

Indian Opinion

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NOTES AND NEWS

WE have it from a well-informed source that the proposed Commission to inquire into the trading and land questions will be appointed in the latter part of January next, and that a Judge will preside. We are glad to learn that the Government has decided to include in the terms of reference the question of the ownership of land.

Mr. Burton (Minister of Railways), speaking at Ladysmith, said that it had been represented that there was a strong feeling in favour of inquiry into the whole question of the ownership of land by Asiatics in this country. We take that to mean that European agitators in Natal and the Cape are anxious to curtail the rights of Asiatics in this respect. Mr. Burton also added that Indians themselves had approached the Government on this question.

In the latter case he was referring, of course, to Indians in the Transvaal who desire to have removed the restrictions under Law 3 of 1885. In the other Province of the Union there is no such restriction. We welcome the inquiry as it will in any case clear the air. If the Commission, after serious deliberations, come to the conclusion that Indians ought not to own land but should rather rest content to accept the inferior position allotted to them, we shall know, at any rate, that we are denied the fundamental rights of free citizenship.

Such a decision, if arrived at, will raise a tremendous perial question and nullify to a large extent the effect of the decision arrived at by the Imperial Conference. India, if she has any power at all as a partner of the British Empire, will, no-doubt have something to say.

On the other hand, if the commission recommend that Indians in the Transvaal should enjoy the same rights as in other Provinces, a great wrong will be undone. The section of the European community led by Sir Abe Bailey will, of course, be up in arms. But the sooner they realise that partnership in the Empire entails responsibilities the better for their own peace of mind.

Mr. Andrews is expected to arrive at Durban about the 13th instant and will without doubt be heartily welcomed by the Indian community. He should also be welcomed by the Government and by all fair-minded Europeans who desire that justice shall be done. We take it that Sir Benjamin Robertson will represent the official and Mr. Andrews the non-official view of the Government of India and the Indian people respectively.

They will both plead the cause of Indians before the Commission and will not, we expect, occupy seats on the Commission. We hope that the Union Government will see the wisdom of appointing direct representatives of the Indian community on the Commission. If not, the world will rightly say that it is a packed Commission in favour of the anti-Asiatics.

The other alternative is that the members should all be Judges of the Supreme-Court of South Africa. If Indians have no representatives neither should the other side have. No member of Parliament in that case, should be a member of the Commission. Then only should we feel that we are getting a "square deal."

Speaking recently before a Brotherhood formed at the Wesleyan Central Hall, Joannesburg, Mr. Patrick Duncan, M.L.A., urged the need for racial unity. He also referred to differences between the European and coloured races. He remarked (says the *Natal Mercury*), that the champions of the extreme view said that there must be no common ground; that they must remain forever distinct. He was not suggesting race amalgamation, but these extremists said that citizenship should not be shared. Perhaps, like other nations, they might find that one or other must go under. Hitherto they had tried the path of oppression. The coloured people were put in a place of subordination and regarded as machines, chatties, servants. It seemed to him that did not allow for the fundamental needs of human nature. He did not think that the view: "I am a citizen; you are a slave," could stand as it was opposed to the fundamental principles of human nature, but what the solution was to be neither he nor anybody else could say.

London, Nov. 24.—Speaking at a meeting of men invalidated by the war in Berlin, President Ebert expressed the hope that the peoples of the world would henceforth loathe and combat war as the worst possible crime against mankind. Civilization demanded that freedom and right be substituted for violence and oppression, and the future must bring international reconciliation. Only a real democracy, which included all the nations, would give suffering humanity peace.

The International Labour Conference at Washington, has agreed upon the membership of the governing body of the International Labour Office, which will be a permanent body sitting at the seat of the League of Nations, to discuss international labour problems. Twelve Governments, (says Reuter), will be officially represented on this Council—namely, Belgium, France, Britain, Italy, Japan, Germany, Switzerland, Spain, the Argentine, Canada, Poland and Denmark, but the last named will only be represented pending the appointment of a representative of the United States. The Indian delegation contended that no decision could be legally made because the Council of the League of Nations has not yet pronounced on the protest against the organisation of the list. Mr. Crawford and Mr. Gemmill (South African representatives) protested against the method of selection of the governing body.

Washington Nov. 25.—The Special Commission appointed by the International Labour Conference to deal with the question of the limitation of hours of work in Eastern countries has issued a report recommending considerable reduction in the present hours of employment, with a definite maximum in each case.

London, Nov. 20.—The Empire Press Union has considered a proposal to take in the Indian Vernacular Press which, explained, means the Indian owned Press, it was decided to refer the matter to the Indian Branch of the Union, which it is believed does not object conditionally on a proper regulation being assured. The proposal emanates from the Indian journalists presently in England with the Reform Delegation. During the discussion it was pointed out that Indian politics regarding South Africa were very complicated and it was argued that the admission of the Indian Press without qualification might be unpopular there. —Reuter.

MR. C. F. ANDREWS' VISIT TO CEYLON

SATISFACTION AT NEW LABOUR ORDINANCE

(FROM "NEW INDIA")

Mr. C. F. Andrews arrived in Madras this morning after his visit to Ceylon where he has been engaged in visiting the different districts and investigating the conditions of the Tamil labourer's life on the estates. He was met on his arrival at Maradana station by Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, the President of the Ceylon Workers' Welfare League. And Mr. Peri Sundaram, Bar-at-Law, the Secretary and many leading Tamil and Sinhalese gentlemen of Ceylon. He stayed during his visit while in Colombo at the house of Mr. Aralanandam, Advocate of the High Court, and held many conferences and consultations with the Tamil leaders. He also met many of the Sinhalese leaders and discussed with them the problems of Sinhalese labour. The Draft Ordinance for Labour has now been published, and Mr. Andrews found universal satisfaction in the Indian educated community with its main objects. The greatest of all the benefits which it will confer on Tamil labour is this, that it makes him for the first time in the whole history of the Island entirely free from debts. The clauses in the Ordinance which deal so drastically with this question of indebtedness are the ones which are now most under debate and discussion among the planters. A considerable section of the planting community is still opposed to such a complete cancellation of debts at one sweep. They propose counter resolutions to the effect that the debts should be gradually wiped off at the rate of 20 per cent per annum.

A GREAT HOPE

After the conferences with the Tamil educated leaders were over, Mr. Andrews saw the Colonial Secretary and H. E. the Governor of Ceylon and had long talks with them about the subject. He found a genuine desire to meet the great problem of labour indebtedness in a liberal and drastic manner. The Governor himself is evidently most earnest about it and determined if possible to carry through the Ordinance. Mr. Andrews afterwards met the member of Council who represents the planting interests, Mr. Graham Sinclair, and also Mr. Willics, the Chairman of the Estates Agency Association. He pointed out to them that nothing would satisfy Indian opinion except the complete cancellation of the debts which was contemplated by the Ordinance. He trusted that there would be no attempt to mutilate these clauses and so ruin the whole purpose of the Bill. Mr. Andrews was told that though the opposition was considerable there was a great hope that the whole Ordinance would be carried through.

Mr. Andrews states, that the one weakness in the Ordinance which must be immediately remedied is this. In the draft which is now before the public the penal clauses for slight labour offences are still kept. These clauses make it possible for the planter to prosecute the Tamil labourer on a criminal charge for such slight things as neglect of work, leaving work

without leave, misconduct, etc. Indeed, it would be easy to bring almost any offence of a trivial character under the Act. In his investigations Mr. Andrews found that these penal clauses had been an unmitigated curse on the Estates, and had made the Tamil labourer's life on a considerable number of the estates quite unbearable. The whole Tamil community in Ceylon has been endeavouring for many years past to get them abolished; but hitherto without success. Again and again attempts have been made by Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam to bring the matter forward in Council; but all the relief that could be obtained was merely that women should not be sent to prison under the Act of 1865 if it were their first offence. On second offence they could still be sent to prison in the same way as the men. The most pitiable cases which have reached India have been due to the working of this Labour Act of 1865. Mr. Andrews has expressed a very distinct hope that these iniquities of the past may now be abolished for ever. During his stay in the island he found more and more both planters and estates ready to abandon these penal clauses and abolish them from the new Ordinance. Mr. Andrews thinks that what is most needed is the strongest possible expression of public opinion from every Province asking for the abolition of these penal clauses. Just as the abolition of indenture has been fought for and very nearly won, so now the abolition of these penal clauses for labour offences must be fought for and won. Mr. Andrews was told by a Ceylon authority that the same penal Ordinance against labour existed still in Madras. He does not know whether this is true or not. But if it is true then the battle must be fought in India as well as Ceylon; for there is no doubt that such antiquated and obsolete legislations is degrading and demoralising both for the employer and the employed. It is altogether out of touch with modern labour conditions.

SATISFACTORY IMPROVEMENTS IN HOUSING

In his visits to the estates, Mr. Andrews found that satisfactory improvements were being made with regard to the housing of the Tamil labourer. An immense amount was being done to pull down the old insanitary lines and to put up modern buildings with good sanitary arrangements. On some estates the annual budget for this purpose had come to many thousands of rupees for each year past. He also found that the hospital arrangements were better than they had been in the past. But there was greatly needed a system of small cottage hospitals on every estate of considerable size to supplement the Government hospital. In all these directions, though very much was still to be done, improvement was visible on every side and there was hope for the future. On the other hand, in the upper country estates he found a very serious state of things with regard to the daily wages. While many different allowances and doles were being made to make up for the high price of rice, the daily wage itself was being kept down at the lowest possible level. And there could be no doubt at all the wage was not sufficient for a man to earn enough for himself and his family. In consequence of this, the indebtedness had increased to an enormous extent and men in despair had often taken to intoxicating drink, and lost their character. Moral evils were prevalent in these lines which were almost entirely due to this vicious circle caused by extreme poverty.

Mr. Andrews met the different Planters' Associations and also the Estates Agency Association, and finally had a long interview with his Excellency the Governor. At these meetings he laid the greatest stress on two points: (1) THE abolition of the penal clauses, and (2) the advance in the daily wage of the up-country Tamil labourer. He also expressed his entire satisfaction with the main clauses of the New Labour Ordinance which cancel all outstanding debts owed by the Tamil labourer. He expressed in the strongest terms his hope and expectation that no part of this section of

The Ordinance would be mutilated while passing the measure through the Council. Indian public opinion would be altogether on the side of the Ceylon Government in pressing for this cancellation of debts in one single act rather than the keeping part of the debts still hanging over the Tamil labourer's head for a number of years.

LECTURES

Mr. Andrews while in the Island gave many lectures. He addressed a large and representative English speaking audience on the poet, Rabindranath Tagore. He also addressed both an English audience and an overflowing Sinhalese audience (by interpretation) on the World Labour Movement. He gave the same lecture again in Kandy, and both in Kandy and in Colombo he finally addressed very large audiences indeed, through Tamil interpretation, on Mahatma Gandhi. The audience on the last night of his visit was composed of Tamil working men, chiefly the rickshaw coolies and railway workmen of Colombo. They listened enthusiastically to the story of Mahatma Gandhi's life as told by the speaker. Directly after the lecture Mr. Andrews on his departure from the Island was garlanded at Maradana station by Sir Ponnambalam Arupachalam as representing the Ceylon Workers' Welfare League. He received every possible kindness and help from the Tamil community during his visit. He was also very hospitably entertained by the planters in the up country and low country district.

THE WOMEN OF INDIA

MRS. SAROJINI NAIDOO INTERVIEWED

Mrs. Sarojini Naidoo, India's great poetess, was interviewed by a representative of the *Christian Commonwealth* recently.

"I feel," she said, "that, according to the Indian interpretation of art, there can be no separation between the dream and the deed, and if I try to express the ideal and the travail of my nation, it is just as much an expression of myself as it would be if I wrote a poem. I felt, particularly during the last few years, that I must make each life the personal sacrifice of purely artistic expression in order to share with my people their conflict for emancipation and freedom and spiritual development, which is their birthright, and although I feel strongly that, essentially, I am not a politician, I have taken a very large part in the current political life of India, trying, nevertheless, to stand always for an ultimate and abiding ideal, and not for the base expedients and devices of political life. If I have worked very largely with the men of India, it was because it never occurred to me before that there could be a separate women's problem, and because, according to our oldest traditions, there was no separate destiny for man and woman, and only by their perfect comradeship and co-operation could the ideal of civic and national responsibility be achieved."

"How will the granting of the franchise affect the women of India?"

"Power for power's sake," said Mrs. Naidoo, "can never appeal to the Indian woman, the keynote of whose character is self-sacrifice and devotion, but she makes her claim to bear her part in the reconstruction of India because she is the mother, the maker, the conservator of the spirit of the nation, and hers is the divine right to keep the soul of to-morrow a true child of the far-off yesterday. While the India of the future must take her place in the larger international life of the world, the women of India will instinctively cherish all that is intimately and essentially national in the culture and spirit of their land. On the practical side, while much is done at present, it is not organised, and we should like increased facilities for dealing with such matters as education, child welfare, the housing and hospital problem, sanitation and other aspects of muni-

cipal reform; we should also like to develop such home industries as spinning and weaving, so that widows, for example, of the better classes who are dependent upon others may attain a certain degree of economic independence within their homes."

"Does it seem to you that we in England know little about the true India?"

"The utter ignorance in England about India in general and Indian women in particular is very astonishing to Indians, who make a knowledge of the literatures, and religions and customs and traditions of other lands and civilisations part of their culture. Even

BEHIND THE MUCH MALIGNED PURDAH

there are women of wide culture, great resource, administrative ability, and spiritual attainment, who know Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, as well as English, who go up for University examinations or contribute to various learned magazines. There is not a phase of intellectual activity or political life to-day from which an Indian woman is shut out if she chooses to claim her place in it. There are poets, philanthropists, women who have organised in their own fashion leagues of social service, and women who are keenly aware of any kind of political conflict and progress in the world. If people would only realise that each country has its own type of education and culture and custom, by which alone it can be judged, there would be much less misunderstanding and misrepresentation about India. The Englishman there does not realise that he is dealing with a unique combination of two almost conflicting factors, the essentially democratic attitudes which form the keynote to Indian civilisation, and India naturally resents the arrogance, however unintentional, of the English in India."

"You are very closely acquainted, I understand, with the state of public opinion in India?"

"During the last three or four years I have travelled in almost every province of India, speaking to immense audiences, often of from fifteen to twenty thousand people, addressing students in colleges and speaking to large meetings of women; apart from the question of women's franchise, my political work has been chiefly concerned with the unity of the Hindus and Muslims, because I believe that in that unity lies

THE KEY TO INDIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT.

I came over here with the Indian Home Rule Deputation because I wished to concentrate chiefly on women's question, and have asked to be excused from working on the general body in order to devote myself exclusively to that end. I organised a very strong deputation, consisting of Indian ladies and leading Indian politicians of different schools of thought to wait on the Secretary of State for India, and I have had the honour of giving my evidence on the subject before the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Reforms. I feel that unless we concentrate on this question now it is not likely that in the future English statesmen, who work on a basis of such inadequate knowledge of things Indian, will ever consider the point. I cannot too strongly emphasise the fact that the only true value which the franchise will have for us will be the public acceptance of the immortal tradition on which Indian civilization is based, that is, the equal comradeship of the man and the woman in an effort to fulfil our ideal of a holy and national righteousness. Just as in a lighthouse round which the angry waves are breaking, the lamp burns on undimmed, so in times of oppression and struggle our idea must be, Shine.

"People who plead the cause of the Indian woman," Mrs. Naidoo went on to say, "usually hark back to her glorious way from her Western sisters, she is indeed a living power to-day, with a wonderful capacity for self-sacrifice and devotion to duty. In addition to holding her own conferences and making her opinions felt in the councils of her own people, she is taking the most urgent problems of social reform. Among India's rulers none are wiser or more enlightened than

THE BEGUM OF BHOPAL

while no women work more conscientiously and strenuously than the ever-increasing army of teachers and doctors. Many are holders of decorations for distinguished public service. Given the opportunity, Indian women rise to every duty which is imposed upon them, but the great thing for English woman to remember is that there is no parallel between our conditions and theirs, and though some of us may live in and perhaps be judged as a whole by their own separate traditions and ideals, and unless the gulf between the two to grow greater and ever greater, sympathy, imagination, and an attempt at mutual understanding, must bridge the essential differences.

THE INDIAN SITUATION

MANIFESTO BY THE BRITISH CONGRESS
COMMITTEE

It is time that the British public had a clear vision regarding India, where, through the folly of the Government, a cloud bigger than a man's hand has already gathered, threatening to break into a storm the dimensions of which no one can foresee.

In moving a resolution conveying the thanks of Parliament to the Forces engaged in the Great War, Mr. Lloyd George said: "As to India, by her remarkable contribution to our triumph, notably in the East, she had won a new claim to our consideration—a claim so irresistible that it ought to overpower, and must overpower, all prejudice and timidity which might stand in the way of her progress." So far as "a new claim" is concerned, the Government of India since the Armistice has requited India's glorious services by legislative and administrative repression, depriving India of freedom of the Press, freedom of speech, freedom of the person, provoking public protest and riots, particularly in the Punjab, with martial law, deportation of leaders beloved by the people, confiscation of property, suppression of newspapers, executions, public flogging, imprisonment of prominent and patriotic citizens on fantastic charges, refusal of permission to choose counsel for their defence before military tribunals, shooting by machine-guns, and bombing by military aeroplanes of defenceless men and women—a regime of blood and iron which, if practised by Germans, would have filled Englishmen with horror and indignation.

To make matters worse, a whitewashing Commission has been appointed without any representation from the Indian National Congress and the All-Indian Moslem League, and an Indemnity Bill passed by Government of India. Prussianism could no further go.

The Reform Bill before Parliament fortifies the alien and bureaucratic autocracy in the Central Government of India, filters homeopathic doses of adulterated self-Government in the Provinces, and falsifies the pledge of the British Government of responsible Government of August 20, 1917. Conceived in a spirit of "prejudice and timidity," accompanied by a reign of terror in the Punjab and ruthless extinction of the elementary liberties of the people throughout India, unaccompanied by the extension of equal rights to the Indians in the Army and Civil Service of *their country*, it is naturally feared that the Bill will bring no appeasement, but bitter disappointment and widespread discontent instead.

What is to be done? The situation is as grave as it can be. On the one hand Indians claim—"a claim so irresistible that it ought to overpower" all opposition—self-Government and freedom on the same plane as Australia, Canada, and South Africa within the British Commonwealth of free Nations.

On the other hand, the Coalition Government, impregnated with imperialism and bereft of statesmanship, applied militarism to India as well as to Ireland, Egypt, and Persia, temporising militarism in India with an abortive reform scheme which pleases nobody and de-

ceives nobody. Drastically to amend the Reform Bill in conformity with Indian opinion as expressed by the resolutions of the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League would be all to the good, but would not alone ensure peace and goodwill. Commissions in the Indian Army and appointments to the public services must be reserved for Indians up to 50 per cent. at once, rising in a few years until entirely manned by Indians.

Self-respect and self-determination know no halfway house. Dual control is an abomination. India must be ruled by Indians from top to bottom.

Great Britain is at the cross-roads. She must either go on the great high road of freedom by converting her Empire into a Commonwealth of Free Nations, or go down to ruin like Germany and all empires of old and evil days.—*India*.

THE HOME IS THE HEART OF THE NATION

BY MR. GEORGE S. ARUNDALE IN THE "NAVAJIVAN."

It gives me very great pleasure to respond to the request of the Editor of *Navajivan* for a short article. *Navajivan* specially appeals to me because, if I understand its mission rightly, it is a messenger to the Indian home, to the true Indian home—not to the Anglicised Indian home with its chairs and tables and ugly oleographs and impossible furniture from Birmingham, but to the simple Indian home whose members live in the simple Indian style frugally and Swadeshically, if I may coin the term. And Swadeshi is the opposite to ostentatious, being homage to India instead of self-seeking flattery of foreign countries.

Navajivan will, I trust, become a powerful force in the direction of restoring a beautiful simplicity to the Indian home. The home is the heart of India, and if the home be not true India cannot become great. But if the home be true, if each member of the home be true, if each member of the home lives as an Indian should live, and not try to live as other people live, then the home will generate strength and purposefulness, and this strength and purposefulness—characterising large numbers of homes will help to make India strong and purposeful, her sons and daughters respected throughout the world, her religions and traditions revered, and her counsel sought even by Western statesmen, who at present do not know that India has much to give to the world. But if it be true that Western peoples as a whole are not yet ready to receive the teaching, is it not also true that India must herself re-learn the teaching? Has she not forgotten much that she should remember? How can she teach if she herself has forgotten the teaching? *Navajivan* has come into being to remind her that while it may be true, as her leaders tell her, that she has a mission to the world, she must, if she desires to be successful in gaining a welcome for her message live the dedicated life each one of her children trying to find out how an Indian should live his daily life that India may be satisfied with sons and daughters who strive to become worthy of their noble heritage.

One of the best tests as to whether an individual is leading a truly dedicated life, truly patriotic, is as to whether he can look after himself—cook his food, mend his clothes, keep his house in order. He might very well learn how to make his clothes, and the Editor of *Navajivan* would, I feel sure, be very happy if in every Indian home at least some of the members were to occupy themselves with the handloom and were to weave simple materials for household use. Doubtless it is not desirable that everybody should be required to make his own clothes. Other work—not necessarily more important work—may claim attention. But to know how to do things, to be truly kingly—the word 'King' signifying 'The man who can'—to be master of oneself, and not to be the slave of servants, as

people are who depend upon them this is one of the outstanding qualification for true citizenship.

A man or woman who can live independently, if need arise, of cooks and washermen and tailors, and of household attendants, too, is a long way from the helplessness in which so many live to-day intensifying their own weakness and injuring the virility of the race. We may have important duties which ought to occupy the time we should otherwise spend on these personal avocations. We may then thankfully accept the services others may be willing to render us. But we begin with ourselves that lesson of self-containedness which India has still to learn. We all want India to suffice unto herself, so that she may as far as possible be independent of external aid, at least as regards the necessities of life and the means of their production. But to satisfy this want we must begin with the unit of National life—the home. The members of the home must learn, even if only as a matter of discipline to live on the products of their own labour, at least to a certain extent. This is why in our National schools we encourage the boys and girls to do handloom weaving, to learn gardening and elementary agriculture, to cook food, to wash and mend clothes, to learn useful and interesting manual occupations. Let them be able to care properly for their own bodies and they will the better be able to take care of the body politic.

So I hope *Navajivan* will be a messenger of these tidings in large numbers of homes, and that every mother-tongue in India may in course of time have the counterpart of the *Navajivan* to preach simplicity, self-sufficiency, self-help, self-improvement, and to show how the Nation in the midst of its growing power, world fame, and world-duty must keep beautifully true to those essentials of Indian life which have come down from time immemorial and the neglect of which means National decrepitude followed, unless the neglect be remedied in time, by National extinction.

ENGLISHMEN IN INDIA

COMMENTS ON THEIR BEHAVIOUR.

Mr. J. G. Maclean, of the United Free Church of Scotland Mission, Conjeevaram, India, has written the following letter, dated August 15, 1919, to the *Scotsman*, of Edinburgh, on the above subject:—

Sir,—As a whilom resident in your city who has just returned to India, may I be permitted to sound a note of warning regarding our position in that country? "What about the unrest in India?" is a question which I had often to attempt to answer during my recent furlough. I tried to show that the causes were various and complicated, among them being the spirit of unrest in other parts of the world, the growing consciousness of nationality and consequent desire for independence—greatly stimulated by the war—and the distress prevailing through the influenza scourge and the famine. My experience in the recent voyage has led me to attach great importance to another cause—the feeling of irritation produced by the presence in India of those who have no idea of the responsibility which rests on them as representatives of our race. Of such we had a number of fellow-passengers, and if they continue to act as they did towards the Indians travelling with them, their presence in the country will be a source of peril to the Empire.

It seemed to come on them as a great surprise that Indians were allowed to travel with Europeans—not only in the same ship, but in the same cabins and at the same tables. Their idea of them seemed to be that, as members of an inferior race, they should be treated as such. In point of education and good breeding, the Indians might be far superior to many of the others on board. Most of them were returning to their own country after a distinguished career at college, and some belonged to aristocratic families. But all this counted for nothing. They were "black," and

were sometimes made painfully conscious of it the way they were looked at. Even apart from acts of discourtesy to themselves, of which there were too many, these Indians could have little respect for many of those with whom they were compelled to travel. Rowdiness and boorishness do incalculable mischief by lowering our national prestige, and even with some whose own conduct was above reproach, there was a constant assumption that the object of our occupation of India was to hold it for our benefit—as a source of profit and an outlet for energy and ability. Some quite frankly deprecated any measures, educational or other, which would enable Indians to supplant Europeans in any branch of service.

Can we wonder that such conduct, and such an attitude, should be among the chief causes of unrest? When highly educated men are reminded that they must be kept "in their own place," they naturally ask how long they are to submit to such subjection. If other peoples are to be allowed to exercise their right of "self-determination," why should they be perpetually subject to an alien Government? This question would naturally arise in any case, and if the difficulties in the way of self-government are overlooked we cannot wonder. But when such men are treated with rudeness, and see little respect in the white people with whom they come in contact, it is only natural that the question should be asked with great bitterness, and that those who ask it, on returning to their own country, should do much to aggravate racial animosity.

Can nothing be done to check the evil? Two things must be attempted; to choose suitable people, and to instruct them before they start. The variety of the service rendered by our countrymen in India is scarcely realised. We send out not only Government servants, soldiers, and missionaries, but—as was abundantly evident on this voyage—clerks in mercantile concerns, planters, engineers, mine managers, mechanics, nurses, teachers, etc. All these have their part to play in India's development, and it is obvious that all cannot have the same degree of culture. But the gentlemanly spirit which is essential for India does not go with birth or learning. It is possible for a mechanic to have it, and for a don to be without it. What is necessary is that those who have the responsibility of choosing people for Indian service should have this clearly in mind, and make their choice accordingly. And the other essential is that they should do their utmost to prepare those who have been chosen for their responsible task. They should guide them into suitable courses of reading about India and its people—their history, literature, religion, etc.—and in particular should give them a clear idea of the delicacy of the present situation and the need of the utmost caution. The attitude which I would have all take up who are in any relation to India is the right one in itself; to take it up is more urgent than ever in these perplexing times.

"TEEMING MILLIONS OF THE EAST"

THE BIRTH-RATE COMMISSION

Sir Rider Haggard holds the view (say the London correspondent of the *Natal Advertiser*) that the continuance of the British Empire depends entirely upon an increase in the birth-rate. His evidence before the Commission presided over by the Bishop of Birmingham was something in the nature of an unpleasant revelation; it undoubtedly provides much material for earnest consideration.

The prospect of the "teeming millions of the East" one day within computable distance over-running on the Western world and bending civilisation as we have it to their will, is not one to visualise through the mind's eye with serenity. For purposes of illustration Sir Rider Haggard took the case of Australia—a vast and wonderful land with a population of only five millions, half of whom are contained in a few large cities,

although the country is capable of supporting a population ten to twenty times as big. The fact, be held, was apparent that rich territories suited to the white man were, on the whole, few, and if they were not occupied those people who lacked territory, but had population, would try to take them. Mr. Roosevelt once said to him, when they had discussed these matters: "Look at your Australia—that will be the first place to go."

With equal force it might be said: "Look at your South Africa," for the great sub-continent with its vast unsettled spaces ranks equally with Australia for purposes of analogy. The report of the Commission on the decline of the birth-rate and its causes may be expected early in the New Year. It should prove a document of absorbing interest as well as of vital importance.

Commenting on the proposed South African Commission, the *Indian Social Reformer*, after referring to the various grievances mentioned in Lord Sinha's memorandum presented to the Imperial War Conference last year, says:—It is a question whether if the scope of the Commission's enquiry is to be restricted to trading liberties, it is worth while appointing it, and sending representatives from India to participate in it. Then, we understand that the Commission will be an Imperial one, but it appears from General Smuts' remarks that it is to be appointed by the Union Government. Under the circumstances, it behoves the Government of India to make strong representations to the Imperial Government as well as to the Union Government with a view to widen the scope of the enquiry so as to cover all outstanding Indian grievances not only in the Transvaal, but elsewhere in South Africa, and to strengthen its character by making it an Imperial enquiry.

Since the above was in type (says our contemporary) the Government of India have published the following statement of the Secretary of State's "from himself": "The Union Government have decided to postpone the appointment of the Commission for the present. It has been mistakenly inferred from a passage in the Secretary of State's recent speech that a request has been made that the representatives of India should sit as members of the Commission. No such request has been made to the Union Government, but that Government has been asked to agree to the presence of representatives (probably one official and one non-official) to be deputed by the Government of India to assist the Commission in its enquiry, to give information, and to represent the feelings and the views of the Government of India and the Indian public and to press for a sympathetic consideration of the Indian case. The question of the status to be proposed for such representatives and of the composition of the Commission may depend to some extent on the scope of the enquiry, as to which information has not yet been received. It is hoped that the Union Government will in any event agree to the inclusion of an Indian non-official in the deputation from India as the Government of India and the Secretary of State are agreed as to the great importance of associating an Indian with Sir B. Robertson." This is entirely at variance with what Mr. Montagu was understood to have said to the deputation which waited on him, and will cause intense disappointment in this country.

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The public are hereby notified that the above Crematorium is open for all, irrespective of Caste or Creed. The Crematorium will be opened for cremation between 9 a.m. and 2 p.m.

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