These resolutions form the pillars of the Educational Scheme, so we will have to consider seriously and give our correct judgment when passing them. When once these resolutions are passed, this scheme will be like a machine, and its work will be done automatically.

Resolution I.—A Board of Education is to be formed in which members should be elected by votes. As there cannot be found a capable man who can successfully conduct the Board, a President is to be elected from among the members of the Board every time when it is found necessary for holding a meeting of the Board. When such meeting is held and a temporary President is elected, he will have two votes while the members have one each.

If it is settled that the school is to be situated at Lautoka, for expediency's sake, members of the Board should be elected from the local Indian population. The Board will have power to call a general meeting of the well-wishers, sympathisers, and donors from all parts of the Colony to discuss any important matter, and then it will have its discretion as to accepting any suggestion from the so-called general meeting.

Duties of the Board.—As the members of the Board are not expected to have sufficient knowledge in educational schemes, the scheme should be placed entirely in the hands of the staff of the school, and is in no way to be interfered with by the Board. Its duty is to be purely external and not internal, *viz.*, to collect funds, to discuss

about erecting house or houses in the school premises for its use or for the quarters for the staff, to acquire land if necessary for the school, etc., and to execute any instructions of the educational Committee. Vide Resolution 2.

It is desirable that the Board will always concur in the resolutions, suggestions, or motions passed by the Educational Committee. If it unfortunately occurs that the Board and the Committee differ in opinion, then the question in dispute should be put before a higher Board for decision, which would be created for the time being for such purpose. This higher Board would consist of members from amongst the educated Indian population of the Colony, both Government officials and non-officials, and this Board, too, will have a temporary President, elected by the members of this Board, and with two votes like the lower Board. The number of members in both the Boards should be unlimited and, in the latter case, the greatest available number is to be taken. The decision of this Higher Board shall always be final.

It should always be remembered that only such questions should be put before the Higher Board for its decision, that are purely external affairs and that it has nothing to do with the system of education. The members of the Board of Education should always bear in mind that as almost none of them has got any school or college experience (if it is so) or the experience of how a constitutional education scheme is carried on, while each member of the School Staff has got all such experiences, they should always try to be in harmony with the suggestions and instructions of the Educational Committee and to run them down owing to their inexperience and ignorance would bring a ruin to the whole scheme. To interpret correctly, the Board will be a helping hand to the Educational Committee and not a hindrance to it.

Resolution II.—*Educational Committee.*—The School Staff would form an Educational Committee with the Superintendent as its President with two votes. This Committee should be of purely the School Staff and no outsider is to be taken as its member.

Duties of this Committee.—This Committee would frame the rules and regulations of the School, decide what course of education is to be adopted, fix schooling fees and boarding fees, etc., and would take such course which would lead the scheme to improvement, etc. In fact the scheme of education would solely rest on this Committee.

(b) This Committee will have power to dismiss any member of the School Staff and to appoint new members.

(c) Grades and salaries of the teachers will be fixed by the approval of this Committee.

(d) The funds collected from schooling and boarding fees should be placed at the disposal of this Committee, while the "general fund" will be invested in the local bank under the title of "Indian National School Fund Account," under the supervision of the superintendent of the school. The superintendent should always be a leading member of the school staff. Any expenses to be incurred from the general fund should be approved of by both the Board and the Committee.

Resolution III.—*Sectarian Differences.*—The school shall be thrown open to students of every denomination, irrespective of caste or creed. Any sectarian differences or political discussions will be strictly prohibited in connection with the school. Nothing in the shape of religious training should be given to the students until the Educational Committee can devise means to impart same to both the Hindus and Mahomedans separately through their respective priests and Moulvi.

VICEROY'S SPEECH.

The following is the full text of H. E. the Viceroy's speech on indentured labour, at the opening of the Imperial Legislative Council, held on the 7th February.

HON. PANDIT MALAVIYA'S BILL.

I turn now to a question of very great importance on which I think, there is no real difference of opinion between us except on the question of procedure. Almost at the close of the last Legislative Session, the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya gave notice of his intention to move for leave to introduce a Bill to abolish entirely the system of emigration of labour under indenture. The cursory examination that was possible during the short period of notice which the hon. member gave elicited the fact that the Bill contained provisions which required my sanction under section 67, sub-section 2, of the Government of India Act, 1915 and the hon. member was so informed. He subsequently made a formal application for that sanction and I think I should explain to the Council my reasons for refusing to comply with this request. I do not propose to enter into the legal ground which rendered my sanction necessary as I do not base my decision on that aspect of the case or on any technical grounds. I am aware that this is a subject which has attracted great public attention and I fully appreciate the high motives underlying the Hon. Member's action. In

the first place I may say emphatically that there has never been any intention either on the part of the Secretary of State or of the Government of India of departing from the pledges made by Lord Hardinge on behalf of the Government of India. Lord Hardinge made it perfectly clear that the object he had in view were the eventual abolition of the existing system. He made it equally clear that the existing system of recruiting must be maintained until the new condition under which labour should have been worked out in conjunction with the Colonial Office and Crown Colonies concerned, until proper safeguards in the Colonies should have been provided and until these should have had reasonable time to adjust themselves to the change. At the same time he expressed his confidence that every one would agree to that. As the policy of the abolition of this system has now been definitely accepted and would be carried out, India could afford to accept the delay in a reasonable and generous spirit. Lord Hardinge's speech was delivered on the 20th March, 1915, and having regard to the magnitude of the issues and interests involved I cannot help feeling that my honourable friend in his earnest desire to forward the matter, which lies close to his heart and which in fact is of the deepest concern to us all, has been betrayed into some impatience in his action in endeavouring to introduce a Bill which I fear, can only tend to prejudice the cause which he desires to serve. This Bill as framed provided not only for the abolition of Indentured Labour but also for the absolute prohibition of the departure of any native of British India by land or by sea out of British India under, or with a view to entering into, an agreement to labour for hire in any country beyond the sea other than Ceylon and the Straits Settlements. It thus went beyond the scope of the honourable member's own resolution of last year, and in fact beyond anything that the Government of India have been asked to agree to or have under taken to consider. I myself in my speech of the 5th September last explained that the abolition of the existing system, cannot be effected by a stroke of the pen or the simple feat of a statutory enactment, but that it entails considerable enquiry and investigation in order to guard against the danger of a bad system being succeeded by a worse. I rather think that what is at the back of the Hon. Member's mind is that the Government of India have been sleeping over their pledges.

GOVERNMENT NOT SLEEPING OVER THE PLEDGES

I assure him that this is not the case. The matter has not been allowed to rest either in India or in the Colonies. It has been necessary to obtain the views of

Local Governments who are primarily concerned with the details of recruitment and with the conditions under which this should be conducted in future. Their replies are being received. A special mission has been despatched to Ceylon and the Federated Malay States where labour is chiefly employed under short-term contracts which gave the labourers frequent opportunities of changing their employers, to ascertain whether the system in force there can be purified of its defects and adopted for employment in the other Colonies. The report of this mission is expected towards the close of this month (i.e. February). It is intended that a Conference should meet in London as soon as is practicable thereafter, probably in May next, consisting of representatives of Indian and Colonial interests, and it is hoped that this Conference will be able to formulate a scheme embodying conditions acceptable to both parties. At the same time I may say that our decision that the present form of emigration must cease has been wholeheartedly accepted by the Colonial Office, and they are busily engaged not merely improving the conditions of labour in the interval but in making ready for the great change which has to take place. The Colonies concerned have on their part shown the utmost readiness to co-operate in removing the features of the present system which are regarded as objectionable.

ACTION BY FIJI GOVERNMENT.

In 1915, even before the Government of India had decided to recommend the abolition of the indenture system, the Fiji Government prepared a draft Bill to give effect to the more important recommendations made by Messrs. McNeill and Chiman Lal, including the abolition of imprisonment as a penalty for Labour offences. During the last year again on receipt of intimation from the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the indenture system was definitely to be abolished as soon as possible, the Governments of British Guiana, Trinidad and Jamaica immediately initiated legislation to provide for the changes that would be necessary. Further legislation in the Colonies will be undertaken after the close of the ensuing Conference as soon as the precise character of the reforms to be introduced is decided. Meanwhile, we have been definitely informed that imprisonment as a substantive punishment for strictly labour offences has been expunged from the laws of all the four Colonies. Both the Colonial Office and the Colonies which they represent are, therefore, entitled to full recognition of the spirit in which they have met us and to generous consideration in the many difficulties they have to meet, and I should deprecate most strongly any display of suspicion

of their good faith or any failure to acknowledge the real difficulties which they have to confront. I may add that any law restricting emigration to other countries must obviously affect far wider interests than the mere internal politics of British India, even though these may be the most important consideration involved.

MEASURE SHOULD BE A GOVERNMENT MEASURE.

It appears to me, therefore, to be essential that any legislation on the subject is to be introduced by the Government of India as a Government measure. I have no hesitation in telling the Council that, as soon as the necessary preliminaries can be got through, the Government of India will themselves undertake whatever legislation may be required in a wholly sympathetic spirit, and I appeal with confidence to all my hon. friends in the Council to be satisfied with this assurance, the fulfilment of which will, I hope, not be long delayed.

Much has been said lately in the Press with regard to the moral evils of the present system. I can assure the Hon. Member, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya whose unselfish zeal in this matter we all admit, that I deplore with him the undoubted evils which exist in this respect, and that if by a stroke of the pen I could abolish these evils I would gladly do so. In the meantime I will endeavour and I can say am endeavouring more with the help of the Hon. Sir George Barnes, to see whether some amendment of the ratio prevailing among the emigrants cannot be devised.

TEXT OF PANDIT MALAVIYA'S DISALLOWED BILL ON "EMIGRATION."

Whereas it is expedient to abolish the system of emigration under an indenture to labour in any country beyond the sea, it is hereby enacted as follows:

I. (1) This Act may be called the Abolition of Indentured Labour Act 1917. (2) It extends to the whole of British India, and (3) it shall come into operation at once.

II. In this Act (1) "Labour" means unskilled labour, and does not include any work or other occupation of the nature referred to in Chapter II of the Indian Emigration Act, 1908. (2) "Vessel" includes anything made for the conveyance by water of human beings or property (3) "Master" means any person (except a pilot or harbour-master) who has for the time being control or charge of a vessel.

III. On and from the date that this Act comes into force, the departure of a native of India by sea or land out of British India under, or with a view to entering into, an

agreement to labour for hire in any country beyond the sea, other than the Island of Ceylon or the Straits Settlements, is prohibited.

IV. (1) Whoever induces or attempts to induce any native of India to depart or to leave any place, to depart by sea or land out of British India in contravention of Section 4 of this Act shall be punishable with fine, which may extend to five hundred rupees or with imprisonment which may extend to six months or with both. (2) If any person commits an offence under this section any police officer may arrest him without warrant.

V. Any master of a vessel who knowingly receives on board his vessel any native of India who is departing by sea out of British India in contravention of Section 4 of this Act shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, for each such emigrant so sent or received, or with both, and the vessel, her tackle, apparel and furniture may be declared by the Court, before which the master is tried, to be forfeited to His Majesty.

VI. All powers for the time being conferred by law on officers of Sea Customs, with regard to the searching and detention of vessels or otherwise, for the prevention of smuggling on board thereof, may be exercised by those officers for the prevention of offences against this Act.

VII. The provisions of the Indian Emigration Act, 1908, in so far as they are opposed to or inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, are thereby repealed.

CEYLON LABOUR.

PLANTERS AND LABOUR.

The Ceylon Correspondent of the "Commerce" writes:—

Ceylon is once more exercised in mind regarding its planting labour problem. At a recent meeting of the Ceylon Planters' Association it was decided, that federation having failed in solving the difficulties surrounding the question, the best thing to do was to take the last step from which planters have always shrunk, namely, seeking the intervention of government to settle the relations between the planters and his labour by legislation. The proprietors and the companies in London, however, still hold to the opinion that the intervention of government is to be avoided at all costs, and at a recent meeting they passed a resolution stating that legislation would not effect the desired remedy, and asked the Ceylon Planters'

Association to consider its action on the receipt of a full account of the views expressed at the meeting. The speeches made at a meeting in London by people more or less out of touch with the rapidly changing local conditions of labour in the East are, I take it, not likely to affect, in any tangible way, the views of the planters on the spot, who are not only the best judges of what is required, but who are also in the unenviable position of having to show profits for those on whose behalf they are working, who are trying to tie their hands in this attempt.

LONDON VIEWS.

At the meeting of the Ceylon Association in London which was very largely attended, three long resolutions were passed to be cabled to the Ceylon Planters' Association. These were (1) That this meeting of Ceylon estate proprietors and companies desire to record its sympathetic appreciation of the labour difficulties with which the planters have to contend. After careful consideration of the subject, this meeting is of the opinion that the proposed legislation would not effect the desired remedy and earnestly urges Ceylon planters to reconsider the position on receipt of full account of the views as expressed at this meeting (2) That in the opinion of this meeting it is desirable that a small commission from Ceylon should visit Malaya to ascertain the facts and enquire into the merits of the labour laws and position there. (3) That the Ceylon Association be asked to appoint a small committee to include planters at home, to work in co-operation with Ceylon.

Proprietors and companies are very prone to tell their planter employees that profits are assured with a proper labour supply; but it is the planter who has to find the labour, and he knows the difficulty of the task. He has done his best in the past to avoid official intervention, but he has now been cornered and has to take the last course available. The recent Commission under Mr. Majoribanks had no instructions to enquire into the condition of Tamil labour in Ceylon, but it is impossible to read the Ceylon papers from day to day without knowing that the conditions of the labour system there just now are in a perilous condition. No system of leaving things alone and hoping for the best will do now. If the planters do not move to rectify matters, the Ceylon Government and the Madras Government undoubtedly will, and it will not be well for the planters if they do this without the co-operation of the planter, for that would be fatal. It is all very well to talk about federation and co-operation, but they have been tried and found wanting. For sometimes it was impossible to get planters to co-operate in any way. The

comparative isolation of their lives taught them to think and act for themselves, and this in a certain measure still exists in planting tracts.

INDIAN EMIGRANTS.

The present is a most favourable opportunity for putting the labour system on a sound basis. There is a chance at present of placing the labour system of the colony in an unassailable position, and unassailable it must be both theoretically and actually if it is to withstand attacks. There are many interests hostile to the importation of labour from Southern India into this island. There are the native employers in India—owners of land, contractors, and others—who would like to see it prohibited, or the conditions made so irksome that they would lead to a big falling off in emigration, because emigration means that they have to pay comparatively high wages to labourers instead of the mere pittance which they used to pay. There is the planting industry of South India. Again there are both in India and Ceylon people with an itch for agitation and seized with a desire to pose as reformers who, as is generally the case, will pause at no exaggeration or misrepresentation in their desire to create trouble.

Against these two interests stand—those of the planting industry and those of the cooly, which are equally bound up with the maintenance, to their mutual benefit, of the relations which have existed so long between them. The Madras Government and Indian Government stand for the real interests of the cooly. They will maintain his right to emigrate in order to better his condition and prospects against both disinterested opposition in India and unbalanced agitation, provided that the latter is not afforded real grounds to go upon. The Government of India has already placed its finger, on the one weak spot in the Ceylon system, and it is one which will not stand examination whatever may be said as to the cooly's supposed traditional love of debt. It is not the granting of legitimate advances that is wrong. There was probably nothing much amiss with the original system but there is a good deal wrong with what it has now become, when the advancing of money has in most cases nothing to do with the legitimate needs or demands of the cooly. This system must be done away

with—there can be no question about that—and the sub-committee of the Federation in their tentative proposals have shown that there is a practical way of doing this without causing any financial or industrial upheaval.

TEA LABOUR IN CEYLON.

An interesting contribution to the controversy regarding Ceylon labour problems and Coast advances, which bulks so largely in the planting politics of the island has been made by Mr. H. K. Rutherford in a leaflet entitled: "The Financial Aspect of the Ceylon System of Cooly Advances" and as our difficulties in this matter are very similar to those of South India though more acute, his conclusions will interest many of your readers: and since both countries compete in some districts for the same labour, it will also show what the planters are up against. Mr. Rutherford points out that, in the case of three large tea companies, the actual money lost per cooly in advances during the last six years was Rs. 6.72 per head, or 10 per cent. of the total advances, which were Rs. 60 to 80 head. In the six years from 1909 to 1915 advances on the estate of these companies increased by Rs. 32.83 the annual increment for coolies being Rs. 5.47 and he calculates taking the annual working days of a cooly as 240, that the total advances are equivalent to an increased rate of pay of 4.14 cent per diem; that a continuance of the present system involving an annual increment of Rs. 5½ per cooly means, apart from the loss of outstanding advances on a tea estate roughly, addition of one cent per lb. to the cost of tea production if treated as expenses: and that for the period of years referred to the whole of the advances could have been wiped off at an equivalent of 1d. per lb. on the tea produced. If advances can be kept down to an annual increase of Rs. 5½ M. Rutherford concludes, producers have not much reason for anxiety. If, however, this festering sore is to be allowed to continue unchecked in Ceylon, and there is nothing to show that matters will not go from bad to worse, it seems useless for South Indian planters to find a remedy for their troubles by limiting advances as has been suggested. The effect of such a policy under present circumstance would be, it would seem, to drive more of their labour to Ceylon and Malaya.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

PROFESSOR RAMAMURTI,

THE MODERN BHIMA.

It will be a great satisfaction to all Indians outside India to hear that Professor Ramamurti, India's strongest man, has recently shown practical sympathy for the welfare of his countrymen abroad. As a representative of the Indian Emigrants, the Editor of this paper approached the Professor one day with the view of asking him if he had visited all the Colonies where Indians have settled and showed them his wonderful feats of strength, endurance and will power. The Professor expressed regret at not having done so, but after the war is over he said he would take an opportunity of visiting them. We have no doubt that the Indians in the Colonies have heard of his name and fame and, before the Professor undertakes the trip himself, they would send him a warm welcome of invitation beforehand as they would be greatly benefited by seeing the Professor's exhibitions of remarkable powers of body and mind. It would be a great pity if those Indians are deprived of this rare privilege of seeing one of the greatest of their countrymen who had won laurels for his triumphs in the art of physical culture. The peculiarity of his greatness lies not in the strength he acquired but the method by which he acquired it. Ask him how he became strong, he would say by reading the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. From his childhood, the stories of Rama, Latchman and Hanuman, Bhima and Arjuna, deeply stirred his heart and the secret he found out after the reading of these books was that the mind controls the body. Will-power and Pranayam or deep breathing are the basic principles of his philosophy of the physique. The Professor is strong and sound in his mind as in his body and the truth of the saying *Mens Sana in Corpore Sano* was never more true than in his case.

He is one of those rare personages whom nature is slow in getting into the world and who come into the world not without a mission in life. His mission was to demonstrate by his marvellous feats of strength that even in the realm of the training of the body, India, this hoary land of civilisation, has something to teach the modern world and also to show to his fellow men in his own Self by his generosity and several acts of charity, the principle *Paropakarakartham idam Sariram*, for the benefit of mankind is this body.

When the objects of the "Indian Emigrant" were explained to Professor Ramamurti, he was pleased to

give us a Benefit Performance in aid of the journal and on the 8th January the performance was conducted under the distinguished patronage of Sir Alexander. G. Cardew, K.C.S.I., Member of the Executive Council, Madras, whose sympathy in this cause is equally manifest in more ways than one.

As the proceeds of the night exceeded Rs. 100 he was made a Life Member to the Journal. We thank him for this generous offer and wish him success.

MR. RAMANUJAN.

THE MADRAS MATHEMATICAL PRODIGY.

Mr. G. H. Hardy, M.A., F.R.S., of Cambridge in giving a report to the University of Madras of Mr. Ramanujan's remarkable work in England writes:—

I shall confine myself in this report to the work which Mr. Ramanujan has done since his arrival in England in April, 1914, and to work which has been published, or is completed and on the point of the publication. I need hardly say that he has in his possession, as he had before he came to England, a mass of unpublished material containing hundreds of most curious and interesting formulas, some definitely proved and others only conjectured. Many of the most remarkable of these results will no doubt be published in due course, as the process of sifting them continues.

In one respect Mr. Ramanujan has been most unfortunate. The War has naturally had disastrous results on the progress of mathematical research. It has distracted three quarters of the interest that would otherwise have been taken in his work, and has made it almost impossible to bring his results to the notice of the continental mathematicians most certain to appreciate it. It has, moreover, deprived him of the teaching of Mr. Littlewood, one of the great benefits which his visit to England was intended to secure. All this will pass; and, in spite of it, it is already safe to say that Mr. Ramanujan, has justified abundantly all the hopes that were based upon his work in India, and has shown that he possesses powers as remarkable in their way as those of any living mathematician. His work is only the more valuable, because his abilities and methods are of so unusual a kind, and so unlike those of a European mathematician trained in the orthodox school.

This paper embodies the results of a great deal of Mr. Ramanujan's Indian work. This work was done when he had very little knowledge of the progress made

in Europe during the latter half of the nineteenth century, and it was inevitable that many of his results should have been anticipated by European mathematicians, in particular by Hermite, Kroneker, Weber and Greenhill. None the less the paper is of the greatest interest and contains large number of new results. I will state the principal problems as they present themselves from the author's individual point of view.

It is, as I have shown in a short note attached to Mr. Ramanujan's paper, certainly possible to apply his formulas in this direction; but the results which can be deduced from them do not at present go beyond those obtained already by Mr. Littlewood and myself in other ways. But I should not be at all surprised if still more important applications were to be made of Mr. Ramanujan's formulae in the future.

Mr. Ramanujan's elaborate memoir on 'Highly composite numbers' contains an account of the longest and perhaps the most important connected piece of work which he has done since his arrival in England. A highly composite number is a number which has more divisors than any smaller number, which is, so to say, as unlike a prime as a number can be. Thus 2,4,6,12,24,36,48,60,120, and 180 are the first ten such numbers.

Mr. Ramanujan shows how, by reasoning of an elementary but highly ingenious character, we can obtain surprisingly accurate information as to the structure of highly composite numbers.

Mr. Ramanujan has, since this paper was published, obtained a number of further results of the same kind. The problem is a very peculiar one, standing somewhat apart from the main channels of mathematical research. But there can be no question as to the extraordinary insight and ingenuity which he has shown in treating it nor any doubt that his memoir is one of the most remarkable published in England for many years.

My account of Mr. Ramanujan's work has been necessarily fragmentary and incomplete. I have said enough, I hope, to give some idea of its astonishing individuality and power. India has produced many talented mathematicians in recent years, a number of whom have come to Cambridge and attained high academical distinction. They will be the first to recognise that Mr. Ramanujan's work is of a different category. In him India now possesses a pure mathematician of the first order, whose achievements suggest the brightest hopes for its scientific future.

Verily a prophet is not accepted in his own country.

An Indian National School for Fiji.

A meeting of the leading Indians from all parts of the Colony was held at Drasa on the holding of Randhir Singh (who is a prominent Indian of the district and is a fairly large cane farmer) on the 30th of September and 1st October last. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss, and if possible, formulate a scheme for the foundation of an Indian National School for Indian children in Fiji. Much credit is due to Randhir Singh for the active part he took, not only in convening the meeting, but in the intelligent support he gave to its object. A few Europeans were present including the Resident Inspector of Immigrants, who took great interest in its object.

The conduct of all at the meeting was excellent, and the earnestness with which the main purposes of the meeting was discussed by all, both inside and outside the meeting house, was a predominating feature. Many excellent papers were read by the better educated amongst those present on the subject of education. A very interesting speech, published elsewhere, was made by Mr. Mitter, one of the civil servants who was there at the invitation of the Committee who was asked for his advice. Resolutions in favour of establishing Indian National Schools were unanimously passed, and towards the conclusion of the meeting donations for monetary support were made. The sincerity of the people, their earnestness and keen desire to do something for their own in the way of education is best expressed in the liberal way these leading men gave donations. £183 14s 6/ was realised in cash and a further sum of £637 13s promised. The principal donors were Randhir Singh, approximately £90; Mr. V. M. Pillay, £55; Sheonandan Maharaj, £60; Badri Maharaj, £50; Kampta Maharaj, £50; Hiralal Set, £50; and many others. These donations and more were not made in excitement or hysteria, but in manifested earnestness, and in full realisation that it was for the best and most lasting blessing they could help to confer on the coming generation of their own people—that was the prompting factor.

Government aid is eagerly looked and hoped for. It was decided that it would be a wise plan to approach the Government with regard to the acquisition of a suitable area somewhere on the rising ground between the Lautoka Hotel and the Circuit Court.

The School Committee hopes to see the commencement of the school in the early part of next year. (W. P. H.)

Rabindranath Tagore in America.

The London correspondent of the *Tribune* writes:—

Sir Rabindranath Tagore is also being interviewed by enterprising American boys. The poet is, as you know, at present travelling in that country. The turbulent Americans, with their headlong liveliness, their Occidental arrogance and self-assured greatness, have found in Tagore not only an unappreciative observer but an unsparing critic. In his mild, ascetic way but with deep conviction, he is said to have charged them with blind indifference to spiritual things. He accuses them of bowing down before the false god of "that dominant intellectual abstraction which you call a nation," and stigmatises their political system as inherently vicious. When in reply, a critic pointed to India, "a defeated and conquered nation," as proof of the fallacy of this impeachment, he answered that the dust in which India's people have been bowed is sacred, while the bricks with which we of the Western world build the palaces of our temporal pride are accursed.

Writing in the *Bookman*, one of the poet's interviewers: "A gentler soul than that of Tagore one might search the world over and fail to find, and yet one feels, even at a first meeting, that there is a potential force, and one does not wonder that it has swayed all India and has reached across the seas to us who are less mystic but perhaps after all not less responsive to the beautiful."

The greater part of the interview is taken up with Sir Rabindranath's estimate of the poets and essayists of America—Emerson, Poe, Whitman and others, Whitman being his favourite. There is also an account of his school at Bolepur and of the kind of education which is being given there.

Rabindranath is an English knight, but his interviewers did not find him very warm in his Praise of British institutions. He expressed the view, however, that they were more desirable than the American political machine and said that if one had to be subject to Western rule it were better British than any other. The parochial and even personal rule that survives in the villages of India despite England's domination, means more to Rabindranath than the rule of the Paramount Power.

Of Europe in its present ferment he would have little to say, but that little was uttered in terms of pain and contempt. Science! efficiency! wealth! What had been the use of them all on that unhappy continent save to enable its nations to depopulate each other? As with every true poet, the idea of the brotherhood of man—empty words to most people—is a religion with

Rabindranath Tagore, and he appears to be voicing it in the United States with all the zeal of his intense nature.—

Look at this picture.

A LOYALIST INTERVIEWED.

Sardar Daljit Singh, member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, gave an interview recently to the London correspondent of the "*New York Sun*," in the course of which he made the following remarks on the situation in India:—

"I have just returned from India, where I travelled throughout the entire northern part, and I can assert without the slightest possibility of contradiction that over 98 per cent. of the people are wholeheartedly loyal to British rule and Empire. Leaving out of consideration the sentimental factor, that of personal loyalty to the King-Emperor, a sentiment of far greater potency than occidental minds can appreciate, and putting the situation upon purely practical grounds, India was never as prosperous as she is to-day, and she does not want that prosperity disturbed. She is daily becoming richer and richer, particularly her agrarian classes, which constitute the bulk of the population. The vast irrigation canals, the most extensive and greatest in the world, and the steady agricultural improvements, have brought about a prosperity that nobody but a handful of malcontents and fanatics would care to upset.

"Our province, the Punjab, and the whole of India, is quite satisfied with the present English rule. Naturally, the most advanced Indians desire a fuller share in the government of their country, but we realise that the time for complete self-government has not yet arrived, in a word, that the general conditions of India are not ripe for it. The sensible Indians know that we must learn to walk before any attempt to run, and so we are asking for and obtaining gradual improvements and extensions of power. There have recently been great reforms in the various governing councils in India, and the majority of members are now Indians, a condition that formerly did not obtain.

"The various stories of huge unrest and imminence of revolution," he continued, "which are spread throughout America are undoubtedly of German inspiration. They may deceive the Indians outside India, but not those within her borders. I recall meeting a number of returned Sikhs who had been duped in the United States, and when they landed they were astonished to find that India was still in British hands and that instead of rebellion in all parts of the country, India was tranquil

and loyal to the British Government. When these men returned to their own villages they were ostracised and cast out by their own people.

"The stories that have been circulated in America of a huge number executed, transported for life, or interned have no basis in fact. In 1915, throughout the whole of India the number of persons executed for heinous political crimes was 46, and 42 were transported—that is to say, only one in nearly 7000:000 received the capital punishment. Of some 6000 returned emigrants from America, the total number interned on suspicion of connection with the conspiracy was 292. Of these 39 were dealt with in the conspiracy and other related cases. One hundred and seventeen, who appear to have returned to their senses and wanted to settle down have been released, while 134 are still interned. Dacoits have always existed in the Punjab, even, in peace time, particularly along the borders, but during the last few years, dacoities have decreased, and this decrease has been maintained during the war. You have heard of the magnificent manner in which the various ruling chiefs offered their entire resources to the King-Emperor to carry on the war. The land-owners of the Punjab did the same, while the spirit of the people towards England in this war is shown by the large number of fresh men who have volunteered for service anywhere that they may be found useful."

Whoever questions the loyalty of the Sirdar or of the whole of India.

But that loyalty should not take him to the extent of misrepresenting India's prosperity. What does the Sirdar mean by saying that "India was never so prosperous as she is to-day and that she is daily becoming richer and richer?" Has he read Dadabhoi Naoroji's book on "Poverty and un-British Rule in India" and has he studied the conditions of the agrarian classes? It is just these classes that are said to have not known what it is to have a second meal.

Again his views about India's fitness for self-government is as ludicrous as the former.

We only pity the poor Sirdar.

Fiji-born Indians for the War.

Mr. D. M. Manilal contributes to the *W. P. Herald* :—

Whoever expected that the descendants of the indentured immigrants, so long held in contempt by a certain section of the local population, would, in spite of

water thrown on their youthful and buoyant spirits by the local authorities, at their own expense and risk volunteer for the war? Well have they redeemed the good name of those, whose bones are their bones and whose blood is still coursing through their veins. The black word "coolie" associating itself with institutional habitations painted with coal-tar (as if to indicate the life led by their tenants), the bar sister of a dark complexion, and the theory of the divine right of the white man to treat the so-called "native" as naturally, necessarily, invariably and eternally his inferior are quickly dissolving in the melting-pot of this world-wide war, and let us hope that when peace is re-established, goodwill also follows and that between the various races and nationalities owing allegiance to the Empire there will be no more misunderstandings, bickerings or heart-burnings.

Indian boys of Fiji! You have taken your share in the most important undertaking of the world and with God's grace may your names shine bright on the records of the lives of the Indian colonists of Fiji. You have lighted the fire of ambition beyond the scope of the hoe and the cane-knife and the narrow confines of the Mem Sahib's kitchen! May the conflagration spread and may you and yours be happy! is the sincere prayer of your well-wisher, D. M. Manilal, on this eve of your departure.

Indian Emigrants.

FROM FIJI TO INDIA.

Six hundred and fifty eight Indian emigrants left Fiji in the steamer *Chenab* 7th September 1916 on their return to their homes in India, after having completed the terms of their service in Fiji under indenture.

The following are the particulars of the passengers :—
For Calcutta: 303 men, 69 women, 64 children, total, 436; for Madras: 147 men, 45 women and 30 children, total 222; grand total, 658.

As usual they have taken out of the Colony a substantial sum in cash, draft and jewellery, the result of their industry in the Colony. The declared value is as follows :—

		Calcutta		Madras	
Drafts	...	£4,674	7 3	£1,998	0 0
Cash	...	2,629	0 0	1,394	0 0
Jewellery	...	1,163	4 0	705	10 0
Grand total	...	£8,466	11 3	£4,097	10 0
		...	...	£12,564	1 3

The totals of individual holdings varying from two amounts of £309, which represented the individual declared wealth of two men, down to £1.

There is good reason to believe, owing to the order that a person must not take more than £10 in gold out of the Colony, that many of the Indians have not declared correctly the cash in their possession. One man was observed for days before the ship sailed closely guarding a small handbag, which was believed to contain a quantity of undeclared gold. Of course these men run two risks—first, of being prosecuted for taking the gold out of the Colony; and secondly, of robbery whilst aboard the ship. If any undeclared property is stolen from them, they would have little hope of recovering it.

This fact must clearly be made known to the emigrants.

Indian Recruits.

ACCEPTED IN NEW ZEALAND.

The "*New Zealand Herald*" of 12th September, says :—"Two well-dressed Hindus, who recently arrived here from Fiji, presented themselves at the city recruiting station yesterday and offered their services in any capacity for the front. The volunteers were well-educated men, and had paid their own fares from Fiji to Auckland. They evinced a keen desire to enlist. At first the applicants were informed that under the Defence Department's regulations they could not be accepted, but in view of their enthusiasm and fine physique arrangements were made for their accommodation at Narrow Neck camp. Both applicants, who are brothers, passed the medical test, and will go into training almost at once."

Probably one of the men mentioned, says W. P. H., is Eric Grant, son of Peter Grant, of Suva, a Fiji-born boy, who proceeded to Auckland recently with his brother, Anthony Grant, as it was the intention of both to volunteer for active service. Anthony Grant is however medically unfit at present, suffering with a severe attack of rheumatism or some similar complaint.

Hindcos to New Zealand.

It was reported at a sitting of the New Zealand Water-side Workers' Conference in Auckland that a number of Hindus had arrived by the *Talune* from the Islands last Sunday night. Statements were also made that several of these men were unable to pass the education test, and were thus unable to land, and that a schoolboy had been obtained to teach them sufficient of the English language to enable them to overcome the difficulty. The conference

expressed the opinion that this was an attempt on the part of employers to introduce coloured labour to replace men now in the fighting line. It was decided to bring the matter under the notice of organized labour bodies.

Ten Hindus arrived by the *Talune*. According to the Collector of Customs, Mr. J. P. Ridings, only one failed to pass the test. He is being detained aboard the vessel, and will be required to return by her whence he came. This is the practice in all cases when aliens fail to pass the education test. The latter is very simple, being merely the transcription of an application to land, and giving particulars of birth, etc. This may be written in English or in any European language—*Auckland Weekly News*, December 7.

How the Capitalists will Treat Black Labour.

Under the above heading the *British Australasian* writes the following in a leaderette.

"Recent evidence given before the Inter-State Commission in Sydney, is worth the attention of the supporters of a White Australia, who do not wish to see slavery, under the guise of indentured labour, introduced into the Commonwealth. One of the witnesses before the Commission was Mr. Maurice V. Shorter, a planter from the Solomon Islands, where more labour is required by his class. This gentleman suggested that there, and apparently also in Papua, planters and managers should be empowered to flog natives, and that a poll-tax should be imposed upon them in order that they should be forced to work for would be employers. He further expressed the opinion that Asiatic indentured labour should be introduced into Papua. This witness was listened to in patience by the commission, Mr. Piddington merely remarking drily that he was afraid the suggestions were three or four degrees of latitude too high for Australian ideas. We are very glad to hear it, and trust that they will find no more favour in the future. All white Australians and true humanitarians, however, need to be upon their guard. The *Melbourne Age*, and other papers in Australia, have already been urging the introduction of indentured labour into the Northern Territory, and if this be once permitted, under whatever restrictions in the first instance, the demand for it will grow, and we shall soon have a full-blown system of virtual serfdom and an ugly collection of coloured labour problems to deal with in the Commonwealth."

The planter from the Solomon Islands or the conservative papers of Australia, like the *Age* cannot be expected to know what goes on in India about

indentured labour. They might learn now that its death knell is sounded.

But what we cannot understand is, that any part of the Empire should be made a preserve to the white man alone and that the self-governing colonies of the Empire should act on the niggardly policy of the proverbial Dog in the Manger.

Our Motto is "The Empire must be thrown open to all its citizens, Black, Brown, White or Coloured."

Petition for increase of wages.

The Masonry or Raj-mistries of Calcutta have the good sense of approaching before, and appealing to the sense of justice of, the Burra Sahibs of every building firm, for an increase of their daily wages (at present fixed at 10 as) by the meagre sum of 2/2-annas occasioned by the rise in prices of food-stuffs. Instead of resorting to unwholesome strikes, the Raj-mistries have preferred this constitutional method for the purpose of ventilating their grievances. The following are the last three clauses of the petition:—

That your petitioners have tried to approach you with their prayers through the Head mistries, who for selfish reasons have suppressed your petitioners' grievances from your notice.

That your petitioners are waiting all along, before they commence working, for the favour of your consideration and concession, but as your petitioners are afraid that the proper version of their attitude, grievances and prayers have never reached you, your petitioners crave the indulgence to directly approach your Honour, who is the only dispenser of bread to many of the poor families, with this petition for your favourable consideration, as you are their real Master.

That the labourers and majurs who assist the Raj-mistries and those who do odd jobs in connection with building works are in the same difficulties as above and sharing the same fate and they also place themselves at the mercy of your Honour, in return for which your petitioners pray for your Honours' long life and prosperity for ever.

From the Zinc Shed to the Marble Hall.

We understand that Mr. Badri Maharaj-an ex-indentured labourer has been appointed a member of the local legislative council of Fiji. The appointment is a public scandal and it is reported that the Indian community has been shamefully treated.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

ANNUALS.

The Imperial Year Book for Dominion of Canada, 1915-16. Edited by A. E. Southall, 221, Coristine Building, Montreal. Printed by John Lovell & Son, Ltd., 21-29 St. Nicholas Street, Montreal. Price \$ 1.50, cloth, \$ 1.00 paper.

This is the third book of reference we received from Canada and each of these publications has its own special lines of treatment. This Imperial Year Book for Canada is planned to fill up a gap among the Canadian works of reference. It aims at giving statistics of Canada and other countries of the British Empire showing the relations between them. Especially at this time of war such a relationship acquires a deeper and more practical significance in matters pertaining to trade. The great care with which the special tables are added to Trade and Commerce sections indicates the possibilities of future Canada in taking up the place of Germany in the Empire Trade now lost to her. The other sections deal with several subjects of Canadian interest such as National Defence, Natural Resources, Industries, Finance, Transportation, etc. Lastly a sketch of the whole British Empire is given within a compass of 170 pages. The book therefore deserves its imposing title and, considering that the work is in the 2nd year of its publication, it is a marvel to note the perfection which this work has attained both in the arrangement of the subjects and their treatment.

The Editor is to be specially congratulated on his achievement.

Mauritius Almanac for 1916 by A. Walter, F.R.S., Director of the Royal Alfred Observatory, Mauritius. Price Rs. 6.

We learn a good deal about the little island of Mauritius from this Almanac ably compiled by Mr. A. Walter. The Indian public should be very much interested in this island, because three-fourth of the population are Indians. The total population of the island in 1911 was 368,791 of which 257,697 were Indians. One distressing feature noticeable in the education statistics of the island is the paucity of public schools conducted by Indians for the education of Indian children, whether Hindu or Mahomedan. There are only two schools conducted by Mahomedans and one by the Hindus, with altogether 425 pupils whereas there are 67 schools conducted by Roman Catholics with an average attendance of 6,292 pupils. This is a matter

for grave consideration by Indians both in this country and in Mauritius.

The book is divided into five well arranged sections. The early history of the island is described in Sec. A and the events are arranged chronologically. Sec. B is a Civil List pertaining to different Government departments. Sections C, D and E refer to Commercial Statistics, Government orders and other miscellaneous matters.

The Indian Literary Year Book and Authors' Who is who for 1916 Edited by N. Mitra, M.A. Published by the Panini Office, Allahabad. Price Rs. 2.

We welcomed the first edition of the book with great hopes and we feel justified in doing so, since it has improved considerably as indicated by the present size which is almost double the original. Still a great deal remains to be done to bring the work up to date. For instance, there can be no justification for omitting the Connemara Public Library of Madras in the section dealing with Libraries and Reading Rooms. We would suggest that periodicals be also arranged according to the subjects they treat about, as politics, economics, religious, social, educational, scientific, etc. This will facilitate reference to periodicals. The authors' full addresses should also be given in all cases as far as possible. While the reviewer is not altogether unaware of the difficulties that confront Editors of such pioneer works and especially during this period of world convulsion, we trust our suggestions will be taken up in a good part and utilised perhaps when better circumstances prevail.

The Book of the Madras Exhibition. Messrs. Higginbotham & Co, Ltd., Madras. Price Rs. 3.

We are glad to find that the Madras Exhibition of 1915-16 of the arts and industries of S. India has been given a permanent record in the form of the "Book of the Madras Exhibition" for which we are greatly indebted to H. E. Lord Pentland (Governor of Madras), President of the Ex. Committee of the Exhibition. Exhibitions of this nature go a great way to improve the industries of a country provided, of course, the people are earnest in the matter and the well-to-do classes appreciate the artistic work of their own countrymen and patronize them.

For those who are serious about developing the cottage industries of the Presidency, the book under review suggests a variety of such industries under Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries, etc. The statistical arrangement given in pages 50-115 of a large number of commercial crops has an important trade value. In addition the book contains series of articles and lectures relating to

the industrial resources of the Presidency which show how much the province still remains to be developed. Regarding village Industries, the work done by the missionaries is noteworthy and they are certainly a more practical people than the clap-trap politicians who only talk of industries from platforms. In this respect the Andhra Province is far a head of the Southern part of the Presidency and the Kalasala at Masulipatam is to be specially complimented for winning a gold medal for models and appliances. So is Mr. Nagappa for statutory work. We also find that the Native States of Cochin and Travancore have taken a keen interest in the Exhibition. The net value of this show is that the War Fund was enriched by Rs. 69,700.

SOCIOLOGY.

The Population Problem in India by P. K. Wattal, M.A., of the Indian Finance Department, Bombay. Published by Bennet, Coleman and Co., Ltd., Bombay. Price Re. 1.

In this little book Mr. Wattal takes up the patent fact that we are a poor people and comes to our rescue with his problem "how to live in this world." Evidently the author is a malthusian as indicated by his suggested remedy of moral restraint for poverty and other evils of over population. He is to boot the upholder of the theory of the survival of the fittest. But modern theories go very much against the author in these respects. Eugenisists point out that very little progress is made by the prevention of the multiplication of the unfit. Sir Isaac Newton was such a thin and frail child that no English nurse would think it worth while to keep him alive. Yet he lived to become the author of "Principia." Such instances could be multiplied. We could not therefore adopt the Spartan plan of throwing away the seemingly unpromising and weeding of the unfit (p. 24). Unfit for what, is the question? The problem is not one of the survival of the fittest, but how to make such a distribution of wealth among all that each man will lead a 'normal life' with sufficient food, clothing and shelter. The malthusian theory of population is narrow-minded in its tendency and unnatural in its action. When Malthus wrote his Essay on Population in 1798 the productive power of the world were at its lowest and to-day by the aid of science and invention production from the soil has increased ten to twenty fold and the world to-day can support 10 or 20 times more people than there are at present in it. Closely connected with this problem of population and its increase by marriage, etc., is Emigration and we quite agree with the author in his views

on the suggestion of a colonisation policy for the labourers of the over populated districts, but to say that Emigration has not worked wonders in any old country is not to show that it may not work wonders hereafter provided it is well directed and controlled.

The author in discussing this important problem is carried away by the drybone theory of Political Economy and not of the flesh and blood theory. This is just the mistake of one-sided education on western lines. If he should study the subject from the Hindu sociological standpoint, Mr. Wattal would revise his opinions and devise more practical suggestions for minimising the struggle for existence. We, however, quite appreciate the spirit with which the book was written, viz., the deep sympathy he feels for the majority of Indians in their economic depression.

Poverty and Social Progress by Maurice Parmelee. Ph D. Published by Mac Millan & Co., Ltd., London and New York—Price 7s. 6d.

The Problem of poverty always stares a nation that is progressive in the modern sense of the term. The more highly the industrial system of a country is organised under the present capitalistic system of production, the more poverty there is in that country, and a scientific study of the problem only shows how fatuous are most of the measures whose familiar Shibboleths are philanthropy, social service, moral reform and religion. The author in his earnest endeavours to find out a prophylactic enters into an explanation of the causation of poverty as likely to furnish a starting point for an effective programme of prevention. After a discussion of the biological factors of causation, he arrives at the conclusion that the subject centres in the main around two economic factors, viz., production and distribution of wealth. So long as these two factors are influenced by the reasoning of the "economic man" without taking into consideration, the higher aspects of man and the evolutionary nature of humanity to a higher life, any measures calculated to give relief to the poor can only be a palliative and not a permanent cure. The industrial system described in Chapter X under "sweating system," the characteristics of which are low wages, long hours and the insanitary conditions under which work is usually performed, is an instance of the present day industrial warfare tending to create more and more poverty in the land. So long as society remains unstimulated by a tendency of altruistic feelings, for promoting the welfare of a larger number of individuals and ultimately of the human species as a whole, it is well we talk little of poverty and its remedial measures. Speaking of this tendency, the writer says, "there still remains plenty of opportunity for the expression of altruistic feelings in personal relations. It is indeed deplorable the extent to which personal relations in the family and in the life of society at large are characterized by malicious gossip, backbiting, scandal mongering, jealousy and petty ill feeling of all kinds. This situation is, of course, due in large part to the training and circumstances of most individuals, which in turn are due to the way in which society is now organised. If every individual could be given the training of the intellect which would furnish a basis for the development of a sympathetic imagination and the discipline of character which results in a high degree of self-control,—there would be a much ampler opportunity for the expression of these altruistic tendencies in personal rela-

tions. And altruism expressed in this form would promote human welfare far more than it has so far accomplished."

The author has done well to bring this necessary feeling before his readers in the last 13 chapters dealing with "Preventive Measures." In conclusion, he finds a preventive for poverty in the conception of a society inspired by humanitarian and democratic ideals. Although the author has touched very mildly on the influence of religion as a factor in the evolution of human society, he has not given to this aspect the importance it deserves as only by religion, on account of its high emotional intensity, a tremendous influence could be brought to bear for the betterment of humanity as a whole.

The book is bound to appeal to all workers of social and political reform in all countries on account of its clear analysis of the subject and able exposition of the same.

NOTICES.

The Review of Reviews for December 1916.

Miss E. W. Stead, writing in an editorial note in the December issue of the *Review of Reviews* very pithily sums up our demand for post-war reforms as India's desire "to be made mistress of her own household," and her insistence "that her position in the Empire be made equal to that of the daughter-Dominions." She is evidently very much struck by the suggestion put forward to eliminate what she aptly calls "the Indian Civil Service element in the Viceroy and Governor General's Cabinet, and giving of portfolios to Indians and Britons prominent in public life."

Mr. St. Nihal Singh deals with "India During and After the War." The writer triumphantly points to the failure of all plots against the British Government, because of the Indian people's refusal to do anything underhand. He very frankly points out the anomalies existing in a Government conducted by foreigners, deplores the fact that Indians are denied the privilege of managing their own affairs, debarred from carrying arms, and kept out of the self-governing Dominions. The same writer in another part of the *Review of Reviews* brings out the point that Indians show great genius as military leaders whenever they are given the chance to show their ability.

Miss Stead's note on Japanese education should be taken to heart by all Indians. She points out that agitation is going on for increasing the teachers' pay, and strengthening primary and secondary education. This cry is being raised in a country which has a school in nearly every village, and where almost cent per cent of boys and girls of school-going age are receiving education. What of our own India? The article on the Japanese press is also very interesting.

Apart from these Oriental subjects treated in the Review, it is full of attractive features. A brief account is given of the visit paid by Her Majesty the Queen-Mother in London to the Stead Hostel which has been raised memory of the great man who courageously championed the cause of women, Indians and other subject people, a tradition that Miss Stead is now carrying on. The notes, leading articles, and book reviews cover the whole world, and a great variety of topics. Many powerful cartoons are also included in the December issue.

The Indian Emigrant

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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.

OUR NEW POLITICAL OUTLOOK.

BY K. M. PANIKKAR.

TILL now the political work in India has been one of criticism; the greater task of a constructive scheme now remains.

The future of India presents to every student two different but closely correlated aspects. First of all we have the question of internal Government, that is, the question of relation of the State with the individual and the group and secondly that of our relation with the other countries of the world, i. e., the relation of the State with the International Community. For a complete formulation of the problem of India's future we shall have to consider both

these aspects not only by themselves but in their complex inter-relations. The first part of the following article will be devoted to the internal problem; the second will deal with the relation between India and the British Commonwealth, thus showing the mutual influence of these two aspects for a new stage in the social and political evolution of the world.

INTERNAL AUTONOMY.

That India should have immediate self-government to such a degree as not to compromise the interests of the more organic society, which we call Empire and which is our ultimate goal, is what I mean when I advocate Home Rule. What now are the interests of the Empire which absolute autonomy for India might compromise.

We should first of all remember that India is the heart of the Empire and its most vulnerable part. Ever since the time of Alexander the strategic eye of all the world's commanders have been fixed on the frontiers of India. The greatest general and statesman that the world ever saw—the great Napoleon himself—thought that even in the days when those machines of the Devil, the Railways and the Steamships were not in existence, a march from the Rhine to the Indus could be successfully undertaken by any commander of ordinary ability. But now when the matter has passed all stages of speculation, when a fully equipped army could be transported (if the Bagdad Railway is

finished) from the heart of Europe to the Persian Gulf in 9 days; when a Russian force could be concentrated 9 miles from the frontier of India in the general course of an army-mobilisation; when the Trans-Persian Railway, if it comes to be constructed, would virtually have outflanked the whole system of Indian defence; the defence of India becomes the most important problem of the defence of the Empire. Therefore Indian Home Rule will not mean the absolute control of Indian Military affairs. They must, more than any other matter, remain under the Central Imperial Authority. With this condition the autonomy of the Government of India should be absolute. But how is that Government to be constituted? Are we to improve on the existing machinery or to introduce "Representation and Responsibility?" Here is the point on which I most differ from those leaders of India who have expressed themselves on the matter.

My scheme of Government for Indian Home Rule will be this. The whole civil service should be left undisturbed in its work while introducing a policy of gradually Indianising it. The authority of the India Office should be entirely abolished leaving the Imperial Government at Delhi absolute masters in all Indian matters. The provinces should be re-divided according to the linguistic distribution. They should have full sovereign power in specified matters and must be free to adopt their own form of Government.

The Central Executive should sit at Delhi. It should be controlled by a small Senate say of 50 members, 30 of whom should be elected by the Supreme Legislative Council and 20 should be ministers appointed by the Native States. This Council should always sit *in camera*. The Central Executive which is nominated by the Viceroy must be bound by the decisions of this body. It should have in conjunction with the Legislative Council full powers of legislation.

The Imperial Legislative Council should be constituted on a different basis. It should have as at present a minority elected from the provincial councils. It should also contain a small minority (never more than one-fifth) of men who on account of their greatness as thinkers, writers and Rishis should be nominated for life. It should be made a condition that these men should not be given any other honours and titles. The Executive should have the right to nominate one-fifth of the members to represent various

minorities. They should be selected from a list presented by such communities. The rest of the assembly (which will form another fifth) should be made hereditary among the highest nobility of the country. This assembly should have powers of initiating all legislation (excepting those relating to taxes) and passing resolutions and orders of the day on all subjects, and must have interpellatory power. They should be allowed to discuss all subjects but in specified matters the ministers will have the right to withhold information.

Their control of the Government will be through the 30 members who are elected from among them to sit in the Senate. This election must not be left to the control of the party. According to the numerical proportion of the constituted parties the members should be distributed, preventing thereby any party sweeping the election by a party ticket.

These reforms will in no way be revolutionary. Only the Senate will have to be newly constituted. The other bodies are all existing, only that they have to be put on a different basis if we want efficient self-government. Redistribution of provinces on some natural basis is a preliminary for all other reforms. Self-government finds its greatest hindrance in the ill-assorted provinces into which our country is divided. The Presidency of Madras for example contains people who speak three different languages,—Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam. Governmental co-operation in the province is necessarily limited to the minority who know English. If, on the other hand, there was an Andhra province political activity will in no way be confined to those who know English but will permeate the masses. A redistribution of provinces therefore must precede any attempt to establish self-government if such government should be effective.

Excepting for these two changes our scheme of Home Rule is one of Indianising the existing administrative machinery. In its main outlines it is simple. It is neither a very delicate, nor a very sensitive machinery whose workings will be disturbed if any part of it goes wrong. On the other hand its strength lies in the fact that such slight disturbances do not affect it at all.

That the influence of this machine has entirely been devoted to the good of the country cannot be maintained. Its *personnel* being mostly foreign the

Indian did not receive the administrative experience which such a system would have given to him. It gave no opening to originality in public men and thus stifled the growth of great statesmen with conceptions of far-reaching policy able to watch the currents of world's forces and steer the ship of State. Both of these can be gained only by establishing general control of policy to persons not in service and by gradually Indianising the *personnel*.

But constitutionally speaking, the most important change will be in the position of the Secretary of State. At present the Viceroy in India is the agent of the Secretary of State. Edwin Montague spoke of Lord Morley as having worked out reforms through the agency of Lord Minto. This position must be reversed. The Secretary of State should be the agent of the Government of India representing that country in England. He should have no voice in the Government of India at all. Matters that have to be settled in the Imperial Cabinet should be represented by him under the immediate instruction of the Government at home. It follows naturally that he will not be a figure in English political life but an Indian (or English) statesman selected by the Senate with the approval of the Viceroy. Though this last condition could not be insisted upon at once we must remember the chief reform, *i.e.*, the reversal of the relative position of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State is absolutely necessary for any scheme of self-government.

Our scheme of Home Rule as far as it affects governmental machinery can be summarised as being a gradual (but not necessarily slow) Indianisation of the existing machinery preceded by a redistribution of provinces and a conversion of the autocrat of the Whitehall to an Agent General of the Indian government.

MINORITIES.

The question of self-government is everywhere a question of protecting the minorities and of safeguarding Imperial interests. About the latter we shall speak when we discuss the imperial aspects of our problem. The former has not received due consideration at the hands of Indian writers.

The chief minorities in India are the Mohemmadans, the Christians and the Parsis. The Mohem-

madans form far and away the largest and the most important among them and the minority question affects them most vitally.

As for the Parsis, we can sooner talk about safeguarding the interests of the Jews in Europe than of the Parsis in India. Eleven million Jews have conquered Europe and America. A hundred thousand Parsis have conquered the western presidency. The question as far as they are concerned is not how to safeguard their interests but how to keep their political influence at least roughly in proportion to their contribution to national life. The problem of minorities does not appear in their case.

The Christians also form a very small community. Their mobility of trade and freedom from the restriction of caste, their high percentage of education, etc., guarantee them an influence in national affairs far beyond what they are entitled to. The question of political minorities thus turns out in India to be a practically Mohemmadan question. How are we to guarantee our Mohemmadan brethren their just share in the Government of the country? What are the safeguards that should be maintained to prevent an oppression by a numerically superior community over an important minority. To put it in plain words, how could we satisfy the Moslems in India that self-government will not be used by the Hindus to tyrannise over them.

This is a question that has to be faced and it is a question started only about half a century ago. The last 40 or 50 years have given birth to this and many other allied questions from which we have soon to find a way out. Are we to give them separate electorates and perpetuate these differences, or are we to force them to take their chance of a Hindu government and depend upon their great territorial influence and inherent culture for ensuring them their proper place in Indian Nationality?

We cannot allow them to have separate electorates, not because we grudge our Moslem brethren their full share in Government but because such open differentiation in politics will only perpetuate what is after all a passing phase of national development. We cannot also let them rest discontented in the belief that they are being tyrannised by a people who are different from them in religion, manners and customs. That will be highly dangerous to the State.

A solution must be found for this ; otherwise our self-government will never be a success.

On closer examination it seems to me that the problem arises only because we look at Government from the stand-point of "representative democracy." In representative parliaments minorities are necessarily tyrannised by the majorities. The rule of the majority is the first axiom of representative Government. In England for example every law is passed not only against the wishes but in the teeth of vehement opposition from an earstwhile majority. The voice of the minority does not count. All the thunders of the opposition, all their prophecy of dire disaster, all their appeal to the sense and wishes of the country have no effect whatsoever on the majority. They listen to the speeches of their opponents, with undisguised contempt knowing very well how impotent they are. But in a Government such as we have described this problem does not seem to arise. The power of nomination vested in the Viceroy is meant expressly for this purpose. The election from the Legislative Council to the Senate will pay due regard to the minorities. The most important of our Mohemmadan noblemen will find hereditary seats in the council. The complaints of minorities, I think, will vanish under such a system.

This is one of the strongest reasons for repudiating the representative system of government. If we insist on having a parliament sitting at Delhi we shall have either to rule a refractory Moslem minority with utter disregard for their sentiments or perpetuate that crime of Lord Morley's separate electorate and communal representation.

IMPERIAL IDEAL.

We now come to the problem of our relation with the rest of the world, especially with Great Britain and the British Commonwealth.

It is impossible for any man to remain perfectly unconscious of the vast and varied forces that are at play around him. Even a casual observer must note that the forces of the social world are moving towards a more organic unity. Process of history is the process of the rise from the individual to the group from the less organic group to the more organic group. Such forces are working towards a higher unity than that of Nationality. Empires must arise from nations as nations arose from tribes.

The tendency of social evolution being such, it is well to admit that we shall be helping towards such a course of events when we reconstruct our relation with Britain. That is why we believe that a continuance of British relation is necessary not only for both the parties but for the best interests of humanity.

If Empire, therefore, is the higher unity towards which we are moving, what are its chief characteristics? What are the antitheses on the reconciliation of which such a higher social organism is to be built? How will the conflicting interests which we necessarily presume in such antithetical state be reconciled with the Empire? Do not the conflicts of the present Nation States such as there are offer insuperable resistance to the higher synthesis of the Empire State? These are some of the questions that strike the student of imperial theory.

The chief characteristic of the true Empire is that it is a social organism larger than any of the existing organisms. It is a union of Nation States in which the units yield their sovereignty to a common Central organisation which is set up on a community of interests. It will give each nation its opportunity for full self-development and preserve all that is worth preserving in the Nation idea. It will help to heal racial and religious conflicts because the Empire is necessarily made up of various peoples and various communities who are bound together by the new state. It will keep nations sufficiently apart as to avoid racial and national conflicts and thus promote the peace of the world.

The antithesis which we try to reconcile in Imperialism lies in the conflicting claims of Humanity and Nationality.

The claims of Nationality cannot be denied. Every nation has a right to develop its own personality as long as it does not clash with more fundamental interests. Every nation has a right to demand of other nations to keep to their obligations, to respect the Laws of Humanity and to guarantee the safety of its subjects. It has also the inalienable right of resisting with all its might any attempt on the part of any other nation to break such laws and obligations.

So far the claims of Nationality are the claims of the Individual. There is absolutely no difference between them. But the Nation claims full sovereignty

over all its affairs. It is this that clashes with the interests of Humanity. The claim of the individual for absolute supremacy over himself is what we call anarchy. But it is not generally recognised that such a claim by the Nation State is also anarchy in exactly the same sense as when it is advanced by the individual. With the higher social synthesis of the State the claim of absolute sovereignty over individual self yields place to an ideal of divided control. It is acknowledged except by professed anarchists that the State has claims over the Individual and the individual is sovereign over himself only in a limited sense.

The claim of Nationalities for absolute sovereignty appears to me to be as inadmissible as the claim of full and unhampered individualism. A vague international community has appeared on the stage during the 19th century which claims in a very limited way some sovereignty over nations. That Nationalities will have to yield their claim of absolute independence seems unquestionable. A higher synthesis, a more organic conception of society, will displace the present ideal of the Nation State.

We claim that the British Empire offers the best chance for such a higher synthesis. It has pretty well defined nationalities, mostly self-governing even at present. There is a central organisation which unites these states and it can without much difficulty be easily turned into a truly imperial machine. The current of intellectual forces within the British State has been towards such a consummation. It is a fact that cannot be denied. The history of the last 40 years is one long proof of this.

But it may be asked if the conflict of interests which we have to reconcile is not too fundamental for such a solution. Are not the conflicts of Nationalities based on something more than trade interests and colonial expansion? We believe that though the rivalries of States and Nations are often fundamental they can be made to submit to a central authority. As the interests and rivalries of individuals are reconciled in a state, so the conflicting currents of national activity can be reconciled by a social entity higher than the units composing it.

The question remains how such a reconciliation of interests is to be brought about? Suffice it to say

here that such a synthesis can take place only by a scheme of Federation. We believe that true Empire means such a federation. It means a union on community of interests, creating by such unity "ideals and interests larger and higher than their isolated and smaller national interests and ideals" and giving full scope for free national development and unhampered cultivation of national civilisation.

That Britain and India should be so united in an Empire is the fundamental idea of Indo-British Imperialism. That we in conjunction with Britain could create such a higher synthesis laying the first step to a higher civilisation is the philosophic basis of this idea. Why we should accept the co-operation of Britain rather than any other power for this new development of our world-culture is the political aspect of this problem. Neither of these three are open to question but it may be well to answer one objection to the last assumption, an objection often raised but of no great merit.

The case for a close connection with Britain will be presented in some detail in its due place. The question that I shall try to answer here is this. Is not the expansion of the British State based on the idea that "civilisation is a thing to be imported from one part of the world to another"? Is not an Anglo-Saxonisation of the world its philosophic basis? Will not a permanent union therefore either destroy the *raison d'être* of British "Imperialism" or help to the ruin of our national culture.

We admit that the *raison d'être* of English *expansionism* was in its idealist aspects, the belief in a moral superiority of European civilisation. But it must also be admitted that it is no longer so and it is this point that is at the root of the new and strong desire for an imperial reconstruction. The myth of European superiority has been exploded long ago. The Indo-British Empire will be built on the assumption that though civilisations may be in different stages of evolution, each has a right to take its own course. There is therefore no reason why England should then persist in a false theory of Empire whose *raison d'être* is gone.

Indian politicians of the early-congress type have seen the hand of Providence in the connection between India and Britain. I am in no way inclined to

question this. I believe that the union of India with Britain is a work of Providence not so much because it is of benefit to England or to India but because the future of humanity rests upon a close co-operation of these two types of civilisations.

An imperial union such as we have described ought therefore to be a religious ideal, one with which the essence of Hindu thought Jagadditaya Krishnaya is bound up.

POLITICS AND RACE UNITY.

THE higher aspects of political unity suggested in the latter part of the above article, is clearly set forth in the current issue of the *Arya*, the Philosophic Review of Mr. Aurobinda Ghose.

The unity of the human race by political and administrative means implies eventually the formation and organisation of a single World-State out of a newly created, though still loose, natural organic unity of mankind. For the natural organic unity already exists, a unity of life, of involuntary association, of a closely interdependent existence of the constituent parts in which the life and movements of one affect the life of the others in a way which would have been impossible a hundred years ago. Continent has no longer a separate life from continent; no nation can any longer isolate itself at will and live a separate existence. Science, commerce and rapid communications have produced a state of things in which the disparate masses of humanity, once living to themselves have been drawn together by a process of subtle unification into a single mass which has already a common vital and is rapidly forming a common mental existence. A great precipitating and transforming shock was needed which should make this subtle organic unity manifest and reveal the necessity and create the will for a closer and organised union, and this the present War has provided. The idea of a World-State or world-union has been born not only in the speculative, forecasting mind of the thinker, but in the consciousness of humanity out of the very necessity of this new common existence. It must now either be brought about by a mutual understanding or by the force of circumstances and a series of new and disastrous shocks. For the old still-existing

order of things was founded on circumstances and conditions which no longer exist; a new order is demanded by the new conditions and, so long as it is not created, there will be a transitional era of continued trouble or recurrent disorders, inevitable crises through which Nature will effect in her own violent way the working out of the necessity which she has evolved,—with a maximum of loss and suffering through the clash of national and imperial egoisms or with a minimum if human reason and goodwill prevail. To that reason two alternative possibilities and therefore two ideals present themselves, a World-State founded upon the principle of centralisation and uniformity, a mechanical and formal unity, or a world-union founded upon the principle of liberty and variation in a free and intelligent unity. These two ideals and possibilities we have successively to consider.

QUARANTINE GRIEVANCES AT MANDAPAM.

THE EDITOR.

"We must for the present, keep quiet and do nothing" are the words used by the Hon'ble Mr. Gillman in the course of a discussion held in the Madras Legislative Council on the 4th April 1917 on the resolution regarding quarantine restrictions at Mandapam. The resolution was moved by the Honourable Member who had the unique reputation of being associated with the recent Labour Commission appointed to enquire into the Indian labour condition in Ceylon and Malay States. The resolution itself runs as follows:—"This council recommends to His Excellency the Governor in Council that necessary steps be taken with the Ceylon Government to withdraw the Quarantine restrictions enforced at Mandapam on passengers proceeding to Ceylon."

The question of the quarantine regulations practised as at present at Mandapam is an old, old question and is now regarded as something like a "twice-told tale vexing the dull ear of a drowsy man." Consequently, the subject has lost to itself the consideration it has to deserve at the hands of the Government and the people.

The necessity for bringing this resolution before the council is thus explained by the mover, that hundreds of health certificates issued by the District Medical and Sanitary Officers which, according to clause (2) of the agreement (published below) entered into sometime ago with the Ceylon Government, was considered a valid passport for proceeding to Ceylon, have been disallowed by the Superintendent at Mandapam Camp and that people were compelled to undergo all trials as if they possessed no certificates. It was pointed out that some modifications were subsequently made in the concessions shown by the Ceylon Government with regard to grant of certificates by District Medical and Sanitary Officers. This curtailed the liberty of

(1) The stamping of passengers for purposes of identification will continue only until the completion of the permanent camp at the beginning of next year, when other arrangements will be made.

(2) Certificates of good health and freedom from infection will be accepted by the Ceylon authorities for passengers of all classes in lieu of quarantine. District Medical and Sanitary Officers are being authorized to grant these certificates on payment of a fee of Rs. 5 for an individual and Rs. 8 for a family.

(3) Re-vaccination is not now insisted on of persons previously vaccinated in the camp, of whose names a register is maintained. In other cases, proofs of previous vaccination are scrutinised, and if found satisfactory, re-vaccination is dispensed with.

(4) The stamp duty of Rs. 1 is not now levied; a deposit will not as a rule be demanded.

(5) The Ceylon Government have agreed to the appointment of the following officers of this Government as ex-officio visitors to their camp:—

The Surgeon General.

The Inspector-General of Police.

The District Magistrate, Ramnad.

The Sanitary Commissioner.

The Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Trichinopoly.

The Superintendent of Police, Ramnad.

The District Medical and Sanitary Officer, Ramnad.

The Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Ramnad, any officer who may be specially deputed by the Madras Government.

D. M. and S. O. in such a way as to require his personal knowledge of the individuals to whom certificates were issued; and this increased the power of the authorities at Mandapam to play havoc with the passengers. Even in cases where the certificates may have been issued properly with a full personal knowledge of the present, past and future of the individuals, the tin gods at Mandapam may question the legitimacy of such certificates on the score that they were not issued with the personal knowledge. It has been reported that, in 300 cases where fees were paid at the rate of Rs. 5 each and certificates obtained, people went to Mandapam with them and the Ceylon Medical authorities rejected them as useless and asked the people to go to the camp or take another certificate from there. What magic influence their certificates possessed over those of D. M. and S. O. of India, the Ceylon Medical authority alone could guess. Further, this questioning with impunity the certificates issued by District Medical officers in India does not reflect well on the service either and mention has been made by the Hon'ble Mr. Gillman that "ill considered certificates have been granted by one of our D. M. and S. O. which he never ought to have granted." We cannot understand why, for the grant of an improper certificate by one D. M. and S. O., thousands of passengers have to undergo a humiliation imposed by a Foreign Government. Nor the propriety of the clause No. 2 empowering only D. M. and S. O. to issue such certificates as it is not possible for him to have personal knowledge of all individuals going to Ceylon. And now the Hon'ble Mr. Gillman does not see his way to trouble the Ceylon Government to reconsider the question with the Ceylon Government of issuing certificates by persons who, from the point of view of personal knowledge of individuals, are more competent, and who are in closer touch with the people, than the D. M. and S. O. viz., the Civil and Assistant Surgeons of the District. The result of this kind of attitude by the Government will be as the Hon'ble Mr. K. Rama Aiyengar says "a source of trouble and annoyance to people, who expected some kind of relief." All that is wanted is a health certificate and if that cannot be granted as a result of the examination of the person who appears before the Medical Officer, what the object of the correspondence between the two Governments cannot be under-

question this. I believe that the union of India with Britain is a work of Providence not so much because it is of benefit to England or to India but because the future of humanity rests upon a close co-operation of these two types of civilisations.

An imperial union such as we have described ought therefore to be a religious ideal, one with which the essence of Hindu thought Jagadditaya Krishnaya is bound up.

POLITICS AND RACE UNITY.

THE higher aspects of political unity suggested in the latter part of the above article, is clearly set forth in the current issue of the *Arya*, the Philosophic Review of Mr. Aurobinda Ghose.

The unity of the human race by political and administrative means implies eventually the formation and organisation of a single World-State out of a newly created, though still loose, natural organic unity of mankind. For the natural organic unity already exists, a unity of life, of involuntary association, of a closely interdependent existence of the constituent parts in which the life and movements of one affect the life of the others in a way which would have been impossible a hundred years ago. Continent has no longer a separate life from continent; no nation can any longer isolate itself at will and live a separate existence. Science, commerce and rapid communications have produced a state of things in which the disparate masses of humanity, once living to themselves have been drawn together by a process of subtle unification into a single mass which has already a common vital and is rapidly forming a common mental existence. A great precipitating and transforming shock was needed which should make this subtle organic unity manifest and reveal the necessity and create the will for a closer and organised union, and this the present War has provided. The idea of a World-State or world-union has been born not only in the speculative, forecasting mind of the thinker, but in the consciousness of humanity out of the very necessity of this new common existence. It must now either be brought about by a mutual understanding or by the force of circumstances and a series of new and disastrous shocks. For the old still-existing

order of things was founded on circumstances and conditions which no longer exist; a new order is demanded by the new conditions and, so long as it is not created, there will be a transitional era of continued trouble or recurrent disorders, inevitable crises through which Nature will effect in her own violent way the working out of the necessity which she has evolved,—with a maximum of loss and suffering through the clash of national and imperial egoisms or with a minimum if human reason and goodwill prevail. To that reason two alternative possibilities and therefore two ideals present themselves, a World-State founded upon the principle of centralisation and uniformity, a mechanical and formal unity, or a world-union founded upon the principle of liberty and variation in a free and intelligent unity. These two ideals and possibilities we have successively to consider.

QUARANTINE GRIEVANCES AT MANDAPAM.

THE EDITOR.

"We must for the present, keep quiet and do nothing" are the words used by the Hon'ble Mr. Gillman in the course of a discussion held in the Madras Legislative Council on the 4th April 1917 on the resolution regarding quarantine restrictions at Mandapam. The resolution was moved by the Honourable Member who had the unique reputation of being associated with the recent Labour Commission appointed to enquire into the Indian labour condition in Ceylon and Malay States. The resolution itself runs as follows:—"This council recommends to His Excellency the Governor in Council that necessary steps be taken with the Ceylon Government to withdraw the Quarantine restrictions enforced at Mandapam on passengers proceeding to Ceylon."

The question of the quarantine regulations practised as at present at Mandapam is an old, old question and is now regarded as something like a "twice-told tale vexing the dull ear of a drowsy man." Consequently, the subject has lost to itself the consideration it has to deserve at the hands of the Government and the people.

The necessity for bringing this resolution before the council is thus explained by the mover, that hundreds of health certificates issued by the District Medical and Sanitary Officers which, according to clause (2) of the agreement published below entered into sometime ago with the Ceylon Government, was considered a valid passport for proceeding to Ceylon, have been disallowed by the Superintendent at Mandapam Camp and that people were compelled to undergo all trials as if they possessed no certificates. It was pointed out that some modifications were subsequently made in the concessions shown by the Ceylon Government with regard to grant of certificates by District Medical and Sanitary Officers. This curtailed the liberty of

(1) The stamping of passengers for purposes of identification will continue only until the completion of the permanent camp at the beginning of next year, when other arrangements will be made.

(2) Certificates of good health and freedom from infection will be accepted by the Ceylon authorities for passengers of all classes in lieu of quarantine. District Medical and Sanitary Officers are being authorized to grant these certificates on payment of a fee of Rs. 5 for an individual and Rs. 8 for a family.

(3) Re-vaccination is not now insisted on of persons previously vaccinated in the camp, of whose names a register is maintained. In other cases, proofs of previous vaccination are scrutinised, and if found satisfactory, re-vaccination is dispensed with.

(4) The stamp duty of Rs. 1 is not now levied; a deposit will not as a rule be demanded.

(5) The Ceylon Government have agreed to the appointment of the following officers of this Government as ex-officio visitors to their camp:—

The Surgeon General.

The Inspector-General of Police.

The District Magistrate, Ramnad.

The Sanitary Commissioner.

The Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Trichinopoly.

The Superintendent of Police, Ramnad.

The District Medical and Sanitary Officer, Ramnad.

The Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Ramnad, any officer who may be specially deputed by the Madras Government.

D. M. and S. O. in such a way as to require his personal knowledge of the individuals to whom certificates were issued; and this increased the power of the authorities at Mandapam to play havoc with the passengers. Even in cases where the certificates may have been issued properly with a full personal knowledge of the present, past and future of the individuals, the tin gods at Mandapam may question the legitimacy of such certificates on the score that they were not issued with the personal knowledge. It has been reported that, in 300 cases where fees were paid at the rate of Rs. 5 each and certificates obtained, people went to Mandapam with them and the Ceylon Medical authorities rejected them as useless and asked the people to go to the camp or take another certificate from there. What magic influence their certificates possessed over those of D. M. and S. O. of India, the Ceylon Medical authority alone could guess. Further, this questioning with impunity the certificates issued by District Medical officers in India does not reflect well on the service either and mention has been made by the Hon'ble Mr. Gillman that "ill considered certificates have been granted by one of our D. M. and S. O. which he never ought to have granted." We cannot understand why, for the grant of an improper certificate by one D. M. and S. O., thousands of passengers have to undergo a humiliation imposed by a Foreign Government. Nor the propriety of the clause No. 2 empowering only D. M. and S. O. to issue such certificates as it is not possible for him to have personal knowledge of all individuals going to Ceylon. And now the Hon'ble Mr. Gillman does not see his way to trouble the Ceylon Government to reconsider the question with the Ceylon Government of issuing certificates by persons who, from the point of view of personal knowledge of individuals, are more competent, and who are in closer touch with the people, than the D. M. and S. O. viz., the Civil and Assistant Surgeons of the District. The result of this kind of attitude by the Government will be as the Hon'ble Mr. K. Rama Aiyengar says "a source of trouble and annoyance to people, who expected some kind of relief." All that is wanted is a health certificate and if that cannot be granted as a result of the examination of the person who appears before the Medical Officer, what the object of the correspondence between the two Governments cannot be under-

stood. In the course of the debate, the Hon'ble Mr. Rama Aiyengar ably puts forward the case thus,

I know that the Mantapam regulations have caused considerable annoyance in the way they have been worked. I have, on a previous occasion, placed before this Council the difficulties experienced by persons that wanted to go to Ceylon. Respectable men had only to take a letter of recommendation from certain individuals who had the acquaintance of Ceylon Officers. When that kind of letter went, the man passed off without difficulty. But I believe most respectable men, who may not go to the particular individual or individuals, if they want to go to Ceylon, will be stopped at Mantapam, whatever may be their health, or their antecedents and status. This kind of restriction imposed upon the District Medical and Sanitary Officer requiring on his part a previous acquaintance with the antecedents of the person who wants to go to Ceylon will practically nullify the effect of the concession granted and will not enable any Medical and Sanitary officer to grant a certificate of health and will not give the much needed relief in the case of those who want to go to Ceylon. . . . Continuing, he says

As one that represents the group of districts which sends the greatest number of people to Ceylon I must place before the Council the extraordinary amount of trouble and inconvenience to which our people in those parts are put, before going to Ceylon. Many have been going over to Ceylon without any trouble, on mere recommendatory notes from those who, for the mere nod of their heads, would be able to send these people to Ceylon without any trouble. I have not been giving notes of introduction to everyone of them. It is a thousand pities that this Government should not be able to assist the people, when actually no interest is served for the Ceylon Government. We only hand over our people into the hands of others who, on account either of indifference or what shall I call it—I do not want to use any language which might be misunderstood—do not care for our convenience, and who, for the mere sake of their own satisfaction put them amidst a lot of people whose company is neither enjoyable nor healthy. The detention of these people in quarantine is more likely to make them catch these diseases than if they were being sent away directly to Ceylon. They often come from the best and healthy parts, and when they are made to stay with people coming from infected parts for eight days in the camp, it will make them catch the infection, and that was what was attempted to be remedied. Even the little that was done is now attempted to be taken away. I am not

satisfied that the statement made by the Hon'ble Mr. Gillman is anything that supports the original view taken by this Government. I should respectfully submit that an amount of prestige should be maintained so far as this Government are concerned by insisting that in the case of medical inspection nothing more need be expected than the fitness of a person for a health certificate. If a special point is to be made of special diseases, instructions might be issued to District Medical and Sanitary Officers to examine the persons in a particular way. More than that it is unnecessary to insist upon. It becomes a serious matter if the little that was once given is now sought to be taken away."

After such a lengthy discussion on the subject, His Excellency who is "as anxious as anybody to obtain the fullest privilege for 'his own people,'" assures us that "if at anytime we can obtain a favourable relaxation in regard to certificates or in any other direction to secure the free ingress of our people into Ceylon, let us do so"

So far as the Executive is concerned, we accept the assurance.

Let us for a moment consider the duties of the Hon'ble Members who represent us in the Councils. In the first place they must not consider they have been elected to the council merely to speak and criticise the Government. They have also a much more important and sacred duty of working on behalf of the people, whenever there is the opportunity. We know that there are several hardships and inconveniences to which Indian passengers are subjected to not only at Mandapam but even at Negapatam and the Hon'ble Mover of this Resolution is quite alive to such hardships. He, as Agent of the Madura Co., at Negapatam, stands in a very advantageous position to remove such hardships. Has he done anything to remove those grievances taking place before his very nose?

If the Hon'ble Members who took part in the discussion of this Resolution would only combine themselves into a body of *practical workers* and try to take such steps as will induce the coolies to remain in the country, and bring work and wages for them, they would be removing all trouble and inconvenience, assisting the Government immensely and be doing a hundred times more service to the country than they would otherwise do by proposing and seconding Resolutions of this sort.

"The Problems of Greater India."

ASIATIC MIGRATION.

The *United Empire* (The Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute London) in its March issue writes the following long and capable review of our book, "The Problems of Greater India" under the above title. We commend this review to the earnest consideration of the Government of India and the colonial Governments of the British Empire.

IN "The Problems of Greater India"*, Mr. K. M. Panikkar enters a plea for the recognition of Indians as British citizens and calls attention to the anomalous position of British Indians when beyond the boundaries of the Indian Empire. We recommend his treatise to the earnest consideration of those who realise how important is the subject with which the author deals and more particularly to those who wish to understand the Indian standpoint in this question. Although a good deal has been written about the disabilities of Indian emigrants in the various portions of the British Empire, and more especially in the Self-Governing Dominions, the average British citizen knows little or nothing about the subject and does not realise how in the near future, unless a satisfactory solution be found of the pressing problem of Indian migration, the cordial relations between India and Great Britain, and certainly between India and the Dominions, will be seriously jeopardised. The average Indian does not understand why his fellows in the Overseas Dominions are subjected to discriminating and vexatious restrictions; nor does he realise the impotence of the Imperial Government and the Colonial Office in this matter. Indian opinion, at any rate, is united upon the desirability of ending what is at best a humiliating position, and at worst may be fraught with grave danger to the stability of the Empire; whilst Anglo-Indian thought is quickly hardening upon the necessity of formulating some basis of compromise acceptable to India and the Dominions alike.

Mr. Panikkar sets forth clearly and temperately, as we believe, the case for India. He shows that there is already a problem of Greater India and that with the lapse of time, and the probable increase of emigration

from the Indian Empire, the difficulties connected with the status of British Indians overseas will increase rather than diminish. He states that "it is impossible to resist the conclusion that as in the past there was a greater India composed of the outlying countries and islands in the Southern Seas and in the far East, so there will be inevitably in the future an outer India which will demand its place in the sun. At present, it is hardly necessary to reiterate that the problem of emigration as regards India has not been seriously approached either by the Government or—what is more melancholy—by the people themselves." The author is perfectly justified in making this statement. There will be a pressing problem of outer India to deal with in the near future. As Dr. Vaughan Cornish has pointed out in one of his illuminating lectures, the position of India renders the country of immense strategic importance in the regions of the Indian Ocean. Although, as he shows, the Indians, not having been a maritime people, have failed to take advantage of their central position, and therefore have not succeeded in dominating the surrounding seas, India itself has been used by the British Government in the fight for strategic supremacy in these regions. In the same way India acts, and will continue to do so, as a distributing centre of economic energy in the regions of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific.

If we examine Mr. Panikkar's volume we see that the main thesis he advances is that in order to secure equality of treatment, or at any rate something approaching to equal opportunity, India must be in a position to negotiate directly with the Self-Governing Dominions in order to exercise whatever pressure she deems requisite to secure the recognition of her claims. The Indian emigrant, he states, "belongs to a subject-nation; his self-respect and racial pride is lost by a system of semi-slavery, and he stands defenceless in opposition to the interests of an organised group of capitalists who have large powers of legislation and execution. Is it to be wondered, then, that the political status of the Indian emigrant is none too desirable?" In order to secure his political recognition abroad, the Indian, writes the author, must first obtain the right to citizenship within the British Empire, and the Indian Government must be enabled to voice the claims of the Indian peoples by means of direct communication with Colonial Governments. The latter postulate, on the whole, seems a logical sequence to the recognition of the full independence of the Self-Governing Dominions in every matter pertaining to their internal policy. "In the lengthy matter of despatch-writing from Viceregal Lodge to Whitehall and

* *The Problems of Greater India*. By K. M. Panikkar. The Indian Emigrant Prize Essay, 12mo. Pp. vi-97. Madras T. K. Swaminathan. 1916. 1s. 6d. Re. 1.

from Whitehall to Downing Street and from Downing Street to Cape Town, much of the original force of our feeling is wasted. Public opinion is powerless unless its impression is direct. And the cumbersome machinery of Imperial representation leaves Indian feeling almost unknown in the Colonies."

With the political or economic aspect of the questions raised by Mr. Panikkar, we do not propose to deal. It would neither be profitable nor politic to express any opinion on the propriety of the action taken by Colonial governments in dealing with this subject. What may be remarked, however, is that, after all, the attitude adopted by any particular Dominion with regard to the status of the emigrants admitted within its boundaries is a matter primarily for itself, and is therefore a subject for negotiation and compromise between the parties chiefly concerned. The treatment accorded to British Indians in any part of the world will be in strict ratio with the power exerted on their behalf by the Indian Government and not in accordance with the particular rights and wrongs of the matter, just as it is in the case of the subjects of China or Japan. The British Dominions therefore have to consider very closely the trend of events within India and more particularly to determine whether in the near future the Indian Government will not be in a position to wield a much greater influence in the councils of the Empire than it has done in the past. If, as a matter of fact, that is the case, then the Indian emigration difficulty is bound, sooner or later, to settle itself by reason of the inevitable compromise that must be arrived at between a Government capable of exercising direct pressure and Governments that are interested, for economic reasons, in preserving the most friendly relations with one of the most important sections of the British Empire.

YET, ANOTHER REVIEW.

The Mahratta of Poona, writes:—

The colonial problem has been of late a great impelling force to the minds of sincere Indian thinkers, as it involves the self-respect of a true Indian citizen. The task before us is no doubt a sincere patriotic attempt towards the proper solution of the problem. Mr. Panikkar has handled the problem from three points of view viz., the Economic, the Political and the Social. The author examines the various economic arguments of the colonists such as the low standard of Indian living and the wages

fund as a predetermined quantity and shows by actually working out figures that the Indian is the economic backbone of the country. The author also shows how the Indenture system is a demoralising factor and suggests that the emigration of labourers must be made by the Mother-country conditional on an increased rate of wages, and that pressure should be brought on the colonial Governments to establish co-operative credit Banks for Indians who desire to settle down as permanent inhabitants. He also suggests the establishment of an influential Indian syndicate for buying estates and reselling them to Indian cultivators in smaller plots. The second aspect involves the question of racial and cultural differences. Politically, the status of the Indian emigrant is undesirable in the last degree. He belongs to a subject nation: his self-respect is lost by a system of semi-slavery and he stands defenceless in opposition to the interests of an organised group of Capitalists who have large powers of legislation and execution. The author proves how the cumbersome machinery of Imperial representation leaves Indian feeling almost unknown in the colonies. The various disabilities of Indians in the colonies due to arrogant assertion by the European colonists of his racial right are then discussed. Coming to the question of the Indian's claim to British citizenship, the author discusses the difficulty raised by Colonials of the general education of the Indian. The reason why political franchise cannot be granted to Indians is the want, in the latter, of general education—say our Colonial opponents. The author while on this subject points out the variance between the Hindu and European ideals of general education: 'Hindu education is a social education (an education in social duties) while education as ability to read the Sunday newspaper is a thoroughly European ideal.' He points out further 'that in Hindu society politics are not the end but a means to the general well-being. Citizenship to the Hindu does not mean universal suffrage. It means that he has the right to follow his Dharma without being interfered with by anybody.' Lastly comes the social aspect. The author asks the emigrants to have their own distinctive social organization. They must keep their Indianness in the Colonies. The author exhorts the Arya Samagists to go and preach true Hinduism to the emigrants in the Colonies. The suggestions made by the author are greatly practical. We hope that every young Indian patriot will go through the work and grasp the situation of our brethren in the Colonies, and see where his duty lies.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Mr. A. F. Martin, Director of Labour, United Planters' Association, Bangalore writes with an experience of 30 years in Planting.

We regret that this letter was held over for want of space in the last issue.

The Editor,

"INDIAN EMIGRANT,"

Madras.

Dear Sir,

As a constant reader of your monthly paper and a student of the labour problem I claim some space in it.

With reference to your leader in the *Indian Emigrant* dated February 28th, Indentured Emigration to Fiji, Trinidad, Jamaica, and Guiana, from the Madras Presidency has ceased, and it is no use in flogging a dead horse. There is not a single cooly being sent to those Colonies.

There seems to be some idea that the interests of the employers and the employed are antagonistic. This is a mistake and has led to trouble in European and other countries, which can be avoided in India if from the very start it is realized that the interests of both are interdependent. The employer cannot live without the cooly, and the cooly wants employment as your article ably shows. Organizations of employers which do not consider the necessities and conditions of life of the employed are bound to fail; the Organization of labour you propose will also fail unless consideration is given to the interests of employers, the fluctuations in the market value of their produce and so forth. If anything is done to divert capital from Agriculture, it would not be in the best interests of the country. I am not one of those who believe that industrial expansion at the expense of growing rice and the food required by the people is the way to make coolies better off. What is the use of a bigger wage if it has to be spent on importing food at extra cost? What is wanted is cheap food at a wage which will leave a balance, after paying for the cost of living.

A man earning four annas a day in his village may be better off than a man getting eight annas a day in a town, where the cost of living is more than double. It is not the actual wage that matters but the surplus after meeting all expenses. The trouble in the villages is that there is not constant employment every working day of the year. The short term employment on most European

Plantations in Southern India is a help to the cooly, for he can get back to his village for the cultivation season and the harvest, when work and good wages are available. There are many villages in Southern India where owing to the nature of the rainfall and climatic conditions, all agricultural work has to be completed within three months. Coolies can work for the rest of the year on plantations without losing touch with their villages. I have always strenuously advocated the employment of labour under patriarchal conditions in groups of connected families. This is not always possible, for instance, Moplahs will not take their families with them, and Rubber estates want men as tappers, so that the conditions are met on both sides.

Landlords in the West Coast who employ Cherumars and other castes as their agrestic slaves, send their men to work on estates when there is no employment for them on their own fields holding the women and children as hostages for the return of the men when wanted, and so forth.

If you wish to organise labour, you must carry the employers with you and make it a single organisation with a single purpose, the prosperity of the country which means the prosperity of the people.

Nothing must be done to divide, but everything must be done to keep united what is at bottom one identical interest. The cooly has capital in the form of his labour, the employer has capital in the form of money. It is only in form they differ, but they represent one thing.

Emigration you have shown to be necessary, you must make sure that the people who emigrate are only the surplus for whom no employment can be found in India. My own impression so far as Southern India is concerned is that there is employment within the country for many who now leave the country, and whose services are lost to it. I offer you my services to help in the matter, in any direction in which you think I can be useful.

I am in a position to find work and wages all the year round for 100,000 coolies, and this you say is what is wanted to solve the problem of emigration and indenture. It does not sound much compared to the forty two millions of landless agricultural labourers now in India I admit, but at any rate it is a contribution which should not be disregarded.

Have you considered the formation of co-operative societies on sound principles?

1. To find work for coolies who belong to them and their families.
2. To safeguard their interests.
3. To offer a combined security for individual advances without which coolies cannot be expected to leave their villages.

Say 50 coolies belonged to such a society, representing with their wives and families two hundred working coolies, and 100 of these wanted work and wages. An employer would be willing to lend the society Rs. 700 for one year at a nominal rate of interest. The society could lend under their rules whatever was required, say Rs. 500 to these 100 coolies on the security of all members combined plus a lien on the wages of the coolies for whom work is found up to the limit of the amount advanced. The single interest of both employer and the employed would be secured, and the society itself would benefit enabling it to pay a dividend to its members including those who went away temporarily to work. Does this strike you favourably? It is only an idea I put forward in my desire to be of help to a cause which both you and I have at heart.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) AYLMEER F. MARTIN,

Director of Labour,

United Planters' Association of Southern India.

Exactly. We are quite in agreement with our friend Mr. Martin in all the points he has advanced in his correspondence. It is never our object to work against employers or stand in opposition to them and we do realise the important position occupied by the employing classes. It is the mischievous *laissez faire* doctrine of the English Economists that has produced all the trouble between Labour and Capital in England and Europe. The object of the employers has always been towards their profits and they considered their employes not as human beings but as a part of their machinery. How much food, shelter and clothing could 4 as. or 27 cents. a day could bring to the cooly and his wife and children working from morning till evening. Nor does the present illegal and iniquitous system of fines and imprisonments, excuse the employers in any way. As the writer himself has told us personally that persuasion through panchayats has worked wonders with the cooly than

a resort to the Police Courts for prosecuting the absconders.

The way to get work from the cooly depends on the employers themselves. Wages were low and Government wouldn't interfere, and the only course left to the working classes in England was to organise themselves, agitate and strike. We certainly do not wish to introduce these western things in this country. What we require is that labour should be better paid, housed and given such conditions of work as will enable every worker to lead a comfortable and happy existence and with sufficient leisure for the education and proper up-bringing of the members of his family. A compulsory minimum wage for every adult worker coupled with kindness and consideration is the only way to bridge the widening gulf between labour and capital. We thank Mr. Martin for his ready co-operation and kind suggestion and they will be taken advantage of when we have detailed our scheme of Labour Organisation. We have no doubt that employers in all parts of India and outside will co-operate with us in what we consider the best interests of both employers and employed and in a way of humanity at large.

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GENERAL ARTICLES.

HIGHER EDUCATION IN SWITZERLAND.

BY PROFESSOR ARNOLD EMCH, PH. D.

[The modern system of education in the Indian Universities has been described by many as antiquated, spiritless and mechanical. In spite of all the stir and activity for creating new Universities in India, it is to be doubted whether any improvement in the quality of the education imparted in these new Universities will be effected. Without obtaining a comparative knowledge of the systems of education prevailing in the more advanced countries of the world, such an improvement is not possible. With this object in view the very advanced Native State of Mysore through its energetic and practical Dewan Sir M. Visvesvarayya has sent Mr. G. Srinivasa Rao and Mr. Ramalinga Reddy to America on a deputation to report on the system of education there. We await their report with eagerness. We, however, cannot forbear reproducing the following article on Education in Switzerland from the "Hindustani student." The important point, emphasised in the schools there are the moulding of character, which is totally neglected in our Universities and the compulsory physical and military training for boys. "If," as the same journal points out, "modern Universities of India are only faithful copies of the old ones, whose efficiency is not more than 30 per cent. in the average, it will be a huge waste of national energy to start them. The old maxim—something is better than nothing—does not apply here at all. Any one who has analysed why the failures of the Indian Universities shine when they come to Europe or America, knows that the artificial check existing in Indian Universities is the root of all these evils. Certainly the educational standard maintained in Germany or America is not lower than that of India. Can a nation thrive whose 70 per cent. of College going young men are made to believe that they are useless to the world?"

So it is not quantity which counts. It is the quality which is mainly responsible for it; and unless the educational policy is changed, even a thousand universities like these will not and cannot save India.]

GENERAL CONDITION.

WITH a very few exceptions education in Switzerland from the lowest to the highest rank is essentially in the hands of the state and, in all its branches, and in every instance, is directed by various central school boards which are appointed or elected by the governments of the different cantons upon recommendation of competent educational interests. Great stress is laid upon competent supervision and direction of educational affairs. Switzerland has probably the most democratic and liberal system of government in the world. From this fact it must not be inferred that the spirit of irresponsible mob-rule has any place or influence in the progress of democratic control. Even in such a thoroughly republican nation as Switzerland it is of the greatest importance for a well ordered conduct of public affairs, that the competent and well educated classes should rule. There is, of course, no intelligent and patriotic Swiss who is not thoroughly in accord with this principle. In education only the best is good enough for the youth of Switzerland. But a progressive and prosperous democracy, when liberally offering exceptional privileges to its citizens, in order to endure, must, on the other hand, ask for the performance of certain duties, which no one is allowed to shirk. As an example, I mention the requirement of universal military service, without which the little Alpine republic would have doubtless suffered the deplorable fate of some of her less fortunate sister states.

EXAMPLES OF A COMPLETE CURRICULUM.

Although Switzerland has only about four million inhabitants, there exists considerable latitude in her educational opportunities. It would be impossible, within this short space, to present anything like a complete account of the various alternatives that lead to a higher education. I shall confine myself to a short description of a definite example which may give a fair idea of an educational plan followed as a normal type by thousands of prospective students.

The primary (grammar) school comprises six years (from eight to nine years for those that do not desire more than a grammar school education). The pupil enters school after the age of six has been reached. Passing the sixth grade, and after an entrance examination, he is admitted to the secondary school, where he spends from two to three years. Here, courses in arithmetic, plane geometry, and natural sciences, in the first year; algebra, solid geometry, and physical sciences in the second and third years, freehand and geometrical drawing, native and foreign languages, geography, and history, through all three years, are taught. These courses are uniform for all

pupils, except girls, who are not infrequently excused from geometry and algebra. In the last years of the grammar school, as well as throughout the secondary school, elementary courses in domestic science and household economics are compulsory for all girls. Systematic physical training for girls and boys, and military exercises for boys are prescribed for all classes of pupils.

According as the pupil of the secondary school has completed two or three years of study in the secondary school, he or she is now ready to enter the third or fourth year of a Cantonal College. To be admitted, an entrance examination must again be passed. The first two years of most of these colleges are identical in scope with those of the secondary schools of the country districts. Thus, children of the cities are enabled to enter the college directly after six years of grammar school. These colleges are usually divided into humanistic, industrial, and commercial sections, and in a number of instances include the state normal school. As may be expected, the humanistic division, known as Gymnasium, places more stress upon classic languages and related subjects, and is intended primarily for future physicians, lawyers, clergymen, and for the literary professions. Still, before graduation, all students of the gymnasium must, for example, go as far in mathematics as the calculus. That means that their curriculum includes analytic geometry. In the industrial or technical sections native and foreign languages, natural and physical sciences, and especially mathematics and drawing, are the principal studies. In general these studies are taught continuously through all classes. For instance, there is no time or semester during an entire course of seven years in college where the student is not taught some mathematics. Continuity in a course of study is certainly of great importance for the successful assimilation of any subject of learning.

While the normal and commercial courses of such colleges prepare a student directly for a definite vocation, *i. e.*, for teacher in a grammar school, and in the second instance, for some commercial occupation, graduation from the humanistic and technical sections will admit a student to the universities and the national technical university (Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule) at Zurich without an entrance examination. Thus, after thirteen or fourteen years of primary, secondary, and college education, the student is ready to begin his purely professional study at the University. By this time his general education in languages, history and geography, natural and physical sciences, mathematics, and drawing, etc., is supposed to be ample enough. It must be added that the principle of co-education is admitted in most

places, and physical and military training (for the boys) is compulsory for all grades and classes.

The average duration of a professional course at the university is from four to five years. There is no such a thing as a classification of students according to the American system of Freshmen, Sophomores, Juniors, and Seniors. The rank of a student is rather determined by the number of completed semesters. The "Doctor's degree" requires, as a rule, one or two more years of special study. From what has been said about the curriculum of the college it is apparent that the last year of the classical and technical divisions covers practically the same ground as the Freshman year of an American university.

While in college the student is guided by rigorous discipline and order. As a university student he is free to make use of the principle of "freedom of learning" or to abuse it. He is absolutely his only disciplinarian; he is supposed to be possessed of enough manliness (or in case of a young lady student, of enough womanliness) and steadfastness of character to get along without a school-master's whip. If at the age of 19 or 20, as he enters the university, the student's character is deficient, no artificial discipline or regulations will remedy the defect. He will very likely be a failure in life, and his defect will, in most cases, eliminate him sooner or later from the ideal realm of the university. In Switzerland very great emphasis is placed upon the proper moulding of the character during the early stages in the home and in the school. What cannot be accomplished up to the age of twenty with regard to character building can probably never be done.

OTHER INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING.

Besides the national technical university at Zurich and the state universities of Zurich, Bern, Basel, Geneva, Lausanne, Fribourg, and Neuchâtel, there is a commercial university at St. Gallen, a technical school at Winterthur; likewise at Biel, Burgdorf, Locle, Fribourg, and Geneva. These schools take an intermediate position between the secondary schools and the national technical university at Zurich. Their entrance requirements are equivalent with a two years' course of a secondary school, and their various courses last mostly four years. They cover, in part, the same ground as the technical university, but they do not insist particularly upon scientific thoroughness, and are splendidly adapted to the solution of simple problems of everyday engineering, architecture, watch-making, chemistry, commerce, railroad-traffic, postal and telegraphic service, etc. Some of these schools have also

sections of fine arts, especially decorative arts. The large attendance at these "Technica" is a proof of their great popularity in Switzerland, and also in foreign countries.

Student life in a "Technicum" is, on the whole, similar to that in a university. The regulation of student activities is naturally more rigorous than in a university. It is easily possible for a student to graduate from a Technicum at the age of 18 or 19.

EXAMINATIONS, DEGREES, AND FEES.

Contrary to the system prevailing in the United States of America, final examinations for graduation in most of the Swiss schools take place at the end of the course, no matter what the length of the course may be. There are severe oral and written examinations under strict supervision of local and governmental authorities and inspectors. They cover all principal studies of the entire curriculum and are considered as a very serious affair. On account of the official character implied by the direct control of the government, the passing of an examination for intellectual maturity in a college is rated as quite an accomplishment. In the universities the student must pass a preliminary examination, usually in the middle of the course, before he is admitted to the final examination. The latter is called a "state examination" and secures the student a state diploma as a physician, a lawyer, a chemist, an engineer, an architect, a teacher in higher schools, etc. A fee of from ten to fifty dollars* according to place and circumstances, has to be paid by the candidate for such an examination.

The degree of doctor of philosophy, doctor of law, doctor of medicine, doctor of theology, doctor of engineering, etc., may be conferred upon a candidate after two or more years of special study, the completion of a dissertation, and the passing of a doctor's examination. The fee for this is something like fifty dollars.

Matriculation and other general fees in a university amount to about fifteen to twenty dollars per semester. Laboratory fees vary, according to the nature of the course, say from five to sixteen dollars.

LIVING EXPENSES, LODGING AND BOARD.

Living expenses in Switzerland, under normal conditions (not at present), are very moderate. Railroad fare is probably lower than in any other country. The railways, with the exception of a few lines of secondary importance, belong to the government, *i. e.*, to the people. A third-class ticket with unlimited right to travel on the Swiss railways for two weeks costs only about nine

* (One dollar is approximately Rs. 3-2as.)

dollars. This is a fair example of the cheapness of travel in Switzerland.

Clothing prices are reasonable. For eight or nine dollars the student will probably get the best in the ready made line there is in the market. Good and modern shoes vary from three to four dollars. Of course, footwear for less than this amount may be bought.

Room rent on a low average is from two or three dollars a month. Better rooms are let for four to five dollars per month. For the same period board ranges from about twelve to twenty dollars for first-class service. The strictly enforced pure food laws, and the official food inspection of public markets, creameries, etc., assure the boarder of wholesome food. Swiss bakeries and confectionaries are famous for their excellent bread and pastry. Correct weights are guaranteed by the state, and the consumer is protected by law in every instance. Everything is run according to a well regulated and efficient system. Food prices are controlled by the governments of the various cantons. The creation of arbitrary and artificial conditions by unscrupulous interests would not be tolerated.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS, STUDENT ACTIVITIES.

Social conditions among student circles are more or less similar in all parts of continental Europe. Even in monarchies the university is considered as a little republic of scientists and students. No autocratic rule is tolerated in its realms. The students usually enjoy their free time in concert-halls and gardens, in the theatres, in the meeting places of student societies, and fraternities, in public lecture rooms, by long walks and mountain climbs, swimming, and other physical exercises. From year to year interest in healthy outdoor sport is increasing. There is hardly a university without its academic Alpine club, its Turner society, its foot-ball club, and other athletic associations. Professional societies, although existent, do not occupy prominent positions in student activities. There is enough to do for the student in a scientific sense, if he concentrates his attention to his studies, to the lectures of his professors, and to the laboratories. From what has been said above, it is obvious that there is plenty of opportunity for social entertainment for any student that so desires.

If he does not feel inclined that way, or even if no opportunity presents itself to him, the students' social welfare does not depend upon the hospitality of a number of friendly families. Life among students is, in general, very cosmopolitan and a student from the remotest corner of the world is considered absolutely on a level with the

native student in all respects. The real university does not classify according to different races, and if it measures differences at all, it measures them according to scientific standards.

The student is absolutely at liberty to express his honest opinion without reserve. He is free to criticize the authorities, the government, the President of Switzerland, if he should, and even if he should not have a reason to do so. If he has something to say, people will listen to him, if not, he will be ridiculed.

There is no trace of "lese majesty" in the Alpine republic. The people rule through their competent servants; and the students, coming from the people, are their future rulers.

FREE EAST INDIANS IN TRINIDAD.

We published sometimes ago a full report of the "Canada India League" of Toronto, which is doing excellent work for Indians settled in Canada. The League is gradually extending, as funds permit, its sphere of influence and useful work among Indians settled in the West Indies. We received information from Dr. L. A. Davis that a representative of the League, Mr. J. E. Dobbs, had gone to Trinidad to study the condition of the East Indian labourers there. While we greatly appreciate the sympathetic attitude taken by our Canadian brethren towards our countrymen, we deplore the apathy and indifference of our own men in the mother country in not having taken any steps either to help the League materially to enable it to continue its work or take the responsibility on themselves of sending a deputation of independent Indians to look into the condition of those unfortunate people who have left this their land more than three-quarters of a century ago.

We (the "Indian Emigrant") are ourselves contemplating to visit every Indian colony at least once a year and thus keep ourselves in close and living touch with our fellow countrymen in all parts of the world. We even have the idea of stationing a Representative of ours (The "Indian Emigrant") at each of those colonies for the social, educational and religious uplift of the colonials, *if only the Colonies respond to our call.*

In the meanwhile, the following extract from the report of Mr. Dobbs' will be read with interest.

Conditions of Free Labourers.—Conditions are much better for the free labourers in Trinidad, for after they survive the hardships and restrictions of five years' indenture they are at liberty to live away from the estate and secure a home of their own. In a considerable number of cases an indentured labourer, through severe economy and self-denial, has been able to save enough money to purchase a few acres of land, or perhaps a mule and cart, at the expiration of his period, and hence realizes a brighter outlook on life through freedom and independence. Should he become a small farmer, the healthful contact with nature on a farm of his own restores again much of the wholesome living that once was his in India, even if in poverty, and in a few years we find him a successful cane farmer with a fairly good bank account. If he should arrive at this stage of prosperity be it said that it was not due to the advantages of either a good wage or education given to him during his indentured period, for such advantages he did not have, but his success is almost solely due to his innate capabilities and desire to succeed.

Effect of East Indian Life on the Colony.—The effect of the East Indian life in Trinidad has been remarkable in the industrial development of the colony, nor need our expectations of them for the future be limited to industrial pursuits, for when education has permeated the whole mass and religious idealism has become a dominant motive—as it has been with so many of their countrymen in India and also with some in Trinidad—we may look for the effect of Indian mind and culture in Trinidad to be immense. . . . Many of them have travelled extensively at home and abroad, some receiving their education at schools and Universities in the United Kingdom or the colonies. Others have gone abroad as merchants to place orders for goods in the world's markets, and are well acquainted with foreign countries through vacations spent in America and Europe. . . .

The following from an address given before the East Indian National Congress, Trinidad, 1913, by Mr. Hosein, an East Indian lawyer, will show their economic position: "There is no denying the fact that the Indian occupies a position in the present economy of the island which commands the respect of all. The humble self, as he is apt to be described at times, has risen to the position of Master. . . .

At the present moment, at least 100,000 acres are held by them. Of the natives of India the census returns show 2,881 as peasant proprietors, 2 as cocoa planters, 114 as cocoa proprietors and 30 as landed proprietors. And we may be assured that their descendants number

just as many peasant proprietors, landed proprietors and cocoa proprietors. The Indian therefore has large landed interests in the colony. Those of them who have not been so fortunate as to secure for themselves such interests, and I must confess they form the largest class, nevertheless do yeoman service as agricultural labourers. For of the 50,000 natives of India, 35,000 are returned as agricultural labourers. And when the Indian describes himself as an agricultural labourer he means it. I have already stated that as cane farmers they are in the majority; although when the cane-farming industry began they were in the minority. It will thus be seen that their development is proceeding upon the soundest possible line. The wealth of this colony being chiefly agricultural, they are acquiring substantial and vast interests in that direction.

At the present, therefore, they are the chief producers of the wealth of the colony. Without them the colony would be irretrievably ruined, and its development ceased.

To show the adaptability of East Indians to various pursuits, I quote the "Report on Indentured Labor" with reference to British Guiana. "There are a few wealthy merchants and professional men, including a barrister, two solicitors and four qualified medical practitioners, one of whom got his medical qualification at Edinburgh, and of whom one is a Government Medical Officer."

Unwholesome Conditions.—When thinking of the East Indian homes of neatness, cleanliness and culture, such as are in San Fernando and scattered sparsely throughout the country districts, the painful comparison comes to mind of the squalor, ignorance and filth in which so many parents and their children live in the towns and villages in Trinidad. This is due in some measure to the inability of many to secure a small holding of Crown lands for the purpose of farming, in some cases because of poverty or prohibitive terms of sale, but also of recent years because the Crown land grants have been closed pending the development of the oil industry.

Some of these unhealthy conditions are also due to the lack of building material since the timber grown in Trinidad and most suitable for that climate, has not been milled, partly because the Government has not sufficiently encouraged the development of this industry in order that the people may have the most suitable building material at a moderate price.

Effect of Disease.—Judging from the appearance of most of the East Indians in Port of Spain and of some in other large centres, it is apparent their bodies were too

weak to resist the ravages of diseases encountered on estates during their indentured period. Having lost ambition through physical degeneracy and moral and spiritual idealism through lack of adequate opportunity for suitable religious performances, they have abandoned themselves to a life of indolence and immorality.

Rum Shops and Their Curse.—There has sprung up a prodigious number of rum shops throughout most of the island, where patrons are likely to be found, and the ex-indentured labourer, seeking a few minutes of exaltation from his miserable condition, readily drinks to his further degradation.

Rum is made partly from a by-product of the sugar-cane, and there seems to be no limit to the creation of shops to acquire a lucrative trade to the keeper, and it also helps the planters to dispose of as much rum as possible by unloading it on the island. It is a truly pitiable condition, and when the Christian denominations fully realize the enormity of such wrong and iniquity, by which the commercial interests seek to take advantage of the weak, they will rise up as an organized Christian body, to demand the removal of such insidious temptations from them.

Obstacles to Acquiring Land.—The Government "Report on Indentured Labor," in reference to Trinidad states: "There are, in our opinion, two unnecessary obstacles which separately and in combination retard the settlement of Indians on the land, namely, the payment of the whole occupancy price (or the total amount for land purchased, at the rate of £2-10 per acre) in one sum before a grant is made, and the fixing of a minimum grant of 5 acres. . . . Any Inspector could find hundreds of good men, whose record he knew, anxious to get plots of land on reasonable terms. . . . The best of the immigrants want to settle on crown land. They are almost the only cultivators of rice in swampy lands, but they also want other land suitable for cocoa or coffee cultivation, and we are strongly of the opinion that facilities and not merely opportunities for its acquisition should be afforded.

Raising Political Status.—A further suggestion would be the raising of the political status of the East Indian population in Trinidad by better representation on the Legislative Council. At present there is only one Indian representative, Hon. Mr. Fitzpatrick, for a population of 120,000 people, and it would only be in accord with democratic ideas if such representatives were chosen by a popular vote of the combined organized bodies of East Indians.

Education.—The East Indian people in Trinidad are gradually awakening to the importance of education, and Hindu and Mohammedan parents who have been indifferent to the education of their children, due largely to their own illiteracy, are now sending their children to school.

Efforts to Revive Religion.—Mr. Dobbs' Report shows a need of East Indian immigrants which has been strongly brought forward in Mr. C. F. Andrews' "Report on Indentured Labour in Fiji" (1916). Removed from their customary religious life and discipline, with the lack of provision on the estates for the following of their religion and their own helplessness in the matter, they suffer greatly during the five years of their labour contract from the want of the inspiration of religious teaching and practice and the effects of this follow them in their after free life. Notwithstanding this, a few Hindu temples and a Mohammedan Mosque have been built, some of the religious festivals are kept up after a fashion, and on a few occasions a genuine religious teacher from India has brought them hope and inspiration. But there is great need, as Mr. Andrews has pointed out, that some of their educated countrymen should come to their aid—teachers, physicians and social service workers, etc., who could bring to them teaching, both religious and secular, and act as guides and helpers. Surely in India, where so many are now devoting themselves to the service of their country, there will be some who will be ready to give themselves and their knowledge to the service and uplift of their struggling countrymen in Trinidad. We appeal to Societies like the Arya Samaj, the Brahmo Samaj, the Vedanta Society and the Singh Sabhas, to give this matter their earnest attention.

INDIANS IN BURMA.

CONGRESS COMMITTEE'S MEMORIAL TO GOVERNMENT.

THE Burma Provincial Congress Committee, Rangoon, has submitted to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma the following representation:—

We have the honour, by direction of the Burma Provincial Congress Committee, to submit the following representation to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor on the question of the treatment of Indians coming by sea to Burma, or travelling the country itself, by the Police, the Customs and the Port Health authorities of this province.

2. The annoyances, hardships, and our committee regrets to add, the humiliations to which Indians of all classes are subjected by the staff of these departments, that board the incoming steamers, have for some years past, been a standing grievance, and a rankling memory of their stay in this province. Our committee cannot believe that it could be the desire of the Government of Burma, that Indians should be treated as they are, or that the action of their officers could be in accordance with the spirit of the orders of the Government on the subject.

3. In the interests of peace and good government of the province, our committee believes that the present methods of the Police, Customs and Port Health departments ought not to be allowed to continue without a public protest, and that, in raising this protest, our committee is voicing the long-felt grievances of the Indians resident in this province. Our committee hopes that the Government will be pleased to give their most earnest consideration to its representation.

4. In making this representation, our committee is aware that certain measures may be necessary to prevent the smuggling of opium and cocaine, the dissemination of seditious and anarchical writings, and the importation of infectious diseases into the country; and our committee is prepared to co-operate with the Government in all measures necessary for these purposes. But our committee feels that in enforcing these measures, due regard should be shown to the feelings of those people, who are likely not to have anything to do with smuggling or sedition, or who have no infectious disease on their person; and that, in enforcing them, where required, proper discretion should be used to avoid giving unnecessary annoyance, or causing uncalled-for humiliation.

5. At present, no one, who does not wear European clothes, is allowed to enter the wharves on the arrival or departure of steamers from or to India. As a good many of the passengers of all classes and both sexes are unaccustomed to long journeys in their own country, and are utter strangers to this, such help as their friends and relations can give them, is highly appreciated by them. Our committee thinks that Indians, who are expecting their friends and relations from India and who desire to go on the wharves, or to see off those who are leaving this country, should be given passes to go on the wharves when requested to do so.

6. Our committee regrets to state, that the searches of passengers by the Police or the Customs are carried out with the least amount of tact, and that very little regard is shown towards the feelings of the persons

searched. Even the persons of ladies are searched from head to foot, though by members of their own sex, in a manner that is most galling to them. The baggage of the passengers is mercilessly ransacked, and carelessly thrown about, and damaged. The private correspondence and diaries are caught hold of and read, and books written by Indian authors, and some even by European authors, are seized and detained for days. No heed is paid to any protest by the individuals searched. Our committee knows of cases of Indians holding high positions, and enjoying the confidence and respect of their people, who have been treated, as if they were habitual smugglers or disseminators of anarchical and seditious writings. In this matter our committee ventures to suggest that unless there is definite information against a person from the port of embarkation, the persons of the passengers, and their luggage, books, etc., etc., should not be searched.

7. In their efforts to prevent the importation of disease, the Health authorities seem to proceed on the assumption, that everyone of the deck passengers is a source of a contamination and a carrier of disease-germs. All deck passengers who have not been vaccinated or duly re-vaccinated before, are compulsorily vaccinated on the wharf, and while this process is going on, many including women and children have to go without food and drink for hours together. Our committee considers it unnecessary to point out the cruelty of this practice. Our committee does not consider it necessary to enter into the question of the efficacy of vaccination as a preventive of small-pox, beyond stating that medical opinion on the question is divided. In spite of this fact, if the Government are advised that vaccination and re-vaccination must be performed on all third class passengers, the time, the place, the method and the manner of performing the operation on people, a large number of whom could have had only scanty, uncooked or imperfectly cooked and unnutritious food, while on board, and on the train if coming from beyond the Indian ports, on account of their caste rules, as well as want of facilities to procure on the way, the kind of food that they are in the habit of taking at home, are such as, to say the least to make it prejudicial to health, while the operation so performed can be successful in a smaller percentage of cases only. If the Government desire that vaccination must be performed on all third class entrants, they ought, at least to be allowed to land and to recoup their health before being compelled to submit themselves to it.

8. With regard to travelling in the interior of Burma, our committee is informed that it is a common, if not universal, practice in some stations in Burma to require

Indian passengers alighting from the railway station, to go to the nearest police station, to register their names, to pay daily visits to the Police station, and take permits to purchase railway tickets for their return journey. It is, to say the least about it, sad that even highly respected Indians should not be allowed to live and travel in a part of the Indian Empire, without feeling that they are looked upon by the Government as seditious and criminals, and are kept under police surveillance. Our committee knows of cases of men being treated as suspects, and kept under surveillance, because of their sympathy with the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, and the various constitutional movements of social, educational and other reforms in India.

(Signed) { S. S. HALKAR,
M. SOMASUNDARAM,
Secretaries.

We understand that a committee has since been appointed by the Government to enquire into the grievances.

GLIMPSES OF NEW YORK.

A GRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY AND ITS CROWD, ITS BUSTLE AND BUSINESS.

(Contributed to The Jamaica Times Christmas Number by Mrs. W. R. DURIE.)

One may get some idea of the immensity of New York on descending the Hudson River. Miles and miles from the heart of the city, the apartment houses stretch along the water front, and as one travels downward, the whole seems a mass of brick and masonry, in the midst of which tower the huge buildings for which New York is famous. Sky-scrapers they are called because they rise so many hundreds of feet into the air that they almost seem to touch the clouds. One may mount by elevator, for instance, to the top of the Woolworth tower, close upon 900 feet high, and have there the same dizzy sensation that one would get on a mountain peak, and gaze with a feeling of giddiness on the network of streets below and the busy, ant-like figures of men hurrying up and down the pavements.

One building like the Woolworth holds thousands of rooms and offices, and it is a mass of windows one above another, till it makes one dizzy to count. The great value of real estate and the necessity of keeping in the heart of the business section of the city, have forced men to build these huge edifices. A man may have his office

THIRTY STORIES HIGH

in the air, and reach it in a minute by elevator. What an impossibility it would be to climb each day on foot to such a height.

But you must not get the impression that New York is one mass of buildings. There are beautiful and spacious places like Central Park, which is three miles long, in the very heart of the city, and the Bronx some six miles further up.

Distances count for little in New York for there are so many ways of getting about and for five cents, (two-pence ha'penny,) one may travel for many miles. There are electric cars running along the surface of the streets and huge electric busses with seats, high on top, from which one can get an excellent view of the city. Then there is

THE SUBWAY

a line of electric cars which runs under the earth. One goes down a great hole in the ground, by a series of steps, and then finds one's self in a station where cars pass continually. Travelling in this way is much more rapid than on the surface lines, for there are no carriages, waggons, or pedestrians to prevent the steady progress of the train.

The Elevated Railway is another means of locomotion. Here the trains run overhead on a huge iron bridge and make a fearful clatter as they whizz by. In fact the noise and din of the New York streets is really terrific and enough to wear out the country dweller in a short time. It is always a relief, after some hours of sight-seeing or shopping, to find a quiet spot in a Park and there, lost in a tangle of trees and shrubs, forget the hurly-burly of the great city.

When the first warm days appear in New York, all the city dwellers who can afford it hurry away to escape

THE HOT MID-SUMMER WEATHER.

We in Jamaica understand what a burning heat can be, but it may be hard for us to comprehend what that heat would mean in crowded, brick-covered streets where there is scarce a breath of air and the sun bakes the pavements till they fairly burn the feet.

The poor in New York have a difficult time in mid-summer. The streets are packed with mothers and children who have come out to get a breath of air. Many of these people are too far away from a park to walk there or are too poor to afford a car-fare. They live closely packed together in houses sometimes ten or twelve stories high

where each family occupies a few rooms. They have no piazzas and no easy access to the out-of-doors. An iron fire escape a huge, ladder-like construction with platform at every story of the house, is the only varandah of which the poor dwellers can boast. In the stifling hot nights they take their beds there hoping to get a breath of air, and one often reads in the newspapers of children who have rolled from under the iron railing in their sleep, and have been crushed on the hard pavement below.

Every man who can afford it desires to send his family away from the city to escape the hot weather and as the Colleges close in June, by July there is a general exodus of women and children and students bound for the country. The majority of the men must remain behind to toil in their offices and content themselves with a paltry two weeks' vacation.

ALWAYS BRIMMING WITH PEOPLE.

No matter how many people leave New York, the city always seems to be brimful and theatres, concert halls, and restaurants are continually packed. Sight-seers come from all over the world to view America's greatest city. A favourite pastime for the newcomer is to take one of the huge busses called "Seeing New York." A man with a megaphone, which of course magnifies the sound of the voice, stands in front and explains every point of interest and one obtains in this way an excellent idea of the different parts of the city, and of the great contrasts which exist between the poor and rich districts.

Along Riverside Drive and Upper Fifth Avenue there are the beautiful homes of the wealthy, real palaces which face the Hudson River on the green expanse of Central Park. One hears of true romances in fortune-making and may view the marble or granite residence of some king of finance who started life as a poor boy.

It is interesting to note how the business section of the city is constantly encroaching on the residential portion and how the wealthy people are gradually being forced farther and farther up Fifth Avenue. Two of the magnificent houses of the Vanderbilts are already faced and flanked by stores.

THE WHIRL OF WEALTH.

Another astounding thing about New York is its great wealth. Dollars there seem to mean so little. To glance in at some of the rich displays in the shop windows, at the silken oriental rugs, the imported laces, the jewelry and rare ornaments is to be convinced that there must be a large community of extremely wealthy people who make the life of such establishments possible. The

rent, to begin with, is a tremendous item, and shops that deal in luxuries alone would lead a very precarious existence were it not for the moneyed classes, those American princes who count their fortunes into millions of pounds.

Besides the shops for specialties, New York boasts of some wonderful department stores where one can buy every conceivable thing, from suits and dresses to groceries and kitchen utensils. One may go to such stores and, after spending the whole day there, may not see one-third of what is offered. A building twelve stories high and covering several city blocks may well take some time to explore.

FAMOUS DEPARTMENT STORES.

One can begin at the basement and work up through all the different departments, lunch at a fine restaurant on the fifth or sixth floor, listen to a very good free concert or to the tunes of a beautiful organ, visit the store's gallery of paintings or lounge in the rest-room and look at the latest magazines. Every comfort is offered to customers and great care is taken to exhibit the goods for sale in a most enticing manner. In fact, a New York store seems to be chiefly windows and show cases.

Besides the sights of the city itself, New York offers many enjoyable trips to the environs. One may take a boat and visit the harbour and its islands, circumnavigate Manhattan Island on which New York is situated, explore the possibilities of the many suburbs, or take a trip up the beautiful Hudson River and admire the rocky Palisades, the blue of the Catskill Mountains in the distance, the flourishing towns along the river brink, or the palatial summer houses of the wealthy.

No matter where one goes sight-seeing, one meets.

THE SAME TURBULENT, JOLLY, PLEASURE-SEEKING CROWD.

A visitor to New York must be impressed by the tremendous nervous activity of its people. They seem forever moving, always, in the streets, the shops, or the theatres, of an evening the restaurants are packed, and the principal streets, ablaze with electric lights, attract crowds of people who love to saunter to and fro in their glare.

Broadway, fourteen miles long and New York's chief thoroughfare, is called "The Great White Way" for one mile of its length, because it is aflame with electric signs and advertisements, of all descriptions. These lights are never still a moment but twinkle on and off, and by their movements attract the roving eye more closely. For instance, one may see, all fashioned in

electric lights, a kitten playing with a spool, twisting it and rolling it in true cat fashion. Then

SUDDENLY THE KITTEN DISAPPEARS.

And in its place is a huge sign made of coloured lights which tells that Certicelli silk is the best to buy. Further up the street one may see, as an advertisement for a kind of perfume, a delicately tinted butterfly palpitating its wings as it rests on a pink rose, or a huntsman shooting with his gun who advises one to visit the show which has proved "the hit" of the season.

There is very little of the antique about New York. One cannot see there the wealth of old land-marks which make London so delightful. Buildings are being constantly torn down to give room to others that are larger and better equipped. Progress wipes out with relentless hand the dingy and the useless. Very often an historical society, organized to protect old land marks, is forced to buy a building to keep it for future generations. Where real estate is so dear and business demands so pressing, it is easy to understand that sentiment for the past counts very little.

One can truly say that New York people seem to.

POSSESS VERY LITTLE SENTIMENT.

The majority of them, even the well-to-do, know no true home life. They are cooped up in great apartment houses which are occupied by many families who rarely know each other. In fact as a safeguard against intimacy, one is careful in New York not to know one's next door neighbour, who may die and be buried without in the least affecting the many occupants of the same house.

There are some apartments in the good residential streets, having about twelve rooms and several bathrooms, which rent for £2,000 a year and over. In a good district, a little flat consisting of four rooms and a bath will cost £1 or £10 a month. Much cheaper rents, of course, can be found, but one has to go down into the business sections for them, or way out beyond the city limits.

The prices are truly cruel. The money which, in Jamaica, would give a man an entire house and garden, brings him only a couple of rooms in New York. The wages, it is true, are much higher, but the living expenses are correspondingly great. These facts make one question if people are truly happier for all this seething strife for wealth, when the essentials for true joy can be obtained at so much less cost in other places. It does seem that the person who has to depend on the excitement and turbulence of city life for his diversions lacks in himself those qualities which make happiness possible and is creating about himself an atmosphere which is artificial and unwholesome.

INDIAN LABOUR IN F. M. S.

THE following is an extract from the Annual Report of the Planters' Association of Malaya presented at their meeting held at Kuala Lumpur on 25th April 1917.

LABOUR.

A considerable improvement took place during 1916 in immigration from Southern India, and labour conditions generally during the year were not unsatisfactory. Unfortunately, "Local Recruiting" still continues to a very large extent, in spite of the fact that the cost of recruiting from India by well managed estates should not exceed \$3 per head. It is difficult to understand the preference still given by a number of planters to local recruiting in view of the obvious duty of every employer of labour to augment the supply; the more so since it is clearly proved that absconding is largely proportionate to the number of locally recruited coolies.

The high price of rubber throughout the year undoubtedly caused a tendency in certain districts to an increase of wages, partly assisted by Malay and Chinese planters paying up to 68 cents per day to Tamil coolies. As the number employed is usually less than 10, the Labour Code Rules do not apply to these cases.

The assessment levied during 1916 for the purpose of the Indian Immigration Fund was \$1.50 per quarter calculated on 78 days' work, while the recruiting allowance of \$5 per head was continued.

The increase in the arrivals of Indian immigrants during 1916 as compared with 1915 is shown in the following table and it will be noted that the total, though more nearly approaching pre-war figures, is still short of those obtaining in 1911, 1912, and 1913 :—

	Arrivals.	Departures.	Net Gains.
1906	52,041	21,879	30,162
1907	62,274	30,522	31,752
1908	54,522	30,920	23,602
1909	49,817	31,374	18,443
1910	83,723	39,080	44,643
1911	108,471	48,103	60,368
1912	106,928	63,885	43,043
1913	118,583	70,090	48,493
1914	51,217	63,073	— 11,856 loss.
1915	75,323	50,320	25,003
1916	95,566	54,479	41,087

"Assisted Passages" during the last five years were as follow :—

1912	...	...	73,671
1913	...	...	91,236
1914	...	...	36,905
1915	...	...	54,881
1916	...	...	72,091

Correspondingly more money was remitted to India by money order, as the following comparison will show :—

	1915.	1916.
	Rs.	Rs.
From F. M. S.	3,531,793	4,411,256
From Straits Settlements	2,654,140	3,670,982

INDIAN POPULATION ON ESTATES.

The following figures obtained from the Labour Department show the Indian population on estates in the F.M.S. and Colony as at December 31, 1916 :—

	Straits Settlements.	F. M. S.
	1915—1916.	1915—1916.
Penang	240 231	50,908 56,368
P. Wellesley	9,277 9,488	63,778 68,997
Dindings	1,515 1,684	10,073 11,180
Malacca	7,869 9,899	1,588 1,750
Singapore	923 1,010	
Total	19,829 22,312	126,347 138,295

Health during 1916 was not so favourable as in the previous three years, but there is little doubt that the careful manner in which the living conditions of all coolies are looked after in the Malay Peninsula, with ample hospital accommodation, is a sufficient guarantee against any serious recurrence of sickness.

That this fact is recognized by Government is proved by the new hospital rules introduced towards the close of the year permitting a 1½ per cent. hospital accommodation compared with 4 per cent. formerly laid down. It is of interest to record that at that time planters protested against the arbitrary 4 per cent. basis.

Another important new rule, to which there cannot be any really weighty objection, is that in coolie lines a separate room must be provided for each married couple.

TODDY.

Early in the year Dr. Watson drew the attention of the Association to the danger to the health of Indian

labourers due to the lack of control in the sale of toddy. It was felt that the question was one of vital importance, and the Government was asked to enquire into the matter, with the result that a Committee was appointed, consisting of the Controller of Labour, the Senior Health Officer, and Messrs. A. R. Morgan and L. Mooijart. The Committee made certain suggestions for the better control of the sale of toddy, some of which have been acted upon, but did not feel that sufficient information was available to formulate any definite policy for the control of the collection, storage, and sale of toddy, and suggested that a European Inspector should be appointed to collect information during 1917, at the end of which year sufficient data should be available to enable the enquiry to be re-opened with a view to formulating a definite policy.

During the year the High Commissioner appointed a Commission to investigate certain issues of the consumption of toddy in the Coast Districts. Mr. P. Barnard Ford acted on behalf of the Association in collecting evidence for this Commission, the findings of which have not yet been published.

INDIA'S ATTITUDE.

Agitation in the Indian vernacular papers against emigration in general continued throughout the year. The Government of India declared its decision to bring all indentured labour to a speedy end. Although this does not affect Malaya, where indentured labour was abolished many years ago, it is probable that the effect of this will be felt in the direction of modifying and perhaps altogether abolishing punishment for labour offences. Whatever may be said for this, it is difficult to resist the impression that the agitation still going on in India against our free kangany recruited emigration system is not so much due to a desire of benefitting the coolie but rather to the fact that the Indian land and millowners and capitalists in general require a surplus of labour in order to keep wages at their present low level. For it is well known in India as well as outside that the conditions under which labour in India is employed, compare unfavourably with the higher wages and greater freedom enjoyed in British Malaya by the agricultural labourer. As a consequence, labour must be made more attractive in India, if the stream of emigration to Malaya is to be checked, and planters in this Peninsula will therefore be more ready to believe in the philanthropic motives of those declaiming against the "barbarities" of kangany-recruiting if corresponding efforts were directed by them to raise both the status and wages of agricultural labour in India itself.

ROUND THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

The whole of India was rudely shocked by the news of the internment of Mrs. Besant, Wadia and Arundale on the 16th June 1917. These three active workers for Home Rule are a few amongst the many interned already in India, but the influence and personality of Mrs. Besant made even H. E. the Governor of Madras come all the way from Ooty to interview the lady before her internment. We give below the interview as described by Mrs. Besant to some of her friends.

We are no hero worshippers and this fact does not preclude us from admiring the great service done to the country by that old lady. But the strength of feeling and excitement exhibited over this matter by the peoples of India calls back to our mind the memorable words of a famous Englishman who did no less service to India than Mrs. Besant. It was Mr. A. O. Hume who gave the following words of advice to the graduates of the Calcutta University in an address given to them in 1883. We trust these words would appeal to the sense and patriotism of our leaders as well.

"Constituting as you do, a large body of the most highly educated Indians, you should, in the natural order of things, constitute also the most important source of all mental, social and political progress of India. Whether in the individual or in the nation, all vital progress must spring from within, and it is to you, her most cultivated and enlightened minds, her most favoured sons, that your country must look for the initiative.

"In vain may aliens like myself love India and her children as well as the most loving of these; in vain may they, for her and their good, give time and trouble, money and thought; in vain may they struggle and sacrifice. They may assist with advice and suggestions, they may place their experienced abilities and knowledge at the disposal of the workers; but they lack the essentials of nationality; and the real work must ever be done by the people of the country themselves."

Just compare these words with Mrs. Besant's "last word" to her brothers and sisters in India. It is an appeal of about two pages foolscap. The egotism of the lady is quite unrivalled in it. It contains 57 'I's with corresponding 'me's' and 'my's'. We give a few specimen of them.

"I have awakened in India the national self respect.....I have made them feel that to live under an autocracy etc....I also have the advantage of being personally known in U.K., France, Holland, etc.....I am known as a member of the old friends of Russia.....I am carrying on the old fight for freedom.....I have worked for India in India for 24 years.....I have worked for the old religions.....I have worked for education.....I have worked for social reform.....I am still working for all these.....India will realise why I have striven for Home Rule.....I go into enforced silence and imprisonment because I love India and have striven to arouse her etc... I am old.....I shall see India win Home Rule before I die.....If I have helped ever so little to the realisation of that glorious hope, I am more than satisfied."

God save India from such workers who work only in personal pronouns.

To those who wish to work for Home Rule in India, we would recommend the reading of a very thoughtful article under the title "Is India Ripe for self-government in the current issue of the *Hindustan Review*."

We quote the last para of the article in another column. Will our Home Rulers act up to it.

Immediately after the interview with His Excellency Mrs. Besant the Governor of Madras, on June 16th 1917, before returning to the office where the order was served about an hour later, Mrs. Besant described to some friends the interview with him as follows:

At the beginning H. E. said: "I have come down from Ooty, Mrs. Besant, in order to show my great consideration for you, and to speak to you myself and give you opportunity for consideration."

I said: "What am I to consider?" He said: "That is for you to decide, Mrs. Besant." He added: "You may ask me for time to consider and see me again to-morrow. You might like to consult your friends."

I answered: "The only two people I shall consult would be Sir Subramaniam and C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and, as we know each other's opinions, I don't see what would be gained by consulting." He said: "If you would like to ask for consideration I will give it to you."

I asked H. E. for what reason I was about to be interned. He said: "I cannot discuss that, Mrs. Besant."

I said: "In the Supreme Council, Sir Reginald Craddock stated that no one was interned without a full statement of the offence for which he was interned, and without being given a full opportunity for explanation or defence. I did not think at the time that it was true, because some of my own friends had gone and I knew they had had no such opportunity. But I am very grateful to Your Excellency for proving it to be false." H. E. answered: "I cannot discuss it, Mrs. Besant."

I said: "I can only act according to my conscience, and leave the rest to God." He replied: "We must all do that."

I added: "I have nothing to regret in anything I have written or in anything that I have said and, unless Your Excellency tells me what you wish me to consider, I am at a loss to know what to suggest." He replied: "That is for you to consider, Mrs. Besant."

I said: "I have heard it said that Your Excellency was going to offer me the alternative of going to England." He answered: "For the period of the War I will give you a safe conduct to England to take you through." I replied: "I do not intend to go to England."

Again I said: "We all understand from Your Excellency's speech that you object to the Congress programme and that is identical with the programme of the Home Rule League." He replied: "I cannot reopen the subject, Mrs. Besant." I added, "I think I should say to Your Excellency that the Home Rule League is simply supporting the Congress programme." (Here I read from the Congress programme.) H. E. said: "I don't know what that is." I replied: "It is the Reform Resolution passed by the Congress." He said: "I have not seen it." I answered: "Your Excellency, this is the Indian National Congress."

After a pause, I said: "In Your Excellency's Press *Communique* just issued, you have stated that deliberate appeals had been made to the young to join in an active political agitation. People consider that that is aimed at me, but it is the exact opposite of my printed and spoken statements." He answered: "I don't know anything about that, Mrs. Besant; it applies to whomsoever it would suit. You must understand, Mrs. Besant, that we shall stop all your activities." I said: "I suppose so. I think I ought to say to Your Excellency that at the present time the Madras Presidency is absolutely quiet and untroubled. Your proposed action will turn it into a condition of turmoil like that of Bengal." He answered: "I cannot discuss that, Mrs. Besant."

I said: "It seems to me that as Your Excellency has no proposals to make and I have none, that I am wasting Your Excellency's time. Will you permit me to take leave?" I arose and he walked with me to the door and, on his way, he said: "I wish you to consider, Mrs. Besant, that we cannot discriminate and the whole of your activities will be stopped." I said: "You have all the power and I am helpless, and must do what you like. There is just one thing I should like to say to Your Excellency and that is that I believe you are striking the deadliest blow against the British Empire in India." Then, as we neared the door, I said: "You will pardon my saying to Your Excellency that, as you are acting as the Governor, I have no personal feeling against Your Excellency."

Speaking of the educated classes, who agitate for Home Rule, the writer in the *Hindustan Review* says:-

Every man among them is a man of some mark.

Working for Home Rule.

They are all patriotic and they are anxious that India should take her proper place among the nations of the world. But when one thinks of the past it is not difficult to realise that the mere wish will not bring Self-Government to India. Those who ask for Self-Government have themselves prospered. Politics in their case is more of a recreation than an occupation; it does not certainly take up all their time. They are not in touch with the humbler and lower classes of the population. They exhibit not much spirit of self-sacrifice and are not prepared to give up even for their Motherland much of their substance. There has been hardly any agitation which has been properly financed. Are there any signs in India of that kind of patriotism which was witnessed in Japan when the power of the Shogun was broken and all the magnates of the country divested themselves of their wealth to put it into the national treasury? Is there any one in India who has spent on the Indian National Congress either as much as Mr. Hume did or Sir William Wedderburn has done? And these great Englishmen, it must be remembered, were not working for the salvation of their own country, but merely to help the uplifting of India. To how many people in India has the need for self-sacrifice come home in the same manner as among other nations who have obtained Self-Government? One may know the shibboleth right enough, and know still better how to roll his eyes in a fine frenzy, but what price is he prepared to pay for the inestimable boon of Self-Government? How many of the educated classes are prepared to lay down everything, to strip themselves stark if need be, in the service of their country? Revolutionaries and

fanatics may be left out of consideration, but the most sober and moderate must realise that Self-Government is not a thing to be won in the same way as the judgeship of a High Court by a successful lawyer or a title by some wealthy landowner. There is a growing and a passionate longing in India for Self-Government that counts for something. But so far there is not adequate preparation or the self-surrender that will make the claim of India to Self-Government irresistible.

Millions of deaths in this world do not call for lamentation, but the death of one good of India—His soul causes a world-wide gloom and Message. sorrow. What then is the psychology of this emotion? We mourn the death of our parents, friends and relations, not because they are so, but they have helped us in one way or other and worked for us at one time or other. As Lord Budha says "All that we are is the result of what we have thought; it is founded on our thoughts, it is made up of our thoughts. If a man speaks or acts with an evil thought pain follows him as the wheel follows the foot of the ox that draws the carriage. If a man speaks or acts with a pure thought, happiness follows him like a shadow that never leaves him." This is the principle underlying such emotions.

As we go to the Press, we heard the sad news that the work of Dadabhai Naoroji in this world has come to an end. The Law of the Universe must be obeyed. His was really a large life lent to do a mighty labour. He lived to see 91 years 9 months and 26 days, being born on the 4th September 1825. Told in brief, his life was one of "Public Service", for the uplifting of the masses. His monumental work "Poverty and unBritish Rule in India" is a sufficient indication of the depth of feeling with which he worked for the down trodden masses of this country and his Presidential address at the Calcutta Congress held in 1906 emphasises still more his deep concern for the starving millions of his countrymen. In that address, he says "I do not know what good fortune may be in store for me during the short period that may be left to me, and if I can leave a word of affection and devotion for my country and countrymen, I say: be united, persevere and achieve Self-Government so that the millions now perishing by poverty, famine and plague and the scores of millions that are starving on scanty subsistence may be saved and India may once more occupy her proud position of yore among the greatest and most civilised nations of the world."

The whole India mourns his loss and particularly the voiceless millions of India for whom he lived, worked and died. *Requiescat in pace.*

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

ABSCONDERS IN KLANG POLICE COURT.

IT is reported that in Klang Police Court on Wednesday, 25th April, the Dato Stia fined one Perumal, alias Chinnasamy, \$15 or two weeks for having run away from Tremelbye Estate. * * *

On 30th April 1917, six Tamils (four men and two women) appeared as bolters from the Athlone Estate. First accused, in defence, submitted that he left because he was hit by the former manager when he argued about the shortness of his wages and that he was now working on the railway line at Kuala Lumpur. Second accused alleged that he left 2 years ago, that the treatment on the estate was not satisfactory and that he left in the usual way saying he was going to India, as then a discharge ticket was issued, but if he had said he was going elsewhere no such ticket would be given, and sixth accused, his wife, followed him. Accused No. 4 pleaded guilty. Nos. 2 and 6 were discharged, while the remaining four were fined \$7 each, or in default 14 days' goal, the fines, if paid, to be given to the Estate.

The Editor of this paper was not very wrong when he expressed his opinion in an interview with our contemporary, the *Malayan Tin and Rubber Journal*, Ipoh, that a large number of absconders are daily brought to Police Courts in Klang and Selangor Districts. The obvious reason for such abscondings is due to the grand wage of 27 cents a day prevailing in those districts. It is a mystery how a cooly there keeps his body and soul (if he has any) together.

Cannot the Government fix a minimum decent wage for estate coolies?

FREE PASSAGE TO WIVES AND FAMILIES.

Mr. H. E. Murray, who has gained wide experience of East Indian Immigration in British Guiana and Trinidad, in a letter to the Editor of the *West India Committee Circular* makes what appears to be on the face of it an admirable suggestion. He writes: "I think it would be a very wise thing to advertise and let people here (in British Guiana) know that if they would like any relations brought over, the Government would either bring them over free or pay a portion of the cost of bringing them over." Mr. Murray has already placed the suggestion before the Government, but so far nothing appears to have been done. He goes on to say: "I know many men have told me that they have left wives in India; others have families that they would like to send for, but the

cost is too great. My idea is to put an advertisement in the papers saying that if any well-to-do East Indians in the colony would like their relations brought over, the Government would be prepared to assist in bringing them. Of course, these people would come under no indenture, and would not be entitled to any back passages. We have crowds of well-to-do East Indians that could satisfy the Government that such people would be well looked after."

AN INDIAN SWAMI'S VISIT TO JAPAN.

Swami Govindananda, President of the Sree Narayana Sevashrama, Conjiveram, South India, after spending several weeks visiting the principal industrial and commercial districts in this country, left Yokohama for India about first week of May, says a Japan contemporary. He is a prominent Indian priest.

While in Japan Swami Govindananda has had interviews with many prominent men, including Marquis Okuma and others. He has been working for the establishment of a free "India Home" in Tokyo for the use of Indian students and merchants who visit this country. His plan is backed by the Chetty Bankers, an influential financial group of South India. On leaving this country Swami Govindananda was accompanied by several Japanese students to whom he will provide means of getting an education in the arts and philosophy of India. He will work hereafter for an exchange of students between Japan and India with a view to promoting a better understanding between the two countries.

AN INDIAN HOME IN JAPAN.

The following is the text of the letter addressed to the Swamiji for starting an Indian Home in Japan.

HONGO, TENJIN, NICHOME 31

Tokyo, May 12, '17.

My dear Swami Govindanandaji,

I have been thinking of you and your comrade so often for the noble ideal you possess in your life. I wish that you were here for sometime longer and inspire others to lead the noble life as you have done for other people.

I often think of the hardships you had to undergo while in Tokyo, I often think that it is a noble aspiration on your part to have something like a Dharmasala for the Indians or a home for the students in Tokyo. The students here need, not only, support but also watchful care from the persons who can direct their life to the proper goal so that they would not be led astray from evil influences of various kinds.

It is absolutely necessary that you should stick to the ideal of establishing an Indian House under the guidance of some first rate responsible scholar from India. This will make the question of educating children of India in Japan more practicable. I hope that you will not forget the idea and I shall be very glad to give my services for the cause in any way you see fit. In fact I am thinking that I should take a house in Tokyo and keep it so that the Indian students and gentlemen can live without any difficulty, but this is a question of money for me as I have a family to support. It will be better that you should at least start the thing in a small scale and if I can help you in this matter then I shall be delighted to do so. If we start the thing in a small scale and succeed in making some students to live in the house, then it is quite natural, that in course of time it would grow.

With my best wishes and kindest regards.

I remain,

Yours very sincerely,
BOBI.

CHANGE OF SENTIMENT IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Feelings of hostility towards the Sikhs in British Columbia by the natives of that Province have been mitigated to a large extent by the war and India's share in the great struggle. Such is the opinion of Mr. James E. Dobbs of the Canada-India League, who has just returned from the coast, where he has been investigating conditions among the Asiatic population. There has been a great stimulus in trade in British Columbia, says Mr. Dobbs. The Sikhs have taken advantage of this by leasing several sawmills, with a view to meeting the great demand for lumber and building material that will arise when the war is over.

A Remarkable Change.

The change of public opinion was shown on January 22, when a deputation consisting of ex-Mayor Stewart, Bishop Schofield and ten Presbyterian ministers and laymen, all of Victoria, waited on Premier Brewster, urging the admittance of the Sikhs' wives and families now, as it was felt that the injury caused by their exclusion should no longer exist. Mr. Dobbs stated that the impression in British Columbia seemed to be that if the Canadian authorities would only show a spirit of conciliation by admitting the wives and families of these men, the larger question of immigration from India could be very well left over until after the war.

There has really been a decrease in the population among the Japanese and the Chinese in British Columbia owing to the fact that many have returned home to

engage in the increasing activity now taking place in the Orient.

It is felt by the Canada-India League, said Mr. Dobbs, that the problem of Indian immigration to Canada has a profound effect on the well-being of the whole Empire.

DEMAND PRIVILEGES FOR EAST INDIANS.

A deputation from the Canada India League, composed of J. E. Dobbs and Dr. L. A. Davis, visited Ottawa and laid before Hon. Dr. Roche, Minister of Interior, a petition asking that all reasonable regulations that will facilitate the restoration of family life to East Indians now domiciled in Canada be immediately placed in operation. It was also asked that, as technically, tourists, merchants and students from East India are permitted to enter the Dominion, the obstacles that have confronted them when attempting to avail themselves of this technical privilege be removed; that the Dominion Government exert influence on the Government of British Columbia to have that Government grant equal suffrage to East Indians resident in the province, and that East Indians be allowed to enjoy at least the more favorable privileges extended to Japanese citizens. The Minister promised to give the petition his careful consideration. (*Toronto Globe*.)

INDIAN BUDDHISTS IN JAPAN.

The *Japan Advertiser*, Tokyo, writes in its issue of April 10, 1917.

A large throng of Japanese of all ranks and ages gathered at Hibiya Park, Sunday afternoon for the celebration of the birthday anniversary of Buddha, who, it is held, was born 2,541 years ago.

This Hibiya festival was inaugurated last year, when the Indian Buddhists in Japan, most of them from Ceylon, led by Mr. John F. Cooray joined in the celebration. This year, owing to their decreased numbers, they regret their inability to have done much, although Mr. John F. Cooray on behalf of the Indian, Burmese, and Ceylonese Buddhists printed and distributed free thousands of copies of a pamphlet containing the cardinal principles of Buddhism, written in Japanese; while Pandit Shastri of Waseda University, accompanied by a dozen of his pupils and two Japanese young ladies, all attired in Indian turbans and Sarees (Indian ladies' dress), made a flower offering at the feet of the Image of Buddha enshrined in the centre of the pedestal.

A Buddhist priest who had been sworn into the oaths of Clergyhood when in Ceylon, where he had been for educational purposes for over seven years, robed in the typical yellow costume universally worn by the Buddhist

clergy of Ceylon and Burma, performed ceremonies on behalf of the Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma and India.

Swami Govindananda, a Hindu priest, and Messrs. R. D. S. Dharmaratne, E. L. Hewa, W. M. Balasooriya, Jayakar, J. Chinnapa, and John F. Cooray were among the Indians present.

HOW THE COLOUR WIND BLOWS.

REPATRIATION OF INDIANS FROM NATAL.

In the House of Assembly Union Parliament, S. Africa, on March 13, Mr. Boydell asked the Minister of the Interior: (1) How many applications were received from Indians in Natal during 1915 and 1916 for free passages back to India; and (2) What was the number of free passages granted in these years, how many Indians were actually repatriated; and what was the cost.

Sir Thomas Watt replied: (1) Applications received in 1915 under the Immigrants Relief Act were for 731 men, 247 women, and 309 children; and for 1916, 1,120 men, 531 women and 680 children; (2) The number actually repatriated during 1915 were 513 men, 212 women, and 268 children; and in 1916, 901 men, 440 women, and 534 children. The total cost was £15,326 for the two years. The difference between the applications and number of repatriations was explained by the fact that some applications were withdrawn, and the rest were standing over for consideration at December 31, 1916. In addition to those above dealt with under the Immigrants Relief Act, the Indian Immigration Trust Board repatriated during 1915, 1,351 men, 597 women, and 903 children, and during 1916, 1,649 men, 878 women, and 1,193 children, at a total cost for the two years of £37,832.

The "Natal Mercury" of 15th March commenting on the above under the heading of

A WHITE MAN'S COUNTRY

says:

The figures which Mr. Boydell elicited from Sir Thomas Watt on Tuesday are of very striking interest to those who aim at preserving Natal as a home for increasing numbers of Europeans. The Minister gave statistics showing that in the years 1915 and 1916 a total of 9,439 Indians—men, women, and children—were repatriated, or an average of 4,719 per annum. We find on referring to the recently-published "Statistical Year Book," that its compilers estimate the Asiatic population of the Province to have increased by 6,925 during the twelve months ended on June 30, 1916. Thus, in spite of the repatriations the natural growth of these Oriental elements in our population is proceeding at a prodigious pace. The "Year-

Book" places the total of Asiatics at just on 176,000, while the natives are estimated at over 992,000. This gives an aggregate of 1,168,000 Bantu and Asiatics, as against 98,875 Europeans. The preponderance of black and coloured is, therefore, nearly twelve to one of the white races. The Europeans increased during the year by 146, as against an increase of 7,500 in the Bantu population, and an increase of nearly 7,000 (in spite of repatriation) in the Asiatic population. It is evident that repatriation is not going to solve the danger of the further swamping of the European in Natal by the Asiatic; and that we shall have to see that the utmost encouragement is given to European immigration and European industrial education. If the whites in Natal are to hold their own against the natives, who are emerging from barbarism and pressing into competition as civilised or semi-civilised workers, the solution of the problem is to be sought in increasing the numbers of the white inhabitants by immigration and promoting their efficiency, rather than in attempting to keep the natives down.

Colour notion is a feature peculiar to Anglo-Saxon Colonisation. We are, however, glad at the solution of the problem arrived at by our Natal contemporary viz. by immigration of the white inhabitants rather than by adopting the policy of an Elizabethan Commander in Ireland "Destroy the natives as vermin."

EDUCATION FOR THE FIJI INDIANS.

DEPUTATION FROM LAUTOKA.

A deputation representing the Indian settlers and residents of the districts of Ba, Lautoka and Nadi waited on his Excellency the Governor one morning to urge on him the claims of Indian children in the group for education and that the Government would favourably consider the question of granting a site at Lautoka for a school and also a grant-in-aid.

The deputation consisted of Kamta, Randhar Singh, Sarasvati, Hiralal and Ori Mahraj and one representative from Ba. The Superintendent of Schools, Mr. McKay, was present during the interview.

Full particulars of the movement in favour of Indian education at Lautoka have already appeared in these columns, and the deputation voiced the desires of their compatriots. The well-to-do Indian settlers feel keenly that there is no provision in Fiji for the education of their children, and at the meeting at Lautoka already referred to, a sum of over £1300 was subscribed towards the cost of the establishment of a school at Lautoka to serve the three districts mentioned. The idea is that Indian schools should be opened throughout the group, the people of each

district subscribing towards the cost of their respective schools.

It is suggested that English and the vernacular shall be taught including Tamil, Telugu, Hindustani, etc.

The deputation asked the Governor to recommend that a site be granted for the school at Lautoka, and that a grant-in-aid be given.

His Excellency the Governor gave the deputation a very sympathetic hearing and promised to give their request favourable consideration.

After the principal deputation, Mr. V. M. Pillay, representing a large section of the Indian settlers at Lautoka, waited on his Excellency to express his entire accord with the views of the deputation, but to protest on one point. He desired that there shall be no religious instruction given in the schools in ordinary scholastic hours, although perhaps it might be taught at other times. A similar provision as in the European education scheme would meet the case. He would also ask that any school which might be established for Indians should be under strict Government control. His Excellency promised to give his views every consideration. *W. P. Herald.*

MALAYAN AIRCRAFT.

Ceylon Tamil Fund.

A Central Committee meeting of the Malayan Ceylon Tamil Aircraft Fund was held at Kuala Lumpur on Thursday, May 10. Dr. E. T. MacIntyre presided.

The accounts as shown below were presented and passed unanimously.

It was decided to print booklets giving the names of the subscribers and showing the amounts of their contributions and to supply a copy to each of them.

Mr. A. Duriappah, of the Sanitary Board Office, Kuala Lumpur, was appointed general secretary in place of Mr. Wijea Retnam, who is proceeding on leave.

The President on behalf of the Tamil community of Malaya thanked the general secretary and the presidents and secretaries of the various States and districts for the good work done by them in bringing the undertaking to a success.

The accounts submitted were as follow:—

RECEIPTS.

Selangor.—Kuala Lumpur \$4,035.45, Klang \$924.45, Port Swettenham \$336.50, Ulu Selangor \$864, Kuala Selangor \$319.75, Ulu Langat \$610.26, Kuala Langat \$95.50, total \$7,185.91.

Pahang.—Bentong \$292, Raub \$345.75, Kuantan \$90.50, Pekan \$28.50, Temerloh, \$41, Kuala Lipis \$482.06, total \$1,279.81.

Perak.—Ipoh \$754.50, Teluk Anson, \$961, Gopeng \$92, Kampar \$64, Kroh \$47.50, Lenggong \$25, Grit

\$120.95, Kuala Kangsar \$181, Batu Gajah \$856.50, Krian \$310.50, Seama \$25, Taiping \$883.50, Tapah \$313, total, \$4,634.45.

Singapore.—\$925.

Malacca.—\$106.

Penang.—\$1,600.

Province Wellesley.—\$102.

Kelantan.—\$176.50.

Kedah.—\$70.

Negri Sembilan.—\$1,064.38.

Drama.—\$250.50.

F.M.S. Railways.—\$2,763.25.

Interest allowed by bank.—\$14.79.

Gross total.—\$20,172.59.

PAYMENTS.

Mr. Alma Baker for Aircraft \$19,300, stationery \$16.63, postage \$63.80, lighting \$3, travelling expenses, \$163.18, clerical assistance \$97, printing \$51.50, balance in bank \$477.48, total \$20,172.59.

The presentation of an Aircraft at a cost of nearly \$20,000 by the Ceylon Tamils who form an important community in F.M.S. reflects greatly on the unity of the people and their loyalty and patriotism to their king and country. We no doubt feel sure that the time has come when the general Tamil speaking population should be recognised as a community and given its due place in the council of the Government. We read some time ago that in answer to a question in the House of Commons as to why Indians should not be appointed in the Federal Council, a reply was made that the majority of the Indians in F.M.S. are coolies. Even granting this, it is time that an Indian labour member is appointed in the Council to represent the interests of the cooly. While other colonies which received indentured labour have already a member in their councils Surely F.M.S. is in no way behind them.

COOLIES AND CORRUPT SIKH POLICE IN F.M.S.

The Editor of this paper was connected with the following incident which occurred at Kuala Lumpur (during his tour in F.M.S.) and it is thus described by him.

On the night of the 30th April (Monday) while I was walking along the Pataling Street, I saw a poor cooly being assaulted by a police constable on duty, Jagat Singh (No. 3027). The facts are these. A cooly by name Iru-landi while crossing the junction near High Street happened to pass by this constable. The constable as soon as he saw him gave him a slap on the head asking him something in Malay which I ascertained to be afterwards whether he had stolen anything. The cooly replied smilingly that there was nothing and passed on his way. The constable followed him a few paces and

kicked him on the back. When I observed this act of the constable, I asked the cooly why the constable assaulted him. He replied that he did not know. I then put the question in Hindustani to the constable why he assaulted the cooly. On seeing my interference in the matter, he caught hold of the cooly's coat and dragged him to the station. I then followed the cooly and the constable asking him at the same time, why he dragged him to the station. The constable then told me also to follow him. On reaching the Central Police Station, the evidence of the constable was taken by a Malay man and also the name of the cooly. He was then put into the lock-up. I could not understand why the cooly was arrested. I then told one of the constables that I was a witness in that case and that I wanted to see the Inspector. I was then directed to the Inspector in charge whom I afterwards learnt to be Mr. T. J. Kennedy. I explained to him what brought me there and that I was a witness in the case of the arrest of one cooly. The Inspector promptly came out of his seat to enquire into the matter. The cooly was then in the lock-up and was ordered to be brought before the Inspector. Mr. Kennedy asked the cooly in Malay why he was arrested and he said he did not know.

The constable was then asked why he arrested him and he said that the cooly was found drunk. The Inspector seeing the cooly quite sober and in his proper senses released him and asked him to go home. The cooly was roused to a strong sense of injustice and wanted to lodge a complaint against the constable. Accordingly the next day the cooly and my self went to Mr. Kennedy and gave our statements. The case was then sent to the Magistrate for trial with the result that the constable was sentenced to one month R.I. This is a case of gross and wilful mischief of police constables (a disgraceful set of Sikhs) and I was informed that it is only one of the numerous cases occurring every day. Had it not been for the prompt action taken by the Inspector, Mr. Kennedy, the cooly would be found to be rotting in the lock-up till next morning and perhaps fined also.

I admire Mr. Kennedy for his high sense of justice and fairplay and but for officers of his stamp Justice would have been more on the side of the police than on the side of the innocent cooly.

To save innocent coolies from such high handed action, either the menial police force should be improved or the Magistrates must use better discretion in believing police evidence especially that of a constable.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

SOCIOLOGY.

The Illusions of New India: By P. N. Bose, B.Sc., (London) published by Messrs W. Newman & Co., Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.

At this time when mother India is passing through the terrible travail of transition, Mr. Bose's book will be welcomed by all true lovers of this country as a sincere attempt at showing the two civilisations, the Eastern and the Western in their proper perspective. The impact of the commercial civilisation of the one on the ethical and spiritual civilisation of the other is so strong that the present day generation of Indians are unable to resist its force and influence. They consider that every thing accidental has in it the tinge and hall-mark of progress and reform. This is the illusion of India and this idea has unfortunately spread into all branches of her activity, religious, social, educational, political and economic. The author discusses these topics in the light of these two conflicting forces and most persuasively proves by recording his own observations, and by quotations from Sanskrit writings and from English authors how superior and transcendent are the ideals and civilisation of the east to those of the west.

The one is a material civilisation bringing temporary wealth and its concomitant evils, while the other is a spiritual civilisation bringing peace and goodwill and their enjoyment. Which is preferable to the other is a question that is discussed in this excellent book. We would fain quote full passages from the text, but spaces forbids them.

A reading of the book brings before us the versatility of the author and though very many have thought like him, it is left to Mr. Bose to speak with authority as he has the thorough knowledge of the institutions prevailing both in the East and the West.

The book must be read by all men especially by the much deluded younger generation.

ANNUALS.

Whitaker's Almanac 1917: By Joseph Whitaker, F.S.A., 12, Warwick Lane, London. Price 3s. 6d. net.

The name Whitaker at once suggests to the English reading world the bulky and indispensable reference book edited by Mr. J. Whitaker and to review this annual

publication is to review the history of the British Empire. However, the course of the war these three years has necessitated a few changes in the Almanac which must be made known to the public. While the war has the first claim on the attention and interest of the Editor to the practical exclusion of what are at present less important matters, considerable space is devoted to the history of the war to its naval, military and financial sides and to trade, labour, etc. The great interest evinced by British workers in encouraging Home Production led to the inclusion in this Almanac a series of specialised articles written by experts on British Empire Industries which ought to be read with interest by those engaged in them. The volume contains as usual a vast amount of information respecting Government, Finance, Commerce, Population and general statistics of the British Empire and other parts of the world.

The next year 1918 is to see the semi-centenary of this reputed Almanac and we take this opportunity of congratulating the publishers in advance on this happy event.

Heatons Annual 1916. Published by Heatons Agency, 32, Church Street, Toronto. Price 5s. or \$1.25.

Unlike the many statistical Year Books of Canada, this Annual publication strikes a new departure in the nature of the information supplied by it. It is essentially a descriptive and commercial hand book of Canada. In the preface to this edition, attention is drawn to the section, "where to find it." The usefulness of a section like this cannot be over-estimated. It forms an excellent guide for obtaining, without much waste of time, information on many of the important topics of interest to officials, businessmen, travellers and intending settlers. By a reference to this section the reader is at once directed to the spot where the information could be got either in Government publications or other books with their respective addresses.

In addition to the information contained on matters relating to local Finance, Banks, Customs, Shipping and Railways, there are two large sections one devoted to descriptions of towns in the nine provinces and local opportunities for manufacturers and investors and the other to general information on a variety of subjects. Every information on the subjects has been compiled from Government publications and every care has been taken to provide safe-guards against possible inaccuracies. We commend this book to all who have business con-

nection with Canada and to those who wish to know the possibilities of this young Colony.

Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia 1901—1915, Prepared by Mr. C. H. Knibbs, C.M.G., Commonwealth Statistician. Published by McCannon, Bird & Co., Collins Street, Melbourne.

The origin and development of Australian Statistics is one of recent growth. The first issue of the commonwealth official year book was published, early in 1908, two years after the creation of the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, the present volume under review being the 9th Year Book issued under the Federal Constitution. The book furnishes a correct and complete statistics for the whole period of Australian Settlement from 1788 to 1915, i.e., from the time of the arrival of "First Fleet" at Botany Bay and the formal taking possession of Port Jackson by Captain Phillip on 26th January 1788 up to the time of the landing of the Australian troops at Dardanelles and their subsequent withdrawal from Gallipoli on December 19th 1915. Three main points aimed at in the compilation of this publication are (1) the development of the individual states, (2) the progress of Australia as a whole from the earliest times and (3) the statistical comparison of Australia with other leading countries of the world. No self-governing country or colony could afford to lose sight of these vital points, if it should show any signs of development.

On the 1st January 1901 the Colonies of Australia were federated into a commonwealth and the full text of the Act constituting it is published on pages 17—37. Since the federation, the progress has been remarkable. In the social field, Australia furnishes an example of very great significance in the physical characteristics of the people due to a complete change of climatic and social environment and its population problem still remains to be solved and the sooner it gives up the "White Australia" Policy the better it will be for the Commonwealth and the Empire.

The book embodies several sections on subjects of very wide range of national importance illustrated by graphs. A large size map of Australia is inset on the back of the cover.

In conclusion, we would suggest that the special articles dealing with particular subjects published in the different issues be collected in a single volume and published as a supplement to the latest Year Books.

SOCIOLOGY.

The Inequality of Human Races: By Count Arthur de Gobineau. Translated by *Adrian Collins, M.A.*, with an Introduction by *Dr. Oscar Levy*. Published by *William Heinemann, London* Price 5sh. net.

Count Gobineau is a great freethinker who, like the other great and more famous freethinker, Nietzsche, has exercised a good deal of influence on the modern mind. The book is an interesting reading, though first published in German as early as 1853, and is the result of a careful study of ancient history and anthropology. But, as the result of an over-balanced mind—a mind already obsessed by the pride of race and aristocracy, the conclusions to which the author comes, are altogether pessimistic. All the civilizing forces which we see in full play to-day, excepting those which are directly due to the influence of race and birth, are merely illusory, as, according to Gobineau, the races peopling the earth to-day are permanently separated one from the other, and no amount of intermarriages or influence of environment will bridge over the great gulf which permanently separates the different stocks of the human race. A cold shiver passes through one's nervous system as one reads some of the freezing passages of the book under review. No religion, no education, no code of morals and no institution that human ingenuity could devise for the uplifting of the weak and the amelioration of the suffering, can possibly do any permanent good. "Christianity is not a civilizing power and has excellent reasons for not being so." (page 76). The main differences between the branches of our race were fixed in the earliest epoch of our terrestrial life and it is impossible to bring about a fusion now or ever between these "physiological cleavages." We need not dwell further on the virtues of this bleak gospel which would in effect throw to the winds all the sublime discoveries of modern sociology. However, as a corrective to the intellectual and social aberration due to excessive zeal of some modern reformers and radicals, the book may be valuable.

BOOKS TO BE REVIEWED.

"Democracy and the nations" by *Dr. J. A. Macdonald* Published by *Messrs S. B. Gundy, Toronto*. Price \$1.25 The sale proceeds of this book goes to the Canadian Patriotic Fund.

"Treitschkes Lectures on Politics," *Gowans and Gray Ltd. London*. Price 2sh. net.

"Gokhale and Economic Reforms" by *V. G. Kale*—*Aryabhushan Press, Poona*.

POLITICS.

Political Parties: By *Prof. Robert Michels*. Translated from the Italian by *Eden and Cedar Paul*. Published by *Jarrold and Sons, London*. Price 12sh. 6d.

The author, who is Professor of Political Economy and statistics in the University of Basle, gives in this book a masterly analysis of the tendencies and forces that govern the constitution and formation of political parties. It may be termed a branch of applied Sociology, and expounds the doctrine, by forgetting which we are so often filled with disappointments, that all democratic institutions, however well-meant they are in their origin, tend, with the inevitability of an unchanging law of nature, to become oligarchical. How soon or how late an avowed democratic leader develops oligarchical superiority, is only a question of time, and depends upon the effectiveness or efficiency of the counter-acting forces simultaneously at work. But there is the naked truth that within the very womb of democracy there lurk the seeds of oligarchy which, like some of the poisonous reptiles which kill their mother as they come into existence, are destined to overthrow democracy in course of time. "Historical evolution," as the learned author says, "mocks all the prophylactic measures that have been adopted for the prevention of oligarchy. If laws are passed to control the dominion of the leaders, it is the laws which gradually weaken, and not the leaders." Progressive bureaucratization is inherent in all democratic organisms which are ultimately destroyed by the poison of love of dominion secreted during their life, and we can only have palliatives, but not permanent cures, against this inevitable tendency of human society. We are seeing before our very eyes the transformation in the person of Mrs. Annie Besant, of a person professing extreme democratic views into a demi-god to whom the gullible public of Madras are ready to pay the highest homage and reverence possible on earth. This phenomenon in itself furnishes the most practical proof of the thesis of Prof. Michels. We heartily commend the book to every student of *Sociology and Politics*.

R. G. S.

"The Maxims of Tiruvalluvar," by *V. V. S. Iyer* 89, Dharmaraja Covel Street. Price 2-12.

"The Travellers Companion" compiled by *Abdur Rasheed* under the orders of the Railway Boards. 6 Ad.

"The High Price of sugar and how to reduce it," by *Harold Hamel Smith*, Editor, *Tropical Life*. Published by *Bale Sons and Danielsson, Ltd.* 83-91 Great Titchfield Street, London, W. Price 1sh. net.



The Indian Emigrant

AN IMPERIAL MEDIUM OF

Emigration, Colonisation, Trade and 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. III.

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No. 12.

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.

AMERICAN HELP FOR INDIAN STUDENTS.

An Indian student planning to enter a college in America has many questions to ask. He wants to know: What university shall I choose for my education? How many years will it take me to get my degree? Where shall I find suitable accommodation? These and many other questions, which confront a prospective student, are cheerfully answered by the Hindusthan Association of America.

The Association is a voluntary organization with branches at most of the leading centres of education in America. The President of the society, who has an intimate knowledge of the conditions of life

in different parts of the Republic, conducts an unofficial bureau of information. He, with the assistance of other officers, makes it his business to collect data from various colleges and universities concerning their educational facilities. And when a student applies for advice or information, the President helps him the best he knows how.

A notable instance of the desire of the Association to render efficient service to Indian students is seen in the founding of a Loan Fund. Since the resources of a student may sometimes run short toward the end of the college year, or his allowances may fail to reach him from home in time, the society tries to tide him over a hard period by a little advance of money. For lack of proper financial support this phase of the work, however, is not so well developed as it might be.

No one need imagine from this that the Hindusthan Association is a charitable organization engaged in giving away money to needy people. It has no money to give, although it has some to loan. The Association is only prepared to furnish gratis all the information that bonafide students in India may desire. The cost of living is now so high in the United States that no one should think of coming here without a steady allowance from home of, at least, a hundred rupees a month. The days when a student could earn his way through college are gone. Under

the new Immigration Laws, no student from India will be allowed to land in America who has not a visible source of income from Hindusthan.

It may be mentioned in parenthesis that the Association is most emphatically an educational, not a political, organization whatsoever. From my personal knowledge of the workings of the Association as its first Ex-President, I can affirm with utmost certainty that the ends and objects of the leaders of the movement are simply and solely to look after the interests of the Indian students, and that the Hindusthan Association with its score or more of branches is strictly a non-sectarian, non-partisan, and non-political body.

The Association is not only promoting the educational interests of Indian students in the United States, but it is doing a splendid missionary work in fostering cordial relations between America and India. To this end, the local chapters give public programs and enlighten American audiences on the present-day conditions in Hindusthan. Sometimes, the representatives of the Association visit other clubs and societies, and discuss Indian culture and civilization from the angle of an Indian. Moreover, the central organization of the society, which has its own printing plant, publishes a monthly periodical known as *The Hindusthane Student*. Just now the enterprising editor of *The Student*, A. C. Chakravarty, has published a useful pamphlet known as "Education in the United States of America". It gives valuable information on such subjects as American system of education, the best way to come to America, cost of living, leading American colleges and universities, medical education, dress and equipment, and other related topics. The book can be had from the editor of *The Student*, Urbana, Illinois, for 2 as. 6 p. Publications, such as these, help to interpret India to America and America to India. They inevitably tend to roll away misunderstandings, and pave the way to mutual appreciation of Indian and American life.

Perhaps the greatest single achievement of the Association was the International Hindusthane Students' Convention held under the auspices of

the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco, 1915. The Convention, which had a three-day session, met right in the famous Festival Hall of the Exposition. It is also a matter of patriotic pride to note that the Hindusthan Association was instrumental in securing an Indian booth in the Palace of Varied Industries on the Exposition grounds. Here were exhibited works of high-class Indian arts and industries. Never before in the history of international expositions had Hindusthan taken such an independent part among the nations of the world. To be sure, India had some share in the World's Fairs at Paris and at St. Louis; but on those occasions India was not represented by the Indians and for the Indians. In the Panama-Pacific Exposition India appeared on her own account. And as a fitting recognition of the role played in this great festival of nations, the Hindusthan Association was presented by the Panama-Pacific International Exposition with a commemorative bronze medal. Indians in America can now lift their heads high in pride and greet the world as men.

Such, in brief, are some of the activities of the Hindusthan Association. It is now peculiarly fortunate in having Doctor Rafiddin Ahmed as its President. Doctor Ahmed, who is employed in the responsible position of a dentist in the Forsyth Dental Infirmary of Boston, is a tireless worker for the welfare of Indians in America. He places the services of the Association unreservedly at the disposal of those who may need them. They are yours for the mere asking. "The Hindusthan Association", said President Ahmed to me the other day, "is simply another phase of the cosmopolitan instinct of the Indian students. They look upon the whole world as a granary of knowledge to be ransacked in order to usher in the India of to-morrow. To accomplish this we need the active help of our people at home. Send out students, more students and yet more students; there is room for them all in American universities".

SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., PH. D.,
Iowa City, Lecturer in Political Science in the
U. S. A. State University of Iowa.

EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL SUPERIORITY of the INDIAN SCHOOL OF ANTIQUITY.

By Pandit G. Krishna Sastri,

Vedic Academy and Mission.

The Gurukula System of education, on which the ancient Indian culture and character were based, was fully organised and closely followed by the ancient Rishis, and was maintained in tact by the learned and the wise among their descendants and followers, up to the time the modern Indian Universities were started.

The *Arsha System* (i. e. the system of the Rishis) is similar, in some respects, to that which is now followed by the American "School of Antiquity" and its "Raja Yoga College". In spite of a superficial similarity between these two systems, there is a very important and vital difference which should never be lost sight of by the student in comparing notes.

In dealing with the "Indian Culture and its claims" * Pandit Sri Krishna Joshi stated that his thesis was the product of certain long-standing convictions † which may be expressed as follows:—

1. Civilization in its true sense never reached a higher level than in ancient India: in other words, no other country or age gave birth to men of greater minds, higher characters and nobler achievements.

2. The legislators, philosophers, sages, heroes, discoverers of physical, moral and spiritual laws and creators of poetry, drama, music, arts and sciences, who founded the civilization of India, were produced by the teachings and institutions of the religion which regulated their society, viz., the Vedic Religion.

* A paper read before a meeting of guests invited to the Foundation Ceremony of the Benares Hindu University.

† These convictions are common among the wise and the learned Hindus.

3. When that religion was in full force, it gave rise not only to spiritual, moral, and intellectual greatness, but to material prosperity and social efficiency of a high order.

4. It is the influence of that religion and its institutions which has endowed the Civilization of India with elements of stability by which it has survived all other ancient civilizations.

5. The societies and states which followed that religion in its purity were remarkable for truth, justice, liberty, tolerance and beneficence, and were averse to forcible conversions from other faiths and subjugation of rival or weaker nations.

6. The ignorance, poverty, helplessness and social disorganization, which now prevails in India, are due to the neglect of her ancient religion and civilization for several centuries.

7. The existing remnants of the records of that civilization contain truths and ideals of greater interest and value to humanity than are to be found anywhere else.

8. If knowledge derivable from an intelligent study of those records is brought to bear upon the wealth of heredity developed by the institutions of ancient India and transmitted to these times, men of creative genius and heroic character can arise who will be able to raise India to the highest prosperity and power.

9. The future of India and of the world, demands the preservation and promotion of Indian culture, and the practice of India's ancient religion which proclaims the kinship of all beings and prescribes the way to raise from—humanity to divinity.

There is as much difference between the American "School of Antiquity" and the Indian School as there is between "Raja-yoga" and "Sankhya-yoga". Raja-yoga being partial is but a stage and is inferior to Sankhya-yoga which is integral. That this is a fact can be proved by the unpublished Sankhya-yoga literature in Sanskrit, the gist of which is now being gradually and independently brought to light by the "Arya" Review. The student is referred to the excellent article on pp. 472-485 of Vol. III of that Journal—as it virtually serves as a very good introduction to the study of the unpublished "yoga-sāra" of the Sankhya-yoga.

literature left behind him, for the benefit of mankind, by the latest Vedānta-Bhāṣyakāra, Appayacharya, who was in our midst until A. D. 1901. Every student of comparative religion and sociology should carefully read and digest all the issues of the "Arya" Review, to be able to follow the thoughts of Appayāchārya in his *Yogāsara*, *Pancharahasya*, *Samadhi-ratnamanjusha*, *Brahma-mīmamsa*, *Anubhūti-mīmamsa* and other original sanskrit works and commentaries in Tamil and Sanskrit. Vedic Academy and its work—based on the Sankhya-yoga literature—will be better appreciated in the light of the latest American system mentioned below :—

THE AMERICAN SYSTEM.

Let us understand this system, now followed by the 'Raja-yoga College' of the American 'School of Antiquity'.

"One of the most important features of the system" (to quote the very words of the present leader of the American 'School of Antiquity') "is the development of character, the up-building of pure-minded and self-reliant manhood and womanhood, that each pupil may become prepared to take an honorable, self-reliant position in life. In the younger as in the older pupils, the sense of individual responsibility and personal honor is aroused."

"The studies will range from the elementary to those of a University course, with special emphasis laid on the following: Literature, ancient and modern Languages, Mathematics, Philosophy, Law, The Fine Arts, Music, Industrial Arts, Practical Forestry and Horticulture and Domestic Economy."

To bring out the special merits of this system of education to the forefront, with a view to compare notes from time to time and to carry on researches into the ancient and modern Sastras (Sciences and Arts) and thereby to promote the cause of Brahmacharya and Dharma-Prachara more effectively than we could otherwise do, we shall quote freely from a recent article *from the pen of Mr. J. H. Fussell, an American educationist, on "The School of Antiquity. Its meaning, purpose, and scope". He says :

"The attention that is being given to education

* Which appeared in No. 1, Vol. XIII of the Theosophical Path for January 1917.

in the present day is surely one of the signs of the times. Many think indeed, that never before in the world's history has so much consideration been given to the subject. But how much of the world's history do those who take this position really know? The history of the Anglo-Saxon and the Teuton goes back only a few thousand years at most; their own known history shows that hardly two thousand years ago they were but just emerging from barbarism. Latin and Greek go farther back; Egypt, China, India farther back still; and all show respect for and love of learning and reverence for the wise. The best of their literature and many of their monuments show it."

"Education perhaps with the ancients had a different signification from that which it has with us. Love of learning perhaps meant very much the same with them as with us, and love of learning may be a *sine qua non* of education; but does not true education imply something more? It will be our endeavour to show that it does, and perhaps we shall conclude that the ancients had a fuller conception of the meaning of education than the moderns have now, speaking generally of course."

"One thing at least is clear, namely, that with all the attention that is being given to education to-day, the modern world is still experimenting, it is still in a transition stage, and there is no certainty either of method or aim. Let me quote from an announcement published only this year (1916), by the University of Chicago Press :

"The course of instruction in schools is in constant process of enlargement and improvement. Methods of instruction are changing and the subjects taught in classes must be enlarged so as to include all the suggestions that have been tried out and found to be of genuine value for the education of children.....For a period of years each department has been revising and re-revising its course of study."

"And to emphasise this point further it is not necessary to do more than mention what is doubtless well-known to you all, namely, the uncertainty as to the value of new systems of "vocational training," "departmental study," and the old and still unsettled question regarding the classics—but why

confine these to Latin and Greek: why not include or give an alternative of Indian, Persian, Chinese and other "Classics." And other questions arise, as : shall all children, or even university students, be taught more than the merest rudiments of mathematics and the sciences, and which sciences are the most necessary for an all-round education? How far should the student be permitted latitude in specialising or in selecting his own line of study? What studies, if any should be compulsory?—these are some of the undecided questions of the day. And then there are the fads, such as, to refer to only one, the latest, which claims that a child should be permitted to grow naturally or without any restraint, but the question as to what is natural growth appears not to have had any serious consideration."

"What then do we mean by education? Or better : what is true education? This is surely what should be determined first. There is great power in words, when rightly used, and much profit is often to be had from a consideration of their root-meaning. Now the words, "educate," "education" come from a Latin word meaning to "lead forth"; and we find the following definitions in Webster's Dictionary :

Educate : to bring up or guide the powers of, as a child; to develop and cultivate, whether physically, mentally or morally, but more commonly limited to the mental activities or senses.

Education : properly a drawing forth, implies not so much the communication of knowledge as the discipline of the intellect, the establishment of the principles, and the regulation of the heart."

Education is fast adapting itself to new conditions and changed circumstances of life in the west. Even in Britain the change is visible. The well-known writer Mr. H. G. Wells has something to say to the British public in the matter of educational reconstruction in the following words, which are quite in consonance with our theory :—

"Of course, languages and mathematics do not by any means round off the education of a man of the leading classes. There is no doubt much exercise in their attainment, much value in their possession. But the essence of the higher education is now, as it always has been, philosophy; not the antiqua-

ted pretence of "reading" Plato and Aristotle, but the thorough and subtle examination of those great questions of life that most exercise and strengthen the mind. Surely that is the essential difference of the "educated" and the "common" man. The former has thought, and thought out thoroughly and clearly, the relations of his mind to the universe as a whole, and of himself to the State and life. A mind untrained in swift and adequate criticism is essentially an uneducated mind, though it has as many languages as a courier and as much computation as a bookie.

And what is our fundamental purpose in all this reform of our higher education? It is neither knowledge nor technical skill, but to make our young men talk less and think more, and to think more swiftly, surely, and exactly. For that we want less debating society and more philosophy, fewer prizes for forensic ability and more for strength and vigour of analysis. The central seat of character is the mind. A man of weak character thinks vaguely, a man of clear intellectual decisions acts with precision and is free from vacillation. A country of educated men acts coherently, smites swiftly, plans ahead; a country of confused education is a country of essential muddle.

It is as the third factor in education that the handling and experience of knowledge comes, and of all knowledge that which is most accessible, most capable of being handled with the greatest variety of educational benefit, so as to include the criticism of evidence, the massing of facts, the extraction and testing of generalisations, lies in the two groups of the biological sciences and the exact sciences. No doubt a well-planned system of education will permit of much varied specialisation, will, indeed, specialise those who have special gifts from a very early age, will have corners for Greek, Hebrew, Sanscrit, philology, archæology, Christian theology, and so on, and so on; nevertheless, for that great mass of sound men of indeterminate all-round ability who are the intellectual and moral backbone of a nation, it is in scientific studies that their best training lies, studies most convenient to undertake and most readily applied in life. From either of the two groups of the sciences one may pass on to research or to

technical applications leading directly to the public service. The biological sciences broaden out through psychology and sociology to the theory and practice of law, and to political life. They lead also to medical and agricultural administration. The exact sciences lead to the administrative work of industrialism, and to general economics.

These are the broad, clear lines of the educational necessities of a modern community, plain enough to see, so that every man who is not blinded by prejudice and self-interest can see them to-day.

(to be continued.)

* * *

EMIGRATION TO THE COLONIES.

The following is the Government Resolution on the Annual Report on Emigration from the Port of Calcutta to British and Foreign Colonies during the year 1916:—

The Central Emigration Depot at Benares was temporarily closed during the year under review. The decision of Government to abolish the indentured system of emigration to the Colonies was also announced, and the question of devising a new scheme in substitution for that system came under consideration.

2. Five emigration agencies were at work in 1916 as against three in the year 1915: four on behalf of the British Colonies, and one for the Dutch Colony of Surinam which resumed recruiting during the year. Chiefly owing to the shortage of steamers it was again impossible to meet the demands of the Colonies: though these increased from 5,846 adults in 1915 to 9,071 in 1916, only 3,661, or 1,347 more than in the previous year, were supplied.

3. The number of licenses issued to recruiters was 498 in 1916—a decrease of 58 on the preceding year. Twenty-seven licences, including 8 granted in 1915, were cancelled, misconduct being the cause in 22 against 12 cases in the preceding year.

4. Recruiting operations were conducted in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Ajmer and the Punjab, but not in the Central Provinces. In all 4,932 emigrants, or

1,013 less than in 1915, were registered, 85.66 per cent. of the total number coming from the United Provinces.

5. Of the 5,232 emigrants admitted into sub-depôts, 430 were rejected as unfit to emigrate, 63 deserted, and 108 were released from their engagements, and of the remainder 4,484 arrived at the Calcutta depôts but this number was subsequently reduced by rejections, releases, and other causes to 4,013. Of these, 3,834 (2,545 males and 1,289 females) were shipped as against 2,438 (1,598 males and 840 females) in 1915, among whom 127 or 3.42 per cent. were returned emigrants who re-emigrated.

6. The sanitary arrangements in the depôts were good, and there was a satisfactory decrease in the percentages both of sickness and mortality, the figures being 6.8 and .13 as against 10.61 and .15, respectively, in 1915.

7. Two thousand one hundred and seventy-five emigrants left the Colonies during 1916, bringing with them savings aggregating Rs. 4, 90,350, or an average of Rs. 225-7-2 per head, as compared with Rs. 183-10-11 in the previous year. On the other hand, 1,661 emigrants including 1,230 adults, or 76.36 per cent. of the total, returned with no savings.

8. There was an increase in the total amounts of remittances from emigrants resident in Demerara, Trinidad and Surinam, but the remittances from Mauritius, Natal and Jamaica fell off. As in previous years, Natal sent the largest sum by money-order, the total being Rs. 6,79,913, but this amount probably includes remittances from more well-to-do Indians residing there as well as from labourers. The average savings of resident Indians in the several Colonies are reported to have decreased in 1916, war conditions being in some cases held accountable for the decline.

9. One hundred and ninety-seven estates of deceased emigrants valued at Rs. 23,900 were administered by Government during the year. Of these, the heirs of 113 were traced, 47 lapsed to the Colonial and Indian Governments, and the remainder were under enquiry at the end of the year. The emigration accounts closed with a deficit of Rs. 15,530-14, due to the decrease of embarkation

fees in consequence of the falling off in the number of emigrants despatched.

CHEAP LIFE

OR

£2-10sh FOR A LIFE CRIPPLE.

It is no uncommon occurrence in plantations out in the colonies that agricultural labourers are employed to do very risky jobs in the mills. As a result of this act several workmen become disabled through accidents from one cause or other. Some months ago, about February 11, we heard of a complaint from Fiji that two Indian assistants were scalded, one to instantaneous death and the other to serious injuries from an explosion of a boiler in a sugar mill in the district of Rewa. An enquiry was held under the Boiler Ordinance and what its result was we are at a loss to know. However, one fact we could glean from it and that is that February 11 was a Sunday and it appears that the men who met with death or accident were employed to work on a public holiday. Another fact connected with this accident was that the labourer who was crippled on account of an injury to his forearm wanted to cancel his indenture as he was totally rendered unfit for any future work, but he was not allowed to do so by the C. S. R. Co. The most inhuman feature of the show is that he was not given even the ordinary medical relief by those responsible for his entertainment and the poor man was taken to task for consulting a private practitioner who gave evidence thus, "there is no doubt that he is a genuine case and deserves consideration from the C. S. R. Co. His wrist will never regain its normal condition".

We had witnessed a similar case requiring compensation in one of the plantations (Lingi) in F.M.S. A labourer had an accidental fall from a height while on his duty as tapper. He got his wrist dislocated and after a week the visiting doctor informs the manager that the man is fit to tap. The labourer himself complained that he was unable to do any work. At the expert advice of the doctor, the man was forced to do the work and he was disallowed sick rice. So far we are not aware of any compensation being allowed for people who are thus per-

manently or temporarily disabled. Provision however must be made for such labourers who get crippled in the course of the discharge of their duties through no fault of theirs.

This unsatisfactory state of affairs has reached a climax in Fiji which evoked a good deal of comment and criticism in the daily newspapers of the Colony. The following is the leading article published in the *Western Pacific Herald* of June 25. It speaks volumes on the situation and casts serious reflections on the Government of the Colony.

The death of Ramsuick, an Indian labourer, who died as the result of injuries received at Walu Bay on January 25, brings to light the serious indifference that is sometimes displayed towards the humble Indian workmen. Through the carelessness of somebody one man has been killed and another maimed for life. This appears to be a mere circumstance to the Government, who simply buries the dead man and pays the sick man £2 10s as compensation for his ruined life. When this accident happened a representative of the *Herald* spent a lot of time in trying to get information about it, but every one was dumb. The hospital refused to say a word about it and would not even give satisfaction as to whether the men were seriously injured or not. The only information that could be gleaned at all was from a disinterested person, who was prompted by a sense of justice to see the bare facts published, but the authorities were not even prompted by any such laudable desire. Why the authorities wanted to hush the matter up was not clear but such an attitude as that adopted by the people who could have told the simple, honest truth without doing any body any harm, could not but help to create suspicion. The next that was heard of the matter was that an inquiry into the circumstances concerning the death of Ramsuick had been held. At the inquiry the magistrate said that the accident which caused the man's death was partly due to lack of supervision. If the authorities hushed the matter up because they felt themselves to blame their attitude, it is to be deplored. The dead man will tell no tales, but the crippled man is living evidence of official callousness and injustice. Mahabir is a broken ruined man, as a result of the accident, and he has to depend on what he can beg to keep him alive. He was a strong, able worker before the accident, and earned his living by doing honest, hard labour for the Government, but his injuries are so severe that he states he will not

be able to work again. The Government knows these facts and yet it insults the man by giving him £2 10s as compensation for his ruined life. If that is a fair estimate of an Indian's life no one will mourn the loss of the dead man to any great extent, and the living one will be looked upon as a tolerable nuisance until his injuries cut off life altogether. If the Government is not moved to action in this matter out of a sense of humanity, its regard for the Indian and its anxiety not to kill the remnant of prospect of getting immigrant labourers from that country should impel it to make some show at doing something more decent for the crippled man. Strong action ought also to be taken to punish the persons who were responsible for the accident.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE OF INDIAN EMIGRATION.

We beg to draw very close attention of the Indian Government and the various Governments of the Colonies receiving free or indentured labour to the following report of a deputation from the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, London. The labours of this humanitarian Society in the field of Indian emigration is too well-known and, since the beginning of the system of indentured emigration, the society was ever active and watchful in the interest of the Indian Emigrant labourers. About the year 1837 when no one knew what the system of indentured labour was, Sir Fowell Buxton, the revered President of the Society, questioned the very system in the House of Commons and as a result of which a committee was appointed to enquire into the abuses which "did undoubtedly exist" in those days. The following extract from the Handbook of British Guiana will testify to the vigilant watch kept by the society on the treatment of Indian labourers in the colonies.

"The Anti-Slavery Society meanwhile narrowly watched the treatment of labourers in the West Indies and Guiana. No doubt, managers, ignorant of the language and ways of their labourers from India, gave too free a hand to the sirdars or headmen. Doubtless these petty officers, men of high caste in India, dealt with their people as they had

been accustomed to do in their native country, disliking, or perhaps more probably distrusting, the law, with its slow and, in their idea, less effective way, they took matters into their own hands and inflicted corporal punishment on defaulters. The sufferers themselves, accustomed to such treatment, made no complaint; and perhaps the employers themselves were unaware of the practice. Nevertheless it formed the grounds of complaint for the "Anti-Slavery Society" which had the effect of stopping immigration from India for six years—the favourable report of a Commission of Enquiry which sat at this time being too late to affect the decision of Her Majesty's Government."

Apart from their general interest in the question, the society has been submitting memorials to the Secretary of State on behalf of Indians settled in particular Colonies as occasion demanded. Very recently, on the 8th May 1915, the question of the disabilities of Indians in British Columbia formed the subject of a memorial to the Secretary of State (vide Indian Emigrant vol II No. 3) and we now feel grateful for the General Committee of the Society for placing before the Government their matured considerations on this important question, thus affording several suggestions for a new system of Emigration now under contemplation by the India Office. Among the several suggestions submitted by the committee, those of colonisation, equal rights of citizenship, appointment of a Protector of Emigrants, drawn from Indian Service and sex proportion form the chief points for consideration and they have all been embodied in the famous despatch of 24th March 1875 addressed to the Government of India by Marquess of Salisbury, the then Secretary of State for India. We are informed, however, that the Government is now considering a plan, based on colonisation rather than the mere supply of labour, under which all kinds of penal punishments will be abolished. The other subjects dealt with in the memorandum have been discussed by us off and on, and we have no hesitation in saying that the reformed system of future emigration based on these broad and sympathetic basis would go far towards forgetting old bitter memories of indenture and bring back a new order of things."

ensuring contentment, happiness, and peace to the thousands of Indians now under the severe grip of the old slavery-tainted labour ordinances of the colonies.

DEPUTATION TO MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.

We received the following report from the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, London:—

In view of the consideration which is being given by the India Office and Government to the question of Indian labour for the Colonies, the Committee of the Society obtained the consent of the Secretary of State for India to receive a small private deputation with the object of laying before the Government certain issues to which the Committee attaches importance.

The Deputation, which took place on May 22 at the India Office, consisted of Sir Victor Buxton, Sir Charles Tarring, Rev. R. C. Gillie, Rev. C. E. Lefroy, Messrs. J. H. Oldham and John H. Harris. Lord Henry Cavendish Bentinck was prevented at the last moment from attending, and Mr. Travers Buxton was also unable to attend.

The following memorandum was left by the Deputation with Mr. Chamberlain on the instructions of the General Committee of the Society:—

The object of the Deputation is not that of criticizing objectionable features of the indenture labour system, but that of submitting certain considerations which the Committee of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society considers important in view of a new system in Indian Emigration which, we believe, is being considered by the India Office.

(1) Our Committee attaches first importance to the principle of *colonization* as against a mere supply of labour. It was this feature, we believe, which led Lord Salisbury to emphasize in his despatch of March 24, 1875, the right of potential citizenship. We are firmly of the opinion that if the stipulations set forth in this despatch had been carried out both in letter and spirit, many of the admitted evils of the indenture system would not have arisen.

(2) Following upon colonization with right of potential citizenship, we suggest that in future all agreements should be civil instruments in the fullest sense and no penal clauses should be attached for breaches of agreement. Further that no contract for agricultural work should be made for an unbroken period of longer than three years.

(3) The question of sex proportions has led admittedly to the most deplorable consequences and we suggest that steps should be taken to encourage the emigration of families, and that proof should be produced before embarkation that all women accompanying the male immigrants are relatives.

(4) The fourth main feature upon which the Committee feels strongly is that the Protector of immigrants should be drawn from the Indian Service and the patronage retained by the Indian Government. This would, or at least should mean that the Protectors are able to converse with the people they are called upon to protect. If it is objected that Colonial Governments will take exception to this suggestion, the Deputation should point out that the Union Government of South Africa has accepted this practice in Johannesburg where Portuguese Protectors on behalf of their Government watch over the welfare of native labourers drawn from Portuguese territories. We are also informed that the same practice has been accepted in the F.M.S. for the Chinese labour forces.

Among other considerations which we beg to submit are the following:—

(a) The setting up in India of an impartial Board or Boards of Emigration before which emigrants should appear prior to their embarkation in order that they might be questioned as to their knowledge of the agreements they had signed.

(b) In the Dependencies themselves, a representative of coolie labour should, we hold, be nominated upon the legislative councils. The system of tasks should either be abolished or Conciliation Boards set up to which the coolies could appeal in the event of alleged 'overtaking.'

(c) That the advisability might be considered of adopting a system of deferred pay carrying interest and bonus.

(d) That free grants at the expiration of a contract should be made of occupation rights over small holdings of land in order to encourage colonization.

The members of the Deputation were greatly pleased at the reception of the Society's suggestions, with the object of which the Secretary of State expressed his sympathy while reserving the details for examination by the inter-departmental Conference over which Lord Islington presides.

INDIAN UNIT IN THE IMPERIAL UNITY.

BY THE EDITOR

Mr. H. G. Wells writing in his well known book "What is Coming" says, that "out of this war, whatever else emerges there will emerge a more highly organised state than existed before—that is to say a less individualistic and more socialistic State." The reason for assuming such a probable state of affairs lies in the general recognition of a common interest arising out of a common danger. And this the war has strikingly brought home to every citizen of the British Empire. Even apart from this, as a Canadian writer has recently remarked, "War or no war, a change was coming in the political relations, both national and international, of that marvellous fact in history, that apparently accidental but really purposeful aggregation of nations and colonies and dependencies, which before the war began the world geographies called the British Empire. For it a change was long in the way. But the fierceness and ferment of the crucible of war are producing in a year what in the slow-moving evolutions of peace a generation or perhaps even a century might not have yielded."

With this prelude we venture to discuss the significance of the Imperial War Conference held in April last and its influence on the political future of India. When, on September 22, 1915, Mr. Mahomed Shafi moved his famous resolution in the Viceroy's Council for India's participation in the Imperial

Conferences and when Lord Hardinge accepted the resolution and even assured the members that that proposal had already been considered sympathetically by His Majesty's ministers, the key-note of Self-government for India has been struck. It raised at once the political status of India from a dependent to a partner. The fact that delegates from India representing officials, non-officials and ruling princes (Sir J. Meston, Sir Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikanir) have been invited to attend a conference at which only the official heads or representatives of the Self-Governing Dominions were invited previously, indicates that when the war is over and the Empire's reconstruction is on the anvil, India will be accorded an equal status with the self-governing colonies of Imperial Britain. The purpose of self-government for any country is two-fold, first for self-preservation and second for self-defence, in other words for internal reform and for external defence. While a country is enjoying the benefits of peace, all the forces in it must be directed towards the improvement of the material (agricultural and industrial), the social and the intellectual resources of the people and while the country is engaged in war the people must be able to protect themselves against foreign aggression. Thus the term "Self-government" partakes both of the nature of Economics and Politics. For any scheme of reform in the government of a country, the character of a people and their spirit go a great way in shaping it. New situations arise which demand new lines of action. The days have gone when one country could live isolated from the rest of the world. It is impossible now for nations to remain self satisfied without being constantly engaged in educating themselves and in educating other nations. Nations like individuals are never perfect. The new nations of the west have something to learn from the old nations of the East and *vice versa*. The war is thus an evidence that some nations of Europe have not yet learned their lessons well and have not known what is to be of use to others or to themselves.

The participation therefore of India in the councils of the Empire and the lifting up of the black veil which hid India from the rest of the world is pregnant of great possibilities for the future.

relationship between England and India and perhaps the world also.

It has been well said that the "best governed people are the least governed," and the hope for the future governance of the Empire lies on an intelligent recognition of this principle, which is suggested in the single phrase "Imperial Federation."

A large class of politicians are loath to use the word "Empire", because of its dangerous associations in the past. We do not hear any more of the Roman Empire, the Empire of Alexander or of Napoleon; because they were constructed on the unstable foundation of exploitation for the benefit of the mother-country. The modern cult of the Empire is based on the broad principle of representative government. It is unlike the old Empires in allowing independence and local self-government and in not depending on the exploitation of its dependencies. We see that in the grant of self-government to Canada, Australia and even South Africa which contains a heterogeneous population. It was once thought by British statesmen that self-government for Canada meant separation from Britain. There was no ground for such a suspicion as we know from the subsequent logic of events of that Colony. Even in the case of India, this principle of exploitation has never been applied. At a time when a trading Company forced tribute under cover of British power from weaker peoples, the British Parliament in England at once took up the matter and established a government in 1857 under a charter taking the entire administration of the country into their hands, thus illustrating the familiar adage that "administration and commercial exploitation should not be entrusted to the same hands". (Lord Cromer)

Now when we begin to analyse the two aspects of self-government, those of internal reform and external defence, we are faced with serious Imperial problems which are discussed in the Imperial War Conference of 1917.

Imperialism has been termed a half way house between Nationalism and Comopolitanism; and the essence of the former is a separation and localisation of interests and the formation of the distinct groups while that of the latter is a realisation of a

higher ideal of the oneness of humanity at large. The latter is still the poet's dream and the vision of the idealist. But the stage which we are passing through is one that leads us to the next. At one time Imperialism was only an ideal and it was thought that India was a long way off to reach it. Now it is a phase in the Imperial Politics of our country. Still it is in its infant stage. Its horizon is still limited by jealousy and racial prejudice. This is to a certain extent due to the heterogeneous races that inhabit the Empire. Even between the four great self-governing colonies of Britain there are obvious differences not only of race, colour and creed but of internal structure, history and associations and sentiments. In spite of all this Imperial Britain is a growing organism, growing day by day as there develops a better understanding of the merits of the component parts of the Empire, and India as an important unit in it, representing an old civilisation and coming in contact with a younger one, is bound to prepare the world for a harmonious blending of the spiritual and the material civilisations so necessary for laying the foundations for a lasting peace of the world.

That such an understanding is in progress is evidenced by the resolutions read at the Imperial Conference which are as follows:—

The resolution declares first of all that any constitutional readjustment must be "based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth and of India as an important part of the same"; second, that any such readjustment must "recognise the right of the Dominions and India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of common Imperial concern, and for such necessary concerted action, founded on consultation, as the several Governments may determine"; and, third, that any readjustment must provide for "thoroughly preserving all existing powers of self-government and complete control of domestic affairs."

The constitutional importance of these resolutions and the principles underlying the same have been discussed with great vigour and perspicuity in the Quarterly Journal "The Round Table" for

June 1917. We shall not enter at present into their details but only quote from that excellent Review the valuable advance made in the Imperial Politics by giving a tardy recognition to India as a unit in the Empire.

A VALUABLE ADVANCE.

Hitherto India has occupied the status of a dependency within the British Empire. No representatives from India have ever before attended the councils of the Empire. On this occasion Indians have taken part in all the deliberations both of the Imperial War Conference and the Imperial War Cabinet. It is now announced that this representation is to be permanent, both in the Imperial Conference and the Imperial Cabinet. India's right, therefore, to a voice whenever the common problems of the Empire are under discussion is now specifically admitted. This is a most welcome step. It pays a tardy recognition to the enormous importance of India in the Empire. It is evidence of the confidence and trust which the rest of the Empire feel in the loyalty and goodwill of the Indian people towards the Commonwealth, of which it is a part. It is a proof that India's status in the Empire is now, to quote Mr. Lloyd George at the Guildhall on April 27, that of a partner nation. It is, too, of special value at the present time. There are many difficult problems calling for solution in India itself. The gradual change over from bureaucracy, however benevolent, to self-government, in a country, or rather a continent, containing 315,000,000 people of many diverse religions, races, and languages, and dominated by traditions and customs which are a heavy handicap on progress, must necessarily be a slow and gradual progress. Nobody now disputes that a further step must be taken towards the ultimate goal at the end of the war. The recognition of India's status in the Empire and its councils cannot fail to make that step easier of accomplishment than it would otherwise be.

The representation of India in the councils of the Empire has another and no less important

significance. It shows that the British Commonwealth can not only unite nations, but that it can also bridge the difference between them even when they are profoundly divided by colour and civilisation. It proves, indeed, that if its peoples live up to those ideals of liberty and unity which give it life, it will be the greatest of all peace-makers in the world. For it enables even East and West, whom many suppose can never unite, to meet and understand one another as members of a single commonwealth.

The recent innovations in our institutions and the recognition of India as a partner nation within it clearly illumine the real destiny of the British Empire as a true Commonwealth of Nations. Its institutions now provide a clear road not only to self-government, but to participation in its common affairs, to all the varied peoples and nations within it. There never yet has been such a commonwealth. Great empires have been reared in the past upon the basis of autocratic military power. They have never before been founded so completely upon liberty and democracy. The British Commonwealth has already been the greatest fountain of political freedom in the world. It has nursed young nations to maturity in peace. It has laid the foundations of self-government among countless millions of politically backward peoples. It has proved the bulwark against which the forces of autocracy and reaction have cast themselves in vain. If its peoples are to rise to the full level of the responsibilities which rest upon them, they have yet to bring into being a democratic organ of its will. But if that greatest of all political tasks is accomplished, they will have created the institutions which will eventually give liberty and unity and peace to the world. For they will have proved that nations and peoples of almost every race and colour, speaking almost every variety of language, professing nearly every form of religion and civilisation, and scattered over the four corners of the globe, can yet be united into a single whole—a whole in which every part is self-governing or approaching self-government, and in which there is also an assembly through which its responsible citizens can think and act together as one people.

General Articles.

TIPPU SULTAN'S EMBASSY TO THE FRENCH COURT IN 1788.

BY THE REV. A. M. TABARD, M.A., M.R.A.S.

The following account of a reception accorded to the ambassadors sent by Tippu Sultan of Mysore to king Louis XVI of France in 1788 formed the subject of a paper read before the Mythic Society, Bangalore, by the Rev. A.M. Tabard. The documents connected with the reception at Toulon have been published for the first time in the *Bulletin de l'Academie du Var* for 1914-15, and the account is so interesting that it takes us back nearly a century and a half giving an insight into the conditions of India in the matter of international intercourse prevailing at that period.

We give below the bare account of the arrival and sojourn of the Ambassadors at Toulon, with a short introduction placing before the readers the circumstances of the time.

TIPPU SAHIB

Among all the potentates, who have reigned in India, very few are known in France even by name. Tippu Sahib is an exception, owing not so much to the fact that he was an ally of France as to a feeling common at the time to both countries: the hatred of England.

That feeling born at Crecy and Agincourt had remained very much alive in French breasts as is proved by the substantial assistance rendered by France to America in the war of independence. That feeling of hatred was by degrees succeeded by one of suspicion towards 'Perfid Albion' and not until 1914 have the two traditional foes come to be to each other what God intended them to be all along, loyal and disinterested friends as also the guardians of all that is best in European civilization, a happy result of the present war, a result, which we all hope will last for many generations to come.

Tippu knew of that feeling, and it was the aim of his life to turn it to his advantage. At the same time, to the French of the end of the eighteenth century, a

Mysore Sultan appeared like another hero of independence, and France felt that, if she had not been able to strike at England through America, she might still do it through the Sultan of Mysore.

INTRODUCTION.

Tippu was the eldest of Hyder Ali's sons. Hyder, feeling that his lack of education had been a drawback in his career, insisted on his sons being trained by skilful teachers, and so Tippu became proficient in all the sciences cultivated in India at that time. He could speak several languages, European and Indian; he used to devote to reading several hours every day, but yet it was in bodily exercises that he particularly excelled, and at a very early age he was the best horseman in his army. The science of war, he learned from French officers in his father's service. At the head of a cavalry regiment he took part in 1767 in the conquest of the Carnatic, and the victories he won over the Maharattas, 1775 to 1779, proved that he had profited by his masters' lessons.

At his father's death, December 7, 1782, he was in Malabar keeping in check Colonel Humberston.

Taking advantage of his being so far away, the English under General Mathews captured Onore, Bednore and all the neighbouring districts, but Tippu, as soon as he had rendered the last offices to his father, marched against the English commander with an army, 25,000 strong, of whom 1,000 were French. He took Mathews by surprise and forced him to surrender, April 28, 1783.

A kind of truce was signed, but soon broken by both parties, the English evading payment of the indemnity agreed upon, and Tippu causing Mathews and twenty of his principal officers to be poisoned.

When the Sultan was besieging Mangalore a peace was concluded between England and France, and thus Tippu was deprived of his most precious allies, in spite of which, he was able himself to conclude an advantageous peace with England, March 11, 1784.

Tippu availed himself of the respite in doing away with the phantom Mysore Raj, proclaimed himself Sultan and started reorganizing his army.

To expel the English from India was his most cherished dream, and he could not help chafing under

the peace he had signed unwillingly. But before renewing his conflict with England, he wished to make sure of French aid and so resolved to send an embassy to Louis XVI in order to conclude with France an offensive and defensive alliance.

ARRIVAL AND SOJOURN OF THE AMBASSADORS AT TOULON

The ambassadors were received everywhere in France, but more particularly at Toulon, with the greatest honours as witness the memoirs and newspapers of the time from which the following is culled.

Monday, June 9.—Tippu Sahib's ambassadors who had been so long expected arrived at Toulon to day June 9, at 4 p.m. on board the king's sloop of war 'Aurore' under M. de Monneron, captain in the Portuguese and lieutenant in the French navy during the war. They were saluted on their entering the narrow entrance of the harbour by the artillery of the forts which command that entrance, and also by the guns of the four king's frigates which are here at anchor. The *Aurore* cast anchor opposite the old chain. M. d'Albert in command of the naval department sent immediately M. Delort, flag captain acting as vice-admiral to take their orders as to the time they wished to land, but the ambassadors refused to see any one to-day though they have fixed their landing for 4 p.m. to-morrow 10th inst., as their lent, during which, according to their religion, they are not allowed to show themselves in public, will not be over till then. Here are the names of the ambassadors as given by M. de Monneron:

The chief ambassador is called Mohamed Dervish Khan, aged forty. He belongs to a tribe which claims to be descended from the Prophet Mahomed. His brother-in-law is the commander-in-chief of all Tippu's fortresses. His son Aga Sahib, accompanies him. The second ambassador Akbar Ali Khan is a scholar, aged seventy. He carries among his luggage a complete copy of his writings. The third Mohamed Oosman Khan, aged fifty, is the one who asks and answers questions. He has with him his nephew, Ghulam Sahib.*

* Ghulam Sahib died on July 8, 1863, and must have been born in 1771 or 1770 as he used to say, in speaking of the Embassy, that he was seventeen years of age at the time.

They are all Musulmans, like these master Tippu, and not Hindus. They talk the Moorish language and also Persian. Mohamed Assad Oullah, king's interpreter at Mauritius, accompanies them in the same capacity.

When they left India they were forty-five in all. Three died of scurvy on the way. Those three deaths and a bilious attack from which two of the ambassadors suffered, decided the captain of the *Aurore* to make for Toulon instead of Brest, where it might have been too cold for the precious health of the passengers. The voyage was long. Leaving Pondicherry on July 22, 1787, they called at Mauritius from August 27 to December 4, and then they arrived at the Cape on January 3, 1788. They left the Cape on February 11, and kept as close as possible to the coast of Africa to get as much warmth as they could. They reached Ascension Island on February 20. They touched at Goree, a French possession on the Guinea Coast from April 3 to 29. From May 28 to June 1, they stayed at Malaga whence they arrived at Toulon to-day, June 9. As the staple food of the Asiatics is rice, we have been careful to procure here different kinds of the finest and the whitest, and as they do not eat flesh meat except of animals slaughtered by their own cook, large stocks have been laid in of sheep, game, and fowls of different kinds like pigeons, portridges, etc.

Tuesday, June 10.—Early in the morning ten cutters were got ready at the arsenal to meet the ambassadors on board. At midday, the drums of the naval troops, and also those of the garrison were beating all over the town. At the same time all the ships in the roadsteads were most magnificently adorned with flags. Larger flags were hoisted on the flagship and also all the vessels in the harbour, and the galley ships hoisted their blue and white standards. The landing took place with great ceremony as follows: M. le Comte d'Albert, naval commander, sent to Captain de Monneron three cutters with splendidly decorated awnings of crimson damask with gold facings and fringes for the ambassadors and the officers in their retinue, and a number of others for the soldiers and servants who accompanied them. On each of the first three were a flag captain, two superior officers and two subalterns. As soon as the ambassadors and their retinue had entered the cutters, at about 4 p.m. the forts, the five frigates in the roadsteads and all the batteries in the garrison fired a salute of fifteen guns

each. The flagship saluted them also with fifteen guns when they entered the fort. At half past four, the ambassadors landed at the arsenal where they were received by the port officer, M. de Castellet, accompanied by a large number of naval officers. After their presentations they walked to the hall of the arsenal, which had been got ready to receive them, the naval troops lining the way. Perfumes and refreshments were offered to them, and immediately they entered the coaches intended for them, of which there were nine. M. de Castellet handed the ambassadors to the first and the finest coach drawn by four horses, and himself sat facing them. All the officers and the ambassadors' retinue, M. de Monneron and all the naval officers who were in the other cutters, took their seats in the other coaches. When the coaches reached the gate of the arsenal, drums beat a salute. At the door of the arsenal six archers of the Prevot dela Marine posted inside the railings, and, having at their heads the Exempt de la Prevote, presented arms. When they came opposite the guard house, the naval detachment on duty presented arms also, and the drums beat a salute again. Two Swiss Guards, in the full dress uniform of the king's service, were stationed at the gate, and they threw the door wide open when the coaches arrived. The first coach was escorted all the way by four other Swiss Guards in the same uniform as the above one at each door of the carriage, and two carrying halberds. On the ambassadors' leaving the arsenal, the detachment of land troops which lined the way presented arms. The flags saluted them, and the drums again beat a salute. This detachment accompanied them as far as the Hotel du Commandant, preceded by the full band of the regiment of Dauphine, which played several marches. They then passed through the sixth naval division, which lined the way leading to the parade ground, and which also presented arms. The ambassadors alighted in the courtyard of the hotel, and a salute of fifteen guns was fired from the rampart of the Porte Royale. A few minutes later the royal battery stationed near the flagstaff did the same. Their Excellencies having entered the Hotel, M. le Comte d'Albert accompanied by many naval officers in full uniform came to receive them at the door of the reception hall, which had been magnificently decorated. Remaining covered he saluted them by touching his forehead, he embraced them, as also two young men of the retinue, who seemingly thought they were entitled to the same privilege. This general officer, who

at this moment was representing the king, gave them his hand and took them to seats placed on his right hand, but lower than his own. The Director-General took his seat on the left. The Comte d'Albert, always with his head covered, explained to the ambassadors that the king's orders were that they should be received with the utmost magnificence, that they had only to ask, that everything was at their disposal, and that they were to be supplied with everything useful or agreeable. The interpreter having explained the compliment, they replied by another compliment, which the interpreter explained also. An officer of the garrison then came to offer the ambassadors a guard of honour, which was declined. That guard was composed of fifty men with a flag, and was commanded by a captain and a lieutenant. The same officer also asked them on behalf of the king's lieutenants (the Mayor and the Consuls), the only civil authorities in the town, in the absence of M. de Coincy, when they would be pleased to give them an audience. They answered that, as they were very tired, they could not yet fix the day. At last, after a few words with M. d'Albert, they withdrew to their apartments for rest.

Wednesday, June 11.—Their Excellencies announced that they would give audience and receive visits in the afternoon. Consequently at about 4 p.m., M. le Comte d'Albert commanding the naval troops accompanied by M. Possel, Chief Civil Magistrate, called on the ambassadors, the former at the head of the naval officers in full uniform and the latter at the head of the City Fathers. M. le Comte d'Albert complimented them in the name of the troops, and M. Possel in the name of the administration. M. Possel also informed them of the king's instructions to provide them with everything that might be useful or agreeable, and assured them of his great pleasure in having been entrusted with the task. M. de Monneron, who was with the Commandant, was also asked to explain to the ambassadors how the king had issued precise orders for their reception at Brest, and that everything had been ready there for the last four months, but that, unfortunately, as the arrival at Toulon was unexpected, he had not been able to carry out His Majesty's wishes as well as he would have liked. The ambassadors looked deeply impressed with the way they had been received at the entrance of the empire, and explained through the interpreter that they were unable to find words to express their gratitude. At this juncture, an officer of their retinue, carrying a silver vase full of attar, offered it to the

Commandant and to M. Possel to wash their hands. Another silver vase was also brought on a tray. This vase was divided into four compartments, in which were some small grains which nobody knew, besides cinnamon and other fragrant perfumes.

M. d'Albert and M. Possel, seated in cushioned arm-chairs by the side of the ambassadors, took some of those grains which they swallowed some-how and the other officers did the same. All the members of the Town Corporation presented themselves, one after the other. The municipality sent them a quantity of ginger bread, and a large basket full of candles, of cloves and bottles of pomatum and scents. Precisely at 6 o'clock, Their Excellencies got into the coaches with their principal officers, and were taken to the theatre by M. de Monneron and several other naval officers. A detachment of the regiment of Barrois escorted the coaches as far as the hall. By the side of the first coach were the four Swiss Guards spoken of already. Having entered the hall, the ambassadors were taken to the box of the naval commandant who was waiting for them. They were treated to a representation of 'Richard the Lion Hearted'* and of the 'London Vauxhall' a great ballet pantomime. The interpreter explained everything to them, and they looked very much interested, though they seem to have liked the Quakers' Dance best.

Thursday, June 12.—At 5 p.m., two of the ambassadors with their two children and some persons of their retinue got into their coaches to go and see the Royal Foundry, accompanied by the Comte d'Albert, Messrs de Castellet and de Monneron. The coaches were escorted by detachments of the regiments of Dauphine and Barrois, and four Swiss Guards who never left the doors of the first coach. On entering the foundry, the ambassadors were saluted by a discharge of twenty-one guns. They were present at the casting of six howitzers in caronade. After having been shown round the foundry, Their Excellencies were taken to the arsenal. The guards presented arms. The guns beat a salute, and the Swiss Guards appeared with their halberets.

They also visited the park of artillery where they expressed their surprise at the number of guns; also the warehouse, the workshops, the fencing school and the

corderie which impressed them by its length. Feeling tired, they got again into their coaches and returned to the hotel. 'They seem,' writes Malouët, 'to take interest in all they see and their questions denote men anxious to learn.'

Friday, June 13.—To-day Their Excellencies visited all the factories and also the port in all its details. As arranged by M. de Coincy, as soon as they leave the hotel, they are always escorted by detachments of the Dauphine or Barrois. At night they attended the representation of 'Azemia, † at the theatre.

Saturday June 14.—There were fireworks on the parade ground, and the interior of the ambassadors' hotel was brilliantly lit up. At 9 p.m. the ambassadors showed themselves on the balcony of their hotel. The naval band played several pieces. All being seated with Messrs d'Albert, de Castellet and Possel, one of the ambassadors set fire to a flying dragon, which itself set fire to the five pieces of the fireworks. The first piece represented a star of the east, the second a Maltese cross with all sorts of designs surrounding it, other pieces followed, the last one representing an arch of triumph. In the centre were two fine columns which were revolving, and at the top could be seen an Indian with a palm tree in front of him, and the moon over his head. The whole ended with a large volley of fireworks.

Sunday, June 15.—To-day the ambassadors were treated to a representation of 'The Joust and the Ring.' They seemed interested. The first ambassador was not there. Six boats had been got ready for the purpose. An enclosure was prepared in the old wet dock with five pontoons, one for Their Excellencies, the heads of departments and the ladies of the highest rank, two for officers and society people, and two for the general public. At the town hall there was an awning made of cotton cloth, which the municipality had procured purposely for the occasion, in order that the balcony where the ambassadors were, might be sheltered from the sun, as well as Madame de Coincy and the other ladies of rank, who attended the function. Later in the evening the ambassadors witnessed the representation of the 'Dot' ‡ followed by a ballet dance.

† 'Azemia' Opera comic in 3 Acts. Words by Lachabeaussier. Music by Dalayrac enacted at 'The Italians' on May 3, 1787.

‡ La Dot. Comedy in 3 Acts. Words by Desfontaines. Music by Dalayrac, enacted at 'The Italians' on November 21 1785.

Monday, June 16.—To-day the ambassadors received another visit from the Mayor of Toulon, who begged them to accept the compliments of M. de Caraman.* The admiralty gave a grand ball in their honour followed by a supper in the Hotel de l'Intendance. The function lasted from 9 p.m. to 2 a.m. Over five hundred persons were present. Their Excellencies looked much pleased, and they made some remarks on the charming manners and handsome looks of the French ladies. During the ball the chief ambassador presented a hookah to M. le Comte d'Albert who, to please him, smoked for a few seconds.

Tuesday, June 17.—To-day the ambassadors enjoyed from their balcony the sight of a sham fight in which the regiments of Barrois and Dauphine took part. During the fight which lasted from 6 to 8 p.m., two gunners having met with an accident, the ambassadors were much concerned as they feared that the accident might prove fatal. They sent sixty sovereigns with a letter of deep sympathy and they promised, when in Paris, to do their best to obtain a pension for them. After this exercise, the two regiments fell in and marched past Their Excellencies, who later on visited the lines. This same day the other officers were also presented to the ambassadors with the usual etiquette.

In the evening Their Excellencies witnessed the representation of 'Tableau Parlant' † and of 'Mort vivant par amour.'

At the back of the stage an arch of triumph had been erected, in the middle of which were placed the king's and Tippu's portraits with an inscription in the Indian language, and also the names and titles of the ambassadors.

After the first scene a detachment of the regiment of Dauphine went through some exercises on the stage. This was followed by a Genius being let down from the ceiling to offer Their Excellencies a wreath of laurel and flowers. The children of Madame Zanini gave several dances, after which they came into the box with bunches of flowers for the ambassadors. Their Excellencies after many caresses gave sixteen sovereigns to the children.

* Victor Maurice de Requet Comte de Caraman, born 1727, was the King's Commandant in Provence in 1783 and 1784, died 1807.

† Tableau Parlant. Comedy in one Act in verse. Words by Aulseaume. Music by Gretry, enacted at 'The Italians' on September 20, 1769.

Wednesday, June 18.—Day devoted to return visits. At the town hall they were received by the municipality. A 'Vin d'honneur' supplied by Dame Auriot at a cost of four hundred and forty-one livres was offered to the ambassadors.

Thursday, June 19.—The ambassadors were to have left to-day for Marseilles, but as their luggage was not ready, as to-morrow Friday is an unlucky day, the departure has been postponed to Saturday.

Friday, June 20.—Their Excellencies visited the arsenal and the docks. They went on board the *Commerce de Marseille* of 118 guns, which was not quite completed and the *Triomphant* of 81 guns.

A convict, named Nicholas Bornot, well known in the harbour contrived to throw himself at the feet of the ambassadors with a petition. Their Excellencies have promised to interest themselves on his behalf. This man, convicted at the age of twenty of theft in his uncle's house, has been in jail for the last twenty-three years. He has given proof of his repentance, so his pardon will be a fine opportunity to show the Indian ambassadors the weight attached to their recommendation.

Saturday, June 21.—At 9 a.m. the ambassadors got into their coaches, after having scattered silver and gold coins among the populace. In the first coach drawn by six horses sat the first ambassador alone. The other two ambassadors were in a second coach drawn by four horses. They were rendered the same honours at their departure as at their arrival. 'It is impossible,' write the consuls of Toulon to M. de Caraman, 'to fix up any programme for the journey. Their superstitions are such, that nothing can be arranged beforehand. They have during the month so many unlucky days, on which they can hardly show themselves, that everything must be left to chance. Consequently, we have engaged by the day the carriages, which are to take them to Paris, so that, they can stop where they like, and as long as they like.'

The presence of the Indian ambassadors at Toulon and the festivities connected with it, had attracted large crowds from the country all round. The ambassadors expressed their admiration for the cheerful French nature and their gratitude for all that had been done to please them. 'Their customs are very quaint, and one finds it strange to see them taking their meals squatting on the ground. Their clothes are made of muslin or of silk, and are very simple. Their retinue are clad in ordinary calico.'

* Richard Coeur de Lion. Opera comic in 3 Acts. Words by Sedain. Music by Gretry (1784).

No one knows the object of the embassy. Their instructions are kept in a casket, which they must open only at Versailles. It is supposed that they are empowered to conclude an alliance between their master and the king of France. Nobody at Toulon has been able to see the presents they have for the king. There are seven chests. The rumour is that among those presents there are a throne made of ivory and adorned with diamonds, a sceptre and a crown made of gold and of incalculable value.

[The ambassadors then visit Paris and they were received by the King in a public audience. An account of their stay in the capital will be published in our next issue.]

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MEMORANDUM ON INDIAN EMIGRATION.

The following is the text of the memorandum on "Emigration from India to the Self-Governing Dominions," which was presented by the Indian representatives to the other members of the Imperial War Conference, and was, after a discussion on April 27th last, referred for "favourable consideration by the Governments concerned":—

This question was discussed at the Imperial Conference of 1911, when the Secretary of State for India (the Marquess of Crewe) put in a memorandum, subsequently published (Cd. 5476—1 of 1911). The only legislation of importance since then has been the South Africa Immigration Act of 1913.

METHODS OF EXCLUSION IN FORCE.

While none of the Dominions has mentioned natives of India as prohibited immigrants, the several Dominions (except Newfoundland which has differentiated against the Chinese only) have effectually guarded themselves against an influx of Asiatics. Australia and New Zealand impose an educational test upon immigrants while Canada and South Africa have taken power to exclude immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuitable as residents. South Africa has issued instructions to immigration officers

that Asiatics are "unsuitable"; Canada has not. In practice Canada excludes Indians by insisting that all immigrants shall have come by through ticket on continuous journey from their country of origin, a provision hitherto effective because there has been no direct steamer service. In addition, Canada insists that each Asiatic immigrant must possess £40 (\$200) (unless he belongs to a country as to which special statutory regulations are in force, or with which there is a special agreement). From an Imperial point of view the flaw in the Canadian system is that it puts Japanese in a far better position than British Indian subjects. Japan has secured by agreeing to limit emigration of the labouring class to four hundred a year.

South Africa has, by an administrative order absolutely shut the door to fresh immigration from India, with the important exception that one lawful wife (with her minor children) of any domiciled Indian who has not already a wife in South Africa has the right of entry, and that the Union Government has promised to admit by special permit as many as twelve educated Indians each year.

In Australia and New Zealand Indians who do not know the English language are unable to fulfil the educational requirements of the laws. In Australia, however, an Indian who knows English perfectly can be excluded for want of knowledge of some other European language. (This provision is applicable to immigrants of any race except the British.)

Thus all the Dominions are secured against an influx of uneducated Asiatics.

In each Dominion the Government has power to admit individual immigrants (who would otherwise be excluded) by permit. In Canada, apart from special permits, tourists, students, teachers, and certain other educated persons, do not come within the scope of the immigration laws. In the other Dominions they do, and their admission depends on the decision of the minister in each individual case.

Each Dominion allows the return of Indians who have acquired domicile, subject to the necessary precautions to prevent personation or forgery.

THE ADMISSION OF WOMEN.

South Africa (with a large permanent Indian population) differs from the other Dominions in allowing (subject to strict precautions) any Indian who has acquired the right of residence to bring his wife and his young children from India to take up permanent residence. In Australia and New Zealand the absence of any such provision does not appear to have caused resentment on the part of Indians, but much political capital has been made out of the matter as regards Canada. Here there are hardly any Indian women (the men having entered, unaccompanied by women, before the promulgation of the Orders in Council which in effect prevent any fresh Indian immigration). The Dominion Government does not insist upon the possession of \$200 by the wives of the domiciled Indians, but the "continuous journey" provision in practice makes it impossible for the women to come. Much has been made in India of this grievance, though it is very improbable that in practice more than a dozen or so Sikhs of the labouring classes would wish to bring over their wives, especially since the Indian community in British Columbia has become so much smaller. The efforts made to do so were probably inspired by political agitators, who wished to and did, produce cases which aroused sympathy. But the average Sikh, ready to travel all over the world to make money, does not in the least wish to be hampered by a helpless wife. Resident Japanese may introduce not only their families but domestic servants, so that the differentiation against British Indians is very marked.

TEMPORARY VISITS.

As regards the temporary visits of Indians of good position, the various Dominion laws allow persons with good credentials to enter (in Canada, as "tourists," and elsewhere by special permits). Although educated Indians chafe at the necessity of suing for permission to enter the Dominions, while all British subjects can enter India freely, it is very difficult to make any positive suggestion. Sympathetic action on the part of immigration officers might go far to mollify the sense of grievance undoubtedly felt by educated Indians. The grievance might be more

effectually remedied if each Dominion Government were to empower an agent or agents of its own resident in India to issue permits to visit the Dominion to Indians with good credential for specified purposes. Whether such an arrangement would be practicable is a matter for consideration.

POLITICAL GRIEVANCES.

The Indians settled in the Dominions make complaints from time to time on various points, such as the absence of political equality with full citizens. Such matters are entirely within the discretion of the several Governments, and need not be discussed. But it is of importance to note that the biased administration of municipal regulations as to the grant of trading licenses may in practice inflict more injury on individual resident Indians than do some statutes against which Indians have protested.

It is quite recognised that some Indians resident in the Dominions have put forward claims in the direction of requests for the Parliamentary franchise and for the recognition of non-Christian marriage systems which no Dominion Government could grant without danger to the character of its own institutions, and have thus weakened their requests for remedy of more material grievances. The argument for allowing resident Indians who possess the necessary educational and property qualifications a vote in municipal elections—where this does not already exist—is based not only on the fact that they are taxed for municipal purposes, but on the obvious consideration that their safeguards for equitable treatment from municipal officials in such matters as the issue of licenses would be enhanced by their possession of votes.

As regards the Parliamentary franchise, it has been argued in Natal in the past that Indians, as coming from a country that did not enjoy representative institutions, were not fitted for a Parliamentary vote. But the extension of the representative character of Legislative Councils in India has certainly modified the force of this argument, at least in its application to Indian merchants. The franchise, as regards the status of non-European races differs considerably in the several provinces of the Union of South Africa, and in this, the only one of

the Self-Governing Dominions in which an Indian vote would have much political influence, the question of the admission of Indians to the Parliamentary franchise could not be entirely dissociated from very difficult questions of the political status of African natives. It does not appear to have been noticed that while anyone from the Dominions is free to enter and do business in British India, and is eligible for appointment to the Indian Services, no non-official Canadian or Australian, for instance, who takes up his residence in India acquires any voice in the government of the country, except in so far as he may happen, on account of his business, to become one of the electors for the representation of the special interests (such as Chambers of Commerce, or the planters in Assam) in the Legislative Councils.

THE CLAIM FOR EQUITABLE TREATMENT.

It is common ground that Indians of any class who have been allowed to acquire residential rights in the Dominions should be accorded equitable treatment. It is not yet admitted, except by South Africa, that Indian men who have acquired residential rights should be allowed to introduce women of their own race. The objection, no doubt, is that Canada, Australia, and New Zealand consider it undesirable to have a permanent Asiatic domiciled community such as exists in South Africa, though Canada, in fact, has allowed the foundation of a permanent Japanese colony. On the other hand, the constant charges of sexual immorality made against Indians, and the fears expressed as to undesirable miscogenation, show the unnatural position produced where Indians who have been allowed to acquire a domicile are not allowed to lead a normal family life.

The embargo against unlimited immigration of Indians of the labouring classes is understood in India though not popular. But the provisions which, while not preventing the visits of educated Indians, put upon them the onus of proving to Dominion officials that they do not belong to prohibited classes, are undoubtedly a cause of much friction, and have helped to create in Indian political circles a very strong feeling of hostility to the Dominions. While the Government of India have always felt great difficulty

about any arrangement under which they would be called upon to decide as between individual educated Indians who should be allowed to go to any Dominion, it is recognised that by making an arrangement of this kind Japan had been able to come to a settlement with Canada which puts Japanese in a privileged position.

WHAT INDIANS FEEL.

To attain a settlement of these grievances it is necessary to recognise, in the first place, that they are in a great measure matters of sentiment. Indians in their outlook upon the Empire, are at present powerfully swayed by two ideas. They are proud of the fact that they are British subjects, and their country an integral portion of the Empire. They wish to claim their Imperial privileges, and they do not understand why, on the ground of race, they are unfairly excluded from large tracts of the Empire, and worse treated in some matters than Asiatics who do not belong to the Empire, while (until the passing of the new United States immigration law) they have not met with unfavourable differential treatment in the territories of foreign Powers. They are at the same time proud of their Indian nationality, of their ancient civilisation, and of the great intellectual traditions which they have inherited. They are deeply moved by treatment which imputes to them ignorance or implies denial of these titles to respect. They have made sacrifices for the Empire; they have proved their loyalty, their courage, and their fortitude; and they ask that this should be recognised. Thus sentiment and imagination enter largely into the controversy. If the Dominions would make concessions which would meet feelings of this order, they would probably find that India would not be unreasonable on material points. The unrestricted opening to Indian enterprise of any territory acquired from the enemy in East Africa would, it is believed, remove some of the bitterness which this controversy has engendered in the minds of Indian publicists and politicians by the proof it would give that in the disposal of territories accruing to the Empire as a result of the war the needs of the Indian peoples have not been overlooked.

THE BASIS OF AN AGREEMENT.

With these principles in mind, it is suggested that the basis of an agreement might be sought on the following lines:—

(1) As regards Indians already permanently settled in the Dominions, they should be allowed to bring wives (subject to the rule of monogamy) and minor children, and in other respects should not be less privileged than Japanese settled immigrants.

(2) Future admissions of Indians for labour or settlement should, if possible, be regulated on lines similar to, and not less favourable than, those governing the admission of any other Asiatic race.

(3) If this is not possible, there might be reciprocal treatment in India and each Dominion of immigration for purposes of labour or permanent settlement. If a Dominion is determined to exclude these two classes of immigration from India, India should be free to do the same as regards that Dominion. It would be clearly recognised that the exclusion, in either case was not motivated by prejudices of race, but was the outcome of different economic conditions.

(4) Along with such exclusion reciprocal arrangements would be made for granting full facilities for the admission of tourists, students, and the like, and for business visits entailing temporary residence, so long as this residence was not for labour purposes or for permanent settlement.

Reciprocity Between India and the Dominions.

The following discussion took place at the Imperial War conference held at the Colonial Office on Friday, April 27th on the subject of "reciprocity of treatment between India and the Self-governing Dominions." The subject was opened by the Secretary of State for India.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN

Mr. Chamberlain, in introducing the resolution, said that owing to the kindness of Sir Robert Borden, an opportunity had already been given for

discussing the subject at length and with the greatest freedom and informality at a gathering which he had convoked. At that gathering Sir Satyendra Sinha expressed the feelings of Indians and put their case with a sympathy and earnestness, and, at the same time, with a moderation which was recognised on all hands. He did not desire to travel over the same ground: but he invited the Conference, while accepting the principle of reciprocity of treatment between India and the other Dominions in this matter of emigration and visits, to commend to the favourable consideration of the Governments concerned the memorandum which was upon the table. The presence of the Indian representatives at this Conference marked a new stage in the development of the relations between India and other portions of the Empire, and the uniform consideration and kindness which had been extended to him and his colleagues from India throughout these gatherings had greatly moved them, and would, he was sure, be readily acknowledged and heartily welcomed in India. They were anxious that the entry of India into these Conferences should give the way to a better understanding between India and the other Dominions: and they hoped that in time, with that better understanding and with patience and forbearance on both sides, a solution might be reached of some of the difficulties which they had hitherto been unable to solve. His colleagues and himself recognised the strong feeling in the Dominions that the homogeneous nature of their population must be preserved, and the special civilisation which they had striven to cultivate; and he desired to make it clear that nothing like an unrestricted right of emigration and settlement in the Dominions was either claimed or expected. What was particularly asked was that in the first place Asiatics of British nationality should at least not be less favourably treated than other Asiatics. In the second place, it was asked that the freest possible facilities should be given to educated Indians for travel, study, or visits for any purpose, as apart from settlement. Lastly, it was asked that a kindly and sympathetic consideration should be given to those Indians who had already been permitted to settle in the Dominions. The subject was dealt with in more detail

in the memorandum, and it was unnecessary for him to develop these questions further. He moved the resolution, and would add that he was doing so at the request of his colleagues, and more particularly of Sir Satyendra Sinha.

SIR ROBERT BORDEN

Sir Robert Borden (Canada) said that there had been a distinct advantage in having the representatives of India at the Conference. It has afforded an opportunity to meet face to face and discuss in a perfectly frank and at the same time courteous way the considerations which had to be taken into account and the view-point of the different portions of the Empire. He entirely agreed with what Mr. Chamberlain had said respecting the manner in which Sir Satyendra Sinha presented the case at the informal gathering alluded to. His presentation of the case was courteous, moderate, and reasonable, but it was not the less impressive on that account. Mr. Chamberlain had stated in a sentence the ideal and the aspiration of the self-governing Dominions with regard to their present social order and the type of civilisation which they were desirous of building up. It must not be understood that, because of that ideal and that aspiration, they desired to cast the slightest reflection upon other ideals of civilisation which were of a more ancient order, and which might, and undoubtedly did, possess certain advantages and merits to which others could not altogether lay the same claim. But there was both the ideal and the aspiration, and it was manifest that public opinion in all the Dominions of the Empire must be taken into account because it would be idle for any Government to undertake what public opinion would not in the end sanction or sustain. He was very happy indeed to agree with the resolution which had been moved, and to say also that the considerations mentioned by Mr. Chamberlain and those that were set forth in the memorandum would be taken into account. They would do their best to arrive at a fair understanding with regard to these matters, and he had a somewhat confident hope that a clear understanding would be reached.

MR. MASSEY

Mr. Massey (New Zealand) also supported the motion. He was sure that he was expressing the

opinion of his fellow-members when he said, following up the point made by Sir Robert Borden, that it had been a great advantage to have had the representatives of India with them during the last few weeks. He trusted that with the start that had been made—and it was a very good one—the people of the different Dominions and the native races of India would be able to work together for the good of the Empire of which all were fellow-citizens. He hoped that, when another Conference came along, as it would in due course, they would meet again and continue to build upon the foundation which had been laid.

SIR SATYENDRA SINHA.

Sir Satyendra Sinha asked to be permitted to say just in one word what he felt with regard to the very sympathetic and courteous treatment with which the Conference had met this question of the position of Indians in the Empire. He was perfectly certain that the spirit which had been shown augured well for the future, and that such questions as were still outstanding would be solved to the satisfaction of both parties in the same spirit. He desired to thank the members from the Dominions overseas for the kindness and courtesy with which they had treated this question.

SIR JOSEPH WARD.

Sir Joseph Ward (New Zealand) observed that the way this Conference had stood out was specially interesting from the fact that one of the greatest possessions of the British Empire had been representation in the person of members from India in addition to the distinguished representative of India who was in His Majesty's Government. It marked an accession to the very fast development which had already taken place between all parts of the Empire—particularly in their attachment to the Motherland, and it augured well for the future development in the direction of greater solidarity which so many had earnestly hoped might be brought about as the years rolled by. In the future development of the Empire it appeared to him that the attendance of these gentlemen would mark an advance in connection with Empire matters that was invaluable from the point of view of the Empire as a whole.

He was one of those who did not believe it to be possible to have a satisfactory condition of things from an Empire point of view brought about for its future regulation from the heart of the Empire, unless India had representation. Apart altogether from the privilege of having the opportunity of meeting the representatives of India upon that occasion, it was in his mind an epoch-making event, which was destined in all probability to be one of great significance, and, he hoped, of potent value to the Empire as a whole in the years to come. The resolution—the preliminary to which were discussed at that informal gathering in Sir Robert Borden's room a week or so previously—was one that to a very large extent was more of a general than a specific character. It was clear to his mind that in their respective countries, at all events in New Zealand, when the resolution as modified came up for discussion, it would be carefully viewed by Members of Parliament, and, through them, by the people of the country. He was quite satisfied that some of the difficulties which in the past had existed and had been almost insuperable would, within the limits of this resolution, probably be favourably entertained: and the fact that the representative of India who had last spoken was so moderate in his ideas as to what should be done in connection with this matter would be appreciated from the point of view of the public man. He (Sir Joseph) for one—and Mr. Massey had already spoken to the same effect that afternoon—would do what he could to see that this feeling of mutual regard, mutual attachment, mutual respect, and mutual service between the Motherland the great Indian Empire, and the Overseas Dominions was carried forward to a point that would make it valuable for the Empire as a whole.

GENERAL SMUTS.

General Smuts (South Africa) wished to say a few words, especially as the matter of the treatment of Indian emigrants in South Africa had been, as they all knew, a cause of constant trouble not only between the Union and the Empire of India, but also between the Union and the Colonial Office and the India Office. He agreed with

the former speakers that a departure had been made in this Conference in bringing the representatives of India to the Conference, which would go far to obviate the recurrence of such troubles in the future. In South Africa there had been this fundamental trouble that the white community had been afraid of opening the door too wide to Indian immigration. They were not a homogeneous population in South Africa. They were a white minority on a black continent, and the settlers in South Africa had for many years been actuated by the fear that to open the door to another non-white race would make the position of the whites very dangerous indeed. It was because of that fear, and not because of any other attitude towards the question of Asia, that they had adopted an attitude which sometimes, he was bound to admit, had assumed the outward form, although not the reality, of intolerance. Luckily, those difficulties had been got over. The visit of the late Mr. Gokhale to South Africa did an enormous amount of good. It was followed later by the visit of Sir Benjamin Robertson, a distinguished Indian public servant, who also assisted the Government to overcome great difficulties on this point some years ago. The result had been the passage of legislation to which both the white and the Indian communities in South Africa agreed. There was still a difference of opinion on administrative matters of detail—some of which were referred to in the memorandum before them—but he felt sure, and had always felt sure, that once the white community in South Africa were rid of the fear that they were going to be flooded by unlimited immigration from India all the other questions would be considered subsidiary, and would become easily and perfectly soluble. That was the position in which they were now—that the fear which formerly obsessed the settlers had been removed. The great principle of restricting immigration for which they had contended was on the statute-book of the Union with the consent of the Indian population in South Africa, and that being so, he thought that the door was open for a peaceful and statesmanlike solution of all the minor administrative troubles which had occurred and would occur

from time to time. Of course, the main improvement was the calling of India to the council-chamber of the Empire. There, if any question proved difficult of treatment, they could discuss it in a friendly way, and try and find in consultation a solution: and he was sure they would ever find it. He, for one, did not consider that, among the multitudinous problems which confronted them in South Africa, the question of India would trouble them much in future.

SIR EDWARD MORRIS.

Sir EDWARD MORRIS (Newfoundland) thought that it was a distinct gain and a distinct advance, from an Empire standpoint, to have summoned the representatives of India and the Secretary of State for India to this Conference, not alone from the standpoint of being members of the Empire—but and a very important portion of the Empire—but from the fact that they had, in a way, established the right to be present, as to which he need say no more, as it was now a matter of history. In his view the members from India had very firmly established a claim for very great consideration not only from the Dominions but also the Mother-country. If this departure had been made earlier, if the barriers which seemed to exist, and which some did not understand—the very serious barriers which separated India from the other portions of the Empire—had been removed before the chances were that, instead of the contribution they had given to the war, they would, probably have contributed nearly all the men that would have been required. Then, again, we must be alive to what was taking place in India. A great industrial awakening had commenced, and there could be no question in the mind of anyone who had studied what was going on, that India could never go back to where she was, and that in the very near future a wonderful development would take place there. The good feeling which was now being engendered by this Conference, and especially by this resolution, would do a great deal to promote a happy result. In Newfoundland, which was a very small dominion, no restrictions of any kind against India in the matter of immigration had ever existed, and there was no likelihood of any, because they

probably had not had the reasons which made it necessary for other Dominions to consider legislation of the kind. Personally, he was very pleased indeed that the resolution had been proposed, and, with the other speakers, he felt that great good was certain to come from it.

A UNANIMOUS VOTE.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Long) then put the resolution in the following terms: "That the Imperial War Conference, having examined the memorandum on the position of India in the self-governing Dominions, presented by the Indian representatives to the Conference, accepts the principle of reciprocity between India and the Dominions, and recommends the memorandum to the favourable consideration of the Governments concerned."

This was carried unanimously.

TAMIL LABOUR CONDITIONS IN MALAYA.

The following are the observations of the Editor of this paper expressed in the course of an interview with Mr. J.A.S. Jennings, the Editor of the *Malayan Tin and Rubber Journal*, Ipoh. F.M.S. and reproduced from that Journal:—

Mr. Swaminathan said that he had found three main defects here, namely:—

1. Recruitment by kanganyes.
2. Inadequate wages on estates in certain districts.
3. Penal provisions in the Labour Code.

OBJECTIONS TO KANGANY RECRUITING.

In regard to the first point, Mr. Swaminathan said that the two grave objections to kangany recruitment were recruitment under false pretences, fraud, seduction, etc., and the subsequent ill-treatment on certain estates by kanganyes and conductors. He suggested the following method as the ideal recruitment of free labour. Official representatives from Malaya, who could talk Tamil and Telugu fluently, should be stationed, as at present at Madras, at other places in India, and their duty

should be to send out pamphlets, notices, and illustrated booklets in the vernacular languages inviting labourers to come to Malaya. These publications should contain the fullest possible information regarding Malaya—the climate, conditions of work, cost of living, and actual wages earned. Next, any labourers who wished to proceed to Malaya, or elsewhere, would apply to an officer specially appointed to make the necessary arrangements for the journey. Thus, an estate manager requiring coolies would communicate with the principal representative of Malaya in India, and that official would have under him a regular staff of recruiters who would gather the coolies at his depôt and send them to Malaya.

"What I mean," said Mr. Swaminathan, "is that there should be an official recruiting department, which would also be supervised by an officer of the Indian Government, having under him a staff of Indian supervisors."

"How do you propose to finance these official departments?"

Mr. Swaminathan: "The present recruiting commission paid to the kanganyes would more than cover any expense."

CAUSE OF ILL-TREATMENT.

In regard to the question of ill-treatment of the coolies by the kanganyes or conductors, Mr. Swaminathan said that this arises from the fact that the kangany loses his head money for every coolie who is absent from work, and the conductor is considered inefficient if he does not turn out a large number of coolies to work. Therefore, the conductor forces a slightly indisposed coolie to work, and this makes the coolie seriously ill.

Some conductors, Mr. Swaminathan declared, strike the ailing coolies with rattans and force them out to work. He added that coolies had also complained that they had been caned by European assistants. They were afraid to report these beatings to the managers, as they would be marked men and afterwards get worse treatment.

"Why do you not yourself report these matters of beatings to the Controller of Labour? You have the names of the estates, I take it?"

Mr. Swaminathan: "While in Negri Sereimban I personally heard a coolie complain to the Deputy Controller of Labour that he had been ill-treated on a certain estate and that he did not wish to return to it. He was asked to give one month's notice, but said that the estate owed him a month's wages and that could be taken in lieu of notice. He was, however, told to return to the estate and give a month's notice. I understood that it was not in the power of the Deputy Controller of Labour to do anything for the man."

"But you know that any one ill-treating a coolie is punished? The Controller of Labour goes round periodically and makes careful enquiries."

Mr. Swaminathan: "The visits of the Controller or Deputy Controller are too infrequent. There should be a large staff of Inspectors continually going round the estates—at least once a month—making enquiries. It is impossible for the present officers to do the work efficiently, conscientious as they undoubtedly are."

QUESTION OF INADEQUATE WAGES.

"In regard to the question of inadequate wages on certain estates, I may point out that in Klang and Kuala Selangor the coolies are getting 20 to 25 cents a day for women and 27 to 30 cents a day for men. This is quite inadequate. I consider that the minimum wage should be 40 cents a day whether for a man or a woman, as a woman does exactly the same work as a man."

"Why do the coolies in the districts you mention accept the low wages of which you speak?"

Mr. Swaminathan: "I presume that they first go to work there because they consider that the estates are healthy. Anyway, there are many absconders and many prosecutions. After a few months there the coolies do not approve of the low wages and try to leave. They are prosecuted as absconders. They are punished too heavily, and that is why I say that one of the defects in Malaya are the penal provisions in the Labour Code."

"The other provisions of the Labour Code are not unsuitable, but coolies' resignations are not always accepted by some managers. I have been told of certain estates in out-of-the-way districts

where watchmen have been put on guard to prevent coolies leaving. It is often denied that a coolie has given notice—an ignorant, illiterate coolie cannot write, and often the estate is too far from a town where there is a petition-writer. I would like to see the system of giving one month's notice abolished and the coolie allowed to leave in 24 hours. No estate that was well run would lose its labour if this were brought about. If the kangany system were abolished and the coolie allowed to leave on 24 hours' notice, all the present evils would vanish.

A COLONISATION SCHEME.

"If Malaya desires a permanent labour force of Indians the Government should adopt a colonisation scheme. They should reserve fairly large areas in the various districts of Malaya for the present Indian labourers and their families, or agricultural labourers from India with their wives and children to settle on. This would also ultimately solve the sex proportion problem, and would induce a large number of labourers, especially the relatives of the settlers, to come to Malaya.

"In regard to the health of the coolies at present employed on the estates in Malaya, I consider that the group hospital system is the best, as the coolie does not get efficient treatment from the estate dresser. The group hospital must, of course, have a fully qualified doctor attached to it. I do not believe in the visiting doctor, i.e., the medical practitioner who visits an estate periodically."

"What impressions are you taking away with you from this country?"

Mr. Swaminathan: "Conditions are not so bad as I had been led to believe. The lot of the Tamil and Telugu coolie is far better here than in Ceylon. If improvements were effected on the points I have mentioned I consider that there would be little to complain of. I have been received very courteously by the managers of the estates I have visited, and I consider that they are more than ready and willing to do anything to make the coolies happy and comfortable. My especial thanks for most courteous treatment are due to Mr. E. B. Prior, of Golden Hope Estate, Selangor,

Mr. R. C. M. Kindersley, of Kajang, and Mr. A. L. Buyers, of Batu Anam, not forgetting Mr. S. C. Yemans, of Carey Islands, who, I understand, was once a colleague in the journalistic profession. On my return to India early in June I shall not hesitate to set forth the truth in my paper that conditions here are not so bad as we in India had been led to believe."

A Suggested Labour Colonisation in F. M. S.

AN IMPORTANT QUESTION.

The last issue of the *Malayan Tin and Rubber Journal* thus gives prominence to the views of Mr. T. K. Swaminathan, the Editor of the Indian Emigrant, who stated that, if Malaya desires a permanent labour force of Indians, the Government here should adopt a colonisation scheme. It should, he said, reserve a fairly large area in the various districts of Malaya for the present Indian labourers from India and their wives and children to settle on, as this, he considered, would induce a large number of labourers, especially the relatives of the settlers, to come to Malaya. This principle is no new one, and whilst there has been no definite Government scheme ever attempted out here on the lines now suggested, it is known that in an unobtrusive way many rubber companies have already the nucleus of such in being. That such should be the case is perfectly natural, as planters, no less than emissaries from India, are interested in the welfare of the Tamil coolie and have realised long ago that a permanent and settled labour force, with their wives and families residing here with them, is a valuable asset, and one the benefits of which comes into prominence more and more as the disadvantages of the present labour system in supplying the adequate demands of the rubber plantations of Malaya are brought into strong relief.

CONTENTED LABOURERS.

We have not yet met any estate manager who is

merely quite content with employing Tamil labour year in and year out without making some effort to ensure that a percentage at least is encouraged to make his estate their permanent place of residence, and without placing every facility in their way to bring over their wives and families from their native villages in India in order to swell the settled estate population. It has been found in practice that the most efficient and contented labour force obtains under these conditions, particularly, too, where every inducement is given to the labourer to cultivate his little vegetable plot in his spare time, with the aid of his family. Instead of regarding himself as an exile from India, ever on the outlook for cause to chafe at his new form of employment, with its greater supervision and discipline to which he was unaccustomed in the old life in his native village, and ever ready to listen to tales of better and kinder treatment on other estates than that which originally secured his services, the Tamil labourer, when he sees the advantages to himself of settling down here to a life of domesticity with constant employment, a sure wage and healthy environs, begins to look upon this as his adopted country in the best sense of the word.

A GOOD RESULT.

What is more, once he is satisfied that his employer is neither an ogre nor a tyrant, and that everything possible is being done to add to his happiness and welfare, he is not slow to inform his relatives and friends in India of his transformation from penury to paradise, with the inevitable but pleasing result that the estate on which he is employed soon becomes a favourite one for immigrants.

And not only do the labourers themselves gain immensely in various ways, but the estate manager is more or less freed in time from the perpetual worries of crimping and bolting that have to be contended with on certain estates, especially where owing to the depletion of the staff of European assistants on account of the war, a large part of the duties of supervision have, perforce, to be left to Oriental conductors, some of whom believe in making hay while the sun shines in the matter of "squeeze."

From the excellent system already in force on many estates in Malaya it is no very great step towards the bigger scheme of colonisation suggested as suitable for this country by our Indian confrere, although it may be difficult to understand how such would not

act rather as a distraction than an attraction in the matter of estate labour, unless one goes deeper into the question.

GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE.

When we hark back to what the Editor of the Indian Emigrant suggests in the interview with him published in the *Malayan Tin and Rubber Journal*, we find that he advocates that "the Government should adopt a colonisation scheme and reserve fairly large areas in the various districts of Malaya for the present Indian labourers and their wives and children to settle on." Were this to be done, and the Indian labourers who have saved money given certain areas of land on comparatively easy conditions, they would bring over their families and friends, and in time—although not, of course, in the present generation—these colonised areas would act as feeders to the labour force of rubber plantations and tin mines, thus making Malaya less dependent on the goodwill of the Indian Government for the inflow of coolies so necessary for the fuller development of this country.

Not altogether dissociated with the advantages of a colonisation scheme, says the *Times of Malaya*, would be the great gain to the country involved therein by the more systematic encouragement of cultivation of food-stuffs. The Tamil makes an excellent agriculturist when guided along the right lines, and it is not difficult to predict that a colonisation scheme would, in time, go far towards solving a problem that is at this moment exercising the minds of the Government. Efforts in this direction have been strikingly successful elsewhere. The rice cultivation of British Guiana is wholly in the hands of Indian immigrants; the cocoa cultivation, etc., of Trinidad, and the sugar-cane production of Mauritius, are mostly worked and partly owned by them. It is estimated that in British Guiana alone they own Rs. 30,000,000 worth of land. Clearly, the Indians in these Colonies are becoming rooted to the soil of their adopted land.

A SUCCESSFUL EXPERIMENT.

An interesting and successful agricultural experiment that has recently been tried in Fiji must be noticed here, as it is likely to affect profoundly the economic condition of the Indians in that Colony. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company, which owns extensive sugar-cane plantations, has, as a matter of trial, parcelled out one of its estates into small plots

and rented it to Indians for cultivation. This system, if it is worked on a large scale, will produce a number of cultivating tenants who will have expert advice and guidance in their work. Apart from the security of this kind of investment, the Indian labourer will get the training in scientific cultivation, so badly needed in the ranks of Indian ryots.

Possibly the F.M.S. Agricultural Department may be induced to consider the question of a systematic colonisation scheme for Tamil immigrants at the same time as it is pursuing its investigations into the establishment of experimental farms in the Peninsula as a means of facilitating the cultivation of foodstuffs necessary for the sustenance of our immense Oriental population. In any event, the first-named suggestion—that of a Government colonising scheme—need not necessarily be relegated to the background merely because it will not immediately help to solve some of our labour and food problems.

A MONTH'S NOTICE BY REGISTERED LETTER REFUSED.

AN IMPORTANT LABOUR CASE.

In the interview with the Editor of the *Malayan Tin and Rubber Journal*, F.M.S., published elsewhere, the Editor of this paper had pointed out that coolies' resignations are not always accepted by some managers and it is often denied that a coolie has given notice. In proof of the statement, we publish below an interesting case on this very question in which a manager has refused to accept a registered notice sent by a coolie:—

Following is a report of a decision by the Acting Chief Judicial Commissioner in an appeal by Mr. Daubeney of Sungai Tua Estate, against a decision of the Kuala Lumpur Magistrate (Mr. Just) on May 15th. Mr. Daubeney was represented by Mr. Joaquim, the date of the hearing of the appeal being June 29th. The decision will be of general interest to employers in this country.

The main facts of the case were that a labourer employed on the appellant's estate, desiring to determine his agreement, accordingly had a registered letter

posted in Kuala Lumpur on March 2nd, 1917, asking to be discharged at the end of the month current. The letter was forwarded to the nearest Post Office to the estate, which lay beyond postal delivery limit, so the usual receipt was sent to the appellant as an intimation that a registered letter awaited him at the Post Office. The appellant neither signed the receipt nor took delivery of the letter. A reminder was sent to the appellant about a week later by the Postmaster and finally after a month the registered letter was returned to the General Post Office, Kuala Lumpur, as "unclaimed."

The appellant's reason for not signing the receipt and sending for this registered letter was that he thought it came from an unsatisfactory dresser whom he had just dismissed and with whom he did not wish to enter into correspondence. The labourer claimed his discharge on April 2nd, 1917, but appellant refused to allow him to leave, and after correspondence with the Labour Department and seeking legal advice, appellant adhered to his position and the labourer was not discharged until a further month had expired. Appellant was prosecuted under sections 226 and 69 of the Labour Code on a charge of refusing to discharge a labourer whose agreement was determined, and was fined \$10.00 and costs, the fine to be paid to the labourer as compensation.

The appeal was heard before the Acting Chief Judicial Commissioner, Mr. Justice J.R. Innes. The chief grounds of appeal were that the notice was not communicated and that the notice given was not a proper month's notice.

In dismissing the appeal the Chief Judicial Commissioner stated:—

As regards the communication of the notice I am satisfied that the notice was "given" to the appellant. It would be contrary to common sense to hold otherwise; the appellant himself prevented, by his own conduct, the communication of the notice.

By writing out this letter and sending it by registered post the coolie had sufficiently complied with the requirements of the law. To rule that anything more is necessary would nullify the whole effect of the section, which prescribes that a notice may be oral or written. There are doubtless such things as bad tempered managers, but even if there were not I can see that it is desirable not to force the coolies to come up and give oral notice in all cases, and if the managers could, with

impunity refuse registered letters that is what the position might come to.

I hold that in this case a month's notice was given; the letter might be worded more clearly, but the meaning is plain enough, and the coolie's conduct in going on the 2nd to claim his discharge puts the matter beyond doubt.

Regarding the question of the fine I am ready to assume that the magistrate did not disbelieve the appellant when he said that he had not the remotest idea that the letter might be from a coolie giving notice. Indeed I see every reason to believe that this was so. But there are other grounds in this case for marking disapproval of the appellant's conduct. I think the refusal to accept the letter was reprehensible; serious consequences might easily ensue from such conduct by a manager. He may not have realised this. I take it he did not, and I am satisfied that he believed the letter was from the dismissed dresser. But it must be brought home to others as well as the appellant that such conduct is reprehensible. The appeal will be dismissed and the sentence maintained.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

INDIAN MEMBER IN THE BRITISH GUIANA COUNCIL.

We are glad to understand from the Hon'ble the Agent-General of British Guiana that an Indian by name Mr. J. A. Leckhoo, Bar-at-Law, has been elected at the last General Election to the "Combined Court" of British Guiana. The present constitution of British Guiana differs from that of any other west Indian Colony and is to a large extent based on that which prevailed under Dutch rule. It comprises a Governor, an Executive Council, a "Court of Policy", and a "Combined Court", the last consisting of the Governor and members of the Court of Policy and six financial representatives. The "Court of Policy" which has legislative power has members elected for it by the direct vote of the people. The combined court has the power of imposing taxes, auditing accounts and of discussing freely the estimates prepared by the Governor in Executive Council in which the administrative functions of the Court of Policy are now vested.

WHO WILL CONTROL THE TROPICS?

The following is a translation by Mr. E. S. Luboff, Foreign Editor of the (London) *Financier*, from the Japanese Journal *Chone Koton*. The writer Mr. Osuke Vakamia in his article, which was entitled, "A Japanese Ambition," assigns the control of the Tropics to the Japanese or to a similar yellow or otherwise coloured race, for the reasons given, for we are told that "The sun has its caprices. Some (people or nations) it likes, and some it does not, and to it belongs the right to show whether the whiteman should or should not occupy and exploit tropical centres.

"The sun's views (or attributes) with regard to the yellow race differ to those for the white and black race. It favours, however, the yellow race, which it has placed in the largest and richest part of the world.

"The white man tries to cheat the sun, but he will not succeed in his object, and he will never rule Asia, which is the property of the yellow race. The sun even removes the white man from the territories occupied by the black man.

"At present the white race is at the summit of its power and glory, but could never get hold (? can never hope to get hold permanently) of the Tropics.

"But although Nature drives away the white man from the Tropics, it makes him, however, dependent on tropical produce, as tea, coffee, cotton, tobacco, rubber, &c., which are essential for the fabric of his civilization and the sun has decided that these products should come to the white man as he desires, not directly, but through the yellow race.

"The yellow race easily acclimatizes itself in the Tropics," concludes the Japanese writer, "and on this account lies the possibility and reason of the ruling of the Tropics being dominant in the hands of the Japanese."

FIRST INDIAN MARINE ENGINEER.

Mr. Surendra Nath Majumdar, a Bengali from Calcutta, writes from London to say that he has been appointed as a fourth engineer of S. S. *Merchant Prince* of the Prince Line of Newcastle-on Tyne. He proudly claims that he is the first Indian to have such an appointment in a British line. He went to England before the war broke out to study engineering and served his apprenticeship in the works of Messrs. Clarke, Chapman, and Co., of Gaterhead, attending lectures in the Armstrong College University of Durham.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Democracy and the Nations: By J. A. Macdonald, Editor, *Toronto Globe*; Published by S. B. Guindy, Toronto, Price \$ 1.25 cents.

Mr. J. A. Macdonald, the learned and talented Editor of "*The Globe*," Toronto, Canada, has brought out a remarkable book entitled the "*Democracy and the Nations*" and its value to the world at a time like this is simply incalculable. The book is rightly dedicated to "those who care for Liberty and Democracy and Internationalism" and the profit from the sale of the book is to be devoted to the "Canadian Patriotic Fund". We assure the learned author that the book is of special interest to us now in India, when the country from one end to the other is yearning, thanks to her British connection, after "Liberty, Democracy and Internationalism" in the familiar phrase of Home Rule. There is abundant evidence, in its pages, of the author not confining his remarks to any one particular race or portion of the world but for all nations—white, yellow, brown or black,—and all countries, including Asia where civilisation had its origin and growth. As it is, in the present work the ideas are conceived and presented as in the lives of men and in the history of England and America, and deal with 3 cardinal points viz., freedom for the individual, self-government for the nation and peace for the world, one leading to the other. There is no doubt the book is the result of labour of many years spent in the service of his people and the author has abundantly brought to bear in its pages all the courage of his conviction, all the breadth of view which characterise a free-born Britisher rather than a narrow-minded Colonial. Mr Macdonald's great reputation as a writer is also quite evident from his writing.

The book is divided into 5 chapters, each depicting one great idea, a link in the formation of a whole chain, leading to the world idea of a partnership of nations. The rise of America, according to Mr. Macdonald, is due to the Anglo-Saxon impulse for freedom blended with the Celtic strain, and the declaration of independence of the American Colonies was for

democracy or the right of a free people to govern themselves. "Freedom from Government by a Legislature which the people did not elect was the essence of Colonial grievance," and George Washington was the exponent of that view. In the life of Abraham Lincoln and in the light of the history of the Civil War in America, the author points out two principles viz., that Union is Strength and that all men in a neighbourhood are born free and equal and are thus laying the foundations of an enduring democracy. The author then speaks of the part that Canada played in obtaining national self-government, unlike United States, by evolution only, without anything in the way of revolution and without the sacrifice of the historic back-ground of the Nation and thus teaching a lesson to Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. In the 4th Chapter the author points out to the enduring peace that exists between Canada and United States wherefrom to know how the world idea of a partnership of nations is possible on peace terms. That is America's message to the warring nations of Europe today. Aye, that ought to be the message of hope, not merely for nations that are already formed, but to those that are in the forming, not merely for Belgium and Poland and Servia, but to Ireland, India, Egypt and Ceylon. Truly, the transformation of the British Empire, the most far-reaching political achievement of the nineteenth century in the words of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, "freedom and independence is the essence of the Imperial connection" is not yet complete, the end is not yet seen until Home Rule is granted to the dependencies of Great Britain.

The Cow and the Ox. Price 6d. Published by the Humanitarian League.

The cow and the ox are to be sacred animals to every Hindu and this idea is fast spreading among humanitarians in general. The little pamphlet under review is a powerful plea for the ox and the horrors of the slaughter house are graphically described and illustrated in it. Any man who reads it and sees the illustrations cannot but refrain from animal food for life and the heart that feels not for the poor creatures feels at none.

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