

Indentured Labour

in

Fiji.



An Independent Enquiry.



FEBRUARY, 1913.

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REPORT
ON
INDENTURED LABOUR IN FIJI.



AN INDEPENDENT ENQUIRY.



FEBRUARY, 1916.

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TO THE
MEMORY OF
GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE.

February 19th, 1916.

PREFACE.

This Report has been published immediately on our return from Fiji. It attempts to show, on the one hand, the serious nature of the evils which exist under the indenture system. On the other hand, it endeavours to explain what painstaking efforts are now being made by the Fiji Government to deal justly by the Indian settlers.

C. F. ANDREWS.

W. W. PEARSON.

REPORT ON INDIAN
INDENTURED LABOUR IN FIJI.

PART I.

[*N. B.*—In the following pages a few facts are recorded which were witnessed by one of us, not both; but, for convenience in writing a joint report, we have ventured to use the pronoun 'we' throughout.]

REPORT

ON

Indentured Labour in Fiji.

When we speak in our present Report of the 'Indenture System' we have specially in mind certain features, which have been common to this form of Indian labour, ever since it was started in Natal more than half a century ago. These have given to it the name and character it bears. They may be summed up as follows :—

Recruiting of individuals in India, at the rate of forty women for every hundred men.

A five years' term of compulsory, state regulated labour.

The absence of freedom to choose or to change either employment or employer.

A minimum fixed rate of wages, which tends to remain stationary, even when the price of food rises.

The payment of immigration charges by the employer.

In Fiji we were often asked whether we had a rooted objection to 'indenture' in any form or shape. We were informed that a large number of Englishmen, all over the world, had gone out under 'indenture' to the Colonies. These Englishmen had no objection to 'indenture'. Why should the Indian object to it?

When the matter was brought up in this form our answer was that the whole question turned on the freedom, responsibility and intelligence of those who entered into the agreement. In the case of the European immigrant, there was a natural presumption that he understood the exact terms of the agreement before starting, and that he felt quite clear in his own mind that they were neither oppressive nor degrading. Indeed, so far were his interests safeguarded by those in authority, that in South Africa, we found, the contract itself was not valid until it had been renewed after an interval had been allowed to the immigrant to examine on the spot all the conditions. Only when he was perfectly satisfied, after seeing things with his own eyes, was the contract finally signed. We were told in Australia that no one is allowed to come out to

the Southern States under contract except with the permission of Government. In Queensland, where European labour is badly needed, the limit that is allowed for an agricultural contract is a single year.

These facts show clearly with what care and precaution the interests of the European immigrants are safeguarded and assured. Further more,—and this is the chief point of all,—the contract is a purely civil one. If the European finds that the terms of the contract are not being faithfully kept, he has an immediate remedy at hand in a court of law. He knows the method by which he can get his agreement cancelled; and if he can prove that there has been any unfair advantage taken of his ignorance, he can be quite certain of a patient and sympathetic hearing from the magistrate, who is usually a fellow countryman of his own.

The position may be briefly stated as follows. Contracts for personal service, which are made, with ignorance on the one hand and intelligence on the other: or contracts which are brought about by the exploitation of the weak: or contracts which are engaged in for an excessively long period of years—these all tend to reproduce servile features. In these cases the new word 'indenture' is nearly equivalent to the old word 'slavery' writ large. Indeed, the wish to possess such a form of labour proceeds from the same instinct—the instinct to endeavour to get the service of a fellow human being on compulsory terms.

This then is the root objection to the present Indian 'indenture'. It is neither a free, nor an intelligent contract. It is not what a business man would call a 'square deal'. It is also fixed for a dangerously long period of years, and thus is liable to lead to the abuse of individual liberty.

Other evils, peculiar to the condition of Indian recruitment, and to the character of the coolie 'lines' in Fiji, will come up later, in this report, for examination. But the objection which has here been urged is valid against any form of indentured labour, where the contract is made for too long a period, and is engaged in under unequal conditions.

It will be best to deal first with the length of contract. It has been already pointed out how strictly limited, in the case of Europeans, the period of contract is, and with what safeguards it is endorsed. With regard to labour other than European we found on enquiry in Johannesburg that the Kaffir contracts on the Rand were usually for one and a half years. The Chinese contract,

when in operation, had been for five years, but for political as well as industrial and moral causes, that form of labour had been abandoned. We would add that we did not find in S. Africa a single good word said for the Chinese indenture system. Its morals were regarded as unspeakably corrupt.

In Natal we found that the Indian indenture system with its low percentage of women and its five years' contract was still in force. We saw with our own eyes its inherent evils and there were very few indeed in the Colony, outside a small group of planters, who were ready to uphold it. Since that time it has been practically abandoned.

In the Malay States, indentured labour was first tried on the five years' basis, but this has now been brought to an end by a joint agreement of the Government and the Planters, and a much freer and shorter form of contract has been substituted for it.

We were informed by one who had full knowledge of the labour condition in New Guinea, that in the Papuan plantations a yearly engagement had become the rule of the employers; and this produced more satisfactory results than a contract for a longer period.

In Hawaii, which is most near in its conditions of life to Fiji, the Americans, as far as we could gather, have never taken to indentured labour. They secure permanent employees by high wages and advantageous terms.

In Ceylon, the indenture system has never been in operation. Labour in large quantities is engaged on a monthly contract. An altogether different evil, namely, coolie indebtedness, has to be combated with, but the five years' indenture has never been tried, nor would it be acceptable to the Planters.

It will thus be seen that, in the case of the immigrant labour, a contract is not uncommon. But, wherever the period of contract has been prolonged, it has led to a serious curtailment of individual liberty and to bad moral results. On the other hand, a short contract has not been open to industrial objection, while at the same time it has tended to preserve freedom.

Indeed, this special form of short contract labour (in return for passage paid) is likely to become more and more common in future, now that ocean travel has been made easier and quicker and cheaper. The flow of labour, under contract, across the ocean, is only another form of the migration of labour from a congested area

of population to an uncongested area, or from the villages for town factory work. One of the most interesting recent developments of such migratory labour has been the yearly transport of Italians to Argentina for harvesting purposes. Such a migration would have seemed impossible only a short time ago.

There was scarcely any subject which the Fiji planters were more eager to discuss with us than the continuance of the present term of five-yearly indenture. We listened carefully to all they had to say from a business point of view. On the other side, we stated our own invincible objection to such a long and dangerous service. Our opinion on that point had been fixed, once for all, long ago by what we had witnessed in Natal. We were understood, from the very first, both by the Government and by the Planters, to be unmoveable on that issue.

Three grounds were put forward by the Planters in favour of a longer rather than a shorter contract in the case of Fiji. We felt that each of them had weight but we felt also that the Planters' difficulties should be met in some other way than by the retention of a five years' indenture.

First, they argued that the cost of the passage out to Fiji was very great. If, in the future, they were obliged to bring out whole families rather than individuals, the cost would be greater still for every unit of labour. A family could hardly cost less, in passage money, than 450 rupees. If the contract were a short one, this heavy expense would have to be incurred again and again at very short intervals.

Secondly, the Planters urged that sugar-planting itself was skilled work. During the first six months, therefore, the labour done by the new worker was of very little value. Only after a full year, they said, could the workman be called efficient. So then, if the contract were too short, the labourer would be taken away, just as he was getting into his work.

Thirdly, they insisted with great reiteration that the work itself was an apprenticeship. Only those who had thoroughly learnt modern methods of sugarcane cultivation, by working under a big employer, could hope themselves in the future to undertake profitable plantation on their own account. They pointed out that Fiji was not like India in this respect, but rather like Java. The best Indian growers of cane, they said, in Fiji, had learned their business during the five years of indenture. If they had had a shorter training they might never have learnt at all.

Such were the points which were brought to our notice with regard to the length of contract. We remained convinced in our opinion that a shorter period of training on much freer and more equitable terms would bring about as good, if not better, technical results; while at the same time the moral and social value of the greater freedom would be, even from the business point of view, very high indeed.

We would next endeavour to make plain, by illustrations from our own personal experience, how very widely the present system of Indian indentured labour differs from the free, equal and intelligent contract entered into by Europeans.

We shall best accomplish this purpose by offering examples, which are chosen as typical out of hundreds of interviews with Indians in Fiji. They expressed to us, with the utmost freedom, the circumstances in which they were first led to come out to Fiji and their experiences on the plantations.

It will be seen from these what an amount of fraud and deception appears to be at work in the process of recruiting. It will be seen, also, how unscrupulous exploitation dogs the footsteps of the illiterate coolie from first to last. On every side his path is beset with pitfalls and very few indeed escape disaster during their long five years' indenture.

In giving these examples, which came under our personal observation and were entered down in our notes on the spot, we have purposely omitted the coolies' names. In very many cases their information was given in confidence, with a request that their names should not be revealed. The peculiar state of fear that exists among Indians throughout the Islands will be explained later on. It was a common experience with both of us to have the question asked, "Are you the coolie agent sahib?" Only when that question was satisfactorily settled would conversation flow freely. Later on during our visit, when the report had spread among the coolies about our coming, we were known as the "Calcuttawale Sahibs" and people would come from long distances to tell us their own story.

From all that we were able to gather from the indentured coolies' own lips, and also from the free Indians, it is probably not an exaggeration to state that, in the case of 80 per cent. of those who were indentured in India, some deceit was practised by the recruiting agent. This man is actually paid so much per head for his task by the Colonial Emigration authorities at 61 Garden

Reach, Calcutta, or elsewhere. He is given an extra bonus for every woman. The price paid in the west of the United Provinces seems to be as high as forty-five rupees for every man and fifty-five rupees for every woman; in the east of the United Provinces and in Madras we were told the fee was lower. But whatever the price may be is immaterial; such payments made, at so much, per head, for men and women, recall the worst features of the old slave system, and are quite indefensible. They offer a premium to a very low class of agent to engage in acts of cunning and fraud.

We have been ourselves into the recruiting areas of India and have questioned the villagers about the activities of the agents of the Colonial Emigration Depôts. Allowing for every exaggeration on the part of those who are illiterate there can be no shadow of doubt that the frauds already practised by recruiting agents have been immense. We found out another evil, which makes this unscrupulous recruiting more dangerous still. The recruiting agents represent themselves as subordinate Government officials and bring the name of Government in to set forward their own plans. The villagers are often too simple to discover this obvious fraud. Those of us who know the dread, in the ordinary villager's mind, of the power of the subordinate official, will not need to be told what an instrument of tyranny such a false representation may become. It will also be understood what a prejudice against the Indian Government itself is likely to be raised. But the evil goes still deeper. A missionary, of long experience in the villages, whose word could be thoroughly trusted in such a matter, told us that there was frequent collusion between the recruiting agents and the police, the latter receiving from the former a commission.

The recruiting agent, becoming a man of power, carries the exercise of his authority far beyond the limits of recruiting. He becomes not seldom a blackmailer whom the villagers actually bribe in order to live in peace.

A typical case of this came under our own observation. A villager, named Fakhira, had his wife and daughter decoyed from him by a recruiting agent, who offered to return them to him on the payment of a sum of money. Fakhira had not the sum ready to hand and could not borrow it. The wife and daughter were missing. He never saw them again.

We had a long conversation with a coolie, who had escaped, after being fraudulently recruited. He had been given *dhatara*. In this case, his mother had almost lost her reason during his absence.

The small village to which he belonged was in a state of panic-fear. It is now a clearly indicated fact that, over large areas of the United Provinces, there has been added to the other fears of the villager this new dread of the recruiting agent. The villagers have in some districts actually banded themselves together against their common enemy, and there have been cases of violent assaults upon the recruiting agent when he has been found entering a village. Songs in the vernacular are now sung from village to village warning people against the recruiter. The situation is not altogether unlike the Mormon Scare in England, and the object of the villagers is the same, namely, the protection of the chastity of their women and the sanctity of their married life.

It was deeply instructive to find that the actual accounts of the coolies in Fiji as to the manner of their own recruitment tallied exactly with the stories we heard from the villages in the Indian recruiting districts. We listened, as it were, to the same story from both ends,—from the fellow villagers and relations of the recruited coolies in India and from the recruited coolies themselves in Fiji.

Piecing together the different stories and eliminating exaggerations, it is clear that the recruiting agent in recent years has begun to fight shy of going direct to the villages and inducing people to come to the Depôt from their own village homes. He does not bargain with them there. Nearly every coolie we questioned in Fiji said he was away from home when he was recruited. In a very large number of cases the coolie's own home people knew nothing about his recruitment. Very possibly many such coolies were escaping from justice, or running away from some family quarrel at the time. But others were clearly quite simple village people, involved in no such trouble. They had lost, perhaps, their relations in a crowded railway station. They were on a pilgrimage and did not know the way. They were merely going from one village to another, when the recruiting agent came along and tempted them with his story.

It was noticeable among the women how many were recruited at the pilgrim centres. The common narrative was that the recruiting agent came up, offering to take the woman to her relations, or to show her some sacred shrine, and then took her to the Depôt instead. The evidence given of such practices was far too circumstantial in detail, and far too frequently given with fresh detail and fresh names of places, to allow of any doubt concerning its substantial accuracy.

The following is an account of a visit paid to Muttra to gather information at first hand about up-country coolie recruiting.

We found, at the first depôt, that all the coolies had been moved off to Calcutta. At the second depôt, a Mahomedan (who appeared to us a dangerous person to be entrusted with the charge of Indian women) was manager of the place. The first coolie, whom we saw, was evidently a prostitute. Four men were also there, who told us they were ready to emigrate. One man, of very low caste, was even eager to go. He told us he had been getting only two annas a day in India. He had no idea where Fiji was and said he thought it was about two hundred *kos* from Muttra. The last coolie was a woman, who was going out again to Fiji. She told us that a man had lived with her in Fiji, but had deserted her as soon as she landed in India. Now she was all alone. No one had anything to do with her. She said that in Fiji there was plenty of money, but in India she could make no money at all. She was in a very wretched condition. Evidently she expected some other man to live with her, if she went out.

In the third depôt, news of our coming had preceded us and feverish efforts had been made to get things straight. There were only two coolies. One did not appear at first, and when he came forward, he would hardly answer any question. We told the manager to leave us alone. Then the coolie began crying and said he was in great trouble. He had been in the depôt for four days and had not been allowed to go out at all. He did not wish to go away to Fiji. (When asked previously before the manager, he had said he was willing). He implored us to take him away. We called the manager back and told him this. He went up to the man and began to threaten him. The coolie at once got frightened. We told the manager to speak quietly, and the man then said that he wished to go away. The manager told him to fetch his bundle and go.

We then went to see a Gaur Brahman who had gone mad on account of his wife being taken away by the recruiting agent. The whole neighbourhood collected, showing their sympathy and pity. The madman was a pathetic sight to witness.

The news had by this time spread widely that we were in the town, and the relatives of those who had been taken away flocked round us, a respectable Jat came up to us. His brother was blind and had an only son, who was taken by the recruiters. The lad was sixteen years of age. Another boy had been taken with him,

but had been rejected on medical grounds. This second boy told the blind father his son's fate. The Jat informed us that he had gone to the magistrate and asked for an order to stop the boy's embarkation. The magistrate asked for a deposit of thirty rupees, which was paid, and a telegram was sent to Calcutta. An answer had come from the depôt that as the boy was going by his own consent, his embarkation could not be delayed. The Jat thereupon asked the magistrate for an order to enter the Calcutta depôt. He went to Calcutta, and, as he described to us his treatment, we could understand the difficulties which were placed in his way. In the end he was informed that the boy had already sailed for Fiji. If he wished to get him back, a deposit must be made of 465 rupees.

A Hindu, by caste a Ba nia, spoke to us concerning his wife. She had been taken by the recruiters, and he was very bitter against them. We asked him if he had made any attempt to get her back. He said he had not, for when once she had been inside the depôt she was stained.

Some correspondence was given us concerning a coolie who had been shipped to British Guiana. The following official letter is of interest :—

Sir,—With reference to your endorsement, No. 2047 of the 4th instant, I have the honour to inform you that a sum of Rs. 531 will be required for the repatriation, etc., of Radha Kishan No. 104, Mutlah 1912. (Details given). It will not be possible for Radha Kishan to return to India till about August or September, 1916.

The father of Radha Kishan was a villager earning four annas a day. He told us he was going to try to borrow the money, because his son had written to him in very great distress.

It was clear from the narratives of the women in Fiji that when once they had crossed the threshold of the depôt their terror became too great to allow them to turn back. The recruiting agent seemed able to stupefy them with fear. He was then able to coach them in the questions which they had to answer and they very rarely refused to reply according to his directions when the time came.

With the men folk, the methods of the recruiting agents appear to be somewhat different. Here it is the ordinary villager's cupidity which is the lever most frequently used. If he is of the stupid ignorant type, then Fiji is referred to as a district near to Calcutta where high wages are to be obtained. Incredible though it may appear, we came across many cases where the indentured coolies

informed us, with every appearance of truth, that they were quite unaware of their real destination, until they found themselves tossing and sea-sick in the Bay of Bengal.

If the villager, on the other hand, is of the more intelligent type, then the full details of the indenture are revealed. But the work is made out to be very light indeed, and the most glowing prospects are given. Nothing is said about the penal laws, or the hard conditions of compulsory labour. If the Fiji conditions were even normally fair and prosperous and wholesome, then little harm might be done by mere exaggerations. The advertisements which attract emigrants from England are often highly coloured. Yet on the whole the English emigrants are satisfied. But in Fiji the amount of satisfaction we found was very limited indeed. Here and there we discovered a set of coolies who were happy on the estates. But this was the exception, not the rule.

The recruiting agent appears not to be content with finding his recruits among the peasant classes only. He deals with all sorts and conditions of men and women. Where he finds a Sikh or a Jat, who is ready to step into his toils, he pictures Fiji as an ideal place for a soldier or a policeman, if only the thumb mark is placed to the agreement. A whole group of Punjabis was once recruited in this way, under false pretences. When they found out, on arrival, how they had been cheated they broke out into open mutiny and held up a whole district, for the time being, with fire-arms (which they managed somehow to obtain) and the trouble was not stopped until Government separated them one from another and distributed them among different coolie 'lines'.

Sometimes the recruiting agent finds a raw youth fresh from school, with a smattering of English education and a boyish desire for adventure. He pictures to him employment in Fiji, as a teacher, on fabulous rates of pay,—if only the agreement is signed. We were startled every now and then to find in the coolie 'lines' a young lad of high caste and education, whose whole appearance showed that he had no business at all in such a place. The condition of such lads, when they arrive and have to be lodged in the same quarter with men of low morals and unclean habits of life, is pitiable indeed.

There appears to us to be a clear need for an overhauling of the whole system of recruitment in India, and for a closing of the up-country depôts. We have spoken to many of the emigration officers and magistrates, in whose courts the coolies' agreements

are signed, and not one has expressed himself satisfied with what is going on. Each one has told us in turn that he had suspicions of some secret fraudulent dealing, which was very difficult indeed to detect. One who had the fullest opportunity of seeing the work of recruiting in up-country districts spoke of it, in our hearing, as 'dirty work.' Our own very limited experience corroborates that statement, and the narratives we heard in Fiji endorse it. If the indenture system is abolished, and free labour to the Colonies is allowed to go on, then it is most important that such labour shall only be recruited under free conditions.

We found, further, on examination, that the agreement which the coolie signs before going out, does not truly represent the facts of coolie life in Fiji. It is a misleading document. Not a word, for instance, is said concerning the penalties which await the coolie, if, for any reason (which he may regard as valid) he refuses to work. Another serious omission from the agreement (seeing that those who sign it are for the most part ignorant and illiterate people) is the failure to record the fact that food-rates in Fiji differ materially from those in India. The coolie is told in the agreement that he will be paid at the minimum rate of twelve annas a day. But he is not told that the purchasing power of twelve annas in Fiji is scarcely equal to that of five annas in India. He is not told, also, that more is required in the way of clothing and other necessaries of life in Fiji than in India. So that the bare living expenses are nearly three times as high in Fiji as in India itself. One of the examples which follows will show what hardship this low rate of wages involves.*

The Indian woman who comes out under indenture has a still more serious charge to make against the signed agreement. These women are simple ignorant Indian villagers who have been used to field work. They are told in the agreement that they will have agricultural work to do in Fiji at the minimum wage of nine annas per day for a completed task. They naturally picture to themselves a state of labour in the field such as they have been used to in India. But when they get to their work in Fiji they find that all is changed. Those who have seen the Indian woman working in the fields in India with her little family playing

* It is interesting to note that the English coinage of Fiji is given an 'Indian' value by the coolies. A two shilling piece is called a rupee. A one shilling piece is called eight annas. Sixpence is regularly called four annas. But this does not at all represent the true proportional value. For eight annas in India would go considerably further than a shilling in Fiji.

near her, will realise the change when she is told to leave her family behind in the coolie 'lines.' The provision of regulation 'flyproof nurseries' is no compensation to her for the privilege of looking after her own children, and living her own natural life in her own natural way. She is not told, also, in the agreement that she will be compelled, under penal clauses, to work incessantly, day in, day out, with no time to cook her own husband's meals or look after her own children. She is never told anything also of the condition of the coolie 'lines' in which she will be compelled to live, without any privacy or even decency for five years, with no possibility of change.

All this is hidden from the village woman who enters into the indenture agreement in India. In these circumstances, as well as others, it cannot be called a fair contract. For it is made on behalf of one party, the Fiji Government, who is fully aware of the actual state of affairs as they exist in Fiji, with another, the ignorant coolie woman who is imagining entirely different conditions.

The facts which have hitherto been stated, for the most part in general terms, may be illustrated and made more clear to the reader in India by the following specific cases. They are a few out of a very large number of instances which have come under our special notice.

1. A respectable woman who told us that she had been on a pilgrimage to Benares and had become confused in the strange crowd and separated from her relations. A man had seen her crying and had promised to bring her to her own people. He had taken her instead to the Depot. When she had found out her true plight, she had been too frightened to resist. Asked why she had answered the magistrate's questions, she said that she was too frightened to do anything else. Asked whether she was told that she was to go on board ship and settle across the sea, she said, 'No'.

[Very many circumstantial narratives of this kind were told us. It was noticeable to us how very large a proportion of the women, whom we questioned, were recruited at the pilgrim centres.]

2. A well educated, delicate lad from a village near Delhi, who spoke English fluently. He had been promised clerk's work by the recruiting agent. He was told nothing about being obliged to live in the coolie 'lines.' When we met him he was very unhappy. He had saved a little money and wished to buy himself

out, but was not allowed at the time to do so. His employer had been kind to him and put him on light work, but nothing could remove the depression he felt at being forced to live as a coolie in the coolie 'line'.

3. A Kayastha, who was met at Allahabad by a man wearing a sacred thread. The man pretended to be a Brahman, and promised the Kayastha work as a Teacher in a school at Puri. He was taken instead to the Calcutta Depôt. This man was now out of indenture, and he was doing all he could in Fiji to help those who were still in the coolie 'lines.' He gave us a great deal of help, and we found his information accurate on the whole. Though educated in his own vernacular and quite above the 'coolie' class in average intelligence he was very deaf and at times appeared almost stupid. He was thus one who could have been easily deceived in the first instance. He told us that he had actually found out his mistake when in the Depôt, but he had been too fearful to run away. From all we saw of him, we were convinced that his own narrative was substantially true.

4. A low caste Hindu, who was brought out under indenture for 'agricultural work' and was set to cut up meat in a butchery. When asked by us how he, a Hindu, could engage in such work, he replied that he could not help it as he was ordered to do it. He seemed much ashamed of himself and hung down his head while he answered our questions. His companions in the butchery were Musalmans.

5. A Kabir Panthi, now out of indenture, who had been originally obliged to do the same kind of work. He told us that he had continually refused and had been imprisoned. We looked up his record on the estate and found he had been given 692 days' imprisonment while under indenture. When he came to see us, he had clearly lost his moral character and his record in the Colony, since he had become a free Indian, was a bad one. He had even been charged with biting a man's nose in a sordid quarrel and had been found guilty. But, in spite of this we found a simple and true side to his character. It was not altogether undermined. It is not unlikely that he became a moral wreck through being compelled to do a work which was against his instincts and his conscience.

[We found some Madrasis of low caste who actually preferred to do this kind of butcher's work. But it is quite clear that the Government of India never contemplated such an occupation as butchery under

the head of 'agriculture' in the agreement. We therefore gave our own personal opinion to the Fiji authorities, that Hindus, however low in caste, should not be set to do the work of slaughtering animals.]

6. A Brahman boy, aged about 15, who came out in 1915. He had been deceived by the recruiting agent as to the nature of the work which he would be required to do. He was told when in India that he would have garden work given him in Fiji. His hands were quite unhardened, and he was very miserable, and seemed to be quite a child still in every way. He begged very pitiably to be allowed to go home to India.

[We found many cases of mere boys being indentured in India and brought out to Fiji. In one case a child came to us, who was under indenture. He declared that he was only twelve when he was recruited. He had been out nearly a year, and from his appearance we should regard it as doubtful, if he could have been more than fourteen when we saw him. It is surely open to question, whether a boy of such tender age can legally enter into a complicated agreement which binds him for five years and in most cases settle his whole future. When we looked at random into the books of the Immigration Department, we found the following recent cases:—

- 51500. Akkaru—Ganges 1—1913—aged 15.
- 51954. Thalary Nagadu—Ganges 1—1913—aged 16.
- 56449. Kuda Baksh—Mutlah 1—1915—aged 17.
- 56296. Baoha—Mutlah—1—1915—aged 17.

It should be noted that some of these ages are probably given on the higher side. We found, for instance, a boy who could hardly be more than 15 entered in Fiji as aged 17. When we had the Calcutta register examined, we found that he was entered there as 20 years of age. The Fiji official told us that he had seen how impossible the age of 20 was for a mere boy, and had put down the age of 17 in the Fiji register as nearer the mark.

7. An intelligent coolie, labouring in the mill, told us that he was obliged to work on twelve hour shifts, and on alternate weeks had to go on night work from 6 P. M. to 6 A. M. without extra pay. There is no mention of night work in the arrangement. We found out, still further, that a large amount of highly skilled labour was being performed by the indentured coolies at an absurdly low rate of pay. Among the coolies who had been thus engaged in looking after the machinery of the mills were some who had been discarded because of some accident. In one mill, three men came up to us who had each lost a limb and were crippled for life. Yet no compensation had been made to them for this life-long injury. We only heard of one case in the whole

Colony, where such compensation had been given by an employer for serious injury to a coolie; and in that case the compensation was extracted by Government pressure. Thus the mill-owners so used their labour under the cover of the indenture system, that they obtained skilled work from the more intelligent of the coolies at a rate of a quarter the market value, and when those coolies met with an accident in the performance of their duty, refused to pay any compensation whatever except under pressure.

8. A Madrasi, came out in 1913 on Sutlej IV, aged 18. Laughed as he narrated to us how he had been deceived by the recruiting agent. Described to us his appearance before the magistrate in India and how he hurried through the performance of question and answer. His parents did not know anything about where he had gone, till he wrote from Fiji, because he thought he was only going to get employment a short way from home and then to return.

[A very large number of coolies told us that their relations knew nothing of their whereabouts. Some told us they had never sent any letter home out of shame. Others told us that there was great difficulty in getting letters written and posted. Many again informed us that they had never heard from home though they had written again and again. This was not unlikely; because when we went into a central post office in the interior of the main island and mentioned a coolie's name (whose widow-mother had written to us on our arrival in Fiji asking for news of her son), we found that a letter from the mother, properly addressed, had been waiting for three months undelivered. The postal arrangements are very bad in the Colony outside Suva, the capital. There must be an incalculable amount of misery amongst the relatives left behind in India, owing to the bad postal arrangements in Fiji and to the evils of fraudulent recruiting in India itself.]

9. A respectable married man who came out with his wife and two children finding the struggle for existence very hard in India and hoping to get on better in Fiji. But he found by experience that living was so expensive in the Colony, that it was even more difficult than in India to keep his family and himself supplied with proper food and clothing. When his wife was nursing her child (she was the only woman with children in the coolie 'lines') they were nearly starving. The average cost of food alone for one person in Fiji is not less than 3 rupees per week, and at that time he was earning 4 rupees, 2 annas per week. This man was very anxious to return home to Fyzabad in the United Provinces, where he had been earning six annas a day. He told us that he could manage to keep his wife and children better there than in Fiji.

[Even in this war-time, with higher prices for every commodity in Fiji, there has been no substantive advance made in the coolies' wages. Some employers have done a little to help out the earnings of the indentured coolies by issuing tickets which can purchase rice and sharps at pre-war rates. We were told by one employer that purchase by means of such 'tickets' saved the coolie six annas in every three rupees. But the ticket process is very cumbrous; and very few coolies took advantage of it. When we asked the general manager of the C. S. K. Co, why the company did not give the coolie an advance in actual wages, he replied that when wages once rise, they have a tendency to keep up and not come down again. The company, therefore, has devised the 'ticket' system. It was obvious to us, from this, that as far as wages are concerned, the indenture system places the coolie completely at the mercy of his employers.]

10. Two young Telugus were interviewed by us in the coolie 'lines'. They came out in 1915. What attracted them was the promise of twelve annas a day. They were earning four annas a day in India. They told us that they were no better off in their cost of living in Fiji. In hours of work, their condition was far worse than in India. In Madras their day's work was always over by noon; in Fiji they had to go on up to five or six o'clock in order to complete their task. In Fiji they were very unhappy because no one in the coolie 'lines' could speak their own language, and they often could not understand the manager's or the Sardar's orders. They were very anxious to get back to India.

The hours of labour mentioned were borne out by what we saw elsewhere. Late one evening a boy came over to the house where we were staying, about 3 miles away from some coolie 'lines', which we had visited at 5-30 P. M. that same afternoon. When we asked him next morning why we did not see him in the 'lines' he said that he had been out in the field when we came, because he had not completed his task. We were away when he came to see us that evening but the missionary with whom we were staying told us that he arrived in a very exhausted condition. It was one of those cases of boy labour which troubled us so much in Fiji. The Planter was in every way a good man, but this case had escaped his notice. We asked for the boy to be put on three quarter task with full pay and this was done.

11. A Madrasi of very low caste and low features came to us for protection against a Sardar who had locked him up (so he told us) and beaten and starved him. The inspector, to whom we brought the case, was inclined to disbelieve the coolie, because

he had already obtained convictions against two Sardars quite recently in the same coolie 'lines' for doing the same thing. We suggested that a bad tradition having been once established in the coolie 'lines' it would be difficult to get rid of it. At our express wish, therefore, the inspector took up the case and it resulted in the man's story being found true. One Sardar was convicted in the magistrate's court, another Sardar was acquitted on a technical point of law, but an appeal to the Supreme Court has been lodged by the inspector. The English overseer through whose neglect the cruelties were allowed to go on has been dismissed, owing to the firm action of the Agent General of Immigration. The case was a striking testimony to us of the genuine desire on the part of Government authorities to obtain justice for the 'coolie'. At the same time it also revealed to us the extraordinary difficulty under which coolies labour whose mother-tongue is not Hindustani. It was, literally, a matter of hours before we could get from this coolie the plain facts of his story; and the feeling that he was not understood made him nervous and excited, and this gave us a false impression. The inspector was in the same difficulty as ourselves.

[The recent immigration of Madrasi coolies, who speak Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam and Canarese, has led to greatest possible confusion. In a trial for murder before the Chief Justice, held while we were in Suva, the accused prisoner only knew Malayalam. The Court Interpreter only knew Tamil and English. A third party, therefore, had to be called in who knew Malayalam. The Chief Justice was, in this way, twice removed by language barriers from the prisoner at the bar. Yet in these faulty circumstances, he was obliged to try the Madrasi for his life, and actually to condemn him to death.]

12. A Hindustani girl of good caste and respectable Hindu parentage had been decoyed from her father's home by a neighbouring woman in her village. The pretext was that a telegram had been received from her husband who was ill and wanted her to go to him at once. Her father, not being on good terms with her husband had separated her from her husband. She went, therefore, with this woman without letting her father know. Too late she found out how she had been deceived. On board ship her honour was assailed and only with the greatest possible difficulty had she been able to retain it. Now her only hope is that her father and mother will think that she is dead, because she feels that she has brought disgrace to her family. Though she has been nearly two years in Fiji she has not yet recovered from her first despair. She is

afraid even to let her parents know where she is, because of the sense of degradation at her present lot in life.

13. A Rajput who came out on the distinct understanding that he would be able to join a regiment if he went to Fiji. He spoke under great excitement when we saw him, as he was in prison and condemned to death. His words were not easy to follow at one point, but we gathered that when signing, a Sahib had assured him that this would be his lot. He said with great emphasis that a Sahib could not tell a lie. He and his brother had been soldiers in India in Rajputana. They were a military family. Then his brother inherited some land and left his regiment and became a zamindar. He joined his brother for a time, but was hankering to get back to his old military life when the recruiting agent came and deceived him. When he arrived in Fiji, he was told that he would have to enter the coolie 'lines' and serve with the sweepers—as he expressed it. In such compulsory degradation, as he thought it, his life went utterly to pieces. He told us that the insults he received in the coolie 'lines' had been unbearable. "They pulled my moustache" he said, and suited the action to the word. His offence had been an act of murder in a quarrel with a Mahomedan over an abandoned woman. The woman had slapped the Rajput's face and he had stabbed her. In spite of his crime, there was a great nobility in his bearing when we saw him. He only broke down, when one of us asked him if he would like his parents to be visited and told about him; or if he would wish to send them any message. We were both more deeply affected by his whole story, and by the fortitude with which he spoke to us, than it is possible to express in words. He was condemned to be hanged, but owing to the clemency of the Governor the sentence was commuted to penal servitude. We were very anxious about this Rajput's fate when we left the Islands. The Governor had not yet consulted his Executive Council. But he was good enough to cable to us, on his own initiative, when our ship reached New Zealand, the news of the reprieve.

In connexion with this case an extract may be given from a petition very fully signed by Indians in Fiji and endorsed by many Europeans.

Respectfully sheweth:—

That under the existing system of Indian labour immigration there is a great disproportion between the number of males and females.

That this disproportion is mostly responsible for the abnormal number of murders and kindred crimes among Indians.

That the majority of those found guilty of such crimes are otherwise quiet and law abiding; and the murders, for which they are condemned to death, are not due to any murderous instinct in them, but really to sexual jealousy.

That the proportion of crimes relative to the same class of people in India is, by far, much lower than in this Colony.

That in the Colony of Mauritius, for over five years past, there has not been a single trial of murder by Indians, who, as a mass, belong to the same class as those in Fiji.

That the death sentence does not, as a matter of fact, seem to deter Indians from crime in this Colony, since the whole cause of the trouble here is sexual jealousy....

This petition was very favourably reported in the Fiji newspapers, and leading Europeans in the Islands very warmly took up the matter of abolishing the death sentence in these murder cases. Many Planters informed us that it was invariably the finest and best Indian coolies who committed these murders, never the worst. This was, to us, very striking news: its significance will be seen, when the criminal statistics are examined later on in the Report.

14. A Mahomedan Munshi, a cultured man and very intelligent. He had been brought out under the promise that he would be given work in a *madrasa*. He had been appointed Sardar in the coolie 'lines' and shewed us his notes which he had kept. He told us that the custom was general of a commission being paid to the Sardar by each coolie. Otherwise the Sardar was able to bring petty tyranny to bear on the coolie who did not pay. A much worse information, which he gave, was that the Sardars arranged, according to payment, the location of women with certain favoured men. We had further accounts of this at other centres, and from what we saw with our own eyes, within the 'lines,' concerning the relation of the Sardar to the coolies, it seemed to us not improbable. This Munshi had married by Mahomedan rites a wife, while still living in the coolie lines. But this wife would not, in the ordinary course of events, be set free, until two years after his own indenture had expired. We did our best to get her 'commuted', as the situation appeared to us highly dangerous, and the Munshi was a very respectable man.

15. A Punjabi, who was a thorough gentleman in his general bearing. He had served for a considerable time in a Punjabi Regiment. He had been quartered at Delhi and gave us the

names of his English officers and spoke of his Colonel with great warmth and affection. He had been brought out under the promise of regimental service abroad. The effect of military discipline in the past was noticeable. He had kept his respectability and neatness and good manners in the midst of the coolie 'lines.' He did not complain to us, but took it as his fate.

16. A young Madras Christian who had kept his good character. He spoke a little English and was fairly educated. This young lad was compelled by the law of indenture to live in the midst of grossly immoral surroundings for five years. There was a missionary near to these coolie 'lines' who wished to buy him out and employ him as a catechist and teacher. While we were there he was able to do so, and the boy is now free. He told us he had been recruited under entirely false information concerning the life to which he was coming out.

17. A young highly educated Indian, who could write and speak English well. He was soon recognised as unfit for agriculture, and was given important clerical work under Government. He was, however, kept strictly under indenture, and paid a lower salary than he would be entitled to, as a free Indian. Recently he applied for a rise in salary and asked also to commute his indenture; for he had been able to save up enough money for that purpose. The increase of salary was refused. He was further warned that, unless he gave satisfaction to Government, not only would his request for commutation be disallowed, but he might be sent back to the plantations under the law of indenture.

The fact that a responsible and well-disposed Government, whose actions were on the whole kindly and considerate (as this Report will show), could offer such a threat to a highly educated man, struck us very much indeed. It seemed to bear out our contention that a five years' indenture with penal clauses attached is a bondage.

These examples may be sufficient to illustrate the fact that recruiting, as at present carried on in India, is frequently unscrupulous and that the indenture itself is neither a free nor an intelligent contract. So strongly did the facts about fraudulent recruiting come home to us that we felt the necessity to cable direct without delay to India, urging that such harmful practices should be stopped. We thought that this could only be accomplished by strong public opinion expressing itself in vigorous action.

We were often asked, in Fiji, to explain how it was possible for the Indian coolies to pass through the examination of the

magistrate and doctor and Emigration Agent in India, without ever coming fully to understand what the exact conditions of labour in Fiji were. We have already pointed out the misleading character of the Government agreement itself; how it does not represent the true facts of life in Fiji. It is not unlikely that the doctor and magistrate in India are more ignorant of the whole truth than those who drew up that agreement. But, beyond this, it is also probable, that, in many cases, their official work is perfunctorily undertaken. How, otherwise, should we find a mere child (who could hardly have been more than 14 or 15) registered as 20 years of age? How could educated high-caste boys, whose very hands would show that they were unused to hard field labour, be sent out to work at the sugarcane? We cannot avoid this inference from the actual cases that have been brought to our notice in Fiji. A conclusion still more serious was this, that, in addition to collusion with the Police, there was collusion with the subordinate officials of the larger central Depôts, in order to keep the hesitating coolies in a state of fear right up to the end. The stories about these subordinate officials and their treatment of the coolies in the Depôt, were too circumstantial to leave much doubt in our own minds about the matter. Free Indians who had no reason for telling us anything but the truth, were equally clear on this point with those who were still under indenture. Even if the evidence of this corrupt practice were not conclusive, yet it made us feel strongly the imperative need of opening the Depôts much more freely than at present to the Indian public. We would also urge that, if recruiting still continues, a reference should be made to the village and family of each person, who is taken into the Depôt, and that no one, under the age of twenty, should be recruited except as a member of a family.

There have been lamentable and tragic cases of Indians, both men and women, who have thrown themselves into the Hughli, in order to escape from the emigrant ships, and also of actual suicides occurring on the high seas. It is difficult to give details of these, because 'deaths' are not separated from 'suicides' and 'desertions' on the ships' records. But we heard the account of one voyage in the year 1912 from an eye-witness who could be trusted. He stated to us that one coolie had jumped overboard into the Hughli, and one woman had committed suicide at sea. We find in the Indian Immigration Report, 1912, in a paragraph referring to the voyage of Ganges I, the record that "two male immigrants from

Madras, missing at different dates, were supposed to have been lost overboard." This may possibly be the voyage referred to, though the statements do not exactly tally.

We found out, in Fiji, another side of the coolie's difficulties, when he is first brought to the Depôt as a recruit. There is nearly always present among this class of Indian villagers (who rarely, if ever, in their lives come face to face with Englishmen) a very potent and peculiar fear of the Sahib. "Why did you not ask the Sahib to release you?" was the question, which we very often used to put to individual coolies, who had told us about some pitiable fraud of the recruiting agent practised upon them. The answer invariably came, "On account of fear." In one case, a woman told us how the recruiting agent had terrified her about the magistrate, assuring her that if she did not answer the magistrate's questions in a certain way, which he specified, the Sahib would put her into prison. We have discovered that a great fear comes over the coolies in the strange surroundings of the Depôt, and they look with dread on the functions and powers of the Sahib. Their one bewildered, dominant idea seems to be that they should try to please the Sahib at all costs. Sadly enough they have little idea when they answer, in the way the recruiting agent has instructed them, the Sahib's questions, that they are throwing away their last chance of release.

One further important point needs to be mentioned in order to make the picture complete. Besides the growth, when in the Depôt, of all this fear, suspicion and alarm, there is also a sense of hopelessness, like that of an animal who has been caught in a trap and has given up the useless struggle to escape. Again and again, the indentured coolies, explained to us this feeling, and there was a ring of truth about their utterance. It was their 'fate', so they spoke of it to us; and, in that one word 'fate' all the despair and misery of the situation seemed to be summed up. Those among them, who were respectable women, had the overwhelming dread upon them that they would never again be taken back into their homes. Indeed, the recruiting agent appeared to know only too well that when once he had kept such a woman absent from her husband, even for a single night, the rest of his work would be comparatively easy. The woman would feel instinctively that her fate was sealed, and would give up any further efforts to get free.

We found one strangely inaccurate idea current among the Planters in Fiji, namely, that a large proportion of those who have

already been out once under indenture, return a second time. This erroneous statement was presented to us again and again as the basis of an argument. It was said that it would be quite impossible for the coolies in the various depôts to remain unaware of the condition of indentured labour in Fiji (even though these were not stated clearly in the agreement), because so many were continually returning under indenture: and such a class of men would not be likely to resist the temptation of telling all they knew to the others. Also, a second argument was used with us, that the indenture system could not be so black as we painted it, because, in that case so many coolies would not be likely to return under a new indenture.

It will be well to examine these arguments in the light of facts. The figures are available for the years 1912, 1913 and 1914.

In 1912, there were 3,402 Indian immigrants landed in Fiji, of whom 5 men, 5 women and 4 children had previously served, or resided, in Fiji, *i. e.*, 10 adults out of a total of 3,402.

In 1913, there were 3,289 Indian immigrants who landed in Fiji, of whom 8 men, 2 women and 5 children had previously served, or resided, in Fiji, *i. e.*, 10 adults out of a total of 3,289.

In 1914, there were 1,572 Indian immigrants who landed in Fiji, of whom 19 men, 9 women and 4 children had previously served, or resided, in Fiji, *i. e.*, 28 adults out of a total of 1,572.

Taking the year 1912, as a test of the worth of the first argument (*viz.*, that all the coolies in the various depôts would be told the exact labour conditions in Fiji by returning immigrants) it will be seen how very unlikely it would be that five men (some of whom might have decided to go back at the last moment before the ship sailed) could have communicated detailed information about indentured labour in Fiji to 3,402 persons scattered over the depôts of North India and Madras Presidency.

Considering the second argument, namely, that the conditions of indentured labour are so popular with those who have once experienced it, that large numbers go out a second time, the figures seem to prove the very opposite. For although the Indian coolies find by bitter experience that they are outcaste and homeless on their return to India, they scarcely ever decide to go back again to Fiji. In the three years for which statistics are available, only 32 men out of 8,261 immigrants made up their minds to return under indenture.

We met one such, a Natal coolie, who had come out as an indentured immigrant to Fiji. He told us that he had first gone back from Natal to his home in Madras, but had been outcasted. He wished to marry and to settle down in his village, but no one would receive him or marry him because he had broken caste. He spent what little money he had brought back from Natal in trying to get back into caste, but all in vain. When all his money was spent he came across a recruiting agent from Fiji, and in despair decided to go out again under indenture.

In the light of such an undoubtedly true narrative as this, it will be seen how little truth there is in the assumption that all those who come back to Fiji under indenture, do so because they are satisfied with the indenture system. This Natal coolie did not sign on again because he liked indentured labour, but because he had given up hope of being ever received back into his community in India. Among the almost infinitesimal proportion who do actually re-indenture in India, there must be some at least who have had that Natal coolie's experience.

As we have already stated, therefore, the facts, when examined, go against the very arguments which they are used to support. They tell the other way. And the assumptions are fallacious.

As, in a measure, a confirmation of this conclusion, that the indenture system is almost universally disliked by the coolies themselves, one of us, while talking with the overseer of a large estate in Fiji mentioned the word 'commutation', suggesting that this should be always permitted (*i. e.*, that coolies should be allowed to commute their time of service by payment of a sum of money). The overseer said significantly, "Why! The coolies in these lines would all commute tomorrow, if only they had the chance!"

There were many evidences in Fiji to show, that recruiting in North India had become more and more unscrupulous in recent years. The number of mere lads that were now being sent out was significant. Women, also, had apparently been more difficult than ever to obtain, and the number of women of abandoned character seemed to be on the increase. It was noticeable, also, that the proportion of Madrasis had grown in comparison with Hindustanis. The reason of this has been clearly the rise of wages in North India. While the minimum wage of the indentured coolie in Fiji has remained stationary for thirty-two years

the wages of unskilled labour in the north of India have gone up, sometimes as much as 200 per cent. It is becoming more and more unlikely that the Indian peasant will go, of his own accord, thousands of miles across the sea, to obtain a wage distinctly less, in actual value, than that which he can get near at hand in his own motherland.

Why, for instance, should an able-bodied villager, from Gurgaon or Rohtak, go out across the seas to Fiji, in order to get a mere four rupees per week in wages, when he could get more money by levelling the soil at New Delhi, with wheat selling there at less than half the Fiji price. Clearly the fraud and lying must be very deep indeed, which can induce people to go out to Fiji, at a time when labour is so needed and wages are so high. Yet we found coolies who had been taken from the Delhi district. Their story was that they had been deceived by false prospects. Almost the same figures and rates might be quoted for the price of hired labour in Behar. Yet we found men and women in Fiji who had been recently recruited from districts such as these. In each case which we enquired into, gross deception appeared to have been practised. The coolies complained that they had not at all understood the kind of work which would be required of them, nor the price of food and clothing in Fiji, nor the penal clauses of indenture.

In South India there seems to be less evidence of fraudulent recruiting than in the North. Wages are much lower, and recruiter's work may be easier on that account. But it must be remembered also that we could only converse easily with those Madrasis who had picked up a little knowledge of Hindustani; and we had practically no opportunity of hearing from the lips of Madras women their own account of how they were recruited. It should be added that the introduction of Madrasis into Fiji has been accompanied by a distinct rise in the rates of suicide and violent crime. This has led to the opinion, now widely held among the planters in Fiji, that Madrasis are more prone to suicide and crimes of emotional violence than Hindustanis. We pointed out again and again that this was not in accordance with the facts; because the suicide rate in the Madras Presidency was actually lower than that of the United Provinces and Behar. But the whole question of the suicide rate must be left over for the present. It will come up later in dealing with the proportion of the sexes.

Perhaps the most disconcerting effect of unscrupulous recruiting, in Fiji, is the distrust of Government which it has engendered

among the indentured and free Indians alike. Government is regarded as having countenanced the deception of the recruiter and, in consequence, State officials are both feared and suspected. It is painful to find that the authorities are not looked upon by the Indians as their friends. Even the Agent General of Immigration, whose duty it is to protect the interests of indentured Indians, is not exempt from this distrust. This is all the more discouraging, because the Agent himself and his staff have every desire to do the Indians justice. Perhaps the most significant fact of all is, the Indians who are on the staff, although full of sympathy towards their fellow-countrymen, are regarded with something of the same distrust. They felt keenly the difficulty of this suspicious attitude and spoke to us about it.

This distrust of Government has evidently started from the coolie 'lines'. But it has not by any means stopped there. It has continued to spread among the free Indians, even though there may be little occasion for it. The distrust is kept out of sight, or covered by outward complaisance, because the free Indian cannot get rid of his servile tradition quickly, and is suspicious and afraid. The servile feeling engendered in the coolie 'lines' remains deep down in the heart, and it is a menace to successful administration.

To illustrate this point,—we found invariably that whenever we went out with the Immigration officers, we could never get from the coolies any frank and open statements. It is impossible to describe in words their suspicious attitude,—their sullen looks, their muttered whisperings. And then, on the other hand, we could see their changed faces, when they were positively certain, at last, that we had nothing to do with Government at all.

One of us had occasion to visit a free settlement of free Indians who were living on their own land. The visit was made in company with an immigration officer who had shown his sympathy with these same Indians on more than one occasion. Yet the whole visit was a failure, simply because of his presence. The free Indians remained silent and uncommunicative. Very early next morning, however, they sent a deputation, privately, to ask for another visit,—only the Government official should not be present. In that case they promised to talk freely.

Not only in the country areas, but also in Suva, the capital, this suspicion lies very deep. It has already done untold injury to the contentment of the colony, and it will do far more unless it is speedily arrested.

The more carefully the whole question of recruitment is considered, the more clear it becomes, that to send out people of the coolie class from India as individuals, instead of in families, is wrong in principle. For they have never been accustomed to live as individuals. They have been used to the communal life. Women in India are all married at a very early age, and they are bound up with their families and their homes. Men also, in India, are usually married early and their life is bound up with their community. To recruit a man here and a woman there, and to send them out to Fiji, away from all their communal and family ties, is certain to lead to misery in India and also to immorality in Fiji. We found pitiable cases of men who had been living with one woman after another in Fiji, while their own truly married wives and their legitimate children were deserted in India. We found equally pitiable cases of Hindu and Mahomedan wives reduced to leading a life of shame, while their true husbands were still living in India. These cases were all the more pitiable because the poor, ignorant coolies had apparently ceased to feel the moral degradation of it all.

The conclusion we reached on the whole subject was that men and women from India should either be recruited by families, or not at all.

We obtained in Fiji a considerable body of evidence with regard to conditions of life on board the large emigrant vessels, which carry the indentured coolies. After discounting a great deal, as probably due to exaggeration, the strong impression was still left in our minds, that little care is taken of the privacy of the women and of the manner of cooking the emigrants' food. We ourselves saw something of these conditions on our way to and from South Africa, and we could understand what the coolies in Fiji told us. Many said that they had been obliged during the voyage out to give up their old Hindu habit of taking only vegetable food. Some who regarded it as a sin to take animal food, went through tortures of fear; for even if meat were not actually present in the food, they were afraid that animal fat might have been used while cooking it. The strict Hindu suffered accordingly. We were told in Fiji that a very large percentage of Hindus began to abandon their vegetarian habits from the time of the voyage out. It was a strange sight for us to see a butcher's shop in Suva, where beef as well as mutton was being sold, crowded with Hindus waiting eagerly to obtain their purchases of meat.

Even more serious, on board ship, as far as we could gather on enquiry, was the little care taken of the modesty of Indian women. Abandoned women were mixed up in the same quarters with those who were respectable. Temptation to evil was ever present. We had facts given to us on this point which were the plain records of eye-witnesses themselves, and not likely to be untrue.

Lastly, the number of deaths on board, among those who had quite recently been twice passed by the doctor as medically sound, tells its own story. We were informed by trustworthy people in Fiji, who had themselves made the voyage out as free Indians, that the vice and misery on board the emigrant vessels were deplorable. The following are the statistics for the year 1912 to 1914 with regard to the deaths on the voyage out and in the depôt on arrival:—

Out of 3,428 emigrants embarked in 1912, 27 "deaths, desertions or missing" occurred on the voyage; 22 deaths (20 of which were children) occurred in the depôt at Suva, and 9 unallotted immigrants died in the Colonial Hospital; a total of 58, or one immigrant in 60.

Out of 3,306 immigrants embarked in 1913, 21 "deaths, desertions or missing" occurred on the voyage. Eleven deaths (six of which were children) occurred in the depôt at Suva, and 15 unallotted immigrants died in the Colonial Hospital; a total of 47, or one in 70.

Out of 1,572 immigrants embarked in 1914, six "deaths, desertions or missing" occurred on the voyage. Three deaths (all children) occurred in the depôt, and two unallotted immigrants died in the Colonial Hospital; a total of 11, or one in 143.

One of the persistent features, which has marked the indentured system from the beginning, has been the low proportion of adult women to adult men. There have been financial reasons to account for this. For although the cost of the voyage out is the same for a woman as for a man, the amount of work which a woman can do is much less than that of a man. Where, therefore, cheap labour is the first concern, it is inevitable that the employer should aim at getting the largest possible number of men.

Thus the low proportion of indentured women is not something accidental, which can be abandoned without modifying the system. Rather, it is an integral factor in the system itself, which,

apart from this paucity of women, could not be run at the high profits required by the employers. The moment that we suggested to the planters in Fiji such reforms as would help to make a decent family life possible among the coolies, we were met on all sides with the word 'impossible.' The expense, they declared, would be prohibitive.

The Indian Government has been blamed for allowing such a low proportion as that of forty adult women to every hundred men, to continue for so long unaltered. But it should be remembered to Government's credit, that it, and it alone, has prevented the proportion from falling much lower still. If the employers as a body had had their own way in the past there can be little doubt that they would have brought the rate down long ago to twenty-five per cent. or even less. Even today, the temptation is a pressing one to pass out the emigrant ships with something slightly less than the regulation number of women.

This introduces another important consideration which shows still more clearly how the whole Indian indenture system in its practical working hangs together. With the method invariably adopted hitherto of recruiting individuals, rather than whole families, it has been found exceedingly difficult to obtain in India even as many as forty women for each hundred men, without drawing largely on the prostitute class. Out on the plantations, we have been told, it is this very class which is actually needed in order to make the indenture system work. It is utterly repugnant to us to be obliged to enter into details on such a subject, and we shall do so as sparingly as possible. But it will easily be seen that when the stronger men on an estate have taken to their own possession an equal number of women, the remainder of the adult women find themselves still more unequally matched in number. The disproportion rises as high as one woman to four, or even to five, men. In these circumstances, the remark of one employer can be understood without comment.—When one of us spoke to him about recruiting no more abandoned women, he demurred and answered "Why! The system couldn't go on without them". We heard of one estate where the overseer made the regular practice, in order to keep peace in the 'lines', of allotting so many men to each single woman. This amounted to regulated prostitution.

We had both of us already witnessed in Natal moral evils, in the coolie quarters, connected with this disproportion of men

to women. We had received, also, invaluable help from Mr. Gandhi, who was the first to make clear to us the far-reaching effects of these evils upon the free Indians. But what we have now seen with our own eyes in Fiji, is far worse than anything we had ever seen before. The moral evil in Fiji appears to have gone much deeper.

We cannot forget our first sight of coolie 'lines' in Fiji. The looks on the face of the men and the women alike told one unmistakable tale of vice. The sight of young children in such surroundings was unbearable to us. And, again and again, as we went from one plantation to another, we saw the same unmistakable look. It told us of a moral disease which was eating into the heart and life of the people.

What else could be expected? Indian villagers, who have lived the communal life of their own Indian homes, are first taken away, one from here, and one from there, by the recruiting agents. They are completely separated from all their old ties and associations. Then they are crowded together on board the great emigrant ships, where decency can hardly be preserved, and every temptation is rife. Lastly in Fiji itself, they are crowded again into the coolie 'lines', which are more like stables than human dwellings; and there they are forced by law to remain, away from every restraint of custom or religion, during a period of five years. What else could be expected? But that little children should be born and brought up in this,—

Though we were no novices to conditions such as these, yet what we met with in Fiji was far worse than we had ever anticipated. There seemed to be some new and undefinable factor added,—some strange unaccountable epidemic of vice. We felt that vice was spreading, like a blight, over the Indian population of Fiji. We began to fear that it would spread still further to the indigenous Fijian population; and we found that our fears were already shared by others.

The demand was made quite insistently by the planters that we should explain to them the reason for the suicidal tendency among the indentured coolies in Fiji. The long, never-ending roll of these suicides had shocked the Government; and the planters had felt it deeply also.

We were able to assure the Government on one point. As far as we could see, there was much less actual ill-treatment of indentured coolies than we had come across in Natal. The only

reports that reached us which approached the Natal plantations in this respect, were those that came from Navua.

Furthermore, we were both of us quite clear in our own minds, that the inspection of the plantations was much more carefully carried out by the immigration department in Fiji than in Natal.

Thirdly, much less racial feeling existed in Fiji than we had met in South Africa. There was more humanity towards the Indians. The race question did not come up with any great acuteness.

All these important things would have led us to expect that the lot of Indians in Fiji would be happier, and therefore the temptation to commit suicide would be less marked. But, as we have said, our actual experience led us to believe that the moral evil had gained a far stronger hold in the 'coolie' lines of Fiji than it had done in Natal. And, unfortunately, Government statistics only confirmed this impression.

It may be well before going further to give a very brief summary of the outstanding facts concerning suicide and crime among indentured Indians in Fiji.

In India itself, which is predominantly Hindu by religion, suicide is a very rare occurrence. The Hindu has a deep religious and moral objection to taking life, regarding it as a sin. For this reason, the Indian suicide rate is probably the lowest in the world. Only one in every twenty thousand commits suicide in India, or 50 per million per annum. Among the indentured Indians in Fiji one in every 950 has committed suicide in each year, or over one thousand per million per annum. This is the average taken for the last eight years. To put it in other words, the suicide rate is twenty times as great as that of India. These figures remain the same if only the two recruiting provinces of India are taken.

With regard to the crime of murder, the facts are even more startling. In the United Provinces and Madras there is only one conviction for murder in every 250,000 people each year, or four per million per annum. In Fiji, among the indentured coolies, there has been one conviction for murder each year in every 3,000 persons, or 333 per million per annum. That is to say, the murder rate in Fiji is eighty times as high as that of India. It is noticeable that the greater portion of people murdered are women. On the other hand, almost all the suicides in Fiji are those of men. In India, what few suicides exist are generally those of women.

If we make every possible allowance for minor inaccuracies, these figures for suicide and murder remain very disconcerting. They are not the figures for a single year, but an average for considerable number of years, and it is significant that the last years are the worst.

To take, for instance, the last recorded year, that of 1914 : out of 15,603 indentured coolies in Fiji, eleven committed suicide, seven attempted to commit suicide, ten were convicted of committing 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 court for committing these crimes, together with those who suffered under them, amounted to nearly one hundred persons. This means that one in every 140 of the adult indentured coolies in Fiji, during the year 1914, were involved in violent crime, ending in murder, man-slaughter, suicide, or violent bodily assault.

Sadly enough, it is not possible to obtain a complete record even with such authenticated figures as these. For in spite of the evident desire on the part of Government to give accurate returns, it is practically impossible to do so in the present condition of Fiji. Magistrates are very few in number, and plantations are often far away from any centre. Hospitals, also, belong to the employers, not to Government. It is all to the interest of the planter to hush up serious crime on his estate ; and in recent years, when the indenture system itself has been known by every planter to be in danger, the temptation to hide facts, which might tell against the system, must have been very great indeed. That these statistics are as accurate as they are, must be put down to the credit of the planters as well to Government. But to give one example of the minimising tendency at work, which came under our own observation, a planter told one of us in the course of ordinary talk, the story of an attempted suicide on his estate, and when we asked him if he had informed Government, he said he had not. One actual suicide, also, was reported to us both, when we were in different parts of Fiji, long before any news of it had reached the immigration office. We were ourselves the first to give them the report.

Very often a cutting from a newspaper gives the true situation more clearly to an outsider than statistics. For it adds the

atmosphere of the place, and is not a bare record of figures. The following is taken 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 indentures 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."

It is clear from this cutting, that however anxious the immigration department may be to get at the true facts, their difficulties in Fiji are exceptional. It will be made abundantly clear in this report how scrupulously just and fair this department itself was. Nevertheless allowance will have to be made for the carelessness and neglect on the part of planters to send to the office every case of crime which occurred on their estate.

When we came to examine further the reasons for the almost complete breakdown of moral sanctions in Fiji, which had resulted in such criminal records, we found ourselves more and more bewildered about the causes, though more certain than ever about the facts.

We were wholly unable to agree with one explanation, which was most frequently put before us, namely, that the Indians, recruited for Fiji, were the criminal class of India. We have already expressed our opinion concerning the Indian women. From them, indeed, we did undoubtedly gain an impression that the number of prostitutes recruited must have been large, perhaps in excess of Natal, or elsewhere. It also appeared to us that this number was increasing rather than diminishing. If so, that might itself account for a great deal.

But the men recruited were rather above, than below, the type we saw in Natal. The Hindustanis represented a class of villager whom we knew well in India: and these certainly did not come, in any large proportion, from the lowest stratum of Hindu society. Those whom we saw in the Calcutta depôt were villagers of a good class. The coolies also in the Madras depôt appeared to

be an average type. It is interesting to note how the Fiji newspapers have spoken of the recent shiploads of recruits as 'an exceptionally fine set' or as 'above the average'. Yet it is these very Hindustanis and Madrasis who so quickly go to pieces, and even in their first and second years begin committing suicide and stabbing and murdering their fellows.

We were told again and again by barristers who practised in the law courts, by Government officials, and by merchants, that the Indian had become 'the criminal of Fiji'; that it would be no exaggeration to say that over 90 per cent. of the violent crime in the islands was 'Indian crime'; that there was a real danger that this disease of 'Indian crime' would spread to the aborigines. We found also that the Indians had got the reputation of being 'the greatest gamblers in the colony', and from what we saw in the coolie 'lines', there can be little doubt that this reputation was not unfounded.

But by far the most terrible fact which met us on every side, like a great blight or devastation, was the loss of any idea of the sanctity of marriage and the consequent sexual immorality that was rampant on every side. The evil had spread in wider and wider circles from the coolie lines, till it had infected nearly the whole Indian population. 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 sticks in the mind: it is so painfully accurate of much that we were obliged to see and hear.

We had at first supposed that these corrupt morals of the 'lines' would be thrown off, in a great measure, by a healthy reaction, as soon as the Indian became a free man. In Natal this had been the case, and we had seen with our own eyes fairly healthy family life springing up in the numerous tiny fruit-farms around Durban, where free Indians lived. But we found things far more unsatisfactory in Fiji. There, the morals of the coolie 'lines' had become ingrained in the free population. As one Indian explained the matter to us: "Sahib," he said, "our women have lost all shame: they change their husbands as they change their dress." An abominable trafficking in young girls was prevalent, which the law seemed unable to check. It was a common thing for a father to sell his daughter to one man, allowing the betrothal ceremony to be performed, and then to sell her to another. Divorces were equally common. Women left their husbands for the sake of jewellery and went to live with other men. They seemed to do just what they pleased, and to live just

as they liked. Castes and religions were mixed together in a common jumble. Hindu girls were sold in marriage to Mahomedans and vice versa sweepers' children were sometimes married to Brahmans. If this admixture had been due to enlightened motive of humanity and in accordance with conscience, all might have been well. But it was just the reverse,—a matter of greed and lust. As if to make the evil more deep-seated, Government had done its best to banish Hindu and Mahomedan religious marriage altogether from the land. Indian Christian marriage shared the same fate in the eyes of the law. A Christian minister of religion, Mr. Bavin, who performed the ceremony of marriage for two Indian Christians in Church, was prosecuted for committing an illegal act. The only valid marriage was said to be that drawn up in the office of the immigration department, and this was a mere matter of payment and registration. An Indian had merely to go to the immigration office and register his name and that of his intended wife, and pay five shillings. Then if no objection was lodged, after three weeks he received a certificate from the office declaring that he had been married. There was no ceremony: no solemn declaration: no mutual promise in the presence of witnesses. These immigration department marriages are called by the Indians "marit", and it was always necessary in Fiji to ask a man, or woman, if they had a "marit", for nothing else was legal. In the prosecution referred to above, the insecurity and the degradation to the whole Indian community of this system was exposed in open court. A new marriage ordinance is now in the making, which recognises the religious ceremony of each Indian religion, and gives to it the respect that is due. But the harm that has been done during the last thirty-two years by this neglect of the State authorities to give any sanction at all to Hindu, Mahomedan and Indian Christian religious marriages can hardly be overestimated.

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 "marit" at the immigration office. This "marit" was legal. The Hindu marriage was illegal. There was no redress. When the brothers knew 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 religion. They had done it, they said, to preserve Dharma. They were condemned to be hanged.

The following documents may serve to illustrate the confusion which has been reached in the Indian marriage relations in Fiji:—

(1). Memorandum of agreement for separation.

Made this eighteenth day of April, 1913, between Jammu ex Fultala III and Parbati ex Fazilka IV, husband and wife.

It is hereby agreed as follows, after full understanding and consent :

(a). That in consideration of the sum of £10-0-0 this day paid to Jammu by Parbati, the former relinquishes all his rights over Parbati as wife and gives her permission to go wherever she pleases and live with whomsoever she likes. He will not sue her for damages in any court of law or take any legal action against her.

(b). That Parbati relinquishes all rights over Jammu as her husband and gives him permission to go wherever he pleases and live with whomsoever he likes. She will not sue him for damages in any court of law or take any legal action against him.

| |
|-------------------------|
| Thumb mark of Jammu. |
|-------------------------|

| |
|----------------------|
| Government Stamp. |
|----------------------|

| |
|---------------------------|
| Thumb mark of Parbati. |
|---------------------------|

[These agreements are, in the actual practice of the Islands, equivalent to a divorce; at least they are so regarded by all indentured coolies. They are drawn up by certain barristers-at-law practising in Suva and are signed in their presence. The paraphernalia of the Government stamp and the legal form, in which they are inscribed, make the illiterate Indians believe that they are valid in a court of law. We have been told by lawyers since, that they are not worth the paper on which they are written. Yet the charge of £5 is made to the coolies for them].

(2). A letter to the Agent General of Immigration.

SIR,

There is a man called Assu, ex Fultala I, intending to leave for India. His daughter, Jagwanti, has been married to my son, Nathu, according to the law of this Colony.

I have spent £30-0-0 for this marriage and as I apprehend that the girl's mother, Jamuni, is likely to sell her to someone else than my son, I request you to be so kind as to help me by taking steps to secure an undertaking by Assu that during his absence nothing will happen to defraud me of my lawful rights.

I beg to suggest that he should be made to give me a written acknowledgment of the expense incurred by the said marriage.

(3). Letter threatening legal proceedings.

To Lakshmi ex Fazilka III.

You are my married wife. You have deserted me without any reason or excuse. I hereby notify to you that you must return and co-habit with me within one week of delivery of this notice; otherwise you must return me the jewellery, valued £20-0-0, which you had from me for wear, also the sum of £30-0-0 in cash taken away by you from our home, also our daughter Sunderbasia, aged 7 years, with jewellery valued £10-0-0 which she wears.

(Sd.) Indrua, his mark.

(4). Memorandum of agreement.

Between Idu 36,193 and his wife Rajwantia 36,987 and Lachman ex Saugola V.

That in consideration of the sum of £ 5-0-0 paid this day to Idu by Lachman and of the jewellery returned to Idu by Rajwantia, Idu gives up all his rights over Rajwantia, as his wife, etc., etc.

(5). Charge or complaint.

Fiji to wit.

The charge of Assu in the district of Suva, taken this twenty-seventh day of March in the year of our Lord 1913 before me, who saith that Bhikari, ex Clyde I, now residing with a man called Durgan, did, on or about the 26th day of March instant, steal, or convert, to her own use one *shikri*, valued 10 shillings, one pair of *jhumka* worth 7 shillings, etc. belonging to one Idu.....

(This is one of the very common charges for return of jewellery made by a husband, when his wife leaves him.)

(6). The case of a Sardar.

LETTER NO. I.

To the Agent General of Immigration. 22nd June, 1914.

SIR,

The bearers Lachmania ex Ganges II and Purau ex Ganges I say as follows:—

That Lachmania has been excused from work since her arrival in the Colony. At first she was told to live with the man called Debi Singh, who was given up at the instance of the Sardar in favour of the bearer Purau who paid £2-10-0 as the price of the woman's exemption from work for one year.

The said Sardar now desires the woman to give up Puran, with the intention of keeping the woman for himself.

The woman does not want to give up Puran.....

LETTER NO. 2.

From Immigration Department. 25th June, 1914.

SIR,

I have to state that Puran had previously complained to this department regarding the Sardar's treatment of the woman Lachmania, and his complaint was inquired into, with the result that his allegations against the Sardar were proved to be false.

LETTER NO. 3.

From the Manager. 18th November, 1914.

(Concerning another woman named Jagwanti and the same Sardar.)

I am in receipt of your letter, which seems to have been written by you under the misapprehension that Bhola and Jagwanti were husband and wife at the time the Sardar made overtures to the woman to live with him. Bhola has informed me that these overtures were made with his consent. Since Bhola and Jagwanti are now married, the Sardar will have nothing further to do with the woman.

LETTER NO. 4.

From the same Sardar. 29th March, 1915.

DEAR SIR,

I beg to inform you that Bhola came to me this morning and asked me for the money, but I told him to go to you. I asked Jagwanti to come with me to court for the marriage, but she told me that she will see about it by and by. By this I understand that she wants to live with Madho, after being paid the sum. About the money I have nothing to say. Do, please, as you like. Will you please put this condition more in the agreement between me and Bhola and Jagwanti, that, after having been paid the sum by me, if any body will keep the woman, he will have to pay me £50-0-0.

[We wish to draw no inferences as to the rights and wrongs in this case, but simply to show from it the utterly abandoned morals of the 'lines.' We heard of more than one case in which the Sardar sold the women, under his charge, first to one man and then to another.]

It would be impossible to explain in detail, how all these evils connected with marriage have penetrated the home-life of the free Indian population, as well as the coolie 'lines.' We had opportunities of studying in Suva these strange marriage relations in that centre of free Indians. We also went carefully through files of correspondence, agreements and settlements, by which Indians

were struggling, either to strengthen or else to relax these complicated marriage ties. We examined, besides, a large volume of evidence given in the police courts. We were thus able to see in detail how sexual jealousy had brought about all kinds of misery and crime.

It would be scarcely too much to say that these marriage evils have almost obliterated the ideal of the married life from the memory of Hindus in Fiji. They spoke to us of marriage and of women in a way that would be revolting to Hindus in India. The tragedy of it all was this, that the whole Hindu fabric had gone to wreck on this one rock of marriage, and there were no leaders to bring the people back into the right paths. The best Hindus we met were in despair about it.

One other aspect of this same deterioration may be described. The Hindu woman in the coolie 'lines', having no semblance, even, of a separate home of her own, which she can cherish, and divorced from all her old home ties, has abandoned religion itself. The moral ruin is most pitiful on this side. Though there are beautiful and stately rivers in Fiji, no women are seen making their morning offerings: no temples rise on their banks: there is no household shrine. The outward life, which the Hindu women in the 'lines' lead in Fiji, appears to be without love and without worship,—a sordid round of mean and joyless occupations. The contrast with India is seen in its saddest form during some so-called Hindu religious festival in Fiji. Everything that could be recognised as Hindu has departed, and with this, the religious spirit has departed also. The yearly round of the sacred festivals, which form so much of the brightness of a Hindu woman's life in India, is confined in Fiji to a couple of days, of which the greatest is no Hindu festival at all. The impoverishment of life, which has taken place, can hardly be understood in all its pathos, except by Hindus themselves. One who had recently come out to Fiji from Madras, a man of education, wrote as follows:— "These festivities are meaningless in Fiji, with no object but to partake in sweetmeats and rowdy cries. Indian women are present with no intent to worship, but to a great degree as a spectacle to the white population, who view with an inborn hateful laugh the coolie Indians and their so-called religion. Hindu degradation could not go lower."

Yet, as we went further in our enquiries, we met with hopeful signs of another kind, which showed us that there was still present,

below the surface, the instinct and the memory of better things. We saw many lives of Hindu women, which were true to Hindu traditions, winning reverent respect.

A high caste widow and her little daughter, who had passed through the moral dangers of the coolie 'lines' unharmed, were revered by all the Hindus of the district. When misfortune came upon this widow while we were in Fiji, her Hindu neighbours came to us, offering monetary help up to 4,500 rupees. They wished to purchase for her the small portion of land, which her husband and her father had possessed. A Madrasī Hindu mother, in the north of the main island, had gathered round her, in an out-building, a group of Hindu boys, to teach them their religion, together with a little English.

Among the men, a Swami, loosely attached to the Arya Samaj in India, and now dwelling in Suva, had gained instant respect from the Hindus, and had helped in founding schools, where religion could be taught. On every hand we found a longing for instruction to be given in religion, and this clearly proceeded from a pure desire that the children of Hindu parents in Fiji should not lose all knowledge of their ancestral faith. It was touching to see what emphasis was laid upon religion in their own education schemes.

Two phrases were constantly used in Fiji when thoughtful Indians talked over the whole matter intimately with us. The one implied that all their religion had gone to pieces. The other implied that they had not lost their inner appreciation of their old Hindu life.

The Mahomedans were very slightly represented in the main island of Fiji. We should have seen them in much greater strength, if we had been able to go to the smaller islands; but time would not allow this. In the main island, as far as we could observe, the religious decline had not been so rapid with them as amongst Hindus. They held together more, and even though they did not observe, to any great extent, the stated hours of prayer, yet they were proud of the fact that they were Musalmans, and this gave them a dignity of their own. There were very few leaders among them. They seem capable of getting on by themselves and of keeping some idea of religion. They were equally eager, with the Hindus, to obtain religious education for their children.

The Indian Christians were fewer still in number. Some of them held too much aloof from the main Indian body and were

inclined to lean upon European support. But one feature was outstanding. Their home life was good. Some of our happiest recollections were those of Indian Christian homes.

The Parsis, to our regret, were entirely absent from the island. We could not help remembering Parsi Rustomji, in Durban, and wishing that there might be such a kindly Parsi home as his, in Suva, to give us welcome.

The brightest side of Indian life in Fiji (which in a measure compensated for its sorrows and gave hope for the future) was the love of India itself, which was still kept warm within every heart. There was practically no religious bitterness; Hindus, Mahomedans and Christians lived amicably together side by side, because the one tie of India itself bound them together in one. This love for India kept their lives sweet, even in the midst of so much that was corrupt and diseased.

In so far as it is possible to shorten the passage to India by direct steamer service, and thus give opportunity to the younger generation of Indians to see their motherland, it will be all to the good. For there is no sentiment, at the present time, that is doing more to uphold the self-respect of Indians in Fiji than this affection for India. With many whom we met,—men who have lost for a time all the sanctions of religion,—this sentiment itself has become a religion and a worship. Things can never be hopeless with Indians in Fiji, so long as this remains.

There was another aspect of affairs in Fiji, which corrected our earlier unfavourable impression in an important way, and gave us encouragement and hope. We noticed that, whenever those who had come out of indenture were given opportunities to settle on the land, holding it as their own and leading their own free life upon it, the powers of recuperation very soon began to have their effect. We were more and more impressed with this fact, the longer we stayed in Fiji. It made us feel quite convinced, that if only the fatal mistakes of the present indenture system could be rectified, the Indian immigrants might then recover themselves and become a healthy population. We were equally convinced by what we saw that this life of settlement on the land could never be made really wholesome, if it were connected with the present coolie 'lines'. For the evils of 'lines' extended outwards, and brought degradation to the free Indians who were near at hand. It also made many of the free Indians the mere idlers and hangers-on of the coolie 'lines'.

[It may be well to mention here, in a parenthesis, one of the most marked and painful features of Indian life in Fiji, which immediately attracted our attention. The whole Indian population is divided up into two classes, an inferior and a superior, called "indentured" and "free",—"grimit-wala" and "khalas"—to give them their local names. One does not need to labour the point, that to have people of one race in a small island, some of whom are free and some of whom are the reverse, is to countenance a most injurious class distinction.

Though we found abundant sympathy among the free Indians with their less fortunate countrymen, and though we came across noble instances of self-sacrifice on their behalf, yet it was almost inevitable that such an unnatural division should tell, in time, upon them, and should give to the indentured Indians a sense of degradation, and to the free Indians a sense of pride. It was often noticeable to us, how an Indian would bristle up, if ever we made the mistake of asking him if he was "grimit-wala" when he was really "khalas"; or how, on the other hand, a man would hang his head, if we said to him "Tum khalas ho?" when he had not yet obtained his freedom. There would be shame and dejection expressed in the very shake of his head, as he sadly confessed to us that he was still under indenture. Few things told us more truly than this what was actually going on beneath the surface of people's minds.

Far deeper evils still were connected with this class division, which can only be mentioned very briefly. It brought out too often in the free Indians, not those noble qualities of sympathy and sacrifice which have been referred to, but those meaner qualities of avarice and greed,—the readiness, for the sake of money, to exploit and trade upon the weak and depressed. There is always something very dangerous in the close juxtaposition of a privileged and an unprivileged class, a servile and a free population; and it is not to be wondered at, if Indians, with their morals already corrupted by five years' indenture, should not be able to resist the dangers of their new position when they became free.]

But where the contact with the coolie 'lines' was not especially marked, the healthy life of settlement on the soil soon began to have its effect on Indians, who had finished their indenture. This was especially noticeable in certain out-of-the-way settlements, away from the coast, on the north side of the island.

Nature has wonderful healing powers, and we witnessed them at work. The difficulties concerning the marriage of children were still serious, on account of the complete disproportion of men to women, in Fiji, among free, as well as among indentured, Indians. But as life settled down, and more and more children were born, even these difficulties became successfully surmounted; and a new life of hopefulness began to spring up in these new Indian settlements far away from anywhere.⁶ It was one of the greatest pleasures of our visit to come across some such Indian settlement cleared out of the very jungle. It recalled to our minds many of the best features of village life in India itself.

It was very interesting and instructive to watch the difference between these Indians settled, far away from anywhere, on the land, and those Indians who hung about the outskirts of the coolie 'lines.' Among the free Indians, at the coolie centres, there had been little or no purging out the moral evils of the coolie 'lines.' The bad atmosphere of the 'lines' still clung round about them. But face to face with nature, and close to mother earth, the free Indians, while they tilled their own land and built their own villages, in their own way, recovered a healthier and cleaner moral life. The aspect of joy came back into the womens' faces and into the looks of the children at their play. The impression of servitude and moral degradation was lost, and a new found happiness and pleasure in life had clearly taken its place. In one part of the country we found that a little temple had been built in the middle of such a Hindu village. This showed us that religion itself had begun once more to take its true place in Hindu homes.

A few examples may be given of the state of affairs here generally described :—

1. A small cultivator on the north side of main island had a small holding of his own purchased by promissory notes. He was a sweeper, and did work in a store as well as on his own land. He had been eleven years in Fiji and had received 800 rupees for his last crop. He spoke of further transactions in land to the extent of 1,500 rupees. He was very happy and prosperous, and his wife and daughter seemed equally happy as they were seen by us on the day of the Muharram festival.

2. A village settlement, five miles from Navua, which had originally been formed by a small syndicate of four Indians who were now zamindars. The ground was all free-hold property and the crops looked very flourishing indeed. There had been unfor-

imately some quarrel between the Indians about the land. Though there was outward prosperity, there was clearly inward discontent. Probably the settlement was too near to the large coolie lines to be completely independent, and Navua, as a district, bore an evil reputation.

3. A small settlement of Indians completely isolated and independent, far in the interior of the land. There was an air of quiet peace and happiness about this village which touched us very deeply, after what we had seen for so long in the coolie lines. The men and women spoke with freedom, and the children were evidently happy.

4. The following are typical cases of prosperous growers of sugar-cane among the Indians in the north of the island :—

Lachman has been three years out of indenture and was able to sell his cane last year for Rs. 1,635.

Nathu, who has been five years out of indenture, has grown 531 tons of sugar-cane on twenty-three acres of land. He received for his crop Rs. 7,200. This man sold out his interest in the land and its standing crops for Rs. 13,500.

Ram Singh told us that he had received Rs. 12,000 for his last year's crop. This sum, however, does not present net profit. An encouraging fact in his case was that he was following the example of the large European planters in his cane cultivation by an extensive use of green manure. The small Indian holders, we were told, had not made sufficient use of scientific cultivation, with the inevitable result that their crops are inferior in quality, and the soil is gradually becoming impoverished.

[In 1914 independent Indian growers of cane supplied to the Company's mills at Lautoka, on the north side of the island, a total of 32,328 tons of cane, which realised 2,85,000 rupees, at an average of eleven shillings and eight pence per ton. In 1915 from the same source the estimate was 47,000 tons of cane which would realise 5,40,500 rupees at an average of fifteen shillings and four pence per ton. In this Lautoka district 34 per cent. of the total sugar-cane land is already in Indian hands, and all along the north coast the percentage is ever increasing. In the district of Nadi alone there is a population of 5,000 free Indians and the monthly average applications for leases of land at magistrate's court was fifty. There are thus a large number of free Indians who are now growing sugar-cane, quite independently, on holdings varying from five to three hundred acres in extent. The large Indian cultivators employ numbers of free Indians to carry on the ploughing, manuring, weeding and cutting of the cane.]

5. A settlement of free Indians on the border of a small European plantation. These have recently come out of indenture and settled near their old employer. The planter gave to them, at a very low rate, during the last year of their indenture, a piece of ground for growing cane. He now uses their free labour, at the heavy seasons of the year, paying them full wages. In this way, he has been able to reduce the number of coolies under indenture on his estate. The Indians seemed prosperous and contented. The planter was evidently their friend, and they were some distance away from any large coolie 'lines'.

[The Colonial Sugar Refining Company has for some years past introduced this system of settling indentured Indians on the land, near to their own estates, during the year of their indenture. They pick out carefully those coolies who show capacity for work among the canes. In Lautoka 2,200 acres are thus leased out to 180 Indians under the Company's settlement scheme.]

From all this it will be clear that every year the interests of the Indian free settler will have to be taken into consideration in an increasing measure. For in the long run, if the present rate of progress continues, they will be the chief growers and producers of cane in the islands. Indeed, the time may be not far distant, when the European cane grower will give place to the Indian altogether, the organizing work at the centres alone remaining in the Europeans' hands. If the new offer of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company to place £100,000 at a low rate of interest at the disposal of the Fiji Government for Indians' settlement be accepted and the settlement carried out, this predominance of the Indian cultivator as a grower of sugar-cane for the Company's Mills will be practically assured.

While, on the whole, with many drawbacks and difficulties, the land settlement of Indians has gone forward, the same cannot be said with regard to Indian education. Indeed, it would be hardly an exaggeration to state that the policy of the Government of Fiji with regard to Indian education has been, up till quite recently, one of almost complete neglect. Even with reference to the public school education of European children, Fiji is far behind every other colony in the Empire. With regard to Indian children, in spite of strong warnings from the Indian Government and the Home authorities, the expenditure has hitherto been nil. We have been told further, on reliable authority, that for many years

there was the strongest opposition on the part of the Sugar Companies to any education being given to Indians at all. It was said that such education would tend to take the Indian coolie away from the soil, and thus make him 'spoilt' for labour purposes. If the European sentiment with regard to Indian education has somewhat changed to-day in Fiji, it is due to two chief causes,—first, the brave struggle which the missionaries made against unenlightened opposition; and, secondly, the strong external pressure which has been brought to bear upon the Fiji Government by the Colonial Office in London. We may well believe, also, that the criminal statistics of the Indian population have at last begun to make people think. When we were asked to explain the suicide and crime among Indians in Fiji, compared with other colonies, we used to point to the education statistics. The absence of school-life means the absence also of educated teachers as well as of the school-house. The teacher and his wife are apt to set the standard to other families round them. Their home is often a centre of great good in an illiterate community.

In the Fiji Blue Book for 1914 two pages only are given for education. From the figures it appears that there are only two aided public schools and one Government school in the colony. The rest of the education is left entirely to private enterprise.

Out of a total revenue of £279,844 in 1914 the sum of only £3,312 was devoted to education, or less than 1.2 per cent. of the total revenue; and none of this was for Indian education. In Suva itself, the capital of the Islands, the anomaly occurred not long ago of rates being actually collected from Indian rate-payers for public school purposes, without permission being given to the children of such rate-payers to enter a public school. On an appeal being made, the Indian rate-payers were informed that they would not be required to pay rates any longer. But admission to the public school was persistently refused on racial grounds, and there is still no Government school for Indian children in Suva, though the majority of the inhabitants are Indians. This municipal policy of Suva is unfortunately in keeping with other forms of discrimination against the Indian, which have reduced him to a mere cipher in municipal affairs. Not only has the Indian been refused educational facilities for his children, but at the same time he has been practically disfranchised.

If Fiji is to come into line with the standard set by the other colonies, she ought to be spending at least £10,000 or £12,000

a year on education. At present the Government of Fiji is throwing almost the whole of its responsibility for education on the Missionary Societies.

It is indeed pathetic to see the attempt made by the Indians themselves to supply the educational need which ought to be supplied by Government. On the north side of the main island and elsewhere there are many instances which show how keen is the desire of the free Indian settlers for education.

1. At Nadi, a small school was discovered which was being held in a stable, behind a small store, with about a dozen small boys learning English from a Hindu woman. This woman had learned English at a mission school in the Madras Presidency before coming out to Fiji, under indenture, some 12 years ago.

2. Near Ba there is a small school with about 20 boys on the roll who are taught English by an aged Maulvi. At Ba itself, near one of the few mosques we saw in Fiji, two or three boys are daily taught from the Qurān.

3. At the same centre, Ba, the Indians themselves (both Hindu and Musalman) subscribed and built a school-house a year ago. This unfortunately has been empty ever since, for want of a suitable teacher, although the Indians are willing to contribute liberally towards the support of a qualified man.

4. At another Indian settlement in the interior of the island, on the banks of the Rewa river, a similar school-house has been built by voluntary contributions. But this, too, is almost useless for want of a suitable teacher.

5. We were told of an attempt to start a school in a country district in the south of the main island. After a short time, however, the funds gave out and the school was closed. The head teacher was then paid by the Mission and the school was re-opened by them.

6. An enthusiastic effort was made in Suva to found a school in which Hindus and Mahomedans should be taught together. A two-storied building was given for the purpose by a leading Musalman, on the understanding that the upper storey should be used for a mosque. We attended many discussions with regard to this school. The opinion we formed was, that though there were good intentions in abundance, yet there was very little practical leadership.

The Fiji Government is at last beginning to awake to its responsibility for educating the increasing Indian population; for it sees more clearly than before that an unenlightened people is a danger to the well-being of the Colony. But so far it has been unable to secure properly qualified men on account of the low salaries offered. Certainly there could be no finer opportunity

for young men of education and ideals who are anxious to serve their fellow-countrymen, than to go out in educational service to Fiji. For, there, they would have the chance of helping to shape a new country's development which may eventually become an Indian colony. Not only Government, but also the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, has begun to take up the matter with some feeble interest. The Company has just offered £300 and a site to each of the missionary institutions in order to relieve itself of the responsibility of running schools of its own. The Vancouver Mill at Navua also gives a small contribution to the mission school there.

But the subject of education needs to be taken up much more thoroughly and seriously if the need is adequately to be met. For the whole future of Fiji depends largely upon such a system of education being built up, amongst the Indian population, as will render it a useful and stable element in the life of the colony.

When we were asked by the Fiji authorities what system and method of education would be best suited for Indian needs, we expressed very strongly the opinion that it would be a mistake for Government to place everything in the hands of the missionaries, and merely give grants-in-aid to them. We had abundant opportunities of reaching the real opinion of the Indian community in Fiji, and we were certain that such a policy would be looked upon as a very serious infringement of the principle of religious neutrality. The Indians in Fiji are for the most part quite illiterate. It is not to be expected that they will be able to organise and collect funds for their own schools on the scale of the European missionaries. For a very long time to come, therefore, it would not be possible for them to meet the active missionary propaganda on equal terms of activity. If the Fiji Government were simply to stand aside and distribute grants-in-aid, the missionary societies would be certain to step in and reap all the financial benefits. This would give the whole Indian education of the islands a predominantly Christian colour, even though the Indian parents might wish their children to be educated in their own Hindu and Musalman religious precepts.

At the same time, we found no wish, on the part of Indians, to exclude the missionaries from education altogether, or to ask for purely secular schools. They had a great and natural respect for the work that the missionaries had done. They recognised that the missionaries had been their friends and had made known their

grievances at a time when they themselves were mute and helpless. The mission schools, also, had struggled on without any help from Government, at a critical period when European sentiment in the colony was set against Indian education altogether. The Indian community in Fiji, however ignorant and illiterate, was generous and liberal in its appreciation of those who had helped in the hour of need. There were no two English names more frequently on their lips than those of Miss Dudley and Mr. Burton. They spoke of these two friends and helpers with an affection amounting to reverence. It was the work of missionaries like these, struggling against overwhelming odds, that had saved the whole Indian community from falling to the lowest level of ignorance and vice.

We can both of us recall vividly the scene we saw one afternoon in a Christian orphan home in Fiji, the only Indian orphanage in the islands. The house was beautifully situated on a slightly rising ground near the banks of the broad Rewa river opposite some crowded coolie 'lines.' We had just come from the indentured coolie quarters, and had seen the condition of the little children, living in the midst of sights and sounds which innocent children ought never to see and hear. Then, in this home across the river, we watched a group of tiny children at their play. One baby was pointed out to us, whose mother had been murdered in a quarrel in the 'lines', and whose putative father had been hanged for the murder. There were other children in the home who had a somewhat similar history. We could not help contrasting the happiness and innocence of these little ones with the evil and impurity of their former surroundings, and we were only too thankful for this haven of pure childhood, which had been offered to them for shelter.

While, therefore, the Indian community gave all due respect to the missionaries for what they had done and were doing, they were convinced that it would be harmful to allow the whole Indian education of the island to come into missionary hands. They wished rather to have Government schools side by side with missionary schools.

Our own decided opinion was in favour of this policy also. Apart from the question of religious neutrality, which missionary institutions by their very character cannot observe, mission schools, if left to themselves, have a tendency to become educationally inefficient. False economies are often made, and unqualified teachers, taken from the ranks of catechists, are put in charge. On

the other hand, Government schools, if left to themselves, have a tendency to become educationally extravagant. Useless expense is not seldom incurred according to the whim of some new director, or inspector. But when the two systems exist side by side—the Government and the missionary,—they are able to counteract one another. The weakness of the one system is the strength of the other. Liberty of conscience is also in a far greater measure preserved by such a combination.

If such a combined system were adopted in Fiji, two further things would be necessary. There should be the right of entry into every school for accredited ministers of religion. There should, also, be especially liberal grants allowed to any educational venture, Hindu, Musalman or Christian, that proceeded direct from the Indian community itself and was financed by Indian money.

We have been obliged to go somewhat further in offering advice on this subject of Indian education than might possibly be regarded as fitting in a report of this kind. Our reason for doing so has been that 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 more unanimously anxious, and on which they laid greater emphasis. They were 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, in the Pacific, of the beneficent results of liberal education in the Philippines, during recent years, we felt that there was much to be said for their point of view.

It seemed more and more clear to us, the longer we stayed in the island, 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 large and wide enough to cover the whole of the islands. We hoped also that it might be possible to offer any initial aid that might be required. We have 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.

Medical aid to the Indian community has not shared the same fate as that of education. Owing to the express regulations, sanctioned by the Government of India and enforced throughout the colony, the medical treatment of the Indian indentured population has been, on the whole, satisfactorily undertaken. The present head of the Government medical department for the island, Dr. Lynch, has taken the utmost pains to carry out the Government regulations, not only in the letter, but in the spirit in which they were drawn up. The result has been a low death-rate among indentured Indians. One unsatisfactory feature remains,—the very high death-rate among infants. But this will never be put right, so long as the mother is forced by the very law of indenture to neglect her own children.

We were impressed by the ability, not only of the head of the department, but also of the staff which he had under him; through it appeared to us to be too small for such a highly important work. The hospital arrangements were also satisfactory. We were not ourselves able, on account of the shortness of our visit, to see any of the outlying islands where medical aid must be much more difficult to provide adequately. But what we did see was good. We heard also from the Indians themselves about the truly noble work that was being done among the lepers on the Leper island.

The real medical difficulties among Indians (which Dr. Lynch was himself the first to point out to us) are to be found mainly with the free population. These, both in India itself and in the coolies' lines, have been used to receiving practically free medical assistance in times of sickness, and they cannot reconcile themselves to beginning, late in life, to provide and pay for their own medical treatment. They are very ignorant indeed, and not seldom very poor (though some are prosperous) and it is regarded by them as a very great hardship when they are compelled to pay heavy medical fees.

To give examples, when free Indians ask for admission into the hospitals, which are built for the indentured population, they have to pay two shillings a day, unless they can prove that they are destitute. To prove this, they have to obtain special order from the magistrate or immigration officer. The delay and hindrances in getting this, during times of sickness, are often so great that, in order to obtain immediate medical aid, money is borrowed somehow, and the high fees of an English doctor

are paid. Then, afterwards, the family of the Indian, who has been ill, is weighed down by a heavy burden of debt. We were told by one man that his wife's confinement had cost him over Rs. 150 in medical fees, and that he had been in debt ever since. Not seldom, in such cases, hopelessly unskilled treatment is called in and the poor woman suffers agonies and even death. It should be remembered that there is not a single qualified Indian doctor in the whole of Fiji. There is no possibility of treatment, also, by the Ayurvedic or Yunani systems.

An English medical officer told us the instance of a whole Indian family, which was ordered into the hospital, as a precaution against the spread of typhoid. Each member of the family had to pay two shillings a day, for as long a period as they were detained. The doctor, who told us this, regarded this charge as a great hardship and tried to get it removed.

In Suva there is an excellent hospital which admits free Indians without any such heavy charges. It was a great pleasure to us to visit this and to find how friendly the Fijians and Indians had become towards one another under its common roof. In earlier days, for the sake of peace and quietness, they had to be kept in different wards, but now they were quite happy even when one ward overflowed into another and both races were mixed together.

We consulted with Doctor Lynch, at great length, concerning the possibility of introducing Indian doctors into the islands, at suitable rates to pay, who might be able to come in close touch with the whole Indian population. Doctor Lynch was himself entirely in favour of such an introduction. We also discussed with him the question of a complete state system of free medical and sanitary aid for all Indians alike, similar to that which we were suggesting to the Fiji Government with regard to education. In our own minds, one of the great additional advantages of two such schemes would be that these would provide the Indians in the colony with a respected class of their own fellow countrymen, whom they might look up to as their natural leaders.

If a considerable number of such qualified doctors were introduced from India, in addition to qualified teachers engaged in education of the young, then in a perfectly natural manner the illiterate and depressed Indian population would obtain that very leadership which it now so sadly requires. As such men, by their very profession, would have a good standing in the colony, they would give the Indian community a weight and dignity which is

wholly lacking at present. They would restore to the Indians themselves, not only health and knowledge, but also self-respect.

The emphasis which we have laid on the need of building up, entirely anew, from the very beginning, what we have called the 'leadership' of the Indian community in Fiji, may appear strange to those who have not witnessed with their own eyes the present condition of Indians in the islands. To us, as we saw things on the spot, this one question of 'leadership' seemed to be more important, in dealing with the future, than any other. Assuming that the present fatal disproportion of the sexes will be altered and the indenture system abolished, there is one thing further that will be required, namely, the recovery of self-respect. The free Indian population has to be built up anew into a self-respecting community,—a community in which such vices as now are rampant, be condemned in no uncertain way by public opinion. But such public opinion can only be formed by leaders; and at present no leaders exist.

If the conception of attempting to plan out a new leadership be regarded as artificial, and it is argued that leaders, like poets, are born and not made, then the answer may be given that educational and medical reforms are, for their own sake, sorely needed in Fiji. They are not artificial wants at all. Therefore, all that is asked for, or required, is that the men who are sent out to carry through these reforms should be worthy men, carefully and wisely chosen. The rest will follow of itself. Some, at least, among such men will have the gift of leadership, and what is more important still, the whole of them together will fill a gap in what is now an entirely artificial and unnatural social structure, namely, an Indian community without any responsible leaders.

As in the matter of education, so in the case of medical aid we have reason to believe that the Fijian Government would welcome most warmly a representative from India who fully understood the needs of the Indian people and could help and advise Dr. Lynch himself in carrying out his far-reaching and progressive ideas.

We discussed with the medical authorities one further question of great importance. This was the restoration of the burning *ghat* for the last rites of the Hindus. We found to our great surprise that the sanitary, religious custom of burning the dead, along with all its ceremonial, had been entirely abandoned by all Hindus,—even by Brahmans. The insanitary custom of burying

the dead, often in shallow ground only slightly below the surface, had been substituted for it. As far as we could see there was no religion and scarcely any decency in this function. Broad rivers and open sea shores abound in Fiji on every side, and it would be quite easy to restore the ancient Hindu custom of cremation at the water's edge, if only the desire for it was still present among the people. But religion has ceased to be a daily reality among Hindus in Fiji. Things have worked themselves out in a vicious circle. The loss of outward observance has led to a decay of the inner religious spirit, while the decay of the inner religious spirit has now almost obliterated the desire for the restoration of ceremonial rite and worship. And, as we have pointed out, the abandonment of religion has led to an abandonment of morals. Whatever may help to bring back religion will help to bring back morals also.

It is a relief to turn from this chequered picture of light and shade to describe what we expect for the future.

When the present indenture system has been abolished and the present recruiting system stopped, we have every hope that a rapid recovery of the morals of the Indian population will ensue. With the improvement in morals, other changes will follow in their turn.

We wish to state, in conclusion, the reasons which we have for this hope.

First, our whole experience in Fiji has taught us to place a great faith in the powers of nature and of mother earth to bring back a wholesome moral life to those Indians who settle on the land. Again and again, the evidence of this fact cheered us in Fiji, and it is one of the most striking pieces of evidence which we have brought back with us. For countless generations in India the villager has lived close to the soil and he has gained certain moral qualities thereby. He has lost these, for the moment, by the unnatural life in the coolie 'lines' of Fiji. But he has not lost them altogether. They are far too deep-seated for that. They may be very rapidly recovered. And when they are recovered, we could hardly imagine any country in the world which could give them more scope than Fiji.

It was wonderful to notice how nature, with all its beauty, appealed still to the Indian coolies, even in the midst of their squalid surroundings. They often used to speak to us about it. "Sahib", one woman said to us, "this place is more beautiful than

India. But man is much worse here." This, indeed, was a commonly expressed opinion. We heard it on all sides.

Among the Indians living in the towns, squalour still prevailed. Even on the outskirts of towns the aspect of free Indian settlements was not pleasing. But far away in the country, the whole character of life was quite different. Both in Fiji, and in Natal, we found that a love of nature and a delight in the soil are ingrained in the Indian villager. The moment conditions are favourable, the flower of this love blossoms and healthier moral conditions follow.

The land of Fiji is still virgin soil over vast areas. Only a fringe of the coast and of the river valleys has been touched by cultivation. The climate is very healthy indeed. It was a pleasure to see the chubby little Indian children in the free Indian settlements, so different from those we knew in malaria-stricken Bengal and in the up-country districts of India. The crops of rice and maize are good where they have been sown, and there is no over-crowded population.

Not only is there a natural aptitude in the Indian settler to build up a healthy family life on the land, when the artificial hindrances are removed, but, in the matter of land settlement, the Government is now fully awake to its own responsibilities. The Sugar Companies, also, have seen the great advantage to themselves of a free resident population occupying the soil in the neighbourhood of their cane-crushing mills. Hitherto there have been great difficulties and hardships owing to the leases being held by the Fijian communal tribes. A lease could only be entered into with the whole tribe. But Government, while observing strictly the rights of the Fijians, is now at last acting for them on a great scale in the matter of leases. Thus the Indian villager, in future, will be able to obtain his land direct from Government, a method of ownership which he has been used to in India itself. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company has placed fifteen lakhs at the disposal of Government for Indian settlement alone,—the rate of interest charged being only four per cent. They would be prepared to offer still greater amounts of money to Government if this first adventure turns out to be a success. The Company's capital, invested in the islands, already amounts to five crores, so that they are able to do things on a large scale. They have now found out, by practical experience, the great value of the Indian settler as a cultivator of the soil and are anxious to retain him. Therefore, from

a strictly business point of view, it is certain that they will offer of him every inducement to become an independent farmer sending his sugarcane to their mills.

Our second cause of hopefulness is the character of the administration in Fiji. There has been very much indeed in the past which has been mistaken and even foolish. The continuance of the old marriage regulations for over thirty years is a case in point. There has been a strange negligence in getting expert advice from India, which has frequently led to disaster. The difficulty of the problem of Indian immigration was hardly realised, and things were allowed to go on in an haphazard way. All this, and more, might be said with regard to the past.

But we found today in Fiji, a just and enlightened Government, sincerely anxious to do its duty by the Indians. We discovered, on our arrival, that they had already taken in hand in a liberal and broad-minded spirit, some of the very reforms which our own experience in Natal had made us anticipate to be necessary in Fiji. The question of land settlement was one of these. The complete revision of the Marriage Law was another. The practical abolition of all penal clauses from the present Law of Indenture was a third. Many other questions of great interest to the Indian population had been carefully considered. There were two separate committees in session dealing with these matters while we were in the islands.

We would wish, at this point, to express our sense of the very great benefit which has come to the Indian community in Fiji owing to the visit of the Government of India's Commission to the islands more than two years ago. It will be seen by those who have read the Commission Report that the conclusions arrived at by the two Commissioners did not go so far as our own. Nevertheless, there were facts mentioned about excessive prosecutions, frequent suicides and sexual immorality, which were serious enough to make the thoughtful reader pause. And so far as the Commissioners had been able to reach the facts, they had attempted fairly to face them. They suggested also important improvements.

From the time of the Commission onwards, all these recent changes have taken place, and all these new schemes have been carried forward, especially those with regard to land settlement and marriage,—the two subjects which appeared to us of vital importance for Indians in Fiji. There have been valiant attempts, also, to bolster up the indenture system itself, in order to make it

look respectable. Fines are to take the place of imprisonment, commutation of indenture is to be allowed, schools are to be built, coolie 'lines' are to be pulled down. The activity has been great since the Government of India's Commission came. Though we cannot but regard all these things as palliatives, while indenture is still in force, there will be much that can be utilised for further progress when indenture is abolished.

Along with legislation, both immediate and prospective, we found that administration had gone forward also. We had a continually increasing experience, as soon as we were able to make a comparison with the past, that justice towards the Indian, both on the estates and in the courts of law, was much more impartially administered than it had been in days gone by. The old scandals of administration had almost disappeared.

The following examples may serve to illustrate some of the general statements which have been made in the preceding paragraphs:—

1. We were much struck by the genuine kindly feelings towards those Indians who had taken up domestic service with Europeans. We found by chance an Indian lad in Suva Hospital, suffering from consumption. He told us with touching affection how the 'Mem Sahib' had sent him down extra diet of cream every day and how the Sahib had been down to visit him. When we asked the Sahib's name, we found him to be a leading member of His Majesty's Government.

2. We were deeply interested, in the north of the island, to see the earnest endeavour made by the manager of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company to help forward in every way those capable and industrious Indians who wished to settle on the land. He had evidently bestowed great pains and forethought over this matter, and, as figures quoted elsewhere will show, he had met with considerable success.

3. We found an extremely well-conducted Indian Police Force in Suva. These Indians, who were Sikhs, were paid a good monthly wage and expressed themselves, on the whole, contented with their position. They had come out under an agreement, but there was nothing about it which was servile. Their passage out was quite different from that of ordinary coolies. One of them told us he had travelled second class. They were treated well by their superior officers, who spoke highly of their men.

But the most striking thing about them was that they did not take bribes. We found out from all classes of Indians that there was practically no bribery among the Indian Police in Fiji. We asked very frequently the question, "Do the Police take bribes?" and the answer invariably was "No, Sahib". We felt, at once, that this was a very remarkable

fact, and we determined to enquire into it thoroughly. The more we did so, the more clearly we discovered that it was chiefly a question of self-respect,—that, and a decent living wage. With these Indian Police, self-respect had been preserved. They could live in a respectable manner, and they were treated with respect by their officers. With the Indian labourers under indenture almost every particle of self-respect seemed to have vanished.

One of the Sikh policemen put the same thing very tersely to us, from another point of view,—“Sahib”, he said, “these junglis (Fijians) respect us, but they do not respect our brothers (the indentured Indians.)”

Some of these policemen had come from Shanghai and Hongkong. They told us that the Fiji Police service was the best.

In corroboration of this estimate of the Fiji Indian police, we met an indentured labourer from Fiji, soon after our return to India, whose first complaint to us in India was that the police in his district took bribes and committed ‘*sulm*’, but they had nothing like that in Fiji.

4. Considerable misunderstanding has arisen in India owing to one-sided reports about the municipal vote in Suva. The vote has certainly been taken away. When we were in the capital, we condemned openly in no measured terms the injustice which the municipality has done in practically disfranchising the Indian citizens. But the fact remains, that up to last year, the franchise was so wide open to all races that the Indians had the predominant vote in the elections, though ninety-five per cent. of them could not speak English, and a large proportion of the remainder could not read or write in any language at all, and had to give their thumb-marks in order to register their vote. There can be no question that the election of 1914 became a farce, owing to the illiterate Indian voters registering all their votes for one particular candidate, and returning him at the head of the poll in a most unintelligent manner. What we protested against, therefore, was not the exclusion of illiterate, but the exclusion of literate voters, whose language was Hindustani, not English. That appeared to us quite unfair, and we had many promises from leading European citizens that this wrong should be righted as speedily as possible. At the same time, in spite of what had happened last year, when we went into all the facts, what struck us most was the extremely liberal character of municipal franchise in Fiji before this action took place. We felt certain that a country, which had been so very wide in its franchise once, would be liberal again, and that what had happened was only a temporary set-back, not a permanent disfranchisement. There are always tides of action and reaction in politics. The events of last year represented the furthest reaction.

We would mention in this connexion that we had many talks with the Acting Governor and the Colonial Secretary concerning the appointment of an Indian representative to the Legislative Council, in the same way that a Fijian representative had been appointed. This would already

have been done, had it not been for the servile condition of the Indians under indenture and the very little chance which they have of obtaining education and thus qualifying themselves for such a responsible post. If there had been a body of Indians in the islands from the first, of higher education and position, we feel certain that the Indian community would have been represented long ago. There was practically nothing of what might be called a 'racial' attitude on the part of the Europeans in this matter. Those with whom we talked were very keenly in its favour.

[One of the greatest differences of all between what we found in South Africa and what we found in Fiji was this:—In South Africa the Indian community had leaders. In Fiji they had none. This has been a serious drawback to Fiji.]

5. We came across very little marked racial prejudice in the island. The population is much too cosmopolitan to allow of such a thing. It is usually when only two different races are face to face with one another in large numbers that the strongest race prejudice arises. When there are many races, the prejudice is likely to be less. In Fiji, this 'mingling of all races' is bound to increase very rapidly, as it had done in Honolulu and Samoa, and it is sure to bring with it the 'cosmopolitan' rather than the 'racial' spirit. Japanese, Chinese and Samoans are coming into Fiji in considerable numbers as traders and market-gardeners. There appears very little chance indeed of any very large increase of the Australian population. We were told that Fiji would never become a 'white man's country.'

One of our surprises, in the course of our travels, was to find that the Australian himself had not got any very strong race prejudice. We had misunderstood him. His 'White Australia' policy is almost entirely economic, and even that is breaking down. On board ship we were struck by the 'hail-fellow-well-met' attitude of the Australians generally towards some Indian passengers. There is extraordinarily little class distinction in Australia. A man is valued at what he is worth—whether he is a duke, or a bricklayer.

There is little danger, therefore, that strong racial feeling will develop in Fiji from the Australian side, and if only the Indian were raised out of his present degradation, there would be no danger at all. It was interesting to see the way in which the young Australian police officers respected the Indian policemen. One of these told us that they themselves were quite ready to propose Indian commissions.

The New Zealander is, if anything, still more free from race prejudice than the Australian. Indeed, in all the world, we doubt if there is any country in which race prejudice has been conquered more completely than in New Zealand. The Maories there have every political privilege. They are accepted as volunteers. They send their children to the public schools. They intermarry without any injurious marriage bar.

We found some ordinary Indian labourers at Tamaranui who were getting ten shillings a day for unskilled labour,—the full Trades Union wage. They had votes, and like the Maories, could send their own children to the public schools.

These facts with regard to our travels have been given, because the European population of Fiji come almost entirely from New Zealand and Australia. There will probably never arise a situation equivalent to that in the Southern States of America, or in South Africa. The Indian will be judged by his character, not by anything else. It is all the more necessary, therefore, that those Indians, who go out to Fiji, should go out under decent conditions for character building. And we could imagine no personal and monetary aid more valuable than that given in spreading education among the neglected Indian population in Fiji.

6. We were able to watch the administration of justice at more than one centre. We found that there was a great amount of ignorance of Indian habits and Indian vernaculars, but we found also a very true independence from outside influence among the magistrates in giving their decisions. The Chief Justice of the islands has evidently done his best to increase the efficiency of the courts and to punish malpractices. Where we felt a real weakness existing was with regard to some barristers who made their money out of Indian law-suits and the drawing up of quasi-legal agreements. Here, unquestionably, greater strictness would be wholly beneficial. The ignorant, illiterate coolie needs protection against practices which the lawyer's profession itself should be the first to discountenance.

To show the desire for justice,—in the case of a coolie at Navua, who had complained of ill-treatment while we were there, the Immigration Department took up the case for coolie and the Acting Governor sent down the Attorney-General to act on his behalf. As far as we were able to judge, every step had been taken in order to ensure justice. The case ended in the coolie's complaint being found true and the offender being punished.

7. We were much struck by the perfect freedom allowed to us by a European gentleman (at whose house we were staying) to bring Indians—often from the ordinary coolie class,—into his house in order to hear their long stories. He would come up himself and join with us in talk, as far as his knowledge of the vernacular allowed. It would have been impossible for Indian coolies to have been treated more courteously and freely; and the trouble caused to him by such a daily stream of visitors, from morning till night, was by no means inconsiderable. Yet he put up with it all with the utmost consideration. The Indians, who came, felt his kindness as much as ourselves.

8. We went very carefully into the case of a European overseer who had been found guilty of committing offences with the women in the coolie 'lines'. The man was dismissed, and an undertaking given to

Government that he should never be allowed to be in charge of coolie 'lines' again. We were told on high authority that this was always done, wherever a case was clearly proved, and that this offence has grown far less frequent in the colony. We felt, however, that with the state of morals among the Indian women which clearly existed (through no fault of their own, but because of the indenture system) it was altogether wrong to employ unmarried European overseers and unmarried Indian sardars. The temptation of such a position was too great. We placed before the immigration department and before the acting Governor a strong expression of our opinion on the matter, and we believe that already steps have been taken so that only overseers living with their own wives, and sardars who are married men, shall in future be set over the 'lines'.

9. One excellent law is in force throughout the whole colony, which prevents any intoxicating liquor being sold to Indians, under any circumstance whatever, without a written doctor's order. There was considerable grumbling among some of the Indians in Suva concerning this law, because it did not apply to Europeans also. But, however that may be, there can be no question whatever that the law has had a very beneficial effect. It is not a law on paper. It is strictly enforced. While we were in the islands, the case occurred of an English publican selling "sly grog" to an Indian, and he was fined seven hundred and fifty rupees, or six months' imprisonment. We never saw a single Indian who was intoxicated during the whole time we were in Fiji. This, again, is strikingly different from what we saw in South Africa. Gambling, however, is terribly prevalent in Fiji and there seems little effort made to prevent it. The street called "The Street of all Nations" in Suva (where Chinese, Japanese, Samoans, Fijians, Indians and half-castes live all mixed up together) is notorious for its gambling and vice. But there were very few signs of drink.

These are examples which might be multiplied a hundred times over from our own experience. They gave us a strong general impression, that, whatever might have been the case in the past, the Fiji Government was now wide awake to its responsibilities, and would only be too anxious to do anything that was possible to remedy the moral evils which prevailed among the Indian population. And what was equally important, there appeared to be no strongly marked racial prejudice which would stand in the way of ultimate Indian citizenship. We are confident that the Indians of the colony will win, in good time, their full civic rights, just as the Fijians are now well on the way to win theirs. What is most needed is a body of responsible and educated Indians, of good position in the Islands, who will be able to represent their community when fuller rights of citizenship are given.

A third consideration, which makes for greater hopefulness, is the changed outlook towards India which has been spreading in recent years over the whole of the South Pacific, and has given rise to kindlier feelings and more intelligent views.

This change began, more than three years ago, when 'Gitanjali' was first published. We were often told in Australia how unique was the appeal which that one small volume made to thoughtful Australian men and women. It went direct to the heart and won its way by its own inner beauty. Amid the rush and noise of modern life, in a vast and undeveloped country, it brought a message of peace. Wherever we went, we came in contact with those who were looking out upon the world with different eyes, and upon India with newer, kindlier sentiments, since they had read 'Gitanjali'. Its influence has been like a seed growing secretly. For a time it may pass almost unnoticed. But when the seed is full grown, it will bring forth much fruit.

The war had carried forward this change of outlook towards India in quite a different direction. It had touched the imagination of the masses, and had given them a new conception of the bravery of the Indian soldiers. The old attitude of the common people, which prevailed before the war, was one of blank ignorance of India, not unmingled with contempt. The new attitude is one of almost unmingled admiration.

Gallipoli had touched the masses. There could be no doubt about that. Stories of the bravery of the Gurkhas were on everybody's lips. The shops had silver *kukris*, made up into brooches, and Australian girls were wearing them. The man in the street had 'discovered' India. He had found out that India was not a land of down-trodden coolies, but a land of bravery and romance. What was more,—India was suddenly found to be the next-door neighbour to Australia itself.

It is quite possible that much of this new attitude of the masses will be a war sensation only, which may die down again when the war is over. But two things appeared to us to be tending towards closeness of a more permanent kind. First, the educated classes in Australia have now been deeply moved towards India in intellect and thought, and this movement is not likely to die down. Secondly, the geographical closeness of Australia to India has been more clearly understood by all. The modern appliances of steam and electricity are making this nearness a patent and obvious fact. When the trans-continental railway is

completed, in a year's time, Melbourne and Sydney will only be twelve days distant from Colombo. As the barriers of land and sea are thus broken down, the barriers of ignorance and prejudice will be overpassed also.

Indeed, so far had things gone from the Australian side, that, when we were travelling through the country listening to opinions openly expressed on all sides, we seemed to find in the air a new sentiment towards India in the very making. At public meetings in Melbourne and Sydney, when we openly and plainly condemned the 'White Australian Policy', we were heartily cheered. People rose up in their places and declared before the whole audience, that educated Australians, one and all, were opposed to the disrespect shown to educated Indians in their statutes, and that the country would soon be with them in demanding a revision of their ordinance.

With regard to the abolition of the indenture system of Indian labour in Fiji there was a strong desire for this everywhere expressed. Practically all whom we met, in Australia and New Zealand, wished that indenture should be abolished without any further delay. Their great wonder was that India had not taken up the matter long before.

"Some years ago", they said, "we were in the same position with regard to our Kanaka labour in North Queensland. The revelations made by the Royal Commission on that indentured labour shocked the whole of Australia. We found that 'blackbirding' (*i. e.* kidnapping) had become a traffic, and that immorality and suicide, were rife. We had no peace, till we had abolished the whole evil."

The figures which we mentioned about Indian suicides in Fiji did not come as a surprise to them. They had had even worse facts than these in North Queensland.

We felt that this new and friendly attitude of Australia towards India was of great importance to the Indians in Fiji. Australian influence is already strong in the colony, because most of the European settlers come from Australia. Indeed, it is not at all unlikely that the islands may pass under the direct administration of Australia and New Zealand at the end of the war. This was openly talked of in Australia as one of the probable 'war changes'. However that may be, the growth of respect for India in the South Pacific is bound to leave its mark upon the Indians

settled in the islands. A more kindly feeling and a greater willingness to help them is certain to ensue. It rests with India, the motherland of these her distant children, to give them such good conditions that they may worthily represent her in the Pacific.

A fourth consideration, which gives hope, is the present attitude of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company. As the amount of their capital invested in the islands is over five crores of rupees, their relation to Indian settlers cannot fail to be of very great importance.

One of the most difficult parts of our enquiry was to get at the real soul of this company,—if a money-making business can ever be said to possess a soul. The composite personality of the company seemed to be something like the character of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde in Robert Louis Stevenson's novel.

On the one side, the company appeared to be a hard business concern, exacting the last farthing of profit, grinding down the faces of the poor with less than a living wage, refusing to allow compensation for labourers who had been maimed for life in the performance of their duty, while the shareholders were so large that they had to be carefully concealed. So much for the harsher side. Then, on the other hand, we found the same company in the character of a benevolent philanthropist, offering huge sums of money for Indian settlement on the land, preparing schemes for colonization and carrying them out in practice, appearing before the Indian Government authorities with pamphlets to prove that the coolie on the estates was cared for like a favoured child of fortune,—and actually believing its own statements.

Just as in the novel, so with the company, the extraordinary thing was this, that not one, but both characters were true. When, therefore, we write of the present attitude of the company as hopeful, we mean that the benevolent gentleman in the concern is apparently overcoming for the time being the harsher element. Certainly in the past two years, since the Government of India's Commission, this philanthropic side has been more than usually in evidence. One thing is certain. The help that the Napoleonic finance and business capacity of the company may give to the solution of the Indian problem in Fiji may be very great indeed.

The last and greatest cause of hope lies in the changed attitude of educated Indians themselves towards the whole question of Indian emigration. The people of India will clearly never allow such things to happen again, as have been allowed to pass

unnoticed before. If today a regulation were proposed by the Government of India, that forty women should emigrate with every hundred men, it will be at once put out of court as unthinkable. The simple fact, by itself, may serve to mark the change which has taken place.

In the future, every act of the colonies, which employ Indian labour, will be scrutinised with eyes that nothing will escape. We are certain that the public conscience will never rest content till it has swept away the last of the abuses, which have flourished like rank weeds wherever indentured labour has gone. We have now witnessed with our own eyes, in two different parts of the world, what this awakened public conscience can accomplish. We base on this, therefore, more than on any other single cause, our strongest hopes for the future.

We would not wish to end this Report without paying one more tribute of respect to the Indian coolies themselves, whom we have now seen working under indenture, both in South Africa and in Fiji.

Owing to the conditions under which they have been obliged to live, we found them, men and women alike, in a degraded state. We have had to speak quite plainly and openly about that degradation. But we came away with a feeling, not so much of pity as of respect. Their patience and fortitude and simplicity won our continual regard. Through all the evil and misery of their fate, they had 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 the pure ideal of womanhood still held its ground. The one action which seemed to us most typical of this has already been mentioned. Yet it will bear repeating, because it sums up the whole picture which we would wish to leave impressed on the mind.

It was the scene of that group of Indian coolies who had come 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 of money asked for, if only the wish of the widow might be granted, and she might not be compelled to leave the piece of ground where her husband had lived and died.

We left Shantiniketan, Bolpur, on September 15, 1915, in order to go out to Fiji. The memory and inspiration of the Ashram, and of those who dwelt there, was with us through all our long journey. The freedom of its life made us the more sensitive to the misery which we witnessed in the coolie 'lines'. We remembered also constantly the villagers of India whom we had left behind. These memories gave colour to our thoughts and their influence will be felt in all that we have written. Now, when we return to India, after the voyage is ended, and see its fields and its villages once more, the longing rises that the day may not be far distant when the Indian home-steads in the beautiful islands of the Pacific shall be a true image of the best village life of India itself.

It is impossible for us to return thanks by name to all the many friends, both Indian and European, who have helped us with their counsel and given us their hospitality. We met with a courtesy throughout our visit to Fiji that was practically unbroken. We were treated by the Government authorities and by the planters with a generous freedom which left nothing to be desired.

We felt this trust all the more deeply, because we came without any credentials or letters of introduction. We had some difficulties at the Sydney headquarters of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company in making our position understood, but we received from them a permission to go over their mills in Fiji, which was of great service to us. Their managers, both in the north and south of the main island, offered us every help that was in their power.

Most of all, we feel gratitude towards the Indian labourers on the estates, both men and women, who gave us their complete confidence and answered our questions without fear. To them also, we came without credentials and without introduction. We were members of another race, speaking their mother language very imperfectly. They could not be certain whether they would not get into trouble, even for speaking to us at all. At times, the dread of this must have been very heavy upon them. Nevertheless, they accepted us, at once, without any reserve, as their friends. They told us fearlessly everything which was in their mind.

We trust that we have not betrayed in any way the confidence of these coolies by anything which we have written about them. We would add, to avoid misunderstanding, that in every case in this Report where a coolie's name has been specially mentioned, the name of the actual coolie has been changed and a different name given.

• Great political and commercial interests are bound up with the question of Indian labour in Fiji. Many secondary reasons may be brought forward to postpone the immediate abolition of indenture. Yet we would urge, with all the strength that is in our power, that the pathetic appeal which the Indian coolies made to us so unceasingly for help in their distress, should be lifted above the level of these lower interests, and made to depend upon the higher sovereign claims of humanity itself.

C. F. ANDREWS.

W. W. PEARSON.

February, 1916.

THE HON. MR. GOKHALE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

BY

MR. HENRY S. L. POLAK.

ALTHOUGH, in one form or another, the South African Indian question has been acute since the year 1885, although Mr. Gandhi's services to India in this part of His Majesty's Dominions have been given in unstinted measure ever since his arrival here in 1893, although resolutions of protest against the ill-treatment of resident Indians have been passed unanimously, sometimes perfunctorily, sometimes with vehement expressions of indignation, by Congress after Congress, this is the first occasion that an Indian public man has deemed it necessary to visit this sub-continent and make himself acquainted with such of its problems as affect the welfare of his fellow countrymen here. It has taken almost as long for an Indian of the front rank to visit the Indian colonists of South Africa as it took for the Secretary of State for the Colonies to acquaint himself with colonial problems at first hand. We here earnestly trust that the example set by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale will be followed, from time to time, by such other of India's leading politicians as may feel the Imperial significance of the principles underlying what at first sight appears to be a question affecting a paltry handful of exiled countrymen.

When the news of Mr. Gokhale's forthcoming tour came to be more carefully considered by thoughtful people in public or private positions, many and anxious were the inquiries as to the treatment that would be accorded even to so distinguished an Indian as he, and high authorities were nervous lest an insult should be put upon him by the people of South Africa that would inflame feeling in India and aggravate an already trying situation. Everything possible was done to furnish Mr. Gokhale with such credentials as might serve to safeguard him from trouble and make clear his status as an unofficial envoy of the Indian people, coming here with the knowledge and sympathy of the Indian and Imperial Governments, in order to arrest, if possible, a critical conflict. Before leaving England, Mr. Gokhale had important interviews with Lord Crewe, Mr. Harcourt, Sir Richard Solomon, the Agent-General in England for the Union of South Africa, and Lord Gladstone, the Governor-General, and the Union Government were formally advised of his coming tour. They

... the Indian leader with an offer of official hospitality during his stay in the country. Whilst appreciating the proffered courtesy, the community felt that Mr. Gokhale was their guest and that, in the peculiar circumstances in which the visit took place, it would not be advisable to accept the Government's offer to provide suitable accommodation in each centre that he visited. The offer of a private railway saloon for himself and party was, however, gratefully accepted, upon the condition that all fares were to be paid by the community. Upon Mr. Gokhale's arrival at Capetown where nearly 500 telegrams of welcome awaited him he was received by an officer of the Immigration Department who was placed on special duty during his stay in order to facilitate travelling arrangements, and this gentleman accompanied him throughout the tour. At Capetown a letter was handed to Mr. Gokhale on behalf of the Hon. Mr. Abraham Fischer, the Minister for the Interior, welcoming him on behalf of the Government, and offering him the Government's hospitality during his stay at Pretoria, the seat of the Government of the Union. The message concluded with a hope that the visit would prove enjoyable. This offer was accepted by him.

Mr. Gokhale had had a foretaste of South African racial prejudice before leaving England, on making application for his steam-passage by the Union-Castle Line. At first a demand was made that the cost of reserving a whole saloon should be paid, owing to the possibility of the refusal of white passengers to share the same cabin with him. But the attempt failed, and he left England by the R. M. S. *Saxon* on Oct. 7, reaching Capetown on the 22nd idem. Here he was welcomed by the members of the local Reception Committee and by a Transvaal Indian deputation headed by Mr. M. K. Gandhi, who accompanied Mr. Gokhale throughout the tour, and acted as his private secretary. At Capetown, the Legislative centre of the Union, a public reception was held in the City Hall presided over by the Mayor, and amongst those present were Senator W. P. Schreiner and a number of the leading citizens. Addresses of welcome were presented by the British Indian Community, the Kokney Moslem League, the United Hindu Association and the Madras Indians. Mr. Schreiner in a vigorous speech of eulogy, struck a note that appealed to the Indian community by condemning forcibly the system of indentured labour and the inequitable incidence of the £ 3 tax. At the same time, he

paid the following high tribute to Mr. Gandhi's character :—

He had great pleasure in testifying here that among the pure-spirited men who worked for no gain, no profit, many kicks, but with high ideals, they could recommend themselves to Mr. Gandhi. An unselfish man, one whom, he was proud to say, he recognised as a member of the profession to which he himself belonged, and one who in any other calling might have made great gains. In going round with Mr. Gandhi he believed Mr. Gokhale would be introduced, without any bias and bitterness, to the problems in detail which he would have to meet."

He declared that these problems distressed the hearts of kindly Europeans as much as they did the hearts of Indians; and there is very little doubt that this is true, if one may judge from the affectionate and respectful welcome accorded both to Mr. Gandhi, as a passive resister, and to Mr. Gokhale, as a distinguished representative of educated and responsible opinion in India. In characteristic fashion, Mr. Gandhi placed before the mixed gathering a succinct word-picture of Mr. Gokhale's sacrifices for India and his services to both Europeans and Indians in South Africa, but he took occasion to warn the latter not to expect that Mr. Gokhale's visit would act like a charm and bring about the disappearance of their grievances, reminding them that they must work out their own salvation, as they could get nothing that they did not deserve. The warning, which was repeated by Mr. Gokhale, in his first speech at Pretoria, was to some extent needed, as the more ignorant members of the community were in possible danger of imagining that Mr. Gokhale might, by his very presence in the country, be able to work miracles.

In an eloquent reply, Mr. Gokhale pointed out that for better or worse, the people of India were in the Empire; that they were subjects of the King and citizens of the Empire; and they would decline to be treated as helots of the Empire. Any inequalities that existed must be redressed as far as possible, progress and justice must be and remain the watchwords of the Empire for all who were included in it. South African Europeans were entitled to ask that the Indian critics of their policy should understand their position and their difficulties—a small community in the midst of a vast native population. On the other hand, they must remember that everything in India was equally open to all, they could not hope to shut the Indians out of their territory altogether without inflicting a very serious blow on the prestige of the Empire. This introductory speech was excellently received, and it set the keynote of the tour.

Two days later he proceeded to Kimberley, the centre of the diamond fields, and was met at Modder River by a special train conveying some 200 of the local Indians. At Kimberley a reception was held in the Town Hall, an address presented, the Mayor presiding, and Mr. Gokhale, in his reply, took occasion to point out that the South African Indian problem arose out of the system of indentured labour, which they all condemned because of its innate badness, and because it lowered Indian national self-respect. The next evening a vegetarian banquet was given by the Indian community in honour of the guest, and amongst those who were invited were the leading citizens, the Mayor of Beaufort West presiding. In reply to the toast of his health, Mr. Gokhale stated clearly the Indian attitude towards British rule.

They willingly owed allegiance to the Empire, because they believed that under the Empire they would steadily advance, until at last they reached a position where they would have the respect of the civilised communities of the Empire. There were two conditions which must be fulfilled in order that such a policy must be successful. On the Indian side nothing should be done or attempted which would ever raise a doubt about their loyalty to the Empire. That was a solemn responsibility which rested on their side. On the other hand there must be no attempt of any kind on the English side to regret the promises made in the past, or to regret the steps that were being taken at present in order to redeem those promises.

The people of India declined to be treated as serfs in the Empire. If Indians were to be treated as helots, then the Empire would be to them a mere nameless thing, and that was bound to start another train of thought in India, and would make Indians feel that they must reconsider their position. Mr. Gokhale added, however, that though it would be a theoretically sound position it would be hardly tenable in practice to say that they were citizens of the Empire, equal subjects of the King, and they must therefore have absolute equality in every respect. They had to recognise the limitations within which principles of justice could be applied in this sub-continent. The Indian community were bound to recognise the facts of the situation and not expect more than that their treatment should be reasonably satisfactory. And here Mr. Gokhale, in effect, set the mark of his approval upon the attitude that Mr. Gandhi and his fellow-workers have consistently adopted, namely, a refusal to accept racial disabilities when imposed by statute, but a recognition of the existing circumstances often rendering necessary some measure of racial differentiation in matters of administration.

Mr. Oagg, the Managing Director of De Beers, the great diamond mining concern, cordially endorsed Mr. Gokhale's views, dissociating himself from the opinions of those who urged that in dealing with coloured interests they must be unfair to them. Such a policy he regarded as unrighteous, and he repudiated entirely the necessity for the Government of South Africa to do what they knew to be an unjust act in legislation and in practice towards one section of the community in favour of the other. Mr. Gokhale's remarks on this occasion, which were telegraphed *in extenso* all over South Africa, created a very deep and favourable impression.

On the way to Johannesburg, the enthusiasm that had been so marked at Cape Town and Kimberley, increased, and deputations of Indians and Europeans waited upon him at Windsorton, Christiansburg, Bloemhof, Klerksdorp, Patekafstroom, and Krugersdorp, and addresses were presented. At most of these places the Mayor or the Resident Magistrate attended at the Station to offer an official welcome. At Klerksdorp, 100 miles South-West of Johannesburg, a special train conveying some 400 Johannesburg Indians met Mr. Gokhale, to which his special saloon was attached, and at 4 p. m. on Monday, the 28th October, he set foot in the Golden City. He was received at the station by the Mayor, who offered a cordial welcome, and by some of the most prominent townsmen, including the principal members of the European Committee formed to assist the Indian community to procure an honourable settlement of the passive resistance struggle, headed by Mr. William Hosken. The station had been specially decorated, and a *dais* erected. At the entrance, a large arch of Welcome had been designed by Mr. H. Kullenbach, the well-known friend of passive resisters. The Volunteers, passive resisters all, and mostly ex-prisoners, were under the leadership of Mr. L. W. Ritch. Whilst Mrs. E. J. Vogl, the European lady to whom is due most of the credit of the success of the Indian Women's Dragaar last year received the guests. Mr. Gokhale's arrival, which was witnessed by vast masses of people, and photographed by an enterprising firm of cinematograph operators, was greeted with cries of "Bande Mataram." Six Addresses were presented, that of the British Indian Association taking the form of a solid gold plate representing a map of the Indian Empire, mounted on South African wood, and with the text of the address engraved. Those of the Hamidia Islamic Society, the Patidar Associa-

tion, and the Johannesburg Hindus, were beautifully illuminated and enclosed in massive silver and silver-gilt caskets. The address of the Tamil Society was bound in a morocco album gold-mounted. All of the addresses, as these presented elsewhere in South Africa, referred in grateful terms to Mr. Gokhale's work in terminating the recruitment of indentured labour for South Africa. Addresses from the Cradock (Cape Colony) and Pietersburg Indians were also presented whilst the Johannesburg goldsmiths presented him with a solid gold case fitted to hold a pocket edition of the Bhagavad Gita, and with a text from the Gita engraved on one of its covers.

Mr. Gokhale was much moved by the warmth of the reception accorded him and by the lavishness of the gift presented by the community.

"In India," he declared, "Johannesburg is now regarded as a holy place, sanctified by the sacrifices and sufferings of so many of our countrymen, who bore so much for conscience sake, and to uphold the dignity of our motherland. It is a great privilege to me to see the faces of so many of my brothers and sisters who braved so much and endured so much to raise the name of India in the civilised world.

With characteristic modesty he disclaimed all credit for the work recently done in India.

"India," he said, "has been apathetic in the past, and left you to fight your battle for yourselves. But whatever the past has been, I assure you the future will not be so. Many future struggles you may have to undergo; if it is based on justice, and to the extent to which it is based on justice, you will have the people of India behind you, and I am here to tell you so."

On the 29th October the Johannesburg European Committee held a reception in Mr. Gokhale's honour, the chief hosts being Messrs. Patrick Duncan, M.L.A. (one of the leaders of the Unionist Party), Drummond Chaplain, M.L.A., (another prominent member of the Party), and Mr. William Hosken, the Chairman of the Committee. Mr. Duncan who presided, expressed the hope that Mr. Gokhale could show how the laws could be administered with the least possible amount of hardship and the greatest possible consideration for those who might have to suffer under them. Mr. Hosken denied the necessity for unjust laws. The only way was to govern with the consent of the governed. Mr. Chaplain felt that Mr. Gokhale would approach the whole question in the most impartial and statesmanlike spirit. The Empire stood or fell with India. It could not be sound if one part of it were divided against another. In reply, Mr. Gokhale expressed gratitude for the courtesy shown him by the European population. At the same time he said :—

tion, and the Johannesburg Hindus, were beautifully illuminated and enclosed in massive silver and silver-gilt caskets. The address of the Tamil Society was bound in a morocco album gold-mounted. All of the addresses, as those presented elsewhere in South Africa, referred in grateful terms to Mr. Gokhale's work in terminating the recruitment of indentured labour for South Africa. Addresses from the Cradock (Cape Colony) and Pietersburg Indians were also presented, whilst the Johannesburg goldsmiths presented him with a solid gold case fitted to hold a pocket edition of the Bhagavad Gita, and with a text from the Gita engraved on one of its covers.

Mr. Gokhale was much moved by the warmth of the reception recorded him and by the lavishness of the gift presented by the community.

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"I am trying, to speak with the utmost restraint. . . . There are many divisions among the people of India, but on this question there is but one opinion. . . . It is not only the educated Indians who have this feeling: the mass of the people have it as well, because it is from the mass of the people that the Indians in this country are largely drawn. India owes willing allegiance to the Empire, and Indians are entitled to ask for just treatment as citizens of the Empire. They must not be treated merely as hewers of wood and drawers of water. If the European communities in the different parts of the Empire do not intend to take this line, you may take it from me that the feeling which unites India with the Empire will in course of time be seriously weakened. . . . The Government of India, during the past ten years, have had very serious problems to face, but none so serious, perplexing, and difficult or so much calculated to fill it with despair, as this We are often told that this is a self-governing Colony, and that the Imperial Government are powerless to help us. That the people of India cannot understand and will not be satisfied with. A way out must be found, else they are sore to think that the Empire to them is a mockery and a farce. I beg you respectfully to realise this."

The next day, a private meeting of the European Committee was held to discuss the legislation affecting the Indian population, at which Mr. Gandhi at great length made the position clear to those present, and Mr. Gokhale had an opportunity of going into the matter more deeply than he had hitherto been able to do. The next evening, the Mayor of Johannesburg presided over a vegetarian banquet given by the British Indian Association in Mr. Gokhale's honour. Distinguished statesmen were present, noted publicists, learned judges, eminent educationists, men of note in the Church and the professions, and well-known business men, who, together with members of the Indian community, formed a gathering of upwards of 500. The service was voluntary and the cooking was done by members of the community. Having paid a tribute to Mr. Gokhale's services in founding the Servants of India Society, Mr. Hosken made a touching allusion to the sufferings of the passive resisters. He said that their miseries in prison were a horrible disgrace to the Christianity and civilisation of the rulers. With dramatic effect he called upon all Indians who had suffered imprisonment during the struggle to stand, and in response, most of the Indians present rose to their feet. Mr. Duncan, who briefly referred to the part that he had taken in passing the Asiatic ordinance of 1906, the *focus et origo* of the trouble, hoped that the days when passive resistance was necessary had now been left behind. If a settlement could be arrived at on the question of principle, other matters must and would follow, though not, of course, in a day. He trusted that Mr. Gokhale would not be discouraged if things

did not happen as quickly as he expected. They asked him to go on with the work he had undertaken, for he had already done good by establishing a personal relationship between the Union Government and the Government of India. It was to be hoped that that relationship would not be allowed to lapse. Rev. Mr. Doke, who worked so hard to bring about an understanding when the struggle was at its fiercest, said that speaking as a Christian minister, if there were no India clamouring for the settlement of the Indian problem in South Africa, they still had no right to place upon their statute books any laws which brought degradation and oppression to any section of the people. He strongly supported the attitude adopted by the Indian community in passively resisting the anti-Asiatic legislation. The struggle made one wonder and admire and speak with awe of the Indian people who had borne so much, not for material gain, but that they might keep a clear conscience before their God. He paid an eloquent tribute to Mr. Gandhi, and concluded by saying that he did not expect Mr. Gokhale to solve the Indian question which would have to be solved by their own statesmen.

In reply to the toast of his health, Mr. Gokhale delivered the most stirring and eloquent address that he had made so far in his tour. Behind the Indians of South Africa stood India, and behind both Europeans and Indians stood the Empire, with the British flag floating over it, promising justice and equal opportunities for the prosperity of the various members living under it. They had to face that position and deal with it in a statesmanlike way. Unfortunately they had not a clean slate to write on, so they must endeavour to reconcile conflicting interests.

The Empire was not a White Man's Empire, as was sometimes suggested. On those terms England would find it difficult to hold India. Those who cared for the greatness and prosperity of the Empire—Indians as much as Europeans—would see the necessity of not fostering such a belief. If the European extremists of South Africa rendered a compromise impossible the struggle would, of course, have to go on. But he believed that the better section of the European community would not stand this for long. Should they, however, tolerate it, troubles and complications were sure to arise in India, and this would undoubtedly cause serious embarrassment to the Empire.

He next tendered the thanks of the people of India to the European Committee of sympathisers, whose constitution and work were next

to the courage and heroism shown by the passive resisters themselves, the brightest spot in the struggle. In addressing himself to the Indians present, he acknowledged gratefully the labour of love done by the volunteers and referred feelingly to their sufferings in the past. The future depended largely upon the Indians themselves. The heart of India had been stirred and she would not forget again her children across the seas. But in the long run the struggle would have to be borne by them in South Africa. And judging from the splendid spectacle they had presented in the course of the last struggle, he felt confident that, if ever another came, they would again acquit themselves worthily, and in a manner of which India would have no occasion to feel ashamed. She felt the greatest admiration for the passive resisters, who had borne so much for the honour of her name. He would specially refer, however, to the services that Mr. Gandhi, the foremost figure in the struggle, had rendered to India. India recognised in Mr. Gandhi a great and illustrious son of whom she was proud beyond words, and he was sure that men of all races and creeds would recognise in him one of the most remarkable personalities of their time; but it was only those who had the privilege of knowing him intimately that knew how the pure and indomitable spirit that dwelt in that frail-looking frame, that glorified whatever it touched, would break but never bend in a just or righteous cause. That appreciation was shared in by others besides the Indian community, for during his tour, nothing had warmed his heart more than to see the great, the universal esteem in which his friend was held by the European community on all sides. Wherever they had been, he had seen members of the European community eagerly surrounding him to shake hands with him, making it quite clear that though they had fought him hard in the past and might fight him again in the future they honoured him as a man. That appreciation of Mr. Gandhi among Europeans was a most valuable asset to the Indians in any future struggle they might have to wage. He concluded by reminding his countrymen that the true moral interest of these struggles was not so much in the achievement as in the effort, for such effort in itself added to the permanent strength of the individual and the community, whether it succeeded or failed in its immediate purpose. This speech was greeted with tremendous applause and found an echo in the hearts of all who were privileged to listen to it.

On the 1st November Mr. Gokhale was entertained at a breakfast by the Transvaal Chinese Association, under the chairmanship of the acting Chinese Consul-General. The Chinese had co-operated loyally with the Indian community during the struggle, and desired to express their gratitude to Mr. Gokhale for his efforts to bring about a satisfactory termination of it. Mr. Quin, the President, assured Mr. Gokhale that, if the late struggle were renewed, he would find the Chinese standing shoulder to shoulder with their Indian fellow-Asiatics.

In the afternoon of the same day, Mr. Gokhale was entertained by the Indian Women's Association, the Deputy Mayoress presiding. An address, a silver writing set, an embroidered tablecloth bearing the names of Nagappan and Narayansamy, the two passive resisters who died during the struggle, and a painting were presented. Mr. Gokhale was much moved by his reception, and paid a glowing tribute to Indian womanhood, and to the part that the Indian women had played in the Transvaal struggle. He also tendered thanks to the European ladies who had stood by their Indian sisters during the days of the struggle, and specially eulogised the work done by Mrs. Vogl and Miss. Schlesin.

On the 2nd, 3rd and 4th November, Mr. Gokhale remained at Tolstoy Farm, Lawley, offered to the Indian community for the use of passive resisters and their families during the struggle, by Mr. Kallenbach, who was Mr. Gokhale's host during his stay in Johannesburg. On the 5th he interviewed Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, one of the leaders of the Unionist Party, and on the 6th, he examined the Germiston and Boksburg Indian locations, where important matters of administration were in question. The same evening, Mr. Gokhale, accompanied by Mr. Gandhi, left for Natal, where a rousing reception had been prepared.

En route, the train was specially delayed at Newcastle, Glencoe, and Ladysmith, to permit of the presentation of addresses. At Maritzburg, the capital of the Province, he was received by the Administrator, the Mayor and the chief citizens, and became the guest of the Administration. In the evening, a public meeting was held in the Town Hall, the Administrator presiding, at which an address of welcome was presented. In reply to complimentary speeches, Mr. Gokhale denounced the inequitableness of the £ 3 tax, and emphasised the unpleasant feeling in India when it was realised that this was the reward of years of hard service. He appealed to their Imperial

episode, laying emphasis upon the points of agreement and of difficulty that Mr. Gokhale encountered during his visit. Mr. Gokhale came to study the situation on the spot, to encourage his countrymen in the performance of their duty to India and to the Empire, to suggest remedies for their disabilities, to reassure the European Colonists that their fears as to the numerical and political complexion of the country were appreciated and allowed for, and to recall them to a recognition of their responsibilities to the state and to their voteless Indian fellow-colonists. It is fair to assume that, to the extent possible in so brief a sojourn in a country bristling with so many intricate problems, Mr. Gokhale has accomplished his aim. A member of the Durban Chamber of Commerce declared that Mr. Gokhale deserved a monument for his work in putting an end to indentured recruitment for Natal. Much more does he deserve a permanent memorial for the incalculable services that his visit has rendered to the Empire, to India, and to the people of this country, and it is but natural to look forward to a fitting response to his patriotic labours.

sense for just and fair treatment to the Indian section of the community.

Meanwhile, a special train had proceeded to Maritzburg carrying a strong contingent of Durban Indians and the leading Members of the General Reception Committee representing the Indians of Natal, and Mr. Gokhale's saloon was attached to the train which reached Durban the same afternoon, where the principal townsmen were present, including the Mayor, the Chief Magistrate, Sir David Hunter, M.L.A., Senator Marshall Campbell, and Mr. F. A. Laughton, K.C., who, on one occasion, years ago, attempted to save Mr. Gandhi from mob-violence. Calling at the pretenses of Mr. Parsee Rustonjee, the famous passive resister, the horses were unyoked from the carriage, which was dragged for a mile-and-a-half to the residence that had been prepared for Mr. Gokhale, enormous numbers of Indians thronging the route and joining the procession. The reception that was held in the Town Hall, on November 8 was, perhaps, the greatest event of its kind ever held there. The large hall, which is the finest building in South Africa, was filled to overflowing with a crowd of enthusiastic Indians, men and women, and not a few Europeans. Amongst those present were the Mayor, who presided, the Chief Magistrate, Sir Liege Hulett, Mr. James Henderson, M.L.A., Sir David Hunter, M.L.A., the Protector of Indian Immigrants, several of the Magistrates, and many other well-known persons. In addressing a formal welcome to Mr. Gokhale, the Chairman of the Reception Committee laid stress upon the fact that they were Indians of South Africa and not Indians in South Africa. He pointed out that, short of yielding on matters of principle, the Indians were prepared to do whatever was possible to conciliate European sentiment. The Natal Indian Community's address, engraved on a large, solid gold shield, mounted on ebony and enclosed in a polished oak case, was then presented, and afterwards addresses from the Indian Women's Association, the Colonial-born Indians, the Anjuman Islam, the Brahman Mandal, the Mastic Society, the Mehfil (Manania, South Coast Indians, New Guelderland Indians, the Hindi Sabha, the Maharashtrians, and the Zoroastrian Anjuman. In reply Mr. Gokhale stated that, in accepting the invitation of South African Indians he came in accordance with the wishes of the Indian people, and with the goodwill of the Indian and Imperial Governments. He urged each of the disputing parties to enter into the other's feelings.

The next day he had an opportunity of witnessing a sight unique in the annals of the South African Indian community. At the Albert Park over 2,500 Indian school children were gathered together. Nearly 40 schools were represented. They were entertained at the expense of the community, and to each child was given a badge containing Mr. Gokhale's photo. Some 8,500 people were gathered together to witness the sports of the children, in the morning, and the adults, almost all Colonial-born, in the afternoon. When towards the end of the proceedings Mr. Gokhale arrived, and motored round the Park, where the children were massed beneath their school banners, he received such an ovation as even he will remember all the days of his life. In presenting the prizes to the winners of the competitions, he paid a just tribute to the educational work done by the missionary bodies, who were responsible for training the vast majority of the children present.

At the Lord's Grounds, the following day, thousands of Indians of the poorer classes gathered to present their grievances to Mr. Gokhale. Such a sight had never been witnessed before in South Africa. From quite an early hour, the spacious grounds began to fill, and the roadway leading to the entrance was the scene of a never-ending line of Indians, who came on foot, on cycles, trams, carts, wagons, and every other imaginable conveyance, whilst hundreds poured into the grounds by train from the outlying districts. The main grievance was, of course, the £3 tax upon ex-indentured Indians and their children. In each case the tale was the same, the failure or inability to pay the annual tax, resulting in the delinquents being sentenced to imprisonment. Mr. Gokhale's sympathy with these poor people was evident, and from time to time deep cries of "Shame" testified to the strong feeling on the subject prevailing. In reply, Mr. Gokhale promised to spare no pains or trouble to secure the repeal of the tax, which he regarded as grossly unjust, and which, as a matter of fact, has, since Mr. Gokhale's visit was projected, had not a single supporter in South Africa, either in the Press or on the platform. There is little doubt that one of the first fruits of this tour will be the repeal of a tax that has worked such enormous injury to the moral and material interests of the Indian community. At Isipingo, the same afternoon, five thousand people from the South Coast sugar-growing districts attended, to do Mr. Gokhale honour, and in the evening he motored to the Phoenix Settlement, founded by

Mr. Gandhi, on the principles advocated by Tolstoy and Ruskin, for a few hour's rest. Here, Mr. West, on behalf of the settlers and the staff of *Indian Opinion* presented him with an interesting memento of his visit, and with a bound copy of the report of this year's debate in the Viceroy's Council on the indentured labour question, which had been reproduced in pamphlet form at the Press. He also had an interview with Mr. J. L. Dubs, the President of the South African Natives' Congress.

On the night of the 11th Mr. Gokhale was entertained at a public dinner in the Drill Hall, to which a large and distinguished gathering sat down, including Sir David Eunter, M. B. A., who presided, the Mayor, Senator Sir J. L. Hulett, Senator Marshall Campbell, the Durban Members of Parliament and the Magistrates, two judges of the Native High Court, most of the principal Government officials, and the leading men of the professions, commerce and trade, with the Roman Catholic Bishop of Natal and the representatives of different religious denominations. The Chairman, Sir Liege Hulet and Mr. Marshall Campbell united in eulogy of the guest and of the Indian community, commenting favourably upon its law abiding character. Major Silburn, M. B. A., entered a protest against threats of Imperial intervention being held over their heads. All united to express disapproval of the £3 tax, and undertook to assist in procuring its removal.

On the 12th Mr. Gokhale had a very important interview with the Committee of the Durban Chamber of Commerce, whose view was that unless the Indian standards approximated more to the European standards of material well-being, to render full justice to the Indian trading classes would be to be unjust to the European community. Mr. Gokhale made an appeal to the sense of Imperial responsibility of the members, pointing out that Natal had created the problem, that it had been admitted that much of the province's prosperity was due to the Indian immigrants and that Natal must take the disadvantages with the advantages. These present agreed that the £3 tax ought to go. Suggestions of compensation and repatriation were put forward. Mr. Gokhale suggested that it was not part of his mission to educate Indians to the European standards of living. He would rather say that the Europeans should live more simply. The same day, Mr. Gokhale received deputations from the Indian Chamber of Commerce and the Colonial-born Indian Association, previously to which he

visited the St. Aidan's educational establishments. The Hon. Mr. Marshall Campbell later entertained him and an enormous gathering of Indians at his estates at Mount Edgecombe, on the North Coast. The same day he left for the Transvaal again to interview ministers on the 14th. At Volksrust, Standerton, and Heiddberg, deputations waited upon him, and addresses were presented, the Mayors of the last two places attending at the station.

On the arrival of the train at Pretoria, Mr. Gokhale became the guest of the Government and was received by the Hon. Mr. Fischer's private secretary, the Registrar of Asiatics, and by the Deputy Mayor. Addresses from the Pretoria Indian community and the Arya Dharma Sabha were presented. On the 14th November he was received by the Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. General Botha, the Finance Minister, General Smuts, and the Minister for the Interior, the Hon. Abraham Fischer, in an interview lasting about two hours at which many aspects of the problem were discussed and examined. As the interview was of a strictly confidential nature, it is impossible to say more of it than that Mr. Gokhale was cordially received, that he expressed his great satisfaction at the manner with which the Government had dealt with the various matters brought forward. In a subsequent newspaper interview, he said:

"I understand their difficulty and they understand the Indian question. I left with the feeling that we understood each other's point of view. We went over the whole field of the Indian question, and considered it from the standpoint of both the Indian and the European community. I am satisfied with the receptions accorded to my views. I am satisfied with the spirit of the whole discussion. It was a frank and friendly discussion which took place, and it was conducted with the real desire to arrive at some solution."

The same evening, Mr. Gokhale, delivered his farewell address at a reception at the Town Hall, presided over by the Deputy Mayor, Messrs. J. W. Sauer, Minister for Agriculture, and H. Burton, Minister for Railways being also present. Whilst freely admitting all the difficulties that the Government had to contend against, by reason of that prejudice, he eloquently appealed to them to set their face in the right direction, and declared that, however slow it might be, progress must be steady and continuous towards full justice to the Indian population. He reminded them that one of the primary duties of every Government was to ensure justice to all living under its protection, a duty owed as much—even more, as they were a voteless minority—to the Indian community as to every other. He concluded with a

final appeal to the better mind of the two communities. To the Europeans, he said :—

"You cannot believe in your heart of hearts that whatever temporary advantage gained by those who have power from a policy based on obvious injustice, selfishness, or unreasoning prejudice, such advantage can long endure. You owe it to your good name, you owe it to your civilization, you owe it to the Empire of which you are a part, and whose flag stands for justice and freedom and opportunities for progress for all who live under its protection, that your administration should be such that you can justify it in the eyes of the world. That you have votes, and the Indians have not, only throws a double responsibility on you—the responsibility for actively promoting their prosperity and well being as well as yours. The affairs of this country must no doubt be administered in accordance with European standards and by men who understand the spirit and working of European institutions ; but the Government must exist for promoting the prosperity not of the European community only, but of all its subjects ; else it is a travesty of government to them."

To the Indian community, Mr. Gokhale addressed the following impressive words of farewell :—

"Always remember that your future is largely in your own hands. You have by no means an easy position here, and it is not impossible that it may grow even worse. But, whatever happens, do not lose faith or give way to despair. I pray to God that such a struggle as you found it necessary to wage in the Transvaal during the last three years may not have to be waged again. But if it has to be resumed, or if you have to enter on other struggles of a like nature for justice denied or injustice forced on you, remember that the issue will largely turn on the character you show, on your capacity for combined action, on your readiness to suffer and sacrifice in a just cause. India will no doubt be behind you. Such assistance as she can give shall freely come to you. Her passionate sympathy, her heart, her hopes will be with you. Nay, all that is best in this Empire, all that is best in the civilised world, wish your success. But the main endeavour to have your wrongs righted shall have to be yours. Remember that you are entitled to have the Indian problem in this country solved on right lines. And in such right solution are involved, not merely your present worldly interests, but your dignity and self-respect, honour and good name of your motherland, and the entire moral and material well-being of your children and your children's children."

Two days later, after having rested at Tolstoy Farm, lunched with the Governor-General and interviewed Sir Thomas Smartt, M.L.A., Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Gokhale proceeded from Johannesburg on his return to India, leaving British South African territory on Nov. 18, and travelling via Lourenco Marques, Beira, Mozambique, Zanzibar, and Mombasa, where Indians and Europeans alike joined to do him honour.

I have endeavoured in the foregoing narrative to summarise the principal events of a historic

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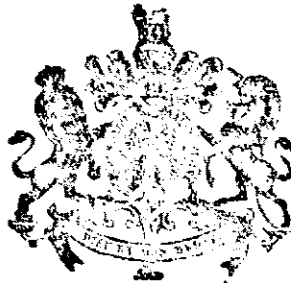
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TRADE OF
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EDITED AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE AND THE BOARD OF TRADE.



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*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty,
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*Report on the Trade of the United States for the Year 1907 by
Mr. Seymour Bell, British Commercial Agent in the United States.*

General remarks.—The year 1907 was one of sharp contrasts in the United States. It was a year of great activity and deep depression. During the earlier months all industries were exceedingly busy and mills were working at their utmost capacity. Many unfilled orders had been carried over from the previous year and buyers were experiencing great difficulty in getting delivery of their goods. The railway lines were congested, wages were at their highest and the high price of commodities raised the price of living to an extreme point. It was recognised by all those in a position to form an independent opinion that this tremendous industrial activity could not last, that it was merely a question of time before a reaction would set in. It became quite evident that the country was living beyond its means. Money was becoming scarce and the railways and other corporations were encountering great difficulties in obtaining the capital necessary to carry on the improvements and extensions which were in process of being carried out. Speculation in mining and real estate had been rife and personal extravagance was at its height. This all tended to place additional burdens on the money supplies which were hardly adequate to carry on the industries of the country. The railways were among the earliest and greatest sufferers from the financial stringency. They found it almost impossible to dispose of securities at a reasonable price and were forced to issue short-time notes at a comparatively high rate of interest to enable them to continue their developments. As wages were high, owing to the scarcity of labour, and high prices were being paid for materials, the net earnings of the railways were considerably reduced, although the gross earnings showed an increase. This brought about lower quotations for railway shares, and the industrials followed the downward path.

The situation was peculiar. On the one hand there were the manufacturers with more orders than they could fill and busy enlarging their plants, merchants selling large quantities of goods at satisfactory prices, labour in such demand that even with the addition of the 1,200,000 immigrants it was necessary to employ

inefficient workers at good wages. On the other hand, there was dear money, owing to scarcity.

When, owing to a failure in New York, light was thrown on the management of some of the large financial concerns in the city, public confidence, which had previously been undermined by certain investigations, gave way completely, resulting in an acute money panic. Careful students of the situation had foreseen a collapse before the end of the year, but did not anticipate that it would come with such suddenness.

The panic was entirely financial. It has, it is true, brought about a widespread suspension of trade and industry throughout the country, but as it occurred at a time when there was no accumulation of surplus gold, there has been no throwing on the market of merchandise at ruinous prices, the usual accompaniment of industrial panics. The manufacturers, on the contrary, faced the inevitable, and without delay proceeded to curtail the supply and thus reduce such chances as there might have been of glutting the market with unsaleable articles. Fortunately for the country warning of the trouble was given early, and it was possible to take steps in time to prepare for it.

As to the length of time the present depression will last, it is difficult to form an opinion. It must not be forgotten that the farmers, who form the backbone of American prosperity, have not been affected by the financial situation. Though the crops in 1907 fell short in quantity as compared with 1906, higher prices were obtained and the farmers received considerably more money for their crops than in the previous year. A country that produces crops valued at nearly 1,500,000,000*l.* is unlikely to suffer long from industrial stagnation. It represents too large an amount to be held for long uninvested. Farmers have had nine years of almost uninterrupted prosperity, their buying power is high and the towns dependent upon them will remain prosperous.

The farmers, who a few years ago owed money, now own money and have an assured outlet for their products, as there is no over-supply.

The cloud of uncertainty which has been hanging over the country for so long and gradually growing more threatening is now passing away, and it may be said that the worst of the storm has now passed. There will in all probability be mercantile disturbances for some months to come, but readjustment and recuperation are well under way, and unless labour troubles should retard the improvement or monopolies of capital interfere to keep up prices at too high a level, it is expected that, before many months have passed, business will be on a safer and more normal basis.

Financial house cleaning has been carried on to a considerable extent lately, but it remains to be seen whether it has been sufficiently thorough. If too many of the men in positions of power, in control of corporations or managers of trust companies, who have been proved to have abused the power which they possessed, have been

left to exercise a pernicious influence, the period of convalescence may be prolonged.

The rate of living in the country for the past few years has been high, not to say extravagant, and this has had a great influence on the scarcity of money as affecting the difficulty the railways and other corporations have had in securing capital. For at least three years railways, municipalities, mining and manufacturing corporations have been engaged in great works of development and have disposed of larger amounts of securities to the public than has ever been known before. As the savings have been less, so the amount which otherwise would have been invested has decreased. Thus, personal extravagance, too much expansion of credit in proportion to the capital at their command and large expenditures by corporations without previously financing them were the recognised causes of the financial panic and subsequent curtailment of industries. This was precipitated by the public losing confidence in some of the large corporations, owing to misadministration. The investing public has no means of discriminating between the corporation which is managed for the benefit of the stock holders and the one which is managed for the benefit of its managers.

As to the prospects of trade in 1908, it is too early to form a clear opinion. The fundamental elements of prosperity remain, and there was no over-production in the country at the time of the crisis. So the set-back ought to find most of the industrial concerns in a favourable position financially after so many years of prosperity. Curtailment of production has been promptly and vigorously applied, and a readjustment to changed conditions is in process. The prevailing sentiment is one of doubt and anxiety. The atmosphere is clearing, but there must be a somewhat prolonged period of liquidation before there is any substantial recovery. Quiet business may be expected in 1908.

Political matters will retard to a certain extent a return to normal conditions and much will depend upon the size of the crops as to whether the return to prosperity will be early or late. In any case it is extremely doubtful whether there will be what may be called good times before another crop is in sight. At the moment it is impossible to foresee just how long it will be before business will again resume its normal course.

According to the Chief Statistician of the Census, as made public recently, the aggregate value of the national wealth on January 1, 1907, could not have been much, if any, less than 25,000,000,000*l.*, of which 17,000,000,000*l.*, or nearly 60 per cent., was the worth of real property and improvements. Of this aggregate of real and other property, from 5,400,000,000*l.* to 6,000,000,000*l.* was owned by corporations and was thus represented by bonds, stocks and other commercial securities.

The circulation per capita was—

| | Dol. | c. | £ | s. | d. |
|------|------|----|---|----|-------|
| 1900 | 28 | 4 | = | 5 | 15 10 |
| 1901 | 28 | 73 | | 5 | 18 9 |
| 1902 | 29 | 52 | | 6 | 2 0 |
| 1903 | 30 | 21 | | 6 | 4 10 |
| 1904 | 32 | 22 | | 6 | 13 2 |
| 1905 | 31 | 75 | | 6 | 11 2 |
| 1906 | 33 | 66 | | 6 | 19 1 |
| 1907 | 34 | 71 | | 7 | 3 5 |

The following figures, published by "Bradstreet," show the extent of finance and industry in 1907 together with the changes from 1906:—

| | | 1907. | Percentage Increase (+) or Decrease (-) as compared with 1906. |
|-----------------------------|-----------|------------------|--|
| | | | Per cent. |
| Bank clearings | Value | £ 28,732,461,681 | - 9 |
| Imports, estimated | .. | £ 286,177,000 | + 8 |
| Exports | .. | £ 381,258,000 | + 6 |
| Total trade | .. | £ 667,435,000 | + 7 |
| Railway earnings, 10 months | .. | £ 300,693,600 | + 12 |
| Circulation, December 1 | .. | £ 601,648,317 | + 10 |
| Building expenditure | .. | £ 116,600,000 | - 7 |
| New York stock sales | .. | £ 39,079,960 | - 31 |
| New York bond sales | .. | £ 105,423,470 | - 22 |
| Business failures | Number... | 10,285 | + 9 |
| Failure liabilities | Value | £ 74,268,538 | + 200 |
| Pig iron output | Tons | 25,200,000* | - 0.4 |
| Boots and shoes transported | Cases | 4,730,636 | - 7 |
| Railways built | Miles | 5,730 | - 5 |
| Steel rail output | Tons | 4,000,000* | - 0.1 |
| Labour strikers | Number... | 175,000 | - 68 |
| Immigration | .. | 1,332,354 | + 8 |

* Estimated.

Labour.—Labour, on the whole, had a satisfactory year in 1907. As in the previous year there was a considerable shortage, and all new arrivals had no difficulty in finding work. Though wages were high, the wage-earner felt that he was not getting his full share of the benefit of the great prosperity that prevailed, on account of the high prices of commodities and rates of living generally. In that he was probably correct.

Manufacturers and other employers of labour found, however, that though they were paying such high wages they were not getting the same work out of their employees. Men were so sure of their jobs they did not exert themselves to hold their places. Employers felt that they were in a measure helpless because discharged men had no difficulty in securing an equally good job elsewhere, so were indifferent and independent.

When, however, the collapse of credit came about everything

was altered. Where previously there had been a falling-off in output, men exerted themselves to their utmost to turn out as much work as possible, owing to the fact that workers by the thousands were finding themselves without employment. Most employers have so far adopted the policy of discharging hands rather than reducing wages, retaining those who prove themselves the most competent. As the leaders of trades unions have announced that they will not consent to a reduction of wages it is probable that a very large number of men will find themselves out of work. The number of unemployed at the beginning of this year is already large and emigrants inclined to come to the United States should be discouraged, at any rate for this year. Though prices of commodities have fallen and will continue to fall, it would be extremely unwise for any but those who have a sufficient amount of money to keep them for some months to come to this country in search of work. The present indications are that there will be increased idleness rather than large reductions of wages.

Agriculture.—The yield of farm products in 1907 was about an average one. In quantity it fell short of 1906, but the farmers received more money, owing to higher prices.

As usual, the Department of Agriculture has been active in looking after the interests of the agricultural classes. The improvement of the soil has been receiving more attention than formerly, as it was felt that this important subject had been somewhat neglected in the past. It is expected that a considerable increase in the yield per acre will soon be apparent. Another important subject has been taken in hand, that of seed adulteration. Steps have been taken to protect the farmers from having inferior seed supplied to them instead of the best, and advice is also given to them as to the importance of using for sowing purposes only seed of perfect vitality. The Department of Agriculture has even gone so far as to present to the people certain apparatus for separating the heavy seed from the light, which has been patented by their experts.

As instances where the Government has benefited the agriculturists of the country it may be mentioned that about 2,000*l.* was spent less than 10 years ago in the introduction of durum wheat, a variety suitable for growing where the rainfall is slight, and the crop is now worth about 6,000,000*l.* per annum.

Again, drought-resisting alfalfa is being introduced from Siberia, which it is expected will greatly extend the use of this forage. The value of last year's crop, as hay, was about 20,000,000*l.*, and it is expected that the future crop will be several times this amount. In this manner profitable agriculture is now made possible in certain parts of the country where formerly it was considered impossible. Not only are efforts being made by the Department of Agriculture to bring into cultivation lands that were previously uncultivated and to increase the crops on the cultivated portion, but great endeavours are being made to raise at home many of the products which are at present being imported. The sugar beet industry is a

good illustration of what has been accomplished. Thirty years ago the quantity of beet sugar produced was little over 500 tons. It now amounts to about 500,000 tons. Irrigation and drainage are attracting great attention. Not only have large sums been spent in carrying water to arid lands, but large tracts of swamp lands are being reclaimed. The area now under irrigation is about 11,000,000 acres and the value of crops raised on irrigated land is estimated at 35,000,000*l.*, an increase of 75 per cent. over the value of 1899. It is expected that an additional 5,000,000 acres will be ready for settlement in 1908.

The development of waterways is also attracting much public attention.

The estimates of the value of the chief crops, published by "Bradstreet," were as follows :—

| | | Quantity. | Total. |
|----------------------|----------------|-------------|---------------|
| Corn | Bushels | ... | 2,592,320,000 |
| Winter wheat | " | 409,442,000 | |
| Spring wheat | " | 224,645,000 | |
| | | | 634,087,000 |
| Oats | " | ... | 754,443,000 |
| Barley | " | ... | 153,317,000 |
| Rye | " | ... | 31,566,000 |
| Buckwheat | " | ... | 14,290,000 |
| | | | 4,180,023,000 |
| Total cereals | " | ... | |
| Flax seed | " | ... | 25,851,000 |
| Potatoes | " | ... | 297,942,000 |
| Hay | Tons | ... | 63,677,000 |
| Tobacco | Lbs. | ... | 698,126,000 |
| Rice | Bushels | ... | 18,738,000 |
| Cotton | Bales | ... | 12,000,000 |
| Sugar | Tons | ... | 1,639,000 |
| Hops | Lbs. | ... | 400,330,000 |
| Wool clip | " | ... | 298,294,750 |

The estimated values of agricultural products are given as follows :—

| | £ |
|----------------------|-------------|
| Corn... .. | 268,089,200 |
| Wheat | 110,887,400 |
| Oats... .. | 66,913,600 |
| Barley | 20,411,600 |
| Rye | 4,613,600 |
| Buckwheat... .. | 1,995,000 |
| | 472,910,400 |
| Total cereals | |
| Flax seed | 4,942,600 |
| Potatoes | 36,776,000 |
| Hay... .. | 148,701,400 |
| Tobacco | 15,246,800 |
| Rice... .. | 3,216,200 |
| Cotton | 130,000,000 |

The increases and decreases in yields and values in 1907 as compared with 1906 were as follows :—

| | Yield. Per cent. | Value. Per cent. |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Corn | - 11·4 | + 14·9 |
| Wheat... .. | - 13·7 | + 13 |
| Oats | - 21·7 | + 9·1 |
| Barley... .. | - 14·5 | + 37·9 |
| Rye | - 5·4 | + 17·3 |
| Buckwheat | - 2·4 | + 14·3 |
| Total cereals | - 13·8 | + 14·4 |
| Flax seed | + 1 | - 4·6 |
| Potatoes | - 3·2 | + 17·1 |
| Hay | + 11 | + 25·5 |
| Tobacco | + 2·3 | + 11·7 |
| Rice | + 4·9 | - 0·2 |
| Cotton... .. | - 11·1 | - 9·2 |
| Sugar | + 4·5 | ... |
| Hops | - 13·7 | ... |
| Wool | - 0·2 | ... |

According to statistics of the United States Department of Agriculture the numbers and values of farm animals on farms and ranges in the United States on January 1, 1908, were as follows :—

| | Number. | Average Price. [•] | Total Value. |
|--------------------|------------|-----------------------------|--------------|
| | | £ s. d. | £ |
| Horses | 19,992,000 | 19 6 0 | 385,845,600 |
| Mules | 3,869,000 | 22 5 3 | 86,141,196 |
| Milch cows | 21,914,000 | 6 6 9 | 138,879,975 |
| Other cattle... .. | 50,073,000 | 3 9 9 | 174,629,587 |
| Sheep | 54,631,000 | 0 16 0 | 43,644,800 |
| Swine | 56,084,000 | 1 5 0 | 70,105,000 |

Minerals.—Mining in the United States in 1907 was, on the whole, satisfactory. The financial disturbance, however, during the last quarter of the year interfered with the yearly output which would have been larger than it was.

The following statistics relating to the metal industries are taken from the "Engineering and Mining Journal."

The production of the more important minerals and metals in the United States in 1907 is summarised in the table below, together with the production in 1906 :—

MINERAL and Metal Production of the United States. Preliminary Statistics.

| Product. | | 1906. | | | 1907. | | | Increase (+) or Decrease (-) in 1907. |
|--------------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-----------|---|
| | | Quantity. | Total. | Per Unit. | Quantity. | Total. | Per Unit. | |
| | | | £ | £ s. d. | | £ | £ s. d. | |
| Non-metallic— | | | | | | | | |
| Coal— | | | | | | | | |
| Bituminous... | Tons | 305,025,994 | 82,758,461 | 0 5 5 | 342,392,920 | 91,311,969 | 0 5 4 | + 37,366,926 |
| Anthracite ... | .. | 64,472,827 | 34,360,951 | 0 10 8 | 75,949,343 | 33,046,071 | 0 8 8 | + 11,476,516 |
| Garnet... | .. | 4,825 | 37,097 | 7 13 9 | 5,804 | 44,654 | 7 13 10 | + 979 |
| Iron ore ... | .. | 49,217,489 | 21,151,318 | 0 8 7 | 52,418,755 | 22,743,675 | 0 8 8 | + 3,201,266 |
| Limestone flux ... | .. | 14,552,000 | 1,984,364 | 0 2 9 | 14,925,000 | 2,158,574 | 0 2 11 | + 373,000 |
| Petroleum ... | Barrels | 131,776,505 | 16,586,216 | 0 2 6 | 165,877,906 | 24,464,547 | 0 2 11½ | + 34,101,401 |
| Phosphate rock ... | Tons | 2,052,742 | 2,550,153 | 1 4 10 | 1,917,000 | 2,772,521 | 1 8 11 | - 135,742 |
| Manufactured— | | | | | | | | |
| Bromine ... | Lbs. | 1,229,000 | 38,089 | 0 0 7½ | 1,062,000 | 28,525 | 0 0 6½ | - 167,000 |
| Coke ... | Tons | 29,187,823 | 17,951,940 | 0 12 4 | 35,795,241 | 22,057,432 | 0 12 4 | + 6,607,418 |
| Copper sulphate ... | Lbs. | 50,925,932 | 652,357 | 0 0 2½ | 40,138,117 | 564,753 | 0 0 3 | - 10,787,815 |
| Copperas ... | Tons | 20,392 | 47,188 | 2 6 3 | 23,404 | 54,157 | 2 6 3 | + 3,012 |
| Graphite, artificial ... | Lbs. | 4,868,000 | 64,621 | 0 0 3 | 6,924,000 | 99,942 | 0 0 3½ | + 2,056,000 |
| Lead, sublimed white ... | Tons | 7,132 | 165,058 | 23 2 10 | 7,768 | 212,107 | 27 6 1 | + 636 |
| Zinc oxide ... | .. | 69,464 | 1,292,843 | 18 12 3 | 74,357 | 1,552,967 | 20 17 8 | + 4,893 |
| Metallic— | | | | | | | | |
| Aluminium... | Lbs. | 14,350,000 | 1,067,355 | 0 1 6 | 25,000,000 | 2,324,380 | 0 1 10 | + 10,650,000 |
| Copper... | .. | 917,020,000 | 37,190,153 | 0 0 10 | 895,104,000 | 38,210,214 | 0 0 10 | - 22,516,000 |
| Gold ... | Ozs. fine | 4,648,385 | 19,855,661 | 4 5 5 | 4,335,560 | 18,515,706 | 4 5 5 | - 312,825 |
| Iron, pig ... | Tons | 25,307,191 | 100,444,450 | 3 19 5 | 25,975,944 | 122,366,017 | 4 14 2 | + 668,753 |
| Lead ... | .. | 310,906 | 8,077,097 | 25 19 7 | 320,588 | 7,900,760 | 24 12 11 | + 9,682 |
| Quicksilver ... | Flasks | 25,309 | 213,871 | 8 9 1 | 19,000 | 166,519 | 8 15 3 | - 6,309 |
| Silver ... | Ozs. fine | 50,517,900 | 7,753,207 | 0 2 9 | 50,925,911 | 7,883,469 | 0 2 8 | + 408,011 |
| Zinc ... | Tons | 201,333 | 5,777,119 | 28 13 3 | 224,736 | 6,077,495 | 27 0 10 | + 23,404 |

NOTE.—The exchange is calculated at the rate of 4 dol. 84 c. = 1l. Tons are of 2,240 lbs.

Gold.—For the first time during the last five years the production of gold shows a decrease compared with the previous year. In 1903 the increase was 9·7 per cent. ; in 1904, 9·2 per cent. ; in 1905, 7 per cent.

The following table shows the production by States and a comparison with that of the previous year :—

| | 1906. | 1907. | Increase or Decrease. |
|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| Colorado | 4,738,512 | 4,315,875 | — 422,637 |
| Alaska | 4,414,277 | 3,770,994 | — 643,283 |
| California | 3,891,095 | 3,593,877 | — 297,218 |
| Nevada... .. | 1,917,086 | 3,038,152 | + 1,121,086 |
| South Dakota | 1,364,649 | 844,101 | — 520,548 |
| Utah | 1,060,103 | 961,351 | — 98,752 |
| Montana | 934,298 | 869,080 | — 65,218 |
| Arizona... .. | 567,583 | 524,693 | — 42,890 |
| Oregon | 272,748 | 243,799 | — 28,949 |
| Idaho | 213,988 | 224,716 | + 10,728 |
| Other States | 124,401 | 129,048 | + 4,647 |
| Total... .. | 19,498,720 | 18,515,686 | — 983,034 |

NOTE.—Exchange is calculated at 4 dol. 84 c. = 1l.

Gold was produced in 19 States and 3 Territories.

Since the discovery of gold and silver in Alaska became important the following has been the production, according to the "New York Herald" :—

| | £ |
|-------------|-----------|
| 1897 | 520,409 |
| 1898 | 543,701 |
| 1899 | 1,204,825 |
| 1900 | 1,687,229 |
| 1901 | 1,446,018 |
| 1902 | 1,735,326 |
| 1903 | 1,842,870 |
| 1904 | 1,951,641 |
| 1905 | 3,105,937 |
| 1906 | 4,442,737 |

NOTE.—Exchange is calculated at 4 dol. 84 c. = 1l.

Silver.—The silver production in the United States in 1907 was 56,925,111 fine ozs., an increase of 408,011 fine ozs. as compared with 1906. The following table shows the production by States :—

| | 1906. | 1907. | Increase or Decrease. |
|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| | Fine ozs. | Fine ozs. | Fine ozs. |
| Montana | 12,540,300 | 12,118,000 | - 422,300 |
| Colorado | 12,447,400 | 11,648,136 | - 799,264 |
| Utah | 11,508,000 | 11,747,562 | + 239,562 |
| Idaho | 8,836,200 | 6,977,718 | - 1,858,482 |
| Nevada... .. | 5,207,600 | 7,767,510 | + 2,559,910 |
| Arizona... .. | 2,969,200 | 2,715,564 | - 253,636 |
| California | 1,517,500 | 2,326,184 | + 808,684 |
| New Mexico | 453,400 | 431,246 | - 22,154 |
| Texas | 277,400 | 307,545 | + 30,145 |
| Alaska | 203,600 | 148,809 | - 54,791 |
| Other States | 557,400 | 737,837 | + 180,437 |
| Total | 56,517,900 | 56,925,911 | + 408,011 |

Copper.—The estimated production of copper in 1907 is shown in the following table compared with the total production in 1906 :—

| State— | 1906. | 1907. |
|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| | Lbs. | Lbs. |
| Alaska... .. | 8,700,000 | 9,797,000 |
| Arizona | 263,200,000 | 260,356,000 |
| California | 24,421,000 | 28,844,000 |
| Colorado | 9,565,000 | 10,293,000 |
| Idaho | 9,493,000 | 9,860,000 |
| Michigan | 224,071,000 | 234,104,000 |
| Montana | 299,850,000 | 227,663,000 |
| New Mexico | 6,262,000 | 7,730,000 |
| Utah | 49,712,000 | 79,000,000 |
| East and South | 18,821,000 | 19,893,000 |
| Other States*... .. | 3,525,000 | 7,564,000 |
| Total | 917,620,000 | 895,104,000 |

* Includes Washington, Oregon, Nevada, Wyoming, South Dakota, Texas, Missouri, and also some copper originating in the States mentioned in the table which cannot be accurately distributed among them.

High prices during the last three years have stimulated the production in some of the States where formerly the output was small. The recent reduction in prices, however, will close again many of these mines.

It appears to be a well-recognised fact that Utah will in the future be one of the great copper-producing States.

The average price of copper per ton of 2,240 lbs. in New York in 1906 and 1907 was as follows :—

| | 1906. | 1907. |
|---------------------|---------|---------|
| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
| Electrolytic | 89 4 5 | 92 11 7 |
| Lake | 90 15 4 | 95 12 5 |

NOTE.—Exchange calculated at 4 dol. 84 c. = £1.

Prices ranged in 1907 from 116*l.* 0*s.* 1*d.* per ton for electrolytic in March and 118*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.* per ton for lake in March to 60*l.* 18*s.* 5*d.* per ton for electrolytic in December and 61*l.* 19*s.* 8*d.* per ton for lake in December.

Electrolytic is for cakes, ingots and wire bars. The average for casting copper in New York for 1907 was 89*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* per ton.

The following are the annual average prices for lake copper during a period of years :—

| | Price per Ton. | | |
|-------------|----------------|----|----|
| | £ | s. | d. |
| 1896 | 50 | 7 | 1 |
| 1897 | 52 | 5 | 0 |
| 1898 | 55 | 13 | 6 |
| 1899 | 81 | 10 | 0 |
| 1900 | 76 | 9 | 1 |
| 1901 | 76 | 11 | 11 |
| 1902 | 55 | 0 | 7 |
| 1903 | 62 | 2 | 2 |
| 1904 | 60 | 2 | 4 |
| 1905 | 72 | 13 | 3 |

Lead.—The estimated production of lead in the United States in 1906 and 1907 was as follows :—

| Class. | 1906. | 1907. | Remarks. |
|-----------------------------|---------|---------|--|
| | Tons. | Tons. | |
| Desilverised, domestic* ... | 196,513 | 201,380 | *A considerable proportion of the lead of South-East Missouri is desilverised, but in this table the old classification has been retained. |
| South-East Missouri ... | 89,725 | 93,245 | |
| South-West Missouri ... | 14,757 | 16,350 | |
| Miscellaneous | 875 | 1,154 | |
| Total | 301,870 | 312,129 | |
| Antimonial | 9,036 | 8,459 | †A small portion of this antimonial lead is of foreign origin. |
| Total domestic† ... | 310,906 | 320,588 | |
| Desilverised foreign ... | 60,215 | 50,607 | |
| Grand total ... | 371,121 | 371,195 | |

The price of lead per ton in New York was in—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|----|----|----|
| 1906 | 24 | 15 | 10 |
| 1907 (ranging from 27 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> from January to May to 16 <i>l.</i> 18 <i>s.</i> 7 <i>d.</i> in December) | 24 | 12 | 11 |

The following figures are taken from the report of the Federal Mining and Smelting Company, the largest single producer of lead in the country :—

| | | 1905. | 1906. | 1907. |
|-----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Ore mined... | Tons ... | 593,598 | 780,845 | 793,705 |
| Average lead* | Per cent. | 6.64 | 7.21 | 6.72 |
| „ silver* | Ozs. ... | 4.54 | 5.02 | 4.65 |
| Concentrate† | Tons ... | 76,076 | 116,835 | 116,404 |
| Silver ... | Ozs. ... | 2,694,936 | 3,918,838 | 3,690,728 |
| Average per ton | „ ... | 35.42 | 33.54 | 31.71 |
| Lead ... | Tons ... | 39,408 | 50,276 | 53,345 |
| Average ... | Per cent. | 51.80 | 48.17 | 45.83 |
| Net profit ... | Value £ | 256,756 | 554,814 | 523,192 |
| Dividends ... | „ £ | 227,045 | 340,383 | 396,227 |

* Average yield, not average assay.

† Includes mill concentrate and shipping (c/o).

NOTE.—The exchange is calculated at the rate of 4 dol. 84 c. = £1.; and the tons are of 2,240 lbs.

Spelter.—The production of spelter in the United States is given as follows:—

| | 1906. | 1907. |
|-----------------|---------|---------|
| | Tons. | Tons. |
| Colorado ... | 5,589 | 4,643 |
| Illinois ... | 43,069 | 50,001 |
| Kansas ... | 115,840 | 121,449 |
| Missouri ... | 9,900 | 10,310 |
| Oklahoma ... | ... | 4,479 |
| South and East† | 26,935 | 33,854 |
| Total ... | 201,333 | 224,736 |

† Virginia, West Virginia and Pennsylvania.

The average price per ton of spelter was as follows:—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---------------|----|----|----|
| 1906— | | | |
| New York ... | 28 | 13 | 0 |
| St. Louis ... | 27 | 18 | 0 |
| 1907— | | | |
| New York ... | 27 | 11 | 10 |
| St. Louis ... | 26 | 17 | 11 |

Prices per ton ranged in 1907 as follows:—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|--------------|----|----|----|
| New York— | | | |
| March ... | 31 | 12 | 10 |
| December ... | 19 | 13 | 9 |
| St. Louis— | | | |
| March ... | 30 | 18 | 11 |
| December ... | 18 | 19 | 10 |

There were approximately 198 zinc furnaces at work in the United States in 1907 with 88,056 retorts owned by 21 companies.

The cost of smelting in the natural gas field of Kansas, owing to the rise in price of gas, is little if anything less now than the cost of smelting in Illinois with coal or fuel. It appears to be a well-recognised fact that the supply of natural gas cannot last much longer.

Coal.—The coal industry in the United States in 1907 was, during the greater part of the year, very active, and the output of the bituminous variety showed an increase of about 40,000,000 tons compared with 1906. The anthracite increased about 13,000,000 tons.

The following are the preliminary figures of the production by States :—

| Bituminous— | Tons. |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| Alabama | 12,589,286 |
| Arkansas | 2,143,508 |
| California and Alaska | 28,571 |
| Colorado | 9,709,307 |
| Georgia and North Carolina | 290,238 |
| Illinois | 43,359,029 |
| Indiana | 10,439,913 |
| Indian Territory | 3,080,357 |
| Iowa | 6,608,587 |
| Kansas | 6,179,895 |
| Kentucky | 9,308,036 |
| Maryland | 4,910,714 |
| Michigan | 1,733,724 |
| Missouri | 3,478,196 |
| Montana | 1,875,000 |
| New Mexico | 2,098,214 |
| North Dakota | 335,000 |
| Ohio | 28,076,803 |
| Oregon | 71,518 |
| Pennsylvania | 131,955,556 |
| Tennessee | 6,250,000 |
| Texas | 1,339,286 |
| Utah | 1,830,357 |
| Virginia | 3,883,928 |
| Washington | 3,125,000 |
| West Virginia | 42,148,183 |
| Wyoming | 5,535,714 |
| Total bituminous | 342,392,920 |
| Anthracite— | |
| Colorado | 40,083 |
| New Mexico | 10,714 |
| Pennsylvania | 75,898,546 |
| Total anthracite | 75,949,343* |
| Grand total | 418,342,263 |

There were no labour troubles of a serious nature to interfere with the coal mining industry in 1907.

Coke.—The coke manufacturing establishments in the United States have increased greatly during recent years. There are now nearly 550, an increase of about 250 since 1900.

The following are the preliminary figures of coke manufacture by States :—

| | Tons. |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| Alabama | 2,906,258 |
| Colorado | 930,353 |
| Georgia and North Carolina | 62,500 |

| | Tons. |
|-------------------------|------------|
| Illinois | 58,679 |
| Indian Territory | 256,250 |
| Kentucky | 89,286 |
| Montana | 42,857 |
| New Mexico | 163,783 |
| Ohio | 249,164 |
| Pennsylvania | 23,431,433 |
| Tennessee | 451,437 |
| Utah | 245,536 |
| Virginia | 1,434,015 |
| Washington | 44,643 |
| West Virginia | 3,812,984 |
| Other States | 1,616,071 |
| Total | 35,795,249 |

In the Connellsville district the coke ovens were turning out about 400,000 tons a week for the greater part of the year, when the price was about 14s. 6d. per ton for the best qualities of furnace coke. In the latter part of the year the production was reduced about 50 per cent. and the price fell to about 9s. 4d. per ton at the ovens.

Petroleum.—The following table shows the production of crude petroleum in barrels of 42 gallons in the United States in 1906 and 1907 :—

| | 1906. | 1907. |
|------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| | Barrels. | Barrels. |
| California | 30,538,000 | 40,000,000 |
| Colorado | 600,000 | 350,000 |
| Gulf— | | |
| Texas | 12,666,000 | 13,250,000 |
| Louisiana | 7,100,000 | 4,925,000 |
| Illinois | 4,900,000 | 25,000,000 |
| Lima— | | |
| Indiana | 25,680,000 | 8,030,000 |
| Ohio | 21,929,905 | 47,556,906 |
| Mid Continental | 21,929,905 | 47,556,906 |
| Kentucky | 1,000,000 | 1,250,000 |
| Tennessee | 1,000,000 | 1,250,000 |
| Appalachian | 27,345,600 | 25,500,000 |
| Wyoming | 13,000 | 13,000 |
| Others | 4,000 | 3,000 |
| Total | 131,776,505 | 165,877,906 |

Aluminium.—The production of aluminium, which has increased rapidly during the last few years and which, at present, is being manufactured by only one firm, is likely to be produced in much larger quantities when certain patents expire early in 1909. It is stated that already several companies are preparing to make the metal. The price which at the beginning of 1907 was 1s. 6d. per lb. rose to 2s. 1d. in April but fell to 1s. 7d. at the end of the year.

Iron ore.—The amount of iron ore transported from the Lake Superior mines in 1907 was approximately 42,000,000 tons. The following table shows the amounts extracted over a series of years :—

| | | | | Total Extracted. | Increase. |
|------|-----|-----|-----|------------------|------------|
| | | | | Tons. | Tons. |
| 1898 | ... | ... | ... | 14,024,673 | 1,560,099 |
| 1899 | ... | ... | ... | 18,251,804 | 4,227,131 |
| 1900 | ... | ... | ... | 19,059,393 | 807,589 |
| 1901 | ... | ... | ... | 20,593,507 | 1,534,114 |
| 1902 | ... | ... | ... | 27,562,566 | 6,969,059 |
| 1903 | ... | ... | ... | 24,289,674 | 3,272,892* |
| 1904 | ... | ... | ... | 21,823,839 | 2,466,835* |
| 1905 | ... | ... | ... | 34,411,592 | 12,588,753 |
| 1906 | ... | ... | ... | 38,522,239 | 4,110,647 |
| 1907 | ... | ... | ... | 42,288,755 | 3,766,516 |

* Decrease.

The ore extracted from the mines of the different ranges was as follows :—

| | 1906. | | 1907. | |
|------------|------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| | Tons. | Percentage. | Tons. | Percentage. |
| Marquette | 4,057,187 | 10·5 | 3,991,479 | 9·5 |
| Menominee | 5,109,088 | 13·3 | 5,130,167 | 12·1 |
| Gogebic | 3,641,985 | 9·4 | 3,555,072 | 8·4 |
| Vermillion | 1,792,355 | 4·7 | 1,684,891 | 4 |
| Mesabi | 23,792,782 | 61·8 | 27,455,116 | 64·9 |
| Others | 128,742 | 0·3 | 471,430 | 1·1 |
| Total | 38,522,139 | ... | 42,288,755 | ... |

The tonnage of ore extracted from the Lake Superior ranges since they were opened is shown in the following table :—

| Range. | Year Opened. | Tons. | Percentage. |
|------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| Marquette | 1855 | 84,849,280 | 22·3 |
| Menominee | 1877 | 63,806,652 | 16·8 |
| Gogebic | 1884 | 54,023,478 | 14·2 |
| Vermillion | 1884 | 26,785,950 | 7·1 |
| Mesabi | 1892 | 150,198,054 | 39·6 |
| Total | ... | 379,663,414 | ... |

The shipments on account of the United States Steel Corporation were as follows :—

| Range. | 1906. | 1907. | Increase or Decrease. |
|------------|------------|------------|-----------------------|
| | Tons. | Tons. | Tons. |
| Mesabi | 14,137,645 | 16,331,956 | + 2,193,411 |
| Vermillion | 1,792,355 | 1,685,327 | - 107,028 |
| Gogebic | 1,511,854 | 1,512,415 | + 561 |
| Menominee | 1,536,275 | 1,606,850 | + 70,575 |
| Marquette | 1,375,119 | 1,224,686 | - 150,433 |
| Total | 20,353,248 | 22,360,334 | + 2,007,086 |

Nearly all the Lake Superior ores are transported by water. The amount carried by the railways was estimated at about 1,000,000 tons in 1907. About 32½ per cent. of the ore is shipped from the port of Duluth, 20 per cent. from Two Harbours and 18 per cent. from Superior.

There were some labour troubles in the mining region during the year, due chiefly to the attempt of the Miners' Federation to unionise the district. The attempt, however, was a failure. Notwithstanding the labour troubles there were 12 mines in the Mesabi Range which shipped over 1,000,000 tons.

The large shipments of ore from the mines and the restriction of output of the blast furnaces during the last quarter of the year has resulted in considerable stocking of ore at the furnaces and at the lower lake ports.

It is estimated that about 7,500,000 tons of ore are stored at the lake docks and about 7,000,000 tons at the blast furnaces. This is over 30 per cent. of the total mined. Because of the high prices prevailing for the ore and the large stocks carried over to 1908 great efforts are being made to keep up the prices of iron and steel products, at any rate until the surplus ore has been consumed.

Prices in 1908 will be the same as in the previous year and there is some likelihood of there being labour troubles on the lakes. In the present unsettled condition it is estimated that the output of the Lake Superior mines in 1908 will be from 30,000,000 to 35,000,000 tons.

The prices established by the United States Steel Corporation and other steel companies that produce their own ore, together with the five merchant producers, are the highest since 1900.

The ore prices per ton since 1900 have been as follows :—

| Year. | Old Range Bessemer. | | | Mesabi Bessemer. | | Old Range non-Bessemer. | | Mesabi non-Bessemer. | |
|-------|---------------------|----|----|------------------|----|-------------------------|-----|----------------------|----|
| | £ | s. | d. | s. | d. | s. | d. | s. | d. |
| 1900 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 18 | 7 | 17 | 6½ | 16 | 6½ |
| 1901 | 0 | 17 | 6½ | 13 | 5 | 12 | 5 | 11 | 4½ |
| 1902 | 0 | 17 | 6½ | 13 | 5 | 13 | 5 | 11 | 4½ |
| 1903 | 0 | 18 | 7 | 16 | 6½ | 14 | 10½ | 13 | 2½ |
| 1904 | 0 | 13 | 5 | 12 | 5 | 11 | 4½ | 10 | 4 |
| 1905 | 0 | 15 | 6 | 14 | 5½ | 13 | 2½ | 12 | 5 |
| 1906* | 0 | 17 | 6½ | 16 | 6½ | 15 | 3½ | 14 | 5½ |
| 1907† | 1 | 0 | 8 | 19 | 7½ | 17 | 6½ | 16 | 6½ |
| 1908† | 1 | 0 | 8 | 19 | 7½ | 17 | 6½ | 16 | 6½ |

* Guarantee of 53 per cent. of metallic contents.

† Guarantee of 51½ per cent. of metallic contents.

Undoubtedly the most important event in the year as regards the iron and steel industries was the acquisition of the Tennessee Coal, Iron* and Railroad Company's properties by the United States Steel Corporation. The transaction is considered as a masterful

stroke of business, and is one more step towards acquiring a monopoly of the iron ore supplies of the country. It is calculated that by becoming the owners of the Tennessee properties the corporation has increased its ore holdings by about 700,000,000 tons in the States of Alabama and Tennessee. The total ore supplies in Alabama are estimated at 1,075,000,000 tons and in Tennessee 825,000,000 tons. With these new properties added to their supplies in the Lake Superior region it is estimated that the United States Steel Corporation controls about 2,500,000,000 tons of iron ore.

In addition to the above the Steel Trust acquired by this purchase properties estimated to yield about 2,000,000,000 tons of coal and incidentally eliminated its strongest competitor in open-hearth steel manufacture.

The purchase was made by the substitution of United States Steel Corporation bonds for the stock of the Tennessee Company.

The Alabama ores yield from 33 to 43 per cent. of metallic iron and are comparatively high in phosphorus. They are only suitable, therefore, for making steel by the basic open-hearth process. Estimates based on reports of the United States Geological Survey give the following figures as representing the minimum quantities of workable iron ore in the Southern States :—

| | Red Ore. Tons. | Brown Ore. Tons. |
|------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Alabama | 1,000,000,000 | 75,000,000 |
| Georgia | 200,000,000 | 125,000,000 |
| Tennessee | 600,000,000 | 225,000,000 |
| Virginia | 50,000,000 | 300,000,000 |
| Total | 1,850,000,000 | 725,000,000 |

The Lake Superior district is calculated at from 1,500,000,000 to 2,000,000,000 tons.

Pig iron.—While at the beginning of 1907 the production of pig iron approximated 2,250,000 tons a month, it was reduced to less than 1,500,000 tons in December. The promptness of this reduction was effective in preventing a sudden fall in prices. An agreement was come to by the larger producers to reduce the output in order to prevent the accumulation of stocks.

According to the figures of the American Iron and Steel Association the production of pig iron during the first six months of 1907 was 13,478,044 tons, an increase of 895,794 tons as compared with the first six months of 1906. The production of the second half of 1907 was 12,303,317 tons, a reduction of 421,624 tons in comparison with the same period the previous year.

The division of the different classes of pig iron produced in 1907 compared with 1906 and 1905 was as follows :—

| | 1905. | 1906. | 1907. |
|---------------------------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| | Tons. | Tons. | Tons. |
| Bessemer and low phosphorus ... | 12,407,116 | 13,840,518 | 13,231,620 |
| Basic... .. | 4,105,179 | 5,018,674 | 5,375,219 |
| Ferro and spiegel | 293,976 | 305,642 | 339,348 |
| Foundry and high silicon | 4,755,288* | 4,768,911† | } 6,835,174 |
| Multicable Bessemer | 635,236* | 699,701† | |
| Forge, mottled, &c. | 795,585* | 674,645† | |
| Total | 22,992,380 | 25,307,191 | 25,781,361 |

* Total, 6,186,109 tons.

† Total, 6,142,357 tons.

The consumption of pig iron in the United States was as follows :—

| | Tons. |
|--------------------|------------|
| Production | 25,781,361 |
| Imports | 489,440 |
| Total | 26,270,801 |
| Exports | 73,844 |
| Consumption | 26,196,957 |

The following table shows the production of pig iron during the last 10 years :—

| | Tons. |
|-------------|------------|
| 1898 | 11,773,934 |
| 1899 | 13,620,703 |
| 1900 | 13,789,242 |
| 1901 | 15,878,354 |
| 1902 | 17,821,307 |
| 1903 | 18,009,252 |
| 1904 | 16,497,083 |
| 1905 | 22,992,380 |
| 1906 | 25,307,191 |
| 1907 | 25,781,361 |

In 1907 there were 442 blast furnaces, of which 359 were producing pig iron up to the end of June. At that time there were 29 furnaces being constructed and 13 furnaces projected. On December 31, 1907, there were only 167 furnaces in blast, 275 being idle. There were 89 furnaces idle at the end of 1906.

The total production of pig iron by States in 1907 was as follows :—

| | First Half | Second Half | Total, 1907. |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | of Year. | of Year. | |
| | Tons. | Tons. | Tons. |
| Massachusetts ... | 8,746 | 10,373 | 19,119 |
| Connecticut ... | | | |
| New York ... | 859,125 | 800,627 | 1,659,752 |
| New Jersey ... | 195,245 | 177,944 | 373,189 |
| Pennsylvania ... | 5,964,884 | 5,383,665 | 11,348,549 |
| Maryland ... | 221,145 | 190,688 | 411,833 |
| Virginia ... | 260,912 | 217,859 | 478,771 |
| Georgia ... | | | |
| Texas ... | 26,173 | 29,652 | 55,825 |
| Alabama ... | 861,771 | 824,903 | 1,686,674 |
| West Virginia ... | 151,643 | 139,423 | 291,066 |
| Kentucky ... | 79,013 | 48,933 | 127,946 |
| Tennessee ... | 193,371 | 199,735 | 393,106 |
| Ohio ... | 2,815,174 | 2,435,513 | 5,250,687 |
| Illinois ... | 1,263,258 | 1,194,510 | 2,457,768 |
| Indiana ... | | | |
| Michigan ... | 197,330 | 239,177 | 436,507 |
| Wisconsin ... | | | |
| Minnesota ... | 100,045 | 162,038 | 322,083 |
| Missouri ... | | | |
| Colorado ... | | | |
| Oregon ... | 220,209 | 248,277 | 468,486 |
| Washington ... | | | |
| California ... | | | |
| Total ... | 13,478,044 | 12,303,317 | 25,781,361 |

The average prices of pig iron for the last eight years were the following :—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|----------|---|----|----|
| 1900 ... | 4 | 2 | 7 |
| 1901 ... | 3 | 5 | 7 |
| 1902 ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| 1903 ... | 3 | 5 | 6 |
| 1904 ... | 3 | 12 | 10 |
| 1905 ... | 3 | 18 | 6 |
| 1906 ... | 5 | 9 | 6 |
| 1907 ... | 3 | 18 | 3 |

Steel.—The history of steel production in 1907 is similar to that of pig iron, namely, a large output for about 10 months and then a large reduction.

The approximate production is given as follows :—

| | 1906. | | 1907. | |
|--------------------------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|
| | Tons. | Per cent. | Tons. | Per cent. |
| Basic open-hearth ... | 9,649,385 | 41·3 | 10,150,000 | 42·3 |
| Acid open-hearth ... | 1,321,613 | 5·7 | 1,358,000 | 5·7 |
| Total open-hearth | 10,970,998 | 47 | 11,508,000 | 48 |
| Bessemer ... | 12,275,253 | 52·5 | 12,348,000 | 51·5 |
| Crucible and special ... | 118,500 | 0·5 | 119,000 | 0·5 |
| Total ... | 23,364,751 | ... | 23,975,000 | ... |

The question of the quality of steel rails as supplied to the railway companies was again brought prominently to the front in 1907. The railway companies insisted that there must be an improvement to meet the increased weight of traffic. The breakage of rails was becoming a very serious matter, and many accidents were traceable to this cause. The question was eventually taken up by the American Railway Association. A committee of experts was formed, and, after conferring with representatives of the railway companies, presented a report recommending a stricter limitation of the percentage of phosphorus, an increased discard on ingots used in rolling rails, more care in rolling and some modifications in sections putting more metal into the base and web of the rail. The report is still under consideration.

In a recent issue of the "Engineering and Mining Journal" the new specifications as regards chemical composition of steel rails adopted by the Carnegie Steel Company to govern contracts was published as follows :—

| Sections. | Range. | | Limit. | |
|-------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|
| | Carbon. | Manganese. | Phosphorus. | Silicia. |
| | Per cent. | Per cent. | Per cent. | Per cent. |
| 50 to 60 lbs. ... | 0·35 to 0·45 | 0·70 to 1 | 0·10 | 0·20 |
| 61 " 70 " ... | 0·35 " 0·45 | 0·70 " 1 | 0·10 | 0·20 |
| 71 " 80 " ... | 0·40 " 0·50 | 0·75 " 1·05 | 0·10 | 0·20 |
| 81 " 90 " ... | 0·43 " 0·53 | 0·80 " 1·10 | 0·10 | 0·20 |
| 91 " 100 " ... | 0·45 " 0·55 | 0·84 " 1·14 | 0·10 | 0·20 |

Shrinkage.—It is provided that the number of passes and speed of train shall be so regulated that, on leaving the rolls at the final pass the temperature of rails of sections 75 lbs. per yard and heavier will not exceed that which requires a shrinkage allowance at the hot saws of $6\frac{7}{8}$ inches for a 33-foot 75 lbs. rail, with an increase of $\frac{1}{16}$ inch for each increase of 5 lbs. in the weight of the section.

No artificial means of cooling the steel shall be used after the rails leave the rolls nor shall they be held before sawing for the purpose of reducing their temperature.

The price of heavy steel rails during the year was maintained at 28 dol. (5*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.*).

The steel ingot capacity of the United States is now about 25,000,000 tons, 2,000,000 tons having been added during the last year.

The year 1907, which began with every iron and steel mill working at their greatest capacity, ended with the total production cut down to about 50 or 60 per cent. of the possible output.

Railways, which are responsible for about 45 per cent. of the consumption of iron and steel products, have now reduced their buying to the lowest possible amount, only buying what is absolutely necessary for present needs; building operations, in which steel enters so largely, has been restricted, and other industries where iron and steel products are necessary are also cutting down expenses. The prospects for 1908 are, therefore, that in the iron and steel industries extreme quietness will prevail. It is evident that every effort will be made to keep up prices in the domestic market, and this will necessitate an increased export of iron and steel products at reduced prices.

It is questionable whether this policy of the steel manufacturers of keeping up prices will prove to be correct, as it will delay the necessary improvements and extensions proposed by the railway companies and thus retard the return to prosperity.

The following table shows the prices of the principal iron and steel products at Pittsburg month by month during 1907 :—

TABLE showing Prices of the Principal Iron and Steel Products at Pittsburg during the Year 1907.

| Month. | Pig Iron. | | | Ferro-manganese. | Steel. | | | | | Nails. | |
|-------------|-----------|----------------|-------------|------------------|--------------------|---------|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|---------------|
| | Bessemer. | No. 2 Foundry. | Gray Forge. | | Bessemer. Billets. | Rails. | Black Sheets, No. 28. | Tank Plate. | Steel Bars. | Wire, per Keg. | Cut, per Keg. |
| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. |
| January ... | 4 16 6 | 5 4 9½ | 4 12 4½ | 16 14 9 | 6 1 11 | 5 15 9 | 10 10 | 7 1 | 6 8 | 8 4 | 8 6½ |
| February... | 4 14 6 | 5 0 7½ | 4 10 3½ | 15 6 9½ | 5 19 10 | 5 15 9 | 10 10 | 7 1 | 6 8 | 8 4 | 8 6½ |
| March ... | 4 18 7 | 5 2 8½ | 4 10 3½ | 15 9 11 | 5 19 10 | 5 15 9 | 10 10 | 7 1 | 6 8 | 8 4 | 8 6½ |
| April ... | 4 18 7 | 5 6 10 | 4 11 4 | 14 17 6½ | 6 4 0 | 5 15 9 | 10 10 | 7 1 | 6 8 | 8 4 | 8 8½ |
| May ... | 5 0 8½ | 5 6 10 | 4 14 5½ | 14 5 1½ | 6 6 1 | 5 15 9 | 10 10 | 7 1 | 6 8 | 8 4 | 8 6½ |
| June ... | 5 0 10 | 5 5 0 | 4 14 8 | 13 4 6 | 6 1 11 | 5 15 9 | 10 10 | 7 1 | 6 8 | 8 4 | 8 6½ |
| July ... | 4 18 10 | 4 18 11 | 4 14 8 | 13 0 4 | 6 4 0 | 5 15 9 | 10 10 | 7 1 | 6 8 | 8 4 | 8 6½ |
| August ... | 4 14 8 | 4 14 9 | 4 10 6 | 12 16 2½ | 6 1 11 | 5 15 9 | 10 10 | 7 1 | 6 8 | 8 4 | 8 9 |
| September | 4 14 8 | 4 10 7 | 4 6 4 | 11 19 8½ | 6 1 11 | 5 15 9 | 10 10 | 7 1 | 6 8 | 8 6½ | 8 9 |
| October ... | 4 14 8 | 4 6 5 | 4 2 3 | 11 15 6½ | 5 15 8½ | 5 15 9 | 10 10 | 7 1 | 6 8 | 8 6½ | 8 6½ |
| November | 4 4 4 | 4 4 4 | 4 0 2 | 10 19 1 | 5 15 8½ | 5 15 9 | 10 10 | 7 1 | 6 8 | 8 6½ | 8 4 |
| December | 4 2 3 | 4 0 2 | 3 18 1½ | 10 14 10½ | 5 15 8½ | 5 15 9 | 10 10 | 7 1 | 6 8 | 8 6½ | 8 4 |

UNITED STATES.

Tin plates.—The production of black plates, tin and terne plates in the United States since 1894, as published in the "Iron Age," was as follows :—

| | | | | | | Black Plates. | Tin and Terne Plates. |
|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------------|--------------------------|
| | | | | | | Tons. | Tons. |
| 1894 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 52,359 | 74,260 |
| 1895 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 129,615 | 113,666 |
| 1896 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 185,387 | 160,392 |
| 1897 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 271,886 | 256,598 |
| 1898 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 345,254 | 326,915 |
| 1899 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 375,000 | 360,875 |
| 1900 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 315,000 | 302,665 |
| 1901 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 398,026 | 399,291 |
| 1902 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 365,743 | 360,000 |
| 1903 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 490,652 | 480,000 |
| 1904 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 472,569 | 458,000 |
| 1905 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 507,587 | 493,500 |
| 1906 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 576,079 | 577,562 |
| 1907 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 495,000* | 495,000* |

* Estimated.

The tin plates exported from the United States amounted to—

| | | | | | | Tons. |
|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------|
| 1905 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 7,940 |
| 1906 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 12,082 |
| 1907 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 10,203 |

The imports, all of which, practically, were re-exported with benefit of drawback, in the form of cans and boxes, amounted to—

| | | | | | | Tons. |
|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------|
| 1905 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 65,740 |
| 1906 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 56,983 |
| 1907 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 57,773 |

The average number of tin mills in operation is stated to have been as follows :—

| | | | | | | |
|---------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 1904... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 231 |
| 1905... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 229 |
| 1906... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 270 |
| 1907... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 231 |

The independent tin plate mills still manage to compete with those under the control of the United States Steel Corporation, but make little progress. The following table shows the independent and corporation sheet and tin plate mills :—

| | | | | | | Independent. | Corporation. |
|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------|--------------|
| 1902 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 207 | 428 |
| 1903 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 226 | 428 |
| 1904 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 253 | 405 |
| 1905 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 239 | 419 |
| 1906 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 240 | 426 |
| 1907 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 258 | 421 |

Leather.—The tendency of the boot and shoe industry in 1907 was to supply a higher grade in place of the cheaper qualities which

have been in vogue for so many years. At the beginning of the year hides and skins were costly and scarce. As it was found to be a difficult matter to force up the prices of boots, shoes and other leather goods the tanners resolved to curtail production. This had the desired effect, and prices of the raw material declined.

Taken altogether the year was a successful one in all branches of the leather industry, due to the general prosperity of the country. Boot and shoe manufacturers are now operating their plants conservatively, buying their leather more or less from hand to mouth until conditions are more settled and they can see more clearly the probable trend of the market.

The production of hides is not increasing at the same rate as the demand for the finished product.

The following are the average prices per 100 lbs. of packer and country hides in Chicago since 1900, together with the highest and lowest prices in 1907, as reported by "Hide and Leather":—

TABLE showing the Average Prices per 100 lbs. of Packer and Country Hides in Chicago since 1900, together with the Highest and Lowest Prices during the Year 1907.

| | 1900. | 1901. | 1902. | 1903. | 1904. | 1905. |
|-----------------------------|----------|----------|----------|---------|---------|---------|
| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
| Native steers, heavy | 2 9 7½ | 2 11 3 | 2 15 3 | 2 8 5½ | 2 8 8 | 2 19 4½ |
| Butt branded steers | 2 5 9½ | 2 7 4½ | 2 10 11½ | 2 3 11 | 2 5 2 | 2 14 9½ |
| Texas steers— | | | | | | |
| Heavy | 2 9 11½ | 2 13 5½ | 2 11 5½ | 2 12 6½ | 2 12 4½ | 2 19 9 |
| Light | 2 6 1½ | 2 7 7½ | 2 11 6 | 2 6 0½ | 2 8 5 | 2 17 6 |
| Colorado steers | 2 3 7 | 2 6 5 | 2 9 11½ | 2 3 3½ | 2 4 9½ | 2 14 3½ |
| Native cows— | | | | | | |
| Heavy | 2 4 2 | 2 4 2 | 2 6 4 | 2 1 0 | 2 3 11 | 2 14 6 |
| Light | 2 3 9½ | 2 1 10 | 2 1 11 | 1 19 8 | 2 3 3½ | 2 14 2 |
| Branded cows | 2 2 4 | 2 0 11½ | 2 1 5 | 1 18 0 | 2 2 5½ | 2 13 4 |
| Native bulls | 2 1 0½ | 2 2 0½ | 2 3 11 | 1 19 9 | 1 17 8½ | 2 4 8 |
| Branded bulls | 1 14 11½ | 1 15 2½ | 1 17 10 | 1 11 9 | 1 13 7½ | 2 0 5 |
| Heavy steers | 2 5 1½ | 2 2 2½ | 2 2 9½ | 2 0 2 | 2 0 11½ | 2 11 4 |
| " cows | 1 18 8½ | 1 18 4½ | 1 18 1½ | 1 15 7½ | 1 18 11 | 2 9 2½ |
| Buffs | 1 16 4 | 1 17 3 | 1 16 4 | 1 15 2 | 1 18 10 | 2 8 11 |
| Extremes | 1 19 5 | 1 16 3 | 1 12 0 | 1 16 3 | 1 19 8 | 2 9 9½ |
| No. 2 Buffs... .. | 1 13 9 | 1 11 11½ | 1 12 0 | 1 12 1 | 1 14 9½ | 2 4 9½ |
| Bulls | 1 15 1 | 1 16 6½ | 1 17 8 | 1 13 7 | 1 13 5 | 1 19 8½ |
| Calf-skins | 2 8 10½ | 2 9 0 | 2 8 10½ | 2 9 9 | 2 15 6 | 3 1 9 |
| Kips... .. | 2 2 0 | 1 19 0 | 1 18 8½ | 2 1 0½ | 2 4 8½ | 2 11 8 |

UNITED STATES.

TABLE showing the Average Prices per 100 lbs. of Packer and Country Hides in Chicago since 1900, together with the Highest and Lowest Prices during the Year 1907—continued.

| | 1906. | 1907. | Highest Price in 1907. | Month. | Lowest Price in December, 1907. |
|-------------------------|----------|---------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | | £ s. d. |
| Native steers, heavy... | 3 3 9½ | 3 0 2 | 3 7 5 | January ... | 2 9 4 |
| Butt branded steers ... | 2 17 10 | 2 10 5 | 2 19 11 | January, February ... | 1 19 7 |
| Texas steers— | | | | | |
| Heavy ... | 3 1 6 | 2 18 3 | 3 3 5 | January, February, March, June | 2 6 6 |
| Light ... | 3 1 4½ | 2 14 8½ | 3 3 5 | January, February, March | 1 19 3 |
| Colorado steers ... | 2 16 5½ | 2 8 10½ | 2 18 11 | January, February ... | 1 17 2 |
| Native cows— | | | | | |
| Heavy ... | 3 1 10 | 2 14 3 | 3 3 9 | January ... | 1 19 3 |
| Light ... | 3 1 6 | 2 12 7 | 3 2 9 | January ... | 1 16 8 |
| Branded cows ... | 2 18 4 | 2 9 1½ | 2 18 11 | January, February ... | 1 11 4 |
| Native bulls ... | 2 10 5 | 2 9 0 | 2 14 9 | January, February ... | 2 3 5 |
| Branded bulls ... | 2 3 9½ | 2 3 1½ | 2 3 5 | January, February, March | 1 15 5 |
| Heavy steers ... | 2 16 10½ | 2 8 7 | 2 18 11 | February ... | 1 13 9 |
| " cows ... | 2 15 6½ | 2 5 5 | 2 17 1 | March ... | 1 9 7 |
| Bufs ... | 2 15 5 | 2 4 9½ | 2 13 2 | January ... | 1 8 11 |
| Extremes ... | 2 15 6 | 2 1 7 | 2 13 2 | January ... | 1 11 0 |
| No. 2 Bufs ... | 2 11 5½ | 2 0 7½ | 2 9 0 | January ... | 1 4 9 |
| Bulls ... | 2 5 9 | 2 0 9 | 2 7 6 | January ... | 1 4 9 |
| Calf-skins ... | 3 5 1½ | 3 5 4 | 3 7 2 | March ... | 2 8 11 |
| Kips ... | 2 16 9 | 2 7 2 | 2 15 9 | January ... | 1 13 7 |

Tanning materials.—There continues to be a large demand in the United States for tanning materials, especially quebracho, the importation of which has increased greatly. In 1906 the value imported of this extract was 205,677*l.* In the year just closed it amounted to 532,036*l.* The other tanning materials for which there is always a certain demand are palmetto, mangrove, sumac, gambier, valonia, cutch and myrabolans. Tanning extracts are being more largely used than formerly and works for their manufacture in this country are increasing. The diminishing supply of hemlock bark has reduced its employment in the tanneries. Chestnut extract is the most extensively used of those of domestic manufacture, being double the combined quantity of oak and hemlock extract. The quebracho extract, which is the most expensive but contains at the same time the largest amount of tannin, is more largely used than any other.

Textiles.—In 1907 the textile industries experienced the same sudden change as other industries, from great prosperity at the commencement to depression and curtailment at the end of the year.

The feature of the cotton goods trade was the continued increase in the manufacture of goods of superior quality and high price. The sale of fine fancy cotton goods has progressed rapidly. The demand has been good and will be again, and British manufacturers would do well to pay particular attention to the requirements of Americans if they wish to retain the trade they are at present doing.

New Bedford is the centre of the fine cotton goods manufactures. During 1907 the dividends paid by 15 of its 18 mill corporations amounted to 532,650*l.*, or an average disbursement of 13.73 per cent. This amount has never before been equalled. The total capitalisation of the New Bedford mills is 3,878,100*l.* During the year about 15,000 spindles and 1,500 looms were added.

In the Fall River district the dividend disbursements were also the largest ever paid. The amount averaged 10.97 per cent. on the capital of corporations paying dividends. Stock dividends were an important factor in the large payments of the past year. The amount disbursed was 558,239*l.*, and 392,550*l.* in addition was given, in stock.

The amount paid to stock holders is practically 1 dol. (4*s.* 1½*d.*) a spindle upon the entire spindles of the district, which consist of 2,608,757 spindles. A few corporations earned 4 dol. (16*s.* 6*d.*) a spindle, more than a majority earned 3 dol. (12*s.* 4½*d.*) a spindle, and few, if any, have earned less than 2 dol. (8*s.* 3*d.*) a spindle; 2 dol. 50 c. (10*s.* 4*d.*) may be taken as an average of the whole. Of this amount 1 dol. (4*s.* 1½*d.*) has gone to the stock holders, while the other, 1 dol. 50 c. (6*s.* 2½*d.*), has gone to increase the intrinsic value of the properties.

When the financial stringency became acute about 80 per cent. of the leading cotton manufacturers of New England decided to curtail their production 25 per cent., the curtailment to extend to

March 1. The step was considered necessary in order that the recovery from depression should not be prolonged on account of over-production.

The automatic wage scale at the Fall River cotton mills, which is based on the margin between the selling price of cotton and cloth, appears to have worked satisfactorily during the year. As the basis for wages in the first part of 1908 was determined by the margin for the previous six months, the high wage scale will continue until May. It remains to be seen whether the system will work in an equally satisfactory manner when prices have fallen.

According to the "Textile World Record" 263 new mills were built in the United States in 1907, as compared with 303 in 1906. The number of new silk mills has increased, but that of cotton, woollen and knitting mills has not increased to the same extent as in the previous year. Shortage of skilled labour is given as the reason for this slackening in the construction of new mills. In many instances the labour necessary to operate the new machinery was drawn from other plants, and throughout the year many mills were only able to employ their hands full time by keeping part of their machinery idle.

The textile industry continues to be handicapped by the scarcity of suitable labour. It is claimed that the present law operates to keep out the skilful workmen and admits the undesirable element. When there was a press of work it was found necessary to take on many unskilled hands in order to keep the mills going to their full extent, and, when curtailment was decided upon, the foreigners were the first to go. It has been found, however, that many of the old and skilled hands, rather than associate with such a class as were being employed, preferred to leave and are now educating their children for other pursuits rather than bring them in contact with the undesirable element which has been introduced into the trade.

Nearly 70 per cent. of the increase in spindles is in the new cotton mills of the south.

The following is the tabulated list of new mills :—

COTTON.

| | Number. | Spindles. | Looms. |
|----------------------|---------|-----------|--------|
| New England— | | | |
| Connecticut | 1 | ... | ... |
| Massachusetts | 4 | 100,000 | 1,350 |
| Maine | 1 | 5,000 | ... |
| Rhode Island | 6 | 8,000 | ... |
| Total... .. | 12 | ... | ... |

COTTON—continued.

| | Number. | Spindles. | Looms. |
|-----------------------------------|---------|-----------|--------|
| Southern States— | | | |
| Alabama | 4 | 19,924 | ... |
| Georgia | 8 | 90,080 | 10,004 |
| Mississippi | 2 | 2,736 | ... |
| North Carolina | 23 | 135,505 | 1,240 |
| South Carolina | 3 | 36,500 | 820 |
| Tennessee... .. | 2 | 10,000 | ... |
| Texas | 1 | ... | ... |
| Total... .. | 43 | ... | ... |
| Middle and Western States— | | | |
| California | 1 | ... | ... |
| New Jersey | 3 | ... | 100 |
| New York | 2 | 10,000 | ... |
| Ohio | 1 | ... | ... |
| Pennsylvania | 3 | 250 | ... |
| Total... .. | 10 | ... | ... |

SILK.

| | For— | Number of Mills. | Total. |
|----------------------|----------------------|------------------|--------|
| Connecticut | Broad silks | 1 | 3 |
| | Braids | 2 | |
| New York | Silk throwing | 4 | 9 |
| | Broad silks | 2 | |
| | Gloves | 1 | |
| | Ribbons | 2 | |
| Massachusetts | Broad silk | 1 | 1 |
| New Jersey | Ribbons | 7 | 24 |
| | Broad silks | 10 | |
| | Silk throwing | 7 | |
| Pennsylvania | Ribbons | 10 | 14 |
| | Broad silks | 1 | |
| | Silk throwing | 2 | |
| | Sewing silk | 1 | |
| Total— | | | |
| 1907 | ... | ... | 51 |
| 1906 | ... | ... | 36 |
| 1905 | ... | ... | 53 |
| 1904 | ... | ... | 49 |
| 1903 | ... | ... | 58 |

KNITTING Mills.

| | | For— | Number of Mills. | Total. |
|-----------------|---------------|-------------------|------------------|--------|
| New England | ... | Massachusetts ... | 3 | 5 |
| | ... | New Hampshire | 2 | |
| Middle States | ... | New York ... | 14 | 49 |
| | ... | New Jersey ... | 2 | |
| | ... | Pennsylvania ... | 33 | |
| Western States | ... | California ... | 2 | 12 |
| | ... | Illinois ... | 1 | |
| | ... | Indiana... | 2 | |
| | ... | Michigan | 2 | |
| | ... | Ohio ... | 2 | |
| Southern States | ... | Wisconsin | 3 | 17 |
| | ... | Alabama ... | 1 | |
| | ... | Delaware ... | 1 | |
| | ... | Georgia ... | 3 | |
| | ... | Maryland | 1 | |
| | ... | North Carolina... | 5 | |
| | ... | South Carolina... | 1 | |
| ... | Tennessee ... | 3 | | |
| ... | Virginia... | 2 | | |
| Total— | | | | 17 |
| 1907 | ... | ... | ... | 83 |
| 1906 | ... | ... | ... | 103 |
| 1905 | ... | ... | ... | 79 |
| 1904 | ... | ... | ... | 111 |
| 1903 | ... | ... | ... | 105 |

WOOLLEN and Worsted.

| | | For— | Number of Mills. | Total. |
|----------------|-----|-------------------|------------------|--------|
| New England | ... | Maine ... | 1 | 7 |
| | ... | Massachusetts ... | 4 | |
| | ... | Rhode Island ... | 2 | |
| Middle States— | ... | New Jersey ... | 2 | 14 |
| | ... | New York ... | 2 | |
| | ... | Pennsylvania ... | 10 | |
| Western States | ... | Oregon ... | 1 | 4 |
| | ... | Wisconsin | 3 | |
| Total— | | | | 4 |
| 1907 | ... | ... | ... | 25 |
| 1906 | ... | ... | ... | 56 |
| 1905 | ... | ... | ... | 38 |
| 1904 | ... | ... | ... | 45 |
| 1903 | ... | ... | ... | 65 |

COMPARISON of New Mill Construction for the last Eight Years.

| | 1900. | 1901. | 1902. | 1903. | 1904. | 1905. | 1906. | 1907. |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Cotton | 171 | 59 | 68 | 81 | 48 | 33 | 74 | 64 |
| Woollen | 48 | 53 | 40 | 65 | 45 | 38 | 56 | 25 |
| Knitting | 109 | 93 | 82 | 105 | 111 | 79 | 103 | 83 |
| Silk | 43 | 29 | 45 | 58 | 49 | 53 | 36 | 51 |
| Miscellaneous | 20 | 21 | 21 | 25 | 37 | 42 | 34 | 39 |
| Total | 400 | 255 | 262 | 334 | 290 | 245 | 303 | 262 |

COMPARISON of Spindles in New Cotton Mills for the last Eight Years.

| Year. | New England. | Southern States. | Middle and Western States. | Total. |
|-------------|--------------|------------------|----------------------------|-----------|
| 1900 | 185,700 | 1,109,584 | 11,500 | 1,306,784 |
| 1901 | 30,000 | 259,360 | 2,064 | 291,424 |
| 1902 | 347,320 | 490,256 | 25,000 | 862,576 |
| 1903 | 135,000 | 281,752 | ... | 416,752 |
| 1904 | 61,184 | 155,472 | ... | 216,656 |
| 1905 | 100,800 | 97,920 | ... | 198,720 |
| 1906 | 171,000 | 294,956 | 27,040 | 492,996 |
| 1907 | 113,000 | 294,745 | 10,250 | 417,995 |

It will be noticed that the South is considerably in advance of the North in new construction. Large sums of money are being spent in obtaining power to generate electricity for driving the mills. Many of the Southern mills are situated far from rivers, and the electricity is brought in some cases as far as 25 miles from some central generating station. These generating stations have been a great incentive to mill building. The power is supplied cheaply, and anywhere within a radius of 50 miles of the station is considered a suitable site for a mill.

The exceptionally high prices which ruled in 1907 for cotton fabrics of domestic manufacture excited general attention and were the cause to a great extent of the increase of imports of foreign goods and the decline in the exports of cloths of American manufacture.

Woollens.—In the woollen industry the character of the demand in 1907 tended strongly towards finer grades. The amount of business done was good, especially in goods of superior quality, for which high prices were received. An important feature of the trade was the production of novelties, which tended to keep prices at a high level.

In 1908 it is probable that the demand will be chiefly for medium

grade goods, more especially as regards men's wear, as it is doubtful whether the average wearer will be in a position to spend so much as formerly on his clothing.

Business, as far as the manufacturers are concerned, is being conducted in a conservative manner, and as soon as financial conditions become normal, sales will doubtless increase, and before the end of the year there should again be a good demand for woollen and worsted goods.

Worsted fabrics were in more request in 1907 than woollens, and the present indications point to a continued preference for the former.

Many varieties of attractive textiles have been produced by the domestic mills, and they are approximating more nearly to the quality of imported goods than ever before. Those British manufacturers, therefore, who are in a position to offer attractive novelties will have the best chance of increasing their trade.

It must be remembered that, owing to the fact that people have been willing to pay more for their goods during the past few years, the manufacturers in this country have been encouraged to spend more on improving their works and producing novelties. Goods of all description are now being finished better than ever before and both mechanical and artistic improvements have become evident.

One of the most important events of the year as regards textiles was the organisation of the American Association of Woollen and Worsted Manufacturers. This association was formed for the purpose of correcting some of the evils of the trade and improving conditions generally.

As regards dress goods, worsted fabrics were more in favour than woollen, as the fashion was for light-weight materials. The demand for these is likely to continue during the present year.

Wool.—Owing to the preference shown for worsted goods, the better grade of wools were in great demand.

The severe weather in the ranges of the territories during the winter of 1906-07 caused shorter growth of wool and a more defective staple. The number of sheep in the United States was slightly larger than 1906. The annual report of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers gives the number of sheep fit for shearing on April 1 as follows:—

| | | | | |
|---------|-----|-----|-----|------------|
| 1897... | ... | ... | ... | 36,818,643 |
| 1898... | ... | ... | ... | 37,656,960 |
| 1899... | ... | ... | ... | 39,114,453 |
| 1900... | ... | ... | ... | 41,883,065 |
| 1901... | ... | ... | ... | 41,920,900 |
| 1902... | ... | ... | ... | 42,184,122 |
| 1903... | ... | ... | ... | 39,284,000 |
| 1904... | ... | ... | ... | 38,342,072 |
| 1905... | ... | ... | ... | 38,621,476 |
| 1906... | ... | ... | ... | 38,540,798 |
| 1907... | ... | ... | ... | 38,864,932 |

The average weight of fleece in 1907 was 6.60 lbs., a decrease from 6.66 lbs. in 1906. The weight in 1905 was 6.56 lbs. and in

1904 6.50 lbs. The average "sinkage" was 60.6 per cent. in 1907, an improvement, as compared with 1906, when the "sinkage" was 61.8 per cent.

The proportion of fine wools decreased from 24.99 per cent. in 1906 to 23.50 per cent. in 1907.

The total of 38,864,932 sheep available in 1907 were distributed as follows :—

| | |
|----------------------|-----------|
| Montana | 4,600,000 |
| Wyoming | 4,484,931 |
| New Mexico | 2,600,000 |
| Idaho | 2,500,000 |
| Utah | 2,075,000 |

The sheep in no other State numbered 2,000,000.

The following figures are given of the production of wool in the United States during the last eight years :—

SCOURED Wool.

| | Lbs. |
|------------|-------------|
| 1900... .. | 118,223,120 |
| 1901... .. | 126,814,690 |
| 1902... .. | 137,912,085 |
| 1903... .. | 124,366,405 |
| 1904... .. | 123,935,147 |
| 1905... .. | 126,627,121 |
| 1906... .. | 129,410,942 |
| 1907... .. | 130,359,118 |

FLEECE Wool in the Grease.

| | Lbs. |
|------------|-------------|
| 1900... .. | 288,638,621 |
| 1901... .. | 302,502,382 |
| 1902... .. | 316,341,032 |
| 1903... .. | 287,450,000 |
| 1904... .. | 291,783,032 |
| 1905... .. | 295,488,438 |
| 1906... .. | 298,915,130 |
| 1907... .. | 298,294,750 |

The above figures are lower than those given in some of the trade papers, but are sufficiently accurate to give a general idea.

The State of Wyoming produced the most wool, as follows :—

| | Lbs. |
|-------------------|------------|
| Wyoming | 33,637,000 |
| Montana | 30,820,000 |
| Idaho | 17,250,000 |
| Oregon | 15,300,000 |
| New Mexico | 14,300,000 |
| Utah | 13,902,500 |

Imports of foreign wools were smaller in 1907 than in 1906, the figures being 188,303,955 and 196,844,298 lbs. respectively.

Direct imports from Australia, both by manufacturers and dealers, were larger than in the previous season.

The following quotations are given in the "Commercial Bulletin" for the leading grades of domestic wool at the close of the year, compared with those at the end of 1906:—

| | | Grade. | 1907. | | | | 1906 | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------|-----|------|----|------|-----|------|----|
| | | | s. | d. | s. | d. | s. | d. | s. | d. |
| Ohio washed ... | XX ... | ... | 1 | 5 | to 1 | 5½ | 1 | 5 | to 1 | 5½ |
| | | Fine delaine ... | 1 | 7 | .. 1 | 7½ | 1 | 6½ | .. 1 | 6¾ |
| Ohio unwashed ... | Fine ... | ... | 1 | 1 | .. 1 | 1½ | 1 | 0½ | .. 1 | 1 |
| | | .. delaine ... | 1 | 3½ | .. 1 | 4 | 1 | 2½ | .. 1 | 3 |
| | | Half-blood ... | 1 | 4½ | .. 1 | 5 | 1 | 4½ | .. 1 | 5 |
| | | Three-eighth blood | 1 | 4½ | .. 1 | 4¾ | 1 | 4½ | .. 1 | 5½ |
| Missouri, un- washed | Three-eighth blood | ... | 1 | 3 | .. 1 | 3½ | 1 | 4½ | .. 1 | 5 |
| | | Quarter blood | 1 | 4 | .. 1 | 4½ | 1 | 4½ | .. 1 | 5 |
| | | Quarter blood | 1 | 2½ | .. 1 | 3 | 1 | 3½ | .. 1 | 4 |
| | | Braid ... | 1 | 1½ | .. 1 | 2 | ... | ... | .. 1 | 2 |
| Texas, scoured basis | Fine, 12 months | ... | 2 | 11½ | .. 3 | 0 | 3 | 0 | .. 3 | 0½ |
| | | .. 6 to 8 months | 2 | 8 | .. 2 | 9 | 2 | 9½ | .. 2 | 10 |
| | | .. fall ... | 2 | 1 | .. 2 | 2½ | 2 | 6 | .. 2 | 7 |
| California, scoured basis | Northern ... | ... | 2 | 7½ | .. 2 | 8½ | 2 | 8½ | .. 2 | 10 |
| | | Middle ... | 2 | 5 | .. 2 | 6 | 2 | 8½ | .. 2 | 9 |
| | | Fall, free ... | 1 | 10½ | .. 2 | 0 | 2 | 3 | .. 2 | 3½ |
| | | .. defective | 1 | 4½ | .. 1 | 5½ | 1 | 6½ | .. 1 | 7 |
| Territory, scoured basis | Staple, fine ... | ... | 2 | 11 | .. 3 | 0 | 2 | 11 | .. 3 | 0½ |
| | | medium | 2 | 10 | .. 2 | 11 | 2 | 10 | .. 2 | 11 |
| | | Clothing, fine | 2 | 8½ | .. 2 | 9½ | 2 | 10 | .. 2 | 11 |
| Pulled, scoured basis | " .. medium | ... | 2 | 6 | .. 2 | 7½ | 2 | 9 | .. 2 | 10 |
| | | Fine A... .. | 2 | 5 | .. 2 | 6 | 2 | 6 | .. 2 | 8½ |
| | | A super ... | 1 | 10½ | .. 2 | 1 | 2 | 2½ | .. 2 | 5 |
| | | B .. | 1 | 7 | .. 1 | 9 | 1 | 11½ | .. 2 | 2½ |
| | | C .. | 1 | 3 | .. 1 | 4 | 1 | 4½ | .. 1 | 6½ |

Carpets.—The carpet manufacturing trade was, on the whole, satisfactory in 1907. The chief demand was for Axminsters and rugs. The prospects for 1908 are not encouraging.

Silk.—The estimated value of silk products made in the United States in 1907 was about 40,000,000*l.* During the first half of the year every spindle and loom was running to meet the large demand.

Labour troubles in June resulted in the stoppage of 30,000 spindles, which caused 8,000 looms to remain idle. This stoppage, as a matter of fact, proved eventually of great service to the trade, because when the business depression began, the enforced curtailment of production prevented a large accumulation of certain classes of silk goods.

The production has been considerably curtailed and prices have become about normal. It is expected that by the middle of the present year there will again be a fairly good demand for these goods.

The following table, compiled by the Silk Association of America, shows the raw silk imports into the United States for the calendar years 1906-07:—

TABLE showing Raw Silk Imports into the United States for the Calendar Years 1906-07.

| | 1906. | | | 1907.* | | |
|------------------------------|---------|------------|-------------|---------|------------|-------------|
| | Bales. | Lbs. | Value. | Bales. | Lbs. | Value. |
| European | 18,337 | 4,037,436 | £ 3,443,314 | 16,140 | 3,563,397 | £ 3,714,873 |
| Japana | 72,407 | 9,870,694 | 8,097,922 | 61,173 | 8,260,302 | 8,092,898 |
| Cantons | 9,374 | 988,867 | 615,346 | 8,112 | 866,839 | 654,076 |
| Chinas | 9,388 | 1,276,503 | 969,123 | 11,915 | 1,603,791 | 1,409,773 |
| Tussah, doppioni, &c. | 4,044 | 569,585 | 222,496 | 4,498 | 732,269 | 281,873 |
| Bengals | 391 | 67,590 | 44,421 | 557 | 95,060 | 78,188 |
| Total | 113,941 | 16,810,675 | 13,392,624 | 102,395 | 15,121,658 | 14,231,681 |

* To December 13, 1907.

The following is a list of silk manufactures in the United States, showing the number in each State making the various classes of goods, as published in the "New York Herald" :—

UNITED STATES.

List of Silk Manufactures in the United States, showing the Number in each State making the Various Classes of Goods.

| State. | Broad Silks. | Ribbons. | Plushes and Velvets. | Webbing and Narrow Fabrics. | Laces and Veiling. | Commission Throwsters and Thrown Silk. | Sewing, Twist and Knitting Silk. | Spun Silk. | Artificial Silk. | Silk Lines and Tackings. | Silk Covered Wire. | Trimings and Braids. | Knit Goods. | Gloves and Mitts. | Upholstery Goods. | Carding and Waste. | Warping, Winding, &c. | Total, January 1, 1908. | Total, January 1, 1907. |
|---------------------------------|--------------|----------|----------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|--|----------------------------------|------------|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| California | 1 | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | 7 |
| Colorado | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 |
| Connecticut | 14 | 5 | 5 | 8 | 1 | 12 | 15 | ... | ... | 2 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 1 | ... | ... | 1 | 74 | 69 |
| Delaware | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 3 |
| Georgia | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 |
| Illinois | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 6 | 5 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 15 | 16 |
| Indiana | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| Maine | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 2 |
| Maryland | 1 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | ... | 1 | ... | ... | 7 | 8 |
| Massachusetts | 12 | 2 | ... | 16 | ... | 2 | 7 | 1 | ... | 1 | 3 | 6 | 16 | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 67 | 66 |
| Michigan | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 1 | ... | ... | 1 | 8 | 7 |
| Minnesota | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 |
| Missouri | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 2 |
| Montana | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| New Hampshire... .. | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | 4 |
| Paterson | 122 | 52 | 1 | ... | 4 | 35 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 10 | ... | ... | 3 | ... | 6 | 236 | 228 |
| New Jersey (including Paterson) | 158 | 59 | 1 | ... | 5 | 45 | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 4 | 18 | ... | 1 | 5 | 1 | 11 | 311 | 299 |
| New York | 29 | 30 | ... | 4 | 3 | 15 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 10 | 115 | 14 | 20 | 1 | ... | 7 | 258 | 256 |
| North Carolina | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | 3 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|--------------|--------------|----|
| Ohio | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | 5 | 4 | | | | | 11 | 14 |
| Pennsylvania | 105 | 35 | 5 | 10 | | 61 | 2 | | 2 | 3 | 5 | 23 | 24 | 4 | 16 | 1 | 3 | 299 | 272 | |
| Rhode Island | 9 | | | 5 | 2 | 1 | | | | 5 | 1 | 1 | 2 | | | | | 26 | 27 | |
| Tennessee | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | 2 | 2 | |
| Utah | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 | | | | | 3 | 3 | |
| Vermont | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 1 | |
| Virginia | 1 | | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | 4 | 3 | |
| Washington | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | |
| West Virginia | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 | |
| Wisconsin | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 | 1 | | | 4 | 4 | |
| Total | 338 | 133 | 11 | 45 | 11 | 147 | 28 | 3 | 5 | 18 | 28 | 184 | 86 | 29 | 23 | 2 | 24 | 1,115 | 1,075 | |

Cement.—There is much uncertainty as to the outlook in 1908 as far as cement is concerned. Though building operations have to a great extent been curtailed, there is still a large amount of work under way, and cement is being employed more and more every year in the construction of buildings. The railways will certainly require a less quantity than in 1907, but the United States Government will, on the other hand, be a large buyer for the Isthmian Canal and other important works.

The total output of Portland cement in the United States was approximately as follows :—

| | | | | | | Barrels. |
|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------------|
| 1907 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 48,000,000 |
| 1906 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 46,463,424 |
| 1905 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 35,246,812 |

An association has recently been formed by important cement manufacturers for the purpose of putting an end to patent litigation which has been going on for some time. The further objects of the Association of Licensed Cement Manufacturers are to improve the mechanical and chemical processes used in making cement, the improvement of the quality of cement and the establishment of an association laboratory for technical tests and experiments. It is stated that nearly 70 per cent. of the output of the Portland cement industry of the country is represented by the association.

Tea.—The total imports of tea in 1907 through the United Kingdom and Canada and from the East Indies direct showed an increase in weight of 2½ per cent. compared with 1906 and 20 per cent. compared with 1905.

In 1907 the imports of tea from the United Kingdom were 19·5 per cent. of the total, in 1906 they were 21·2 per cent. and in 1905 they were 16·7 per cent.

The average price of all imports of tea in 1907 was 8·4*d.*, of British 10·48*d.* In 1906 the average price of all imports was 7·88*d.*, of British 9·37*d.*

Railways.—Before the end of 1906 the expenses of the railways of the United States had begun to increase out of proportion to the increased gross earnings, owing chiefly to the prices of materials having advanced to a high level and wages being higher than ever before. Tonnage having increased to so large an extent, the clogging of traffic was serious, and extra expense was incurred in consequence. The public clamoured for lower rates and more adequate transportation facilities which, together with the higher interest charges for capital, resulted in the falling-off of net earnings notwithstanding the increase of gross earnings.

There was a demand throughout the country for a fixed passenger rate of 1*d.* per mile and in some States laws were passed fixing this limit. This legislation has in some cases been declared unconstitutional and in others has not been put in force, having failed to receive the signature of the Governor of the State concerned. The question has in some cases led to friction between the Federal and

State courts, due to the effort on one side to enforce the laws and on the other to prevent the enforcement.

According to the "Railway Gazette" 36 car building companies in the United States and Canada built during 1907 289,645 railway cars, which was an increase of 19 per cent. over the output of 1906. In these figures are included cars for subway and elevated railways, but not for electric street and inter-urban lines. Cars built by the railway companies in their own shops are not included, and there is no estimate of their number.

Of the total number of cars built by manufacturers, 284,188 were for freight service and 5,457 for passenger service; 280,216 were for domestic use and 9,429 for export. The number of passenger cars built during the year shows an increase of 70 per cent. over the 1906 output. About 72 per cent. of the freight cars were built of steel or were of steel underframe construction.

The following table, taken from the "Railway Gazette," shows the number of cars built during the last nine years :—

| Year. | Freight. | Passengers. | Total. |
|-------|----------|-------------|----------|
| 1899 | 119,886 | 1,305 | 121,191 |
| 1900 | 115,631 | 1,636 | 117,267 |
| 1901 | 136,950 | 2,055 | 139,005 |
| 1902 | 162,599 | 1,948 | 164,547 |
| 1903 | 153,195 | 2,007 | 155,202 |
| 1904 | 60,806 | 2,144 | 62,950 |
| 1905 | 165,455 | 2,551 | 168,006* |
| 1906 | 240,503 | 3,167 | 243,670* |
| 1907 | 284,188 | 5,457 | 289,645* |

* Includes Canada.

The 12 locomotive manufacturers in the United States and Canada built 7,362 locomotives in 1907, of which 6,477 were for domestic use and 885 were exported. This is an increase of 6 per cent. compared with 1906. These figures do not include locomotives built in the shops of the railway companies. There were 330 electric locomotives and 240 compound locomotives built, as against 237 and 292 respectively in 1906.

The number of locomotives built since 1900 is shown in the following table :—

| | |
|---------|--------|
| 1900... | 3,153 |
| 1901... | 3,384 |
| 1902... | 4,070 |
| 1903... | 5,152 |
| 1904... | 3,441 |
| 1905... | 5,491† |
| 1906... | 6,952† |
| 1907... | 7,362† |

† Includes Canadian output.

The average cost of freight cars was about 220*l.*, so the total amount spent in 1907 was 62,521,300*l.* Passenger cars cost on the

average about 1,700*l.*, making a total of 9,276,900*l.* Locomotives cost about 3,200*l.* each, making 23,558,400*l.* The total sum, therefore, spent on rolling-stock amounted to 95,356,660*l.*, an increase of about 25 per cent. over 1906.

Altogether the railway companies consumed enormous quantities of iron and steel products in 1907. Though the present financial and industrial conditions have caused a considerable amount of rolling-stock to remain idle, it is only a question of a comparatively short time when it will again be in use. While at the commencement of 1907 there was reported to be a shortage of 50,000 freight-cars, in December there was said to be about 100,000 idle cars.

The country's need of double tracks on all the main lines is still urgent, as is, to a less extent, the construction of new lines of railway and rolling-stock. The traffic will not be so great during the next few months, but there is no doubt the transportation facilities are inadequate to the volume of trade that may be expected in the future. The present difficulty of the railways is to obtain sufficient money on reasonable terms to carry out the projected improvements. As soon as this is overcome, money must be found if the railways are to keep abreast with the great increase of traffic. Before this is possible it may be necessary to increase the rates of carriage of goods and procure in that manner what is required, rather than incur further liabilities by borrowing and reducing the dividends. The order of new material will depend upon financial conditions. Large quantities are required, but orders are being held back, so no pressing demand is at present evident.

Railroads, industrial and public service corporations (exclusive of municipalities) throughout the United States authorised in 1907 the issue of stocks, bonds and notes to the value of about 420,510,400*l.*, an increase over 1906 of about 93,107,730*l.*, but owing to the state of the money market only 278,782,660*l.* were actually issued.

The class and amount of securities authorised and issued by the railways and by industrial corporations during the year were :—

RAILWAYS.

| | | | | Authorised. | Issued. |
|--------|-----|-----|-----|-------------|-------------|
| | | | | £ | £ |
| Notes | ... | ... | ... | 52,401,400 | 53,519,400 |
| Bonds | ... | ... | ... | 154,135,120 | 88,117,600 |
| Stocks | ... | ... | ... | 107,271,980 | 49,772,840 |
| | | | | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| Total | ... | ... | ... | 313,808,500 | 191,409,840 |
| | | | | <hr/> | <hr/> |

INDUSTRIALS.

| | | | | Authorised. | Issued. |
|--------|-----|-----|-----|-------------|------------|
| | | | | £ | £ |
| Notes | ... | ... | ... | 14,140,000 | 13,620,000 |
| Bonds | ... | ... | ... | 37,372,400 | 36,732,000 |
| Stocks | ... | ... | ... | 55,189,500 | 37,020,820 |
| | | | | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| Total | ... | ... | ... | 106,701,900 | 87,372,820 |
| | | | | <hr/> | <hr/> |

There has been a flotation of new securities during the last three years of about 1,000,000,000*l.*, of which 247,800,000*l.* were issued in 1906.

In their anxiety to raise capital almost at any cost during the great activity last year, some railway corporations resorted to short term notes, which were offered on a basis calculated to yield from 6 to 10 per cent. interest. After some 60,000,000*l.* had been placed, the issue ceased, owing to the general distrust of this class of borrowing. The result of this was shown in the curtailment of expenses and consequent abandonment or postponement of many new projects. A marked falling-off in traffic made this the more imperative.

The "Railway Age" states that 5,730 miles of new track was laid in the United States in 1907, being 8 per cent. less than in the previous year. The States in which largest mileage was laid were Louisiana, 422 miles; South Dakota, 385 miles; Florida, 341 miles; Texas, 314 miles; and Washington, 311 miles.

The outlook for the greater part of 1908, as far as the railways are concerned, is not encouraging. Not only is there much of the rolling-stock without profitable employment, but wages will require readjustment before a normal state of affairs is reached. To what extent the railway companies will be obliged to reduce their dividends remains to be seen, but it is expected that the amount paid to stock holders in 1908 will fall some millions of dollars short of the amount paid in 1907.

During the year ending June 30, 1907, 5,000 persons were killed on the railways of the United States and 76,286 were injured. This is a large increase over the previous year. These figures include only accidents to passengers and employes while actually on duty on or about trains.

According to an official of the United States Forest Service, 100,000,000 sleepers were used by steam and street railways in 1906 in the construction of new track and renewals. The average price paid was 2*s.* per sleeper. Approximately, three-quarters of these were hewn and one-quarter sawn. Oak furnished more than 44 per cent., while southern pine contributed about one-sixth. Other timbers used were Douglas fir, cedar, chestnut, cypress, western pine, tamarack, hemlock and redwood.

Oak and southern pine stand highest in both total and average value, the average value of each is 2*s.* 1½*d.* Chestnut ranks next, followed by cedar. Hemlock, at 1*s.* 2*d.*, is the cheapest reported.

Ten per cent. of the sleepers purchased were treated with preservative, either before purchase or at the treating plant of the railway companies. At least 10 railway companies are operating their own plants for the preservation of their constructive material.

It has been calculated that the amount of wood used each year in sleepers is equivalent to the product of 600,000 acres of forest, and that to maintain every sleeper in the track two trees must be growing.

With about 300,000 miles of railroad track and approximately

2,800 sleepers to the mile, there are over 800,000,000 sleepers constantly subject to wear. The railways report that in the form of sleepers cedar lasts 11 years, cypress 10 years and redwood 9 years, but these are only found in certain sections and are not available in many parts. The service of the longest-lived sleeper timbers in general use are chestnut, white oak, tamarack, and spruce and Douglas firs.

Shipping.—The net tonnage of American steam vessels which entered and cleared at domestic ports during the fiscal year 1907 was 13,469,918, while that of foreign steam vessels was 52,951,136. Since 1890 American tonnage has increased 4,226,149 tons, while foreign tonnage has increased 14,370,809 tons.

Lake traffic.—Comparing the lake commerce through the Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan and Ontario canals in 1907 with that of 1906, there is an increase of 12½ per cent. in net freight. The increase in 1906 over 1905 was 17 per cent.

The total freight carried east and west was as follows:—

| | Tons. |
|------------|------------|
| 1905... .. | 39,527,393 |
| 1906... .. | 46,206,321 |
| 1907... .. | 51,979,655 |

The greatest increase was in coal, anthracite and bituminous, being 49 per cent. for the former and 28 per cent. for the latter. Iron ore increased from 31,568,788 tons in 1906 to 35,352,629 tons in 1907, a gain of 12 per cent. Wheat shipments were 16 per cent. greater in 1907 than in the previous year, and all other commodities showed a falling-off.

The season of the United States canal at Sault Ste. Marie opened on April 23 and closed on December 11, a period of 233 days. The Canadian canal season commenced on April 22 and ended on December 15, a period of 238 days.

The following table, compiled by the Colonel of the United States Corps of Engineers at St. Mary's Falls, gives details of the traffic through the canal:—

TOTAL Traffic.

| Items. | Season 1906. | Season 1907. | Increase or Decrease. | |
|---------------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------------|-----------|
| | | | | Per cent. |
| Vessels— | | | | |
| Steamers | Number... | 18,138 | 17,245 | — 5 |
| Sailing | " ... | 2,817 | 2,303 | — 18 |
| Unregistered | " ... | 1,200 | 889 | — 26 |
| Total | " ... | 22,155 | 20,437 | — 8 |
| Lockages | " ... | 14,523 | 14,020 | — 3 |

TOTAL Traffic—continued.

| Items. | | Season 1906. | Season 1907. | Increase or Decrease. |
|---------------------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| | | | | Per cent. |
| Tonnage— | | | | |
| Registered | Tons | 36,694,932 | 39,364,263 | + 7 |
| Freight | " | 46,206,321 | 51,979,655 | + 12 |
| Passengers | Number | 63,033 | 62,758 | ... |
| Coal— | | | | |
| Anthracite | Tons | 903,013 | 1,345,239 | + 49 |
| Bituminous | " | 6,900,228 | 8,833,417 | + 28 |
| Flour | Barrels | 6,495,350 | 6,524,770 | ... |
| Wheat | Bushels | 84,271,358 | 98,135,775 | + 16 |
| Grain | " | 54,343,155 | 43,463,338 | - 20 |
| Manufactured and pig iron | Tons | 349,201 | 275,001 | - 21 |
| Salt | Barrels | 468,162 | 460,802 | - 2 |
| Copper | Tons | 96,101 | 80,320 | - 16 |
| Iron ore | " | 31,568,788 | 35,352,629 | + 12 |
| Lumber | 1,000 feet | 900,631 | 649,320 | - 28 |
| | B.M. | | | |
| Building stone | Tons | 5,555 | 802 | - 86 |
| General merchandise | " | 1,013,260 | 913,084 | - 10 |

In comparing the freight carried in the United States canal in 1907 with that carried in the Canadian canal, it is shown that 74 per cent. of the total passed through the former and 26 per cent. through the latter. The following table shows the quantities transported through the two canals :—

EAST Bound.

| Articles. | | United States Canal. | Canadian Canal. |
|---------------------|-------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| Copper | Tons | 66,341 | 13,979 |
| Grain | Bushels | 21,039,129 | 22,422,057 |
| Building stone | Tons | 605 | 197 |
| Flour | Barrels | 3,496,072 | 3,118,448 |
| Iron— | | | |
| Ore | Tons | 26,358,065 | 8,994,564 |
| Pig | " | 9,080 | 9,139 |
| Lumber | 1,000 feet | 600,714 | 48,606 |
| Wheat | Bushels | 48,842,278 | 49,203,499 |
| General merchandise | Tons | 37,204 | 57,506 |
| Passengers | Number | 14,977 | 16,733 |

WEST Bound.

| Articles. | | | | United States Canal. | Canadian Canal. |
|---------------------|-----|---------|-----|-------------------------|--------------------|
| Coal— | | | | | |
| Anthracite | ... | Tons | ... | 1,126,275 | 218,964 |
| Bituminous | ... | " | ... | 6,818,454 | 2,014,963 |
| Flour | ... | Barrels | ... | 250 | ... |
| Grain | ... | Bushels | ... | 1,563 | 589 |
| Manufactured iron | ... | Tons | ... | 172,579 | 84,203 |
| Salt | ... | Barrels | ... | 389,843 | 70,959 |
| General merchandise | ... | Tons | ... | 431,454 | 386,920 |

SUMMARY.

| | | | | United States Canal. | Canadian Canal. |
|--------------------|-----|--------|-----|-------------------------|--------------------|
| East bound | ... | Tons | ... | 29,463,178 | 11,201,393 |
| West bound | ... | " | ... | 8,600,971 | 2,714,186 |
| Total freight | ... | " | ... | 38,064,149 | 13,915,579 |
| Vessel passages | ... | Number | ... | 14,091 | 6,346 |
| Registered tonnage | ... | Tons | ... | 28,572,420 | 10,791,843 |

Freight rates on the Great Lakes for iron ore remained about constant in 1907 and were the same as the previous year, viz., 3s. 2d. per ton from Duluth to Lake Erie ports, about 880 miles; 2s. 11d. from Marquette, and 2s. 6d. from Escanaba. As many as 25 down trips with ore were made by ships carrying from 10,000 to 12,000 tons per trip. Single loads of ore were carried out of Lake Superior, amounting to 13,136 tons, and the average cargo of ore vessels plying to the head of lake ports increased to about 6,500 tons.

Imports and exports.—The total value of imports into the United States in 1907 amounted to 294,068,118l., of which there was admitted free of duty goods valued at 131,457,472l., and duty was paid on goods of the value of 162,610,646l. The duty free imports were 7.5 per cent. greater in value than those of 1906 and 19.9 per cent. greater than those of 1905. Goods paying duty were 8 per cent. greater in value in 1907 compared with 1906 and 23.3 per cent. greater compared with 1905. The total imports were 7.8 per cent. greater in value in 1907 than in 1906 and 20.7 per cent. greater than in 1905.

The percentages of total imports were as follows :—

| | 1905. | 1906. | 1907. |
|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | Per cent. | Per cent. | Per cent. |
| Food-stuffs in crude condition and food animals | 11·75 | 10·46 | 10·68 |
| Food-stuffs partly or wholly manufactured | 13·12 | 10·64 | 10·77 |
| Crude materials for use in manufacturing | 34·31 | 33·92 | 32·63 |
| Manufactures for further use in manufacturing | 16·65 | 18·90 | 18·45 |
| Manufactures ready for consumption | 23·51 | 25·35 | 26·66 |
| Miscellaneous | 0·69 | 0·73 | 0·81 |

The total value of exports from the United States in 1907 amounted to 391,596,183*l.*, being an increase of 6·9 per cent. as compared with 1906 and 18·5 per cent. compared with 1905.

The exports, divided into groups, were :—

| | 1905. | 1906. | 1907. |
|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | Per cent. | Per cent. | Per cent. |
| Food-stuffs in crude condition and food animals | 9·70 | 10 | 10·20 |
| Food-stuffs partly or wholly manufactured | 19·74 | 19·41 | 18·03 |
| Crude materials for use in manufacturing | 30·02 | 29·61 | 30·95 |
| Manufactures for further use in manufacturing | 13·32 | 14·04 | 14·09 |
| Manufactures ready for consumption | 26·87 | 26·51 | 26·36 |
| Miscellaneous | 0·35 | 0·43 | 0·37 |

Of the total imports—

| From— | Per Cent. |
|----------------------|-----------|
| Europe | 51·8 |
| North America | 18·8 |
| South America | 10·3 |
| Asia | 15·2 |
| Oceania | 2·3 |
| Africa | 1·6 |

The European imports showed an increase of 5·3 per cent. over those of 1906 and 27 per cent. over 1905.

Of the total exports—

| To— | Per Cent. |
|----------------------|-----------|
| Europe | 68·4 |
| North America | 18·8 |
| South America | 4·4 |
| Asia | 5·1 |
| Oceania | 2·3 |
| Africa | 1 |

Exports increased or decreased as follows :—

| To— | Increase as compared with 1906. | Increase or Decrease as compared with 1905. |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| | Per cent. | Per cent. |
| Europe | 5·3 | + 20 |
| North America | 11·1 | + 29·3 |
| South America | 8·6 | + 28·0 |
| Asia | 11·3 | - 27·2 |
| Oceania | 12·8 | + 39·1 |
| Africa | 2·8 | + 2·2 |

The following table shows the quantities of the principal materials used in manufacturing which were imported during the years 1906-07 :—

| | 1906. | 1907. |
|--------------------------------|------------|------------|
| | Tons. | Tons. |
| Cement | 303,877 | 358,255 |
| Cotton | 20,323 | 50,423 |
| Fibres | 302,948 | 315,590 |
| Hides and skins... .. | 177,887 | 158,729 |
| Indiarubber | 25,016 | 12,723 |
| Pig iron | 379,828 | 489,440 |
| Potash | 143,492 | 162,524 |
| Copper pigs, bars, &c. | 78,821 | 86,112 |
| Lead in ore | 64,616 | 62,980 |
| Silk, raw... .. | 7,520 | 7,005 |
| Tin, in pigs, bars, &c. | 45,101 | 36,852 |
| Leaf tobacco | 18,626 | 15,223 |
| Wool, unmanufactured... .. | 87,988 | 84,065 |
| | £ | £ |
| Chemicals, drugs &c. | 16,249,582 | 17,906,757 |
| Wood, unmanufactured | 6,529,223 | 9,028,396 |

The imports from the three largest customers of the United States are shown in the following table, together with the percentages of increase in 1907 over 1906, and the percentages of the total imports in 1907, 1906 and 1905 :—

| | Increase in— | | | Percentage of Total Imports. | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------|------------------------------|-------|-------|
| | 1907. | | | | | |
| | 1906 over 1905. | 1907 over 1906. | Per cent. | 1905. | 1906. | 1907. |
| Total imports ... | £ 294,968,118 | 12 | 7·8 | ... | ... | ... |
| Imports from— | | | | | | |
| United Kingdom ... | 49,429,849 | 21·1 | 3·3 | 16·2 | 17·5 | 16·8 |
| Germany ... | 33,288,837 | 21·6 | 6·7 | 10·5 | 11·4 | 13·2 |
| France ... | 25,780,500 | 21·6 | 4·1 | 8·4 | 9·1 | 8·7 |

From these figures it will be seen that the United Kingdom has not done so well proportionately as Germany and France.

Whereas, in 1906, the imports from the United Kingdom were 17.5 per cent. of the total imports, they were only 16.8 per cent. in 1907. The German imports in 1906 were 11.4 per cent. of the total imports and in 1907 they were 13.2 per cent.

In the following table are shown the changes in the value of imports for the years 1905, 1906 and 1907 of some of the principal articles imported into the United States, with the principal countries of origin :—

| | Value Imported, 1907. £ | Percentage of Increase. | | Percentage of Decrease. | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|------------|-------------------------|------------|
| | | Over 1906. | Over 1905. | From 1906. | From 1905. |
| Cement | 544,922 | ... | 139.3 | 10.6 | ... |
| Of which— | | | | | |
| United Kingdom | 171,462 | 40.5 | 1,818.8 | ... | ... |
| Belgium | 139,875 | ... | 61 | 8.3 | ... |
| Germany... .. | 209,968 | ... | 67.4 | 9.4 | ... |
| Cotton cloth | 2,980,983 | 17.4 | 42.4 | ... | ... |
| Of which— | | | | | |
| United Kingdom | 2,405,540 | 21.7 | 46.5 | ... | ... |
| France | 234,153 | 14.1 | 40.1 | ... | ... |
| Switzerland | 143,042 | ... | 11.1 | 15.3 | ... |
| Germany... .. | 121,633 | 1.8 | 8.3 | ... | ... |
| Other cotton goods | 13,449,790 | 15 | 46.6 | ... | ... |
| Of which— | | | | | |
| United Kingdom | 2,831,450 | 23.3 | 51.2 | ... | ... |
| France | 3,001,563 | 3.2 | 82.3 | ... | ... |
| Germany... .. | 3,884,193 | 11.1 | 36.4 | ... | ... |
| Switzerland | 3,372,787 | 29.2 | 76.6 | ... | ... |
| Diamonds, uncut | 1,805,843 | ... | ... | 25.8 | 13.5 |
| Of which— | | | | | |
| United Kingdom | 1,055,200 | ... | ... | 35.2 | 15.6 |
| Belgium | 264,870 | ... | ... | 35.8 | 45.2 |
| France | 287,262 | ... | ... | 34.8 | 194.1 |
| Netherlands | 84,392 | ... | ... | 49.9 | 68.8 |
| Diamonds, cut | 3,915,620 | ... | ... | 25 | 7.2 |
| Of which— | | | | | |
| United Kingdom | 67,192 | ... | ... | 91.7 | 91.5 |
| Belgium | 1,018,062 | 5.6 | 15.9 | ... | ... |
| France | 455,188 | ... | ... | 51.6 | 37.7 |
| Netherlands | 1,739,862 | ... | ... | 29.6 | 1.3 |
| Earthen, stone and china-ware | 2,937,944 | 4.8 | 16.5 | ... | ... |
| Of which— | | | | | |
| United Kingdom | 676,453 | 6.7 | 22.8 | ... | ... |
| Austria-Hungary | 193,035 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| France | 447,912 | 10.1 | 18.3 | ... | ... |
| Germany... .. | 1,154,045 | 8.7 | 10.7 | ... | ... |
| Japan | 362,880 | ... | 42 | 6.4 | ... |

| | Value Imported, 1907. | Percentage of Increase. | | Percentage of Decrease. | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|------------|-------------------------|------------|
| | | Over 1906. | Over 1905. | From 1906. | From 1905. |
| | £ | | | | |
| Furs and manufactures thereof | 4,213,122 | ... | 1 | 8.8 | ... |
| Of which— | | | | | |
| United Kingdom | 960,190 | ... | 4.1 | 12 | ... |
| Belgium | 377,404 | ... | 2.7 | 19.2 | ... |
| France | 590,352 | ... | 2.3 | 17.6 | ... |
| Germany... .. | 1,567,304 | ... | ... | 2.5 | 0.2 |
| Hides and skins | 16,043,007 | ... | 5.8 | 7.3 | ... |
| Of which— | | | | | |
| United Kingdom | 287,634 | ... | ... | 34 | 38 |
| France | 628,573 | ... | ... | 18 | 25 |
| Germany... .. | 122,387 | ... | ... | 36.4 | 31.5 |
| Other Europe | 560,099 | ... | ... | 32.1 | 17.4 |
| South America | 2,482,114 | ... | 8.8 | 7 | ... |
| East Indies | 2,049,044 | ... | ... | 28.9 | 10.6 |
| Other Asia and Oceania | 437,100 | ... | 5.3 | 17.4 | ... |
| Africa | 243,250 | ... | ... | 18 | 15.9 |
| Indiarubber | 10,288,727 | ... | 2.6 | 6.5 | ... |
| Of which— | | | | | |
| United Kingdom | 1,151,914 | ... | ... | 37.9 | 19.6 |
| Germany... .. | 623,651 | 4.3 | 3.7 | ... | ... |
| Other Europe | 1,364,534 | ... | ... | 21 | 17.2 |
| Brazil | 5,764,242 | ... | 1.8 | 1.5 | ... |
| Paper and manufactures thereof | 2,641,200 | 51.5 | 101.9 | ... | ... |
| Of which— | | | | | |
| United Kingdom | 281,777 | 18.9 | 39.3 | ... | ... |
| France | 165,335 | 17.7 | 51.9 | ... | ... |
| Germany... .. | 1,695,216 | 51.7 | 117 | ... | ... |
| Silk manufactures... .. | 8,419,119 | 18.5 | 21.3 | ... | ... |
| Of which— | | | | | |
| United Kingdom | 438,501 | 14 | 26.7 | ... | ... |
| France | 3,743,295 | 22.4 | 20.9 | ... | ... |
| Germany... .. | 1,823,113 | 32.1 | 57.7 | ... | ... |
| Switzerland | 900,052 | 10.4 | ... | ... | 13.1 |
| Japan | 1,124,727 | ... | ... | 4.5 | 11.6 |
| Tea | 3,442,215 | 18.6 | 11 | ... | ... |
| Of which— | | | | | |
| United Kingdom | 471,849 | 23.2 | 40 | ... | ... |
| Chinese Empire... .. | 942,882 | 5.3 | ... | ... | 11.5 |
| East Indies | 247,082 | 4.3 | 26.8 | ... | ... |
| Japan | 1,627,852 | 31.9 | 17.4 | ... | ... |
| Toys | 1,632,673 | 19.6 | 44.5 | ... | ... |
| Of which— | | | | | |
| United Kingdom | 40,147 | 12.8 | 38.4 | ... | ... |
| Germany... .. | 1,469,606 | 19.5 | 41.9 | ... | ... |
| Other Europe | 72,631 | 38.8 | 101.4 | ... | ... |

| | Value Imported, 1907. | Percentage of Increase. | | Percentage of Decrease. | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|------------|-------------------------|------------|
| | | Over 1906. | Over 1905. | From 1906. | From 1905. |
| | £ | | | | |
| Woollen manufactures— | | | | | |
| Carpets | 862,651 | ... | 9·2 | 9·4 | ... |
| Of which— | | | | | |
| United Kingdom ... | 100,253 | ... | ... | 16 | 14·8 |
| Other Europe ... | 588,868 | ... | 0·2 | 18·1 | ... |
| Cloths | 1,162,879 | ... | 19·6 | 0·2 | ... |
| Of which— | | | | | |
| United Kingdom ... | 597,567 | ... | 11 | 0·5 | ... |
| Germany | 365,598 | ... | 32·2 | 4·1 | ... |
| Dress goods | 2,208,220 | 13·1 | 8·9 | ... | ... |
| Of which— | | | | | |
| United Kingdom ... | 787,782 | ... | ... | 0·2 | 35·7 |
| France | 822,652 | 31 | 41·3 | ... | ... |
| Germany | 570,136 | 27·9 | 69·4 | ... | ... |

The above table shows at a glance which are the principal articles for which there is a demand in the United States and at the same time in which lines shippers in the United Kingdom have improved their position or otherwise. Unfortunately in too many cases the percentages of increase in the trade of competitors is greater than those of the United Kingdom.

The approximate commerce of the principal customs districts and ports of the United States is shown below :—

| | In 100,000l. | | | |
|----------------------|--------------|-------|----------|-------|
| | Imports. | | Exports. | |
| | 1897. | 1907. | 1897. | 1907. |
| New York | 963 | 1,715 | 837 | 1,411 |
| Boston | 177 | 254 | 215 | 217 |
| New Orleans | 29 | 91 | 207 | 341 |
| Galveston | 2 | 16 | 126 | 407 |
| Philadelphia | 91 | 167 | 107 | 221 |
| Baltimore | 23 | 74 | 205 | 205 |
| San Francisco | 85 | 112 | 83 | 62 |
| Puget Sound | 16 | 52 | 31 | 91 |
| Savannah | 2 | 4 | 54 | 134 |
| All other | 147 | 455 | 409 | 884 |
| Total | 1,535 | 2,940 | 2,274 | 3,973 |

| | In 100,000l. | | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------|-------|----------|-------|
| | Imports. | | Exports. | |
| | 1897. | 1907. | 1897. | 1907. |
| Atlantic ports | 1,272 | 2,287 | 1,595 | 2,386 |
| Gulf ports | 37 | 128 | 374 | 895 |
| Mexican border | 8 | 35 | 27 | 85 |
| Pacific ports | 106 | 188 | 133 | 194 |
| Northern border and lake | 97 | 254 | 145 | 413 |
| Interior ports | 15 | 48 | ... | ... |

While New York still remains by far the most important port for both imports and exports, the trade is not increasing at as rapid a rate as some of the other ports. In 1897 the imports into New York were 62·7 per cent. of the total imports of the United States, in 1907 they were 58·3 per cent. The import and export trade formed 47·2 per cent. of the total in 1897 and 45·2 per cent. in 1907. The import and export trade of Boston was 10·3 per cent. of the total in 1897 and 6·8 per cent. in 1907. The trade of Galveston, on the other hand, was only 3·4 per cent. of the total in 1897 and was 6·1 per cent. in 1907. The increase in exports from some of the southern ports has been very large. The improvement of the waterways of the country, especially the Mississippi, which has been suggested, will, when carried out, greatly add to the importance of the ports situated on the Gulf of Mexico.

The following table shows the value of exports of the principal articles in 1907 compared with 1906 and 1905 :—

| Articles. | 1906. | 1907. | Percentage Increase or Decrease. | |
|--|-------------|-------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| | | | 1907 compared with 1906. | 1906 compared with 1905. |
| | | | Per cent. | Per cent. |
| Agricultural implements | £ 5,112,564 | £ 5,288,693 | + 3·4 | + 11·8 |
| Automobiles, and parts thereof | 910,989 | 1,189,455 | + 30·6 | ... |
| Books, maps, &c. | 1,213,540 | 1,208,985 | - 0·4 | + 9·5 |
| Carrriages, except cycles and automobiles | 2,708,686 | 3,373,948 | + 24·6 | + 30·5 |
| Cattle | 7,907,672 | 6,982,732 | - 11·7 | - 6·7 |
| Chemicals and drugs | 4,002,483 | 4,482,476 | + 12 | + 9 |
| Coal | 6,339,699 | 8,303,903 | + 31 | + 5·9 |
| Copper manufactures | 18,391,116 | 20,826,520 | + 13·3 | + 4·9 |
| Corn | 10,917,411 | 9,708,962 | - 11·1 | - 12·2 |
| Cotton— | | | | |
| Raw | 85,359,078 | 97,073,678 | + 13·7 | + 5·2 |
| Manufactures | 8,876,250 | 5,438,649 | - 38·7 | - 23·9 |
| Fertilisers | 1,748,337 | 2,072,000 | + 18·5 | + 3·3 |

| Articles. | 1906. | 1907. | Percentage Increase or Decrease. | |
|---|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| | | | 1907 compared with 1906. | 1906 compared with 1905. |
| | | | Per cent. | Per cent. |
| Fibre manufactures ... | 1,630,468 | 1,614,372 | - 1 | + 0.9 |
| Fish | 1,327,014 | 1,248,246 | - 6 | + 0.1 |
| Flour | 12,066,059 | 13,420,378 | + 11.2 | + 16.8 |
| Fruits and nuts ... | 3,243,234 | 3,140,410 | - 3.2 | + 0.2 |
| Furs and fur skins ... | 1,607,104 | 1,437,582 | - 10.5 | + 9.6 |
| Indiarubber manufactures ... | 1,360,223 | 1,686,950 | + 24 | + 9.3 |
| Iron and steel manufactures ... | 35,651,981 | 40,710,979 | + 14.2 | + 20.7 |
| Leather and manufactures of ... | 9,337,035 | 8,764,479 | - 6.1 | + 16 |
| Naval stores, other than turpentine ... | 2,173,406 | 2,490,096 | + 14.6 | + 24.6 |
| Oats | 1,928,951 | 183,066 | - 90.5 | - 6.3 |
| Oil cake and meal ... | 5,117,276 | 5,157,776 | + 0.8 | + 12 |
| Oil— | | | | |
| Mineral, crude ... | 1,597,361 | 1,308,619 | - 18.1 | + 27 |
| Refined mineral ... | 15,709,987 | 17,572,180 | + 11.8 | + 6.4 |
| Oils, vegetable ... | 3,384,843 | 4,060,172 | + 19.9 | - 5.4 |
| Paper and manufactures of ... | 2,132,820 | 1,793,675 | - 15.9 | + 17.4 |
| Paraffin and wax ... | 1,748,451 | 2,109,390 | + 20.6 | + 7.5 |
| Provisions | 43,096,325 | 40,833,543 | - 5.3 | + 9.4 |
| Scientific instruments ... | 2,744,290 | 2,683,907 | - 2.2 | + 46 |
| Tobacco— | | | | |
| Unmanufactured ... | 6,636,466 | 6,785,435 | + 2.2 | + 19.8 |
| Manufactures | 1,146,838 | 1,092,060 | - 4.8 | + 1.4 |
| Turpentine spirits ... | 2,132,423 | 2,110,457 | - 1.1 | + 7.5 |
| Wheat | 10,156,746 | 17,787,179 | + 75.1 | + 186.9 |
| Wood— | | | | |
| Boards, joists, &c. ... | 7,148,410 | 8,645,915 | + 20.9 | + 37.1 |
| Manufactures | 2,801,639 | 3,048,970 | + 8.8 | + 1.6 |
| Timber... .. | 3,609,849 | 3,502,696 | - 3 | + 47.3 |
| All other articles ... | 31,947,297 | 32,458,569 | + 1.6 | + 24 |
| Total | 364,924,220 | 391,596,182 | + 7.3 | + 10.8 |

Goods of the value of 181,524,511L. were sent from the United States in 1907 to the United Kingdom and British possessions, this being 45 per cent. of the total value exported.

The following table shows the value of merchandise exported to the United Kingdom and British possessions during the last three years :—

TABLE showing Value of Merchandise Exported to United Kingdom and British Possessions during the Last Three Years.

| To— | 1905. | 1906. | 1907. | Percentage Increase or Decrease. | |
|----------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| | | | | 1907 compared with 1906. | 1906 compared with 1905. |
| | £ | £ | £ | Per cent. | Per cent. |
| Aden | 246,492 | 510,403 | 229,791 | - 56 | + 107 |
| Bermuda | 259,610 | 194,979 | 187,175 | - 4.1 | + 24.9 |
| British Africa... .. | 2,848,768 | 2,557,371 | 2,161,958 | - 15.5 | - 10.2 |
| British Australasia | 5,324,875 | 5,834,696 | 6,860,928 | + 17.6 | + 9.6 |
| British China | 175 | 265 | 3,593 | + 1,255.9 | + 51.4 |
| British East Indies | 1,228,955 | 1,406,115 | 1,734,610 | + 23.4 | + 14.4 |
| British Guiana | 388,132 | 400,171 | 377,303 | - 5.7 | + 3.1 |
| British Honduras | 205,947 | 262,825 | 277,402 | + 5.5 | + 27.6 |
| British West Indies | 2,059,957 | 2,043,056 | 2,507,941 | + 22.8 | - 0.9 |
| Canada | 29,768,518 | 34,855,180 | 38,560,197 | + 10.6 | + 17.1 |
| Gibraltar | 63,656 | 83,480 | 78,460 | - 6 | + 31.1 |
| Hong-Kong | 1,667,733 | 1,352,567 | 1,951,343 | + 44.3 | - 18.9 |
| Newfoundland and Labrador | 573,570 | 604,310 | 647,408 | + 7.1 | + 5.4 |
| Straits Settlements | 328,176 | 252,688 | 421,384 | + 66.8 | - 23 |
| United Kingdom | 112,097,586 | 121,373,438 | 125,524,892 | + 3.4 | + 8.3 |
| Total | 157,062,150 | 171,731,344 | 181,524,385 | + 5.7 | + 9.3 |

TABLE showing Value of Exports to South and Central American Countries during the Last Three Years.

| To— | 1905. | 1906. | 1907. | Percentage Increase or Decrease. | |
|-------------------|------------|------------|------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| | | | | 1907 compared with 1906. | 1906 compared with 1905. |
| | £ | £ | £ | Per cent. | Per cent. |
| Argentina | 5,874,868 | 6,874,291 | 6,221,420 | - 9·5 | + 17 |
| Bolivia | 29,845 | 50,127 | 310,459 | + 519·3 | + 68 |
| Brazil | 2,551,908 | 3,418,879 | 4,339,373 | + 26·9 | + 33·9 |
| Chile | 1,447,723 | 1,940,589 | 2,363,599 | + 21·8 | + 34 |
| Colombia | 751,119 | 611,915 | 654,831 | + 7 | - 18·6 |
| Ecuador | 394,140 | 379,082 | 389,278 | + 2·7 | - 3·8 |
| Guiana— | | | | | |
| British | 388,132 | 400,171 | 377,303 | - 5·7 | + 3·1 |
| Dutch | 113,189 | 117,587 | 128,731 | + 9·5 | + 3·9 |
| French | 60,118 | 60,000 | 54,252 | - 9·6 | - 0·2 |
| Paraguay | 1,388 | 22,830 | 35,309 | + 54·6 | + 1,544·8 |
| Peru | 885,791 | 1,073,028 | 1,420,706 | + 32·4 | + 21·1 |
| Uruguay | 558,628 | 653,018 | 820,455 | + 25·6 | + 16·9 |
| Venezuela | 662,988 | 683,991 | 572,673 | - 16·3 | + 3·1 |
| Costa Rica | 407,809 | 511,008 | 586,888 | + 14·8 | + 25·3 |
| Guatemala | 594,128 | 615,718 | 477,395 | - 22·5 | + 3·6 |
| Honduras | 327,084 | 391,778 | 373,769 | - 4·6 | + 19·7 |
| Nicaragua | 378,842 | 421,742 | 369,958 | - 12·3 | + 11·3 |
| Salvador | 304,509 | 273,092 | 329,023 | + 20·5 | - 10·3 |
| Total | 15,732,209 | 18,498,846 | 19,825,422 | + 7·2 | + 17·6 |

Tropical products.—The importation of tropical and sub-tropical products into the United States increases year by year.

The following is a list of the principal articles brought into the country with the values of imports in 1906 and 1907 :—

| | 1906. | 1907. |
|--|------------|------------|
| | £ | £ |
| Barks of quinine | 79,189 | 94,005 |
| Cabinet woods | 598,311 | 695,398 |
| Cocoa and manufactures of, and chocolate | 2,341,817 | 3,375,323 |
| Coffee | 14,928,195 | 14,839,868 |
| Cork and manufactures of | 690,718 | 1,008,162 |
| Cotton | 2,213,628 | 4,504,320 |
| Dye-woods and extracts | 186,755 | 160,409 |
| Feathers, crude, not dressed | 766,106 | 912,252 |
| Fibres | 1,989,308 | 2,353,110 |
| Fruits and nuts | 6,758,224 | 8,358,483 |
| Gums | 2,637,182 | 3,335,540 |
| Indiarubber and guttapercha | 11,577,542 | 11,193,246 |
| Indigo | 226,543 | 260,359 |
| Ivory | 484,883 | 451,252 |
| Liquorice root | 372,709 | 230,458 |
| Opium, crude and prepared | 546,195 | 643,564 |
| Quebracho, extract of | 205,884 | 532,037 |
| Rice | 822,484 | 937,678 |
| Silk | 13,155,636 | 15,102,800 |
| Spices | 947,490 | 961,849 |
| Sponges | 103,058 | 101,335 |
| Sugar and molasses | 16,325,511 | 17,229,300 |
| Tea | 2,902,282 | 3,442,215 |
| Tobacco and manufactures of | 962,597 | 887,291 |
| Vanilla beans | 236,355 | 338,577 |
| Vegetable oils | 2,873,389 | 3,418,314 |
| Total | 84,930,391 | 95,367,151 |

Japanese China.—The export trade of the United States to "Japanese China" showed considerable development during 1907. The following table shows the exports of domestic merchandise to that territory during the 10 months ending October 31, 1907, according to the published statement of the Bureau of Statistics of the Department of Commerce and Labour :—

| | Barrels. | £ |
|---|----------|---------|
| Books, maps, &c. | ... | 31 |
| Bread-stuffs, flour | 85,417 | 61,604 |
| Cars for steam railways | ... | 365,922 |
| Grease, scrape, &c. | ... | 736 |
| Indiarubber (belting, hose, &c.) | ... | 315 |
| Iron and steel, manufactures of— | Tons. | |
| Steel billets, ingots and blooms | 20 | 124 |
| Rails | 41,208 | 277,814 |
| Structural iron and steel | 6,080 | 91,574 |
| Wire | 112 | 7,040 |
| Builders' hardware, saws and tools | ... | 1,522 |
| Machinery and parts of— | | |
| Electrical | ... | 2,426 |

| | | | | | | £ |
|-----------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|-----------|
| Machinery and parts of—continued. | | | | | | |
| Metal-working | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6,122 |
| Mining | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4,095 |
| Pumping | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,037 |
| Sewing | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 145 |
| Steam engines and parts of— | | | | | | |
| | | | | | Number. | |
| Locomotive | ... | ... | ... | ... | 78 | 281,869 |
| Stationary | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | 85 |
| Boilers and parts of engines | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3,197 |
| All other engines, &c. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 7,187 |
| Nails and spikes | | | | | | |
| | | | | | Tons. | |
| | | | | | 1,098 | 14,180 |
| Safes | | | | | | |
| | | | | | Number. | |
| | | | | | 6 | 93 |
| Scales and balances | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,534 |
| All other iron and steel | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 46,534 |
| Lamps, &c. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 361 |
| Paints and colours | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 21 |
| Trunks and bags | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 21 |
| Varnish | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 65 |
| All other articles | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 145 |
| Total | | | | | | |
| | | | | | ... | 1,175,799 |

When not otherwise mentioned in this report the statistics are mostly taken from publications issued by the United States Department of Commerce and Labour.

The rate of exchange is taken at 4 dol. 84 c. equals 1l.

The tons are of 2,240 lbs.

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A PRIME MINISTER.

BY THE RIGHT HON.

PROFESSOR F. MAX MÜLLER.

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A PRIME MINISTER.

I HAVE often had to give expression to a certain disappointment at not being able, when speaking of my Indian friends, to reveal more of their inner life. That life, we may be certain, is not absent, but it is kept hidden, just as Indian women are kept behind their purdahs or curtains and hidden under veils, more or less transparent. Some of our own distinguished men and women are perhaps too much given to perform their confessions and moral ablutions in public, while in India such books as Rousseau's *Confessions*, or the *Confessions of St. Augustine*, nay, of Amiel or Marie Bashkirtseff, to mention the best known instances only, can hardly be imagined. Introspection or self-examination exists no doubt among the men and women of India as well as anywhere else. But unless such inward searchings take a definite form in words, nay, in written and published words, they can hardly be said to exist. A man may enter into a dark cave and see visions, but unless he can find his way back into the bright light of day, unless he can find words for what was vaguely passing through the twilight of his memory, all vanishes again and leaves nothing behind but a nameless sentiment, like the feeling that is left by a dream, when we know indeed that we have been dreaming, but cannot recall what we saw in our dreams.

Even in the prayers which we possess of the people in India we find no very deep delvings into the soul of man. They consist chiefly of praises of the greatness of the gods or of God, of general confessions of human weakness or sin, but we hardly ever come across the agonised sufferings of self-reproachful saints, and we see little of that moral vivisection which, painful as it is to witness, often reveals to us some of the most secret springs of human nature which nothing else will bring to our view.

I cannot, therefore, even in the two cases of Indian friends which I have selected for my purpose here, promise anything like that minute moral and spiritual analysis which we find in the works of St. Augustine, of Rousseau, or Marie Bashkirtseff. One of my friends belonged to the highest, the other to the lowest ranks of Indian life; the one was a Prime Minister, the other what we should call a poor peasant-girl. I was brought into contact with them, not indeed face to face, but by correspondence only. The Prime Minister was the well-known Gaurishankar Udayshankar Ozá, Minister of Bhavnagar. I am afraid that when people see these long and unpronounceable names they will at once put down the paper. Names such as Rudyard Kipling, Bashkirtseff, or Pobedonostzeff may

be mastered in time, but Gaurishankar Udayshankar Ozà is too much for our memories; and how can people, even if they manage to pronounce such a name, attach any meaning whatever to it? It might be better, perhaps, to give the name in its Sanskrit form, viz. Gauri-sankara; we could then see some kind of meaning in it, provided we know a little of Sanskrit. So far as one may guess the meaning of any proper names, Gauri-sankara would be the name of the divine couple, Siva, sometimes called Sankara, and Gauri, better known under the name of Pàrvatî, his wife. Of course the name may be interpreted differently also, but when we know that Gauri stands for Pàrvatî, and Shankar for Siva, we move at once in more or less familiar spheres, and we may look on the name as something like the Christian name Joseph Maria, which is not unusual as a Christian name in Roman Catholic countries. But when I call Gaurisankara the well-known Prime Minister of Bhavnagar, I anticipate another shrugging of the shoulders. What is Bhavnagar, where is it, and what is there really known about its "well-known" Prime Minister? Here are our difficulties, when we want to rouse the sympathies of our readers for anything connected with India. Yes, if Gaurisankara of Bhavnagar were Fergus McIvor, chief of Glennaquoich, all would go well. But to most people, except those who have been in India, Bhavnagar is almost a *terra incognita*, and as there are now no separate postage-stamps for the independent states of India, even children would say that there is no such state as Bhavnagar anywhere. Still there is a native state of that name in Kathiawar, with about 500,000 inhabitants, and there is a Rájah, who is called the Thakur Sahib of Bhavnagar. There is also a town of Bhavnagar, the capital of the state. Like most of the protected Rajput states, Bhavnagar enjoys as much freedom as is compatible with the welfare of its neighbours and the imperial interests of India. Under such conditions conflicts are, no doubt, inevitable, and it required no little statesmanship in the Rájah, and in his Dewán, or Prime Minister, to reconcile the interests of their subjects with those of their neighbours and with those of the British Empire. Quite a new class of native statesmen seems to have sprung up of late in these various dependent states, who are enabled, through the moral support which they receive from the Central Government, to reform the abuses of a personal and autocratic *régime*, to revive education, and to improve the sanitary condition of the towns and villages, to open commercial communications, and altogether to raise the political and moral status and character of the people committed to their charge. In many cases they had at the same time to keep on good terms with the English residents, who are not always the most amiable, and to protect the Rájahs themselves against the corrupting influences of their little courts and harems. Taking all this together, it is not difficult to see that their position

was by no means an easy one, and that it required high qualities indeed in these native statesmen to enable them to hold their own, to satisfy the claims of all the parties with whom they had to deal, and at the same time not to stifle the voice of their own conscience.

But when an opening had once been made for native talent in this direction, native talent was not wanting. The names of such men as Sir Salar Jung in Hyderabad, Sir T. Madao Rao in Travancore, Indore and Baroda, Sir Dinkar Rao in Gwalior are well known, not in India only, but in England also, and not the least successful among them was our friend Gaurisankara.

With all the narrow prejudices of Oriental society, particularly in India, there was always a *carrière ouverte aux talents*. Gaurisankara was the son of a poor man, though he belonged to a good Brahmanic family. His education would not, perhaps, have enabled him to pass the Indian Civil Service Examination, and yet what an excellent Civil servant would he have made. Examinations prevent many evils, but they cannot create or even discover the qualities necessary for a ruler of men.

Like Mr. Gladstone, Gaurisankara became known in India as the Grand Old Man, or, better still, as the Good Old Man, and, like Mr. Gladstone, he represents in himself a striking combination of the thinker and the doer, of the meditative and the active man. His deepest interest lay with the great problems of human life on earth, but this did not prevent him from taking a most active part in the great and small concerns of the daily life and the daily cares of a small state. He acted as Minister to four generations of the rulers of Bhavnagar, and he was a constant referee on intricate political questions to successive Political agents of Kathiawar. He could remember the first establishment of British authority in the Bombay Presidency, and he had been the contemporary and fellow-worker of Mountstuart Elphinstone at the time when the settlement of Guzarat and Kathiawar had to be worked out between the Gaikwar on one side and the English Government, as successor of the Peshwa, on the other. He came in contact not only with Mountstuart Elphinstone, who visited Kathiawar in 1821, but with Sir John Malcolm also, with Lord Elphinstone and Sir Bartle Frere—nay, as late as 1886, with Lord Reay, then Governor of the Bombay Presidency. After a conference with the old man—he was then eighty-one years of age, having been born in 1805—Lord Reay declared that he was struck as much by the clearness of his intellect as by the simplicity and fairness and openness of his mind; “and if we admire administrators,” he added, “we also admire straightforward advisers—those who tell their chiefs the real truth about the condition of their country and their subjects. In seeing the man who freed this State from all encumbrances, who restored civil and criminal jurisdiction to

their villages, who settled grave disputes with Junaghad, who got rid of refractory Jemadars, I could not help thinking what could be done by such men of purpose and strength of character."

These words contain a rapid survey of the work of a whole life, and if we were to enter here into the details of what was actually achieved by this native statesman we should find that few Prime Ministers even of the greatest states in Europe had so many tasks on their hands, and performed them so boldly and so well. The clock on the tower of the Houses of Parliament strikes louder than the repeater in our waistcoat pocket, but the machinery, the wheels within wheels, and particularly the spring, have all the same tasks to perform as in Big Ben himself. Even men like Disraeli or Gladstone, if placed in the position of these native statesmen, could hardly have been more successful in grappling with the difficulties of a new state, with rebellious subjects, envious neighbours, a weak sovereign, and an all-powerful suzerain, to say nothing of court intrigues, religious squabbles, and corrupt officials. We are too much given to measure the capacity of ministers and statesmen by the magnitude of the results which they achieve with the immense forces placed at their disposal. But most of them are very ordinary mortals, and it is not too much to say that for making a successful marriage-settlement an ordinary solicitor stands often in need of the same vigilance, the same knowledge of men and women, the same tact, and the same determination or bluff which Bismarck displayed in making the treaty of Prague or of Frankfurt. Nay, there are mistakes made by the greatest statesmen in history which, if made by our solicitor, would lead to instant dismissal. If Bismarck made Germany, Gaurisankara made Bhavnagar. The two achievements are so different that even to compare them seems absurd, but the methods to be followed in either case are, after all, the same; nay, it is well known that the making or regulating of a small watch may require more nimble and careful fingers than the large clock of a cathedral. We are so apt to imagine that the man who performs a great work is a great man, though from revelations lately made we ought to have learnt how small—nāy, how meaa—some of these so-called great men have really been.

Gaurisankara found nothing to begin with—or rather, less than nothing, for he found not only an unorganised but a disorganised state. General Keatinge, who was Political Agent of Kathiawar during the years 1863 to 1867, found the transformation that had been wrought by Guarisankara so complete that he could hardly believe that Bhavnagar was the same town which he had known in former days. Splendid buildings had arisen, devoted either to education or to the relief of the sick, the poor, and the needy. The harbour had been improved, and roads for trade and communications of every kind had been newly laid out or made serviceable.

There was a large reservoir to supply the town with water; there were paddocks, a new jail, two medical dispensaries, and an immense hospital; there were telegraph and post offices, a High School, and a High Court of Justice. A railway had been built from Bhavnagar to Gondal, and so well was it administered, without syndicates or any other kind of jobbery, that it yielded annually a fair revenue to the state. The responsibility for all these undertakings rested on the shoulders of one man, and the credit for them should rest there also.

All this, however, is not what interested me in the man, nor will it, I fear, interest many of my readers. He is after all but one of the many unknown ants that build up hills which, for all we know, one stroke of a stick may destroy again. Nor was it his moral character, noble and pure as it doubtless must have been, that riveted my attention chiefly. A man could hardly have achieved what he did unless he stood high above the reach of the vulgar vices and failings of mankind. In that direction, I may quote a few more judgments from the mouths of those who had known him during his long active life. "His chief strength," as one of his friends writes, "was to be found in his exemplary private character—

" His words were bonds, his oaths were oracles,
His love sincere, his thoughts immaculate;
His tears pure messengers sent from his heart;
His heart as far from fraud as heaven from earth."

This is beautifully expressed; but does it give us an image of the man himself? Even the strongest words seem so colourless when they are meant to give us the picture of a living man. It may be quite true that he enjoyed in private and domestic life a veneration that was due to his noble and patriarchal character, and that his influence was, as we are told, invariably and unerringly exerted in putting an extinguisher on private feuds and disagreements among a wide and ever-widening circle of relations, friends and members of his caste. We read that in order to promote harmony among them he often made personal sacrifices, and that he proved himself a friend of the needy and the helpless, of genius and talent struggling to rise. If it was not to be a blessing to others, life seemed to him not worth living."

All this is very strong testimony; and yet of how many people has the same been said, particularly by mourners at the grave of one whom they loved, and who had loved them! Funeral eloquence has its bright, but it also has its very dark side. It is delightful to see how much can be forgotten and forgiven at the grave, how gently all faults can be passed over or accounted for, how none but the noblest motives can now be imputed. But all is spoiled at once if rhetorical exaggeration comes in, so that even the truth contained in the panegyrics is hidden and choked by a rank growth of untruthfulness.

But though I was quite prepared to believe all that we were told about the private as well as public character of Gaurisankara, what attracted me most in him was that the same man should, through life, have been a true philosopher, nay, what men of the world would call a dreamer of dreams; and should yet have proved so excellent a man of business. Plato's dictum, which has so often been ridiculed, that philosophers are the true rulers of men, has indeed been signally vindicated in Gaurisankara's case. And his philosophy was not what may be called useful philosophy—a knowledge of nature and its laws. This might be tolerated in a Prime Minister, even in Europe. No; it consisted in the most abstruse metaphysics which would turn even the hardened brains of some of our best philosophers perfectly giddy. And yet that very philosophy, so far from unfitting Gaurisankara for his arduous work, gave him the proper strength for doing and doing well whatever from day to day his hands found to do. He felt the importance of his official work to the fullest extent, but he always felt that there was something more important still. Though devoting all his powers to this life and its duties, he felt convinced that this life would soon pass-away, that there was no true reality in it, and that there was behind, beneath, and above, another and higher life which alone was worth living. It was his faith in, or his knowledge of, that higher life which best fitted him to perform his work in the turmoil of the world. Thus it was that when any of his schemes ended in failure, disappointment never upset him, and that though he was often deceived in the friends he had trusted, he never became a pessimist.

It is very difficult to describe what was the faith or the philosophy which supported him throughout his busy life. From his early youth he was impressed with certain views of the Vedānta philosophy, which form the common spiritual property, so to say, of all the inhabitants of India. That philosophy seems to have entered into the very life-blood of the nation, but it assumed, of course, very different forms as believed in by men of talent and education, and by the drudging tillers of the soil throughout the land. The number of those who study the Vedānta in the works of such minute philosophers as Bādarāyana and Sankara is naturally small, but the number of those who have drunk in the spirit of the Vedānta, it may be in a few sayings only, is legion. It seems almost impossible to give a short account of that ancient philosophy, though, when once known, it can be, and has been, described and epitomised in a few very short lines. The approaches to it are very various, but anybody accustomed to Greek or European forms of thought is sorely perplexed how to find an entrance into it from exactly the same point as the Hindus themselves. The Vedānta philosophy is meant to be an interpretation of the world, different from all other interpretations, whether

philosophical or religious. It was to lead to a new birth, and therefore remained unintelligible and unmeaning to souls that will not be regenerated. It is partly an advantage, partly a disadvantage, that for several of their most important tenets the Vedântists simply appeal to the Vedas, their Bible, as containing the absolute truth, as being the highest seat of authority, or the Court of Appeal on many questions, which with us would require very different arguments to prove that, given our reasoning powers, such as they are, and the world, such as it is, certain doctrines are inevitable, or that at all events their opposites are unthinkable. To make the results at which the Vedântists arrive intelligible, it is best for us to start with a few maxims which seem to underlie their philosophy, and which, whether true in themselves or not, do not at all events offend against our own rules of reasoning.

If, then, we start with the idea of the Godhead, which is never quite absent in any system of philosophy or religion, we may, excluding all polytheistic forms of faith, allow our friends, the Vedântists, to lay it down that before all things the Godhead must be one, so that it may not be limited or conditioned by anything else. This is the Vedânta tenet which they express by the ever-recurring formula that the *Sat*, the true Being or Brahman, must be *ekam*, one, and *advit்யam*, without any second whatsoever. If then, it is once admitted that in the beginning, in the present and in the future, the Godhead must be one, all, and everything, it follows that nothing but that Godhead can be conceived as the true, though distant cause of everything material as well as spiritual, of our body as well as of our soul. Another maxim of the Vedântist, which likewise could hardly be gainsaid by any thinker, is that the Godhead, if it exists at all in its postulated character, must be unchangeable, because it cannot possibly be interfered with by anybody or anything else, there being nothing beside itself. On this point also all the advanced religions seem agreed. But then arises at once the next question, If the Godhead is one without a second, and if it is unchangeable, whence comes change or development into the world; nay, whence comes the world itself, or what we call creation—whence comes nature with its ever-changing life and growth and decay?

Here the Vedântist answer sounds at first very strange to us, and yet it is not so very different from other philosophies. The Vedântist evidently holds, though this view is implied rather than enunciated, that, as far as we are concerned, the objective world is, and can only be, *our knowledge* of the objective world, and that everything that is objective is *ipso facto* phenomenal. Objective, if properly analysed, is to the Vedântist the same as phenomenal, the result of what we see, hear, and touch. Nothing objective could exist objectively, except as perceived by us, nor can we ever go beyond

this, and come nearer in any other way to the subjective part of the objective world, to the *Ding an sich* supposed to be without us. If, then, we perceive that the objective world—that is, whatever we know by our senses, call it nature or anything else—is always changing, whilst on the other hand, the one Being that exists, the *Sat*, can be one only, without a second, and without change, the only way to escape from this dilemma is to take the world when known to us as purely phenomenal, that is, as created by our knowledge, only that what we call knowledge is called from a higher point of view not knowledge, but *Avidyā*, i.e., Nescience. Thus the Godhead, though being that which alone supplies the reality underlying the objective world, is never itself objective, still less can it be changing. This is illustrated by a simile, such as are frequently used by the Vedāntists, not to prove a thing, but to make things clear and intelligible. When the sun is reflected in the running water it seems to move and to change, but in reality it remains unaffected and unchanged. What our senses see is phenomenal, but it evidences a reality sustaining it. It is, therefore, not false or illusory, but it is phenomenal. It is fully recognised that there could not be even a phenomenal world without that postulated real *Sat*, that power which we call the Godhead, as distinguished from God or the gods, which are its phenomenal appearances, known to us under different names.

The *Sat*, or the cause remains itself, always one and the same, unknowable and nameless. And what applies to external nature applies likewise to whatever name we may give to our internal, eternal, or subjective nature. Our true being—call it soul, or mind, or anything else—is the *Sat*, the Godhead, and nothing else, and that is what the Vedāntists call the Self or the *Âtman*. That *Âtman*, however, as soon as it looks upon itself, becomes *ipso facto* phenomenal, at least for a time; it becomes the I, and the I may change. This I is not one, but many. It is the *Âtman* in a state of Nescience, but when that Nescience is removed by *Vidyā*, or philosophy, the phenomenal I vanishes in death, or even before death, and becomes what it always has been, *Âtman*, which *Âtman* is nothing but the *Sat*, the Brahman, or, in our language, the Godhead.

These ideas, though not exactly in this form or in this succession, seem to me to underlie all Vedāntic philosophy, and they will, at all events, form the best and easiest introduction to its sanctuary. And, strange as some of these ideas may sound to us, they are really not so very far removed from the earlier doctrines of Christianity. The belief in a Godhead beyond the Divine Persons is clearly enunciated in the much-abused Athanasian Creed, of which in my heart of hearts I often feel inclined to say: "Except a man believe it faithfully, he cannot be saved." There is but one step which the Vedāntists would seem inclined to take beyond us. The Second Person, or what the

earliest Christians called the Word—that is, the divine idea of the universe, culminating in the highest concept, the Logos of Man—would be with them the *Thou*, i.e., the created world. And while the early Christians saw that divine ideal of manhood realised and incarnate in one historical person, the Vedântist would probably not go beyond recognising that highest Logos, the Son of God and the Son of man, as Man, as every man, whose manhood, springing from the Godhead, must be taken back into the Godhead. And here is the point where the Vedântist differs from all other so-called mystic religions which have as their highest object the approach of the soul to God, the union of the two, or the absorption of the one into the other. The Vedântist does not admit any such approach or union between God and man, but only a recovery of man's true nature, a remembrance or restoration of his divine nature or of his godhead, which has always been there, though covered for a time by Nescience. After this point has once been reached, there would be no great difficulty in bringing on an agreement between Christianity, such as it was in its original form, and Vedântism, the religious philosophy of India. What seems to us almost blasphemy—a kind of *apotheosis* of man, is with the Vedântist an act of the highest reverence. It is taken as man's *anathosis*, or return to his true Father, a recovery of his true godlike nature. And can anything be godlike that is not originally divine, though hidden for a time by Nescience? After all, though Nescience may represent Manhood as the very opposite of Godhead, what beings are there, or can be imagined to be, that could fill the artificial interval that has so often been established between God and man, unless we allow our poets to people that interval with angels and devils? The real difficulty is how that interval, that abyss between God and man, was ever created, and if the Vedântist says by Nescience, is that so different from what we say "By human ignorance."

It was necessary to give these somewhat abstruse explanations—though in reality they are not abstruse, but intelligible to every unsophisticated and childlike mind. These, then, were the ideas that supported our friend Gaurisankara, and which support, under different disguises, millions of human beings in India—men, women and children. On such simple but solid foundations it is easy to erect ever so many religions, to build ever so many temples, and to find room for the most elevated and the most superstitious minds, all yearning for the same Peace and for the same Giver of Peace and Rest. Names may differ and truth may adopt different disguises. But, after all, the peace which Gaurisankara enjoyed amid the daily cares of his official life, and which arose from his forgetting and finding himself in God, or, as he would say, forgetting his phenomenal in his real *Âtman*, could it have been so very different from what we call the peace of God that passes all understanding?

Such a view of the world as his was, is generally supposed to unfit a man for all practical work, but this, as we see, is by no means a necessary consequence. One thought of Brahman was sufficient to refresh and strengthen him for the battle of life, like a header taken into the waves of an unfathomable ocean. He knew where he was and what he was, and that was enough to keep him afloat. And here we come across another curious feature of Hindu life, which shows how thoroughly their philosophy had leavened and shaped their social institutions in ancient times. As soon as we know anything of these institutions we read that the passage through life of a twice-born man was divided into four periods—one of the pupil *Brahmakârin*, the next of the married man or the householder, *Grihastha*. Then followed the third stage, after a man had fulfilled all his duties, had performed all necessary sacrifices, and had seen the children of his children. Then and then only came the time when he might retire from his house, give up all that belonged to him, and settle somewhere in the forest near, with or without his wife, but still accessible to his relations, and chiefly occupied in overcoming all passions by means of ascetic exercises, and withdrawing his affections more and more from all the things of this life. During that third station, that of the *Vânaprastha* or the *ὕλοβιος*, the mind of the hermit became more and more concentrated on that higher philosophy which we call religion, and more particularly on the *Vedânta*, as contained in the *Upanishads*, and similar but later works. Instead of merely dipping into the waters, the philosophical baptism became then a complete submergence, an entrance into life with Brahman, where alone perfect peace and a perfect satisfaction of man's spiritual desires could be found. This third station was followed by a fourth—the last chapter of life, when the old and decrepit man dragged himself away into the deep solitude of the forest, forgetting all that had once troubled or delighted his heart, and falling at last into the arms of his last friend, Death.

Such a conception and division of life seems quite natural from a Hindu point of view, and there was no necessity therefore for explaining it, as some anthropologists have done, by a circuitous appeal to savage customs, as is now the fashion. It is well known, no doubt, that both savage and civilised races get rid of their old people by either killing them or by causing them to be killed by wild animals. This inhuman cruelty may, no doubt, have been an act of necessity, particularly during a nomadic state of life. But in India the third station of life is quite different. It is based on a voluntary act, and it is followed by a fourth and final station, equally chosen by a man's own free will. Besides, all this was meant for the higher classes only, without a hint of its ever having been considered as inhuman or cruel. These anthropological explanations are very

amusing, no doubt; their only drawback is that most of them can neither be proved nor disproved.

At present the four stations of life in India seem to possess an archæological interest only, they are no longer of any practical importance. In the case of Gaurisankara it was no doubt his love of the ancient customs of his country, combined with a true desire for rest at the end of a most laborious and most successful career, that made him think of reviving in his own case the old custom, though even then in a milder form only. He gave up his post as Prime Minister, and entered into private life in January, 1879. His mind, we are told, when he was bordering upon eighty, was as bright and active as ever, but he then directed all his mental energies to one subject only, to a constant contemplation of the great problems of life. His presence had attracted many itinerant anchorites, many eminent teachers and students of the Vedânta to Bhavnagar, which became for a time the home of Indian philosophical speculation. He himself devoted his time now to a serious study of Sanskrit, for which his incessantly busy career had left him little time in youth. He published in 1884 *The Svarûpânusandhâna* in Sanskrit, being considerations on the nature of the Âtmâ (Self), and on the unity of the Âtmâ with the Paramâtmâ (the Highest Self). He still saw some friends, and, living in what we should call a garden house, he remained in touch with the outer world, though no longer affected by any of the conflicting interests which had occupied him for so many years. When, in 1886, Lord and Lady Reay wished to see him once more, he consented to receive them, but in the dress, or rather uniform, of his Order, with his dhoti, his frock, and his cap all covered with ochre. Their interview lasted for an hour, and Lord Reay declared, "that of all the happy moments he spent in India, those spent in the presence of that remarkable man remain engraved on his memory."

A few letters which I received from the old man after his retirement from the world may be interesting. He had sent me a copy of his book which contained, as he said, a collection of Vedântic sentences, forming, as it were, a chain of precious jewels or pearls. I thanked him in the same spirit, and as my letter was published in his Life, I may repeat it here :

"Oxford, 3rd December, 1884.

"I have to thank you for your kind letter and for your valuable present, the *Svarûpânusandhâna*. If you had sent me a real necklace of precious stones it might have been called a magnificent present, but it would not have benefited myself, my true Atman. The necklace of precious sentences which you have sent me has, however, benefited myself, my true Âtman, and I, therefore, consider it a far more precious present than mere stones or pearls. Besides, in accepting it, I need not be ashamed, for they become only my own, if I deserve them, that is, if I truly understand them. While we are still in our first and second Âsrama (station of life) we cannot help differing from one another according

to the country in which we are born, according to the language we speak, and according to the Dharma (religion) in which we have been educated. But when we enter into the third and fourth Āsrama, into which you have entered and I am entering, we differ no longer, *Gñātvā Devam sarvapāśāpahānib* : 'When God has become really known, all fetters fall.'

"Though in this life we shall never meet, I am glad to have met you in spirit."

I received another letter from him when he was just on the point of retiring from the world altogether and becoming a Sannyāsin, as far as that is possible in modern India. By taking this step he showed that he was indeed a Vedāntist in good earnest. What with us is but one of the many theories of life, was to him the only saving faith; and while with us an old Prime Minister clings to the end to his political interests, and loves to be surrounded and amused by those who belong to him, we see here a real hero of thought who, freed from all desires, turns his eyes away from the whole world to dwell only on what is eternal and unchangeable, the Paramātman—the Highest Self. To most of us this intellectual atmosphere, which he breathed to the very last, would prove too exhausting. We can never drop all fetters—nay, we glory in them to the very end. But whatever we may think of his philosophy, there can be no doubt that his life was consistent throughout. He tried to live up to the standard which had been handed down to him from remote antiquity, and which he fully believed to be the best and the truest. This last letter is dated 11th July, 1886. In it he says:—

"I had sent you a book which is the result of my long study of the Vedānta Philosophy. You can easily imagine that I, being a Hindu Brāhman, can be said to have fully realised the truth of the doctrine therein discussed, when I can give you patent proofs of the effect which that study has had on me. There are, as you well know, four Āsramas prescribed by our Sāstras, and the Brāhman are required to pass successively through them all, if they can do so. But in this, Kaliyuga people are not very particular about it. The second Āsrama, namely that of Grihastha (householder), is more or less enjoyed by all, and there are some who enter into the third or fourth order. Fortunately for myself I have attained an old age by which I was enabled to fulfil the requirements of the Sāstras, and thus lead a life of the third order after I left public life.

"Now my health is failing fast, and to finish the whole I have made up my mind to enter into the fourth order or Āsrama—namely, that of Sannyāsin. Thereby I shall attain that stage in life when I shall be free from all the cares and anxieties of this world, and shall have nothing to do with my present circumstances in life.

"After leading a public life for more than sixty years, I think there is nothing left for me to desire except the life of a Sannyāsin, which will enable my Ātman (self) to be one with Paramātman (highest self), as shown to us by the enlightened of old. When this is accomplished a man is free from births and rebirths; and what can I wish more than that which will free me from births and rebirths, and give me means to attain Moksha (freedom) ?

"My learned friend, in a few days I shall be a Sannyāsin, and thus there will be a total change of life. I shall no more be able to address you in this style, so I send you this letter to convey my best wishes for your success in life, and my regards, which you so well deserve.

"After this, as you have so well said in your note, you and I will be no two persons, and as the Atman which, being all-pervading, is one, there is total absence of duality. I shall end this note with the same words which you have mentioned, *Gaṭvā Devam sarvapāśāpahānāḥ* : When God has been known, all fetters fall."

I heard no more of him except indirectly, when his son sent me a copy of the *Bhagavad-gītā* as a present from his father, who was no longer Gaurisankara then, but *Sukhīdānanda*, that is, the Supreme Spirit, *i.e.*, he "who is, who perceives, and is blessed."

It would be a mistake to imagine that a life such as was lived by Gaurisankara is usual in modern India. On the contrary, it is now quite exceptional, and Gaurisankara was in every respect an exceptional character. Still we must guard against a mistake made by many biographers, who represent their hero as standing alone on a high pedestal without any other people around him with whom he could be compared. We have of late had a number of biographies that would make us believe that in England great men differed by their whole stature from their contemporaries. It is but seldom, however, that we find one man a head taller in physical stature than the majority; and so it is in intellectual and moral height also. It is true that it is the head that makes the whole difference, and sometimes a very great difference, still we must never forget that, as a mountain peak seldom stands up by itself, even our greatest men are surrounded in history by their equals, and should be measured accordingly.

Thus in our case, though in Gaurisankara we see a rare union of the man of the world and the man out of the world, of the Prime Minister and the philosopher, it so happens that there were several other statesmen living at the same time who, if they had not actually become hermits, were, all their life, devoted students and followers of the Vedānta. The Minister of a neighbouring state of Junagadh, Gokulaji Zolā, who had likewise made his way from poverty to the highest place in his little kingdom, was all his life devoted to the study of the Vedānta. He was the personal friend of Gaurisankara, and in the reports of the Political Agent he is spoken of as the equal of Gaurisankara.¹ Lord Lytton conferred on him the title of Rāo Bahādur, in recognition of his loyal conduct and services. When he died, in 1878, too young to have become a Sannyāsin, it was said that "having done his task, he became, through the true self-knowledge, free from the three forces—causal, subtle, and gross—that disguise the Self, and that his Self, absorbed in the highest Self, became all happiness, just as space, enclosed in a vessel, becomes one with infinite space and force, as soon as the vessel is broken." Everywhere we come across the same Vedāntic thoughts in India,

(1) See *A Sketch of the Life of Gokulaji Zolā and of the Vedānta*. By Manasukharāma Sūryārāma Tripathī. 1881.

though, no doubt, under various forms, according to the comprehension of different classes, but in their essence they all mean the same. Gokulaji himself, if we may judge by his biographer, was a great student of the Vedānta all his life, perhaps more even than Gauri-sankara had been ; and, while the latter rejoiced more in the ancient abrupt Vedāntic utterances of the Upanishads, Gokulaji had evidently taken an interest in the modern Vedānta also, which enters more minutely into many of the problems which are but started or hinted at in the ancient Upanishads.

In the case of the two Prime Ministers of Bhavnagar and Juganadh there can be little doubt that the Vedāntic spirit which filled their minds and guided their steps in life was drawn from a study of the classical works in which that ancient philosophy has been preserved to us. They were Vedāntists, as even with us Prime Ministers may be Platonists or Darwinians. But the same philosophical spirit has entered into the language of the people also, into their proverbs and popular maxims, into their laws and poetry. If people, instead of saying know thyself, can only say know *Ātman* by *Ātman* (know self by self) they are reminded at once of the identity of the ordinary and higher self. If they meet with people who called themselves *Ātmārāma*, i.e., self-pleased, they are easily led on to see that the name was really meant for delighting in the Self, i.e., God ; if they are taught that he who sees himself in all creatures, and all creatures in himself is a self-sacrificer and obtains the heavenly kingdom, they learn at least that this Self is meant for something more than the material body, though it can no doubt be used in that sense also.

This Vedānta spirit pervades the whole of India. It is not restricted to the higher classes, or to men so exceptional as the Prime Minister of Bhavnagar. It lives in the very language of the people, and is preached in the streets and in the forests by mendicant Saints. Even behind the coarse idol-worship of the people some Vedāntic truth may often be discovered.

The Prime Minister has just defended "Mr. Brodrick's Army" Scheme on the ground that it is justified by the needs of the North-West Frontier of India. The Duke of Devonshire put forward these and other justifications, all of which Lord Rosebery rejected. On the 23rd inst., at the East India Association, in a speech based on the following paper, I endeavoured to explain the conditions of this problem, and to show what Lord George Hamilton and Lord Curzon have in the last few years done, and what they are doing. Next day the *Morning Post*, in a leading article, said, "it was not on the strategical aspects of the Persian Gulf, which have recently been illustrated by Captain Mahan, so much as on the treatment of Persia in the scheme of British policy that Mr. Rees and those who like Mr. Lynch agree with him, were yesterday laying stress." That, indeed, is the chief purpose of this paper, which, however, also treats of the present Viceroy's policy on the North-West Frontier. On the 25th inst., the *Times*, in a leader, urged that the Middle Eastern Question must be treated as part of the general national problem, and reported Lord Curzon's speech in his Council of the 25th to the effect "that the freedom of Persia and Afghanistan, among other Eastern Kingdoms, was vital to the welfare of India, that he knew at present of no acute or menacing question, but advised his hearers not to sleep happy under the delusion that trouble would never come." Twenty centuries ago the Romans realized the close proximity of India better than we do to-day. "*Quantum enim est quod ab ultimis litoribus Hispania usque ad Indos jacet? paucissimorum dierum spatium.*" In the belief that this is a favourable opportunity for inducing folks in England to abandon their attitude of indifference and uninterest towards affairs in the East, which, in fact,

vitaly affect their political, commercial, financial, and imperial interests, I publish this paper, together with the speeches of three experts, who have examined the problem from different points of view, and arrive at substantially the conclusions, which after studying this question in Russia, India and Persia, I, for myself, adopt.

J. D. R.

LONDON, 31st *March*, 1903.

RUSSIA, INDIA, AND THE PERSIAN GULF,

OR

THE WESTERN FRONTIERS OF INDIA.

BY L. REES, C.I.E.

TIME was, and no distant time, when the Indian Frontier meant the North-West Frontier, the traditional gate whereby invaders have entered India. Already, however, there are three frontiers, the North-West, the Belooch, and the Persian Gulf, and probably the first-named is the less, as the second is the more, vulnerable, and the third the most defensible, and that for the defence of which the Empire is chiefly called upon to take measures lest its present inviolate character be impaired. The North-Eastern and the Burma-Chinese frontiers may for the present be left out of account, though they, too, are no longer unaffected by European politics, while Russia annexes Chinese provinces, and a Russian of Prince Ukhtomsky's political and journalistic influence, with cumbrous phrase, but clear meaning, urges France, "a nation sympathetic with the Slavonic ideal, to find an accommodation with Siam, which, retaining its independence, would see its enemy only in the conquerors of Burma, and not in those quarters, where it is time for the natives to identify their interests with the true needs of all the other Oriental nations, in the hope of the evolution of a Russo-Chinese world, in which the promise of power and prosperity lies hidden."

The present points of interest may be considered under two heads, the North-West and the Persian Gulf, because the Belooch frontier, in so far as it is open to a land attack across Eastern Persia and West Beloochistan, may be con-

veniently classed with the North-West, and so far as it is available for attack or defence from the sea, and in respect of communications with the interior and the shore, with the Persian Gulf. Indeed, the most recent writers on the border-land dwell on the "passes that beggar description," "the distances of 50 miles, with not the slightest sign of life," "the tiny villages kept alive by springs tapped in distant hills," which lie between comparatively fertile Seistan, and the objective of an invading army on the Indian frontier, protected by our dominating position at Quetta. Neither Sir Thomas Holdich nor Major Sykes describe a possible path for the successors of the Macedonian madman, whose coast route is also impracticable for modern armies. Even our new Quetta Nushki-Robat line is, as Professor Vambéry says, a "waterless, grassless steppe." The Gulf, with such communications as have it for their base, is of all the most important; for a hostile Power, with a port on its margin, might, if sufficiently strong by land and sea, entirely disregard all the defences of the border hills from Chitral to Quetta, upon which so much treasure has, in that case, to little purpose, been lavished. I do not personally know any Russian author who has dealt with the subject of an attack through Afghanistan, except Prince Ukhtomsky, who accompanied the present Czar throughout his travels in the East, and has subsequently occupied an important position in the Russian world, and was at any rate a prominent factor in the recent occurrences in China, in which, owing to our South African engagements, we played a part in no way adequate to our past traditions and former commercial supremacy. The Prince at any rate will serve my purpose. He says, "The bonds uniting our part of Europe with Iran and Turan, and through them with India and China, are so ancient and lasting that we do not fully comprehend their meaning, and the duties they entail on us in our home and foreign policy." Comprehension of these duties has increased since these words were written in 1890. Again, Ukhtomsky writes, "There is not the slightest doubt

of a future in which Asiatic Russia will mean all Asia; bonds historical and ethnographic unite the Russians with the peoples from the Caspian to the Ganges and the Deccan." The intervening countries of Persia and Afghanistan would be merely subjected to what the Prince calls, in a surely inimitable phrase, "painless identification with Russia." Again, "No one"—that is, no one in Russia—"has any intention of attacking England in Asia. England cherishes a rooted, though totally unfounded conviction, that the Russians are consciously drawn to the Indus and the Ganges. What calls up a smile to our lips appears a real threat to Albion, and to some extent is of advantage to us, for when portions of the North-West drop into their hands they seem to form fresh Gordian knots, causing heavy subsidiary expenses, especially for military purposes and increasing financial disorder. Of course we do not need India, but we are and must be supported by the mythical idea of an ever possible advance of the irresistible north over the Hindu Kush, the practicability of which history has proved." It may safely be affirmed that history proves nothing of the kind, for no Western Power after subduing Turkestan and the Central Asian Khanates, has proceeded through the further Mohammedan region of Afghanistan, armed to the teeth as it now is, to pass unopposed by tribes at the least hating a new anti-Mohammedan invader as much as ourselves, to find the powerful army of India before and behind the Indus, awaiting the starved survivors of a mad march. I dwelt upon this subject in an article entitled the "Czar's Friend," in the *Fortnightly Review* for April, 1901, and can now only say that after some study of this matter in Russia, Persia, and India, in which countries as an interpreter in Russian, Persian, and Hindustani I had at least some means of acquiring information, I firmly believe that Ukhtomsky is as open and truthful in regard to this invasion, as he obviously was in respect of Russian designs upon China, which ten years ago he frankly unfolded. True the contrary intention is continually asserted in Russian journals,

and the repetition of these provoking paragraphs in our newspapers serves the end in view of making us lavish on the already naturally fortified North-West Frontier money which would be far better expended on looking after our trade in Persia, or in providing floating defences and warships for the East India command. But these paragraphs are certainly as little likely to be penned by responsible Russian statesmen as portentous articles in English reviews, signed A, B, and C, are to be the literary offspring of Mr. Arthur Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain, or Lord Cranborne. In such articles and elsewhere is recommended an agreement with Russia regarding the Persian Gulf, which can only mean the fateful and fatal concession of a port in return for some vague assurance, which will, like most diplomatic assurances, last, in regard to any particular point, no longer than is convenient to the party in that behalf prejudiced. *Per contra*, since the question arises, we have in the *Nineteenth Century* for March one of the best living authorities, Professor Vambéry, writing down under his honoured name the true consequences of such a step, which the author of the standard work on Persia, Lord Curzon, truly says would justify the impeachment of the Minister who sanctioned it, if indeed all the military and pecuniary resources of the Empire were not at the time being, as they have of late been, poured out in an illimitable and indistinguishable stream into the lap of loyal, lukewarm, and disloyal Africa. For without money we can do nothing, and Russia finds funds for loans to States, the commercial and political conquest of which she covets, without counting the cost, and without insisting on the consequential acceptance of her own administrative methods and ideals, which we somewhat officiously made a condition in the like case.

The mention of Lord Curzon brings me at once to the present policy on the Indian Western and North-Western land frontier. As far back as 1897, on the termination of the Tirah campaign, the Secretary of State telegraphed

to Lord Elgin urging that with the cessation of hostilities our permanent position and policy should be defined, and agreeing with the Viceroy that our interference with independent tribes—so far as they can be called independent since the Durand line was drawn—should be strictly limited in order to avoid serious eventual responsibilities involved in the extension of administrative control over tribal territory. The Secretary of State also urged that the then existing arrangements should be modified in view to concentration of force. While he formally concurred with the Government of India in ascribing the concerted, simultaneous, and till then unprecedentedly serious, risings of the tribes to fanaticism, Lord George Hamilton could not conceal the fact that the delimitation of the spheres of British and Afghan influence, in accordance with the Durand convention, had naturally led the tribesmen to suspect designs upon their independence. There are not a few interested in frontier politics who consider that not only was this result to be expected, but that a mistake was made in determining upon this delimitation, which necessarily largely increased our responsibilities and intervention in tribal affairs. Among such apparently is Sir T. Holdich, a good judge, if there be one. No doubt there is a difficulty in preserving a state of civilized administration up to a certain point, and ignoring violence and rapine immediately beyond it, especially when the inhabitants of either side are not a constant but a changing and an interchanging quantity; but it is possible that our susceptibilities in this respect are too acute, and have led us on many occasions into interferences in matters we might well have ignored, and into vain and expensive expeditions. To some, at any rate, it would appear, even from the narratives of those responsible for the action in question, that the dynastic and domestic squabbles of the petty chief of Chitral were such as we might have disregarded. Yet they led to our occupation of what a great authority describes as “a useless, expensive, and burdensome post,”

since invasion from the North is impossible. One serious objection to such interference is that it can have no finality. If an obligation to impose law and order on the turbulent frontier tribes lies upon us in consequence of a higher standard than that of other nations, which we impose upon ourselves, why not upon similar tribes in Afghanistan? and if there, why not in Eastern Persia, in Persia generally, in Mesopotamia and Asia Minor? Where, indeed, in such a policy can the line be drawn? The money spent in mounting guns in solitary valleys, the treasure lavished upon fortifying natural forts, would have sufficed many times over to supply the loans solicited on very good security by Persia, our refusal to grant which threw the Shah into the arms of the all-willing Czar. Of course, the Indian and Home Budgets are separate, and independent of one another; but now at any rate it is idle to deny the fact that Persia is as much a frontier of India as is Afghanistan, but far weaker, far more vulnerable, far more the object of a rival Power's solicitude, so that Indian money might be spent on the shores of the Persian Gulf with as much propriety as upon cantonments, roads, and railways in and for the benefit of Chitral, and other robber-haunted border hills. It might be argued that the charges in both cases more properly fall on the Imperial Exchequer, which would, as regards expenditure in the Gulf, to some extent be recouped in consequence of the revival which would result in the fast falling trade with Persia. It is useless to suggest at present that any group of interests, however vital, can compete with those of South Africa, though neglect of the Indo-Persian question may well lead eventually to a conflagration beside which the war with the Transvaal would seem a feeble flame. Not, indeed, that Gulf questions have of late been neglected. The action of the Home Government and the Viceroy of India in regard to the efforts of the French to obtain a coaling station at Muscat, and of the Turks, whether or not of their own motion, to seize Koweit, was prompt, firm, and effectual. But more than this is wanted at the hands of the Home

Government if we are to retain our commercial predominance in the northern shores of the Gulf, which, in fact, the Shah owes to ourselves, for it is our might which gave reality to his previously hardly existing sovereignty over the chiefly Arab tribes which inhabit the lowlands between the mountains and the northern shore.

To return to the North-West Frontier proper, a great deal has been written in the last two or three years regarding the relations of the Punjab Government with the frontier tribes and with the Government of India, and the Viceroy's action in creating a new frontier Province out of the tribal hill tracts and the ordinary plains across the Indus, but it is evident from a perusal of the Blue Book that there is a most unusual consensus of opinion to the effect that such a step as Lord Curzon has taken is necessary, and that its necessity has long since been recognised. Sir Mackworth Young, the Lieutenant-Governor of the day, pointed out—as also did Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, an ex-Lieutenant-Governor—that when the Lahore Administration appeared to differ with the Government of India, the fact was that the former simply represented the difficulties and risks inherent in some forward movement, with which it was the more impressed on account of their closer proximity. True, Sir M. Young disapproved, while Sir D. Fitzpatrick approved, the creation of a separate administration formed out of the frontier districts and tribal tracts, but Sir M. Young also agreed that, if the elimination of the Punjab Government was desired, it could only be brought about in the manner adopted. Due weight should be attached to his statement that “if the Punjab Government has been a drag on the forward school of frontier politicians, the most strenuous advocates of which will be found in military ranks, the elimination of its counsels will not strengthen the position of the Government of India.” But there is no fear that the present Viceroy will be led away by the military forward school, to which he has shown the utmost unwillingness to lend an ear, and it may well be that in the future the fact

that the centre of interest and of danger has left this locality—if, indeed, it ever really was focussed there—will probably lead to the relegation of these tribal difficulties to something more like their real relative importance, and to that abstention from interference which, in spite of all orders and warnings, has been too much practised by frontier officers, and too much favoured by the military element at the headquarters of the Government of India. Officers who have spent their lives and made their reputations on this frontier admit as much. Witness Sir F. Cunningham, who says: "In the policy which led to the occupation and, as the tribesmen view it" (are they not right?), "the practical annexation of Wana, Tochi, and Malakand, there are elements so contrary to the feelings, traditions, and aspirations of the clans, so likely to arouse their fear of loss of independence, that this alone would account for some of the difficulties experienced in carrying out the aims of Government on the North-West Frontier." Although, for instance, the Sandeman policy, "the occupation of a tribal tract with (the officially reported) assent of the clan," which worked very well among the Beloochees, though it extended our Empire well into Eastern Persia, although this policy was proved beyond all question to be utterly unsuitable for adoption among the wholly different Pathan tribes, "*Afreedi, Hazara, and Ghilzai, who clamour for plunder or bribes,*" efforts are none the less made even now in this country to represent that this method of extending our liabilities and responsibilities should be applied all along a frontier inhabited by tribes, who resemble one another in nothing, but in having no resemblance to the Beloochi, whose geographical position is moreover wholly different, in that they have a back door open towards Afghanistan.

Lord Elgin, on laying down office, claimed that he not only approved, but had followed, a policy of non-annexation and non-interference, and explained that the expeditions and advances he had made were inheritances; and Lord George Hamilton, who has been most insistent in forbidding

a forward policy, deferred passing orders on the proposals of the retiring Viceroy for garrisoning certain tribal tracts, until the Government of India had reported upon its general policy towards the tribes in view to the avoidance of the extension of administrative control over independent tribal territory. This left the matter for Lord Curzon, who with characteristic courage at once grasped the frontier nettle, giving an indication of the line he would take in one of his earliest despatches, when he laid down the principle that in the Khyber and elsewhere along the frontier the various corps of tribal militia or rifles or military police, though semi-military in organization, being more than semi-political in functions and object, should necessarily, except in time of active warfare, be under civil authority and control. At that time the Government of India stood committed to a policy involving the construction of fortifications and the retention of a large garrison in Chitral; the expenditure of several lakhs of rupees on a new fort at Lundi Kotal and on other fortified works in the Khyber Pass; the construction of a bed for a light railway from Jamrud to Lundi Kotal; the maintenance of a military garrison on the Samana range south of Tirah, and in the Kurram Valley, and considerable expenditure on forts and posts in the two last-named places; the maintenance of a garrison in the Tochi Valley; the establishment of a cantonment in the neighbourhood of Miranshah; and the maintenance of a garrison at Wana in South Waziristan to protect the Gomal Pass. These measures involved very large expenditure in themselves, as well as the risk that the maintenance of regular garrisons would tend to increase rather than diminish the extent of our interference with the tribes. Moreover, the cardinal principle of the concentration of our regular forces was in these measures ignored, and Lord Curzon, in the autumn of 1899, submitted to the Secretary of State the principles, upon which he considered a positive course of policy and action applicable along the entire border, should be based. These principles were :

1. To avoid locking up regular garrisons in costly fortified positions at a distance from our base, in which the troops themselves are practically lost to the effective strength of India, from which in time of emergency they need to be reinforced.

2. To interest the inhabitants of each district or post whence the garrison is withdrawn in their own defence, and to establish a lien on their loyalty by enrolling them as a tribal force to supply the local garrisons.

3. To maintain movable columns ready to march to the relief of the advanced tribal garrisons from bases on or near the administrative frontier of India, and to connect the frontier cantonments with the large Indian garrisons by light railways pushed forward from the existing railway systems.

In pursuance of this policy, which the India Office approved, with a recognition of the judgment, ability, and promptitude with which the questions had been treated, the garrisons at Chitral and Lundi Kotal were reduced; the proposed new fortifications on a large scale were abandoned; native levies were utilized in Chitral, and in a more regular corps, in the Khyber; the garrison duty of the Indian army was reduced; the publicity and exaggeration, the pomp and circumstance, of petty frontier expeditions was eliminated, to the dissatisfaction of the soldiers concerned, and to the advantage of the Indian taxpayer; the tribes were conciliated by the employment offered, and not alienated by interference; and the construction of a light railway from Nowshera to Dargai and the extension of the standard gauge line to Jamrood were sanctioned—the last two measures being such as conduce to the safety and convenience of trade and of the public, and are of equal value from a military or a civil point of view. Proceeding upon similar principles, it was decided to withdraw the military garrisons from the forts on the Samana range, replacing them by a battalion of military police raised from the tribes, commanded by police officers, and occupying an intermediate

position between the native levies of Chitral and the more military organization of the Khyber Rifles ; to withdraw the regular troops from the Kurram Valley, increasing simultaneously the local militia under police officers ; to establish a cantonment at Miranzai, in order to allow of the last-mentioned withdrawals, a corresponding saving being effected by giving up the proposed additional accommodation for the troops at Kohat ; to withdraw the regular troops from the Tochi and Gomal valleys and from Wana in North and South Waziristan as soon as possible, and to replace them by new, chiefly tribal, militia corps, similar to the Khyber Rifles and the Kurram Militia, one to hold the Tochi, and the other the Gomal, Valley.

All these proposals were made with the concurrence of the Punjab Government, and it was estimated at the time that they would effect a reduction upon the larger programme, which originally held the field, of about £175,000, without taking into account the savings which annually recur, which would not be less than £20,000. Nor should it be forgotten that, over and above these and other economies, the great merits of these plans are the addition to our defensive strength on the border by the enlistment of the tribesmen, and the increase to our offensive power by the recall and concentration of the troops of the regular army. Among the members of the Government of India who concurred with the proposals of Lord Curzon (who is, of course, like every Viceroy, and certainly not less than any preceding Viceroy, his own Foreign Minister) were Sir Clinton Dawkins and Generals Sir W. Lockhart and Sir Edwin Collen. The Viceroy, however, was not content to leave this policy to be carried out in future by the Government of India, acting as heretofore through the Punjab Administration. In the following year his Government—bereft now of the counsels of Sir William Lockhart by the hand of death, and of Sir Clinton Dawkins by his removal to another sphere, in which none the less his services were utilized in even more important public business — for-

warded to the Secretary of State a minute drawn up by himself, in which, after a full and clear review of the past history of the frontier, he described the existing administrative arrangements as "labour without responsibility for the local, and responsibility without control for the supreme, Government." Lord Curzon had visited the frontier, and examined the question on the spot before drawing up his exhaustive minute, in which he recommended the construction of a new agency or Province, under the immediate control of the Government of India, created out of the trans-Indus districts of the Punjab in which direct relations with the tribes occur, and he considered the adoption of such a scheme essential to the prosecution of the frontier policy which had just been approved, the main features of which are above described. Lord Curzon's minute was adopted by General Sir E. Collen and by his four civilian colleagues, and it may be regarded as certain that Sir Clinton Dawkins and Sir William Lockhart would have approved of a measure which set a seal upon the policy which they had already embraced.

A great deal has been said and written concerning alleged differences of opinion as to the creation of the frontier province. In fact, however, the Secretary of State had found the existing administrative conditions unsatisfactory; the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, Sir Mackworth Young, had objected to the scheme suggested by the India Office, which he thought would place the Frontier Commissioner in the position of serving two masters, and had recorded his opinion that if it was desired to eliminate the Punjab Government from trans-frontier control, this could only be done by removing the frontier districts, or such portions of them as were closely connected with trans-frontier tribes from the Lahore administration, and forming that tract into a separate charge under the direct orders of the Government of India. The Secretary of State had practically expressed such a desire, and Sir Mackworth Young, while disapproving the measure,

thought it better to face the objections to it than to adopt the half-hearted alternative suggested. Opinions in favour of some such scheme as that of Lord Curzon had been expressed by Sir B. Frere, Sir H. Durand, Sir J. Browne, Sir R. Sandeman, Sir W. Lockhart, Sir C. Aitchison, Sir G. Chesney, Lord Lytton, Lord Lansdowne, and Lord Roberts. The present Commander-in-Chief was actually designated head of such a new province as was then contemplated, and has now been made, when the outbreak of the Afghan War led to the abandonment of Lord Lytton's scheme, on the appointment of his successor, Lord Ripon. Lord Elgin is the latest authority, who with characteristic conscientiousness recorded for himself alone, and without committing his Government, the contrary opinion, just before he left India in 1898. He greatly, no one can say unduly, valued the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Mackworth Young, but equal importance at least attaches to the contrary view of Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, who agreed altogether in Lord Curzon's conclusions. Sir Dennis showed that the Punjab Government had been pushed on by the forward party in the Government of India, which held that after the delimitation of the Durand line, we were bound not only to establish such control over the tribes as was needed for our own protection and to check raids into Afghanistan, but such control as would enable us to settle the quarrels of the tribesmen among themselves; that the Punjab Government, being nearer the frontier, saw the difficulties and objections to such a policy, which indeed the Secretary of State had vetoed, knew that the so-called "Sandeman" system was wholly inapplicable to tribes entirely different in character, constitution, and geographical position from those with which Sandeman so successfully dealt, and held that in certain districts, such as the Khyber, the best plan was not to interfere with fighting among the tribesmen so long as their dissensions did not endanger the peace of the road, or any of our own interests. This policy would seem admirably

adapted to all such cases, but is opposed to the interests and aspirations of the military element, and to the traditional theory that it is the duty of a British Government to police all parts of the world in which, for any possible or plausible reason, we can make any kind of colourable claim to interfere. Sir Dennis could easily show that frontier outbreaks were not confined to tracts under the immediate supervision of Lahore, but he cordially approved Lord Curzon's plan of trying tribal militia, and said that if it stands the test of times of trouble in a country like Waziristan, it will do its inventor infinite credit. He remarked, however, that the omission to recommend such a scheme on the part of previous Lieutenant-Governors was equally shared by the advisers of successive Viceroys at Simla. Finally, after very clearly explaining how apparent differences of opinion had arisen, he expressed his own wish to repeat the instructions already sent to India to avoid any new responsibility not absolutely required by strategical necessities and the protection of the border, and to add a word of warning lest an exaggerated view should prevail of our obligations under the Durand Convention, and against pushing too far the theory that the local authority should be "given a free hand." The India Office evidently thought Lord Curzon's own attitude in this respect so satisfactory as to call for no admonition, and nothing indeed could be clearer than his expressed views on the subject. It is apparent, therefore, that a consensus of contemporaneous opinion supported Lord Curzon's scheme for carrying out the policy of His Majesty's Government.

In one of a series of able and interesting articles contributed to the *Times* in 1902, it was suggested that the Viceroy in placing portions of the plain districts of the Punjab under the new Chief Commissioner, as well as the wilder frontier tribes, contemplated a reversion in the former localities to a less complex and scientific kind of administration, and it was even hinted that the clock would be set back in other quarters, if this experiment proved a success.

That this, however, was an entirely erroneous conclusion is obvious from Lord Curzon's minute. Perhaps he may entertain a doubt whether the Indian peasant appreciates the full merits of the Civil Code, scientific sanitation, and all the paraphernalia of an administration fashioned on the Western progress pattern. Indeed, he evidently thinks irrigation, communications, and commerce of at least equal importance. But the time has yet to come when a great officer of State in India will say as much on this subject as Lord George Hamilton has said in England, in and out of the House of Commons, and till then the daring individual who suggests that to let the people alone while educating them, and improving their material prosperity is the policy we should follow, and are almost pledged to follow, must be content to be written down an eccentric advocate of reaction. At any rate, no climbing down the advanced administrative ladder was foreshadowed in Lord Curzon's irrefutable reflections on the effects of the licentious litigiousness, fostered by our scientific system. These reflections and the whole minute are available to those who will, and there is no need on this occasion to quote from a State paper which has accomplished its purpose, and is a memorable addition to the archives of the Government of India. There are some, however, who will quote the following words with a purpose other than that of settling the question whether regions beyond the administrative border of British India, but within the sinister sphere of influence between that and the Durand line, should or should not be administered directly by the Government directly responsible for their administration. Lord Curzon writes: "It may be truly said that every change in the frontiers of India subsequent to 1877 has been a change dictated not by considerations arising out of or directly affecting the interests of the Punjab Government, but by Imperial considerations and by them alone." Is the word Imperial used in its Indian, or its all-British aspect? It may be said no distinction can be drawn. But the Indian and British Budgets are

distinct. India's attitude towards Britain is very different from that of the loyal, the too much protesting loyal, Colonies, whose loyalty and whose aspirations for confederation will not stand the test of a collection. Will she always pay the bill as the frontiers are pushed farther and farther west, after so much of the Afghan hills and the roof of the world has been practically annexed, and Beluchistan added to the Empire, when the flank has been turned, and the frontier appears still farther west in Seistan, in Fars, in Arabistan, and in the Persian Gulf? Or will the burden be transferred to the patient shoulders of that uncomplaining beast of burden, the British taxpayer, who could a few years back have bought the position now occupied by Russia in Persia for a loan on excellent security of the one hundred and fiftieth part of what has already been spent on the Transvaal. This question will have to be faced one day, and it is no real use to censure those among us who have joined the Russians in creating the great North-West Frontier Phantom Invasion. What floating batteries, war-ships, and repairing docks might not have been created for the protection of the shores of the Gulf, and India's Malabar and Coromandel coasts, with the money poured out on an already naturally fortified frontier, often in removing stumbling-blocks from the paths of our enemies, and in subduing tribes whose fierce and unconquerable independence is at once their own and our most valuable asset, who would hate any invader, and most of all the arch-enemy of Islam in Central Asia! And in this aspect of the question no one, who like myself has been for years a regular student of the Persian and Hindustani newspapers, and of the views of Mohammedans in different parts of Asia, can help regretting that circumstances have made it difficult for us to avoid offending our Mohammedan friends and fellow-subjects. Neither to Shia nor Sunni do we seem altogether warm and dependable friends. Much of this is unfortunately unavoidable, but when the Cape, Somaliland, Greece, Egypt, and Venezuela give a moment's respite, a

section of our powerful press begins again the anti-Turkish agitation, supported by tales of atrocities, which are not conspicuously impartial. Not that way, at any rate, lie concessions for important trunk-lines, and a desire for the extension and consolidation of British interests on the part of other Powers.

Among those who do not consider a Russian invasion from the North-West altogether impracticable are Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Wilkinson, who none the less describe some of the passes as not affording room for two horsemen to ride abreast, or sustenance except for small parties, and allow that from the present Russian frontier an invasion by Herat and Kandahar, or by Cabul, is impossible. Napoleon thought such an operation, suggested by the Emperor Paul, impracticable; the Duke of Wellington thought that "troops would force their way through this wild country only to find the commencement of their difficulties," and in recent days Field-Marschals Sir N. Chamberlain and Sir D. Stewart, and General Sir J. A dye, have held the same opinion. The case, of course, would be different if Northern Afghanistan fell to Russia in a partition, such as is sometimes recommended by the same school, which would also bring about the far more fatal division of the shores of the Persian Gulf with the great Northern Power. But Sir Charles Dilke and his collaborateur summed up the Frontier Question in 1892 by saying, "Whatever measures we take, and whatever policy may be adopted, the fundamental condition of the defence of India will continue to be the readiness of England to send ample reinforcements when they are needed. In other words, the peace of India depends upon Great Britain having an efficient," not a large, "army at home and retaining the command of the sea." The history of the last ten years surely emphasizes the truth of this dictum, and particularly of the last words, now that the greatest naval Power after our own is closely associated with the great land Power, whose Oriental aspirations cause us such anxiety; and now that her Persian plan

of campaign includes the eventual possession of a port on the Persian Gulf, which would turn the flank of our North-West Frontier, with its costly and extended system of garrisons, fortifications, and road and railway communications.

Since Persia and the "*warm Persian sea-board*" are at present, far more than the Afghan Frontier, the point to which Russian activities are directed, and for the reason that Russia's arrival in Southern Persia would immediately transfer to that quarter all our anxieties for the safety of India, some reference is necessary to the recent progress of our Northern neighbours in the dominions of the Shah, since Lord Curzon in his standard work described the country and the Persian Question. Subsequently to that date Russia has made the Siberian Railway, has obtained practical possession of Manchuria, a port on the Pacific, a great if not preponderating influence in Northern China, has largely developed and linked up her Southern and Trans-Caucasian, and has commenced to join her Siberian and Transcaspian Railway systems, has enormously increased her commercial activities on the Caspian and the Black Seas, has constructed a carriage road from Resht, the Caspian port, to Teheran, the capital, from Askabad on the Transcaspian Railway to Meshed, the capital of Khorassan, is constructing other roads from Erivan to Tabriz, and from Kazvin to Hamadan, a route on which I* reported in 1885, has acquired almost a monopoly of the trade of Northern Persia, has organized a whole brigade of Persian Cossacks, to which the present spendthrift monarch is said to have been indebted for his undisputed succession, has stimulated the import of Russian goods into Persia by the elaboration of a system of bounties of from 15 to 20 per cent. *ad valorem*, and by the concession of special railway rates, has established in Teheran the Banque d'Escompte de Perse, which the *Times* has lately described as practically a branch of the Russian Ministry of Finance, and by repeated loans upon the security of the Customs has been placed in a position to insist upon the revision of the tariff in the interests of Russian trade, which

* "Notes of a Journey from Kazveen to Hamadan," by J. D. Rees.

has just been announced, whereby the duty on Indian tea has been increased by 95 and on cotton goods by 10 per cent. Lord Cranborne's answer as regards the former duty, to the effect that it will not prove prohibitive, because most of the Indian tea consumed in Persia is imported through Russia, needs explanation, unless different rates of duty are prescribed for Indian tea entering Persia, through Russia. At any rate, it is clear that the Russians intend to ruin the trade which has been developing overland from Quetta *viâ* Nushki, and Robat, to Seistan and Eastern Persia.

Russia has lent to the Shah's Government £3,500,000, or perhaps £5,500,000, or nearly four years' revenue, on the security of the Customs (other than those of the Gulf), has acquired the right to coin Persian currency, and has paid off all British claims on the Persian Treasury, binding Persia to borrow nothing from any other Foreign Power till 1912. By these means the Russian Finance Minister has found in Northern Persia an almost exclusive market for the protected products of Russian industry, while the Foreign Office has extended its influence over the moribund Persian monarchy, the independence of which she and England have alike engaged to respect. The money borrowed has not been spent in the improvement of the material condition of the people, and popular discontent is evidenced by a recrudescence of Babism,* a movement regarded as hostile to the established throne and religion, though really, as Professor Browne points out, part of "a certain circle of religious and philosophical ideas endemic in Persia, and liable at any moment, under a suitable stimulus, to become epidemic."

The result of these measures is seen in the figures (also from the *Times*), showing that, while Lord Curzon in 1889 estimated the value of British and Indian trade with Persia at £3,000,000, against a Russo-Persian trade of £2,000,000, the present (no doubt fairly accurate) returns, compiled by the Belgian Staff, which now collects Persian Customs for the Russians, shows that the Russians figure at £4,500,000,

* See *Nineteenth Century*; July, 1896—"Bab and the Babis," by J. D. Rees.

against £2,000,000 for the British, an increase of 125 against a decrease of 33 per cent. Further, a falling-off of 40 per cent. is calculated by the *Economist* in the returns of the imports of cotton goods in 1902 into Persia, and the Belgian Customs management at Mohammera indicates an intention of obstructing the development of the Karun River route, and the use of Lynch Road to Ispahan, while it is evident that the Bakhtiari hills, and their chiefs have of late been the subjects of Russian interest.

Time does not permit me on this occasion to trace the history of English supremacy in the Persian Gulf, by which other nations have been as free to profit as we ourselves, who, after the expenditure of much blood and treasure, have confirmed to Persia and in a measure to Turkey contiguous possessions, over which their control was hardly more than nominal, while putting down piracy and maintaining peace among the tribes on both the shores of the Gulf.

In 1894 a French Consul was appointed to Muscat, wherein is no French trade and no French subject, in order to co-operate with Russia in extending her influence in the Gulf; but the subsequent attempt to gain a coaling station or naval base was defeated by the action of Lord Curzon's Government. French, German, and Russian Consuls have also been appointed in other Gulf ports, and Russian merchantmen have been heavily subsidized in the hitherto not very successful endeavour to develop a trade. Russia has taken an engagement from Persia not to allow the construction of any railways to be commenced till 1905 unless she herself begins, as she no doubt will when ready, or if Germany acquires a port in the Gulf in view of the approaching construction of the Anatolian Railway to Baghdad and Koweit. The history of the recent efforts of the Sultan to assert or reassert his authority over the latter place, which we successfully resisted, throws a flood of light upon the political conditions of the shores of the Gulf. The Sultan does not resign his shadowy sovereignty; we maintain our actual supremacy; the Sheikh continues to be situated

between the devil and the deep sea; Germany may precipitate another difficulty at any moment; and Russia, in that case, must assert her claims to an equivalent position in the Gulf. Yet there was a time not long distant when we were unchallenged in the Gulf and in a position to do almost as we pleased in Turkish Arabia, wherein our trade, now borne by Messrs. Lynch's steamers on the Tigris, will in the future have to compete with the land-borne trade of the German railway. It will also have to face all the obstacles placed by the Turkish Administration upon navigation, and the access to the Kermanshah-Hamadan-Teheran trade-route, with which is worthy to be classed the attitude of the Persian Government in respect of the navigation of the Karun, of the trade of which 95 per cent. is British. No doubt it is this unwelcome preponderance in our favour which accounts for the obstruction placed in our way by the new Belgian administration of the Persian Customs.

The future of the Persian Gulf is irrevocably bound up with the fortunes of India, and it is hardly necessary now, when this subject has so recently received the attention of Captain Mahan and other eminent writers, to enlarge upon the many and obvious proofs of a position, which is only disputed by one or two Russophiles, whose eyes nothing can open, if a mere recital of the facts before mentioned does not point to the absolute necessity of allowing no encroachment in this quarter, even at the cost of a rupture with a great Power. Such a calamity as this is, indeed, more likely to be precipitated than avoided by concessions in regard to a matter vital to our Empire. We know now, after the event, that we had better not have given away at Panjdeh, and that Russia was not ready for the fray. The Russians are already linking up the Transcaspian Railway system with the Siberian Railway on the north and with Meshed on the south, and from the whole trend of their policy it is as clear as daylight that from Meshed through Seistan towards the Gulf will be the next, if not an early, move. Such a line would just avoid the border

of British Beluchistan, and unless it is understood that the acquisition of a port on the Gulf would be equivalent to a declaration of war, it is hard to see how we can prevent its construction. Our present policy counts upon the North-West Frontier as sufficiently protected, and upon a friendly and independent Persia on the western border; but Russia, with a railway to, and a port upon, the Gulf, would turn the flank of this position, and leave India unprotected, and indeed the weaker, for the unnatural extension of her limits into Beluchistan, and for the additions to the Afghan kingdom, which the Amir only holds by our help. For these, in the case supposed, together with the Belooch border, we could not without vast expenditure fortify and hold against Russia. Whence would the funds be drawn? It would be hard, indeed, to get much more out of India, and would the British taxpayer stand another shock such as that occasioned by the South African War, the full effects of which are not yet felt in Britain? Russia, warned off Afghanistan, makes Persia her protected pensioner, and it is hardly too much to say that this ancient kingdom now stands in much the same relation to her, as Afghanistan does to the Indian Empire.

With the sole exception of the shores of the Gulf, there is no position in Persia in which the intrusion of Russia would so much embarrass us as in Seistan, and the country lying between Khorassan and the Arabian Sea. Yet nowhere is she more actively engaged. Since 1895 her Customs tariff has practically prohibited the importation of British and Indian trade into her Transcaspian Provinces through Khorassan, immediately south of which Seistan is situated. The latter district lies half-way between the point where Persia, Afghanistan, and Russia meet at Zulfikar, and the point where British Beluchistan and Persia meet upon the shores of the Gulf. It commands the all-important road from Herat to Kandahar, and it was in part as a counter move against the prohibitive Transcaspian tariff that the trade-route was opened from Quetta along the Belooch side

of the Afghan boundary to Seistan, the value of the trade of which has risen in five years from about £5,000 to £150,000, but is likely now, to the detriment of commerce in general, and the tea trade in particular, to decline to its original dimensions, if the new Russo-Persian tariff is, in spite of our diplomatic representations, maintained. If, as stated, the excellent prospects of this route as a trade artery inspired the decision to make a railway from Quetta to Nushki, it will, indeed, be doubtful whether, under present circumstances, the decision should be maintained though construction has already been commenced. The abandonment of this plan would, however, be agreeable to the Russian Government and the Russian press, which comments upon the aggressive character of this very mild measure, though the Russians keep a quarantine cordon of Cossacks on Persian territory to impede the development of British and Indian trade under the pretext of safeguarding Khorassan and Transcaspia from plague, the period of incubation of which is shorter than the minimum time required for the journey from our frontier to Turbat-i-Haideri, where the quarantine station is situated.

The following conclusions appear to be such as may be justly formed upon the facts to which such reference has been made above as time has allowed :

Firstly, that Russia altogether dominates Northern Persia, and geographically North-Western Afghanistan, and has been steadily advancing, while we have been marking time in some, and retrograding in other, quarters. She is also furnished with trained agents well acquainted with the countries, peoples, and languages with which they have to deal, while we, as Professor Vambéry and others have remarked, "feel grievously the want of men who combine a thorough knowledge of the literatures, languages, and history of Asia, with a careful practical knowledge of each people in particular, and an acquaintance with the political questions of the day." India, which should be a school for the supply of such men, is hardly more successful in this

our exclusive sphere of political influence are absolutely necessary, and that in order to bring this about communications from the Gulf to the cities of Arabistan, Fars, Kirman, and Seistan must be improved, that our commerce may not be killed, while the new Persian tariff should be the subject of a spirited protest, or of reprisals of the like nature, Great Britain having in her tariff an instrument of offence, though peaceful, only less potent than her fleet.

Sixthly, that the vigorous assertion of our political predominance in Southern and South-Western and South-Eastern Persia, the loss of which may easily lead to an eventual conflict with two of the greatest European Powers by sea and land, should be recognised as a proper subject for the expenditure of Imperial funds, the loss or retention of India being a matter concerning our Empire, quite as much as the Indians. The grant of a million such as is lightly passed for other purposes would work wonders, and would persuade the Persians we had not abdicated our position, which by certain outward and visible signs would appear to be the case. Nor could it be objected that such a grant was made to the financially independent India, whose borders, it must be presumed, cannot be pushed so far west as to include Persia. It would be far cheaper to give to this interest a portion of the millions lavished almost without question in South Africa, or on military schemes, in which even those who are responsible for them seem hardly to believe, than to essay to stop Russia, when she is ready, as she is not as yet, to occupy positions fatal to our financial peace in, and perhaps to our retention of, India. Already the military charges are very heavy, and until Lord Curzon formulated his tribal militia scheme, at the least, it may be said, there has been no attempt to reduce them. As one of their own poets has said in Persian :

رعيسه چو بيخ است و دهقان درخت
درخت اي پسر باشد از بيخ سست *

* "Without strength in the root, what strong growth can be ;
The peasant the root is, the lord is the tree."

It is with the greatest satisfaction that all friends of India see the burdens of the poor lightened in the new Budget, but further remissions may yet be expected if the seasons prove propitious. On the other hand, the condition of the Russian peasantry is such that it may well happen that Russia will in the future be unable to pursue her present foreign policy, and the Czar's manifesto is a significant sign of the times. In order to build new, which swallow up the profits of the older, railways the people are over-taxed. Agriculture, the great Russian, as it is the great Indian, interest, has been sacrificed to artificial bounties, state monopolies, and high protective duties, whereby new industries have been forced, which are perishing for want of a home market. There has been something very like a general industrial collapse, and the shipping trade in South Russia is said to be in a very bad way in consequence of overprotection of railways. Scarcity exists in one province or another almost as often as in our Indian Empire. As Sir T. Holdich says, Russia is far from ready to proceed with her Persian Gulf programme, and a railway across Persia is still a long way off. None the less, a steel thread as far as Seistan would greatly add to our embarrassments, and the Askabad-Meshed line could apparently, without any great difficulty, and without prohibitive expense, be extended so far.

Seventhly, that our position in the East Indies, including the Gulf, requires strengthening in ships, and by the provision of a repairing yard for the navy at some point on the Indian coast, preferably Madras, the future centre of trade with the East and South, Burmah, the Straits, Java, China, Japan and Australasia. The importance of this city and seaport has much increased now that the East Coast Railway has been completed, extensions are contemplated of all the local lines, and new routes to the north through the Central Provinces, and, above all, the Anatolian-Baghdad connection is sanctioned, the natural continuation of which will be from Bombay to Madras, and onwards to

the South and the Far East. Admiral Sir Edmund Fremantle and other writers have shown how erroneous is the usually received, Macaulay-made account of the conquest of India, how that was achieved not by isolated engagements on land, but by continued superiority by sea, the manner also in which alone it can in the future be maintained, now that the second sea Power is allied with the only Power with which we march by land.

Eighthly, since the defence of the coast, and of the land frontiers also depends on the navy, which must be strong enough to keep open communications and supply reinforcements, India is far more interested in the naval than in the army budget, which none the less makes perpetually increasing demands on her resources. It would not only be interesting but politic for the Government of India to make public, in some popular form, the savings effected up to date and expected, from the measures taken by Lord Curzon on the frontier. The extreme and not unnatural unpopularity among the Indians of all expenditure in this quarter will be greatly increased as it becomes more and more apparent that the forward school have perhaps been in error all through, and that the march of events, like the march of an invader, will probably leave the fortifications they have effected at such an expenditure of blood and treasure outside the real line of defence. There are, at least, two savings which might be effected in the administration—certainly in some provinces—by the more extended employment of Indians as judges and in other civil capacities, and by cutting down the annual building budget, which it is unnecessarily assumed should bear a certain proportion to other heads of expenditure. How, again, can large expenditure on local defences on the Indian coast be preferred—assuming, as they do, that Britain has lost command of the sea—to ships which can make it certain that she will never lose that command? The present Indian army cannot safely be reduced, but savings are needed for the provision of proper docks and for the

strengthening of our floating defences, as well as for remissions of onerous taxation.

Ninthly, the measures inaugurated by Lord Curzon on the frontier should be vigorously prosecuted for their financial, military, and political merits, and if he himself can be longer retained to carry his policy to completer fruition, so much the better for the public interests. Five years is but a short time in which to finish such a work. The forward party will not succumb without a struggle, and the transfer of the reins to other hands will be their occasion. The tribal levies have already shown at Bhaluh Khel, at Lundi Kotal, and elsewhere the stuff of which they are made, and it may be fairly said that no unexpected difficulties have up till the present time been experienced in respect of this novel, beneficial, and significant experiment. None so strenuously deny that theirs is a "forward policy" as those who none the less move forward, annex, civilize, assimilate, incorporate, peacefully penetrate or more or less "painlessly identify" new territories with the British Indian Empire. By their fruits, however, and by the bill shall all men know them. It is they who have sent surveyors to delimit spheres of influence in "*vast sky-neighbouring mountains of milk snow,*" while Russia has more easily moved along the plains of "*the broad and yellow Oxus*" towards her goal, from which she draws us, the source of our strength and life, the sea. *

Lastly, short shrift should be given to those who suggest concessions to Russia in the Gulf, though, even with recent experiences in China before them, there are not wanting some who would apparently concede what we should fight to a finish to prevent. Nothing will serve us like a conviction on all sides that the line must be drawn somewhere, and nothing would relieve the financial and political pressure on the Indian frontiers and elsewhere more than a very clear intimation by our deeds, not by our words, that we draw the line at the absorption of the rest of Persia.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

AT a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on Monday, March 23, 1903, a paper was read by J. D. Rees, Esq., C.I.E., on "The Western Frontiers of India." The Right Hon. Sir Charles W. Dilke, Bart., M.P., in the chair. The following, among others, were present: Mr. George Leveson-Gower, Mr. Williamson, C.M.G., Mr. Edward Tennant, Sir George Birdwood, K.C.S.I., the Hon. W. Peel, M.P., the Hon. Mrs. Rees, Mr. H. B. Lynch, Mr. Geo. Emmott, M.P., General Sir A. Badcock, K.C.B., Rev. Dr. Bhaba, Prince Ajit Singh of Morvi, General Shaw Stewart, General Dunne, Mr. J. Jardine, K.C., Lady Stonhouse, Colonel Davidson, Colonel Kilgour, Colonel Corbet, Major Pemberton, Mr. and Mrs. Aublet, Mr. H. P. Powell Rees, Mr. and Mrs. Lodowick Rees, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Miss Webster, Miss Campbell, Mr. H. F. Evans, Mr. J. Deas, I.C.S., Mr. A. Rogers, Mr. H. H. Shephard (late Judge Madras High Court), Mr. and Mrs. Page, Mr. J. McCartney, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. A. R. Bonus, Mr. Garbett, Mr. Ayāz Husain, Mr. J. G. Jeans, Mr. Cook, Mr. Mussenden, Mr. Hansray, Major Arthur E. Kay, Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec. Telegrams and letters, expressing regret at inability to attend, were received from General Sir E. Collen, G.C.I.E., Mr. Spencer Wilkinson, Mr. J. Walton, K.C., M.P., Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., etc.

The CHAIRMAN having briefly introduced the lecturer,

The paper was read.

The CHAIRMAN said he had been deeply interested in the lecture. He should have to make some remarks which might seem to a certain extent hostile to Mr. Rees' paper, but they might assume his assent on all the general lines of the lecture. The lecturer had discussed a question which, in the last few weeks, had become a Parliamentary question—of the feasibility of a Russian invasion of India—and had said that, with the exception of Prince Oukhtomsky, he did not know of any Russian who had dealt with the subject. General Soboleff, however, had written on the subject in 1887, and one Popowski, an Austrian writer, who wrote in 1890, followed General Soboleff very closely, and had been translated into English by Mr. Black, so that anyone who wished to know Russian views on the subject would find them there; and there had not since then been any great change in the conditions of the problem. The changes which had taken place had been anticipated by those writers. Mr. Rees had thought that the Russian writers who assumed the practicability of an army crossing the Hindu Kush went too far; and then Mr. Rees himself stated what might be called the present conditions of the problem. He (the Chairman) quite adhered to the view of Mr. Rees, and so did Mr. Spencer Wilkinson, from whom a telegram, expressing his regret at not being able to be present, had just been received. He quite agreed that from the present Russian frontier no one of any authority had ever pronounced the invasion of India a practicable

military operation. The amount of transport required for crossing Afghanistan by an army sufficiently large to reach India in a condition to encounter our army in India was prohibitive of invasion in any one campaign. That did not conclude the question as to what would happen if a partition of Afghanistan were to take place. If suggestions which at various times had been made that we should have a common frontier with Russia were carried into effect, they would have to face at once what would virtually be, not a first, but a second campaign, and the conditions of the problem would be wholly different. Mr. Rees had criticised certain proceedings which had been taken on behalf of India in modern times. For instance, he attacked the expenditure at Chitral, and congratulated Lord Curzon on having reduced it. He (the Chairman) was one of those who took the middle view about Chitral, which had been Lord Curzon's view, and which had been carried into effect. Although cavalry and guns could not come over, nor could much transport, still, small bodies of troops with mule transport could pass over and be collected in sufficient numbers to overcome anything like native resistance; so that there was some necessity for keeping our eyes open in that neighbourhood, although probably it was a mistake to undertake operations upon so large a scale. As against what Mr. Rees called the forward policy, he (the lecturer) had offered a Persian policy, which deserved investigation. Incidentally in doing so, he had doubted the applicability of what was called the Sandeman system to the tribes of Northern Afghanistan. As a great advocate of the Sandeman system, and admirer of Sandeman himself, he (the Chairman) could not but feel that the principle which had been adopted was, in fact, the Sandeman system. Tribes, of course, varied, but the Sandeman system had not led to any large expenditure in Beloochistan. Beloochistan was virtually a portion of India, but under the working of the Sandeman system the advance in that direction had been accomplished at no great cost, apart from what was spent on fortifications at Quetta, and in the construction of the Quetta Railways. It was marvellous what an amount of work had been accomplished virtually at no cost at all. The main principle of the Sandeman system was working through, and with, the tribes, by local militia rather than by regular troops. There was undoubtedly a danger with regard to the new province caused by the extraordinarily different nature of different portions of the province itself. For instance, a portion of the low country had always been under a settled administration, and that was lumped together with some of the wildest country in the world, inhabited by some of the wildest tribes. There was a risk that there would be an attempt towards ultimate uniformity throughout the province, which he thought would be disastrous. He was one of those who regretted the tendency towards uniformity throughout India. He had always felt that in dealing with a country of such extraordinary diversity the system of government ought to be extraordinarily diverse. Of course, it was easier to stereotype a system, but the dangers were immense. As contrasted with this policy, Mr. Rees had put forward a Persian policy and a naval policy. Before recommending expenditure upon such a policy, it was desirable to see exactly what was meant. Mr. Rees was of opinion that there would be

enormous danger to India if any foreign power—to put it plainly, Russia—were to be in command of the Persian Gulf. What was meant by “in command of the Persian Gulf”? If they could imagine a naval Power seated in the Persian Gulf, with a fortified establishment, with docks, and with a fleet present there—such as, for instance, the Russian Pacific Squadron—it was obvious that we should have greatly to increase our naval squadron in those seas. That would involve an increase of naval expenditure. He agreed with Mr. Rees that what had been announced as the settled policy of the Government must be maintained—that is, that we should not allow (and we were in an international position to forbid) any naval Power to establish itself upon the Persian Gulf. He did not, however, agree with Mr. Rees’ suggestion that money spent, for example, at Quetta on fortifications might better have been spent upon batteries, and warships, and repairing docks on the coast. The need for such expenditure, as compared with other more necessary expenditure, had not arisen. The places where, in modern warfare, great docks were needed for the repair of ironclad ships were the places where those ships had to be kept to fight, and, up to the present time, they had not had to keep them in Indian waters. In the Far East they had the use of their establishments at Hongkong, and the use of the Japanese establishments under the Treaty. They might have to fight there, and so there they had the docks. They had docks for their cruisers in Ceylon. So that he suggested that up to the present time the necessity had not arisen for the expenditure of money upon docks at Madras, or establishments on the Persian Gulf. Then came, probably, the most interesting question they had to consider—namely, in what direction the activities of Russia are most likely to be exhibited in the next few years. Mr. Rees had compared possible activity in the direction of India as in the nature of a feint rather than of an attack. He had hinted at Manchuria being, even more than Persia, the present sphere of the activity of Russia; he had suggested, in his final words, that the drain of these great experiments might be too great for Russia, and that she might break down in pursuing her present policy. He (the Chairman) could remember Russia very well some thirty years ago, and had travelled throughout the length and the breadth of the Russian Empire. In those days it used to be asserted that Russia was bankrupt, and could not hold on, but since that time she had trebled or quadrupled her army, created her gigantic fleet, and undertaken her marvellous railroad construction; she was racing down through Manchuria, and racing also with her railways straight for Peking. They would see a little place on the map called Kalgan. At the present moment, while public attention was directed to the Manchurian Railway to Port Arthur, the more important railway, strategically and politically speaking, was the direct line from the Siberian Railway to Kalgan. He did not himself believe that the extraordinary expansion of Russia in the Far East and in Persia was likely to be put a stop to by any failure of the Russian people to follow out their destinies to the end. The public in this country must not count upon any check in the activities of Russia from her internal position. They must, of course, face the fact that the development of Russia was, to some extent, an anti-British development; and undoubtedly in Persia, and in Manchuria, and in

Central Asia, measures of exclusion had been specially directed against the English. At the present time difficulties were thrown in the way of the British and the Japanese which were not thrown in the way of Americans, or Germans, or other people. They must, therefore, look upon this development as likely to be hostile to their trade. Mr. Rees had suggested that they should try in Persia to counteract the development of Russia not only by excluding her from the coast, but also by operations in the interior—for example, in improving the communications. He doubted whether Parliament would entertain the expenditure of British money behind the coast of Persia. They had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Lynch present, who, probably, knew more about the internal communications of Persia than any other man, and they would hear what he would tell them. He had now, he thought, dealt with all the larger points, but there were one or two subsidiary points as to which he would like to say one word. He wholly went with Mr. Rees in the view that we did not do enough in the way of informing ourselves nationally as to the movements of other Powers. There was an article in the *Times* on the position of the army, which spoke of how little had been done to promote intercommunication between the Japanese army and navy and our own. That was startling, because it was different from what would have been done by any other Power. A most interesting book had been published within the last few days called "Greater Russia," in which the author had pointed out with perfect truth that every Power except England was represented in Manchuria by agents, who were able to help forward the commercial operations of their own people. We were slow to move in these matters. Our Foreign Office was, under the dominion of the Treasury, slow to move, not only in the matter of increased expenditure, but also in rapid transfer from what had become useless to something more useful. Again, too often when we had consulates we put into them—or, might he say, "jobbed" into them?—persons who were not fit for the offices to which they were sent, and did not know the particular foreign languages that they ought to know, and were consequently useless. He thought he had now dealt with the points which seemed most worthy of criticism. He cordially agreed in the general lines of the rest of the paper, and congratulated Mr. Rees upon the paper which had been read.

MR. H. F. B. LYNCH thought they had listened to a most interesting speech giving the substance of a paper, the only fault to be found with which was that it embraced too wide a field. It was directed to two almost distinct subjects: the consideration of the new frontier province created by Lord Curzon, and the more important question of what he might call the outside frontier policy of the Government of India. He spoke not as one who was concerned with the internal questions of India, which he was content to leave to the care of his friend Lord Curzon, but as one interested in the countries west of India, and who had travelled widely in them. The object of his travels in those countries had been to ascertain whether they were of great or of little importance to this country. With regard to the question of the extraterritorial frontiers of India, Mr. Rees had made a number of propositions, but he thought in the limited time at his disposal he had better con-

fine himself to one, and that was that we should endeavour to prevent at all cost the establishment of a European Power on the littoral of the Persian Gulf, and that we should spare no effort to maintain and develop our ascendancy in that quarter and the adjacent hinterland. He concurred with the lecturer, who had said that the future of the Persian Gulf was irrevocably bound up with the fortunes of India, and would congratulate him on having been among the first to recognise that the frontier policy of India must be based on very much wider conceptions than had hitherto prevailed. The lecturer had given them three frontiers: the North-West, the Belooch, and the Persian Gulf. He (Mr. Lynch) would link up the Belooch and the Persian Gulf frontiers and make them indissolubly connected. It seemed to him of no use to say that they should maintain themselves on the Persian Gulf, and at the same time disregard the countries that lay immediately behind. If they lined the Persian Gulf with ports, and the hinterland was in the possession of Russia, he thought they would have very short shrift given to them by those who directed the Russian policy. He thought the lecturer had been a little misunderstood by the Chairman in his remarks regarding expenditure on the North-West Frontier. He imagined the real meaning of the lecturer to be, that instead of spending large sums on the North-West Frontier of India, the firm of John Bull and Co. should take stock of the circumstances, and see whether it would not be more valuable—or, at all events, less costly—to develop in directions more susceptible of a Russian advance. He himself was of the opinion—shared, he believed, by Lord Curzon—that the high ground between the two great ranges stretching across Persia should be the boundary between the two spheres of Russia and Britain, and that the latter should continue to spread her influence inland from the blue water by a process of peaceful penetration.

The CHAIRMAN observed that it was a mistake to suppose that much money had been spent on fortifications on the North-West Frontier of India.

MR. LYNCH thought the Persian Gulf back-country a question which was a very good subject of discussion. With regard to the question how far he would go in the policy of controlling the hinterland, he would call their attention to the map. They would see there two great ranges, one on the north, the other on the south. If they took Persia they had the range on the north represented by portions of Afghanistan and by Khorassan, and on the south the mountainous portions of Beloochistan and Luristan. Between the two ranges they had a great table-land, and it was characteristic of the country that in the centre, separated by the two ranges, they had on the table-land a Salt Desert. A long examination had led him to this conviction: that the true frontier between Russian influence and British influence in Persia was that great Salt Desert. No armies could march across it. It was the only neutral ground in that part of the world not penetrable by armies under any conditions. If they accepted that proposition the whole of the mountainous fertile ground on the north fell naturally to Russia, and the southern portion to us, and that was already exclusively occupied by our commerce. He held that the maintenance of our hold on the waters of the Persian Gulf

and the hinterland, so far as the Salt Desert, was a perfectly practicable arrangement which should be adopted by this country. As they knew, when Russia ran down from the north we always had complaints, and a rousing of public opinion in this country. He remembered when she came to Merv they all suffered from what people called "Mervousness." The same thing would happen with regard to the Persian Gulf question. He did not believe they could ever consent to the principle that Russia, or any other European Power, should control the Persian Gulf and the hinterland. On that question he thought the back of this country was placed against the wall, and the sooner the question was faced the better it would be for European peace. It might be objected that he was going in for a forward and costly policy. That was by no means the case. They had been told that Beloochistan was administered practically without any expense to this country. He did not contemplate that they should even think of annexing districts contiguous belonging to Persia; but if Russia ever absorbed the northern provinces of Persia, they would have to face the question of an occupation of those districts, and he did not believe the occupation would cost more than the occupation of Beloochistan. They must further consider that the hinterland and the Persian Gulf was at the present day bringing in considerable sums to this country, and that every year, in consequence of our vacillating and withdrawing policy, those sums were being lost to the country. He did not believe in a statical policy. He did not believe they could oppose the dynamical policy of Russia through Persia by any standing upon the *status quo*. As Russia came down from the north, so they must go up from the south. He submitted that to the dynamical policy of Russia they should oppose, not a Jingo policy, but a policy based on that of Russia, of peaceful penetration into the interior. Such a policy, he maintained, would not only increase commerce, but in the end would be far less costly than any alternative that could be proposed. (Applause.)

DR. OSWALD desired to ask Mr. Lynch what he thought would happen as to the hinterland at the head of the Gulf when Russia possibly wished to go there from* Armenia.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Lynch has occupied more than his allotted time, but I did not keep him to it, because his remarks were of extraordinary interest. He has finished his speech, and I must not ask him to speak again.

MR. EMMOTT thought that the effect of the new tariff on cotton goods, our chief export to Persia, had been a little bit exaggerated. At the same time they must not hide from themselves the fact that the tariff as a whole was designed against British interests; and whatever might be said about cotton goods, there was no question as to the effect of the enormous increase of 95 per cent. on the tariff on tea from India. The question how far they should assist railways in the future was of very great interest. It appeared to him they were rapidly reaching into a position in which they ought to consider the advisability of assisting railways in certain localities, where their construction was of great advantage to British trade.

MR. MARTIN WOOD said the lecturer had gone a great deal beyond the

* The answer will be found in Mr. Lynch's "Armenia."

subject of the Western Frontiers of India. What were those Western Frontiers? The true frontier was the line they took from the Sikhs. Beyond that it was entirely foreign territory.

MAJOR PEMBERTON thought the effect of the discussion would be educational throughout the country, and Mr. Rees would be doing a public service if he could see his way to deliver this lecture in other places in the United Kingdom. As the British people would have to pay the cost, they would claim through their representatives in the House of Commons a voice in the line of policy to be adopted. When the democracy was educated in this matter the British Cabinet could be trusted to bring forward adequate and proper measures, and the House of Commons trusted to vote the necessary supplies; but we must bear in mind that until the general public was aroused to a sense of the momentous issues involved, and possessed some acquaintance with the subject, the Government would not have behind it a sufficient body of informed public opinion to enable it to grapple with this grave question in an adequate manner. Mr. Lynch's remarks had been most interesting, and he was able to agree with a great deal of what he had said, though he feared the words "Too late" must almost be the verdict on the policy outlined by him. A few years ago, as was well known, we had thrown away a great and unique opportunity of strengthening our position at Teheran, and it was doubtful whether the opportunity had not gone for ever. Should the speaker, however, be considered too pessimistic in thinking the die already cast, he would be the first to welcome a thorough discussion of the line of policy advocated so ably by Mr. Lynch. Such a discussion would clear the air, and enable the country to come to a decision after weighing the cost. Mr. Lynch, in his opinion, had made somewhat light of the cost of improving the existing means of access from the Persian Ports into the interior of the country. Major Pemberton feared that the development of the hinterland, by the construction of roads and railways, would prove a costly affair. He mentioned the expense because money entered largely into the question of policy, especially in a democratic community like ours; that was a fact that had to be faced, and it would be no use ignoring it, but at the same time let the policy advocated be judged on its merits and not condemned solely because of its assumed costliness. Leaving Persia, however, for the moment, and reverting to the North-West Frontier of India, Major Pemberton thought there was too great a tendency to look at the problem of the defence of India as it presents itself in its main features at the present day; in consequence, the conclusion come to by many was that the invasion of India by Russia was a practical impossibility—a chimera, in fact! He submitted, however, that the proper way to deal with the question was to forecast the future, and to consider the condition of things as it is likely to be some fifteen or twenty years hence, when lines of railways traversing Afghanistan will probably either have been made or will be in course of construction. Then matters would assuredly wear a different aspect, and it was to deal with that state of things that we as a nation should now commence our preparations. Surely no sane man should comfort himself with the thought that armies could not march

across salt deserts, when everybody knew that such could be spanned by lines of railway. Russia had shown her ability to build railways through the most difficult country, and the veriest sceptic would not doubt her power to push her railways into Afghanistan when the political situation should favour her doing so. Major Pemberton firmly believed that Russia would in the course of the present century make an attempt to cause us trouble in India, and it rested with us to now determine by our action or inaction what measure of success should meet such aggression on her part. Personally, he spoke with no other feeling than one of amity towards Russia, a country he knew well. In the course of his travels throughout the Russian Empire he had come in contact with Russians of all classes, and had invariably received the greatest possible kindness, and been struck by the liking shown for individual Englishmen.

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD said he had respectfully declined the invitation to open the discussion on Mr. Rees' paper, as he was not competent to deal with its all-important and pressing subject; but he had the greatest pleasure in proposing the vote of thanks to Mr. Rees. He always felt thankful that a retired Indian civilian of Mr. Rees' position and experience had the energy and the patriotic spirit to enter into the public discussion in this country of questions affecting the interests of India. It was an imperial loss that the influence of these retired Indian civilians—the only people who really knew anything of India—was so little exercised in this country, entirely owing to their diffidence in addressing popular meetings; but Mr. Rees had resolutely overcome that obstacle, and was always to the fore wherever any subject connected with India was being debated, and was always convincing and impressive. His set papers and speeches were always valuable contributions to knowledge, and in debate he was most effective, and his brilliant repartees in reply to irrepressible faddists and cranks, warps and crotcheteers of every tribe, always gave him especial enjoyment and delight. The lecture had been admirable in itself, and not less so from the weighty observations it had called forth from Major Pemberton, Mr. Lynch, and their distinguished chairman, Sir Charles Dilke, the first and foremost of living authorities on its subject. Most suggestive, in his opinion, if it was worth expressing, was the casual question put by Dr. Oswald to Mr. Lynch as to what he would say if Russia got into the hinterland of Persia by way of Armenia. He thought that a fundamental and the vital question. But for the conquest of the Caucasus, confirmed by the cession of Batoum to Russia, the Russians would never have found it possible to approach India from beyond the Caspian. Dr. Oswald's question suggested the answer that the vulnerable points of Russia were on the Black Sea and the Baltic. The pursuit of a hinterland policy must take you to the Caucasus and St. Petersburg at last, and why not begin there? He could not but help agreeing with what had been said by their distinguished chairman in defence of the fortifications of the Indian North-West Frontier. It seemed to him that the moneys spent on them had in no sense been misspent. Russia had now for some time realized the difficulties of the approach to India in that direction, and India was, indeed, now practically impregnable from that direction, and we owed this

emphatically to Lord Roberts. He had been especially interested in the point Mr. Rees had sought to make of the entirely imaginary futility of Alexander's invasion of India. Alexander undertook the expedition partly for glory, partly for commercial inquiry and scientific research, and chiefly for the propagation of Hellenic culture, and altogether he found it a most enjoyable Jameson's Raid on an extended scale, and, fortunately, entirely successful. He had dealt with that question at length in the report in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* of a paper read in 1901 before the Society by General Sir Thomas Holdich on "Alexander's Expedition to India" and of the discussion thereon. He did not like nursing suspicions of any foreign Power, but he happened to be the editor of the English translation of Prince Ookhtomsky's "Travels of the Czarewitch," published by Messrs. Archibald Constable, and in going through it he had been literally amazed by the audacity, the absolutely brazen effrontery, with which all the way from Alexandria to Singapore—while the young Czarewitch, the present Emperor of Russia, was enjoying the hospitality of this country—the Prince discussed the question of the reversionary interest of Russia in India. After such a revelation it was impossible to ignore what were the sinister hopes and aspirations and intentions with regard to India of the Russian statesmen, or of some of them, in the immediate and close intimacy of the Czar. But he in no way shared the despair of some of the speakers of our yet being able to hold our own in the Persian Gulf, Red Sea, and Indian Ocean. Looking back on all our past history, he found that God had always been with us, and the strongest conviction of his soul was that God was with us still, and always would be. Where should we have been to-day but for the Jameson Raid?—an entirely providential act, outside all the calculations, the very conceptions, of our statesmen. He was deeply grateful to Mr. Rees for his most interesting and instructive paper, and he must add, also, to Sir Charles Dilke for his masterful exposition of the problem of our present and future policy toward Russia, with reference to the defence of the North-West Frontier of India.

The CHAIRMAN, in seconding the vote of thanks, observed that the true strategical doctrine was that you could only defend your possessions against attack by operations in all parts of the world; and, curiously enough, although Sir George Birdwood was a man of peace, it had been left to him to take them into those larger considerations. He differed from Sir George Birdwood with regard to the suggestion that Russia was vulnerable in the Caucasus. That was a thing of the past. But there was this fact which would keep them from lying awake—that Russia, while she was a few years ago almost invulnerable to our arms in the event of war, had become more vulnerable than she was—not in the immediate neighbourhood of India, but in that part of the world to which Russian energy was at present principally directed. He doubted whether Mr. Lynch would see so much of Russian energy in Persia in the next few years as he had anticipated. His own belief was that the energy which she displayed in the direction of Peking pointed to the true objective of Russia. Her operations in Manchuria, Mongolia, and Northern China made her more vulnerable than she had hitherto been, which went to show that when people took on them-

selves enormous responsibility they could not do so without to some extent increasing their vulnerability. Mr. Rees had special qualifications for the task which he had undertaken. By his Persian scholarship, his work at Calcutta in connection with the Viceroy's Council, his travels in the Indian North-West and in the Russian Empire, and, above all, by the alertness and openness of his mind, Mr. Rees was peculiarly fitted to undertake such an investigation as that on which he had that day invited them to enter.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

MR. REES, in reply, said he was aware of the existence of the book of Popowski to which Sir Charles referred, and had read it, but did not know that it had been translated into English; and he had spoken of Ookhtomsky's book as being the only work translated into English relating to the Russian invasion of which he knew. He did not think at that late hour it would be agreeable to the company that he should deal with all the points which had been raised. He had not meant to imply that he felt that the advanced portions of the new North-Western Province would suffer by being brought down to the level of the hill portions, but he did think it would be better if the administration were a little less scientific in certain quarters, and in all cases suited to the particular people concerned. When he had referred to Russia in the Gulf he meant to say that he thought their presence in the Gulf at all would be extremely inconvenient, and would very much increase our difficulties. He was aware that at present Russia, happily, was not in a position to command the Persian Gulf. He did not mean to suggest that all the money spent on the frontier ought to have been put into ships for the Indian Seas, but he thought more money had been spent than was necessary in fortifying portions of a naturally almost impregnable frontier. He entirely concurred with Sir Charles Dilke in what he had said in regard to the manner in which our agents should specially inform themselves of the subjects with which they had to deal, and he hoped that in the future in civil employ, as in the army, it would be looked upon as an additional advantage that an officer should take some pains to qualify himself for the business to which he had to devote himself by acquirements over and above the officially required minimum. Mr. Lynch's speech had been one of extreme interest. It was, however, very much to the point to remember what Major Pemberton had said: that although armies cannot march across salt deserts, when you had a line of rail across those deserts it was not so difficult to transport troops. Indeed, the salt Kavir would be no obstacle in such a case. Referring to Mr. Lynch's theory of what he and Major Pemberton had called "peaceful penetration," and to General Dunne's question what had become of the Shah, he thought that potentate, between "painless identification" in the north and "peaceful penetration" on the south, was likely to experience the fate of the substance which intervened between the upper and the nether millstone. Indeed, the indebtedness of the King of Kings to Russia had made him already as extinct a volcano as Demavend, whose cold, snowy cone he saw daily from his palace windows. It must surely often suggest to him the thought of the Amir in his "Soliloquy," "Shall I be the last

King of Kings?" Sir Charles Dilke had truly said that China was the present immediate objective. That had been clearly stated in the work of Prince Ookhtomsky, who had laid bare the Russian policy with the most extraordinary frankness. Mr. Emmott had referred to a subject of the greatest importance—namely, the tariff which had just been imposed by Russia upon Persia, to which he had referred in his paper, but not in his speech. It was a most unfriendly tariff. It had been stated that our Minister had orders to endeavour to arrange that no alteration should be made in future in tariff without the consent of England, but no alterations would be wanted by Russia, for our trade had already been shut out between India and Eastern Persia. In his paper he had suggested that we should retaliate with our tariff. He gathered there was no wide difference of opinion between the chairman and himself, or between them and the audience. He was very fortunate in his chairman and his audience, and thought it evident that the question with which he had endeavoured to deal in a speech lasting under an hour was one of pressing importance, as it clearly was one of extreme delicacy and difficulty.

15-1-15

THE
DOWNFALL OF ISLAM IN THE
WORLD

OR
EUROPEANS THE MASTERS OF IT.

BY
W. A. SUTHERLAND,
LATE SUPERINTENDENT, RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE, RAJPUTANA DIVISION, AJMER,
(RETIRED).



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THE
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TO

THE EDITOR OF THE COMRADE, Calcutta.*

SIR,

In sending you a copy of two letters, † one addressed to HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY ABDUL HAMID, late Sultan of Turkey, and the other to HIS HIGHNESS JAMAL-UDIN, late Sheikh-ul-Islam at Constantinople, I beg respectfully to suggest the desirability of ALL MUSSULMANS IN INDIA

* The letter was not printed by the Editor, who removed the paper to Delhi.

† COPY OF A LETTER WRITTEN TO HIS HIGHNESS JAMAL-UDIN, SHEIKH-UL-ISLAM, CONSTANTINOPLE, TURKEY, DATED MADRAS, 21ST OCTOBER, 1907.

Your Highness,—In forwarding the enclosed letter, my only prayer is that YOUR HIGHNESS may be pleased to submit it personally to HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE SULTAN OF TURKEY AND KHALIFA OF THE MUSSULMAN WORLD for favourable consideration.

The memorial was taken by me to the Turkish Consul of Madras, who received me kindly but regretted that he could not submit it as I was not a Turkish subject.

Since then I have written to the principal newspapers of England, the Cabinet Ministers of Great Britain, the Secretary of State for India, the leading Mussulman Rulers, and the Indian Government about the great necessity for an ENTENTE CORDIALE between the Turkish Government and the British, in view to securing the peace of the world, obtaining their mutual greatness, and dominating the counsels of all nations.

Were YOUR HIGHNESS to get HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY to make friends with England, the greatest and the wealthiest land of liberty, and the one that rules one-third of the Mussulmans in the world, YOUR HIGHNESS would, under God's favour, advance the dignity and strength of ISLAM, both in Asia and Europe.

And lastly, were YOUR HIGHNESS to accompany H. I. MAJESTY the Sultan to see Delhi, Agra, Lahore, etc., YOUR HIGHNESS would do the greatest possible good to Islam.

I beg to remain YOUR HIGHNESS' most humble and obedient servant,

(Sd.) W. A. SUTHERLAND.

COPY OF A LETTER ADDRESSED TO HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY, ABDUL HAMID, SULTAN OF TURKEY, CONSTANTINOPLE, DATED MADRAS, 21ST OCTOBER, 1907.

Your Majesty,—I humbly beg to submit, for YOUR MAJESTY'S perusal, a copy of the pamphlet, (THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, THE HINDUS, THE MAHOMMEDANS, AND SWAJI

COMBINING in submitting a joint memorial to the present Sultan of Turkey, begging HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY to visit India, for the political good of the 60 millions of Mussulmans who, as loyal subjects, acknowledge the sovereignty of England.

It will be seen that the letters were written nearly 5 years ago from Madras. Since then there has been a desire on the part of both Turkey and England to forget and forgive the past, to shake hands, and to make friends with each other. A little before the deposition of Sultan ABDUL HAMID and his internment at Salonica, the British Government offered to Turkey close upon 50 millions of money—the fact of the offer is an open secret—in view to her reorganizing her Army and Navy and making both fit and competent to safeguard her empire from disintegration and breakup; but, unfortunately, owing to cabals, intrigues, and jealousies among the Young Turkey Politicians, they preferred, with questionable diplomacy, to play off Germany against England, with the result that Italy, with Teutonic connivance, and with

IN INDIA) which is a review of the present condition of the Mussulman world, the unsatisfactory state of religious, social, and public affairs in it, and the great need of people paying more regard to their spiritual good in these last days.

YOUR MAJESTY, being the Khalifa of the Mussulmans, is by Divine appointment charged with the care of Moslems everywhere, and is, moreover, invested with authority to guide them in their conduct under a Christian Government, to instruct them in the precepts of law, and to counsel them in political etiquette and other matters, and I, therefore, respectfully make, before YOUR MAJESTY'S throne, on which the blessings of the MOST HIGH may dwell, two petitions, viz., that YOUR MAJESTY may be pleased, in YOUR MAJESTY'S wisdom, to visit India—the romantic land of Hindu chivalry, and the greatest of Mahommedan battle fields in the history of ISLAM—as the guest of the British Government who, fitted and minded to receive YOUR MAJESTY with grandeur, worthy of YOUR MAJESTY'S exalted dignity of position, would be pleased beyond measure, and that YOUR MAJESTY may, either when coming to India or when returning from it, visit Mecca.”

“It is said that the strongest thing in heaven above and on earth beneath is Fate. Logically the contention may not perhaps bear the test of modern theological scrutiny. But nevertheless kindness in the human heart is greater than Fate. Whatever wrong happens in this world of delusion and evanescence is meant to be forgiven, and therefore were YOUR MAJESTY to forget what the Gladstone Ministry of England did in the past to Turkey, and come in the interests of policy as an honoured and welcome guest to India, YOUR MAJESTY'S visit would not only redound to the credit of ISLAM and the British Government but also to the good of the 60 millions of its Mussulman subjects, who would, indeed, be more than pleased at YOUR MAJESTY'S presence among them.”

“For my part individually I pray that God Almighty may put it into YOUR MAJESTY'S heart to grant the prayer of YOUR MAJESTY'S most humble, obedient, and sincere well-wisher,”

(Signed) W. A. SUTHERLAND.

the object of weakening the British naval supremacy in the Mediterranean, wrested Tripoli from the possession of Turkey.*

Conformably with tradition, MAHOMED the Prophet declared that, before the end of the world, all Mussulmans in the four quarters of it would be subjected to, or come under the domination of, Christian Governments. The prediction has been verified, as shown in the following extracts from the pamphlet, submitted, along with the above letter, to H. I. M. the Sultan of Turkey.†

*Copies of the letters to the Sultan of Turkey and the Sheikh-ul-Islam, along with copies of the pamphlet, were sent, in the fall of 1907, to the members of the British Cabinet, the chief politicians and military leaders in England, and the principal newspapers therein, begging of them to get Great Britain to make friends with Turkey, in order to minimize the growing power of Germany, and to put down the seditious unrest in India. One of the results of this friendship, which has happily come about, has been that the Mahommedans as a race have kept aloof from the INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, and taken no part in the seditious propaganda of the extremists against the British here.

†During the period of ALF ARSLAN's gigantic empire, which extended from China—the Sinai of the Old Testament—to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, and in the life time of JIENGUIS KHAN and TAMERLANE, they knocked down kingdoms like nine pins in the broad extent of the world's skittle alley, and turned polyglot humanity into doubtful Mussulmans. In Ceylon, in Madagascar, in Siam, in Tonkin, in Malaya, in Java, in Batavia, in the Philippines and the isles of the sea, shoals of queer fish of un-believers were brought into the dragnet of Mahommedanism.

After having powerfully dominated the world's three continents—Europe, Africa and Asia,—and after its two turns of triumphant success in spiritual conquest and the magnificence of its worldly prosperity, Mahommedanism has fallen on evil days of decadence. Roughly speaking, there are 210 millions of Mussulmans in the world distributed as shown below:—

| | |
|-------------|---|
| 70 millions | under the flag, or the protection of England, in Europe, Asia and Africa. |
| 30 " | under the Sultan of Turkey in Europe, Africa, Asiatic Turkey and Arabia. |
| 30 " | under the Czar of Russia, in European Russia, Asiatic Russia and in the Caucasus. |
| 25 " | under the Government of Chinese in Mongolia, China, Yarkund, Kashgar, etc. |
| 15 " | under the Dutch in Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, etc. |
| 20 " | under the French Government in Africa, Madagascar, Tonkin, etc. |
| 20 " | under the Germans, Portuguese, Italians, Austrians, Americans, and Spanish. |

Total 210 millions. From the statistical statement it will be seen (1) that England rules one-third of the Mussulmans in the world and a larger number of them than under the control of the Sultan of Turkey, the Shah of Persia, and the Amir of Afghanistan put together, and (2) that six-sevenths of the Mussulmans, or 180 millions of them, exist under Christian rule.

The Pan-Islamism, which has come into being of recent years, and whose REASON D'ETRE is to weld all Mussulman communities, scattered over the world, into a compact

In view of the foregoing prophecy, regarding the doom of decay of the temporal POWER of Islam, and seeing that there is no possible remedy for fate, which is, theologically speaking, but a phase of divine omnipotence and foreknowledge, it is necessary to point out what are the relics of the Mussulman empires, which once upon a time dominated the continents of Europe, Africa, and Asia, and then specify the only independent Islamic kingdoms of the present day.

In the stupendous territorial extent of the African continent, Egypt, Tripoli, Algeria, Morocco, Zanzibar, and the 101 minor Sultanates, scattered here there and everywhere in it, have come under the protectorate of Christian Powers, which had acquired them by the oldest of old rights—that of force. In their craze for territory of others, these Christian Powers, whose Catholic digestion was tolerant of Khedive, Dey, Amir, and Sultan, have, for little provocation or none, done away with most if not all of them.

In Europe, Mussulman possessions, which were formerly extensive and the terror of Christendom, have so dwindled in size that they are now microscopically represented by Roumelia and Albania, which are pictorially shown by comic prints as only two hairs left out of the hirsute crop that erstwhile decorated the poll of the Sick Man of Europe. The peninsula of Spain, where the Mahommedans ruled with glory and renown for 7 centuries, and whence they civilized Europe

whole, under the protecting ægis of the Khalifate of Constantinople, has not made any headway, inasmuch as it is the outcome of a wordly spirit in Mahommedanism and not a spiritual awakening. Mussulmans themselves believe that as a militant power they have been played out, and that the period of their temporal greatness has ended on earth. This being so, is there a remote chance of an ABDUL KABIR, OR SCHEMIL, or ARABI PACHA arising to overthrow the Manchu Dynasty in the Chinese Empire or elsewhere the Government of the Christian foreigner? Hardly, for the fiat of destiny has gone forth from ALLAH TAALA that henceforth Mahommedanism is to be a spiritual kingdom and not of this world, in the same way as Jesus Christ told his disciples, in thirteen places in the New Testament, that the kingdom of this world belongs to Satan and not to God.

Owing to the peculiar geographical position of Russia, whose territorial confines are co-terminous with those of Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan, who are entirely at her mercy, she is able, if so minded, by concentration of Army Corps at Kars, Tiflis, and Meshed, to threaten Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan, respectively, with invasion and occupation.

The intervening distance, as the crow flies, between Khushk and Chaman is less than 500 miles; but as the Amir Habib-ullah trusts not the *bona-fides* of either Russia or England he refuses to allow them to connect the termini by a railway line which, if ever constructed, would permit travellers to go by rail from Calcutta to Constantinople, Vienna, St. Petersburg, Berlin, Rome, Paris, Lisbon, Madrid, etc., and *vice versa*.

and made it regard the gentler graces of life, was lost to the Arabs long ago, and subsequently their European empire, which embraced the whole of the Balkan-peninsula, Hungary up to Presburgh, Moldavia, Transylvania, and the littoral of the Black Sea, was seized upon and annexed by Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, on the pretext that might was right in the acquisition of territory.

From the time of Soliman the Magnificent, Sultan of Turkey, in A. D. 1526, when the Turkish empire attained its acme of prosperity, the fair provinces of Greece, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Servia, Roumania, Bulgaria, and Eastern Roumelia were lost to it one by one, and at present, as said above, only two small provinces constitute the extent of European Turkey.

In Asia there are only three independent Mussulman rulers, viz. the Sunni-Sultan of Turkey who, as the Khalifa of the Islamic world, governs the provinces of Asia-Minor, Syria, (which includes the Holy Land) the Euphrates Tigris Valley, and certain Western parts of Arabia; the Shiah Shah-in-Shah, now a minor and under the thumb of the newly created Mijlis at Teheran, possesses Persia; and the Sunni-Amir, HABIB-ULLAH, who rules Afghanistan with despotic sway. The Mussulmans, in other parts of the Asiatic and African continents, except in the Chinese empire, where they are ruled by the Chinese, are directly under the government of European Powers, or are under Moslem rulers, who acknowledge and accept the sovereignty of European Powers.

The name of Asia conjures up the memory of the glorious past of Mussulmans, whose empire extended, as said, from China in the East to the Atlantic in the West, and who ruled the Hindus, for a period of 7 centuries, from Delhi or Agra, by means of the KORAN and Subehdars, who maintained the dignity of their office by the pomp of power, the luxury of enlarged zenanas, and the grandeur of DURBARS, where the imperial firmans were read.

The verdict of history is that the Mussulmans by their rule, (based on the dictates of the Koran) in Egypt, in Spain, in European Turkey, in India and elsewhere have civilized the world; that in it they are the bravest of the brave, and the proudest of the proud, being in warfare unequalled in valour and the art of SAVOIR VIVRE; that they have in their veins the purest SANGRE AZAL of most nations; that few if any can compare with them in the generous, kindly, and chivalrous instincts of their nature; and that the evanescence of their worldly power teaches the impressive lesson, taught from the beginning of time, that the kingdom of God is NOT of this world, which is of no use to man's spiritual well-being.

In China, which was subdued by Jenghis Khan and Ogdai, 25 millions of Mahommedans are under the autocratic rule of the Chinese ; many millions of Mahommedans in the INDO FRENCH empire, in the Dutch Netherlands, and in the Philippines, are the subjects of the French, the Dutch, and the Americans respectively ; in India 60 millions of Mahommedans live under the Government of the British ; and in Central Asia the Mahommedan inhabitants, in the Khanates of Kokand, Khiva and Bokhara, *viz*, the Turks and the Tajiks, are under a Russian regime, and the Georgians, Circassians, Mingrelians, and Imerians too are under it.

The power of Christian nations has increased and is increasing, and Moslems think it should be reduced at once, for the safety of Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan. But how this result is to be gained and by whom is the crux of the matter. The question, as to what Mussulmans should do to meet and if possible to overcome the gradual growth of Giaour influence, whose object is the annexation of those countries to the Christian Powers, which now threaten their existence as independent Mussulman Kingdoms, has assumed such importance, and now-a-days is so much to the fore-seeing that the Turks themselves have got rid of "the one man rule" of the Sultan ABDUL HAMID, for a constitutional monarch, after the pattern of England, and the Persians too have in a manner abolished their Shah-in-Shah, for a ruler whose power of harm to his subjects has been limited by a constitutional regime, that it has naturally engaged the speculations and excited the concern of both European and Asiatic Mahommedans, whose day-dream, which is opposed to the fiat of destiny, is the restoration of Islamic rule to its pristine state of greatness.

Before mentioning in detail the scheme for the re-establishment of the worldly power of Islam, reference will be made to the day-dreams which are agitating the minds of the principal European and Asiatic nations of the world.

To begin with, there is the day-dream of Japan and China, the Siamese twins, who, as members of the RACE JAUNE, wish to combine their military and naval forces, with the object of getting back, from the foreign devils, Annam, Cambodia, Lower Cochin-China, Tonkin, Burmah, and the Central Asian possessions, which originally formed part of the Celestial Empire, conquering the Philippine Islands, the Australian Commonwealth, the Dutch Netherlands, and even threatening the capture of British India and Asiatic Russia. This is the Yellow Peril feared by Europeans, who think that when the giant twins,

Hercules and his brother, now under the soporific of opium, recover their senses, get acquainted with what is happening round them, take after the west in habits and mode of life, and adopt its civilization, by perfecting rifles and dreadnoughts, they will, like the cyclop POLYPHEMUS in the cave, lay hold of the pigmy Europeans, who are rickety on their legs and skillygilly in figure, and devour them for meals in the near future.

The Hindu day-dream has for its object the regeneration of Hinduism, and the restoration of Brahmanic rule. In fact, the Hindu extremist propaganda of sedition against established authority is therefore a quasi religious movement, which derives its vitality from Sastric predictions, to the effect that there is yet to be, in the last age, and in the holy land of BHARATVARSHA, a Brahmanic Kingdom, which will with care look after the DWI-JENA, protect the cow, the dwelling place of Divinity, from the sacrilege of being turned into beef steaks and KABOBS and eaten for food by Mlecchas, which term of opprobrium is applied to Christians, Mahommedans, Jews, and other non-Aryans, who come under the genus carnivora. The desire for a Hindu Swaraj is but a phase of this visionary scheme of re-establishing India's ancient religion and rule by means of CHAKRAVARTAS, or universal monarchs, who are described in the mystic pages of the MAHABHARATA and RAMAYANA as beings who will effect the extermination of the aliens, who sustain existence by eating pig and cow. Many Hindu enthusiasts are awaiting, on the tenter hooks of impatience, the appearance of the first Chakravarta, who is to do all this for the motherland of India.*

The Russian day-dream is the belief that it is the destiny of Holy Russia, after the fashion of JENGHIS KHAN, TAMARLANE, BABAR, and NADIR SHAH to be the next conqueror of India, and in the east to rule Asia from Calcutta, or rather Delhi,† and to acquire possession, by force of arms, of Constantinople from the Turks, and in the West to rule Europe from that historic city, which is the site of Heaven built Troy of Homer's Iliad.

*The drinking of wine, which includes spirits, beers, and other intoxicants, which upset both man's reason and his perpendicular, is specifically prohibited by the TRIPITAKAS, the VEDAS, and the KORAN, and is recognised as the practice of sinners.

†When the leading Bengal June merchant, who was a wit, but who never told the truth, heard the news telegraphed from the DELHI DURBAR, he cried out in alarm, "By GEORGE, the Capital of British India has been transferred from Calcutta to Delhi!"

The change of India's capital from Calcutta, where, as believed by some, the palladium of England's prosperity was buried by WARREN HASTINGS, who, as the greatest of England's pro-consuls, is viewed in the light of a SAHEB-I-KIBAN SANI, was marked by

deeds of an OMAR, or an ALI, or a KHALID, or a SALADIN, or a MARWUD of Ghuzni, who are a few of the many Mussulman counterparts of the dare-devil knights celebrated in the poetic literature of Christendom.

These first recruits of Islam, which is but Christianity purified of its errors—which are the palpable outcome of Satanic deceit,—considered the spiritual well-being of man of far more moment than his worldly prosperity; they divided education into that of the soul first and that of the mind after, rightly thinking that unless the one administered to the other all the time and toil expended on the acquisition of mammon and scientific philosophy were useless of any good; and in the administration of public affairs and the regulation of life they observed righteousness, judgment, and the dictates of ISLAM, which is, both in type and character, the most democratical religion, for it recognises in practice the universal brotherhood of mankind in a profession of the unity of God.

If as stated the Mussulmans ruled with glory the empire of Spain in the West, and of India in the East, for seven centuries, civilized Europe, Africa, and Asia, and so fulfilled the high mission of advancing human progress more than any other nation on earth, they also, what was better, converted to the faith of ISLAM millions of Kafirs and unbelieving Christians, whose religion, it has been satirically remarked, puts one in mind of Christianity because it is so different from it.

Those who are grieved at heart at the fallen fortunes of the Mussulmans, who were once upon a time the masters of the world, know as a matter of fact that it was the intervention of the British Government in A.D. 1876, when after the Russo-Turkish war the Russian troops were concentrated in force at San Stephano, within sight of Constantinople, that staved off its capture by them, and saved the Turkish empire from extinction; that only the other day in Persia, where the Government is in a chaotic state of disorder and anarchism, the British, by means of political pressure, prevented the Russian troops, in the Governor-Generalship of Trans-Caucasia, from marching on Teheran, the Persian capital, and seizing it, along with the Northern half of the country, from Meshad to Tabriz, and annexing them as spoils of war to the immense Russian empire, which extends from the Pacific Ocean in the East to the Baltic Sea in the West, and from the Arctic regions of the North to the confines of Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan in the South; and that were it not for the presence of the British troops along the North-Western Frontier of India the Russians would

long ago have cracked the *akrote* of Afghanistan and eaten its contents with gusto.

It may be mentioned that Mahomedan criticism of fair and skinned Christian Europeans is that they are distinguished from the rest of mankind by their peculiar garb and strange speech, and are largely regarded by the East as beings different from Asiatics with dark skins ; that as quasi jinns they, by the simple *modus operandi* of printing waste paper into currency notes of the value of Rs. 5, Rs. 10, Rs. 20, Rs. 50, Rs. 100, Rs. 1,000 and so on, and making them legal tender for debt, have discovered and have at hand an exhaustless source of money, with which to maintain large armies and navies for war; that nothing with them is impossible of achievement, from extracting sunbeams from cucumbers, or milking a he-goat into a seive—kindly excuse the use of these inelegant but forcible English sayings—to spreading in the world Christianity—which they greatly profess but do not much follow ; that they govern subject races by giving them liberty, the practice of their own religions, and the observance of their own habits and customs ; that by means of the Arms' Act, under which the possession of a gun or a sword constitutes a penal act, they keep martial races in subjection ; and that, by the policy of *DIVIDE et IMPERA*, they effectually break down and overcome any possible combination of races for rebellion. It is quite useless as well as silly to try to persuade some Mussulmans that this is perhaps a fancy picture of the character, ways, and objects of European nations. On the expostulation that the fact is not so there is the ready answer that it is.

Without any question of doubt, ISLAM, everywhere in the world, owing to the triumphant policy of the Christian nations, has suffered harm, which has given rise to a joint day-dream of Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan. This day-dream, in short, is to get all Mahomedans of Morocco, Algeria, Tripoli, Egypt, India, Russia, China, and elsewhere to combine, preferably under the sceptre of the Khalifa of Constantinople, the Sultan of Room, to throw off their allegiance to foreign rule and to regain their independance and freedom.

This stupendous project was too chimerical for accomplishment and it therefore did not come off. Nevertheless, Turkey still pictures in imagination the time when the Mussulmans in Europe, Africa, and Asia will rise against Christian domination, and make themselves free from its bondage ; and the practice of Sheiks-ul-Islam, Ulamas, Moullas, Moulvis, etc., urging on their co-religionists not to give up the tough job in despair still obtains.

The day-dreams of France must be spoken of in the past tense. They were two in number. The first was the expansion of the Indo-Franco empire, so as to include a large share if not the whole of China; and the second was the establishment, in Northern Africa, of a vast Negroid Franco empire, stretching from the Atlantic in the West to the Red Sea in the East, and from the middle of Africa to the Mediterranean Sea. The first was rendered null and void by the European Powers guaranteeing the territorial integrity of China, and the second was made of no avail by the protectorate declared by the British over Egypt, which, by the right of conquest by NAPOLEON,* belonged more to France than to any other nation. By the way, it should be mentioned here that the hope of French statesmen, generals, pioneers, and adventurers, who acquired a footing in the wide expanse of North America and Canada, of founding therein a French empire, now represented by the Stars and Stripes and the Canadian Government respectively, and Dupleix's dream of creating in India a French empire, now represented by the Government of India, were destroyed by the diplomatic finesse of the British, who thus not only trod on the toes of France, both in the New World and the Old, but thwarted her policy of expansion in North Africa and Egypt, and, lastly, by way of an AMENDE HONORABLE for the outrages, arranged an "ENTENTE CORDIALE" with her as "her enemy of centuries."

England's day-dream is the creation of an African empire, extending from the Cape of Good Hope in the South to Egypt in the North, and the construction of a railway line connecting the Southern ocean with the Mediterranean. Roughly speaking, the empire would include a good portion of the eastern half of the African continent, ensure the safety of the Suez Canal, the continuance of British protectorate of Egypt, the British naval supremacy in the Mediterranean, now threatened by the Italians at Tripoli and the Austrians at Trieste, and in a manner strengthen the British hold on India, which could obtain a supply of soldiers from Egypt. In short, by this British African empire the only routes from Europe to the East, via the Suez Canal and via the Cape of Good Hope, would be safeguarded from attack, and be in the hands of England, who would thus destroy the possibility of a hostile fleet of any power cruising in the Indian Ocean.

BROTHER JONATHAN'S day-dream is not only the absorption of British Canada within the Stars and Stripes but also of the following

*An Englishman, Sir SYDNEY SMITH, at Acre in the East, upset NAPOLEON'S dream of empire on the Ganges, and another, the Duke of WELLINGTON, at Waterloo in the West, ended NAPOLEON'S military career of conquest. The one destroyed his destiny and the other the life of the ATTILA of Europe.

Central and South American republics, which manage their own affairs and are independent Governments.

| NAME OF REPUBLIC. | ITS CAPITAL. |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| Argentina, | Buenos Ayres. |
| Venezuela, | Caracas. |
| Colombia, | Bogota. |
| Ecuador, | Quito. |
| Bolivia, | Sucre. |
| Chili, | Santiago. |
| Peru, | Lima. |
| Uruguay, | Monte Video. |
| Paraguay, | Asuncion. |
| Brazil, | Río de Janeiro. |
| Mexico, | Mexico. |
| Guatemala, | New Guatemala. |
| San Salvador, | San Salvador. |
| Honduras, | Tegucigalpa. |
| Nicaragua, | Managua. |

In most, if not all, of the above republics the Indians predominate, and then came the Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian population, who have in their veins the strain of Mussulman blood, and who are in consequence proud of spirit, polished of manner, quick of temper, and prone to fighting among themselves for little or no provocation.

It has come about that it is against the inclination of these haughty republics to allow themselves, in their intercourse with European powers, to be in any way influenced by the policy of the United States of America. The fact of the *Monroe doctrine*, that no European or Asiatic power shall be allowed to establish a territorial footing, either in Central or South America, without the prior consent of the United States, is hateful to the *AMOUR PROPRE* of one and all of the Republics, who, if they joined together so as to form a Commonwealth, would virtually be a source of danger to, and a thorn in the side of, BROTHER

Even the Hebrew prophets, under divine afflatus, foresaw and in prophetic vision announced the wide spread ravages of the SARACENS from the South, and of the TURKS from the North. Indeed, from the very beginning of time, prophecy, as expressed in the pages of the Jewish TALMUD, which in form and substance is the counterpart of the OLD TESTAMENT of the Christians, has been literally fulfilled, and is in the course of fulfilment, thus affording evidence that God's word, with regard to the fate of Jews, Gentiles, and Mussulmans in this world, cannot possibly fall to the ground and be of no avail, inasmuch as He is the supreme disposer of events everywhere.

With reference to the prediction, GOD SHALL ENLARGE JAPHETIC AND HE SHALL DWELL IN THE TENTS OF SHEM, it is remarkable that it was foretold, 3,000 year ago, in the case of the Arabians, whose most noble tribe was that of the Koraish, from which MOHOMED the Prophet was descended, that the family of ISMAEL, one of the children of SHEM, should dwell in the presence of their enemies; that the hand of the Ismaelites would be against every man; and that everybody's hand would be against them. The prophecy has come true to the letter. At the present time, the Arabians of the Arabian peninsula, in which are situated the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina, are in reality the only nation that has NEVER been conquered by an Egyptian, or a Persian, or a Grecian, or a Roman, or a European power. These Arabians, who are surrounded by the Persians, who are Shias, by the English, who are Christians, and by the Turks, whose Sultan's claim to the Khaliphate of Islam is not considered as legitimate, have for long preserved their own form of government, manners, customs, language, and literature. In short, the children of the bondwoman are free, while the children of promise, descended from the same ancestor. ISMAEL, are the subjects of, and are under the thumb of European races.

Most, if not all, of the dark-skinned races consider Europeans as some superior species of the genus homo, on the score of their white skin; they are looked up to with respect, owing to their knowledge of how to rule the world; and they are thought much of, on account of the mechanical civilization, which enables them to travel by steam, see by electricity, and hear by telephone. In India the prestige of the GORA LOQUE is still extant and counts for much. There they are largely viewed in the light of DJINNS, who usually know more than most men, and are thought to be superhumanly acquainted with what is going on in the universe: they can, for instance, tell what the CZAR of Russia at Tsarkoes Selo is thinking of them for having forestalled him in the possession of India; what are the private feelings of the AMIR of Afghanis-

tan at Jellalabad as to the possibility of the conquest of Asia by the joint efforts of Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, in a jihad against firings; what the German Emperor at Potsdam is doing to get into England's shoes as the mistress of the sea; what scheme of double dealing the Japs at Tokio are devising, for the purpose of joining hands with China, and by such duplex action ousting the French from Cochinchina, the British from India, and the Russians from Central Asia, and so on and so on. As yet the SOLA TÔPI, worn by Sahebs as a protection against COÛP DE SOLEIL is, like the LAL PAGRI of the native policeman, a symbol of British sovereignty, and many take it into their heads to accept both as insignia of omnipotence.

The dark races, having come to realise their own strength of numbers, and impelled by education and patriotism, born of a sense of grievance against foreigners, for their misdeeds against them, have made up their minds to hold the West at bay not by policy but by means of force. The feeling of offence against Europeans has been greatly accentuated and in a way brought to a head by their action in South Africa, in the Australian Commonwealth, and in California, in prohibiting, by legislative enactment, those who, by the accident of wearing what is poetically termed the SHADOWY LIVERY OF THE BURNING SUN—a swarthy skin—are called Asiatics, from entering or holding land therein.*

In these circumstances, what can Musulmans and Hindus and other dark races say or do when their being under the rule or protectorate or influence of Europeans is of divine decree, which cannot be set aside nor made null and void, for in life the race is neither to the swift nor the battle to the strong. For this reason, the Musulmans in Europe, Africa, Asia Minor, Afghanistan, Central Asia, India, China, the Dutch Netherlands, and elsewhere, should know and appreciate the fact

*It should be noted, as a curious circumstance, that in Jewish Sacred literature JARRETT's descendants, who have been identified as the Anglo-Saxon races, are, for their sins in the government of subject nations, to be punished by the judgment of God in the latter days, i.e., during the MILLENNIUM of CHRIST. From this it follows that the Christian nations will continue to prosper in earthly things and will not be called to account, for their iniquity towards the subject race of the Jews, in this world but in the next. The cruelty and oppression, etc. practised by the Christian world on the Jews, the Negroes, and others, have, in the past, cried to God for vengeance, and required to be suitably noticed in the hereafter, if not now.

As JESUS CHRIST, along with his disciples, was an Asiatic, and as Asiatics have in their veins the best blood of the world, and are, besides, in religion, in morals, in breeding, and in manners better than most Europeans, their prejudice against colour is contrary to the spirit of Christianity, is a phase of insanity, and is as absurd as it is unaccountable at the same time.

that, under God's providence, everything happens for the best, and if, as is true, they themselves, as the true believers, have fallen upon evil days, it is to teach them the lesson, that there is little in this fleeting world of delusion worth regret in losing it.

The British have been able to do what no Buddhist, Brahman, or Moslem predecessor accomplished, what DARIUS HYDASPES and ALEXANDER THE GREAT never dreamt of in their sleep, and what neither ASOKA, with his Pali edicts and stone pillars, nor a Brahman Maharajah with his PUJAHs and MANTRAS, performed, *i.e.*, to bring India, from Peshawar to Cape Comorin, and from Dwarka to Cuttack, into a united whole, under a central Government, which, for justice, benignity, and mercy of its administrative methods, is universally recognised as the pattern of what a constitutional regime should be, which is widely known and felt, by the 700 ruling chiefs of India, and the bulk of its 315 millions of peoples, to be the NE PLUS ULTRA of liberty, and which has, by the exercise of power, protected the weak from the tyranny and oppression of the great.

The reason of the West dominating the East by the use of steam which powerfully fosters the mechanical arts, industries, and commerce, on which the material prosperity of a country depends, has been stated; the means by which the West has got the advantage of the East, in the acquisition of wealth, political influence, and knowledge how to govern subject races for their good, and to force them, by law, to adopt a paper currency, which in great measure does away with the necessity of gold and silver as the circulating media, have been explained; how the East, hitherto supposed to be sunk into a mental and physical torpor, and lingering on into slow return of activity, has awaked to the fact that she must march with the times, and, by Western mechanical civilization, "put on steam," in effecting her regeneration, has been indicated; how the Anglo-Saxon races have left an indelible mark on the social, moral, religious, and literary history of Asia, Africa, America and Australia has been told; and how the dark races therein have been greatly influenced by European teaching, ideals, habits, and customs, has been made obvious to the understanding of the merest tyro in literature. Hence, how can anyone, in face of the logic of facts, say and believe that the Anglo-Saxon races have, by their own might, brought about the foregoing results without Divine help and assistance?

The decline of Asiatic arts represents the superiority of steam power of the West to the hand-loom in the production of articles of wear. India's once famous industries have been killed; the European power-loom has driven out the old fashioned and primitive handloom; up-to-

data steam factories, where textile and other fabrics are turned out cheaply, rapidly, and wholesale have got the better of Eastern Karkhanas, where they are slowly made and at more cost; the locomotive engine, travelling at the speed of 60 miles or so an hour, with its train load of passengers, has effectually superseded the rickety DAK and the noisy BAIL GHARI as modes of progression; the motor car, as a quick means of transport, has knocked on the head the PALKI, just as surely as the electric fan has put to end the hand-pulled PUNKHA which, urged on by frantic cries of KENCHO KENCHO, or TANO TANO, wagged and flapped, agitating the air above the heads of perspiring humanity in Eastern DHOTI or Western PYJAMAS.

None who are acquainted with Biblical history and are versed in knowledge of that of the pagan world of old can well doubt, or deny, or disbelieve, that the Anglo-Saxon race, who are the descendants of ÆNEAS, are identical with JAPHETH'S children, whose domination over the progeny of SHEM and HAM was long ago foretold and has been carried into effect.

When the world came to be filled by the progeny of the three sons of NOAH,† the continent of Asia was chiefly peopled by the descendants of SHEM; Africa, by those of HAM; and Europe and the northern parts of Asia, by those of JAPHETH, who was blessed for what he had done to his father when he got helplessly drunk on wine, as related in the following verses from the 9th Chapter of Genesis:

18—And the Sons of Noah, that went forth of the ark, were Shem, and Ham, and Japheth, and Ham is the father of Canaan.

19—These are the three Sons of Noah and of them was the whole earth overspread.

20—And Noah began to be an husbandman, and he planted a vineyard.

21 And he drank of the wine, and was drunken; and he was uncovered within his tent.

22—And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brethren without.

23—And Shem and Japheth took a garment, and laid it upon both their shoulders and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their father, and their faces were backward, and they saw not their father's nakedness.

24—And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his young son had done unto him.

25 And he said, cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall be unto his brethren.

†Not only was NOAH the first drunkard, as shown above, but he was also a financial genius, as indicated by the answer to the old question: "Why is he a man of business? Because he was the first to float a company while the world was in liquidation"!

26—And he said, Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.
 27—God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.

28—And Noah lived after the flood 350 years.

29—And all the days of Noah were 950 years: and he died.

From the foregoing scriptural quotation, it will be seen that the descendants of JAPHETH, who settled in Europe, were to be the recipients of Heaven's favour, which signified that they were not only to get possession of the belongings of the Asiatics, the offspring of SHEM, who settled in Asia, but also to treat the Negroes and other Negroid races, the children of HAM, who settled in Africa, as slaves.

At the present time no part of Europe or America is in the possession of the descendants of either SHEM or HAM. North and South America are ruled by the white race; Europe is entirely in the keeping of the sons of JAPHETH; practically the whole of Africa is owned by European races, or under their protectorate; and the best parts of Asia are under the Government of the Russians in Central Asia, of the English in India, of the French in Cochin-China, of the Dutch in the Netherlands, and of the Americans in the Philippine Islands, &c.

The story of the good fortune of the Anglo-Saxon races, who are descended from Aneas and are of the stock of JAPHETH, has been chronologically told, in the language of truth, in the letter which was printed on 12th December 1911 in the ENGLISHMAN newspaper of Calcutta, and which was submitted to and read by our beloved KING AND EMPEROR GEORGE V (*vide* page 29 of this pamphlet) while His Imperial Majesty was here at Government House.*

The above historical facts, briefly related, show that God has not left the fate of the English and the Americans, who, as said, are from the loins of Japheth, to accident, but has made it His especial care, in end that they might rule the world between themselves. Of a truth, Europeans are in the heyday of their prosperity and are, so to say, the masters of the dark races, who are inferior to them in policy, wealth, and the art of governing people.†

*A copy of this letter was sent to THEODORE ROOSEVELT, ex President of the United States of America, at 237 Fourth Avenue, New York, to let him know that the worldly prosperity of his great nation, derived from the English, has continued in force for long and will, like that of the British, last till the end of time, provided of course that they, the champions of liberty and freedom, direct the tenor of their lives according to the teachings of the BIBLE, which should be with Christians the rule of faith and practice.

†The fact of a man's being dark of hue by no means connotes inferiority of nature in him, but on the contrary indicates that often as not he is superior to if he is not the equal of a white man. The subordination of the Asiatics and other dark races to fair skinned Europeans, in the government of the world, is according to the *fat of destiny*, and is not the result of worth.

It cannot be denied, that the prosperity of the English and the Americans, the descendants of JAPHETH, is getting on in a crescendo scale of greatness. England in India, so celebrated in the long gone past for civilization and philosophy, has founded an empire which, as the envy of nations and the wonder of the age, is bound in the process of time to dominate Asia; and America in the New World has created a Republic, to which the best manhood of Europe is mysteriously flocking in thousands and thousands, and which is destined to become a splendid GREATER EUROPE beyond the Seas. None, therefore, can gainsay the fact, that Heaven has showered its temporal blessings of wealth, power, renown, freedom, and liberty, in abundant measure, on the British and the Yankees, so that they might have full scope for the exercise of their genius for self-government, the ruling of dark skinned races, and the spread of Christianity. Judging from scriptural evidence, it appears that Europeans have been designed by Providence in view to the whole of the world being entrusted to and ruled exclusively by them.

The Asiatics, put out at having been trodden upon, in the obtainment of justice at the hands of Europeans, delighted with the prospect of the Yellow peril, and more than interested in the seditious propaganda against alien rule, are saying to them: "Beware! the match is ready at the train! Your power may be destroyed with the suddenness of a bomb explosion, and your empire collapse and come to naught in a moment of time. Take warning, and be more concerned with the Kingdom of Heaven than with your own on earth."

Such being the state of affairs, the question may well be asked: What now safeguards the existence of England and America, as first rate powers in the world, and what dangers threaten the continuance of their rule at home and in Asia?

In Europe, the RAPPROCHEMENT with Russia and the ENTENTE CORDIALE with France have doubly assured the safety of England against the military and naval prowess of Germany; and in the east the Arms Act, the Alliance with Japan, and the friendship with Russia have trebly secured the protection of British India against harm, in the shape of rebellion from within or attack from without.

In the New World, America, thanks to her isolated geographical position and the Monroe doctrine, is perfectly safe from an attack by sea or land by a hostile European or Asiatic power, except that her Philipphine Islands are at the mercy of both China and Japan. Were it possible for America to absorb Canada and the Central and South

American Republics into her constitution, she would at home be irresistible in her might and become the undisputed mistress of the New World from pole to pole.

The recent British deputation, consisting of Lords, statesmen, and others, to the number of twelve, from England to America, to take part in the celebration of the centenary of peace between them is said and believed to be a prelude to an ANGLo AMERICAN ALLIANCE which, as being likely to come off, does not seem to be to the taste of the Irish Americans and the German Americans, who do not care for the British. This preliminary step to a closer friendship between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race, now divided by the Atlantic, would, like the ENTENTE CORDIALE with France, the RAPPROCHEMENT with Holy Russia, and the TREATY with Japan, be a final master stroke of policy, whose object is not only to guarantee the peace of the world but to make the Britishers and the Yankies dominate it, in accordance with ancient prophecy, which testifies to their continued glory till the end of time.

It will thus be seen, by what has been said in this pamphlet, and in the letter to the ENGLISHMAN newspaper, that by the triple evidence of the Old Testament, the traditions of MAHOMED the Prophet, and the legendary lore of Greece, the British and the Americans, who in their double capacity of civilisers and rulers of the world are the most prosperous nations in it, are Heaven favoured; and none can doubt or gainsay the fact, inasmuch as it is the truth, and nothing but the truth.

APPENDIX.

Extracts from and copies of documents.

Copy of a letter, dated Government House, Ootacamund, 30th October 1907, from the Private Secretary to Sir ARTHUR LAWLEY, Governor of Madras, to W. A. Sutherland, Esq., Madras.

Sir,—I am desired to acknowledge, with thanks, the copy of your pamphlet *THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, THE HINDUS, THE MAHOMEDANS, AND SWARAJ IN INDIA*. H. E. regrets, however, that he is unable to circulate a large number of copies among officials and officers in India and England.—Yours faithfully, A. R. CAMPBELL.

Extract of a letter from the Private Secretary to LORD MINTO, VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA, dated Viceroy's Camp, India, 8th November 1907, to W. A. Sutherland, Esq., Madras.

Dear Sir,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th November, enclosing a copy of your pamphlet on the present political situation, and to convey His Excellency's thanks to you for your attention.—Yours faithfully, J. R. DUNLOP-SMITH.

Extract of a letter, dated Barnes's Court, Simla, 24th October 1907, from the Private Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, SIR CHARLES IBETSON, to W. A. Sutherland, Esq., Madras.

Sir,—I am in receipt of your letter of the 19th Instant forwarding two copies of your pamphlet *THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, THE HINDUS, THE MAHOMEDANS AND SWARAJ IN INDIA*, which I have submitted to H. H. the Lieutenant-Governor.—Yours faithfully, G. W. J. BAYLEY.

Extract of a letter, from the Foreign Editor of the *DAILY TELEGRAPH*, Fleet Street, London, dated 25th November 1907, to W. A. Sutherland, Esq., Madras.

Dear Sir,—I am directed by the Editor to thank you for sending him a copy of your pamphlet on *BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND SWARAJ IN INDIA*, whose importance and timeliness he fully recognises.—Yours faithfully, EDWARD L. GOODMAN.

Extract of a letter, dated 20th November 1907, from the Private Secretary, New Court, St. Swinthin's Lane, E. C., London, to W. A. Sutherland, Esq., Madras.

Dear Sir,—I am directed by LORD ROTHSCHILD to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 6th November, and to thank you for your kindness in sending him a copy of your pamphlet *THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, THE HINDUS, THE MAHOMEDANS, AND SWARAJ IN INDIA*.—Yours faithfully, J. H. ARCHER.

Copy of letter, dated November 30th 1907, Editorial Offices, 3 Carmelite House Tallis St. E. C. from the DAILY MAIL to W. A. Sutherland, Esq., Madras.

Dear Sir,—Please accept our best thanks for your courtesy in forwarding us the pamphlet which I hope to read through in a few days' time.—Yours faithfully, CHAS. WATNEY, Foreign Editor.

Copy of a letter, dated 6th November 1907, No. 7 Espanade Row, Fort, Bombay, to W. A. Sutherland, Esq., Madras.

Sir,—I have received your letter of 4th October 1907 together with the pamphlets you sent out; these latter I shall read at my leisure, and no doubt they will prove interesting. As regards your suggestion about my issuing a joint pamphlet, I must say that I have never taken any part hitherto in religious questions or entered into the arena of politics, and have no desire to do so now, as I have not the leisure to devote to them: thanking you for your letter.—I am, yours faithfully, SASSOON DAVID.

Copy of a letter, dated ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE, Northumberland Avenue, London, W. C., April 22nd 1910 to W. A. Sutherland, Esq., C-o. MESSRS GRAVES, COOKSON & Co., Madras.

Dear Sir,—Should you have a spare copy of your work entitled the BRITISH GOVERNMENT, THE HINDUS, THE MAHOMEDANS, AND SWARAJ IN INDIA, it will be much appreciate as a donation to the Library of the ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE, which is, as you are aware, the recognised centre in London for the dissemination of information relating to the British Empire.

The Library is strictly a Colonial and Indian one, and it is earnestly desired that it should be made as complete and useful as possible by the interest and co-operation of authors and publishers in all parts of the world.

Trusting you may be pleased to comply with this request, I am, Dear Sir, your obedient servant, P. EVANS LEWIN, LIBRARIAN.

Copy of a letter from the EARL OF SHAFTESBURY to the address of W. A. Sutherland, Esq., Calcutta.



King Emperor's Camp, India.

The Private Secretary is commanded by the KING-EMPEROR to thank Mr. Sutherland for his letter of the 5th instant, which has been laid before HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY. Calcutta, 6th January, 1912.

TO

THE EDITOR OF THE "ENGLISHMAN," CALCUTTA.

Sir,

Nearly forty years ago, when officials were somewhat addicted to the Eastern practices of betel-chews, hookah smokes, and palanquin rides, I saw Calcutta for the first time. Then the City of Palaces, which justly deserves the encomium of being termed the First City of Asia, as it is in fact the second city of the British Empire (over which the sun never sets) in point of population, (for London is first, Calcutta second, Liverpool third, Glasgow fourth, Bombay fifth, and so on), was not so big as now, nor was it characterised by the hurry, scurry, and worry of modern life, the glare and glitter of electricity, the noise of running electric tram cars, and the hoot of the fleeting motor cars. The Howrah Central Station had not been built, nor most of the grand public edifices which ornament the streets.

Anyone who sees the City of Calcutta, and notices the marvellous growth of its territorial limits, the expansion of its industry, commerce, population, and its advance in Western civilisation and education; cannot but view its conversion, from an obscure village on the Hoogly, into the premier city of the East, more as the effect of enchantment than, in reality, as evidence of the fact that its rulers, the British, are a Heaven-favoured race, which, in the scheme of Providence, exists for the benefit of mankind.

To enable the truth of the statement, that the English are a people whose welfare is the concern of, and whose interests are looked after by, God, to be made good, a reference to Grecian Mythology is necessary.

Therein it is stated that Dardanus, an Aryan chief, who had come from the Punjab,—the Bharatvarsha of the Hindus—to Asia Minor for the Trojan war, which was a bloody and gigantic contest between the many nations of the East as Trojans, and those as numerous of the West as Grecians, who were the victors, on the fall of Troy fled from it with Æneus, a God-kept hero, (whose exploits are recounted in Virgil, whose chivalrous valour of the soul, prowess of the body, and religious instincts were great, and from whom the Roman Cæsars were proud to claim descent), to the Island of Crete. There a Jovian oracle revealed to Æneus, who was both the military and religious head of his clan, or gotra, the secrets of futurity, viz., that he would settle in Italy; that his descendants there would for aye possess the gates of the enemy, govern great nations, and build a city that would be the mistress of the Western World; that the sceptre of sovereign command, as their celestial inheritance, would never depart from them; that they would have power, counsel, policy, and riches in abundant measure; and that, finally, in the latter days, after the lapse of much time, they would return to their mother-land, whence their progenitor had set forth for the distant regions of the West.

SONS OF ÆNEUS.

A knowledge of history will show the reader that Heaven's prophecy, as to the wondrous greatness, might, power, and wealth of the British, who are the offspring of Brut-Æneus' grandson, after whom England was named Britain, was fulfilled to the letter. Firstly, Æneus' progeny, among whom was Romulus, founded Rome, which became the metropolis of Europe and the seat of their empire, whence they governed the nations of heathendom; secondly, Brut, leaving Italy went west and settled in London, which became, in the flight of time, the greatest city in the whole world; thirdly, the Pilgrim Fathers, who were Englishmen, sprung from the loins of Æneus, and fearlessly claiming, as their unalienable birthright, civil and religious liberty, denied them by the

in any way, interfered with or tried to undermine the policy of the Italian Government, This being so, the sacred College of Cardinals, who represent the power of the Papacy, does not hurt the feelings or go against the wishes of the Italian Government which, like England and France, is flourishing in national affairs, since the destruction of ecclesiastical influence therein.

As by the expulsion, from Great Britain and Ireland, of the religious orders of the Catholic Church and the spoliation of their property England became pre-eminently great, during the time of HENRY THE EIGHT, so France, during the presidency of M. LOUBET, by a similar act, rendered necessary by the hatred of the French Republic by the religious orders, their tampering with the loyalty of the French soldiery, in view to a COUP D'ETAT, their teaching the rising generation, in Catholic schools and Colleges, to hate the Republique Francaise as being of diabolical character, their attempt at restoration of the monarchy in France, and their getting the Papacy to fall out with the French Government, which forthwith cancelled the CONCORDAT and stopped the stipends paid to the Catholic clergy, has thriven wonderfully in her domestic and foreign affairs, and become strong of government by her Alliance with Russia and her ENTENTE CORDIALE with heaven-protected England.

The pamphlet, entitled THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, THE HINDUS, THE MAHOMMEDANS, AND SWARAJ IN INDIA, is available for supply at 8 annas a copy, at the address of this brochure, viz., 7, Cohen Mansion, Ripon Lane, Calcutta.

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NOT ONE CENT FOR DEFENSE”**

A Reply to Henry Ford

By

HENRY B. JOY

Detroit, Mich.

The Wrong of "Unpreparedness" 138

A Reply to The Peace-at-any-Price Propaganda of Henry Ford

Mr. Ford's statement is reprinted on page 11

Differences of opinion among men are but the natural result of the differing mentalities with which nature has endowed them.

It is announced that "Henry Ford's wealth, gained in the pursuit of things of peace, will be given to aid the world in its effort for an unending peace." A splendid spirit of self-sacrifice in the interest of the welfare of the human race is thus exemplified. I indeed wish Mr. Ford's wealth which he has created could accomplish the purpose he seeks. But how will he give his wealth to the work, and how soon, because indeed time presses?

Mr. Ford is quoted as saying, "I would teach the child at its mother's knee what a horrible, wasteful and unavailing thing war is."

I do not believe much expenditure on his part toward this end is necessary. It is obvious what war is. It has been many times painted, pictured and portrayed in all its horrors and wastes and all of Mr. Ford's millions would make but a small addition to the total already spent and being spent to the desired end.

The small boy is taught and has been taught the horrors of war through all time, but nature has provided that what may be the horrors of war to those it has endowed with peace-at-any-price ideas, are not by any means the views of war held by the young hopefuls of the world's people. In fact, nature has provided that those youngsters look upon war as a pretty good proposition. They see lots of opportunities of proving their superior mettle and ability. I do not think Mr. Ford would get very far with the child at its mother's knee. I know I cannot with mine and the more dead and dreadful horrors there are in the war pictures of the day the more delighted he is with them, and the delay is irksome until he can get over to the neighbor's yard and engage in the sham battles which sometimes become real and now and then end disastrously for him.

To labor with a small boy over the horrors of war would be like seeking to carry water in a sieve and Mr. Ford is too good a mechanic to try that.

So we have, I assume, to start in on his campaign for peace

at some other place of beginning, leaving the mothers to overcome as best they may the instincts of nature. It is quite unfortunate that these instincts were put by nature into humans before my good friend Mr. Ford had a chance to modify them. But there they are, nevertheless.

I am inclined to think that circumstances and conditions and environment make some difference in a man's mental attitude. It may be that if Mr. Ford's factory instead of being just outside of Detroit, and if his home instead of being in the peaceful village of Dearborn were or had been located in the formerly prosperous state of Belgium, his views as to the desirability of military training and preparedness might be tinged with a different coloring.

He might think more favorably of those men of strong fibre who were prepared to the best of their ability to resist the inroads of the invading hordes of an overwhelmingly prepared and trained nation seeking it is alleged "more room in the sun," whatever that may mean. At any rate we have the result—an industrious nation utterly overrun, devastated and destroyed.

I think it would be better for Mr. Ford to adopt that as a point of beginning and seek to prevent a recurrence of such an unfortunate event in the world's history.

He frankly states that he does not know how or where to begin; therefore I assume he will not resent a frank suggestion.

I suggest that he devote his forces to prevent a repetition of a Belgium destroyed. If he can do that then he would be well rewarded and recompensed by sacrificing his millions to that end, and the world would be bettered forever.

If a repetition of the Belgium devastation can be prevented, then indeed will the world have traveled far towards a cessation of wars.

There is a strong feeling in my mind that to talk for peace today in the United States, no matter how earnestly we all as a people may desire peace in the world, is to embarrass our government in its sincere efforts to maintain peace with honor and national self-respect, if indeed such a condition is at all possible under the circumstances which have developed and carried us on as a nation to the brink of international war.

And if circumstances beyond our control force us over the edge of the war precipice, we will find ourselves utterly unfitted, untrained and unprepared for war.

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Mr. Ford says, "We do not want war. We will not have war." He says, "Surely the world is big enough for all to live in at peace with all."

But he does not seem to realize that there are always the big fellows, the big bullies that have to be curbed, who have to be regulated and limited by stronger authority than their own wills. He surely must know that the races of the earth never have lived at peace, and while the United States has had great immunity from war during the period of its existence, yet during that interval the world has been made to grow very small by improved transportation and that all nations now are very near neighbors. The ocean instead of a barrier of defense is the highway open to the invader.

It seems apparent also that our responsibility as a nation, if we are to be one at all, requires us to be able to take our share of the burdens of such a responsibility and be capable of joining others to enforce right and justice among nations, and to defend ourselves in the event some other power does not think our ideas of justice are correct ones. Some nation may be today looking with covetous eyes on our "place in the sun," which location has made Mr. Ford so prosperous under the wise laws which in the main through generations have controlled our international affairs and protected our industries and prosperity and peace.

It is certain that no other nations are particularly devoting their efforts to the promoting of American international or domestic trade, and if we propose to develop and expand and protect our trade it will be because of our wilful intent and preparedness to do so, and to maintain the prosperity of our country.

It is not beyond the realm of reason, it is indeed very possible, even probable, that Germany may, in the event of her being victorious, lay a heavy tribute on the United States for our having shipped supplies and munitions of war to her enemies.

The levying of unfair tribute, as it was then viewed, led the American Colonies to break away from England and set up the nation of red-blooded people that have grown and developed to a condition of prosperity so that Mr. Ford has created for himself a mighty industry out of that prosperity, the foundations of which were laid by Washington and his half-starved, half-clothed, armed citizenry, aided to the point of success by France and Lafayette. France crossed what was then a very wide ocean

to come to our aid. The records show that in 1780, after a voyage of seventy days, forty French vessels arrived at Rhode Island with fifty-five hundred French soldiers placed directly under Washington's command, and bringing eight million livres of French gold to pay for their supplies and other wants. Today a hundred times as many troops could be landed in this United States in one-tenth of seventy days to enforce any tribute asked.

Would Mr. Ford have been a signer of the Declaration of Independence? Would he have been a soldier in Washington's army?

Mr. Ford says—"In all the history of civilization I cannot find one man who has justified war!"

Were the signers of the Declaration of Independence justified? Was the war that followed justified? I am sure Mr. Ford will not say that we were not justified in the war of 1812! Were we justified in the Mexican war? Was the war preventable which was unfortunately precipitated because we in the United States could not understand each other as to the menace of slavery to our nation? Those who took part in that war on both sides now all agree that it made of us again a united, vigorous people.

Were we justified in sending our men and ships to protect Americans and aid in protecting those of other nationalities in the Boxer troubles in China? We could not have done it if we had not had the armed ships and trained armed men ready on the instant, which is what Mr. Ford so violently opposes as a policy.

When the U. S. S. *Maine*, of sacred memory, while making a friendly call in Havana harbor, was escorted by the Spanish authorities to a "safe" mooring buoy and blown up and our flag dishonored and several hundred red-blooded, good American sailors' lives snuffed out, ought we to have apologized for having been there at all? Were our actions in undertaking the war unjustified? Many of us who went to the Spanish War felt that we were justified in answering the call of our government for men. Does Mr. Ford believe in the words of the song, "I didn't raise my boy to be a soldier?" I am sure he cannot, though he flatly says so.

Mr. Ford believes in peace as do all his fellow countrymen. He believes in unpreparedness, in which I hope all his fellow countrymen disagree with him, as I certainly do. Indeed I should be grieved more than I can express if my good friend can or does

array himself on the side of Bryan and his followers. There has never been, it seems to me, a more conspicuously disgraced man since Benedict Arnold's day than Mr. Bryan. Mr. Bryan saw fit to desert his post of duty, the most important office next to that of the Presidency itself, in a time of serious international negotiations, being carried on in an effort to secure peace and respect to Americans. He saw fit to compel us to show a divided front to a possible enemy. Could such a desertion of the post of duty at a critical moment be called less than traitorous to the cause of America—"Peace with honor?"

Mr. Ford goes further and authoritatively speaks for Mr. Edison, who has been asked by the Government to co-operate in war plans and who has accepted the Chairmanship of the Committee working to that end. Mr. Ford says "Mr. Edison will never use his great brain to make anything which would destroy human life or human property." Yet Mr. Edison is actually on the work as Chairman in seeking to upbuild our military efficiency. Mr. Edison is truly a man of great brain. He has devised wonderful things. He has said many strong patriotic things. I believe Mr. Edison would have signed the Declaration of Independence and been in Washington's army. At any rate, I feel that Mr. Edison can speak for himself as an American as he has done in the past. Does Mr. Edison accept Mr. Ford as his spokesman? If he does, he should instantly be asked to resign from the Committee in aid of war plans. As a matter of fact Mr. Edison is now supplying his storage batteries for our submarines—the most deadly of our war devices!

Mr. Ford's desire to accomplish permanent peace is a very laudable object. We should all join forces to that end, but will not Mr. Ford's attitude urging strict non-preparedness, and therefore necessarily the acceptance uncomplainingly of any demand for tribute or indemnity, or any insult or harm to Americans by the victors in the European conflict, only tend to promote the recurrence of war? Will any peace, which is only a peace during which to repair and recuperate, be a beneficial peace?

The nations of Europe are doing more to establish permanent peace than is the United States of America, or Mr. Ford. They are struggling, fighting, sacrificing, dying for that very object.

Their citizens are dying by thousands that permanent peace may be restored and the invader held back to the limitations of his own country.

According to Mr. Ford's religion, no resistance should be offered to the invader. No state of preparedness should have been available to the nations to resist one of their number who might seek to expand and conquer.

Would it have been better if France had not sent us General Lafayette and his troops without whose aid the war would no doubt have been ended favorably to the English in the days when our early colonists resisted the burdens sought to be placed on them?

Should we not now as a nation be able to resent any insults and injuries extended to, or burdens of tribute levied on our nation and our citizens, as our forefathers did for us in similar circumstances? Would not such a course tend more to the cessation of wars for all time, if all nations today joined together to stand for the right as God gives them light to see the right, and backed by guns and not by "scraps of paper" treaties?

Is the heritage left to us by those who have fought and died that America might exist as a free and righteous people a heritage of disgrace? Are we a changed people? Is our blood turned to water? Are we always hereafter to exist by permission of other nations whose blood is red? Is our oversea trade always to be in the ships of other nations and by permission of other nations as it is today?

It is even a serious question whether as a people serving our own ends as a nation, we should not aid in defending the weak against the strong. Should we not possibly even aid those nations who have followed our example and Mr. Ford's advice, and not maintained a condition of complete preparedness, and who are now consequently the victims of the impossible attitude of disarmament and unpreparedness for defense of their industries and their homes? What is our duty as a people?

Has there ever been a time in our history when such insults, if we may call them such, by foreigners both at home and abroad have been extended to the President of the United States?

Does Mr. Ford realize that his statement broad and long

throughout, rings with the same embarrassments to those whom we have put in authority, the President and others, as do the resolutions of the German-Alliances and other similar foreigners and foreign publications among us?

I think and feel that if Mr. Ford had had the whole picture before him, he would not have by thought or act tended to aid those who are obviously seeking to embarrass the American people in the performance of the plain duty they owe themselves as a people, to instantly plan and put in force a scheme for efficient military preparedness commensurate with the ability of this nation so to do, and fully and amply in proportion to our national military and naval requirements as urged by those who know, and they are not civilians,—namely, the General Boards of the Army and Navy.

It is obvious that our international relations are critical. Any American who in these times wittingly seeks to embarrass and prevent the President and the Congress from insisting on and obtaining every respect for American rights which it is rightful should be ours from any and every nation of the earth, is, whether he knows it or not, deliberately tending to precipitate this country into a war—a righteous war to protect its honor, compel respect and defend its citizens, who have a right to look to their flag and their American passports as an adequate protection in their lawful affairs.

Mr. Ford is quoted as saying:—

“I could make vast sums from warfare if I so chose, but it would be better to die a pauper than that anything that I have helped to make, or that any thought, word or act of mine should be used for the furtherance of this slaughter.”

An impression might be drawn from this statement that Mr. Ford would discountenance supplying the belligerents with Ford cars or any other supplies necessary to contending armies or nations. **Yet at the plant of the Ford Motor Co., Ltd., of England, at Manchester, there is being filled now a war order for fifteen thousand Ford ambulance cars for the English Government alone.** This fact was stated by Mr. P. L. D.

Perry, manager of the English Company, recently to a Detroit newspaper and I have quoted from that paper.

Further, I quote as follows another newspaper item:

“The British Government sends one hundred soldiers from the Army Transport Service to the Ford works at Manchester, England, for two weeks at a time to learn how to repair machines in the field.”

These facts only go to show how far the ramifications of Mr. Ford's business extend, probably without his knowledge, into the belligerent armies, and that Mr. Ford's very small and reasonable profit derived therefrom is obtained by and with the consent only of the British Navy, which so efficiently has kept open the highways of the sea to Mr. Ford's oversea commerce.

If this nation is saved from war, with honor and prestige retained, it will be due to the almost solidly united front presented by the patriotic press of the nation in educating the people in the just doctrines of the rights of Americans travelling on the high seas, and in the pursuit of our lawful trade and commerce between nations.

It should, however, be ever uppermost in our minds that whatever oversea commerce this nation is enjoying today is by virtue of the strong arm extending over the seas of the world of the armed fleets of the allied nations, especially that of Great Britain, and not by virtue of our own intelligence and preparedness to demand and defend our rights against those who might see fit to curtail them.

This country is placed directly in the position of trying to compel respect for its rights by mere words, by the mere asking—rights which no self-respecting nation should surrender except to a superior power after a contest of arms.

We cannot under our existing unpreparedness obtain and retain our own national rights if seriously opposed therein, much less make effective the very able protest of the President against the wanton destruction on the seas of the lives of innocent non-combatants, even of women and of babies.

HENRY B. JOY.

August 28th, 1915.

From Detroit Free Press, Sunday, August 22nd, 1915

HENRY FORD TO PUSH WORLD-WIDE CAMPAIGN FOR UNIVERSAL PEACE

**Will Devote Life and Fortune to
Combat Spirit of Militarism
Now Rampant.**

**LAUGHS AT THOSE WHO PREDICT
SUCCESSFUL INVASION OF U. S.**

**Scores Hypocrites Who Pretend to
Be Religious, Yet Foster War
For Sordid Gain.**

.....

"I will do everything in my power to prevent murderous, wasteful war in America and in the whole world; I will devote my life to fight this spirit which is now felt in the free and peaceful air of the United States, the spirit of militarism, mother to the cry of 'preparedness'—preparedness, the root of all war."

These words, uttered Saturday by Henry Ford, hater of war and visualizer of vast foresight, marked the beginning of what will henceforth be the life-work of the man—to strike with everything he commands at what he declares to be the direct cause of all wars and all national antipathies that breed war—"preparedness."

"I would teach the child at its mother's knee," said Mr. Ford, "what a horrible, wasteful and unavailing thing war is. In the home and in the schools of the world I would see the child taught to feel the uselessness of war; that war is a thing unnecessary; that preparation for war can only end in war."

Will Give Much to End Wasteful "Preparation"

"I have prospered much, and I am ready to give much to end this constant, wasteful 'preparation.' Not by building palaces of peace, not by inspiring fearful peace by powerful armament, but by teaching the men, women and children of America that war does not threaten us, that war will not reach us, that the fullness of peace is their inheritance, not the burden of militarism with its heavy hand that curbs liberty and its foul sustenance upon the blood, the labor and the toil-earned happiness and goods of the worker.

Entire World United in Demand for Peace

"This I would make a world work, for all the world cries for peace, and there can be no peace while there remains one set of these militaristic parasites who encourage war and who damn all whose ideas of patriotism and love of their fellowmen does not call for arming brother against brother.

"I confess I do not know how it is best to undertake this work in an organized manner. I realize it is a vast undertaking. Yet I want to see this nation and all the nations of the earth nourishing that feeling, already deeply implanted in the minds and hearts of millions, that is expressed in the words: 'We do not want war. We will not have war. We will not have amongst us the breeders of war, be they men who cry out that the enemy seeks us, and we must prepare for him, or be they only those who would dazzle with the false glory that has been the cloak of murder for centuries.'

"The seed of this project is right here in the Ford organization, in hundreds of organizations throughout the country. We have to develop it and nourish its growth. The workshops, the farms, fair and just conditions, equitable prices and commercial unselfishness are the things we wish to improve.

People of All Lands Cry Out Against War

"By some remote and providential scheme a little good might result through the use of guns, warships, shrapnel and torpedo. To my mind this is the last and most remote means that could possibly be suggested to gain the national or world-wide end that most sober-minded men wish to obtain.

"When men think and work, they do right, and the voice of the people, I do believe, in every land under the sun, cries out

against war. The trouble is that they do not make enough noise, and the yell of the few who, for monetary gain, want war just at this particular time, seems to prevail.

"We who can, ought to help in the right direction. It's a pathetic sight and positive fact that most men who pose as standing for the best things in life and who pray to God in churches on Sundays for peace (the very pillars of the church, they are called) are busiest nowadays in obtaining the orders that will enable them to convert their factories into workshops for making shot and shell for destroying mankind and defeating the finest and loftiest things in the world—homes, happiness, prosperity. * * * * *

Public Must Control Actions of "Rulers"

"Nowadays men are prone to think they have nothing to do with and cannot control their own destinies. It is everybody's business to know how the moneys of the country are spent and how the wisdom and judgment of the chief executives is directed, and the sooner we come to understand this the sooner will be stopped the wanton waste of money for murderous and destructive agencies, such as warships, guns and arms. * * * * *

"I hate war, because war is murder, desolation and destruction, causeless, unjustifiable, cruel and heartless to those of the human race who do not want it, the countless millions, the workers. I hate it none the less for its waste, its uselessness and the barriers it raises against progress, and the development of the world, human and material.

"Aside from the burning fact that war is murder, the waster of lives and home and lands, and that 'preparedness' has never prevented war, but has ever brought war to the world—aside from all this is the utter futility (from a cold, hard business view alone) of the equipment of an army today with weapons that are obsolete tomorrow.

"We build a vast naval machine today. A few months hence it is surpassed by that of another country and is practically useless. We give our soldiers a death-dealing rifle. Tomorrow another nation's soldiers have a weapon that surpasses ours.

"The United States has spent more than a billion dollars on a navy and army that was to cope with an invasion that never occurred and never will occur. And yet the very 'war experts'

who were responsible for that burdensome army and navy admit that our army and navy never would have been able to meet, with any hope of success, those of other so-called powers.

"And with all their prophecies of war fallen flat, they cry for still greater waste.

"The people of the United States have been compelled to throw a billion dollars into a junk pile, and these men would have another billion go the same way. If one-tenth of what has been spent on preparation for war had been spent on the prevention of war, the world would always have been at peace.

"Why, if the United States is threatened by another nation, have we lived in peace for 100 years? Our army and navy never was able to stop the 'paper invasions' that the war-breeders talked of, and yet we have lived unmolested, happy and at peace with all races of men.

Isolation is Thorough Protection of United States

"The isolation of the United States is a perfect safeguard against successful invasion, and if this fact would not prevent a landing of hostile armies the very vastness of the country and the enormous population would make such an attempt futile. We are neither Aztecs nor East Indians.

"The writers of military treatises showing how Japan, or Germany, or any other nation could invade the United States, under the guise of history and 'military probabilities,' are trying to fill the minds of the people with fear by the use of their high-sounding nonsense—that is what the whole thing is, nonsense. It's a good joke to see these big business men, now in the newspapers, spending a few weeks' vacation learning the art of soldiering. I wonder if they are really frightened by the stories?

"The pity of it is that this same war talk is allowed to take up the columns of newspapers and magazines that could be used toward the inspiration of peace.

"The advice of militarists as to the need of a vast army and navy is about the same as the advice of a group of professional gamblers would be in the framing of civil laws. The only difference is that the military men would gamble with human lives and the peace and plead for 'national honor' when they mean 'personal glorification' or 'blood-money.'

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Edison Won't Aid in Destroying Human Life

"They have called in Thomas Edison to help their war plans. Let me say that Thomas Edison never has and, in my opinion, never will use his great brain to make anything which would destroy human life or human property. He could destroy nothing. His mind is a constructive mechanism that abhors destruction, and war is destruction. He is a man of peace, for he realizes the true meaning of war—wanton, unnecessary and unreasoning destruction, death and disruption of all that peace has builded.

"I believe that the time is at hand when the man who works will forever put an end to the system that can tear him away from his home and family to send him forth to a death against his will; death inflicted by another human worker who bears him no ill-will and to whom he is a brother; death that can bring nothing but sorrow to those he leaves behind; death hurled out by the pressure of a finger moving at the order of one whom the worker has placed above him as a leader, and who thus betrays him to murder and the danger of death.

"I believe that this same worker is going to end the conditions that allow the man he places above him to give that murderous order; to cause him to seek the life of a brother worker in another land and send that brother searching in turn for his blood.

"And I would assist this worker to educate his children from the cradle to think only in terms of peace, to hate war, and all the accoutrements of war, and strive forever to drive from the world this spirit of murder, destruction and chaos.

"The present war's end will, I believe and hope, see the end of the military spirit and the military castes in all Europe; the death of the military party in Germany; and those very workers who are today performing wonders of arms against the whole of Europe under the eyed of an emporer and a Fatherland may be the very ones who will end that reign of militarism.

"So that it may be said: 'We have ended war forever; we have done away with the parasites that breed war in the world.' And from every nation in Europe, in the world, will come the echo of the words, 'We have ended war forever.' That cry will be the cry of the man who works, the man created to love and be loved by his fellows, to enjoy peace and to share that joy with all."

World Big Enough to Give Peace to All

"Surely the world is big enough for all to live in at peace with all. If nations want colonies they can have them without killing their sons and devastating homes and lives. If Germany, as many of her opponents claim, wanted colonies, she could have secured a very extensive 'place in the sun' by direct purchase—a business transaction for a fraction of the terrific cost she is now paying in warfare.

"I could today make vast sums from warfare if I so chose, but it would be better to die a pauper than that anything I have helped to make, or that any thought, word or act of mine should be used for the furtherance of this slaughter.

"I shall expect the sneers and condemnation of those whose business is war and of those who profit by war. But I can weigh against this the feeling for peace and against war and the spirit that brings war, which, I know, burns in the hearts of the masses the world over, and in this I will feel that I am right.

"I shall raise my voice in no controversy with those who cry out that such peace would bring destruction upon us by martial nations, but who really mean that they would have peace by enforcing their will upon others with cannon, and whose constant cry of 'prepare' cloaks their damnable aims. The very thought of such men and such ideas cannot but bring the strongest words of condemnation and reproach from any man.

"The building of armament by the United States is not only a waste of itself and a war-breeding policy, it is worse still, it is an example that the nations of Latin America and all the world have followed, adding the burden and the danger to the peoples in those lands.

"The nations of the world need an example to lead them away from war, and this, the country we live in, is, I believe, the land destined to show the world the way toward the end of this murder. The world has followed the United States for generations in all that goes for progress. Let us have disarmament; let us show that we mean peace when we say the word, and the world will follow in that, too.

· "I feel, and I have the world's history and the spirit of a world's people back of me, that the 'preparedness' now being preached is nothing but a criminal waste, a call to slaughter, and a disgrace to a nation that has been the guiding star of the world towards liberty, happiness and peace.

"I realize only too well that since the beginning of history the overpowering, unanswerable weapon of wealth always, down to this very day, has been on the side of slaughter, and this, I know, has stood as the great barrier to the peace that men have craved since civilization was born.

"If I can but see the world—and America is the brain of the world and the brain the guide of all—moving toward that day when war shall cease, when nations shall not burden the workers with the enormous expense of huge armaments and then destroy the workers with those very armaments, I shall be content to end my days where I began, an humble worker in a peaceful world.

· "Millions of men, every one of them a husband, a son, a father or a brother, have gone to their death within a year on the battlefields of Europe. There is sorrow in millions of homes, a dozen nations are paralyzed and filled with mangled, crippled men and boys who by the laws of nature can only produce children who will in some way bear, in part, the burden and mark of their parents' suffering. And all for nothing.

"It is horrible to contemplate. **If these men who brought on the war were insane, we could comprehend the cause of the war.** But when we think that all is done coldly, deliberately by these militaristic parasites, and that millions of men are torn from the life that is theirs by right of birth, and driven to slaughter by the system of murder that envelopes these nations, we are crushed by the enormous crime.

"The very thought of this makes me feel that I know of nothing to which I would rather give my life, nothing that would give me a more certain feeling that I was doing a man's work, nothing that would make me feel more content in the knowledge that I had done a great duty that had been placed before me, than to use that which I have to help bring to an end 6,000 years of this unjustified hatred, ruthless waste, destruction and murder. * * *

"In all the history of civilization I cannot find one man who has justified war, who did not publicly brand it as

the curse of man and the work of Cain. Yet these same men are often the very ones who call for the 'preparedness' that brings on war. What can we think of men who cry aloud against murder and yet fly eagerly to place in the hands of their children, or more frequently the children of their more humble brothers, the implements of murder?

*Quotation from Mr. Ford's Statement in
Detroit Free Press, September 5th, 1915.*

Sloths and Lunatics in Military Cliques

"The working man is beginning to realize that it is not the rulers of the nations who make war, be they presidents, kings or emperors. It is the military cliques that surround and sway them—it has always been these same parasites, these sloths and lunatics. **For I firmly believe that every man who deliberately devotes his life to the trade of a soldier is either lazy or crazy, and, unhappily, most of them are merely lazy, so we are not permitted to put them in asylums.**

"Nor is it always the fault of the young men who go into the army or navy that they do so. In many cases it is the last choice. If the large manufacturers and business men of the world would make it their duty and religion to see that their men are paid a wage that will make them contented, and assure them of steady employment, then the recruiting officers for the militarists would have even a harder job to get disciples.

"Instead, many of these business men are working hand in glove with the military men who start, drive and end the wars. And they are in it for what they can get out of the murder—to fatten their wallets. They work for the very conditions that prevent good wages and steady work for willing men. What will they do with their surplus of munition-makers when the war is ended?

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**Declaration of Jal Chamar, a returned emigrant from Fiji made before
a Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta**

I, Jal Chamar, son Kirtarath Chamar deceased, inhabitant of village Lakhupakar, 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 Durwan 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 hunt 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 2 closed carts each drawn by 3 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 was 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 Mussalman Rajwan was very severely beaten by the Durwan 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 Sing, 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, inquired 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 if he 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. The 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 4 or 5 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 plate 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 to 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.

That the doors are placed above the partition walls between adjoining room stands so that rain water comes into the rooms from two sides. Besides, the doors are on his head-board or can even jump over the partition to enter into the next room if he is married. Married people can not therefore properly maintain privacy. The doors of the rooms are usually provided with bolts which cannot resist more than four or three hard knocks from a man alone in her room. So it often happens that when the husband or protector of a woman is away and she is alone in her room, men of bad character easily enter and her room and she is dishonoured. The complaints of the women in such cases are taken no notice of by the Sahibs, nor is protection given to the injured women to go to court. In fact there is no protection for women of bad character always take advantage of their unprotected position.

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. A prostitute 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 Sahib 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. Hard 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 5 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 stoutest physique, if they are accustomed to hard agricultural work in India, can finish their tasks about 3 or 4 P.M. but the ordinary man cannot do theirs even in a whole day. Sometimes a task is allotted at a long distance from the cooly lines and the labourers return home at 8, 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 4 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 slaughter houses and they are forced to bring cows and other animals from the grazing grounds into the slaughter house and to carry trays of beef and poison their heads to the customers 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 Shillings 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 5 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 house and beat the labourer with a whip. A labourer wishing 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 dare to give evidence in court against them and free men's evidence is not accepted by the court. If a labourer beats his wife or kept woman for any offence, she gets a pass immediately and, if she is under indenture, she is not subject to the control of her husband and long as a woman has her own 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 Chandrais Madraisi 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 6 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 anything 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 of officers who reside in the locality. The male prisoners are given a piece of cloth, not bigger than a Gamcha, 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 chittaks 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 punishments. 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, 13 miles from Waini Bikasi. The Burra Agent never visits the Estates. The Chhota Agent comes once every 6 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 of quite reasonable but rather light. On another occasion when he came to enquire into the complaints of 15 Madraisis about the cutting of wages and when they asked him to examine the Estate's private diary 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 13 Punjabee labourers who had long hair on their heads. 12 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 shillings 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 especially my wife suffered at the hands of a white Overseer and an Indian Sardar named Ram Hari Singh, but it resulted in nothing. Wherefore 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 £5. 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 Madasi 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 a 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 expense 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 Government. ~~He gets 1 lb. of rice worth 3d., 1 lb. of fish (cost 6d.) 1 lb. of sugar (cost 2d.) Tea, milk & sugar worth 1d., biscuits worth 3d., 1 lb. of fat (cost 6d.) or 1 lb. of oil (cost 6d.) 1 lb. of tobacco worth 1d. Thus the total cost of the daily food of a Fijian labourer comes to 2s. 1 1/2d. 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 prosecuted. 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 can not 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 or £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 factorywallas 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 burnt. On the death of a free man permission for burial 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 24 feet is given for the purpose. Graves are dug too close to each other; the space between 2 graves being 4 or 5 inches.

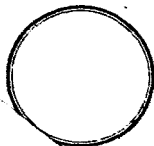
37. That there are no charitable hospitals or dispensaries for the free Indians. They have to pay 10 shillings for doctor's fee and 2 shillings daily for other expenses in the Government free hospital for Fijians at Waini Bikasi. Many Indians get leprosy and they are removed to a Leper Asylum far away 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 S. S. Mutla. 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.

Declared before me at Calcutta this 24th day of August 1915.

Sd. AMULYA CHANDRA DUTT,
Presidency Magistrate,
Calcutta.

1042



Seal of the Chief Presidency Magistrate's Court Calcutta.



Left thumb impression of Jal Chandra.
Explained and identified by me.

Sd. PRA YATH FOS,
Pleader, Police Court,
Calcutta.

**Declaration of Kunti Chamarin, a returned Emigrant woman from Fiji, made
before a Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta.**

I, Kunti Chamarin, wife of Jal Chamar, resident of Lakhuapakar, P.O. Belghat, District Gorakhpur, at present residing at No. 160, Harrison Road, Calcutta, do solemnly affirm and declare as follows :-

That about six years ago, I and my husband started from home for Chowmukhbainar, a village in Nepal Terai, but we lost our way and came near the Gorakhpur Railway Station where we met an Ekkawala.

That we enquired of the Ekkawala how we could reach Barhni Station to go to Chowmukhbainar, whereupon the Ekkawala said that his sister was married in that village and he too was going there. He further said that he was a Chamar by caste and invited us to accompany him to his house and then to go together with him. The name of the Ekkawala was Kharwan.

That the Ekkawala took us to a house where we had to stay for about a fortnight. I often used to ask why we were being detained and insisted upon going without any further delay, but the man put us off from day to day on some excuse or other.

That there were some 15 or 20 other men and women in that house but they were not allowed to speak with one another. On my asking the reason of this I was told that it was no business of mine to ask such questions.

That 2 Sahibs used to visit the place and one night at about 9 O'clock, the Ekkawala and the Sahibs took us to a small Bungalow. When I asked why we were being taken to the Bungalow, Kharwan said that we could not go anywhere without being registered.

That at the Bungalow a Sahib felt our pulse and another Sahib asked us whether we were willing to go, to which we replied in the affirmative, thinking that he was asking us about our going to Chowmukhbainar.

That the following night we were entrained and told that we would be taken to Barhni. Kharwan the Ekkawala, the 2 Sahibs and a Musalman came with us. We had no previous experience of Railway journey.

That one night after 2 or 3 days' journey we alighted from the train and taken by boat across a river to a big house where 10 to 20 women at a time were stripped of their clothes by a Mehtar woman and made to bathe.

That before bathing, Kharwan took off all my ornaments and my husband's clothes and shoes. The clothes we put off before bathing were taken away by the Mehtar woman.

That in that big house there was a large number of men and women, both Hindus and Musalmans, who had all to take their meals at the same place without distinction of caste or religion and every one was given a tin plate and an earthen pot. This pot had to be used in the privy also.

That in the big house Kharwan and others advised me that when the Gran Sahib (Governor of Emigrants) would ask me where I was going, I should say that I wanted to go and earn my living.

That the next day when the Gran Sahib came and the women were made to stand in a line, I began to tremble with fear whereupon Kharwan took me aside and said that there was no cause of fear.

That Kharwan told me that I was to say yes when the Sahib would ask me if I was going to Fiji and that I would be sent to jail if I would take the name of any other place. The Gran Sahib asked me to go and left the place, but coming to know in the way, that I was to go to a different place and not to Chowmukhbainar, I used to weep day and night.

That we were kept in the big house for about a month and during this period I heard many men ask the single women to live with them in illegal union in Fiji.

That on the day previous to our embarkation, the Gran Sahib came again and gave a Dhotie and a bag to each of the Coolies. The Dhotie was too short to cover the body. On the following day we were made to embark at 10 A. M. on board the steamer Sungola No. 1.

That there were several free men also in the steamer who related their experience of the troubles of the indentured labourers in the colony. Hearing the story, 8 men jumped overboard and the women among whom there were many belonging to respectable families wept bitterly.

That on board the steamer our morning meal consisted of a pound of cooked rice, six sevenths of which was water and one seventh rice, together with half a pound of Dal, as thin as water, a spoonful of dried fish and a little bit of tamarind. The evening meal was supplied at 4 P. M. and it consisted of tinned beef, the same quantity of beef as in the morning and a spoonful of potato and onion.

That my husband was allotted the work of a cook in the steamer and I often used to go into the kitchen where I always saw tins of beef with pictures of cows on the labels. From this as well as from the taste of the meat I knew that it was beef. Being of the Chamar caste, I was somewhat accustomed to beef eating in this country and I knew the tastes of different kinds of meat.

That twice a week, namely, on Tuesdays and Saturdays, we used to get 4 or 4 small Chapatis. On Saturdays we used to get goat's flesh and on Sundays some Chura also. Those who objected to eating tinned meat were told that it was goat's flesh and that they would suffer in health if they would not take it. Those who asked for more food than was ordinarily given were beaten. Drinking water was supplied twice daily, a *lots* in the morning and another *lots* in the evening. The Brahmims threw their sacred thread and their prayer books into the sea.

That after a voyage of a month and five days we reached Suva from where we were sent to the Nuklao Depot by boat. Here the coolies were allotted to the different estates. In this depot beef was thrown on the plates of those who refused to eat it on board the steamer.

That from the Nuklao Depot I and my husband were sent to Wain Bakasi where we got a room to live in. There were some single men also with us and one room for each three of them was allotted without distinction of caste or religion. The women were given a knife and a Kudali each and sent to work in the fields.

That men of different castes have to live, cook their food and eat in one and the same room. No objections on the score of caste or religion are taken any notice of and the labourers are told that they must live there in that condition for five years.

That a bell is given at 3 A. M. when the coolies have to get up from sleep and cook their food to be ready for work by 5 A. M. Those who fail to get up are punished at 5 A. M. by the Sirdars and all have to work from 5 A. M. to 5 P. M. in the fields except those who work under the task system.

That the work assigned to the labourers under the task system is heavy and a man of strong physique requires 8 or 9 hours continuous work to finish it. A man of ordinary physique cannot do it in less than 12 hours, from 5 A. M. to 5 P. M. and for this he gets a shilling for his wages. But if a man fails to finish his task in a day he must work on the following day and finish it to be entitled to a shilling.

That ordinary Indian clothes are not strong enough for field work in the colony and labourers have therefore to buy suitable clothes, the cost of which is advanced by the employers and realised later on. A woman labourer requires 4 coats, 3 lahengas and 4 uranis for a year's use. Each coat costs 4 shillings, lahenga 9 shillings and urani 2½ shillings. We had to borrow £3 from the Manager of the Estate for clothes on our arrival there.

That those who are considered unfit for field work or lazy are ordered to cleanse the privies, regardless of their castes, but they have no option but to do it as otherwise they are beaten by the Sirdars and Overseers, prosecuted and fined or sent to jail.

That in the fields the labourers have to work under the control and supervision of the Overseers and the Sardars and are treated very roughly by them in many ways on the most flimsy pretexts. They are assaulted severely and deductions are made from their wages.

That new labourers are given rations by the Estates during the first six months of their service and the price is deducted from their wages. But the quantity of food articles given for a week, namely, either 10 pounds of flour or 10 pounds of rice, 1½ pound of Dal, 2½ chittaks sugar, ½ pound salt, a little ghee or mustard oil and some spices, is not sufficient for more than five days' consumption. No fish or flesh is given during these six months. After our first six months of service, I and my husband used to buy 12 lbs. of rice and 15 lbs. flour, 4 lbs. Dal, 1 lb. ghee, as also 3d. worth of mustard oil, 2d. worth of vegetables and 1d. worth of salt for our one week's consumption which cost us 9s. 6d. Unless a labourer takes ghee in Fiji his health deteriorates and he soon falls ill.

That the maximum wages a man can earn in a week of 5½ days is 5s. 6d. and a woman 4s. 3d. But very few can earn their full wages on account of frequent deductions and fines and many people therefore find it extremely difficult to procure even the bare necessities of life with their earnings and run into debt.

That women labourers find it extremely difficult to preserve their chastity and honour from the immoral overtures constantly made by the Sardars and Overseers. Refusal to comply with their wishes results in all sorts of oppression.

That during the first 4 years of my service I was not molested by any one as the then Sirdar of the factory where I was employed was not a man of that sort. My troubles began in the 5th year when a new Sirdar named Ram Harakh Singh and a Sahib overseer came. The Sahib made immoral proposals to me sometimes through the Sirdar and sometimes directly.

That on my repeatedly and indignantly refusing to ruin my chastity, the Sahib and the Sirdar ordered me to work alone in a field at a distance from the other coolies, so that no one might hear my cries or come to my rescue, in case I was outraged. Besides, my wages were also cut.

That one day the Overseer came to the field where I was working alone and wanted forcibly to violate my chastity whereupon I ran away crying for help and jumped into the river which was 2 or 3 chains off from the place. A boatman named Jagdeo was in his boat at the time. He raised me into his boat and landed me on other side of the river.

That I complained to the Manager of the estate but he paid no heed. I was pregnant at the time but an abortion took place on the following day and I lay unconscious in my room till mid-day.

That both I and my husband then saw the Head Manager and his Assistant and requested that my agreement might be cancelled to which they agreed. But hearing this the Overseer threatened to resign and got a few other indentured labourers to come to the Sahib and put forward similar requests. The Manager thereupon refused to cancel my agreement.

That the Sirdar ordered me under the Overseer's instructions to dig ground at Nandawa near the latter's bungalow with a heavy implement called fork which is not given to women. Accordingly when I was thus employed, the Overseer used to come to the field every day to see my work and struck me mercilessly either with a whip or a stick regularly every day for two weeks. The duties were to dig up to the depth of the forks. The duties were to dig up to the depth of the forks. The duties were to dig up to the depth of the forks.

That I saw the Durra Coolie Agent half a dozen times. On four occasions my husband accompanied me and twice I went alone. I laid all my grievances before him and the Durra Coolie Agent came two or three times. But every time he went away without making any thorough enquiry. Seeing that no redress could be had there, I sent a letter to the Bharat Mitra newspaper of Calcutta.

That sometime after this the Coolie Agent came to me and enquired if I had sent any letter to any newspaper in India to which I answered in the affirmative. My husband was also questioned on the subject and he corroborated my statement. He was then asked to deny all knowledge of

AN APPEAL
ON BEHALF OF THE INDIANS
IN EAST AFRICA.

BY
A. M. JEEVANJEE.

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FOREWORD.

THE publication of this booklet needs no apology ; nay, a hundred more volumes of similar nature are absolutely needed, as long as the grievances of the Indians in East Africa are a living fact. As I told the correspondent of a London Daily, I am not an "agitator." Politics has never been my proper sphere of action. I have spent the major portion of my life in the calmer atmosphere of commerce and business. I have grown gray not in delivering stirring speeches before 'listening Senates;' but in building up stone walls and constructing railway lines. With such a past career, I would not have ventured to pose as a spokesman of my Indian brothers in East Africa. But, to confess the whole truth, I felt very keenly the humiliating condition of my fellow countrymen ; I could not bear to see with philosophic calmness the unequal and unjustifiable treatment, meted out to them by the "white population" in East Africa. I could not bear to witness, with patience, the tremendous harm, that is being done to the noble ideal of Imperialism by a policy of colour-hatred. And, hence, I decided to speak—to raise my voice, however feeble, on behalf of my countrymen, at all events. I had an occasion to visit England in the autumn of 1910. There, while replying to a toast at a friendly entertainment, I happened to make a few passing remarks, regarding the condition and the status of Indians in East Africa. Those remarks, it seems, attracted notice of the Press ; and immediately after the entertainment, a correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle* called upon me with a view to elicit a fuller statement of our grievances in the Crown Colony of East Africa. Of course, I felt it my duty to voice forth our complaint, though I knew it would cause a wild flutter in the Official circle. I explained to the correspondent the whole situation in East Africa as best as I could. I told him how the British Indians, the loyal subjects of King George

could not purchase certain plots of land, which were offered for sale to persons only "of European origin;" how the Indians, were not to enter a certain market in Nairobi; how the Indians, with a second class ticket, could not enjoy the ordinary comforts and conveniences, that are provided to a white passenger. In short, I detailed to the correspondent, all the disabilities and disadvantages imposed upon my countrymen. And it is a matter of common knowledge that the *Daily Chronicle* published a full account of the interview in three consecutive issues and also devoted an Editorial to the matter under the characteristic head-line "Imperialism on trial." The publication of our grievances caused a certain amount of sensation in the English Press and could not fail to evoke a mild outburst of sympathy "for our Indian fellow citizens" and also called forth adverse criticism on the manner in which the Crown Colony of British East Africa was being governed. All this comment attracted the attention of the Colonial Office. In course of time, the Home papers reached the white people in East Africa and aroused their "righteous" indignation. The African Press poured their vials of wrath on my devoted head; and I was made a subject of interpellations in the Local Legislative Council, of which I have the honour to be the Indian member. A perusal of the following pages will show how the Honourable member has couched his interpellations, distorting and misrepresenting the statements I had made, and how the real questions at issue have been either avoided or obscured in the official replies. This problem, as I have stated above, was first placed before the British Public by the able representative of the *Daily Chronicle*; and I thought I could not present the subject to the Indian public in a better form than by reproducing the *Daily Chronicle* reports in the first part of this book. The skilful pen of the writer in the *Daily Chronicle* has put the case so lucidly that I have no doubt that it will appeal to readers far more effectually than any artificial attempt at eloquence. The second part contains extracts from the comments of the Press in England, India and Africa. It must be said to the credit of many

British newspapers, that they did not allow themselves to be swayed by racial considerations in expressing their honest opinion on this subject. My sincere thanks are due to the *Daily Chronicle* and other journals who have thus helped the cause of unfortunate Indians. In the third part I have reproduced the full report of the Council interpellations with official replies which were intended to discredit my statements and to serve as a counter blast against the Indian complaints. I have also reproduced my reply to these Council interpellations, wherein I have exposed the hollowness and artfulness of the attempt made to discredit my statements.

Here I cannot omit to mention with gratitude the valuable service, the London Branch of the All India Moslem League has rendered to the cause of British Indians in East Africa. Soon after the publication of our grievances in the *Daily Chronicle* the Committee of the London Branch thought it to be their bounden duty to take up the matter in hand, as Mahomedans constituted a considerable portion of the Indian community in East Africa. The Committee made a representation to the Colonial Office stating our case with vigour and emphasis. Whatever the effect the representation may have had on the Colonial Secretary, I cannot but express my heartfelt thanks to the Committee for their help and sympathy. I know that the League is a Sectarian body; and that it represents only the Mahomedan interests in India. There is also the Indian National Congress, which speaks in the name of All Indian Communities taken together without regard to their caste or creed. But the question of the treatment of Indians in Africa is one, on which both the bodies are completely at one. In fact I know no Indian Association which does not view the situation in East Africa exactly in the same light in which the London Committee has viewed it. I have therefore, included the Committee's representation in these pages.

My object in reprinting all this varied literature in a book-form is quite obvious. I wish to protest as loudly as I can against the spirit of colour-hatred that is so rampant among the

white population in Africa. "It would be a pretty sight," exclaimed a white paper (the Leader of the British East Africa) while winding up a violent diatribe against me, "It would be a pretty sight for Gods to see at one and the same time British people paramount in India and Indian people paramount in a British Colony, plated there by a regiment of dragoons from England!" This one sentence sums up the attitude of the white population towards the Indians. Oh Lord! what insolence of tone and language; misrepresentation and distortion cannot go further. Have the Indians ever claimed paramount power in an African colony? Have they clamoured for special rights and special privileges? Have they ever sought to shut out other races from enjoyment of their proper share of social good? Have I made impossible or unreasonable demands in the statement of our case? No. We never claimed preferential treatment. The most that we have asked and shall continue to ask is equal treatment and equal opportunities. "Treat us like *human beings*" is the long and short of our contentions. Now, is it indeed a crime to pray for being treated like men? Our claim for better treatment is based on the solid rock of equity and justice. Our case is much stronger than that of our countrymen in South Africa who are struggling so hard for justice. In the words of the Commissioner of Lands "the Indians have been in East Africa for many generations—they came long before the Europeans. They have constructed the Uganda Railway which is such an important factor in the development of the country. All the Trading wealth is in the hands of the Indians." The country of East Africa, considering its climatic condition is not suited for an exclusive European Colony. The country is not a self-governing member of the Empire but a Crown Colony, whose policy is laid down and guided by the Imperial Government in England. One can imagine the difficulties of the Home Government in enforcing a certain policy upon a self-governing Colony. But here the matter rests entirely with the Colonial Office and the Imperial Government. Last but not the least, the Indians are British subjects. I shall not anticipate the subsequent chapters

but is it correct logic to argue in all seriousness that the Indians have forfeited their right to a just and equitable treatment because the British people hold paramount power in India ?

The white settlers in British Africa (whose number is nearly 2,000 as against 25,000 Indians) are, mainly speaking, immigrants from other African Colonies. They have learnt there to regard Indians as "undesirables." They are thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the racial superiority of the white. It is thus quite in the nature of things that they should look upon their Indian fellow subjects as an intolerable evil. They want Indian Labourers to work for them in their fields, but they are quite impatient of the presence of the Indian Traders and other professional men who compete with them most successfully. As matters stand now it is not a hopeful task to argue and convince these white settlers of the justice of our claims. We therefore, appeal to the conscience and the sense of justice not of the interested white Africans but of the British people and the Imperial Government in England. We regret that English Politicians cannot correctly imagine how disastrous and mischievous are the results of the policy of squeezing out the Indians. Here in India we are proud of the British connection. We are proud of being the citizens of an empire over which the Sun never sets. We are conscious of innumerable blessings that the British Rule has conferred on India. We have been taught to believe that the name of British Rule stands for justice and equality. And we have always cherished a hope that sooner or later it is destined to rise to a proud position of a self-governing nation under the British paramountcy. Now is the treatment of Indians consistent with our beliefs and hopes ? Is the policy of "squeezing out Indians" in East Africa consistent with the highest conception of the Empire ? Let those who hold the future destinies of the great Empire in the hollow of their palms, answer.

I have observed above, that our case rests on a different footing altogether from that of the Indians in other colonies.

We have watched, the whole world has watched, with utmost interest and warmest sympathy, the peaceful but resolute struggle in which the *passive resisters*, fighting under the banner of Mr. Gandhi, are manfully engaged for years together, in South Africa. We have read, not without aching heart, harrowing accounts of the suffering and the misery inflicted upon them by the man-made law. We have heard how the Australians are throwing up new fences and new barriers in the way of all Asiatics, (Indians included) seeking admission into their land. The great colony of Canada is not an exception. The Indians there have to tell the same doleful tale of ill-treatment. In all these self-governing Colonies, however, Indians are fighting a constitutional fight against the jealousy and the selfishness of the white races. There the Indians have taken their stand on their right as the citizens of the British Empire. They claim equal treatment because they are the *fellow citizens* of the white settlers, and no Englishman unbiassed by prejudice and unblinded by paltry self-interest, will deny the justice of their claim. But if the claim of the Indians in other colonies is just, ours is hundred times so, for, we have gone to a country, not already developed by white people, on the contrary, it is we, the Indians alone, who have *made and developed the deserts* of East Africa, and had it not been for Indian labour and Indian enterprize, East Africa would never have been what it is to-day.

If you consider the old history of East Africa, the justice of our demands will be still more clear to you. Only before a few decades this tract of land owned the sway of the Sultan of Zanzibar who being brother of the Sultan of Muscat was in every sense an Asiatic and evidently we have all along been claiming East Africa to be an Asiatic Power. No European settlers had till recently set their foot on the land nor did they at all seem to know that the land in East Africa could be exploited with profit. It is the Indian traders who have been trading there for the last 300 years and it is they and they alone who have done the work of exploitation and development of the country's resources and further it is owing to this that

Great Britain was tempted to send her representative as Consul General to East Africa to represent herself there and further more it is through the influence of the Indian traders that Great Britain succeeded in obtaining the lease of the territory from the Sultan of Zanzibar and it is only very lately that the country has come under the British flag. Now I ask is it right, that those very British subjects who cleared the way for Great Britain to enter the country, who have done the pioneer work, who have converted the hopeless desert into a fertile field and a useful mart for the world's wares, should be regarded by the microscopic minority of the white settlers as undesirables and niggers to be boycotted and got rid of ?

We welcomed the white settlers into the country which owed its making exclusively to our efforts and in spite of that these white settlers have been doing their utmost to shut out the Indians and reap the fruits of their labour without allowing a share to them. They want the whole country left to themselves. They want to rid themselves any how of the Indian competitor. Is this I ask, in consonance with justice and morality ? We advance our claim not as *mere citizens* of the Empire but also *first makers* of the land. Is it therefore right to try to push the Indians out in order to make it a whiteman's colony which however as has been admitted, is bound to be a failure as the climate in any part of East Africa is not suited for the white people ? The question therefore is whether the paternal Government in England is going to support them in their utterly absurd, unjust and unpracticable demand or whether they will be true to the noble principles of liberalism and justice. We, British Indians, who have such vast interests in Africa, who have adopted East Africa as *our country* and made it *our home* cannot afford to run away at the mere approach of the white bullies. We turn to the Imperial Government for help and protection against the white tyranny. We appeal to the conscience of the great democracy in England and crave their attention to our grievances. We hope and confidently trust they will not turn a deaf ear to our demand for justice. We don't want the whole country to ourselves.

We do not want the whole people to go away. We want to "live and let live." What we want is equal rights and equal treatment. Let not Government take sides, make distinction with the white and coloured races, let the Government of East Africa deal equal justice to all and equal opportunities to all without distinction of caste, creed and colour. I would go even so far as to advocate the annexation of this African territory to the Indian Empire. It had been an Asiatic Kingdom in ancient time and although the rules and regulations obtaining there are those obtaining in India it will be more beneficial to Great Britain if it is placed directly under the control of the Indian Government instead of the Colonial Office, with provincial Government under the Indian Viceroy. If this is done East Africa will assuredly become Second India in no time.

I have already placed my case before the authorities and the democracy of England. The Moslem League has pleaded our cause. I hope, our prayers have not been a cry in the wilderness ; our voice has not fallen on deaf ears. But we cannot afford to rest till our grievances are not redressed. The Indians in East Africa will know no rest till they make their voice heard ; till they secure redress. But we want people of India to take up this matter and press it on the attention of the British Government in England. It is not a cause in which the Indians in East Africa alone are concerned ; but it is a matter in which the large questions of the status and the position of all Indians in the Empire are involved. If, therefore, the National Congress and other Indian Associations will take up this righteous cause in right earnest and help us to approach the solution of a somewhat difficult problem, their brethren in East Africa—that small fragment of the Indian Nation on the other side of the Arabian sea—will ever remain grateful to them and I shall feel my humble efforts amply rewarded.

BOMBAY,

22nd February 1912.

A. M. JEEVANJEE.

CHAPTER I.

Daily Chronicle, 1st September, 1910.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

AMAZING ACTION OF THE COLONIAL OFFICE.

SUICIDAL POLICY.

Our Empire builders are not all of one race or colour or creed. Take the man who has practically founded the Colony of British East Africa. He is a Mohammedan from Bombay and Karachi, who has built up an enormous business in that country; yet he is a loyal subject of King George, and as enthusiastic an Imperialist as you would find in a day's march.

Sheth Alibhoy Mulla Jeevanjee has just been made a member of the Legislative Council of British East Africa. He thoroughly deserves, and has thoroughly earned, that position. Just now he is over in Europe acting as a sort of commercial traveller for his adopted country, at the request of the Nairobi Agricultural Department. Yesterday he was kind enough to talk over the position and prospects of the country with one of our representatives.

Mr. Jeevanjee has developed in a remarkable degree the aptitude of the Oriental races for business organization, and for adapting oneself to one's surroundings. The firm of A. M. Jeevanjee and Co. is known all down the East Coast of Africa as

contractors, shipowners, and general merchants. He controls two lines of steamships, one providing a regular service between Mauritius and Bombay, and the other—the “Bombay-Hadzaz Company”—which carries pilgrims from Bombay to Jeddah.

But it is in British East Africa that Mr. Jeevanjee's chief interests are to be found and it is there that his heart evidently is.

“It is one of the most wonderful countries in the world,” he said, “and there is not a single product of commercial value that cannot be obtained there. Our cotton fetches the highest price in the market—it is equal to the best Egyptian—and the export of it is continually increasing. We produce the best rubber in the world. There are minerals in plenty waiting to be developed. Large deposits of manganese have just been discovered. On the coast line we can grow all sorts of tropical fruits, while on the uplands wheat, maize, beans, and potatoes do well.”

“The country is there, and it is only waiting for two things to bring about its full development. And these are European capital and Indian labour. It is not a white man's country in the sense that white men can perform hard and continual manual labour. But for our Indian fellow-citizens it offers infinite possibilities.”

Then Mr. Jeevanjee went on to unfold a story to our representative which would be ludicrously incredible, were it not that it was told by a man who has the best possible means of knowing its truth, and who could support it by documentary evidence.

INDIANS MARKED DOWN.

“A deliberate attempt is being made to debar us from any share in the commerce and agriculture of the country,” he said. “We are marked down because of our race and colour.”

“ Yet it must be remembered that no less than 85 per cent. of the trade of British East Africa is in the hands of Indians. I have been in the country for twenty years—I may almost say I have made the country. All the best property in Nairobi belongs to me. I built all the Government buildings and leased them to the Administration. I built all the hospitals and post offices between Mombasa and Port Florence. I was the sole contractor on the Uganda Railway while it was building, and provided rations, for the 25,000 coolies engaged in making the line.

Taking the whole of Uganda, I should say that the proportion of Indians to Europeans is as twelve to one. In fact, it may be said that they practically carry on the country. In Nairobi they pay practically the whole of the taxes, and own nearly the whole of the town.

Here Mr. Jeevanjee handed to our representative copies of notices which have recently appeared in the Official Gazette, signed “ Acting Commissioner of Lands.” One notice offers certain plots of land in the Rewero township, and this is one of the conditions :—

Plots may only be leased by persons of European origin.

The same notice appears in the condition of sale of Government lands at Nairobi Hill.

“ What does this mean ?” asked our representative.

“ It means,” replied Mr. Jeevanjee, “ that we are not to be allowed to purchase land in our own country. Any white man may—although he may be a German or an Italian or a Greek. But we—the subjects of King George—are shut out.”

“ But this is not all,” he continued. “ Look at this. It is a copy of the rules and bye-laws for the regulation of the produce market at Nairobi. And there are among the provisions :—

The market master shall not accept produce for sale from any but European or American consignors.

Non-Europeans may not enter the market house unless authorised by European employers to act on their behalf.

The market master shall not accept the bid of any non-European before satisfying himself that such bidder is duly authorised in writing to purchase on behalf of a European.

“These rules are issued in a town where practically the whole of the business is carried on by us Indians. Can you imagine anything more absurd? Here am I in London representing the commercial interests of Uganda, Mombasa and Nairobi, and doing my best to open up new markets for their produce, and yet if I go into the market at Nairobi I must not buy a hundred bushels of maize unless I am authorised in writing to act for some European. Indeed, I may not even enter the market unless I have some such authorisation in my pocket. And I must not send a bale of cotton or a pound of rubber from my farms to the market.”

KILLING THE COLONY.

“But what is the real reason for this?” asked our representative.

“The real reason,” replied Mr. Jeevanjee, “is that an endeavour is being seriously made to prevent any but white people living and trading in British East Africa. If for no other reason, this policy is a suicidal one, because the country can only be developed by coloured labour. It cannot be colonised by Europeans. Let it be opened to us, and in a very few years it will become a second India, and a source of strength to the Empire.

“I say nothing about the action of the South African Union towards us. But the case of British East Africa is entirely different. We are already there. We have made the

country. We have created enormous interests there. And now there is nothing but stagnation —and there will be nothing but stagnation in the future, if this policy is persisted in.

“I am a loyal subject of the King. I am proud to be a citizen of the British Empire, My whole interests are bound up with Uganda. It is my home, and I have done my little best to build it up and make it a useful and valuable part of the British dominions. And I have nothing to say against the Imperial Government. But I do hope they will consider whether the policy of driving loyal subjects of the Crown out of the country which they have made is one which is likely to add to the strength of the Empire.

“I have no sympathy with the agitation which is going on among a section of the people in India. But can you wonder at it, when the people of our race receive treatment like this? So far as I am personally concerned, the matter does not affect me as it does some of my fellow-countrymen. Fortunately, I am in a position to be independent of what may happen in British East Africa. But that does not alter the fact that I feel the present position acutely.”

Another matter referred to by Mr. Jeevanjee was the treatment of Indians on the Lake steamers. The steamers running to and from Lake Victoria are controlled entirely by Indians, and most of the freight and passengers are supplied by them. Yet they are not treated with the consideration of second class passengers, even though they may have purchased a second class ticket. They are not provided with pillows, blankets, and mattresses, as in the case of the Europeans.

At the close of our chat, Mr. Jeevanjee showed our representative samples of many of the products of the country. But, as he says, he is quite uncertain as to what he shall do in the future, until he has ascertained what will be the effect of the new regulations on the commerce of his adopted country.

{We shall deal further with the subject at a later date.—
Ed., “D. C.”}

Daily Chronicle, 2nd September, 1910.

'NO INDIAN NEED APPLY.'

EAST AFRICA POLICY OF EXCLUSION.

MR. CHURCHILL

SUGGESTS WHAT MAY BE A SOLUTION.

The questions raised in the interview we printed yesterday with Mr. A. M. Jeevanjee are of importance, not only to the British Empire, but to the whole world.

Are the brown and yellow races of Asia, swarming as they do in their own countries, to be denied access to the empty places of the earth, which are crying out for population? On the other hand, can the white races live and thrive beside those which are brown or yellow?

This is one of the great problems which confront the administration of an Empire like ours. Indeed, an official at the Colonial Office yesterday told our representative who went to seek information as to the statements made by Mr. Jeevanjee, that it was by far the most difficult problem of all, and that it was every day becoming more acute. Trouble has long been brewing in the East Africa Protectorate. In August 1907 the Land Board of the Protectorate recommended that Indian immigration be discouraged as much as possible, and that no Government land be allotted to Indians. This resolution was transmitted to Lord Elgin by Mr. Montgomery, the Commissioner of Lands, but in doing so the Commissioner felt it to be his duty to point out several facts to the Colonial Secretary:—

(a) Indians have been in the country for many generations, and came long before the Europeans.

(b) The Uganda railway (the greatest factor in the development of the country) was made by Indian labour. But for such labour it would never have been constructed at all.

(c) Most of the trading wealth of the country is in the hands of the Indians.

(d) Finally, Indians are British subjects.

Lord Elgin's views on the matter were laid down in a dispatch sent to the Governor on March 19, 1908 :—

With regard to the granting of land to Indians, it is not consonant with the views of his Majesty's Government to impose legal restrictions on any particular section of the community, but as a matter of administrative convenience, grants should not be made to Indians in the upland areas.

COLOUR THE DOMINANT QUESTION.

Mr. Winston Churchill, when Under Secretary for the Colonies, paid a visit to the East Africa Protectorate, and was brought into immediate contact with this great problem. He refers to it in the book which he wrote describing his experiences in that country. "Colour is already the dominant question at Nairobi," says Mr. Churchill. "'We mean to make East Africa a white man's country,' cries in strident tones the Colonists' Association on every occasion."

"It is the brown man who is the rival," Mr. Churchill goes on. The middle stage in the economic system must provide white society with the means of earning—as professional men, as planters, merchants, traders, farmers, bankers, overseers, contractors, builders, engineers, accountants, clerks—a living for themselves and their families. To quote Mr. Churchill :—

Here strikes in the Asiatic. In every single employment of his class, his power of subsisting upon a few shillings a month, his industry, his thrift, his sharp busi-

ness aptitudes give him the economic superiority; and if the economic superiority is to be the final rule—as it never has been and never will be in the history of the world—there is not a single employment of this middle class from which he will not to a very large extent clear the white man, as surely and as remorselessly as the brown rat extirpated the black from British soil.

This, says Mr. Churchill, is the nightmare which haunts the white population of Africa. He goes on to deal with the other side:—

How stands the claim of the British Indian? His rights as a human being, his rights as a British subject, are equally engaged. It was the Sikh soldier who bore an honourable part in the conquest and pacification of these East African countries. It is the Indian trader who, penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no white man could go or in which no white man could earn a living, has more than anyone else developed the early beginnings of trade and opened up the first slender means of communication.

Is it possible for any Government with a scrap of respect for honest dealing between man and man to embark upon a policy of deliberately squeezing out the native of India from regions in which he has established himself under every security of good faith? Most of all we ask is such a policy possible to the Government which bears sway over three hundred millions of our Indian Empire?

WHAT MR. CHURCHILL PROPOSES.

And is it, after all, beyond our reach to provide, if not a perfect, at any rate a practical answer? There ought to be no insuperable difficulty, in the present state of political knowledge and social organisation, in assigning different spheres to the external activity of different races. The great Powers have partitioned Africa terri-

torially. Is it beyond the wit of man to divide it economically? The co-operation of many kinds of men is needed for the cultivation of such a noble estate. Is it impossible to regulate in full and intricate detail the conditions under which that co-operation shall take place? Here white men can live and thrive; there they cannot. Here is a task for one; there is opportunity for another. The world is big enough. There is plenty of room for all. Why cannot we settle it fairly?

At the Colonial Office yesterday our representative was informed that the ordinances complained of by Mr. Jeevanjee were issued by the local authorities, but that nothing was known of them in Downing street. The policy with regard to the selling and leasing of land was laid down by Lord Elgin in the dispatch which is quoted above.

At the same time, it was admitted at the Colonial Office that the uplands between Mombasa and Port Florence were to be reserved for white settlers. This area was, it was mentioned, about 4,000 square miles in extent. Here no land was to be sold or leased to Indians.

With reference to the conditions mentioned in the notice of sale of town plots in Nairobi, it was stated that the municipal authorities desired to keep the houses of the white residents away from those of the Indian residents on the ground of danger from plague.

“But,” said the Colonial Office official, “we cannot speak with any certainty on these matters. They are in the hands of the Governor of the Protectorate, and if Mr. Jeevanjee will put his complaints in writing, we will send them out to the Governor at once, who will attend to them.”

Seen by our representative in the afternoon, Mr. Jeevanjee said he had already, three weeks ago, laid his complaints before the Colonial Office. Dealing with the replies made to our representative, he took the case of the notice of

the sale of plots in the Sixth Avenue, Nairobi. One of the conditions of sale ran :—

Any plot sold shall not be used as a place of a residence for Asiatics or natives who are not domestic servants in the employ of the lessee.

“ You are told,” said Mr. Jeevanjee, “ that Asiatics are not to be permitted to live beside Europeans. Why, these very plots which are offered in Sixth Avenue are surrounded by my land on every side, on which Indians live already.”

“ PUSHING US OUT.”

“ I am afraid this explanation will not do,” he went on. “ A deliberate policy of pushing us out of the country is being pursued. Let me give you one or two incidents which force me to believe this. Some time ago I applied for the lease of land at Port Florence for the purpose of starting a sugar plantation. This place is altogether unfitted as a residence for Europeans, but I could have employed many hundreds of Indians, brought trade to the country, and freight to the railway. Yet my application was refused.

“ Again, a young friend of mine—an Englishman—wanted to start an artificial manure factory, for which there is a great opening in the Protectorate. I explained to him that if I found him the capital he would be prejudiced under the present state of affairs. So he tried to get it elsewhere, but failed.

“ Then he came to me again, and I promised to finance him. The authorities objected to the factory being put up in Nairobi on hygienic grounds. I happened to have some land at Mombasa, three miles from the town, and with no dwellings near it. But the authorities would not allow us to build.”

“ Why ?”

“ Because I am an Indian. I can conceive no other reason.”

It may be mentioned that when Mr. Winston Churchill was at Nairobi the only house in which he could be entertained was one belonging to Mr. Jeevanjee.

Daily Chronicle, 3rd September 1910.

MORE HINDU GRIEVANCES.

DEBARRED FROM MAGISTRACY AND TRIAL
BY JURY.

EFFECT IN INDIA.

THERE is one aspect of the situation in British East Africa that has not been touched upon in the statements made in these columns yesterday and on Thursday, and that is the effect which a full knowledge of the facts would have upon the native population in India. Mr. Jeevanjee, it is hardly necessary to repeat, is a loyal British subject, devoted to Imperial interests. He is not an agitator, but a man who is seeking earnestly a solution of a delicate and difficult problem. He is very hopeful that such a solution will be found, for he does not desire that there shall be any clashing of interests between the British Government and its Indian subjects. Mr. Jeevanjee's policy is to promote peace, but he says that if the treatment of their compatriots in British East Africa were widely known amongst the people of India, the results might be serious.

The problem is a many-sided one, and some fresh aspects of it were touched upon by Mr. Jeevanjee in an interview yesterday with a *Daily Chronicle* representative. The Emigration Act was first mentioned.

"This Act," said Mr. Jeevanjee, "was passed with a view to preventing the landing of Europeans short of money. An emigrant in that position was provided with his passage money, and sent back to his own country. The Act is now being directed against Indians, but with a difference—the Indians are never provided with their passage when sent back to their

own country—I do not know of a single instance in which an Indian, who has been sent back to his native land because he was without funds, has been given his passage money.”

There are other and serious points in which a differentiation is made between the Indian and the European to the disadvantage of the Indian.

NO TRIAL BY JURY.

“For instance,” said Mr. Jeevanjee, “Europeans, but not Indians, have the right to be tried by jury. That does not appear to be a fair or justifiable differentiation. I think it is not an extravagant demand that, in important cases at least, especially charges of murder, there should be a mixed jury, composed of the nationality of the accused and that of the person, or persons, at whose instance the prosecution is instituted. In Uganda, Indians serve on juries in cases affecting their fellow-countrymen, and there seems no valid reason why the same practice should not prevail in the British East Africa Protectorate. The fact that Indians have not the right to be tried by jury prevents them putting their cases properly before the courts.”

A recent ordinance has been passed whereby the Governor may appoint “any resident of the Protectorate, being a British subject of European extraction, to be a justice of the peace for the Protectorate or any district thereof.”

“There is something peculiarly invidious about this ordinance,” said Mr. Jeevanjee. “The wording of it would seem to disqualify from service on the magisterial bench any resident of Indian birth, no matter how influential or respected he may be. This express exclusion involves an absolutely unjustifiable slur upon the Indian peoples, who, in their native land, serve the Crown, not only as justices of the peace, but as district and sessions judges and judges of the High Court; in fact, the administration of justice is mainly in their hands. It must be remembered, too, that the Indians in the Protectorate outnumber

ber the Europeans by more than twelve to one, and there are amongst them men of the highest probity and influence. In these circumstances it should surely be within the power of the Governor to place representatives of the Indian community upon the Bench."

• Some of the other unfortunate methods of government which prevail in the Protectorate were indicated by Mr. Jeevanjee. Where Asiatics are concerned, religious differences always present difficulties, but these are not insuperable where there is sympathy and tact on the part of the official class. That this seems to be lamentably absent in British East Africa is apparent from the manner in which Indians suffering terms of imprisonment are treated.

TREATMENT IN GAOL.

"When Indians have to go to gaol," said Mr. Jeevanjee, "no distinction whatever is made between Hindus and Mohammedans, and no consideration is shown to their religious scruples, although these are often as dear to them as life itself. They are made to work at the dirtiest jobs and to do certain kinds of menial work that is repugnant to their religious beliefs. It is well known to everyone connected with the administration of justice and the management of the prisons that the distinction between Hindus and Mohammedans greatly affects diatetic and other observances and practices of daily life, yet these differences are wholly disregarded in the prisons."

Representations were made to the proper authorities, and the reply received was that the Indians lost their religion on leaving their native land.

"That," said Mr. Jeevanjee, "was a cynical reply, and was not in accordance with facts. I am in a position to speak for the Moslem community, and I say that is not so; the Indian does not lose his faith when he leaves his native country or is in a position of isolation from his fellow Moslems."

An interesting comment on this taunt that the Indian abandons his religion when he emigrates is supplied by the fact that large numbers of the indigenous races, particularly in the coastal zone, have embraced the tenets of Islam. The Hindus and Mohammedans have, in fact, although perhaps unintentionally, made converts.

The statements that have appeared in our columns have attracted widespread attention, and there is a strong feeling, especially amongst the mercantile community, that Mr. Jeevanjee has made out a good case for reform.

CHAPTER II.

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE ENGLISH PRESS, (A).

Daily Chronicle, 2nd September, 1910

IMPERIALISM ON TRIAL.

INDIAN immigration is a test question for Imperialism, and the remarkable statements made by Mr. Jeevanjee in our columns ought to direct attention to one of its most important aspects. We talk proudly of the British Empire as free and tolerant; it suggests to many minds the generous ideas of equal rights and opportunities, of laws which give to all the King's subjects, whatever may be their race, colour or creed, the same impartial protection. The actual facts are very different. The Indian subjects of the Crown are not free to go where they please within the Empire; from many British Dominions they are excluded; in others they are subject to many disabilities and indignities. A regulation in the East African Protectorate, which Mr. Jeevanjee quotes, puts one such case in a striking form :—

Plots may only be leased by persons of European origin.

Foreigners may take up leases in this British Crown Colony. A German, a Greek, a Levantine, an Italian is free to settle on the land. A subject of King George, if he be of Indian origin, is debarred. Such is Imperialism in practice.

We put the position thus sharply because it is well that the facts should be looked fairly in the face. It is, however, no less important that the point of view which governs such a regulation as this should be fairly considered. First, a distinction must be drawn between self-governing Dominions and Crown Colonies. The former are free to frame their own policy, and to make their own regulations. The Imperial Government cannot in practice require them to subordinate local considerations to Imperial. The policy of a "White Australia" and of a White and Black South Africa is fixed, and no representations made elsewhere will alter it.

This policy embodies, moreover, an ideal with which it is impossible not to sympathise. It may be quite true that Asiatic immigrants are disliked as much for their virtues as for their defects. Mr. Gladstone in a famous speech, defending Chinese labour, maintained that it was the industry, the thrift, the economic virtue of the coolies that caused their immigration to be resented. Similarly Mr. Churchill, in the case of East Africa, has pointed out that it is the "economic superiority" of the Indian immigrant that causes him to be regarded with suspicion and dread. All this may be true; but the white men on the spot maintain that "economic superiority" means a lower, or at any rate a different, standard of life and civilisation. It is at any rate an intelligible, and not an unworthy, ideal to desire that British territories, suitable for settlement as white men's lands, should be preserved for what we mean by white civilisation. And, again, in the case of territories where coloured labour is a necessity, and where there is already an indigenous coloured population, it is an intelligible idea that the intrusion on any extensive scale of other coloured immigration should be prevented. Such are the ideas which govern the policy of Australia and South Africa.

We now come to the Crown Colonies. The case here is different, because the Imperial Government retains direct control or responsibility; but it should be remembered that Crown Colony Government is often only a half-way house towards self-

government, and that the Imperial Government cannot wholly disregard the views and aspirations of the white settlers. This seems to be the attitude of the Colonial Office towards the question of Indian immigration in British East Africa. We may quote what Colonel Seely said some months ago in a speech to the Liberal Colonial Club :—

East Africa which had a high table land with a climate more or less like that of the temperate zone could never be a purely white man's country, for it had a great indigenous coloured population. They must simply wait and see whether the ideal of a mainly white country was going to be realised. If it was, they must do nothing to thwart it.

They certainly are doing nothing to thwart that ideal in East Africa. Whether the ideal be feasible or not, the Colonial Office, if they allow the recent regulations cited by Mr. Jeevanjee, to stand, will pledge themselves to violent measures for restricting Indian rights.

The case of the Indian settlers in British East Africa is immensely strong. As was pointed out in the report of Lord Sanderson's Committee, emigration to the coast districts of the Protectorate from India has existed for several hundred years. As for the present British Protectorate, it is in large measure the creation of Indian immigrants. It was Indian soldiery that played a principal part in conquering and pacifying the country. It is the Indian trader who has developed it. It was Indian labour that built the railway. It is the Indian banker who has found the capital for agriculture, trade and industry. "Drive away the Indians," said Sir John Kirk, "and you may shut up the Protectorate, I think." In view of such facts, it is difficult not to regard the policy indicated by Mr. Jeevanjee both as inexpedient, and also as unfair and inconsistent with sound Imperialism.

The larger Imperial question presses for some solution. India is the seat of a teeming population. Indian merchants and capitalists, like Mr. Jeevanjee, are full of enterprise.

Other Dominions of the British Crown need coloured labour and enterprise for their development. Interchange of human beings is, as Colonel Seely has said, one of the things necessary to the continued existence and development of the British Empire. Are we for ever to debar the Indian from playing his part in this interchange? Is Imperialism to mean that the door is to be bolted and barred throughout the Empire to the surplus population and enterprise of the King's Indian subjects? Let full weight be given to the "white" ideals which have been described above, and a solution should still be possible. We indicated it the other day in writing on the new steamship service to East Africa. It is to be found in Mr. Churchill's idea of "economic partition." There are vast areas in British Africa which can never be white men's lands, which will probably never be developed at all on those lines. Might not some such areas be set apart for Indian immigration, wherein Indian colonists could settle without the imposition of any disabilities or invidious restrictions, and without incurring any suspicion, or dislike?

Yorkshire Post, Leeds, 2nd September 1910.

Mr. Sheth Alibhoy Mulla Jeevanjee, a rich Indian domiciled for the last twenty years in British East Africa, who is now on a visit to this country, has occasioned quite a flutter in the Colonial Office by the charges of prejudicial treatment of the numerous Indians now trading at Nairobi on the part of the Government of the Crown Colony. Government lands at Nairobi Hill are forbidden to be leased, he reports, to Indians, and the Indians are practically excluded from trading privileges in the markets there. According to Mr. Jeevanjee a similar prejudice is springing up against the Indians in East Africa to that which has been so long the occasion of grave trouble in the Transvaal and Natal. The difference between the two cases, however, is that South Africa is self-governed, whereas East Africa is a Crown Colony, the Governor of which is directly responsible to the Colonial Office. Inquiry made in Downing Street to-day on the subject discovered the represen-

representative of the Colonial Secretary most willing to admit the ultimate responsibility of the Colonial Office in this connection. Nothing is known officially of the regulations and restrictions which are said to be objectionable. When Lord Elgin was in power at the Colonial Office official confirmation was made of a regulation by which a certain portion of the higher country in the colony was reserved for Europeans. It is thought that the grievances of the Indians there may have arisen from the segregation of races which is found to be not only expedient but necessary in Crown Colonies in which the whites and the coloured people are mixed. The matter will receive official attention in due course. In the meantime Downing Street reposes implicit confidence in the tried administrative capacity of Sir Percy Girouard, the Governor of East Africa, who is a Canadian believed by his friends in London to be incapable of inflicting any sort of trading disabilities upon the large and increasing community of Indians under his governance.

Dundee Courier, 3rd September 1910.

The Government seem to be making a fine muddle of their administration of the British East African Protectorate. The proportion of Indians to Europeans in the Protectorate is as twelve to one, and it is no exaggeration to say that the entire country is run by Indians. These are all British subjects, and thoroughly loyal, yet they have all sorts of disabilities placed upon them, while an immigrant from any European country who may not have become naturalised is favoured in many ways. They may become a Justice of the Peace, but the Indian may not, no matter how influential and respected in the community he may be or how worthy of the honour. The Indian may not be tried by jury, but the European is, and the result is that British subjects are often placed at a disadvantage in stating their cases before the Courts. These are only a few instances, and not the worst. I understand that the Colonial Office blames the officials on the spot, and declare that they

have no knowledge of what has been going on, but that is an excuse which is not accepted by those in a position to know the circumstances.

The lockout will not affect the engineers except indirectly. There will be no lockout in their trade, but it is obvious that there will be a good deal of idleness so long as the lockout continues.

The African World, 3rd September 1910.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA'S INDIAN QUESTION.

We reproduce on page 185 of this issue an interesting interview with the Hon. A. M. Jeevanjee, published in the *Daily Chronicle*. Our readers are sufficiently acquainted with Mr. Jeevanjee to endorse the *Daily Chronicle's* remark that he "thoroughly deserves and has thoroughly earned" his distinction as a member of the Legislative Council of British East Africa, and we need hardly say that considerable importance attaches to anything which he has to say regarding that new and somewhat troubled dependency of the British Empire. The *Daily Chronicle* rightly asks :—"Are the brown and yellow races of Asia, swarming as they do in their own countries, to be denied access to the empty places of the earth, which are crying out for population?" Now, whatever justification—and strong justification it is—for the action of the Transvaal Government with reference to the Indian question in the Colony, there can surely be no adequate reason for the treatment of Indian citizens in British East Africa as complained of by the Hon. Mr. Jeevanjee. We respectfully suggest to Sir Percy Girouard, the Administration of British East Africa, Lord Crewe, and the Colonial Office that the statements made on the authority of Mr. Jeevanjee are calculated to create grave discontent throughout the Indian Empire, unless, indeed, it can be proved that they are either exaggerated or have small foundation in

fact—a process which we should imagine would be very difficult. In South Africa and the Transvaal in particular, there are certain uncontrollable circumstances which make it necessary to put a limit on Asiatic immigration. These circumstances do not exist in Equatorial Africa, which, in the opinion of some of the most experienced authorities, is an ideal country for the settlement of a large portion of the overflowing population of our Indian Empire. The labour difficulty is one which Indian immigration may solve, and, in addition to this, it must be remembered that with some exceptions British East Africa and Uganda are not entitled to the description of “white men’s countries.” These facts make all the difference between the Indian question as put by Mr. Jeevanjee and as it exists in East Africa.

Daily Chronicle, 6th September 1910.

CRAMPING INDIAN ENTERPRISE.

DISABILITIES OF ASIATICS IN EAST AFRICA.

Several interesting communications have reached us with reference to the treatment of Indians in British East Africa, as described in these columns. One of our representatives, also, has had an interview with a gentleman who has just returned from Uganda, and who speaks strongly of the colour boycott which exists there and in British East Africa.

“The trouble began,” said our informant, “when the South Africans emigrated into the country and brought with them prejudices against Asiatics. In certain of our Colonies Indian merchants and traders, who had started in a small way, practically sold up the Europeans. In Natal, for instance, the businesses started by Indians gradually grew bigger and bigger, and white firms could not compete.

“I know,” he said, “an official who had been in the service of the Government for ten years, and had to resign, because there was no promotion for him, simply and solely on account of his colour. At present no one who is not of European descent can rise above a clerkship, no matter what his merits are or his knowledge of local customs and languages.”

Colour prejudice against Asiatics would seem to be still as strong throughout British East Africa and Uganda as it is in the Southern States of America.

“There is not a single hotel,” our informant went on, “in the whole of British East Africa, except, perhaps, in Zanzibar, where an Asiatic could put up; the proprietor simply would not have him as a guest, and he would have to make shift the best way he could, or get some one to take him in.

“Another way in which the prejudice works out is seen in horse-racing. The Sultan of Zanzibar, who owns some very good horses, must engage a European jockey to ride them in a race. One of the rules of the Nairobi Turf Club forbids a coloured man to act as a jockey.

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United Methodist, 8th September 1910.

SUBJECT RACES.

A sorry exhibition has been made in connexion with Indians in British East Africa in the last few days. We United Methodists have an interest here, because British East Africa is our Missionary territory. It seems that British East Africa has been for many years the happy hunting-ground of Indians. Why should it not be? “The tools to him who can use them.” Eighty-five percent of its trade is in their hands. One of them built all the hospitals and post offices from Mombasa to Port Florence. Their cotton, rubber, manganese, wheat, maize, etc., stand high in their respective markets. Now it is proposed

deliberately to debar these Indians from any share in the commerce and agriculture of the country. Of course they are only Indians—not men, presumably? Land shall in future be leased by persons of European origin! In the markets produce shall only be sold from European or American consignors. The British Colonial Office seems to know nothing whatever about it. It may simply be a bit of excessive officialism on the part of some Governor or Council on the spot. Have the Indians done too well, that the Europeans must now intervene and confiscate their spoil? This is a great question. The stake in British East Africa may be comparatively limited, but it is not a small matter that we have a free world for a free humanity. Why should not the Indians be allowed to enjoy the fruits of their skill and toil in Africa? From our Christian point of view there can be no question about it. And as far as we can do, British Government must bow and put this thing straight. Wherever men can utilize land, and build up houses and organize civilization they must not only be permitted to do so, but guarded in the doing of it. It is that for which Mother Earth and human intellect are given to us. And the world must be free—in justice—to any man, white or black, yellow or brown. It is to be hoped that our Missionaries—honoured brethren—on the spot will utilize their best efforts to secure the Indians. There may be underlying questions of creed and religion, but they must be allowed to underlie, because what overlies is the great question of human freedom and the unity of all men.

Wednesday Review, 21st September 1910.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

The greatest problem of the twentieth century will undoubtedly be the problem of the coloured *vs.* the white peoples. And the British Empire having the largest number of coloured peoples under it must needs necessarily be wakeful how best to avoid taking any false step. As yet British statesmanship has proved

itself to be singularly incapable of adjudging the claims between the coloured and the white peoples to the satisfaction of either : and the scandalous treatment that the South African Whites are allowed to accord to the Indian subjects of his Majesty, King George, will ever remain a monumental illustration of the hollowness of British statesmanship and the indifference of British conscience so far as the claims of Indians in the colonies are concerned. But it seems as though we are on the eve of the enacting of another drama in East Africa where the scandal is sure to assume much more serious dimensions than even in South Africa. Whoever might have made South Africa, East Africa has been made entirely by the Indian. He was the pioneer who brought under the plough the uninhabited and uninhabitable portions of the earth that now the white man claims his own and from which he seeks to drive the brown man out. 85 per cent. of the trade of British East Africa is in the hands of Indians and the proportion of the coloured to the whites is twelve to one. All the best property in Nairobi belongs to an Indian and the Uganda Railway, which is the chief contributory cause for the growth and development of East Africa, is the work of Indians, built by Indian labour and by the foresight and enterprising skill of an Indian Moslem. Mr. Winston Churchill who has recently been in East Africa has testified to the remarkable development of the country chiefly and mainly by the coloured peoples. How stands the claim of the British Indian, he asks, in his recent book and himself supplies the answer in the following words: "His rights as a human being, his rights as a British subject are equally engaged. It was the Sikh soldier who bore an honorable part in the conquest and pacification of those East African countries. It is the Indian trader who penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no white-man could go or in which no whiteman could earn a living, has more than anyone else developed the early beginnings of trade and opened up the first slender means of communication." The East Africa of to-day is what the Indian has made it and yet the hon'ble Sheth Alibhoy Mulla Jeevanjee

who has just been made a member of the Legislative Council of British East Africa, has given to the *Daily Chronicle* an unvarnished account of the steps that are being taken by the miscellaneous hordes of white settlers who have come to profit by the labours of the Indians who have done the pioneer work. The country has been brought to such a pitch of development that there is not a single product of commercial value that cannot be obtained there. Its cotton procures the highest price in the market—it is equal to the best Egyptian—and the export of it is continually increasing. It produces the best rubber in the world. There are minerals in plenty waiting to be developed. Large deposits of manganese have just been discovered and on the coast line all sorts of tropical fruits and on the uplands wheat, maize, beans and potatoes do well. And Mr. Jeevanjee says that “a deliberate attempt is being made to debar us from any share in the commerce and agriculture of the country. We are marked down because of our race and colour.” A handful of interlopers have begun their dirty work and the process of ejection from a land made by the Indian has begun by the Government prohibiting the lease of lands to His Majesty’s Indian subjects, while every Greek, Armenian and Jew, Italian, German or any whiteman is privileged. The market shall not accept produce for sale from any but European or American consignors, nor any non-European enter unless authorised by European employers to act on their behalf, nor shall they bid independently. Mr. Jeevanjee says: “These rules are issued in a town where practically the whole of the business is carried on by us Indians. Here am I in London representing the commercial interests of Uganda, Mombasa and Nairobi and doing my best to open up new markets for the produce and yet if I go into the market at Nairobi, I must not buy a hundred bushels of maize unless I am authorised in writing to act for some European.” The *Daily Chronicle* with a view to verifying these statements sent a representative to the Colonial Office and he came away with the impression that the Colonial Office is fully alive to the difficulties of the problem, but could not find a way out. In August 1907 the Land Board of the East African Pro-

tectorate recommended the Indian immigration be discouraged as much as possible and that no Government land be allotted to Indians. This resolution was transmitted to Lord Elgin by Mr. Montgomery, the Commissioner of Lands, but in doing so he felt it necessary to observe that (a) Indians have been in the country for many generations, and came long before the Europeans; (b) the Uganda railway (the greatest factor in the development of the country) was made by Indian labour; but for such labour it would never have been constructed at all; (c) most of the trading wealth of the country is in the hands of the Indians, (d) finally Indians are British subjects. Lord Elgin's view on the matter was laid down in a despatch sent to the Governor on March 19, 1908: "With regard to the granting of land to Indians, it is not consonant with the views of His Majesty's Government to impose legal restrictions on any particular section of the community, but as a matter of administrative convenience, grants should not be made to Indians in the upland areas." But the policy of pushing the Indians out is steadily being pursued and Mr. Jeevanjee gives many instances which confirm this attitude of the white settlers. Downing Street does not seem to have been fully informed of the petty details of obstruction and teasing which is being pursued and the Governor of the Protectorate so far does not seem to have risen to the full height of the obligation he owes to the men who have made East Africa. And is it, after all, beyond our reach to provide, if not a perfect, at any rate a practical answer? asks Mr. Churchill. "There ought to be no insuperable difficulty in the present state of political knowledge and social organisation, in assigning different spheres to the external activity of different races. The great powers have partitioned Africa territorially. Is it beyond the wit of man to divide it economically? The co-operation of many kinds of men is needed for the cultivation of such a noble estate. Is it impossible to regulate in full and intricate detail the conditions under which that co-operation shall take place? Here white men can live and thrive; there they cannot. Here is a task for one; there is opportunity for another. The world is big enough. There is plenty of room for all. Why cannot we settle it fair-

ly?" But Mr. Churchill is the Home Secretary and the problem does not seem to be so easy to those in charge of the Colonial Office as it evidently seems to be to Mr. Churchill.

Liverpool Post, 21st September 1910.

COLONIAL MAL-ADMINISTRATION.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA AND ITS HINDU POPULATION.

ALLEGED UNFAIR TREATMENT.

The need for a more progressive policy on the part of the Government of British East Africa, and for a more enlightened attitude towards the Hindu population—who form the industrial backbone of the country—was voiced with considerable moderation of language, but with convincing force of argument, to a "Daily Post and Mercury" representative yesterday in Liverpool by a member of the Legislative Council of British East Africa—Sheth Alibhoy Mulla Jeevanjee—a Mahomedan of Indian descent who has vast trading interests in British East Africa.

At the outset of the interview Mr. Jeevanjee made it quite clear that he was no agitator, and that his visit to this country was directly due to business considerations, although he confessed he was taking the opportunity whilst here of bringing home both to the British Government and to the public a recognition of the reforms urgently required in order to make British East Africa the successful colony that on the basis of natural resources it was destined sooner or later to become. Those natural resources, he said, were really immense. The climate was beautiful, the land fertile, and cotton, rubber, maize, and practically all sorts of grain could be grown with little, if any, difficulty. The cotton grown in British East Africa was as good a quality as Egyptian cotton.

Mr. Jeevanjee—whose manifold activities embrace the roles of manufacturer, planter, contractor, and shipowner—has been co-operating with the British Cotton-growing Association in an endeavour to increase the output of cotton from British East Africa. Here, as in other fields of enterprise in the colony, the Governmental methods seem to be woefully backward, and compare altogether unfavourably with the enterprise manifested by the authorities in German East Africa. This is a point which Mr. Jeevanjee has greatly at heart, and as he proclaims stoutly his loyalty as a British subject, and avows that his one desire is the development of the colony in which he lives, his views merit respectful consideration, especially coming as they do from one in a high commercial position and one whose interests are wrapped up in the prosperity of British East Africa.

GOVERNMENTAL INACTIVITY.

“ We who want to see British East Africa go ahead can get no encouragement from the Government,” he said. “ Why is it ? I cannot tell. That is a question we ourselves have been asking for many years. Meanwhile German East Africa has been taking advantage of our remissness. Up to a few years ago there was no regular shipping service between British East African ports ; now, by dint of personal representations to British shipowners, the ships of three companies call at our ports. The service, however, is not so regular as that in operation along the German East African coast. Of course if we have inadequate shipping facilities how can you expect the trade of the country to develop ? One reason for my visit to Liverpool just now is to inspect some small steamers with a view to purchase, my idea being to run them on the coast. You must remember that British East Africa is an immense place—it is bigger than India. I am over here to help the Government—not to embarrass it—and to show the British public how the country can be opened up.”

Two particular instances were quoted by Mr. Jeevanjee as evidence of the Government's inability to grasp thoroughly the

requirements of the industrial population. The first was the need for a deepwater pier at Kilidini—the best harbour on the British East African coast. The Uganda Railway authorities, he said, had first mooted the project in 1903, and it had also been recommended by the chief engineer of the Foreign Office. Plans and specifications had, in fact, been deposited with the Foreign Office, but nothing had yet been done. The system of loading and unloading steamers at present in vogue was by means of lighters—a system which cost 5s. per ton, as against about 9d. or 1s. at a deepwater pier. Traders would thus save about 4s. per ton on freights if the scheme were only carried out. The estimated cost of the pier was between £25,000 and £30,000. “If,” added Mr. Jeevanjee, “the Government built the pier and exacted the same charges as at present, the cost of building would be defrayed in two years’ time. But no, nothing has been done. I have made inquiries in London, and I am told some people to whom the concession has been granted have still got the matter under consideration. How long it will be before anything is done I cannot say. Why ! I am willing to build the pier myself if the Government will only give me the concession ; but so far I have not been able to get it.”

FOREIGN INFLUENCE SUCCESSFUL.

Asked as to the reason for the Government’s policy of inaction in this connection, Mr. Jeevanjee could only suggest foreign influence as against Indian influence—a point which he elaborated later on. The lighterage companies he said, were run by Germans and other foreigners to the extent of two-thirds English capital being represented by about one-third.

The second example of Governmental lack of enterprise was the non-provision of a water supply. “This,” he said, “is one of the biggest questions in British East Africa. The Government has up to the present not spent a farthing on the water supply, although the water has been condemned by medical officers of the British East Africa Protectorate, and although fever is on the increase. Medical authorities have appealed to

Government to erect waterworks, but nothing has been done. On the other hand, in German East Africa, there is an excellent water supply."

INDIAN GRIEVANCES.

Again emphasising the pacific object of his mission, Mr. Jeevanjee proceeded to give some surprising information as to the attitude of the Government towards the Indian population of the colony. He explained that the Indians were practically responsible for the development of the country so far as it had gone. He himself went to the colony twenty years ago, when the Imperial British East Africa Company were responsible for its administration. His father and grandfather before him had been connected with it—in fact, his family's interest in the colony stretched back to the seventeenth century. Of the colony's commercial and industrial community 85 per cent. are Indians, and, according to Mr. Jeevanjee, the climatic conditions of the country—except in the Highlands—are such as to make it impossible for Europeans to efficiently work the colony.

"It can never be a white man's country," he said. "Mr. Winston Churchill has told us so, but, despite that fact, and despite all that the Indian population have done in the past, the Government insist upon placing restrictions upon our people to such an extent as to seriously jeopardise our interests, and, as a necessary consequence, to retard the development of the country. I myself have played a large part in building up the country. All the best property in Nairobi belongs to me. I built all the Government buildings, and leased them to the Administration. I built all the hospitals and post offices between Mombasa and Port Florence, and I was the sole contractor for the building of the Uganda Railway. In Nairobi the Indians pay practically the whole of the taxes, and own nearly the whole of the town."

The Government ordinances which the Indian population, as British subjects, regard as unfair and seriously detrimental to their industrial welfare were briefly indicated by Mr. Jeevan-

jee. They included the right of trial by jury being limited to Europeans, and restrictions in certain places on the sale of land, by which persons of European origin only can become lessees.

“That means,” remarked Mr. Jeevanjee, “that we—the subjects of King George—are not allowed to purchase land in our own country, whilst any foreigner—any German, French, Italian, or any other Continental rival—is perfectly at liberty to do so.”

INDIAN TRADERS BOYCOTTED.

Another remarkable regulation was that which provides that in the produce market at Nairobi the market master must not accept produce for sale from any but European or American consignors, and that non-Europeans must not enter the market-house unless authorised by European employers to act on their behalf.

“Can you imagine anything more absurd,” asked Mr. Jeevanjee, “than for such a regulation to be issued in a town where practically the whole of the business is carried on by Indians? What is the use of my fellow-Indians and myself trying to open up the agricultural resources of the country when we are practically boycotted on the produce market? It is an attempt to favour the foreigner to the exclusion of the British subject, and when I assure you that the country cannot be developed by white men you will see how ridiculously short-sighted it all is. As a loyal British subject, I want to know why this state of things should continue. There is no reason why the Government and the Indians should not work together. With English capital and Indian labour the success of the colony is assured, otherwise it is impossible. My point, briefly, is that the present policy is harmful to my fellow-countrymen, harmful to the colony, and, consequently, harmful to the Empire.”

Mr. Jeevanjee added that whilst in London he had been in close touch with the Colonial Office regarding the Hindoo grievances, and, on certain points, the officials there had confessed ignorance of the actual state of things.

Manchester Guardian, 24th September 1910.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

CLAIMS OF INDIAN SETTLERS.

Mr. A. M. Jeevanjee, who is in Manchester on business connected with the extension of cotton growing in Africa, has recently come from the British East Africa Protectorate, and made a statement last night to a representative of the "Manchester Guardian" on the position of British Indians in that province of the Empire.

"For about 300 years," Mr. Jeevanjee said, "There has been a constant trade between India and East Africa, and it was indeed through the existence of that trade that East Africa became at last a part of the British Empire. There are at the present time about 25,000 British Indian residents in the country, mostly business men and their families. They are settled all along the coast and in the interior, and many of them have been born and brought up in the country. A few years ago the British Government in East Africa adopted a legislative and administrative policy adverse to the interests of the British Indians resident there. The general object seems to have been to discourage British Indians from going to East Africa and to discourage those already there from staying.

"Within the last six months these measures have become more pointed. In the sale of land by public auction an announcement appears that no British Indian need bid; a regulation was issued that land was only to be leased to Europeans; in the produce market open by the municipal authority of Nairobi a rule was put into force that only Europeans could buy and sell, and it is in this market that the produce from the land around has to be sold. Meanwhile members of European and American nations are allowed full trading and property rights in the Protectorate. The restrictions are directed only against Asiatics, and this arouses much resentment among the Indian subjects of the Crown.

“There are millions of acres suitable to the production of the best kind of cotton. The soil of the country varies so much that every known product of the soil will grow. Already nearly 85 per cent. of the business of the Protectorate is in the hands of Indians, which makes the recent policy of the British Government the more difficult to understand, because one can hardly believe that they propose to set to work to uproot all the present institutions and to efface all the present characteristics of the country. From India the right kind of labour will readily migrate to East Africa, and Indian capital is also waiting at the door. But, meanwhile, these regulations and the general policy of the British Government are preventing the natural flow of Indian capital and labour into the country.

“British East Africa is being run by the British taxpayer, who is, through this dog-in-the-manger policy, denied the proper return for his money. At the same time the British Indian feels himself under an injustice. He holds that this policy is a deviation from that freedom of trade and intercourse which is characteristic of the British system; that it is an exceptional measure directed against himself alone. It cannot be to the interest of the British Government either in East Africa or in India that this sense of injustice should be allowed to exist.”

Manchester Guardian, 18th October 1910.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

COLONIAL SECRETARY ASKED TO REMOVE DISABILITIES.

The London All-India Moslem League have sent a lengthy communication to the Earl of Crewe (Colonial Secretary), in which they say they have had their attention directed to serious disabilities which have been imposed of late upon Indians in British East Africa, and they ask him to give instructions for

substantial modifications in the policy now being pursued. The value of Indian merchants and traders to this part of Africa, great as it was in the past, has been vastly increased by the establishment of British rule. Mr. Winston Churchill, in his book "My African Journey," said: "It is the Indian trader, who, penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no white man could go, or in which no white man could earn a living, has more than anyone else developed the early beginnings of trade and opened up the first slender means of communication." In a summary of their requests, the Committee ask that it should be recognised that the attempts to colonise the upland tracks by white labour have failed, and that they constitute a grave injustice to the Indian community. There should be a reversal of the present policy of exclusion, and adhesion in practice and not merely in theory to the principle laid down by the last Colonial Secretary that "it is not consonant with the views of His Majesty's Government to impose legal restrictions (in the matter of renting or acquiring land) on any particular section of the community." They ask for the giving of full and unqualified effect to the recommendation of the Sanderson Committee that indentured immigration from India to assist private enterprises should only be allowed on condition that the labourer on completion of his contract is free to remain in East Africa and settle where he pleases. In view of the arrested development of the Protectorate and its dependence on the British Exchequer. Indian settlers, it is urged, should be granted Crown lands on terms similar to those prevailing in many parts of India, thus yielding a substantial direct revenue to the country, in addition to that obtainable from its agricultural development. Exclusions should be based on grounds entirely personal to the individual, and not on those of race. The exclusion of Indian traders or merchants from the market house at Nairobi, save as agents for Europeans, should be revoked, and their produce have equal rights of access to the market with the produce of white farmers. Due regard should be paid to the vested rights of the Indians in Nairobi in the matter of property and residence, and there should be no attempts at dispossession in order

to bring about anything like segregation of them in locations. No disabilities should be placed upon well-to-do Indians in respect to the hire of accommodation in the steamers and on the railways. As in Uganda, there should be no differentiation between Europeans and Indians in respect of the right of trial by jury, and this system should be applied to trials of Indians on serious charges at least. The power of the Governor to nominate to the magisterial bench should not be restricted, as at present, to British subjects "of European extraction." Indians should be eligible for such appointments. Due regard should be paid to the religious scruples and caste observances of Indians when suffering terms of imprisonment.

The Committee lay stress upon the consideration that the responsibility, both administrative and moral, rests upon the Home Government. There is here no question of imposing the will of Whitehall upon a self-governing colony, nor is the Colonial Secretary faced with the difficulties arising in those dominions where the ideal of a white man's country is entertained.

Glasgow Herald, 11th October, 1910.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

GRIEVANCES OF INDIANS.

The fact that Sir Percy Girouard, the Governor of the East Africa Protectorate, has been summoned to a conference with the Colonial Office gives hope to those interested in the Asiatic question that there will speedily be a solution of the serious issues affecting the rights and privileges of British Indians in that part of the Empire. The presence in this country of the Hon. A. M. Jeevanjee, member of the Legislative Council, should also be of assistance to the home authorities, Mr. Jeevanjee being one of the most influential business men of East Africa and representing large trading interests between India and the Protectorate. He has just concluded a visit to

Glasgow in connection with the purchase of ships for the development of the coastal trade.

In an interview Mr. Jeevanjee spoke of the prominent part which Scotsmen had played and were playing in the opening up and development of British East Africa, and in particular he referred to the great work of Sir William Mackinnon and the British East Africa Company. He also adverted to the new joint service of steamers sailing from Glasgow and Birkenhead by the Clan, Ellerman and Harrison Lines. "My personal interest," Mr. Jeevanjee frankly said, "is that I want this country opened up. I don't care what class of people go there so long as you and I can make a living. The British Government are paying thousands of pounds to keep the country. Why not open it up and make it self-supporting? Why should we have restrictions? I travel all over Europe and come to Great Britain, pay my fare by steamship or railway, and am treated the same as other passengers. Yet what happens in British East Africa? The steamers running to and from Lake Victoria are controlled by Indians, and the exportation and importation of goods and produce are made by them. Still they are not treated with the consideration of second class passengers, even though they may have purchased a second class ticket. There is absolutely no equity. For about 300 years there has been a constant trade between India and East Africa, and it was indeed through the existence of that trade that East Africa became at last a part of the British Empire. Now fully 85 per cent. of the trade is in our hands. There are at the present time about 25,000 British Indian residents in the country, mostly business men and their families—the proportion of Indian to European residents is as 12 to 1. They are settled all long the coast and in the interior, and many of them have been born and brought up in the country. A few years ago the British Government in East Africa adopted a legislative and administrative policy adverse to the interests of the British Indian residents. The general object of the policy seems to have been to discourage British Indians from going to East Africa and to discourage those already there from staying.

Mr. Jeevanjee produced evidence of the restrictive policy. In the sale of land by public auction an announcement appears that no British Indian need bid. A regulation was issued that land was only to be leased to Europeans. In the produce market opened by the municipal authority of Nairobi a rule was put in force that only Europeans could buy and sell. Meanwhile Europeans and Americans are allowed full trading and property rights in the Protectorate. The restrictions directed only against Asiatics have naturally aroused much resentment among the British Indian population. From an enumeration of these grievances Mr. Jeevanjee passed to a discussion of the larger issue—the proper development of British East Africa. “I do not want any favour,” he declared. “I am not working for my own benefit, or from the Indian point of view merely. I want the good name of the British Empire to be maintained, that it should stand for freedom to everyone. This policy of restriction is not only wronging the Indian but is doing harm to the Empire. What will the Indian say now about the freedom of England, when the so-called freedom is turning us from our own houses and homes which we have ourselves built? We want the European to come to East Africa with his capital, and our Indian people will work and open up the country. The soil of the country varies so much that every known product will grow. It is a beautiful country, for instance, for cotton growing. See our poor Manchester industry being crushed by the monopoly of American cotton. The Cotton Association is doing its best to overcome the difficulty. I have been kindly received by the members, but they ask what they can do in the way of growing cotton in such regions as East Africa without labour. And if those restrictions on the Indian are to continue the thing is going to be smashed. If the Government think the country is going to be cultivated by European labour it will never be done.” Mr. Jeevanjee emphatically declared that East Africa, either coastal or highland, was unsuitable for white labour, and there lay the difference in the situation as contrasted with the white man policy of Australia and Canada. The introduction of the racial antagonism he attributed to the settlers who had come from South Africa at the close of the war.

Daily Graphic, 22nd October 1910.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

The London branch of the All India Moslem League has addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies a very powerfully worded remonstrance against the treatment of Indians in East Africa. With the manner in which Indians have been and are being treated in South Africa the public is already familiar, and it is one of the least creditable incident in our Imperial administration. There was, however, in the case of the Transvaal this plausible excuse, that the Indians might be described as interlopers, following along a road that white men had cut for themselves. In the case of East Africa no such plea is possible. Indian commercial relations with East Africa began before England had anything to do with the country, and there is a wealth of evidence that without Indian labour and enterprise and capital the development of the Protectorate would have been impossible. Yet a handful of white men, some of them of Boer descent, are now claiming the right to exclude Indians from all parts of the East African Protectorate where white men can manage to live. In Nairobi, although Indians own a large part of the town, a municipal regulation has been made forbidding the market master to accept produce for sale from any but European or American consignors. Another recent regulation deprives the Governor of the power to make Indians justices of the peace, although many of the Indian residents are men of high culture and possessed of very considerable wealth, and although the Indian population outnumbers the white population of all nationalities by more than twelve to one. These are samples of the anti-Indian measures which a Liberal Government has sanctioned in a Crown Colony. Upon the injustice and the Imperial danger of such pandering to racial prejudice it is needless to comment, but it is worth while to add that the policy so light-heartedly sanctioned by Lord Crewe has the further demerit of being economically disastrous, for it is only by Indian labour and Indian settlement that the East African Protectorate can be made self-supporting.

INDIAN PRESS OPINION, (B).

Bombay Gazette, 3rd September 1910.

EMPIRE BUILDERS' PLEA.

ENTERTAINMENT TO THE HON. MR. A. M.
JEEVANJEE.

An interesting gathering took place at the National Liberal Club on Tuesday, the 16th instant, when the Eastern Question Association entertained the Hon. Alibhoy Mulla Jeevanjee on his appointment to the Legislative Council of British East Africa.

Mr. Jeevanjee is a well known Indian Merchant, who has a great deal to do with the development of that part of the Empire. Amongst those present were:—Sir George Birdwood, Mirza Abbas Ali Baig of India Office, Professor Margoliouth, the President of the Eastern Question Association, Major E. Atkins, Secretary of the Association, Hamid Bey, Mr. M. T. Kaderbhoy, Secretary, London All-India Moslem League, Mr. C. A. Latif, Mr. F. Harrison, Mr. Y. A. Karrimjee of Zanzibar, Mr. Fazulbhoy Visram, Mr. J. Nicholson, Mr. Coldstream, Syed Abu Ali, Mr. Effendi Bey, Khan Saheb Ahmed Dewjee, Mr. Tayabali Alibhoy Karrimjee, Mr. Adamally A. Karrimjee of Karachi and Mr. A. S. M. Anik.

Sir George Birdwood, proposing the health of the King-Emperor, argued a prosperous and beneficent reign for the Sovereign, who daily gave proofs of his gracious solicitude for the welfare of all his subjects, North, South, East and West. The toast was most enthusiastically received, (amid loud cheers.)

Professor Margoliouth of Oxford, and President of the Association, in proposing the health of Our Guest, alluded to the long years of patient and successful pioneer work amid

great discouragement, undertaken by Mr. Jeevanjee in improving the coasting service of Maritime connections, between India and East Africa, Persia and Arabia. The Professor went on to say, that the British Empire could not possibly grow too great so long as there were men like Mr. Jeevanjee who were ready to contribute their part in making it better and happier. A desire to serve the Empire as a whole outweighed a desire to serve any part of it. For that reason Professor Margoliouth observed that they all joined in congratulating Mr Jeevanjee on his appointment, and on the honour which had been done him. (Cheers).

Mr. Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, the new member of the Council of Indian Government delivered an eloquent speech, and observed that he was proud to join Professor Margoliouth in congratulating Mr. Jeevanjee on his appointment to the East African Council. He referred to Mr. Jeevanjee's excellent work in opening up to cultivation vast tracks of low lying swamp and marsh and by the example of perseverance, inspiring others to clear and drain the land and sow in crops, thus giving employment to a large number of people and founding on the track of the Uganda Railway, flourishing townships which he hoped would be added to in years to come. In conclusion he said that British East Africa need more men like him to develop its resources. (Cheers).

Mr. Jeevanjee, who rose amid loud cheers, said, " I feel I cannot better respond to the remarks of the distinguished President of the Eastern Question Association than to state my views as to the reasons why British East Africa should encourage immigration and capital from India, the country of my birth. British East Africa is one of the youngest and fairest of the Colonies of the Empire, with enormous latent wealth within its vast compass, but which is only being developed spasmodically and that in a very minor degree. What is the reason therefore? It had been assumed in the past that this vast tropical region would be the home of a large European population, that its fertile plains and wooded slopes would prove an ideal region

for the surplus of the crowded people of the British Islands. With the advantage of the finest harbour on the East African Coast and a Railway traversing its entire length ten years have seen the influx of but a handful of European Settlers, with no prospect of any considerable addition thereto. If British East Africa is ever to prove of any great value to the Imperial Family of States its resources must be developed. The fact of the matter is, British East Africa is not, nor will ever be, even in the judgment of many Europeans residing there, what is termed "a Whiteman's Country." Granted this promise, and its truth is undoubted, why not remove the many, and I may say onerous and even odious restrictions, now curtailing the immigration of Indians. Even with these drawbacks, the bulk of the business, interests and wealth of British East Africa is controlled by Indian Merchants. Whilst these restrictions, however, remain, I cannot encourage either the emigration of my countrymen or the influx of Indian capital into a country where no encouragement is shown to either. I am very sure this is a "dog-in-the-manger," policy and greatly retarding the best interests of this Colony. British India can supply thousands of the best and most industrious agricultural labourers in the world and numbers of them, were they assured that they could make a permanent home, with a further assurance of continuity of tenure to their families, would settle there. Very few of the European Settlers who possess farms have developed them in any degree while many of those who have attempted to do so have relinquished them or are willing to sell. If the land produces nothing there will be no business, no export trade, no money to spend on imports, no revenue to carry on the administration of the country beyond the Grant-in-aid. On the other hand abolish the restrictions now lying like a millstone around the neck of the Indian immigrants, give facilities for taking up larger areas of land than is now allowed them, open up the country to them for legitimate trading and agriculture, and I am very positive that a good class of Britain's Indian loyal subjects would be attracted with the capital necessary to change the whole aspect

of the country in the course of a very few years from its present quiescent, stagnant condition, to one of prosperity and importance amongst Britain's Colonies. As a matter of Imperial Policy alone, leaving aside matters of business and things allied thereto, the encouragement of a large and loyal population from India would vastly strengthen the hands of the Imperial Authorities politically in case of International difficulties, for the weak Colonies would be the first to suffer on account of their weakness. Again, as to the old and yet ever present matter of colour prejudice. It is a remarkable fact that in business there is none, one naturally desires and does purchase in the cheapest market. Indian merchants have for centuries traded along the East Africa Coast and in the Hinterland and self-reliant and determined traders have done more to add to the wealth and increase the area of Britain's numerous possessions than all the power of the sword. The Indian is a loyal British Subject, why should he not be given a fair chance with no undue restrictions so as to develop and add wealth and prestige to a country now virtually stagnant and more particularly so when its natural position, its contiguity to the Indian Peninsula, its climate and therefore its natural adaptability as an arux to the richest jewel in the British Crown taken into due consideration? To make of British East Africa a land "smiling with milk and honey it only requires the "Call of the East." In conclusion I beg to thank the illustrious President of the Association, Professor Margoliouth for his kind words. I also beg to thank Major Atkins for giving me an opportunity to lay my views before this gathering. Now, Gentlemen, I beg to propose his health, in which I am sure you will all join with me."

Times of India, 22nd August 1910.

THE SIDDING INDIAN OF EAST AFRICA.

Unhappy situation in respect to Indians in East Africa though to a much less degree than in South Africa, is not all that could be desired. The Hon. Mr. Jeevanjee, the first

and only Indian member of the Legislative Council of the Protectorate will be taking steps. I understand during his brief visit here, to bring the facts to notice in the right quarters. But his purpose in calling together some of his friends for a luncheon at the Whitehall rooms, Hotel Metropole, this afternoon was a purely social one, and in the brief speeches no reference was made to this debatable question. The party was "to meet Mr. Ameer Ali and other friends" and in addition to the right hon. gentleman the guests numbering nearly 40. In reply to the toast of his health Mr. Jeevanjee said the connection of Asiatic Moslems with the country went back nearly 300 years and the prominent part they now played in the life and enterprise of the Protectorate might be judged when he told them that the Asiatics there, mainly Moslems, numbered 25,000. Nor was it to be forgotten that Islam had become the faith of no small proportion of the African population, especially on the coast. When he reflected on these facts he felt how inadequate he was for the task of representing Indian and indeed the entire Moslem population upon the Legislative Council. But he could at least say that in East Africa as in India, the Moslems were among the most devoted subjects of King George.

Times of India, 19th September 1910.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

SOME GRIEVANCES DETAILED.

Sheth Allibhoy Mulla Jeevanjee has just been made a member of the Legislative Council of British East Africa, says the *Daily Chronicle* in mail week. He thoroughly deserved, and has thoroughly earned, that position. Just now he is over in Europe acting as a sort of commercial traveller for his adopted country, at the request of the Nairobi Agricultural Department. He was kind enough to talk over the position and prospects of

the country with one of our representatives. It is in British East Africa that Mr. Jeevanjee's chief interests are to be found and it is there that his heart evidently is.

"It is one of the most wonderful countries in the world," he said, "and there is not a single product of commercial value that cannot be obtained there. The country is there, and it is only waiting for two things to bring about its full development. And these are European capital and Indian labour. It is not a white man's country in the sense that white men can perform hard and continual manual labour. But for our Indian fellow-citizens it offers infinite possibilities."

Then Mr. Jeevanjee went on to unfold a story to our representative which would be ludicrously incredible, were it not that it was told by a man who has the best possible means of knowing its truth, and who could support it by documentary evidence. "A deliberate attempt is being made to debar us from any share in the commerce and agriculture of the country," he said. "We are marked down because of our race and colour. Taking the whole of Uganda, I should say that the proportion of Indians to Europeans is as twelve to one. In fact, it may be said that they practically carry on the country. In Nairobi they pay practically the whole of the taxes, and own nearly the whole of the town.

"I say nothing above the action of the South African Union towards us. But the case of British East Africa is entirely different. We are already there. We have made the country. We have created enormous interests there. And now there is nothing but stagnation—and there will be nothing but stagnation in the future, if this policy is persisted in. I am a loyal subject of the King. I am proud to be a citizen of the British Empire. My whole interests are bound up with Uganda. It is my home, and I have done my little best to build it up and make it a useful and valuable part of the British dominions. And I have nothing to say against the Imperial Government. But I do hope they will consider whether the policy of driving

loyal subjects of the Crown out of the country which they have made is one which is likely to add to the strength of the Empire.

“ I have no sympathy with the agitation which is going on among a section of the people in India. But can you wonder at it, when the people of our race receive treatment like this ? So far as I am personally concerned, the matter does not affect me as it does some of my fellow-countrymen. Fortunately. I am in a position to be independent of what may happen in British East Africa. But that does not alter the fact that I feel the present position acutely.”

Another matter referred to by Mr. Jeevanjee was the treatment of Indians on the Lake steamers. The steamers running to and from Lake Victoria are controlled entirely by Indians, and most of the freight and passengers are supplied by them. Yet they are not treated with the consideration of second class passengers, even though they may have purchased a second class ticket. They are not provided with pillows, blankets, and mattresses, as in the case of the Europeans.

Times of India, 17th October, 1910.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

CLAIMS OF INDIAN SETTLERS.

Mr. A. M. Jeevanjee, who was in Manchester on business connected with the extension of cottongrowing in Africa, in mail week having recently gone there from the British East Africa Protectorate, made a statement to a newspaper representative on the position of British Indians in that province of the Empire.

“ For about 300 years,” Mr. Jeevanjee said “there has been a constant trade between India and East Africa, and it was indeed through the existence of that trade that East Africa became at last a part of the British Empire. There are at

the present time about 25,000 British Indian residents in the country, mostly business men and their families. They are settled all along the coast and in the interior, and many of them have been born and brought up in the country. A few years ago the British Government in East Africa adopted a legislative and administrative policy adverse to the interests of the British Indians resident there. The general objects seems to have been to discourage British Indians from going to East Africa and to discourage those already there from staying.

“ Within the last six months these measures have become more pointed. In the sale of land by public auction an announcement appears that no British Indian need bid a regulation was issued that land was only to be leased to Europeans in the produce market opened by the municipal authority of Nairobi a rule was put into force that only Europeans could buy and sell, and it is in this market that the produce from the land around has to be sold. Meanwhile members of Europeans and American nations are allowed full trading and property rights in the Protectorate. The restrictions are directed only against Asiatics, and this arouses much resentment among the Indian subjects of the Crown.

“ There are millions of acres suitable to the production of the best kind of cotton. The soil of the country varies so much that every known product of the soil will grow. Already near 85 per cent. of the business of the Protectorate is in the hands of Indians, which makes the recent policy of the British Government the more difficult to understand, because one can hardly believe that they propose to set to work to uproot all the present institutions and to efface all the present characteristic of the country. From India the right kind of labour will readily migrate to East Africa, and Indian capital is also waiting at the door. But, meanwhile, these regulations and the general policy of the British Government are preventing the natural flow of Indian capital and labour into the country.

“ British East Africa is being run by the British taxpayer, who is, through this dog-in-the-manger policy, denied the proper

return for his money. At the same time the British Indian feels himself under an injustice. He holds that this policy is a deviation from that freedom of trade and intercourse which is characteristic of the British system ; that it is an exceptional measure directed against himself alone. It cannot be to the interest of the British Government either in East Africa or in India that this sense of injustice should be allowed to exist.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

Mr. Alibhoy Mulla Jeevanjee, who is well known in Bombay as the head of the Bombay Hedjaz Company, has been making a noise at the Colonial Office, and in the columns of the daily press here at the policy of the East African Government in reserving the land for the white man. Mr. Jeevanjee has just been made a member of the Legislative Council of British East Africa, and is at present in England as the representative of the Nairobi Agricultural Department ; all the best property in Nairobi belongs to him ; he built all the Government buildings and leased them to the administration ; he built all the hospitals and post offices between Mombasa and Port Florence ; and he was sole contractor for the Uganda Railway ; but apparently he regards all these honours and emoluments as small potatoes besides the fact that the uplands between Mombasa and Port Florence an area of some 4,000 square miles, are to be reserved for white settlers. The Colonial Office is hopelessly ignorant of what all the pother is about, they say that such local matters are in the hands of the Governor of the Protectorate, but that the land policy of the government is embodied in a despatch of Lord Elgin's stating that :—"With regard to the granting of land to Indians, it is not consonant with the views of His Majesty's Government to impose legal restrictions on any particular section of the community, but as a matter of administrative convenience, grants should not be made to Indians in the upland areas." This appears to me at any rate a very sensible regulation. East Africa has a large extent of territory which is suitable to the black and brown races, and a small area which is favourable to white colonisation, and the

Indians might stick to their own share without coveting the white man's share. The situation seems to be very analogous to that which you enjoy in Bombay, where the Hindu and Parsi millionaire has crowded the white merchant and government official out of the health-giving breezes of Malabar and Cumballa Hills, and the government is now seeking to recover property which it should never have allowed to be alienated. The East African government seem to me to be eminently wise to take time by the forelock in this respect.

The Indian Daily Telegraph, 31st August 1910.

THE HON. MR. A. M. JEEVANJEE IN LONDON.

[FROM A CORRESPONDENT.]

To meet the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E., LL.D., and other friends the Hon. A. M. Jeevanjee, the Indian member of the British East Africa Legislative Council, gave a luncheon party at Whitehall Rooms, Hotel Metropole, on August 5th. Unfortunately, owing to the holiday season having commenced, many friends of the hon. gentleman were out of town and therefore unable to accept his invitation. Still the gathering was a large one, and afforded evidence of the many influential friends in England Mr. Jeevanjee possesses. The guests included:— The Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, Sir J. Dunlop Smith, Sir George Birdwood, Sir George Mackenzie, Mr. C. A. Latif, Mr. Ratan Tata, Mr. John Nicholson, Mr. M. T. Kaderbhoy (Secretary, the London All-India Moslem League), Mr. Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, India Council, Mr. A. S. M. Anik, Mr. Austin Low, Mr. L. W. Ritch, Sir M. M. Bhownggree, Major Edward Atkins, Mr. Frank Birdwood, Mr. Fazulbhoy Visram, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. R. D. Galbraith, and others.

After the toast of the King had been duly honoured, the Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali proposed the health of the host. He

said :—“It is now twenty-five years ago since I first met Mr. Jeevanjee on the occasion of a memorable visit I paid to the town to which he originally belonged—Karachi. He was then a young man of promise, and the promise has been fulfilled. His activities have led him into various parts of the British Empire, Australia, East Africa, and other dominions of the Crown, and wherever he has gone, he has been of great use in the work of developing the resources of the country, and also in furthering the interests of his community. In Australia he was, I understand, a pioneer in developing what is now a large carrying trade between the North of the Continent and Queensland. In East Africa he has so many irons in the fire that it is difficult to understand how he is able to attend to all of them. All of them tend to develop the country, and to assist in the progress of civilization amongst the Native inhabitants. Considering the enormous Musalman population over whom our Sovereign rules, it must be a matter of satisfaction to every citizen of the Empire to know that a member of the Musalman community is engaged in so many enterprises calculated to develop the resources of the Empire. His recent elevation to the Legislative Council of British East Africa was a well-merited recognition of the esteem in which he is held by his community, and of the service he has rendered to the country in which he has established what may be termed his home. He could not have achieved so much success had he not been a man of wonderful energy and pertinacity. I ask you to drink to his health and prosperity.

Sir George Birdwood, on being called upon to speak, referred at length in eloquent terms to the great services the Borah committee had rendered to the commercial world, not only in India, but in all parts of the British Empire. He spoke in very high terms of Mr. Jeevanjee's various activities and enterprises in commercial world, and styled Mr. Jeevanjee is one of the greatest pioneers of commerce. He concluded his admirable speech by wishing the host every success and prosperity in all his undertakings.

THE HOST'S REPLY.

Mr. Jeevanjee who was received with loud applause, said in reply :—

My friend, The Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, and gentlemen, the pleasure and honour it has been to me to receive you here to-day are increased by the heartiness with which you have received this toast. I may return the thanks you have expressed, and say that I am indebted to you for coming here at a time when many friends have already left town for their summer holidays and when others are on the point of departure. To my eminent friend, Mr. Ameer Ali, I am much indebted for his kind allusions in proposing the toast. His distinguished career and his contributions to Islamic literature are well known among his co-religionists in East Africa, and our rejoicing was very great, indeed, when we learned that he had been named of the Privy Council and had been appointed to the Judicial Committee. I trust that if he finds time for further writings on Moslem civilization he will give due credit to the work of Moslem traders and others as pioneers of civilization in East Africa. The connexion of Asiatic Moslems with the country goes back nearly 300 years; and the prominent part they now play in the life and enterprise of the Protectorate maybe judged when I tell you that the Asiatics there, mainly Moslems, number 25,000. Nor is it to be forgotten that Islam has become the faith of no small proportion of the African population, especially on the coast. When I reflect on these facts I feel how inadequate I am for the task of representing the Indian, and indeed the entire Moslem, population upon the recently formed Legislative Council, an appointment to which such kindly reference has been made. My experience in that capacity, and my general knowledge both of East Africa and of India, enable me to say with all conviction that King George has no more loyal or devoted subjects than the Moslems who own his sway. Such a gathering as this, with many prominent Englishmen present, is a reminder of the good-will and sympathy they enjoy in well-informed quarters in this country. In this con-

nection I would thank Sir George Birdwood for his kind and learned remarks. Gentlemen, you have kindly drunk my health. I now ask you to drink the health of each other, and I lead the toast with all my heart.

Indian Daily Telegraph, Lucknow, 8th September 1910

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

The report of the Committee on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates, recently published, shows that the situation in East Africa in respect to the Indian population is not so satisfactory as could be desired, and there are indications that the problem may become one of increasing perplexity as time goes on. The connection of Indian and Arab immigrants, with the coast districts of what is now British East Africa, goes back to a time anterior to the Portuguese occupation at the close of the fifteenth century. The immigration from that day forward has been in the main of persons belonging to the trading class. But it will be recalled that the Uganda Railway was built chiefly by Indian labour. The contract was for a period of three years, each man being given a return passage to his *gaon* in this country. At one time as many as 18,000 Indians were employed on the construction of the railway. The line is still worked to a great extent by means of indentured immigrants, of whom it is estimated that about 2,000 are employed partly as clerks and artisans, partly as ordinary labourers. A certain proportion of the men remain in the country at the end of the three years' contract, and of those who come back a considerable number renew their indentures and return bringing their wives and families with them. Those who remain in the country when free from indenture mostly become traders and artisans. When asked if they were a useful addition to the popu-

lation, the manager of the railway replied that at the present time they were indispensable. Sir John Kirk, who for a considerable period was officially responsible for the construction of the Uganda Railway, said that it was only by means of the Indian trader, that at Nairobi, the capital town of the uplands district, and elsewhere, articles of European use could be obtained at moderate prices. "In fact," he said, "drive away the Indians and you may shut up the Protectorate."

The disappearance of the Indians of whom there are 25,000 in the Protectorate, as against 2,000 Europeans, would at any rate involve such an increase in the cost of living as to necessitate a general rise of salaries. As the Protectorate is still dependent upon a considerable grant-in-aid from Imperial funds, this is not a contingency "to be lightly faced," as Lord Sanderson's Committee observed. The Committee had no hesitation in affirming that the presence of a considerable number of Indian inhabitants has been, and continues to be, of material advantage to the British administration of the Protectorate. Along the coast there is a considerable amount of land awaiting development which could be put to profit much more rapidly if indentured labourers were procured from India than is likely if only local native labour is available. In the intermediate zone between the coast districts and the uplands the need for a supply of regular labour has been severely felt. Again and again the proprietors of the fibre factories have represented that unless indentured labour from India can be supplied they will have no alternative but to abandon their enterprise. Sir J. Hayes Sadler, when Governor of the Protectorate, asked the sanction of the Colonial Office to a scheme for the employment of indentured Indians to make up for the uncertainty and vagrancy of the indigenous labour supply. But Lord Crewe came to the conclusion that the objections to the scheme were so great as to preclude him from sanctioning it. He suggested importation of labour from Nyassaland, but this was found to be impracticable on account of the cost, besides being open to other objections.

The reasons for Lord Crewe's veto of the Indian project are not set forth in the published papers ; but undoubtedly a strong consideration was that in the upland districts, where the supply of native labour is said to be sufficient for the needs of the white settlers, there is great jealousy of any measures which would tend materially to increase the numbers of Indian residents. These settlers number about 1,500, of whom a considerable proportion are from Natal, and bring with them the prejudices of South Africa in respect to Indian competition. With the exception of a certain number of market gardens round Nairobi the land in the upland districts, which is not reserved for the natives, has been granted only to Europeans or emigrants from South Africa of European descent. As, however, it is recognised that such artificial boundaries might more or less break down were the Indian population much increased, the call for indentured labour is accompanied by the proviso that return to India at the expiration of the contract should be obligatory. Lord Sanderson's Committee, in accordance with the general principle it adopted, reported against acceptance of this condition. They held that it would be undesirable from an administrative point of view, and unfair to the immigrants themselves, that they should be encouraged to go out to a country where the right of ultimate settlement would be denied them. The Indians should be free to renounce their right of return and should have the opportunity of acquiring land in any part of the Protectorate suited to them. In view of the feeling existing among the white settlers in the upland districts, the Committee urged that while those districts were reserved for settlement by white men indentured immigration to the Protectorate should only be permitted under the direct control of Government and for public objects. It is to be hoped that the authorities at home and in this country will steadfastly follow this recommendation.

Times of India.

(FROM A LONDON CORRESPONDENT.)

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

A coming question is that of the exclusion of Indians (other than a few market gardeners round Nairobi) from the uplands of British East Africa—a country which owes so much to Indian enterprise and labour. The idea has been to reserve this vast area (estimated at some 30,000 square miles) for European settlers, but I gather from the evidence placed before the Colonial Office Committee on Indian Immigration that the effort has not been attended with success, the number of settlers being very small in comparison with the vastness of the area to be developed. At a luncheon given at the National Liberal Club, on Tuesday, and organised by Mr. Edward Atkin, the Honorary Secretary of the Eastern Question Association, to Mr. A. M. Jeevanjee, that most enterprising of Indians in East Africa condemned the short-sighted policy of such exclusion. He said it had been assumed in the past that this region would be the home of a large European population. Ten years had past and had seen the incoming of only a handful of settlers of European birth—many of them from South Africa—and there was no prospect of any considerable addition to the number. The fact was that the country was not, nor would it ever be, even in the judgment of many Europeans residing there, a “white man’s country.” Notwithstanding the imposition of restrictions upon Indians, the bulk of the business interests of East Africa were, and had long been, in the hands of Indian merchants. Whilst such restrictions remained he could not encourage either the emigration of his countrymen or the influx of Indian capital. He was sure that the “dog-in-the-manger” policy adopted in the Protectorate was greatly retarding its best interests. Very few of the European settlers given large farms had developed them in any degree, while many of those

who had done so had relinquished them or were willing to sell. If existing restrictions were removed he was positive that a good class of Britain's Indian subjects would be attracted with the capital necessary to change the whole aspect of the country in a very few years, from its present quiescent, stagnant condition to one of prosperity and importance. As to colour prejudice, it was a remarkable fact that in business relations there was none, everyone there, as elsewhere, being desirous of buying in the cheapest market. These remarks made a considerable impression and I understand that Mr. Jeevanjee, in his capacity as a Legislative Councillor of East Africa, has brought the matter to the notice of the Colonial Office. I may add that, at the luncheon, his health was proposed by Professor Margoliouth, of Oxford, and that Sir George Birdwood and Mr. Abbas Ali Baig also spoke.

London letter in "Englishman," Calcutta 6th September 1910,

INDIAN IN EAST AFRICA.

Mr. Edward Atkin, the energetic secretary of the Eastern Question Association, organised a pleasant luncheon in honour of Mr. Jeevanjee, the first Indian member of the British East African Legislature, at the National Liberal Club on Tuesday. Professor Margoliouth proposed Mr. Jeevanjee's health, and in reply that enterprising Khojah merchant adduced a number of reasons for the encouragement of an inflow of labour and capital from India to the part of the British dominions he has made his home. He said that the Protectorate was only being developed in a minor degree. The reason was that it had been assumed that this vast tropical region, at least in the uplands, would be the home of a large European population. The fact of the matter was that it was not, nor would it ever be, even in the judgment of many Europeans residing there, a "white man's country." He claimed therefore that the onerous and even odious restrictions upon Indian immigration and settlement should be removed. He was sure that this dog-of-the-manger

policy was greatly retarding the best interests of the colony. Very few of the European settlers who possessed farms there had developed them in any degree, while many of those who had attempted to do so, had relinquished them or were willing to sell. On the other hand, if Indian immigrants were given facilities for taking up larger areas of land, and the country was opened up to them for legitimate trading and agriculture, he was positive that a good close of Britain's Indian subjects would be attracted with the capital necessary to change the whole aspect of the country in the course of a very few years, and would make it one of the most prosperous and importance of Britain's colonies. A call to the East was the one thing needed to make British East Africa a land flowing with milk and honey.

AFRICAN WHITE PRESS (C).

A FEW SAMPLES.

The Leader of British East Africa, 5th November 1910.

THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

As anticipated by us in our article of last week, the doings of the new Legislative Council (as we turned it) show increased activity in the non-official element, the advent of Mr. T. A. Wood and Mr. V. M. Newland to its debates giving strength to the popular side. This broadening of debate must be as welcome to the Administration as it is to the public. It is a sign of weakness and poverty in Government to seek to limit popular expression; it is a sign of strength to welcome and encourage it.

The feature of this sitting is the replies made by Government to the questions asked by Mr. V. M. Newland on the Jeevanjee statements in England. The figures and particulars elicited in reply give direct negatives to almost all the state-

ments forming the case of Mr. Jeevanjee in his endeavour to evoke the indignation of the home people on the treatment of Indians here. So far is it untrue that the Indians pay the most of the rates and own most of the property in Nairobi that statistics show the proportion of rates paid by Indian residents is only about a quarter of the total received, and of the water rate very much less than a quarter. Of the property owned in the Municipal area, 1,356 acres are held by Europeans, and 238 acres only by Indians (including Goans). This disposes effectually of the claim by Mr. Jeevanjee that he and his fellow Indians own the best part of Nairobi. Questions were not asked as to the relative trade of the two classes of residents here, but even in this, including the old Indian merchant firms at Mombasa, it would be seen, we maintain, that the gross trade, inwards and outwards, is overwhelmingly in favour of the European element. Thus, at one fell swoop, the case of Mr. Jeevanjee is demolished. The settlers of this colony, indignant at such misrepresentations being made at home by a member of their Legislative Council, deliberately uttered, it would seem, to arouse racial strife, look to His Excellency the Governor, as the person responsible for their welfare and peaceful administration, for such redress as the occasion demands. It would be a danger and a farce for Mr. Jeevanjee to again resume his seat on the Council, and the Colonial Office will be very ill-advised indeed should they seek to continue the dangerous experiment of appointing an inexperienced Indian merchant, unversed in public affairs, to the Legislative Council of a European settlement.

Upon the first announcement of the appointment of Mr. Jeevanjee we deemed it a great political risk on the part of His Majesty's Government, a venture which would probably end in disaster. The very danger we feared has come about, and it is now up to His Excellency to make proper representations to the Home Government for a reconsideration of their policy in order that this, as we hope, abortive attempt to arouse racial jealousy and rivalry in a peaceful community, shall not have a chance of being repeated.

The Leader of British East Africa, 1st October 1910.

THE JEEVANJEE ESCAPEDE.

Mr. Jeevanjee has outdone his previous performance in his latest taradiddle. We always considered that Mr. Jeevanjee had brains, good commercial brains, but we underrated him; the simple Indian merchant has splendidly spoofed the *Daily Chronicle*, which has fallen beautifully in the trap set for it by the wily East African Indian. Of course the Hon. Mr. Jeevanjee, M. L. C., the millionaire trader and absentee landowner (who has recently been absent from British East Africa for over two years) is "acting for the Nairobi Agricultural Department." Of course, "85 per cent. of the commerce of this country is in the hands of the Indians." Naturally, "Mr. Jeevanjee owns *all* the best property in Nairobi" and "has built *all* the Government buildings." "He built all the hospitals and post offices between Mombasa and Port Florence." Of course "in Nairobi, the Indians pay practically all the taxes." We are all so well aware (the *Daily Chronicle* tells us on the word of Mr. Jeevanjee) that no Indian may enter the market. (Query—the JEEVANJEE MARKET!). Of course Mr. Jeevanjee represents the commercial interests of Uganda, Mombasa and Nairobi (By the bye we *thought* we had a Chamber of Commerce here, officially acknowledged, with over 30 members and no Jeevanjee among them all!). We are even to acknowledge that Indians run the steamers on the Lake!—Well, all these facts are true, with the exception that Mr. Jeevanjee is *not* acting for the "Nairobi Agricultural Department," which does not even exist! Eighty-five per cent. of the commerce of the country is *not* in the hands of the Indians, or anything approaching it. Mr. Jeevanjee does *not* own all the best property in Nairobi nor did he build the Government buildings; the only Hospital here with any pretence to being a hospital was *not* built by Mr. Jeevanjee. Indians do *not* even pay all the taxes; they do not even pay their due share of taxes. Mr. Jeevanjee is modest

enough to hide the fact that the only Market here for years was his own, in which no European vendor is included— all Indians ! The market he does mention in one only recently established and supported by Europeans for Europeans. The old market which still flourishes, is an Indian preserve and has always catered, and does to-day cater for the public. In commerce Mr. Jeevanjee only represents himself and has no prominent place of business here at all. Of course the Lake Steamers are run by Government with European officers and *not* by Indians. With the exception of all these negatives Mr. Jeevanjee is perhaps, correct. The “pace we think” is too fast to last. “Philip drunk” will soon be “Philip sober.” When these *absolute negatives* reach England (if they have not already been discounted) those who have been taken in by this de Rougemont yarn will learn that these Highlands of British East Africa have been first settled and occupied by the European and *not* Indian ; that the trade and commerce of the place here is *not* Indian controlled that it never will be ; that neither Mr. Jeevanjee, the “*Daily Chronicle*,” nor even the British Government itself can force Indian settlement over British settlement ; that it would be a pretty sight for the gods to see at one and the same time the British people paramount in India and the Indian people paramount in a British Colony, planted there by a regiment of dragoons from England ! !

The Leader of Africa, 1st October 1910.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LEASING TO NATIVES.

THE EDITOR OF THE “LEADER.”

SIR,—Firmly believing, as I do, that few settlers, if any, desire to retain natives on their holdings merely in order to have sufficient cultivation to justify their right to the land, I was much surprised at the attitude of some gentlemen at the Colonists' meeting of the 19th instant, in regard to this important question.

I object to the words "sub-letting" and "leasing" as applied to the retention of natives of any kind on European lands. I do not think we "sub-let" or "lease" land when we permit a few natives to cultivate small areas on our lands, on the emphatic understanding that they can be removed at any time, and when, in addition, these men render us service whenever called on to do so.

May I point out a few advantages to be gained by having men on one's own land? Firstly I take it that such men are clearly given to understand that they are liable to be moved at any time that the land they live on, or cultivate, is required, and that a condition of their occupancy is that they shall work, for pay, for the owner, for a given period in each year. By having men on our lands we have, in any emergency, such as shortage of labour, at least a few men near at hand, who are known, and can be relied on.

It is well known that men will work on for long periods when engaged in the near neighbourhood of their homes, and this enables the settler—I speak from experience—to train men to use the plough, the harrow, the cultivator, and other implements, and it is from the men on his own land that the owner draws his supply of, what I may call, skilled labour.

If we—I speak of those of us who live in the Highlands—have to send to, say, the Fort Hall district, for our men for farm work, they will remain with us at most three months, and this will entail teaching new men, every now and again, work that is not easily learnt by the African native. Again, imported labour has to be fed, while the worker with his "shamba" near at hand, feeds himself, with no increase of wage.

Is it not better for those who keep live stock to have them in the hands of men living on their lands, men who are known; men who if they do run away, can possibly be traced; who at least have something to lose, in their huts, wives and families, than in the custody of imported natives, who once they disappear, can never be found again?

Against the benefits I have urged, it may be argued that there are disadvantages, such as diseases brought in by cattle and sheep, but I would submit that with one's tenants well in hand; with the fear in their minds that any wrong-doing on their part will mean their instant removal from their present homes—and I know that a native detests moving from a home he has once built—and more than likely punishment from the hands of Government as well, they can be kept from moving their flocks and herds without permission.

I do not for a moment hold with natives being left to do such, and all, cultivation, as alone shall justify the owner's claim to the fulfilment of Government requirements, nor do I think absentee owners should be allowed to have natives residing, or cultivating, on their lands, for the simple reason that such natives cannot be watched, and may do any amount of thieving from adjacent farms, or move stock, but I do say that in the case of settlers, who in most cases are working hard to get some *permanent* crop down, the retaining of a few natives on their lands, at any rate for some years to come, is an imperative necessity.

The leading article in the "Standard" of the 19th instant imputes two most unworthy motives to Europeans, when it asserts that they are deliberately sub-letting their holdings for the purposes of financial gain, and to get their lands developed. To say the least of it, an assertion of this serious nature should not be made without an exhaustive enquiry into the matter.

Yours faithfully,

R. BLADEN TAYLOR.

Castle Farm, Kikuyu, 22nd September, 1910.

[This letter was received too late to admit inclusion in last week's issue.—ED. LEADER.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "LEADER."

SIR,—I cannot help thinking that there has been a serious confusion of ideas and purpose on the subject of sub-letting land to natives. Government letting Crown Lands to natives—

of any description is a very different matter to owners of farms making a private arrangement with natives to till their land. Whereas the former is strongly to be deprecated as acting directly against the settlers' interest and desire to make this a white man's country, to try and prevent the latter is to interfere with the liberty of the subject, who must be justified in claiming the right to do that which seemeth unto him best with his own.

There are a large number of small farmers in the Nairobi and Kiambu district owning 640 acres of land who have not the where-withal to cultivate more than 50 or 100 acres at most, and surely it must be to the advantage of the farmer concerned and the country in general to have the land worked, than that such should remain in a state of unproductiveness covered, with bush.

The view put forward to the effect that by allowing natives to work land which ought to be worked by the white owner is putting a premium on idleness, is neither here nor there. It is impossible for legislation to cater for the idler and waster, such are parasites of the community and parasites there must always be.

I cannot help thinking that only a small mole-hill has to be dealt with and that the mountain of difficulties exist merely in imagination. Yet there are points which require legislation, for instance it is questionable whether sub-letting for an actual cash rental should be allowed, more especially with coast natives, Asiatics or any native that is not indigenious to the land, neither should natives' live stock of any description be allowed on farms which are surrounded by other farms and only on special permit in the case of isolated estates, Mount Margaret for example, where stock would interfere with no one.

The above phase of the question appears to be hopelessly mixed up with quite a material and private matter of the man on the land and should he be desirous of establishing families of the indigenious natives on his farm, which is done pretty well all over South Africa, why in the name of common sense should he

not do so? Under these circumstances there need not or should not be any question of sub-letting or any shauri of the kind in lieu of which the owner of the land would draw his labour therefrom and have first claim on their disposable produce at a fixed rate, which would pay a native well, but which could not be produced at the price by a white man. At the same time, in his own interests, the owner of the farm would provide them with improved seed which incidentally would cost the natives no more to grow than their own rubbish. The advantages thus derived by the export trade are obvious and it is difficult to see any cause for contention.

The natives thus established on private land would be under Governmental control but the farmer would be at liberty to turn them off if unsatisfactory as also the natives would be at liberty to leave and go back to the reserve if the arrangements did not suit them. There would be no compulsion either way, so that any suggestion of serfdom is little short of absurd.

The attacks on Lord Delamere by those who have not the courage to subscribe their own names to their letters are worthy of only passing notice, but I would suggest that the "small retired farmer" could not do better than keep in retirement and not try to take up mud in a swift-running stream. Lord Delamere requires no champion and I would not insult him by posing as such. He is a man whose interests are centred solely in the progress of the country, one whose motives are absolutely pure, although his methods may have from time to time been open to criticism, one to whom East Africans owe a very great deal.

In conclusion, I would add that it is infamous the way some people throw in Lord Delamere's teeth what they call his "high caste" and that such an attitude displays an infinitely worse type of snobbery than what is known as open toadyism.

Gilgil,

26th September, 1910.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN K. HILL.

CHAPTER III.

COUNCIL INTERPELLATIONS, &C.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

MONDAY.

THE JEEVANJEE STATEMENTS.

THE Legislative Council's new session opened on Monday, there being present, His Excellency the Governor, (Sir Percy Girouard, K.C.M.G.), The Hon. Messrs. Bowring (Treasurer), Hobley (Provincial Commissioner), Combe (Crown Advocate), Currie (General Manager of Uganda Railway), Major (Chief of Customs), and Macdonald (Director of Agriculture), and the following nominated members:—Right Hon. Lord Delamere, Hon. Messrs. Wilson, Wood, Swift and Newland.

The Hon. Messrs. T. R. Swift, F. W. Major and T. A. Wood were sworn in.

QUESTIONS.

The Hon. Mr. T. A. Wood asked:—

Is it a fact that the Native Pass Regulations of 1900 have been allowed to fall into disuse in parts of the Kikuyu country, Ukamba Province? If so, upon whose authority? Was the question of the probable effect on the native labour supply, in the district referred to, given full consideration before such an authority was granted?

The Provincial Commissioner replied :—

The Rules under the Native Pass Regulations 1900 which require that a native travelling outside the district in which he ordinarily resides shall obtain a pass from a Provincial Commissioner or District Commissioner were cancelled in so far as they related to natives passing between the Nairobi and Kiambu Districts, by a Rule published in the Official Gazette of May 1st of this year.

As a very large number of natives pass between those two districts in the course of their daily business or in the service of their employers it was found impossible to enforce the Pass Regulations without unduly inconveniencing natives and their employers.

The cancellation of the Rule would not appear to affect the labour supply in either of the districts concerned since there could have been no question of refusing a pass to any native desirous of moving from one of those districts to the other with the *bona fide* intention of seeking work.

With this exception the Pass Regulations are, in law, in force throughout the Ukamba Province and no authority has been given to the District Officers or to the Police to permit natives to travel out of their districts without a pass.

It must, however, be admitted that the pass law is not fully enforced, and, further, cannot be enforced without a considerable increase in the staff of officers charged with the duty of issuing and checking passes.

The matter is under consideration but at the moment it is not possible to say that, even with the assistance of the Justices of the Peace to be appointed, adequate machinery can be provided for carrying into effect a pass law which requires that a special permit shall be obtained by a native on each occasion on which he desires to travel outside the district in which he resides. A further question deserving of careful consideration is whether, provided that some means can be devised of identifying natives travelling outside their districts, it would not be

advisable to permit natives to move freely from district to district except when for political reasons it may be deemed necessary to restrict the movement of natives into or out any particular area.

Honourable Members will be given an opportunity of discussing in Council any alteration in the existing pass law which it may be proposed to introduce.

The Hon. Mr. V. M. Newland asked :—

(1) Is it true that the Hon. Mr. A. M. Jeevanjee was requested by the Agricultural Department to act as a commercial representative of the East Africa Protectorate during his recent visit to Europe, as reported in the *Daily Chronicle* of the 1st September?

The Crown Advocate replied :—

The reply to this question is in the negative.

Mr. Newland asked :—

(2) Can any information be given to Council as to the amount of rates and taxes paid per annum in Nairobi (a) by Indians (b) by Europeans and other residents, it being reported in the *Daily Chronicle* of the 1st September that the Hon. Mr. Jeevanjee claims that Indians pay practically the whole of these?

The Crown Advocate replied :—

It is estimated that the fees levied under the Township Fees and Conservancy Ordinance 1908 in the Township of Nairobi will, in this year, amount to 40,456 rupees; of this sum British Indians will pay, directly, Rs. 10,912 and indirectly through the Uganda Railway Administration on account of houses in the Township occupied by employees of the Railway a further sum of approximately Rs. 125. Europeans and other residents, excepting Natives who pay no fees under the Ordinance referred to, will pay directly Rs. 12,428 and indirectly through the Uganda Railway Administration a further sum of approximately Rs. 348. The balance of the revenues

obtained under the Ordinance will be paid by the Government for services rendered by the Township authority to Government Departments.

The water rate collected by the Township authority amounts to some 11,940 rupees per annum. Of this sum Europeans pay 9,120 rupees, Goanese 660 rupees and British Indians 1,980 rupees. The balance amounting to Rs. 180 is levied in respect of certain street stand-pipes and is paid by the occupants of houses in the neighbourhood of the stand-pipes, the majority of such persons being British Indians.

Mr. Newland asked :—

(3) Can any information be given to Council as to the area and value of property in Nairobi (a) owned by Indians (b) held by Europeans and others, the Hon. Mr. Jeevanjee claiming, according to the *Daily Chronicle* of the 1st September, that Indians own nearly the whole town ?

The Crown Advocate replied :—

Nairobi Township area contains some 4,524 acres.

The Government has reserved 869 acres for the purposes of the Uganda Railway Administration, 123 acres as a Forest Reserve for Township purposes, and 48 acres for the purposes of the Waterworks.

1,594 acres have been leased. Of these 1,356 acres are held by Europeans, and 238 acres by Asiatics (British Indian and Goanese being included). The balance, some 1,890 acres, include roads, land occupied by Government Offices and Quarters, and unalienated Crown land.

These figures relate only to land within the area which has been proclaimed to be a Township for the purposes of certain Municipal Regulations. A portion of Parklands and some of the land on Nairobi Hill outside such area and occupied for residential purposes by Europeans engaged in business in Nairobi Township, are excluded.

I regret that I am unable to inform the Honourable Member as to the value of property in the Township held by Indians, Europeans, and others respectively. To obtain an accurate estimate it would be necessary that a valuation of property should be directed for such purpose.

Mr. Newland asked :—

(4) May the Council be informed as to what townships, if any, have been laid out in the Protectorate, in which Indians may not acquire land, it being reported in the *Daily Chronicle* of the 1st September that the Hon. Mr. Jeevanjee alleged Indians are debarred from acquiring town properties in the Protectorate ?

The Crown Advocate replied :—

There is no Township in the Protectorate in which Indians are prohibited from acquiring land.

Mr. Newland asked :—

(5) Can any information be given to Council as to whether it is true that the Hon. Mr. Jeevanjee stated to a representative of the *Daily Chronicle* (as reported in an article published in the 1st of September issue of that paper) that Indians are debarred from entering the Naisobi Produce Market ? If the Hon. Member made that statement, should it not be explained in justice to the Administration of the Protectorate, that three Produce Markets exist in Nairobi (a) the European Produce Market, (b) the Native Produce Market, and (c) the Asiatic Produce Market, the last being owned by the Hon. Mr. A. M. Jeevanjee, and having a turnover vastly exceeding that of the European Produce Market, which has only recently come into existence ?

The Crown Advocate replied :—

The Government have no official information as to the statements in question.

Lord Delamere asked what steps the Governor would take in regard to this misrepresentation by one of the members of the Council in England ? Surely some steps should be taken to con-

contradict the statements as an ordinary person reading such things believed them. Surely the Council was responsible to some extent in this matter. The replies to Mr. Newland's questions were almost in the direct negative to the assertions of Mr. Jeevanjee and he would like to know if His Excellency had any intention to refute those statements, seeing they would do grave harm to the country if not denied.

His Excellency stated that he had already intimated to one of the colonial associations in England that the Government intended to take action in this matter. But they had no Official information of any kind and at present they were merely replying to statements made by a member of the Council to a London newspaper. His Excellency added that he intended to investigate the matter himself, personally, when in England shortly.

Standard, 24th December 1910.

INDIAN IN EAST AFRICA.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE STANDARD."

Sir,—On my return to London from provincial and Continental journeys my attention has been called to a letter published in your issue of December 7th from a number of European traders and merchants in Nairobi taking exception to some statements made in an interview with me reported in the *Daily Chronicle* of September 1. Attached to the letter was a reproduction from the "African Standard" of questions asked in the Legislative Council by Mr. V. M. Newland and the official replies of Mr. Combe. With your permission I will, as briefly as possible, defend myself from the charge of your correspondents that "several statements made in the interview were most misleading" by dealing *seriatim* with the interpellations made in the Legislature, wherein I have the honour to represent the Indian community.

The first question had relation to the statement of the interviewer that I am in Europe "acting as a sort of commercial traveller for (my) adopted country at the request of the Nairobi Agricultural Department." This statement was too broad and general, but there was a foundation for it that does not fit in with the denial of Mr. Combe. I have in my possession a copy of a letter from the Department of Agriculture received by my firm just before my departure for Europe, and dated May 25th last, forwarding 21 samples of seeds for me to bring to Europe. The letter added : " These samples are all numbered according to the attached list, and duplicate samples have been kept in the office. In getting quotations it would be advisable to refer to the numbers as well as the name in order to avoid mistakes."

The second and third questions had relation to my statement that in Nairobi Indians " pay practically the whole of the taxes, and own nearly the whole of the town." The figures given by Mr. Combe as to fees levied under the Township Fees and Conservance Ordinance, 1908, show that British Indians will pay directly Rs. 10,912, while " Europeans and other residents, excepting natives who pay no fees under the ordinance referred to " will pay directly Rs. 12,428. The balance of the revenues obtainable will be paid by the Government and the railway, and, therefore, do not come into the question. I would in the first place point out that the term " other residents," excluding as it does both Europeans and natives, applies only to Asiatics. The distinction drawn between British Indians and Goanese is quite artificial, for, as is well known, the great majority of the latter are domiciled in British India, since in the Portuguese settlement of Goa there is inadequate scope for them. Moreover, settlers from India though they may have been born and bred in East Africa should be classed for the purpose of such inquiries as British Indians, since they in common with their brethren who have come directly and emigrated from India are subject to the restrictions of which the community have complained. These distinctions greatly affect the validity of the official figures.

The Goanese are separately specified in Mr. Combe's reply as to the water rate. He states that Europeans pay Rs. 9,120, Goanese Rs. 660, and British Indians Rs. 1,980, thus making the Asiatic total Rs. 2,640. The disparity between this figure and that for European residents is due in a large measure to the regrettable fact that the Indians are, in many cases, denied facilities for securing a supply of water in their own homes. Mr. Combe admitted that in respect to the levy for street stand-pipes the majority of persons who have no other supply than the stand-pipes provided are British Indians. I have a file of correspondence with the municipal authorities showing that applications from Indian residents for the laying on of water have been refused. In reply to complaints I was informed by the president of the municipality in a letter dated April 11 last that "it is expected that by the end of this year the present supply will be doubled, and that further extensions will be effected in the future" Meanwhile the sufferers from the shortage have been the British Indians.

As to Indian ownership of properties, my reference, as must be obvious to any one acquainted with the town and district of Nairobi, was to the business centre of the town, just in the same way as allusions to "the City" relate to "the square mile" round the Bank of England and not to the vast suburban areas. The "municipal circle" at Nairobi was defined with a view to future developments, and includes a large area of residential suburbs, native locations, and ground for market gardening. Every Government and railway European official receives a ten-acre plot. The 869 acres for the purposes of the Uganda Railway administration, the 123 acres as a forest reserve, and 48 acres for water works mentioned in Mr. Combe's reply are all outside the "town" to which I referred. It follows that the figures given by the hon. member, relating as they did to the whole of the municipal area, are not pertinent to my allegation. Indeed, he intimated that he was unable to state the value of property in the township held by Indians, Europeans, and others respectively, since to do this a

valuation of property would be required. If the figures are obtained for the business quarters they will, I am sure, bear out my statement.

Mr. Newland did not correctly quote me when in his fourth question he said that I had alleged that Indians are debarred from acquiring town properties in the Protectorate. A reference to the interview will show that, on being handed some notifications showing that plots of land offered for sale could only be disposed of or leased to persons of European origin, my interlocutor asked what it meant. I replied that it meant "we are not to be allowed to purchase land in our own country," *i.e.*, if this exclusion is to be maintained. When Mr. Combe stated that there is no township in which Indians are prohibited from acquiring land he must have meant that this policy is not definitely and expressly laid down in any legislative ordinance or town regulation. But in practice—as numerous official notices of sale recently issued testify—it has been over and over again laid down that lands in townships offered for sale are not to be sold or leased to non-Europeans. It follows that it is true only in a technical sense that in no township are Indians prohibited from acquiring land.

In a final question, couched in argumentative form, Mr. Newland took exception to the statement that Indians are debarred from entering the produce market at Nairobi, and said it ought to be explained that there are three produce markets in the town. Of these, however, the market for natives, situated outside the business area to which I have referred, is used only by the native population for their domestic and agricultural sales and purchases, and does not come into the question. From 1903, when I built, at the request of the Government, what is known all over the Protectorate as the Jeevanjee market, it has been maintained by the municipal authorities, and traders of all nationalities have had unrestricted access thereto. But shortly after my departure from East Africa last summer a separate market was opened for Europeans, and the regulations quoted by the interviewer show that non-Europeans may not enter the

market or transact business there without being authorised to do so by European employers. I did not intend to suggest that Indians had no marketing centres to resort to ; indeed, my remark that these rules were issued in a town "where practically the whole of the business is carried on by us Indians" was in itself evidence that we have facilities for exchange and sale. My complaint was, and is, that the municipal authority should institute this racial discrimination, apparently with a view to give European producers and merchants an artificial and unfair advantage over their Indian competitors.

I am confident that the foregoing explanations will satisfy unprejudiced observers that there was no want of good faith on my part. It is satisfactory to note that all other statements made in the course of the interview have remained unchallenged. In all I said I was actuated by the most loyal motives, and nothing could be further from my thoughts than to show any ill-will towards the European element, with which I am proud to have been associated for many years in active work for the development of the country. I simply claim, and shall continue to claim, that the policy of seeking to restrict and prevent the full play of Indian co-operation in such development is a suicidal one; because I hold most strongly that British East Africa can only be truly prosperous and yield to man its potential resources by the cordial and sympathetic co-operation of the English and the Indian races. It is entirely contrary to my purpose to do or say anything prejudicial to such co-operation, and I feel it my duty to call attention to any policy antagonistic thereto.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

A. M. JEEVANJEE.

Cannon-street Hotel.

CHAPTER IV.

MOSLEM LEAGUE REPRESENTATION.

THE LONDON ALL-INDIA MOSLEM LEAGUE.

42, Queen Anne's Chambers,
Westminster, S. W.

To

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
THE COLONIES,
COLONIAL OFFICE, S. W.

SIR,

From time to time my Committee have had their attention directed to certain serious disabilities imposed of late upon Indians in British East Africa. In response to requests reaching them from influential and varied quarters, they feel compelled to submit a statement of the case and their views thereon for the consideration of the Right Honourable Secretary of State, in the earnest confidence that his Lordship will see that these grievances cannot remain unredressed, and will consequently give instructions for substantial modifications in the policy now being pursued. My Committee take up the question with the greater assurance that their views will be duly considered, because a considerable proportion of the Indian inhabitants of the Protectorate follow the Moslem faith, and because the Indians who have done most to develop the resources and trade of the country are our co-religionists.

2. It is unnecessary to dwell in any detail upon the signal contribution the Indian community has rendered to civilisation and material development in East Africa. This contribution is

known to date back at least to the 15th century, and probably began much earlier, being anterior to the advent of European influence in Zanzibar and on the adjacent portion of the mainland. The value of Indian merchants and traders to this part of Africa, great as it was in the past has been vastly increased by the establishment of British rule. In the conquest and pacification of the Protectorate, Indian soldiers bore an honourable part. The peace and ordered liberty brought thereby have permitted of industrial developments in which the Indians have rendered invaluable, not to say, indispensable service. To quote the Right Honourable Winston Churchill, in his book, "My African Journey" (a journey undertaken as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies): "It is the Indian trader, who, penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no white man could go or in which no white man could earn a living, has more than any one else developed the early beginnings of trade and opened up the first slender means of communication." Not only so; the construction of the railway from the coast to Lake Victoria Nyanza was carried out by Indian labourers recruited by Government, it being found impossible to obtain indigenous labour either in sufficient quantities or of a sufficiently continuous kind. At one time as many as 25,000 Indians were employed upon the line. The contract for the supply of labour was in the hands of a distinguished Indian Moslem, who has made East Africa his home, and who occupies now a seat on the British East African Legislature. The contractual period was three years, and a return passage to the home of each worker could be claimed. The labourers were, however, free to remain in the country at the expiration of their contract, and a few of them did so, sending for, or fetching their wives and families.

3. At the present time the railway is chiefly worked by indentured immigrants from India under the same conditions of contract, and it is estimated that some 2,000 Indians are so employed. The evidence laid before the important Committee appointed by the Secretary of State with Lord Sanderson as

Chairman, to consider the question of Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates (Cd. 5192-4, 1910), shows that a large Indian staff is essential to the working of the line. "We could not do without them," said the manager of the line. There was much other similar testimony as to the need for the continuance of the Indian trader in the country, since their enterprise enables articles of European use to be obtained at moderate prices. Sir John Kirk, whose official connection with Zanzibar began some 45 years ago, and who has probably an unequalled knowledge of the Protectorate, told the Committee that the disappearance of the Indian trader would mean such an increase in the cost of living as would necessitate a general rise of salaries. His Lordship does not need to be reminded that this would be a serious contingency in a country which is still far from self-supporting, and is therefore dependent upon heavy annual grants-in-aid from the British Exchequer. Asked whether the Indians had played a considerable part in the development of the Protectorate, Sir John Kirk replied: "But for the Indians we should not be there now. It was entirely through gaining possession of the influence of these Indian merchants that we were enabled to build up influence that eventually resulted in our position." The conclusion reached by Lord Sanderson's Committee on this and other evidence was that the presence of a considerable number of Indian inhabitants has been and continues to be of material advantage to the British administration of the Protectorate. They added that the importation of Indian labour afforded indispensable assistance for the rapid completion of the Railway, and is still of material use for its economical maintenance and working.

4. The Sanderson Committee held that the practice of obtaining indentured labour from India for the Railway is unobjectionable and indeed beneficial, and might in case of necessity, be adopted for the execution of other public undertakings by the State, though, for obvious reasons, native labour should have the preference when available. With regard to the applications that have been made to Government from time to time to promote the importation of Indian labour for the assis-

tance of private enterprise, the Departmental Committee justly took up a somewhat different attitude. Government help of this kind has been asked for in regard to the cotton plantations on the coast, and also for the fibre factories in what is known as the intermediate zone between the coast districts and the uplands. The factory owners have represented that indentured labour from India is necessary if their enterprise is to be maintained, the native labour-supply having proved utterly insufficient and unsatisfactory. In these circumstances Sir James Hayes-Sadler, when Governor of the Protectorate, on June 4th, 1908, sent a despatch to the Secretary of State proposing that his Lordship should address the India Office with a view to ascertaining the terms on which labourers would be allowed to be recruited for private enterprise in East Africa. He expressed the strong opinion that the Indian labourers should be induced to bring with them their wives and families, and should be given facilities for setting in the country outside "the European settlement area." Outside such area, he said :—

"The Protectorate has everything to gain from Indian settlement, both in the actual development, it will itself bring about, and in the stimulating effect it will have on production by the natives, on whom and the Indians, East Africa must, whatever be the conditions of the uplands, mainly depend for the production and development of its economic resources."

5. His Lordship replied on the 27th August, 1908, that while he desired to give every assistance to the settlers who were seeking to develop the resources of the country, the objections to the scheme appeared to him to be so great as to preclude him from sanctioning it. The alternative of importing labourers from Nyassaland was suggested by his Lordship. The Governor, by despatch and cable, both dated 25th February, 1909, informed the Secretary of State that it had been found that the cost of importing labour from Nyassaland would be prohibitive ; and urged the Secretary of State to reconsider

the question of indentured Indian labour, and to approach the India Office with the object of obtaining 1,200 men, with their families, for contract periods of not less than three years. His Lordship replied on 12th April, 1909, stating that he was then precluded from considering the question, as an Inter-Departmental Committee had been appointed to report on Indian emigration to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates, and its report must be awaited.

6. The objections entertained by his Lordship to the proposals of the ex-Governor when first submitted are not set forth in detail in the printed papers. But my Committee cherish the confident belief that they correspond with those which led Lord Sanderson's Committee to ask for a change of conditions of Indian settlement as an essential pre-requisite to Government aid in the obtainment of indentured Indian labour. They reported that while the planters and fibre manufacturers are eager for the recruitment of their labour-supply by Indians, the European settlers in the upland zone show great jealousy of any measures which would tend to increase materially the number of Indian residents, and that there is, in particular, the strongest objection to allowing them to acquire land and enter into competition with the European farmer.

7. His Lordship is aware that in August, 1907, the Land Board of the Protectorates recommended that Government land in certain specified areas should not be allotted to Indians. In transmitting the resolution to his Lordship's predecessor (Lord Elgin), Mr. Montgomery, the Commissioner of Lands, reminded the Secretary of State that the claims of the Indian community could not be lightly disregarded, seeing that they were in the country long before Europeans settled there, that but for Indian labour the Uganda Railway would never have been constructed; that "most of the trading wealth of the country is in the hands of the Indians," and "finally, Indians are British subjects." These strong considerations, unhappily, were not kept in view by Lord Elgin to the degree they merited. In a despatch to the Governor (March 19th, 1908), his Lordship

said : " With regard to the granting of land to Indians, it is not consonant with the views of his Majesty's Government to impose legal restrictions on any particular section of the community, but as a matter of administrative convenience grants should not be made to Indians in the upland areas." My Committee venture to submit that questions of principle, affecting the contentment and well-being of the Indian subjects of His Majesty ought not to be subordinated to mere " administrative convenience," and that a grave mistake was made in reaching a conclusion so opposed to the declared policy of His Majesty's Government. It would appear from the published fact that Lord Elgin did not contemplate the extension of the restriction he reluctantly accepted for " administrative convenience," to anything like so wide an area as is now claimed to be suitable for reservation for those designated " white settlers."

8. The present claim is that the whole of the highlands, which are fertile, and have an area estimated at from 25,000 to 30,000 square miles, should be reserved exclusively for a white population. To meet the requirements of European residents in and about Nairobi, the upland capital of the Protectorate, Indians have been allowed to till a certain number of market gardens in the neighbourhood. But, otherwise the land in this vast upland area is being and has been granted only to Europeans, or emigrants from South Africa of European descent. Including the Eurasians, or persons of mixed nationality, the European element in the Protectorate population numbers only 2,000. Nearly 600 of the total live in Nairobi, and some 200 are resident in Mombassa. There are some 400 European or Eurasian farmers in the uplands within easy reach of Nairobi. This is a very paltry result of the effects made within the last ten years to colonise the upland tracts with white men. The region in question enjoys a fairly temperate climate " in which it is affirmed," cautiously observes the report of Lord Sander-son's Committee, " that Europeans can live all the year round with their families, " and even do a certain amount of moderate manual labour without injury to health." But it would appear

from statistics that there are some 50,000 natives in the area of these forms, and there can be no question that the work is done almost entirely by the negro population.

9. That high authority on African affairs, Sir Harry H. Johnston, assented when before the Committee to Sir George Robertson's view that "it is rather a scandal . . . that 400 European farmers should have the power to monopolise the whole of this district of British East Africa and exclude Indians from coming and settling there." There are obvious misplacements in the official report of Sir Harry Johnston's answer (No. 4118), but its drift is clear. Sir Harry holds the regulation to be "absurd." He thinks that there is in this area patches, not necessarily connected, which might be allotted to white people, if they care to take them up; "but all the rest should certainly be open to all races."

Sir Harry Johnston also observed that mixture of races in settlements on the uplands was inevitable. He thought they must give up all idea of a self-governing colony in East Africa :—

"It is possible, of course, that things might so develop, that you could allow a little enclave to have great local municipal powers of administration if it were thickly populated by whites. But if the whites are not going to come while the land lies open to them—it should not lie open indefinitely—I should certainly not offer such a favour to them and embarrass your own administration by looking forward to any such idea."

10. Some of the evidence heard by the Inter-Departmental Committee was favourable to the continuance of a restriction, which more than anything else stands in the way of the development of the richest and most fertile portion of the Protectorate. But the Committee could not accept this view. The report points out that the mere prohibition of purchase of land by Indians is not itself a sufficient barrier; that "there is a strong feeling that unless further precautions are taken, it will

“ be very difficult, if not impossible, in the future to exclude
 “ the Indian agriculturist from over stepping any artificial bound-
 “ dary that may be laid down.” The suggestion that the indented
 labour for privately owned industries should be allowed with
 the proviso of compulsory repatriation to India is emphatically
 condemned by the Sanderson Committee. After pointing out
 that such a refusal to permit settlement in the country is not
 attached to the system under which the Railway obtains con-
 tractual Indian labour, the Report proceeds :—

“It appears to us that in any new system of inden-
 “tured immigration which may be instituted for the bene-
 “fit of private enterprise it should be an essential condi-
 “tion that the freedom of the labourer should not be
 “interfered with more than is necessary for his own
 “protection and for the due performance of his contract,
 “and that on the expiration of his term of indentured
 “service he should be free to remain in the country if he
 “pleases, without any disabilities other than those which
 “may attach to residents of Indian extraction who have
 “been born there or have come over in the ordinary way.
 “Unless these conditions are willingly and frankly ac-
 “cepted by the European community, it would, in our
 “opinion, be undesirable from an administrative point of
 “view, and unfair to the immigrants themselves, that
 “they should be encouraged to come to a country where
 “their continued presence will be viewed with suspi-
 “cion and dislike and may not possibly give rise to
 “political trouble in the future. We cannot, therefore,
 “advise the institution of a system of indentured immi-
 “gration for co on plantations in the coast districts, and
 “for a fibre factories in the intermediate zone, unless the
 “immigrants, when their contract has expired, are free
 “to renounce their right to return and have the oppor-
 “tunity of acquiring land in any part of the Protectorate
 “which is suited to them. And in view of the feeling
 “which exists among the white settlers in the upland
 “districts, we should urge that while these districts are

“reserved for settlement by white colonists, indentured immigration to the Protectorate should only be permitted under the direct control of the Government and for public objects.”

11. My Committee earnestly appeal to the Secretary of State to adhere undeviatingly to this recommendation, and to make abrogation of the present injurious policy a condition of the organisation of a system of a indentured labour from India for private industrial enterprises. We desire to quote in this connection the substance of some observations recently made by the representative of the Indian community upon the Legislature of the Protectorate. He remarked that British East Africa had enormous latent wealth, but this had only been developed spasmodically and in very minor degree. The Protectorate had the finest harbour along the entire Eastern seaboard of the African Continent, and a railway traversed the entire length of the territory. Yet ten years of booming had brought only a handful of European settlers, and there was no prospect of any considerable augmentation. The fact of the matter was that British East Africa was not, nor would it ever be (even in the judgment of many European residents there) what is termed “a white men's country.” This being so, why not remove the onerous and even odious restrictions in respect to Indians? Whilst such restrictions remained he could not encourage either the emigration of his countrymen to the Protectorate or the provision of Indian capital for its development.

12. The spokesman of the Indians of the Protectorate went on to say that he was certain this “dog-in-the-manger” policy was greatly retarding the best interests of the country. India could supply thousand of the most industrious agricultural labourers in the world, and numbers of them, if assured they could make a permanent home there, and obtain some continuity of tenure, would settle with their families. Very few of the European settlers who possessed farm had developed them in any degree, while many of those who had made the attempt had relinquished it and were willing to sell. If the restriction on Indian settlement were abolished, and the country was opened

up to them for legitimate trading and agriculture, he was certain that the whole aspect of the Protectorate would be changed in a very few of years from quiescence and stagnation to prosperity and importance. The Indian had traded along the East African coast and in the Hinterland for centuries. He was a loyal British subject, and why should he not be given a fair chance to assist it developing the country which already owed so much to his labour and enterprise? To make British East Africa a "land flowing with milk and honey" was a work which the Indian could best achieve, having regard to the climatic conditions of the country and its accessibility from the Indian peninsula.

His Lordship will recognize the weight of these considerations, my Committee are persuaded, seeing that they are advanced by a gentleman who has placed a most important and beneficial part in the development of the trade and industry of East Africa in the last twenty years.

13. The economic advancement of the Protectorate being dependent, as we venture to submit, upon the substantial contribution thereto of Indian labour and enterprise, the considerations urged herein have an important bearing on the question of the annual subsidy the Protectorate has so long received and continues to receive from the British Exchequer. There can be no question that if Indian settlers were granted lands belonging to the Crown on terms similar to those prevailing in Northern India, the revenues of the country would in course of time be so well developed as to make it self-supporting, like nearly all other portions of the King's Dominions, instead of being dependent upon a heavy grant-in-aid. Sir Edward Buck, a high authority on Indian land tenure, told Lord Sanderson's Committee that if the Indian analogy were followed, the East African Administration could reap a very large revenue from a contented population. The same witness testified that when he visited the Protectorate five or six years ago prejudices against the Indians were practically non-existent, although "they were looking upon East Africa as a white man's country all the while."

14. It appears from a study of the evidence given before the Departmental Committee that a proportion of the white settlers came from Natal, and that some of the farmers are Boers. His Lordship is aware that the Boer and the Afrikaner have been accustomed for generations to treat the Native of Africa with contumely, not to say cruelty, and that in their bitter and unreasoning prejudice against "colour" they fail to sufficiently recognize the very wide distinction between the highly organised and ancient civilization of India and the semi-barbarous condition and outlook of the Kaffir. Their prejudices have been accentuated by the degree to which the sobriety, industry and other good qualities of the Indians enable them to compete in trade. If there were reasonable likelihood that the conditions prevailing in South Africa would in course of time be repeated even in a minor degree in the Protectorate, the political danger might well be guarded against in any review of the policy of the Protectorate in respect of Indian settlement. But the cumulative effect of the evidence given before Lord Sanderson's Committee has been to entirely dissipate belief in the possibility of such a contingency. Sir John Kirk, to whose high authority reference has already been made, told the Committee that he did not think the difficulties experienced in Natal on account of the large Indian population there could be repeated in East Africa, supposing the emigration of Indians under indenture, or otherwise, is encouraged. The white population, he said, would never be comparatively numerous enough to feel it. Asked the difference between the conditions of British East Africa and Natal, he replied (No. 7706) :—

"The one is a tropical country; the coast land and inland, except higher up, is tropical where the white man cannot be permanently established. Natal is a white man's country, where the white man and his family can live and settle, and naturally they feel the competition of the Indian keenly."

15. In endorsing this authoritative opinion, my Committee would humbly but strongly urge that the prejudices and selfish conceptions of a mere handful of men coming from a part of Africa where the conditions differ completely from those prevailing in the Protectorate, should not be permitted to override the economic welfare of the country.

In attempting to meet those prejudices the Government can do no good but will only aggravate the sense of indignation entertained in India on the question of emigration to some of the self-governing portions of the King's dominions. Sir Harry Johnson pointed most clearly to this danger in his evidence before Lord Sanderson's Committee. In expressing the conviction that East Africa could not get on without the Indian trader, he added that the question should be looked at from a larger point of view (No. 4094):—

“ With the eventual complete self-government of South Africa, undoubtedly, so far as I am able to follow, they will push out the Indian from Natal ; they will have no more Indians in Natal or in the Transvaal. Then the only reply of the Imperial Government to India will be : That is true ; it is, perhaps, a regrettable thing, but still, there it is, but let us point out to you as against that, in compensation, the splendid opportunities that lie before you in East Africa and Nyassaland. But if you are going to allow the white man to close East Africa to Asiatic enterprise as well as South Africa, you will create, I should think, in the long run, very grave dissatisfaction in India.”

16. The case might well be put with greater emphasis than that Sir Harry Johnson employed. The indignation of Indians of all classes and sections of political opinion in respect to the treatment of their fellow-countrymen in some of the self-governing dominions is of most serious imperial concern. Nothing could be more calculated to intensify the grave political perils with which the situation is fraught than the confirmation by His Majesty's Government of the policy of Indian restric-

tion and exclusion in East Africa, seeing that there was close-business relationship between that land and India centuries before the establishment of British rule in either land, and that ever since there has been constant direct maritime and trading contact between the two countries. In the words of His Lordship's Right Honorable colleague, Mr. Winston Churchill, it may be asked:—

“ Is it possible for any Government with a scrap of
 “ respect for honest dealing between man and man to
 “ embark upon a policy of deliberately squeezing out the
 “ native of India from regions in which he has established
 “ himself under every security of good faith ? Most of all
 “ we ask is such a policy possible to the Government which
 “ bears sway over three hundred millions of our Indian
 “ Empire.”

17. Yet such policy has been entered upon, and already the introduction of racial disabilities into the legislation and administration of the country has tended to the disintegration of the amicable and mutually helpful relations which have subsisted there between Europeans and Indians for generations. The disabilities do not consist solely of the refusal to allow Indian settlement in the upland districts. The Emigration Act originally passed with a view to preventing the landing of Europeans with inadequate funds is now being applied to Indians. It was the custom to provide insufficiently well-to-do Europeans with passages for return to their own country ; but my Committee understand that such provision is never made in the case of Indians. This differentiation is on occasions a source of hardship, and cannot have been contemplated by the framers of the Act. Its main purpose, of course, is not to keep up a certain standard of means for Indians, as in the case of Europeans, but to “ squeeze them out,” in Mr. Winston Churchill's phrase, lest they should come into competition with a mere handful of white farmers on the uplands. These farmers may or may not be British subjects. Any white man—whether a German, Greek, Italian, Spaniard, or of any other European

or white American nationality—can claim this unfair preference as against Loyal Indian subjects of the King.

18. The new policy of hampering the business and abrogating the civil rights of a community which more than any other has built up the trade of the Protectorate is leading to singular results. In Nairobi the Indians own a considerable part of the town, carrying on the great bulk of the business, and, of course, pay most of the taxes. Yet the by-laws for the regulation of the produce market there provide—

“The market master shall not accept produce for sale
“from any but Europeans or American consignors.

“Non-Europeans may not enter the market-house
“unless authorised by European employers to act on
“their behalf.

“The market master shall not accept the bid of any
“non-European before satisfying himself that such
“bidder is duly authorised in writing to purchase on
“behalf of a European.”

This order constitutes an indefensible attempt to exclude the Indian community from any further share in the development of the commerce of the upland capital of the Protectorate of which they have been the main creators, and also to place obstacles in the way of Indian farming. No doubt there are ready methods of evading prohibitions so inconsistent with economic laws of supply, demand and exchange; but irrespective of their practical effect such prohibitions are degrading to the Indian community, and the very effort to circumvent them by the obtainment of nominal authorisations from white men will seem to Indians inconsistent with the elementary rights of citizenship. Nor can the economic effect be entirely overlooked. The rules have the design, and in various ways may have the effect of placing the Indian trader at a wholly unfair disadvantage as against the white competitor.

9. It seems to my Committee absurd and contrary to both reason and ordinary justice that the Nairobi authorities

should issue a regulation under which Indian merchants, to whose business enterprise that town, and indeed the whole Protectorate largely owes their development, will be dependent upon the good offices of some white man before they can enter the market, or can send thither a bale of cotton or a pound of rubber for sale, while any European, however inferior he may be in character or circumstances, has the free run of the place. It is similarly repugnant to British conceptions of reason and justice that recently the sale of plots in the Sixth Avenue, Nairobi, was accompanied by the condition that no plot should be used "as a place of residence for Asiatics or natives who are not domestic servants "in the employ of the lessee." It has been suggested that this condition would enable Europeans to avoid the propinquity of Indians; but the plots in question are surrounded by Indian-owned and Indian-equipped quarters. In the conditions under which Nairobi has been created—mainly by Indian capital and enterprise—no effective policy of racial location could be carried out without such wholesale expropriation and other proceedings so arbitrary as to render unthinkable any attempt of the kind under the flag of a British Protectorate. Attempts to apply the policy in this or that street are therefore quite futile, and can only give unnecessary annoyance to the Indian residents without securing, even from the standpoint of racial prejudice, the slightest compensating advantage.

20. As was inevitable, the treatment of Indians in public has undergone serious deterioration now that a ban has been placed upon their freedom of residence. The steamers running to and from Lake Victoria Nyanza, are in charge of Indians, and it is the trade of Indian merchants which make the continuance of the service economically possible. Yet when well-to-do Indians purchase second-class tickets, they are not given the facilities to which they are legally entitled. They are not provided with a proper berth and bedding, as in the case of white men. There is the more need to remedy this defect because if it is not stayed, the extension of the same spirit

of racial prejudice to the railway system may be expected, especially as the steamers are under the control of the railway authorities.

21. With regard to the administration of justice the position appears to my Committee to be far from satisfactory. Europeans, but not Indians, have the right to be tried by jury. The differentiation, it is respectfully submitted, is not justifiable, and my Committee agree with the argument of the Indian Association of East Africa that at least in important cases, particularly charges of murder, there should be a mixed jury, composed of the nationality of the accused and that of the person or persons aggrieved, or at whose instance the prosecution is instituted. In Uganda, Indians serve on juries in cases affecting their fellow countrymen, and there seems no reason why a similar practice should not prevail in the neighbouring and more advanced Protectorate. Sir John Kirk told the Sanderson Committee that, from his experience in Zanzibar, he was of opinion that the Indians should be entirely under the same law as Europeans save in the matters of inheritance, marriage, &c. In view of recent developments of anti-Asiatic policy, the Indians naturally feel that the denial in their case of the right of trial by jury enjoyed by other communities, is not conducive to the impartial administration of justice and certainly does not inspire the confidence which they desire to entertain in the constituted Courts.

22. My Committee must also take exception to the invidiousness of a recent Ordinance whereby the Governor may appoint "any resident of the Protectorate, being a British subject" of European extraction, to be a Justice of the Peace for the Protectorate or any district "thereof." This wording his Lordship will observe disqualifies from service on the magisterial bench any resident of Indian birth, no matter how influential and respected he may be. This express exclusion involves a wholly unjustifiable slur upon the Indian peoples, who, in their own land, serve the Crown not merely as Justices of the Peace but as District and Sessions Judges and Judges of the High Courts; indeed, the administration of justice is

mainly in their hands. Considering that the Indians in the Protectorate outnumber the Europeans by more than 12 to 1, and have amongst them men of the highest probity and standing, it should at least be within the competence of the Governor to place representatives of the community upon the Bench.

23. A further grievance connected with the administration of justice is, that Indians suffering terms of imprisonment have little or no consideration paid to their religious scruples although these are often as dear to them as life itself. They are required to do scavenging and other menial work repugnant to their religious beliefs. The distinction between Hindus and Mahomedans, though greatly affecting dietetic and other observances and practices of daily life, is wholly disregarded. When representations upon the subject were made to the authorities, the cynical reply given was not the effect that the Indians lost their religion on leaving their native land. This reply was most unhappy, and does not accord with familiar facts. Speaking for the Moslem community my Committee can assure his Lordship that adhesion to the faith is in no sense limited by considerations of locality or isolation from fellow-Moslems. Perhaps the best answer to so ungenerous a taunt is to ask how it is, if Moslem immigrants have lost their faith, that large numbers of the indigenous races, particularly in the coastal zone, have embraced the tenets of Islam. It is incredible that conversions to Mahomedanism could have taken place on a large scale if immigrant Moslems from other lands had not carried with them a devoted attachment to the tenets and practices of their faith.

24. My Committee hold that the root-cause of these general grievances is to be found in the policy of excluding Indians from the upland zone. They venture to urge that as the attempts to colonize the uplands with white settlers, though patiently tried, has been attended with so little success it should be abandoned in the best interests of the Protectorate, and as a measure of justice for the community by whose labour and enterprise British East Africa has so greatly benefitted. It is

manifestly unfair and unreasonable to look to Indian labour to save European-owned manufacturing and planting industries from decay, and at the same time to exclude Indian settlers from participating in the agricultural development of the upland tracts. My Committee is strongly of opinion that there should be no exclusion of Indians, but if it is argued that, having regard to the conditions upon which the white settlers were granted lands complete reversal of the present policy would create difficulties, my Committee would submit that at most the reservation of ground for Europeans should be confined to a reasonable number of tracts or holdings in the area, categorically defined, bearing due relation to the very limited demand from the class the reservation was intended to benefit. The development of the greater part of the area, now lying untilled, by Indians would probably increase the profits of the European farmers themselves since it would give East Africa a larger share in the world's markets for the produce of the soil.

25. My Committee regret the necessity to place before his Lordship so many facts and arguments, but they feel that the great Imperial importance of the subject fully justifies a detailed exposition of the Indian case. It may be convenient for his Lordship to have set out, with all brevity, the measures for the restoration of Indian rights and the amelioration of grievances which we pray His Majesty's Government to direct:—

(a) The recognition that the attempts to colonize the upland tracks by white labour have failed, and that they constitute a grave injustice to the Indian community, with its long record of invaluable work in developing the Protectorate and its domicile in the country long before the advent of British rule, going back indeed, as Sir Harry Johnson has observed, to "prehistoric times" in the history of East Africa. Such recognition would involve a reversal of the present policy of exclusion, and adhesion in practice and not merely in theory to the principle laid down by his Lordship's predecessor that "it is not consonant with "the views of His Majesty's Government to-

impose legal restrictions (in the "matter of renting or acquiring land) on any particular section of the community."

(b) The giving of full and unqualified effect to the recommendation of the Sanderson Committee that indentured immigration from India to assist private enterprises should only be allowed on condition that the labourer on completion of his contract is free to remain in East Africa and settle where he pleases.

(c) That in view of the arrested development of the Protectorate and its dependence on the British exchequer, Indian settlers should be granted Crown lands on terms similar to those prevailing in many parts of India, thus yielding a substantial direct revenue to the country, in addition to that obtainable from its agricultural development.

(d) The Imperial application of the Emigration Act as between people of European or mixed birth and Indians; exclusions to be based on grounds entirely personal to the individual, as set forth in the Act, and not those of race,

(e) The exclusion of Indian traders or merchants from the market-house at Nairobi, save as agents for Europeans, to be revoked, and their produce to have equal rights of access to the market with the produce of white farmers. This revocation would naturally follow the policy of freedom to acquire and farm lands asked for under head (A).

(f) That due regard be paid to the vested rights of the Indians in Nairobi in the matter of property and residence, and that there should be no attempts at dispossession in order to bring about anything like segregation of them in locations.

(g) That no disabilities should be placed upon well-to-do Indians in respect to the hire of accommodation in the steamers and on the railways.

(h) That, as in Uganda, there should be no differentiation between Europeans and Indians in respect of the right of trial by jury ; and that this system should be applied to trials of Indians on serious charges at least.

(i) That the power of the Governor to nominate to the magisterial bench should not be restricted, as at present, to British subjects "of European extraction," but that Indians should be eligible for such appointments.

(j) That due regard should be paid to the religious scruples and caste observances of Indians when suffering terms of imprisonment.

26. In praying His Majesty's Government to take these measures for the amelioration of Indian grievances, my Committee would lay stress upon the consideration that the responsibility, both administrative and moral, rests upon His Majesty's Government. There is here no question of imposing the will of Whitehall upon a self-governing colony. Nor is his Lordship faced with the difficulties arising in those Dominions where the ideal of a white man's country is entertained. British East Africa is not a white man's country either in the sense of having been won, like Australia, from barbarism by the unaided labour and enterprise of the white man, or in the sense that it can be developed and colonized by a non-tropical community. His Majesty's Government owes it alike to the British taxpayer and to East Africa to rescue the Protectorate from a policy involving not merely arrest of the economic progress but the actual retrogression of the country. Nor can it be overlooked by his Lordship that the issue is fraught with consequences of the highest Imperial moment. As has been shown, the maintenance and extension of anti-Indian prejudice in the legislation and

administration of East Africa cannot fail to have most unfortunate effects on the contentment of the people of India under British rule, and to react most adversely on the political situation in that vast Dependency. My Committee are confident that these considerations will be duly weighed by His Majesty's Government, and, moreover, that his Lordship will be anxious to afford the Indian community which has done such signal service for the development of the Protectorate, those ordinary rights of free men it has so fully earned.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

M. T. KADERBHOY,

Hon. Secretary.

13th October, 1910.

AN APPEAL
ON BEHALF OF THE INDIANS
IN EAST AFRICA.



BY
A. M. JEEVANJEE.



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FOREWORD.

THE publication of this booklet needs no apology ; nay, a hundred more volumes of similar nature are absolutely needed, as long as the grievances of the Indians in East Africa are a living fact. As I told the correspondent of a London Daily, I am not an "agitator." Politics has never been my proper sphere of action. I have spent the major portion of my life in the calmer atmosphere of commerce and business. I have grown gray not in delivering stirring speeches before 'listening Senates ;' but in building up stone walls and constructing railway lines. With such a past career, I would not have ventured to pose as a spokesman of my Indian brothers in East Africa. But, to confess the whole truth, I felt very keenly the humiliating condition of my fellow countrymen ; I could not bear to see with philosophic calmness the unequal and unjustifiable treatment, meted out to them by the "white population" in East Africa. I could not bear to witness, with patience, the tremendous harm, that is being done to the noble ideal of Imperialism by a policy of colour-hatred. And, hence, I decided to speak—to raise my voice, however feeble, on behalf of my countrymen, at all events. I had an occasion to visit England in the autumn of 1910. There, while replying to a toast at a friendly entertainment, I happened to make a few passing remarks, regarding the condition and the status of Indians in East Africa. Those remarks, it seems, attracted notice of the Press ; and immediately after the entertainment, a correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle* called upon me with a view to elicit a fuller statement of our grievances in the Crown Colony of East Africa. Of course, I felt it my duty to voice forth our complaint, though I knew it would cause a wild flutter in the Official circle. I explained to the correspondent the whole situation in East Africa as best as I could. I told him how the British Indians, the loyal subjects of King George

could not purchase certain plots of land, which were offered for sale to persons only "of European origin;" how the Indians, were not to enter a certain market in Nairobi; how the Indians, with a second class ticket, could not enjoy the ordinary comforts and conveniences, that are provided to a white passenger. In short, I detailed to the correspondent, all the disabilities and disadvantages imposed upon my countrymen. And it is a matter of common knowledge that the *Daily Chronicle* published a full account of the interview in three consecutive issues and also devoted an Editorial to the matter under the characteristic head-line "Imperialism on trial." The publication of our grievances caused a certain amount of sensation in the English Press and could not fail to evoke a mild outburst of sympathy "for our Indian fellow citizens" and also called forth adverse criticism on the manner in which the Crown Colony of British East Africa was being governed. All this comment attracted the attention of the Colonial Office. In course of time, the Home papers reached the white people in East Africa and aroused their "righteous" indignation. The African Press poured their vials of wrath on my devoted head; and I was made a subject of interpellations in the Local Legislative Council, of which I have the honour to be the Indian member. A perusal of the following pages will show how the Honourable member has couched his interpellations, distorting and misrepresenting the statements I had made, and how the real questions at issue have been either avoided or obscured in the official replies. This problem, as I have stated above, was first placed before the British Public by the able representative of the *Daily Chronicle*; and I thought I could not present the subject to the Indian public in a better form than by reproducing the *Daily Chronicle* reports in the first part of this book. The skilful pen of the writer in the *Daily Chronicle* has put the case so lucidly that I have no doubt that it will appeal to readers far more effectually than any artificial attempt at eloquence. The second part contains extracts from the comments of the Press in England, India and Africa. It must be said to the credit of many

British newspapers, that they did not allow themselves to be swayed by racial considerations in expressing their honest opinion on this subject. My sincere thanks are due to the *Daily Chronicle* and other journals who have thus helped the cause of unfortunate Indians. In the third part I have reproduced the full report of the Council interpellations with official replies which were intended to discredit my statements and to serve as a counter blast against the Indian complaints. I have also reproduced my reply to these Council interpellations, wherein I have exposed the hollowness and artfulness of the attempt made to discredit my statements.

Here I cannot omit to mention with gratitude the valuable service, the London Branch of the All India Moslem League has rendered to the cause of British Indians in East Africa. Soon after the publication of our grievances in the *Daily Chronicle* the Committee of the London Branch thought it to be their bounden duty to take up the matter in hand, as Mahomedans constituted a considerable portion of the Indian community in East Africa. The Committee made a representation to the Colonial Office stating our case with vigour and emphasis. Whatever the effect the representation may have had on the Colonial Secretary, I cannot but express my heartfelt thanks to the Committee for their help and sympathy. I know that the League is a Sectarian body; and that it represents only the Mahomedan interests in India. There is also the Indian National Congress, which speaks in the name of All Indian Communities taken together without regard to their caste or creed. But the question of the treatment of Indians in Africa is one, on which both the bodies are completely at one. In fact I know no Indian Association which does not view the situation in East Africa exactly in the same light in which the London Committee has viewed it. I have therefore, included the Committee's representation in these pages.

My object in reprinting all this varied literature in a book-form is quite obvious. I wish to protest as loudly as I can against the spirit of colour-hatred that is so rampant among the

white population in Africa. "It would be a pretty sight," exclaimed a white paper (the Leader of the British East Africa) while winding up a violent diatribe against me, "It would be a pretty sight for Gods to see at one and the same time British people paramount in India and Indian people paramount in a British Colony, plated there by a regiment of dragoons from England!" This one sentence sums up the attitude of the white population towards the Indians. Oh Lord! what insolence of tone and language; misrepresentation and distortion cannot go further. Have the Indians ever claimed paramount power in an African colony? Have they clamoured for special rights and special privileges? Have they ever sought to shut out other races from enjoyment of their proper share of social good? Have I made impossible or unreasonable demands in the statement of our case? No. We never claimed preferential treatment. The most that we have asked and shall continue to ask is equal treatment and equal opportunities. "Treat us like *human beings*" is the long and short of our contentions. Now, is it indeed a crime to pray for being treated like men? Our claim for better treatment is based on the solid rock of equity and justice. Our case is much stronger than that of our countrymen in South Africa who are struggling so hard for justice. In the words of the Commissioner of Lands "the Indians have been in East Africa for many generations—they came long before the Europeans. They have constructed the Uganda Railway which is such an important factor in the development of the country. All the Trading wealth is in the hands of the Indians." The country of East Africa, considering its climatic condition is not suited for an exclusive European Colony. The country is not a self-governing member of the Empire but a Crown Colony, whose policy is laid down and guided by the Imperial Government in England. One can imagine the difficulties of the Home Government in enforcing a certain policy upon a self-governing Colony. But here the matter rests entirely with the Colonial Office and the Imperial Government. Last but not the least, the Indians are British subjects. I shall not anticipate the subsequent chapters

but is it correct logic to argue in all seriousness that the Indians have forfeited their right to a just and equitable treatment because the British people hold paramount power in India ?

The white settlers in British Africa (whose number is nearly 2,000 as against 25,000 Indians) are, mainly speaking, immigrants from other African Colonies. They have learnt there to regard Indians as "undesirables." They are thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the racial superiority of the white. It is thus quite in the nature of things that they should look upon their Indian fellow subjects as an intolerable evil. They want Indian Labourers to work for them in their fields, but they are quite impatient of the presence of the Indian Traders and other professional men who compete with them most successfully. As matters stand now it is not a hopeful task to argue and convince these white settlers of the justice of our claims. We therefore, appeal to the conscience and the sense of justice not of the interested white Africans but of the British people and the Imperial Government in England. We regret that English Politicians cannot correctly imagine how disastrous and mischievous are the results of the policy of squeezing out the Indians. Here in India we are proud of the British connection. We are proud of being the citizens of an empire over which the Sun never sets. We are conscious of innumerable blessings that the British Rule has conferred on India. We have been taught to believe that the name of British Rule stands for justice and equality. And we have always cherished a hope that sooner or later it is destined to rise to a proud position of a self-governing nation under the British paramountcy. Now is the treatment of Indians consistent with our beliefs and hopes ? Is the policy of "squeezing out Indians" in East Africa consistent with the highest conception of the Empire ? Let those who hold the future destinies of the great Empire in the hollow of their palms, answer.

I have observed above, that our case rests on a different footing altogether from that of the Indians in other colonies.

We have watched, the whole world has watched, with utmost interest and warmest sympathy, the peaceful but resolute struggle in which the *passive resisters*, fighting under the banner of Mr. Gandhi, are manfully engaged for years together, in South Africa. We have read, not without aching heart, harrowing accounts of the suffering and the misery inflicted upon them by the man-made law. We have heard how the Australians are throwing up new fences and new barriers in the way of all Asiatics, (Indians included) seeking admission into their land. The great colony of Canada is not an exception. The Indians there have to tell the same doleful tale of ill-treatment. In all these self-governing Colonies, however, Indians are fighting a constitutional fight against the jealousy and the selfishness of the white races. There the Indians have taken their stand on their right as the citizens of the British Empire. They claim equal treatment because they are the *fellow citizens* of the white settlers, and no Englishman unbiassed by prejudice and unblinded by paltry self-interest, will deny the justice of their claim. But if the claim of the Indians in other colonies is just, ours is hundred times so, for, we have gone to a country, not already developed by white people, on the contrary, it is we, the Indians alone, who have *made and developed the deserts* of East Africa, and had it not been for Indian labour and Indian enterprize, East Africa would never have been what it is to-day.

If you consider the old history of East Africa, the justice of our demands will be still more clear to you. Only before a few decades this tract of land owned the sway of the Sultan of Zanzibar who being brother of the Sultan of Muscat was in every sense an Asiatic and evidently we have all along been claiming East Africa to be an Asiatic Power. No European settlers had till recently set their foot on the land nor did they at all seem to know that the land in East Africa could be exploited with profit. It is the Indian traders who have been trading there for the last 300 years and it is they and they alone who have done the work of exploitation and development of the country's resources and further it is owing to this that

Great Britain was tempted to send her representative as Consul General to East Africa to represent herself there and further more it is through the influence of the Indian traders that Great Britain succeeded in obtaining the lease of the territory from the Sultan of Zanzibar and it is only very lately that the country has come under the British flag. Now I ask is it right, that those very British subjects who cleared the way for Great Britain to enter the country, who have done the pioneer work, who have converted the hopeless desert into a fertile field and a useful mart for the world's wares, should be regarded by the microscopic minority of the white settlers as undesirables and niggers to be boycotted and got rid of ?

We welcomed the white settlers into the country which owed its making exclusively to our efforts and in spite of that these white settlers have been doing their utmost to shut out the Indians and reap the fruits of their labour without allowing a share to them. They want the whole country left to themselves. They want to rid themselves any how of the Indian competitor. Is this I ask, in consonance with justice and morality ? We advance our claim not as *mere citizens* of the Empire but also *first makers* of the land. Is it therefore right to try to push the Indians out in order to make it a whiteman's colony which however as has been admitted, is bound to be a failure as the climate in any part of East Africa is not suited for the white people ? The question therefore is whether the paternal Government in England is going to support them in their utterly absurd, unjust and unpracticable demand or whether they will be true to the noble principles of liberalism and justice. We, British Indians, who have such vast interests in Africa, who have adopted East Africa as *our country* and made it *our home* cannot afford to run away at the mere approach of the white bullies. We turn to the Imperial Government for help and protection against the white tyranny. We appeal to the conscience of the great democracy in England and crave their attention to our grievances. We hope and confidently trust they will not turn a deaf ear to our demand for justice. We don't want the whole country to ourselves.

We do not want the whole people to go away. We want to "live and let live." What we want is equal rights and equal treatment. Let not Government take sides, make distinction with the white and coloured races, let the Government of East Africa deal equal justice to all and equal opportunities to all without distinction of caste, creed and colour. I would go even so far as to advocate the annexation of this African territory to the Indian Empire. It had been an Asiatic Kingdom in ancient time and although the rules and regulations obtaining there are those obtaining in India it will be more beneficial to Great Britain if it is placed directly under the control of the Indian Government instead of the Colonial Office, with provincial Government under the Indian Viceroy. If this is done East Africa will assuredly become Second India in no time.

I have already placed my case before the authorities and the democracy of England. The Moslem League has pleaded our cause. I hope, our prayers have not been a cry in the wilderness ; our voice has not fallen on deaf ears. But we cannot afford to rest till our grievances are not redressed. The Indians in East Africa will know no rest till they make their voice heard ; till they secure redress. But we want people of India to take up this matter and press it on the attention of the British Government in England. It is not a cause in which the Indians in East Africa alone are concerned ; but it is a matter in which the large questions of the status and the position of all Indians in the Empire are involved. If, therefore, the National Congress and other Indian Associations will take up this righteous cause in right earnest and help us to approach the solution of a somewhat difficult problem, their brethern in East Africa—that small fragment of the Indian Nation on the other side of the Arabian sea—will ever remain grateful to them and I shall feel my humble efforts amply rewarded.

BOMBAY,
22nd February 1912.

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A. M. JEEVANJEE.

CHAPTER I.

Daily Chronicle, 1st September, 1910.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

AMAZING ACTION OF THE COLONIAL OFFICE.

SUICIDAL POLICY.

Our Empire builders are not all of one race or colour or creed. Take the man who has practically founded the Colony of British East Africa. He is a Mohammedan from Bombay and Karachi, who has built up an enormous business in that country; yet he is a loyal subject of King George, and as enthusiastic an Imperialist as you would find in a day's march.

Sheth Alibhoy Mulla Jeevanjee has just been made a member of the Legislative Council of British East Africa. He thoroughly deserves, and has thoroughly earned, that position. Just now he is over in Europe acting as a sort of commercial traveller for his adopted country, at the request of the Nairobi Agricultural Department. Yesterday he was kind enough to talk over the position and prospects of the country with one of our representatives.

Mr. Jeevanjee has developed in a remarkable degree the talent of the Oriental races for business organization, and for adapting oneself to one's surroundings. The firm of A. M. Jeevanjee and Co. is known all down the East Coast of Africa as

contractors, shipowners, and general merchants. He controls two lines of steamships, one providing a regular service between Mauritius and Bombay, and the other—the “Bombay-Hadzaz Company”—which carries pilgrims from Bombay to Jeddah.

But it is in British East Africa that Mr. Jeevanjee's chief interests are to be found and it is there that his heart evidently is.

“It is one of the most wonderful countries in the world,” he said, “and there is not a single product of commercial value that cannot be obtained there. Our cotton fetches the highest price in the market—it is equal to the best Egyptian—and the export of it is continually increasing. We produce the best rubber in the world. There are minerals in plenty waiting to be developed. Large deposits of manganese have just been discovered. On the coast line we can grow all sorts of tropical fruits, while on the uplands wheat, maize, beans, and potatoes do well.”

“The country is there, and it is only waiting for two things to bring about its full development. And these are European capital and Indian labour. It is not a white man's country in the sense that white men can perform hard and continual manual labour. But for our Indian fellow-citizens it offers infinite possibilities.”

Then Mr. Jeevanjee went on to unfold a story to our representative which would be ludicrously incredible, were it not that it was told by a man who has the best possible means of knowing its truth, and who could support it by documentary evidence.

INDIANS MARKED DOWN.

“A deliberate attempt is being made to debar us from any share in the commerce and agriculture of the country,” he said. “We are marked down because of our race and colour.”

“ Yet it must be remembered that no less than 85 per cent. of the trade of British East Africa is in the hands of Indians. I have been in the country for twenty years—I may almost say I have made the country. All the best property in Nairobi belongs to me. I built all the Government buildings and leased them to the Administration. I built all the hospitals and post offices between Mombasa and Port Florence. I was the sole contractor on the Uganda Railway while it was building, and provided rations, for the 25,000 coolies engaged in making the line.

Taking the whole of Uganda, I should say that the proportion of Indians to Europeans is as twelve to one. In fact, it may be said that they practically carry on the country. In Nairobi they pay practically the whole of the taxes, and own nearly the whole of the town.

Here Mr. Jeevanjee handed to our representative copies of notices which have recently appeared in the Official Gazette, signed “ Acting Commissioner of Lands.” One notice offers certain plots of land in the Rewero township, and this is one of the conditions :—

Plots may only be leased by persons of European origin.

The same notice appears in the condition of sale of Government lands at Nairobi Hill.

“ What does this mean ?” asked our representative.

“ It means,” replied Mr. Jeevanjee, “ that we are not to be allowed to purchase land in our own country. Any white man may—although he may be a German or an Italian or a Greek. But we—the subjects of King George—are shut out.”

“ But this is not all,” he continued. “ Look at this. It is a copy of the rules and bye-laws for the regulation of the produce market at Nairobi. And there are among the provisions :—

The market master shall not accept produce for sale from any but European or American consignors.

Non-Europeans may not enter the market house unless authorised by European employers to act on their behalf.

The market master shall not accept the bid of any non-European before satisfying himself that such bidder is duly authorised in writing to purchase on behalf of a European.

“These rules are issued in a town where practically the whole of the business is carried on by us Indians. Can you imagine anything more absurd? Here am I in London representing the commercial interests of Uganda, Mombasa and Nairobi, and doing my best to open up new markets for their produce, and yet if I go into the market at Nairobi I must not buy a hundred bushels of maize unless I am authorised in writing to act for some European. Indeed, I may not even enter the market unless I have some such authorisation in my pocket. And I must not send a bale of cotton or a pound of rubber from my farms to the market.”

KILLING THE COLONY.

“But what is the real reason for this?” asked our representative.

“The real reason,” replied Mr. Jeevanjee, “is that an endeavour is being seriously made to prevent any but white people living and trading in British East Africa. If for no other reason, this policy is a suicidal one, because the country can only be developed by coloured labour. It cannot be colonised by Europeans. Let it be opened to us, and in a very few years it will become a second India, and a source of strength to the Empire.

“I say nothing about the action of the South African Union towards us. But the case of British East Africa is entirely different. We are already there. We have made the

country. We have created enormous interests there. And now there is nothing but stagnation —and there will be nothing but stagnation in the future, if this policy is persisted in.

“I am a loyal subject of the King. I am proud to be a citizen of the British Empire, My whole interests are bound up with Uganda. It is my home, and I have done my little best to build it up and make it a useful and valuable part of the British dominions. And I have nothing to say against the Imperial Government. But I do hope they will consider whether the policy of driving loyal subjects of the Crown out of the country which they have made is one which is likely to add to the strength of the Empire.

“I have no sympathy with the agitation which is going on among a section of the people in India. But can you wonder at it, when the people of our race receive treatment like this? So far as I am personally concerned, the matter does not affect me as it does some of my fellow-countrymen. Fortunately, I am in a position to be independent of what may happen in British East Africa. But that does not alter the fact that I feel the present position acutely.”

Another matter referred to by Mr. Jeevanjee was the treatment of Indians on the Lake steamers. The steamers running to and from Lake Victoria are controlled entirely by Indians, and most of the freight and passengers are supplied by them. Yet they are not treated with the consideration of second class passengers, even though they may have purchased a second class ticket. They are not provided with pillows, blankets, and mattresses, as in the case of the Europeans.

At the close of our chat, Mr. Jeevanjee showed our representative samples of many of the products of the country. But, as he says, he is quite uncertain as to what he shall do in the future, until he has ascertained what will be the effect of the new regulations on the commerce of his adopted country.

[We shall deal further with the subject at a later date.—
Ed., “D. C.”]

Daily Chronicle, 2nd September, 1910.

'NO INDIAN NEED APPLY.'

EAST AFRICA POLICY OF EXCLUSION.

MR. CHURCHILL

SUGGESTS WHAT MAY BE A SOLUTION.

The questions raised in the interview we printed yesterday with Mr. A. M. Jeevanjee are of importance, not only to the British Empire, but to the whole world.

Are the brown and yellow races of Asia, swarming as they do in their own countries, to be denied access to the empty places of the earth, which are crying out for population? On the other hand, can the white races live and thrive beside those which are brown or yellow?

This is one of the great problems which confront the administration of an Empire like ours. Indeed, an official at the Colonial Office yesterday told our representative who went to seek information as to the statements made by Mr. Jeevanjee, that it was by far the most difficult problem of all, and that it was every day becoming more acute. Trouble has long been brewing in the East Africa Protectorate. In August 1907 the Land Board of the Protectorate recommended that Indian immigration be discouraged as much as possible, and that no Government land be allotted to Indians. This resolution was transmitted to Lord Elgin by Mr. Montgomery, the Commissioner of Lands, but in doing so the Commissioner felt it to be his duty to point out several facts to the Colonial Secretary:—

(a) Indians have been in the country for many generations, and came long before the Europeans.

(b) The Uganda railway (the greatest factor in the development of the country) was made by Indian labour. But for such labour it would never have been constructed at all.

(c) Most of the trading wealth of the country is in the hands of the Indians.

(d) Finally, Indians are British subjects.

Lord Elgin's views on the matter were laid down in a dispatch sent to the Governor on March 19, 1908 :—

With regard to the granting of land to Indians, it is not consonant with the views of His Majesty's Government to impose legal restrictions on any particular section of the community, but as a matter of administrative convenience, grants should not be made to Indians in the upland areas.

COLOUR THE DOMINANT QUESTION.

Mr. Winston Churchill, when Under Secretary for the Colonies, paid a visit to the East Africa Protectorate, and was brought into immediate contact with this great problem. He refers to it in the book which he wrote describing his experiences in that country. "Colour is already the dominant question at Nairobi," says Mr. Churchill. "'We mean to make East Africa a white man's country,' cries in strident tones the Colonists' Association on every occasion."

"It is the brown man who is the rival," Mr. Churchill goes on. The middle stage in the economic system must provide white society with the means of earning—as professional men, as planters, merchants, traders, farmers, bankers, overseers, contractors, builders, engineers, accountants, clerks—a living for themselves and their families. To quote Mr Churchill :—

Here strikes in the Asiatic. In every single employment of his class, his power of subsisting upon a few shillings a month, his industry, his thrift, his sharp busi-

ness aptitudes give him the economic superiority ; and if the economic superiority is to be the final rule—as it never has been and never will be in the history of the world—there is not a single employment of this middle class from which he will not to a very large extent clear the white man, as surely and as remorselessly as the brown rat extirpated the black from British soil.

This, says Mr. Churchill, is the nightmare which haunts the white population of Africa. He goes on to deal with the other side :—

How stands the claim of the British Indian ? His rights as a human being, his rights as a British subject, are equally engaged. It was the Sikh soldier who bore an honourable part in the conquest and pacification of these East African countries. It is the Indian trader who, penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no white man could go or in which no white man could earn a living, has more than anyone else developed the early beginnings of trade and opened up the first slender means of communication.

Is it possible for any Government with a scrap of respect for honest dealing between man and man to embark upon a policy of deliberately squeezing out the native of India from regions in which he has established himself under every security of good faith ? Most of all we ask is such a policy possible to the Government which bears sway over three hundred millions of our Indian Empire ?

WHAT MR. CHURCHILL PROPOSES.

And is it, after all, beyond our reach to provide, if not a perfect, at any rate a practical answer ? There ought to be no insuperable difficulty, in the present state of political knowledge and social organisation, in assigning different spheres to the external activity of different races. The great Powers have partitioned Africa terri-

torially. Is it beyond the wit of man to divide it economically? The co-operation of many kinds of men is needed for the cultivation of such a noble estate. Is it impossible to regulate in full and intricate detail the conditions under which that co-operation shall take place? Here white men can live and thrive; there they cannot. Here is a task for one; there is opportunity for another. The world is big enough. There is plenty of room for all. Why cannot we settle it fairly?

At the Colonial Office yesterday our representative was informed that the ordinances complained of by Mr. Jeevanjee were issued by the local authorities, but that nothing was known of them in Downing street. The policy with regard to the selling and leasing of land was laid down by Lord Elgin in the dispatch which is quoted above.

At the same time, it was admitted at the Colonial Office that the uplands between Mombasa and Port Florence were to be reserved for white settlers. This area was, it was mentioned, about 4,000 square miles in extent. Here no land was to be sold or leased to Indians.

With reference to the conditions mentioned in the notice of sale of town plots in Nairobi, it was stated that the municipal authorities desired to keep the houses of the white residents away from those of the Indian residents on the ground of danger from plague.

“But,” said the Colonial Office official, “we cannot speak with any certainty on these matters. They are in the hands of the Governor of the Protectorate, and if Mr. Jeevanjee will put his complaints in writing, we will send them out to the Governor at once, who will attend to them.”

Seen by our representative in the afternoon, Mr. Jeevanjee said he had already, three weeks ago, laid his complaints before the Colonial Office. Dealing with the replies made to our representative, he took the case of the notice of

the sale of plots in the Sixth Avenue, Nairobi. One of the conditions of sale ran :—

Any plot sold shall not be used as a place of a residence for Asiatics or natives who are not domestic servants in the employ of the lessee.

“ You are told,” said Mr. Jeevanjee, “ that Asiatics are not to be permitted to live beside Europeans. Why, these very plots which are offered in Sixth Avenue are surrounded by my land on every side, on which Indians live already.”

“ PUSHING US OUT.”

“ I am afraid this explanation will not do,” he went on, “ A deliberate policy of pushing us out of the country is being pursued. Let me give you one or two incidents which force me to believe this. Some time ago I applied for the lease of land at Port Florence for the purpose of starting a sugar plantation. This place is altogether unfitted as a residence for Europeans, but I could have employed many hundreds of Indians, brought trade to the country, and freight to the railway. Yet my application was refused.

“ Again, a young friend of mine—an Englishman—wanted to start an artificial ~~secure~~ factory, for which there is a great opening in the Protectorate. I explained to him that if I found him the capital he would be prejudiced under the present state of affairs. So he tried to get it elsewhere, but failed.

“ Then he came to me again, and I promised to finance him. The authorities objected to the factory being put up in Nairobi on hygienic grounds. I happened to have some land at Mombasa, three miles from the town, and with no dwellings near it. But the authorities would not allow us to build.”

“ Why ?”

“ Because I am an Indian. I can conceive no other reason.”

It may be mentioned that when Mr. Winston Churchill was at Nairobi the only house in which he could be entertained was one belonging to Mr. Jeevanjee.

Daily Chronicle, 3rd September 1910.

MORE HINDU GRIEVANCES.

**DEBARRED FROM MAGISTRACY AND TRIAL
BY JURY.**

EFFECT IN INDIA.

THERE is one aspect of the situation in British East Africa that has not been touched upon in the statements made in these columns yesterday and on Thursday, and that is the effect which a full knowledge of the facts would have upon the native population in India. Mr. Jeevanjee, it is hardly necessary to repeat, is a loyal British subject, devoted to Imperial interests. He is not an agitator, but a man who is seeking earnestly a solution of a delicate and difficult problem. He is very hopeful that such a solution will be found, for he does not desire that there shall be any clashing of interests between the British Government and its Indian subjects. Mr. Jeevanjee's policy is to promote peace, but he says that if the treatment of their compatriots in British East Africa were widely known amongst the people of India, the results might be serious.

The problem is a many-sided one, and some fresh aspects of it were touched upon by Mr. Jeevanjee in an interview yesterday with a *Daily Chronicle* representative. The Emigration Act was first mentioned.

"This Act," said Mr. Jeevanjee, "was passed with a view to preventing the landing of Europeans short of money. An emigrant in that position was provided with his passage money, and sent back to his own country. The Act is now being directed against Indians, but with a difference—the Indians are never provided with their passage when sent back to their

own country—I do not know of a single instance in which an Indian, who has been sent back to his native land because he was without funds, has been given his passage money.”

There are other and serious points in which a differentiation is made between the Indian and the European to the disadvantage of the Indian.

NO TRIAL BY JURY.

“For instance,” said Mr. Jeevanjee, “Europeans, but not Indians, have the right to be tried by jury. That does not appear to be a fair or justifiable differentiation. I think it is not an extravagant demand that, in important cases at least, especially charges of murder, there should be a mixed jury, composed of the nationality of the accused and that of the person, or persons, at whose instance the prosecution is instituted. In Uganda, Indians serve on juries in cases affecting their fellow-countrymen, and there seems no valid reason why the same practice should not prevail in the British East Africa Protectorate. The fact that Indians have not the right to be tried by jury prevents them putting their cases properly before the courts.”

A recent ordinance has been passed whereby the Governor may appoint “any resident of the Protectorate, being a British subject of European extraction, to be a justice of the peace for the Protectorate or any district thereof.”

“There is something peculiarly invidious about this ordinance,” said Mr. Jeevanjee. “The wording of it would seem to disqualify from service on the magisterial bench any resident of Indian birth, no matter how influential or respected he may be. This express exclusion involves an absolutely unjustifiable slur upon the Indian peoples, who, in their native land, serve the Crown, not only as justices of the peace, but as district and sessions judges and judges of the High Court; in fact, the administration of justice is mainly in their hands. It must be remembered, too, that the Indians in the Protectorate outnumber

ber the Europeans by more than twelve to one, and there are amongst them men of the highest probity and influence. In these circumstances it should surely be within the power of the Governor to place representatives of the Indian community upon the Bench."

Some of the other unfortunate methods of government which prevail in the Protectorate were indicated by Mr. Jeevanjee. Where Asiatics are concerned, religious differences always present difficulties, but these are not insuperable where there is sympathy and tact on the part of the official class. That this seems to be lamentably absent in British East Africa is apparent from the manner in which Indians suffering terms of imprisonment are treated.

TREATMENT IN GAOL.

"When Indians have to go to gaol," said Mr. Jeevanjee, "no distinction whatever is made between Hindus and Mohammedans, and no consideration is shown to their religious scruples, although these are often as dear to them as life itself. They are made to work at the dirtiest jobs and to do certain kinds of menial work that is repugnant to their religious beliefs. It is well known to everyone connected with the administration of justice and the management of the prisons that the distinction between Hindus and Mohammedans greatly affects dietetic and other observances and practices of daily life, yet these differences are wholly disregarded in the prisons."

Representations were made to the proper authorities, and the reply received was that the Indians lost their religion on leaving their native land.

"That," said Mr. Jeevanjee, "was a cynical reply, and was not in accordance with facts. I am in a position to speak for the Moslem community, and I say that is not so; the Indian does not lose his faith when he leaves his native country or is in a position of isolation from his fellow Moslems."

An interesting comment on this taunt that the Indian abandons his religion when he emigrates is supplied by the fact that large numbers of the indigenous races, particularly in the coastal zone, have embraced the tenets of Islam. The Hindus and Mohammedans have, in fact, although perhaps unintentionally, made converts.

The statements that have appeared in our columns have attracted widespread attention, and there is a strong feeling, especially amongst the mercantile community, that Mr. Jeevanjee has made out a good case for reform.

CHAPTER II.

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE ENGLISH PRESS, (A).

Daily Chronicle, 2nd September, 1910

IMPERIALISM ON TRIAL.

INDIAN immigration is a test question for Imperialism, and the remarkable statements made by Mr. Jeevanjee in our columns ought to direct attention to one of its most important aspects. We talk proudly of the British Empire as free and tolerant; it suggests to many minds the generous ideas of equal rights and opportunities, of laws which give to all the King's subjects, whatever may be their race, colour or creed, the same impartial protection. The actual facts are very different. The Indian subjects of the Crown are not free to go where they please within the Empire; from many British Dominions they are excluded; in others they are subject to many disabilities and indignities. A regulation in the East African Protectorate, which Mr. Jeevanjee quotes, puts one such case in a striking form :—

Plots may only be leased by persons of European origin.

Foreigners may take up leases in this British Crown Colony. A German, a Greek, a Levantine, an Italian is free to settle on the land. A subject of King George, if he be of Indian origin, is debarred. Such is Imperialism in practice.

We put the position thus sharply because it is well that the facts should be looked fairly in the face. It is, however, no less important that the point of view which governs such a regulation as this should be fairly considered. First, a distinction must be drawn between self-governing Dominions and Crown Colonies. The former are free to frame their own policy, and to make their own regulations. The Imperial Government cannot in practice require them to subordinate local considerations to Imperial. The policy of a "White Australia" and of a White and Black South Africa is fixed, and no representations made elsewhere will alter it.

This policy embodies, moreover, an ideal with which it is impossible not to sympathise. It may be quite true that Asiatic immigrants are disliked as much for their virtues as for their defects. Mr. Gladstone in a famous speech, defending Chinese labour, maintained that it was the industry, the thrift, the economic virtue of the coolies that caused their immigration to be resented. Similarly Mr. Churchill, in the case of East Africa, has pointed out that it is the "economic superiority" of the Indian immigrant that causes him to be regarded with suspicion and dread. All this may be true; but the white men on the spot maintain that "economic superiority" means a lower, or at any rate a different, standard of life and civilisation. It is at any rate an intelligible, and not an unworthy, ideal to desire that British territories, suitable for settlement as white men's lands, should be preserved for what we mean by white civilisation. And, again, in the case of territories where coloured labour is a necessity, and where there is already an indigenous coloured population, it is an intelligible idea that the intrusion on any extensive scale of other coloured immigration should be prevented. Such are the ideas which govern the policy of Australia and South Africa.

We now come to the Crown Colonies. The case here is different, because the Imperial Government retains direct control or responsibility; but it should be remembered that Crown Colony Government is often only a half-way house towards self-

government, and that the Imperial Government cannot wholly disregard the views and aspirations of the white settlers. This seems to be the attitude of the Colonial Office towards the question of Indian immigration in British East Africa. We may quote what Colonel Seely said some months ago in a speech to the Liberal Colonial Club :—

East Africa which had a high table land with a climate more or less like that of the temperate zone could never be a purely white man's country, for it had a great indigenous coloured population. They must simply wait and see whether the ideal of a mainly white country was going to be realised. If it was, they must do nothing to thwart it.

They certainly are doing nothing to thwart that ideal in East Africa. Whether the ideal be feasible or not, the Colonial Office, if they allow the recent regulations cited by Mr. Jeevanjee, to stand, will pledge themselves to violent measures for restricting Indian rights.

The case of the Indian settlers in British East Africa is immensely strong. As was pointed out in the report of Lord Sanderson's Committee, emigration to the coast districts of the Protectorate from India has existed for several hundred years. As for the present British Protectorate, it is in large measure the creation of Indian immigrants. It was Indian soldiery that played a principal part in conquering and pacifying the country. It is the Indian trader who has developed it. It was Indian labour that built the railway. It is the Indian banker who has found the capital for agriculture, trade and industry. "Drive away the Indians," said Sir John Kirk, "and you may shut up the Protectorate, I think." In view of such facts, it is difficult not to regard the policy indicated by Mr. Jeevanjee both as inexpedient, and also as unfair and inconsistent with sound Imperialism.

The larger Imperial question presses for some solution. India is the seat of a teeming population. Indian merchants and capitalists, like Mr. Jeevanjee, are full of enterprise.

Other Dominions of the British Crown need coloured labour and enterprise for their development. Interchange of human beings is, as Colonel Seely has said, one of the things necessary to the continued existence and development of the British Empire. Are we for ever to debar the Indian from playing his part in this interchange? Is Imperialism to mean that the door is to be bolted and barred throughout the Empire to the surplus population and enterprise of the King's Indian subjects? Let full weight be given to the "white" ideals which have been described above, and a solution should still be possible. We indicated it the other day in writing on the new steamship service to East Africa. It is to be found in Mr. Churchill's idea of "economic partition." There are vast areas in British Africa which can never be white men's lands, which will probably never be developed at all on those lines. Might not some such areas be set apart for Indian immigration, wherein Indian colonists could settle without the imposition of any disabilities or invidious restrictions, and without incurring any suspicion, or dislike?

Yorkshire Post, Leeds, 2nd September 1910.

Mr. Sheth Alibhoy Mulla Jeevanjee, a rich Indian domiciled for the last twenty years in British East Africa, who is now on a visit to this country, has occasioned quite a flutter in the Colonial Office by the charges of prejudicial treatment of the numerous Indians now trading at Nairobi on the part of the Government of the Crown Colony. Government lands at Nairobi Hill are forbidden to be leased, he reports, to Indians, and the Indians are practically excluded from trading privileges in the markets there. According to Mr. Jeevanjee a similar prejudice is springing up against the Indians in East Africa to that which has been so long the occasion of grave trouble in the Transvaal and Natal. The difference between the two cases, however, is that South Africa is self-governed, whereas East Africa is a Crown Colony, the Governor of which is directly responsible to the Colonial Office. Inquiry made in Downing Street to-day on the subject discovered the represen-

tative of the Colonial Secretary most willing to admit the ultimate responsibility of the Colonial Office in this connection. Nothing is known officially of the regulations and restrictions which are said to be objectionable. When Lord Elgin was in power at the Colonial Office official confirmation was made of a regulation by which a certain portion of the higher country in the colony was reserved for Europeans. It is thought that the grievances of the Indians there may have arisen from the segregation of races which is found to be not only expedient but necessary in Crown Colonies in which the whites and the coloured people are mixed. The matter will receive official attention in due course. In the meantime Downing Street reposes implicit confidence in the tried administrative capacity of Sir Percy Girouard, the Governor of East Africa, who is a Canadian believed by his friends in London to be incapable of inflicting any sort of trading disabilities upon the large and increasing community of Indians under his governance.

Dundee Couriers, 3rd September 1910.

The Government seem to be making a fine muddle of their administration of the British East African Protectorate. The proportion of Indians to Europeans in the Protectorate is as twelve to one, and it is no exaggeration to say that the entire country is run by Indians. These are all British subjects, and thoroughly loyal, yet they have all sorts of disabilities placed upon them, while an immigrant from any European country who may not have become naturalised is favoured in many ways. They may become a Justice of the Peace, but the Indian may not, no matter how influential and respected in the community he may be or how worthy of the honour. The Indian may not be tried by jury, but the European is, and the result is that British subjects are often placed at a disadvantage in stating their cases before the Courts. These are only a few instances, and not the worst. I understand that the Colonial Office blames the officials on the spot, and declare that they

have no knowledge of what has been going on, but that is an excuse which is not accepted by those in a position to know the circumstances.

The lockout will not affect the engineers except indirectly. There will be no lockout in their trade, but it is obvious that there will be a good deal of idleness so long as the lockout continues.

The African World, 3rd September 1910.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA'S INDIAN QUESTION.

We reproduce on page 185 of this issue an interesting interview with the Hon. A. M. Jeevanjee, published in the *Daily Chronicle*. Our readers are sufficiently acquainted with Mr. Jeevanjee to endorse the *Daily Chronicle's* remark that he "thoroughly deserves and has thoroughly earned" his distinction as a member of the Legislative Council of British East Africa, and we need hardly say that considerable importance attaches to anything which he has to say regarding that new and somewhat troubled dependency of the British Empire. The *Daily Chronicle* rightly asks:—"Are the brown and yellow races of Asia, swarming as they do in their own countries, to be denied access to the empty places of the earth, which are crying out for population?" Now, whatever justification—and strong justification it is—for the action of the Transvaal Government with reference to the Indian question in the Colony, there can surely be no adequate reason for the treatment of Indian citizens in British East Africa as complained of by the Hon. Mr. Jeevanjee. We respectfully suggest to Sir Percy Girouard, the Administration of British East Africa, Lord Crewe, and the Colonial Office that the statements made on the authority of Mr. Jeevanjee are calculated to create grave discontent throughout the Indian Empire, unless, indeed, it can be proved that they are either exaggerated or have small foundation in

fact—a process which we should imagine would be very difficult. In South Africa and the Transvaal in particular, there are certain uncontrollable circumstances which make it necessary to put a limit on Asiatic immigration. These circumstances do not exist in Equatorial Africa, which, in the opinion of some of the most experienced authorities, is an ideal country for the settlement of a large portion of the overflowing population of our Indian Empire. The labour difficulty is one which Indian immigration may solve, and, in addition to this, it must be remembered that with some exceptions British East Africa and Uganda are not entitled to the description of “white men’s countries.” These facts make all the difference between the Indian question as put by Mr. Jeevanjee and as it exists in East Africa.

Daily Chronicle, 6th September 1910.

CRAMPING INDIAN ENTERPRISE.

DISABILITIES OF ASIATICS IN EAST AFRICA.

Several interesting communications have reached us with reference to the treatment of Indians in British East Africa, as described in these columns. One of our representatives, also, has had an interview with a gentleman who has just returned from Uganda, and who speaks strongly of the colour boycott which exists there and in British East Africa.

“The trouble began,” said our informant, “when the South Africans emigrated into the country and brought with them prejudices against Asiatics. In certain of our Colonies Indian merchants and traders, who had started in a small way, practically sold up the Europeans. In Natal, for instance, the businesses started by Indians gradually grew bigger and bigger, and white firms could not compete.

“I know,” he said, “an official who had been in the service of the Government for ten years, and had to resign, because there was no promotion for him, simply and solely on account of his colour. At present no one who is not of European descent can rise above a clerkship, no matter what his merits are or his knowledge of local customs and languages.”

Colour prejudice against Asiatics would seem to be still as strong throughout British East Africa and Uganda as it is in the Southern States of America.

“There is not a single hotel,” our informant went on, “in the whole of British East Africa, except, perhaps, in Zanzibar, where an Asiatic could put up; the proprietor simply would not have him as a guest, and he would have to make shift the best way he could, or get some one to take him in.

“Another way in which the prejudice works out is seen in horse-racing. The Sultan of Zanzibar, who owns some very good horses, must engage a European jockey to ride them in a race. One of the rules of the Nairobi Turf Club forbids a coloured man to act as a jockey.

United Methodist, 8th September 1910.

SUBJECT RACES.

A sorry exhibition has been made in connexion with Indians in British East Africa in the last few days. We United Methodists have an interest here, because British East Africa is our Missionary territory. It seems that British East Africa has been for many years the happy hunting-ground of Indians. Why should it not be? “The tools to him who can use them.” Eighty-five percent of its trade is in their hands. One of them built all the hospitals and post offices from Mombasa to Port Florence. Their cotton, rubber, manganese, wheat, maize, etc., stand high in their respective markets. Now it is proposed

deliberately to debar these Indians from any share in the commerce and agriculture of the country. Of course they are only Indians—not men, presumably? Land shall in future be leased by persons of European origin! In the markets produce shall only be sold from European or American consignors. The British Colonial Office seems to know nothing whatever about it. It may simply be a bit of excessive officialism on the part of some Governor or Council on the spot. Have the Indians done too well, that the Europeans must now intervene and confiscate their spoil? This is a great question. The stake in British East Africa may be comparatively limited, but it is not a small matter that we have a free world for a free humanity. Why should not the Indians be allowed to enjoy the fruits of their skill and toil in Africa? From our Christian point of view there can be no question about it. And as far as we can do, British Government must bow and put this thing straight. Wherever men can utilize land, and build up houses and organize civilization they must not only be permitted to do so, but guarded in the doing of it. It is that for which Mother Earth and human intellect are given to us. And the world must be free—in justice—to any man, white or black, yellow or brown. It is to be hoped that our Missionaries—honoured brethren—on the spot will utilize their best efforts to secure the Indians. There may be underlying questions of creed and religion, but they must be allowed to underlie, because what overlies is the great question of human freedom and the unity of all men.

Wednesday Review, 21st September 1910.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

The greatest problem of the twentieth century will undoubtedly be the problem of the coloured *vs.* the white peoples. And the British Empire having the largest number of coloured peoples under it must needs necessarily be wakeful how best to avoid taking any false step. As yet British statesmanship has proved

itself to be singularly incapable of adjudging the claims between the coloured and the white peoples to the satisfaction of either : and the scandalous treatment that the South African Whites are allowed to accord to the Indian subjects of his Majesty, King George, will ever remain a monumental illustration of the hollowness of British statesmanship and the indifference of British conscience so far as the claims of Indians in the colonies are concerned. But it seems as though we are on the eve of the enacting of another drama in East Africa where the scandal is sure to assume much more serious dimensions than even in South Africa. Whoever might have made South Africa, East Africa has been made entirely by the Indian. He was the pioneer who brought under the plough the uninhabited and uninhabitable portions of the earth that now the white man claims his own and from which he seeks to drive the brown man out. 85 per cent. of the trade of British East Africa is in the hands of Indians and the proportion of the coloured to the whites is twelve to one. All the best property in Nairobi belongs to an Indian and the Uganda Railway, which is the chief contributory cause for the growth and development of East Africa, is the work of Indians, built by Indian labour and by the foresight and enterprising skill of an Indian Moslem. Mr. Winston Churchill who has recently been in East Africa has testified to the remarkable development of the country chiefly and mainly by the coloured peoples. How stands the claim of the British Indian, he asks, in his recent book and himself supplies the answer in the following words: "His rights as a human being, his rights as a British subject are equally engaged. It was the Sikh soldier who bore an honorable part in the conquest and pacification of those East African countries. It is the Indian trader who penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no white-man could go or in which no whiteman could earn a living, has more than anyone else developed the early beginnings of trade and opened up the first slender means of communication." The East Africa of to-day is what the Indian has made it and yet the hon'ble Sheth Alibhoy Mulla Jeevanjee

who has just been made a member of the Legislative Council of British East Africa, has given to the *Daily Chronicle* an unvarnished account of the steps that are being taken by the miscellaneous hordes of white settlers who have come to profit by the labours of the Indians who have done the pioneer work. The country has been brought to such a pitch of development that there is not a single product of commercial value that cannot be obtained there. Its cotton procures the highest price in the market—it is equal to the best Egyptian—and the export of it is continually increasing. It produces the best rubber in the world. There are minerals in plenty waiting to be developed. Large deposits of manganese have just been discovered and on the coast line all sorts of tropical fruits and on the uplands wheat, maize, beans and potatoes do well. And Mr. Jeevanjee says that “a deliberate attempt is being made to debar us from any share in the commerce and agriculture of the country. We are marked down because of our race and colour.” A handful of interlopers have begun their dirty work and the process of ejection from a land made by the Indian has begun by the Government prohibiting the lease of lands to His Majesty's Indian subjects, while every Greek, Armenian and Jew, Italian, German or any whiteman is privileged. The market shall not accept produce for sale from any but European or American consignors, nor any non-European enter unless authorised by European employers to act on their behalf, nor shall they bid independently. Mr. Jeevanjee says: “These rules are issued in a town where practically the whole of the business is carried on by us Indians. Here am I in London representing the commercial interests of Uganda, Mombasa and Nairobi and doing my best to open up new markets for the produce and yet if I go into the market at Nairobi, I must not buy a hundred bushels of maize unless I am authorised in writing to act for some European.” The *Daily Chronicle* with a view to verifying these statements sent a representative to the Colonial Office and he came away with the impression that the Colonial Office is fully alive to the difficulties of the problem, but could not find a way out. In August 1907 the Land Board of the East African Pro-

tectorate recommended the Indian immigration be discouraged as much as possible and that no Government land be allotted to Indians. This resolution was transmitted to Lord Elgin by Mr. Montgomery, the Commissioner of Lands, but in doing so he felt it necessary to observe that (a) Indians have been in the country for many generations, and came long before the Europeans; (b) the Uganda railway (the greatest factor in the development of the country) was made by Indian labour; but for such labour it would never have been constructed at all; (c) most of the trading wealth of the country is in the hands of the Indians, (d) finally Indians are British subjects. Lord Elgin's view on the matter was laid down in a despatch sent to the Governor on March 19, 1908: "With regard to the granting of land to Indians, it is not consonant with the views of His Majesty's Government to impose legal restrictions on any particular section of the community, but as a matter of administrative convenience, grants should not be made to Indians in the upland areas." But the policy of pushing the Indians out is steadily being pursued and Mr. Jeevanjee gives many instances which confirm this attitude of the white settlers. Downing Street does not seem to have been fully informed of the petty details of obstruction and teasing which is being pursued and the Governor of the Protectorate so far does not seem to have risen to the full height of the obligation he owes to the men who have made East Africa. And is it, after all, beyond our reach to provide, if not a perfect, at any rate a practical answer? asks Mr. Churchill. "There ought to be no insuperable difficulty in the present state of political knowledge and social organisation, in assigning different spheres to the external activity of different races. The great powers have partitioned Africa territorially. Is it beyond the wit of man to divide it economically? The co-operation of many kinds of men is needed for the cultivation of such a noble estate. Is it impossible to regulate in full and intricate detail the conditions under which that co-operation shall take place? Here white men can live and thrive; there they cannot. Here is a task for one; there is opportunity for another. The world is big enough. There is plenty of room for all. Why cannot we settle it fair-

ly?" But Mr. Churchill is the Home Secretary and the problem does not seem to be so easy to those in charge of the Colonial Office as it evidently seems to be to Mr. Churchill.

Liverpool Post, 21st September 1910.

COLONIAL MAL-ADMINISTRATION.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA AND ITS HINDU POPULATION.

ALLEGED UNFAIR TREATMENT.

The need for a more progressive policy on the part of the Government of British East Africa, and for a more enlightened attitude towards the Hindu population—who form the industrial backbone of the country—was voiced with considerable moderation of language, but with convincing force of argument, to a "Daily Post and Mercury" representative yesterday in Liverpool by a member of the Legislative Council of British East Africa—Sheth Alibhoy Mulla Jeevanjee—a Mahommedan of Indian descent who has vast trading interests in British East Africa.

At the outset of the interview Mr. Jeevanjee made it quite clear that he was no agitator, and that his visit to this country was directly due to business considerations, although he confessed he was taking the opportunity whilst here of bringing home both to the British Government and to the public a recognition of the reforms urgently required in order to make British East Africa the successful colony that on the basis of natural resources it was destined sooner or later to become. Those natural resources, he said, were really immense. The climate was beautiful, the land fertile, and cotton, rubber, maize, and practically all sorts of grain could be grown with little, if any, difficulty. The cotton grown in British East Africa was as good a quality as Egyptain cotton.

Mr. Jeevanjee—whose manifold activities embrace the roles of manufacturer, planter, contractor, and shipowner—has been co-operating with the British Cotton-growing Association in an endeavour to increase the output of cotton from British East Africa. Here, as in other fields of enterprise in the colony, the Governmental methods seem to be woefully backward, and compare altogether unfavourably with the enterprise manifested by the authorities in German East Africa. This is a point which Mr. Jeevanjee has greatly at heart, and as he proclaims stoutly his loyalty as a British subject, and avows that his one desire is the development of the colony in which he lives, his views merit respectful consideration, especially coming as they do from one in a high commercial position and one whose interests are wrapped up in the prosperity of British East Africa.

GOVERNMENTAL INACTIVITY.

“ We who want to see British East Africa go ahead can get no encouragement from the Government,” he said. “ Why is it ? I cannot tell. That is a question we ourselves have been asking for many years. Meanwhile German East Africa has been taking advantage of our remissness. Up to a few years ago there was no regular shipping service between British East African ports ; now, by dint of personal representations to British shipowners, the ships of three companies call at our ports. The service, however, is not so regular as that in operation along the German East African coast. Of course if we have inadequate shipping facilities how can you expect the trade of the country to develop ? One reason for my visit to Liverpool just now is to inspect some small steamers with a view to purchase, my idea being to run them on the coast. You must remember that British East Africa is an immense place—it is bigger than India. I am over here to help the Government—not to embarrass it—and to show the British public how the country can be opened up.”

Two particular instances were quoted by Mr. Jeevanjee as evidence of the Government's inability to grasp thoroughly the

requirements of the industrial population. The first was the need for a deepwater pier at Kilidini—the best harbour on the British East African coast. The Uganda Railway authorities, he said, had first mooted the project in 1903, and it had also been recommended by the chief engineer of the Foreign Office. Plans and specifications had, in fact, been deposited with the Foreign Office, but nothing had yet been done. The system of loading and unloading steamers at present in vogue was by means of lighters—a system which cost 5s. per ton, as against about 9d. or 1s. at a deepwater pier. Traders would thus save about 4s. per ton on freights if the scheme were only carried out. The estimated cost of the pier was between £25,000 and £30,000. “If,” added Mr. Jeevanjee, “the Government built the pier and exacted the same charges as at present, the cost of building would be defrayed in two years’ time. But no, nothing has been done. I have made inquiries in London, and I am told some people to whom the concession has been granted have still got the matter under consideration. How long it will be before anything is done I cannot say. Why! I am willing to build the pier myself if the Government will only give me the concession; but so far I have not been able to get it.”

FOREIGN INFLUENCE SUCCESSFUL.

Asked as to the reason for the Government’s policy of inaction in this connection, Mr. Jeevanjee could only suggest foreign influence as against Indian influence—a point which he elaborated later on. The lighterage companies he said, were run by Germans and other foreigners to the extent of two-thirds English capital being represented by about one-third.

The second example of Governmental lack of enterprise was the non-provision of a water supply. “This,” he said, “is one of the biggest questions in British East Africa. The Government has up to the present not spent a farthing on the water supply, although the water has been condemned by medical officers of the British East Africa Protectorate, and although fever is on the increase. Medical authorities have appealed to

Government to erect waterworks, but nothing has been done. On the other hand, in German East Africa, there is an excellent water supply."

INDIAN GRIEVANCES.

Again emphasising the pacific object of his mission, Mr. Jeevanjee proceeded to give some surprising information as to the attitude of the Government towards the Indian population of the colony. He explained that the Indians were practically responsible for the development of the country so far as it had gone. He himself went to the colony twenty years ago, when the Imperial British East Africa Company were responsible for its administration. His father and grandfather before him had been connected with it—in fact, his family's interest in the colony stretched back to the seventeenth century. Of the colony's commercial and industrial community 85 per cent. are Indians, and, according to Mr. Jeevanjee, the climatic conditions of the country—except in the Highlands—are such as to make it impossible for Europeans to efficiently work the colony.

"It can never be a white man's country," he said. "Mr. Winston Churchill has told us so, but, despite that fact, and despite all that the Indian population have done in the past, the Government insist upon placing restrictions upon our people to such an extent as to seriously jeopardise our interests, and, as a necessary consequence, to retard the development of the country. I myself have played a large part in building up the country. All the best property in Nairobi belongs to me. I built all the Government buildings, and leased them to the Administration. I built all the hospitals and post offices between Mombasa and Port Florence, and I was the sole contractor for the building of the Uganda Railway. In Nairobi the Indians pay practically the whole of the taxes, and own nearly the whole of the town."

The Government ordinances which the Indian population, as British subjects, regard as unfair and seriously detrimental to their industrial welfare were briefly indicated by Mr. Jeevan-

jee. They included the right of trial by jury being limited to Europeans, and restrictions in certain places on the sale of land, by which persons of European origin only can become lessees.

“That means,” remarked Mr. Jeevanjee, “that we—the subjects of King George—are not allowed to purchase land in our own country, whilst any foreigner—any German, French, Italian, or any other Continental rival—is perfectly at liberty to do so.”

INDIAN TRADERS BOYCOTTED.

Another remarkable regulation was that which provides that in the produce market at Nairobi the market master must not accept produce for sale from any but European or American consignors, and that non-Europeans must not enter the market-house unless authorised by European employers to act on their behalf.

“Can you imagine anything more absurd,” asked Mr. Jeevanjee, “than for such a regulation to be issued in a town where practically the whole of the business is carried on by Indians? What is the use of my fellow-Indians and myself trying to open up the agricultural resources of the country when we are practically boycotted on the produce market? It is an attempt to favour the foreigner to the exclusion of the British subject, and when I assure you that the country cannot be developed by white men you will see how ridiculously short-sighted it all is. As a loyal British subject, I want to know why this state of things should continue. There is no reason why the Government and the Indians should not work together. With English capital and Indian labour the success of the colony is assured, otherwise it is impossible. My point, briefly, is that the present policy is harmful to my fellow-countrymen, harmful to the colony, and, consequently, harmful to the Empire.”

Mr. Jeevanjee added that whilst in London he had been in close touch with the Colonial Office regarding the Hindoo grievances, and, on certain points, the officials there had confessed ignorance of the actual state of things.

Manchester Guardian, 24th September 1910.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

CLAIMS OF INDIAN SETTLERS.

Mr. A. M. Jeevanjee, who is in Manchester on business connected with the extension of cotton growing in Africa, has recently come from the British East Africa Protectorate, and made a statement last night to a representative of the "Manchester Guardian" on the position of British Indians in that province of the Empire.

"For about 300 years," Mr. Jeevanjee said, "There has been a constant trade between India and East Africa, and it was indeed through the existence of that trade that East Africa became at last a part of the British Empire. There are at the present time about 25,000 British Indian residents in the country, mostly business men and their families. They are settled all along the coast and in the interior, and many of them have been born and brought up in the country. A few years ago the British Government in East Africa adopted a legislative and administrative policy adverse to the interests of the British Indians resident there. The general object seems to have been to discourage British Indians from going to East Africa and to discourage those already there from staying.

"Within the last six months these measures have become more pointed. In the sale of land by public auction an announcement appears that no British Indian need bid; a regulation was issued that land was only to be leased to Europeans; in the produce market open by the municipal authority of Nairobi a rule was put into force that only Europeans could buy and sell, and it is in this market that the produce from the land around has to be sold. Meanwhile members of European and American nations are allowed full trading and property rights in the Protectorate. The restrictions are directed only against Asiatics, and this arouses much resentment among the Indian subjects of the Crown.

“ There are millions of acres suitable to the production of the best kind of cotton. The soil of the country varies so much that every known product of the soil will grow. Already nearly 85 per cent. of the business of the Protectorate is in the hands of Indians, which makes the recent policy of the British Government the more difficult to understand, because one can hardly believe that they propose to set to work to uproot all the present institutions and to efface all the present characteristics of the country. From India the right kind of labour will readily migrate to East Africa, and Indian capital is also waiting at the door. But, meanwhile, these regulations and the general policy of the British Government are preventing the natural flow of Indian capital and labour into the country.

“ British East Africa is being run by the British taxpayer, who is, through this dog-in-the-manger policy, denied the proper return for his money. At the same time the British Indian feels himself under an injustice. He holds that this policy is a deviation from that freedom of trade and intercourse which is characteristic of the British system ; that it is an exceptional measure directed against himself alone. It cannot be to the interest of the British Government either in East Africa or in India that this sense of injustice should be allowed to exist.”

Manchester Guardian, 18th October 1910.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

COLONIAL SECRETARY ASKED TO REMOVE DISABILITIES.

The London All-India Moslem League have sent a lengthy communication to the Earl of Crewe (Colonial Secretary), in which they say they have had their attention directed to serious disabilities which have been imposed of late upon Indians in British East Africa, and they ask him to give instructions for

substantial modifications in the policy now being pursued. The value of Indian merchants and traders to this part of Africa, great as it was in the past, has been vastly increased by the establishment of British rule. Mr. Winston Churchill, in his book "My African Journey," said: "It is the Indian trader, who, penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no white man could go, or in which no white man could earn a living, has more than anyone else developed the early beginnings of trade and opened up the first slender means of communication." In a summary of their requests, the Committee ask that it should be recognised that the attempts to colonise the upland tracks by white labour have failed, and that they constitute a grave injustice to the Indian community. There should be a reversal of the present policy of exclusion, and adhesion in practice and not merely in theory to the principle laid down by the last Colonial Secretary that "it is not consonant with the views of His Majesty's Government to impose legal restrictions (in the matter of renting or acquiring land) on any particular section of the community." They ask for the giving of full and unqualified effect to the recommendation of the Sanderson Committee that indentured immigration from India to assist private enterprises should only be allowed on condition that the labourer on completion of his contract is free to remain in East Africa and settle where he pleases. In view of the arrested development of the Protectorate and its dependence on the British Exchequer. Indian settlers, it is urged, should be granted Crown lands on terms similar to those prevailing in many parts of India, thus yielding a substantial direct revenue to the country, in addition to that obtainable from its agricultural development. Exclusions should be based on grounds entirely personal to the individual, and not on those of race. The exclusion of Indian traders or merchants from the market house at Nairobi, save as agents for Europeans, should be revoked, and their produce have equal rights of access to the market with the produce of white farmers. Due regard should be paid to the vested rights of the Indians in Nairobi in the matter of property and residence, and there should be no attempts at dispossession in order

to bring about anything like segregation of them in locations. No disabilities should be placed upon well-to-do Indians in respect to the hire of accommodation in the steamers and on the railways. As in Uganda, there should be no differentiation between Europeans and Indians in respect of the right of trial by jury, and this system should be applied to trials of Indians on serious charges at least. The power of the Governor to nominate to the magisterial bench should not be restricted, as at present, to British subjects "of European extraction." Indians should be eligible for such appointments. Due regard should be paid to the religious scruples and caste observances of Indians when suffering terms of imprisonment.

The Committee lay stress upon the consideration that the responsibility, both administrative and moral, rests upon the Home Government. There is here no question of imposing the will of Whitehall upon a self-governing colony, nor is the Colonial Secretary faced with the difficulties arising in those dominions where the ideal of a white man's country is entertained.

Glasgow Herald, 11th October, 1910.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

GRIEVANCES OF INDIANS.

The fact that Sir Percy Girouard, the Governor of the East Africa Protectorate, has been summoned to a conference with the Colonial Office gives hope to those interested in the Asiatic question that there will speedily be a solution of the serious issues affecting the rights and privileges of British Indians in that part of the Empire. The presence in this country of the Hon. A. M. Jeevanjee, member of the Legislative Council, should also be of assistance to the home authorities, Mr. Jeevanjee being one of the most influential business men of East Africa and representing large trading interests between India and the Protectorate. He has just concluded a visit to

Glasgow in connection with the purchase of ships for the development of the coastal trade.

In an interview Mr. Jeevanjee spoke of the prominent part which Scotsmen had played and were playing in the opening up and development of British East Africa, and in particular he referred to the great work of Sir William Mackinnon and the British East Africa Company. He also adverted to the new joint service of steamers sailing from Glasgow and Birkenhead by the Clan, Ellerman and Harrison Lines. "My personal interest," Mr. Jeevanjee frankly said, "is that I want this country opened up. I don't care what class of people go there so long as you and I can make a living. The British Government are paying thousands of pounds to keep the country. Why not open it up and make it self-supporting? Why should we have restrictions? I travel all over Europe and come to Great Britain, pay my fare by steamship or railway, and am treated the same as other passengers. Yet what happens in British East Africa? The steamers running to and from Lake Victoria are controlled by Indians, and the exportation and importation of goods and produce are made by them. Still they are not treated with the consideration of second class passengers, even though they may have purchased a second class ticket. There is absolutely no equity. For about 300 years there has been a constant trade between India and East Africa, and it was indeed through the existence of that trade that East Africa became at last a part of the British Empire. Now fully 85 per cent. of the trade is in our hands. There are at the present time about 25,000 British Indian residents in the country, mostly business men and their families—the proportion of Indian to European residents is as 12 to 1. They are settled all long the coast and in the interior, and many of them have been born and brought up in the country. A few years ago the British Government in East Africa adopted a legislative and administrative policy adverse to the interests of the British Indian residents. The general object of the policy seems to have been to discourage British Indians from going to East Africa and to discourage those already there from staying.

Mr. Jeevanjee produced evidence of the restrictive policy. In the sale of land by public auction an announcement appears that no British Indian need bid. A regulation was issued that land was only to be leased to Europeans. In the produce market opened by the municipal authority of Nairobi a rule was put in force that only Europeans could buy and sell. Meanwhile Europeans and Americans are allowed full trading and property rights in the Protectorate. The restrictions directed only against Asiatics have naturally aroused much resentment among the British Indian population. From an enumeration of these grievances Mr. Jeevanjee passed to a discussion of the larger issue—the proper development of British East Africa. “I do not want any favour,” he declared. “I am not working for my own benefit, or from the Indian point of view merely. I want the good name of the British Empire to be maintained, that it should stand for freedom to everyone. This policy of restriction is not only wronging the Indian but is doing harm to the Empire. What will the Indian say now about the freedom of England, when the so-called freedom is turning us from our own houses and homes which we have ourselves built? We want the European to come to East Africa with his capital, and our Indian people will work and open up the country. The soil of the country varies so much that every known product will grow. It is a beautiful country, for instance, for cotton growing. See our poor Manchester industry being crushed by the monopoly of American cotton. The Cotton Association is doing its best to overcome the difficulty. I have been kindly received by the members, but they ask what they can do in the way of growing cotton in such regions as East Africa without labour. And if those restrictions on the Indian are to continue the thing is going to be smashed. If the Government think the country is going to be cultivated by European labour it will never be done.” Mr. Jeevanjee emphatically declared that East Africa, either coastal or highland, was unsuitable for white labour, and there lay the difference in the situation as contrasted with the white man policy of Australia and Canada. The introduction of the racial antagonism he attributed to the settlers who had come from South Africa at the close of the war.

Daily Graphic, 22nd October 1910.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

The London branch of the All India Moslem League has addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies a very powerfully worded remonstrance against the treatment of Indians in East Africa. With the manner in which Indians have been and are being treated in South Africa the public is already familiar, and it is one of the least creditable incident in our Imperial administration. There was, however, in the case of the Transvaal this plausible excuse, that the Indians might be described as interlopers, following along a road that white men had cut for themselves. In the case of East Africa no such plea is possible. Indian commercial relations with East Africa began before England had anything to do with the country, and there is a wealth of evidence that without Indian labour and enterprise and capital the development of the Protectorate would have been impossible. Yet a handful of white men, some of them of Boer descent, are now claiming the right to exclude Indians from all parts of the East African Protectorate where white men can manage to live. In Nairobi, although Indians own a large part of the town, a municipal regulation has been made forbidding the market master to accept produce for sale from any but European or American consignors. Another recent regulation deprives the Governor of the power to make Indians justices of the peace, although many of the Indian residents are men of high culture and possessed of very considerable wealth, and although the Indian population outnumbers the white population of all nationalities by more than twelve to one. These are samples of the anti-Indian measures which a Liberal Government has sanctioned in a Crown Colony. Upon the injustice and the Imperial danger of such pandering to racial prejudice it is needless to comment, but it is worth while to add that the policy so light-heartedly sanctioned by Lord Crewe has the further demerit of being economically disastrous, for it is only by Indian labour and Indian settlement that the East African Protectorate can be made self-supporting.

INDIAN PRESS OPINION, (B).

Bombay Gazette, 3rd September 1910.

EMPIRE BUILDERS' PLEA.

ENTERTAINMENT TO THE HON. MR. A. M.
JEEVANJEE.

An interesting gathering took place at the National Liberal Club on Tuesday, the 16th instant, when the Eastern Question Association entertained the Hon. Alibhoy Mulla Jeevanjee on his appointment to the Legislative Council of British East Africa.

Mr. Jeevanjee is a well known Indian Merchant, who has a great deal to do with the development of that part of the Empire. Amongst those present were:—Sir George Birdwood, Mirza Abbas Ali Baig of India Office, Professor Margoliouth, the President of the Eastern Question Association, Major E. Atkins, Secretary of the Association, Hamid Bey, Mr. M. T. Kaderbhoy, Secretary, London All-India Moslem League, Mr. C. A. Latif, Mr. F. Harrison, Mr. Y. A. Karrimjee of Zanzibar, Mr. Fazulbhoy Visram, Mr. J. Nicholson, Mr. Coldstream, Syed Abu Ali, Mr. Effendi Bey, Khan Saheb Ahmed Dewjee, Mr. Tayabali Alibhoy Karrimjee, Mr. Adamally A. Karrimjee of Karachi and Mr. A. S. M. Anik.

Sir George Birdwood, proposing the health of the King-Emperor, argued a prosperous and beneficent reign for the Sovereign, who daily gave proofs of his gracious solicitude for the welfare of all his subjects, North, South, East and West. The toast was most enthusiastically received, (amid loud cheers.)

Professor Margoliouth of Oxford, and President of the Association, in proposing the health of Our Guest, alluded to the long years of patient and successful pioneer work amid

great discouragement, undertaken by Mr. Jeevanjee in improving the coasting service of Maritime connections, between India and East Africa, Persia and Arabia. The Professor went on to say, that the British Empire could not possibly grow too great so long as there were men like Mr. Jeevanjee who were ready to contribute their part in making it better and happier. A desire to serve the Empire as a whole outweighed a desire to serve any part of it. For that reason Professor Margoliouth observed that they all joined in congratulating Mr Jeevanjee on his appointment, and on the honour which had been done him. (Cheers).

Mr. Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, the new member of the Council of Indian Government delivered an eloquent speech, and observed that he was proud to join Professor Margoliouth in congratulating Mr. Jeevanjee on his appointment to the East African Council. He referred to Mr. Jeevanjee's excellent work in opening up to cultivation vast tracks of low lying swamp and marsh and by the example of perseverance, inspiring others to clear and drain the land and sow in crops, thus giving employment to a large number of people and founding on the track of the Uganda Railway, flourishing townships which he hoped would be added to in years to come. In conclusion he said that British East Africa need more men like him to develop its resources. (Cheers).

Mr. Jeevanjee, who rose amid loud cheers, said, " I feel I cannot better respond to the remarks of the distinguished President of the Eastern Question Association than to state my views as to the reasons why British East Africa should encourage immigration and capital from India, the country of my birth. British East Africa is one of the youngest and fairest of the Colonies of the Empire, with enormous latent wealth within its vast compass, but which is only being developed spasmodically and that in a very minor degree. What is the reason therefore? It had been assumed in the past that this vast tropical region would be the home of a large European population, that its fertile plains and wooded slopes would prove an ideal region

for the surplus of the crowded people of the British Islands. With the advantage of the finest harbour on the East African Coast and a Railway traversing its entire length ten years have seen the influx of but a handful of European Settlers, with no prospect of any considerable addition thereto. If British East Africa is ever to prove of any great value to the Imperial Family of States its resources must be developed. The fact of the matter is, British East Africa is not, nor will ever be, even in the judgment of many Europeans residing there, what is termed "a Whiteman's Country." Granted this promise, and its truth is undoubted, why not remove the many, and I may say onerous and even odious restrictions, now curtailing the immigration of Indians. Even with these drawbacks, the bulk of the business, interests and wealth of British East Africa is controlled by Indian Merchants. Whilst these restrictions, however, remain, I cannot encourage either the emigration of my countrymen or the influx of Indian capital into a country where no encouragement is shown to either. I am very sure this is a "dog-in-the-manger," policy and greatly retarding the best interests of this Colony. British India can supply thousands of the best and most industrious agricultural labourers in the world and numbers of them, were they assured that they could make a permanent home, with a further assurance of continuity of tenure to their families, would settle there. Very few of the European Settlers who possess farms have developed them in any degree while many of those who have attempted to do so have relinquished them or are willing to sell. If the land produces nothing there will be no business, no export trade, no money to spend on imports, no revenue to carry on the administration of the country beyond the Grant-in-aid. On the other hand abolish the restrictions now lying like a millstone around the neck of the Indian immigrants, give facilities for taking up larger areas of land than is now allowed them, open up the country to them for legitimate trading and agriculture, and I am very positive that a good class of Britain's Indian loyal subjects would be attracted with the capital necessary to change the whole aspect

of the country in the course of a very few years from its present quiescent, stagnant condition, to one of prosperity and importance amongst Britain's Colonies. As a matter of Imperial Policy alone, leaving aside matters of business and things allied thereto, the encouragement of a large and loyal population from India would vastly strengthen the hands of the Imperial Authorities politically in case of International difficulties, for the weak Colonies would be the first to suffer on account of their weakness. Again, as to the old and yet ever present matter of colour prejudice. It is a remarkable fact that in business there is none, one naturally desires and does purchase in the cheapest market. Indian merchants have for centuries traded along the East Africa Coast and in the Hinterland and self-reliant and determined traders have done more to add to the wealth and increase the area of Britain's numerous possessions than all the power of the sword. The Indian is a loyal British Subject, why should he not be given a fair chance with no undue restrictions so as to develop and add wealth and prestige to a country now virtually stagnant and more particularly so when its natural position, its contiguity to the Indian Peninsula, its climate and therefore its natural adaptability as an annex to the richest jewel in the British Crown taken into due consideration? To make of British East Africa a land "smiling with milk and honey" it only requires the "Call of the East." In conclusion I beg to thank the illustrious President of the Association, Professor Margoliouth for his kind words. I also beg to thank Major Atkins for giving me an opportunity to lay my views before this gathering. Now, Gentlemen, I beg to propose his health, in which I am sure you will all join with me."

Times of India, 22nd August 1910.

THE LEADING INDIAN OF EAST AFRICA.

Unhappily the situation in respect to Indians in East Africa though to a much less degree than in South Africa, is not all that could be desired. The Hon. Mr. Jeevanjoe, the first

and only Indian member of the Legislative Council of the Protectorate will be taking steps. I understand during his brief visit here, to bring the facts to notice in the right quarters. But his purpose in calling together some of his friends for a luncheon at the Whitehall rooms, Hotel Metropole, this afternoon was a purely social one, and in the brief speeches no reference was made to this debatable question. The party was "to meet Mr. Ameer Ali and other friends" and in addition to the right hon. gentleman the guests numbering nearly 40. In reply to the toast of his health Mr. Jeevanjee said the connection of Asiatic Moslems with the country went back nearly 300 years and the prominent part they now played in the life and enterprise of the Protectorate might be judged when he told them that the Asiatics there, mainly Moslems, numbered 25,000. Nor was it to be forgotten that Islam had become the faith of no small proportion of the African population, especially on the coast. When he reflected on these facts he felt how inadequate he was for the task of representing Indian and indeed the entire Moslem population upon the Legislative Council. But he could at least say that in East Africa as in India, the Moslems were among the most devoted subjects of King George.

Times of India, 19th September 1910.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

SOME GRIEVANCES DETAILED.

Sheth Allibhoy Mulla Jeevanjee has just been made a member of the Legislative Council of British East Africa, says the *Daily Chronicle* in mail week. He thoroughly deserved, and has thoroughly earned, that position. Just now he is over in Europe acting as a sort of commercial traveller for his adopted country, at the request of the Nairobi Agricultural Department. He was kind enough to talk over the position and prospects of

the country with one of our representatives. It is in British East Africa that Mr. Jeevanjee's chief interests are to be found and it is there that his heart evidently is.

“It is one of the most wonderful countries in the world,” he said, “and there is not a single product of commercial value that cannot be obtained there. The country is there, and it is only waiting for two things to bring about its full development. And these are European capital and Indian labour. It is not a white man's country in the sense that white men can perform hard and continual manual labour. But for our Indian fellow-citizens it offers infinite possibilities.”

Then Mr. Jeevanjee went on to unfold a story to our representative which would be ludicrously incredible, were it not that it was told by a man who has the best possible means of knowing its truth, and who could support it by documentary evidence. “A deliberate attempt is being made to debar us from any share in the commerce and agriculture of the country,” he said. “We are marked down because of our race and colour. Taking the whole of Uganda, I should say that the proportion of Indians to Europeans is as twelve to one. In fact, it may be said that they practically carry on the country. In Nairobi they pay practically the whole of the taxes, and own nearly the whole of the town.

“I say nothing above the action of the South African Union towards us. But the case of British East Africa is entirely different. We are already there. We have made the country. We have created enormous interests there. And now there is nothing but stagnation—and there will be nothing but stagnation in the future, if this policy is persisted in. I am a loyal subject of the King. I am proud to be a citizen of the British Empire. My whole interests are bound up with Uganda. It is my home, and I have done my little best to build it up and make it a useful and valuable part of the British dominions. And I have nothing to say against the Imperial Government. But I do hope they will consider whether the policy of driving

loyal subjects of the Crown out of the country which they have made is one which is likely to add to the strength of the Empire.

“ I have no sympathy with the agitation which is going on among a section of the people in India. But can you wonder at it, when the people of our race receive treatment like this ? So far as I am personally concerned, the matter does not affect me as it does some of my fellow-countrymen. Fortunately. I am in a position to be independent of what may happen in British East Africa. But that does not alter the fact that I feel the present position acutely.”

Another matter referred to by Mr. Jeevanjee was the treatment of Indians on the Lake steamers. The steamers running to and from Lake Victoria are controlled entirely by Indians, and most of the freight and passengers are supplied by them. Yet they are not treated with the consideration of second class passengers, even though they may have purchased a second class ticket. They are not provided with pillows, blankets, and mattresses, as in the case of the Europeans.

Times of India, 17th October, 1910.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

CLAIMS OF INDIAN SETTLERS.

Mr. A. M. Jeevanjee, who was in Manchester on business connected with the extension of cottongrowing in Africa, in mail week having recently gone there from the British East Africa Protectorate, made a statement to a newspaper representative on the position of British Indians in that province of the Empire.

“ For about 300 years,” Mr. Jeevanjee said “there has been a constant trade between India and East Africa, and it was indeed through the existence of that trade that East Africa became at last a part of the British Empire. There are at

the present time about 25,000 British Indian residents in the country, mostly business men and their families. They are settled all along the coast and in the interior, and many of them have been born and brought up in the country. A few years ago the British Government in East Africa adopted a legislative and administrative policy adverse to the interests of the British Indians resident there. The general objects seems to have been to discourage British Indians from going to East Africa and to discourage those already there from staying.

“ Within the last six months these measures have become more pointed. In the sale of land by public auction an announcement appears that no British Indian need bid a regulation was issued that land was only to be leased to Europeans in the produce market opened by the municipal authority of Nairobi a rule was put into force that only Europeans could buy and sell, and it is in this market that the produce from the land around has to be sold. Meanwhile members of Europeans and American nations are allowed full trading and property rights in the Protectorate. The restrictions are directed only against Asiatics, and this arouses much resentment among the Indian subjects of the Crown.

“ There are millions of acres suitable to the production of the best kind of cotton. The soil of the country varies so much that every known product of the soil will grow. Already near 85 per cent. of the business of the Protectorate is in the hands of Indians, which makes the recent policy of the British Government the more difficult to understand, because one can hardly believe that they propose to set to work to uproot all the present institutions and to efface all the present characteristic of the country. From India the right kind of labour will readily migrate to East Africa, and Indian capital is also waiting at the door. But, meanwhile, these regulations and the general policy of the British Government are preventing the natural flow of Indian capital and labour into the country.

“ British East Africa is being run by the British taxpayer, who is, through this dog-in-the-manger policy, denied the proper

return for his money. At the same time the British Indian feels himself under an injustice. He holds that this policy is a deviation from that freedom of trade and intercourse which is characteristic of the British system ; that it is an exceptional measure directed against himself alone. It cannot be to the interest of the British Government either in East Africa or in India that this sense of injustice should be allowed to exist.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

Mr. Alibhoy Mulla Jeevanjee, who is well known in Bombay as the head of the Bombay Hedjaz Company, has been making a noise at the Colonial Office, and in the columns of the daily press here at the policy of the East African Government in reserving the land for the white man. Mr. Jeevanjee has just been made a member of the Legislative Council of British East Africa, and is at present in England as the representative of the Nairobi Agricultural Department ; all the best property in Nairobi belongs to him ; he built all the Government buildings and leased them to the administration ; he built all the hospitals and post offices between Mombasa and Port Florence ; and he was sole contractor for the Uganda Railway ; but apparently he regards all these honours and emoluments as small potatoes besides the fact that the uplands between Mombasa and Port Florence an area of some 4,000 square miles, are to be reserved for white settlers. The Colonial Office is hopelessly ignorant of what all the pother is about, they say that such local matters are in the hands of the Governor of the Protectorate, but that the land policy of the government is embodied in a despatch of Lord Elgin's stating that :—"With regard to the granting of land to Indians, it is not consonant with the views of His Majesty's Government to impose legal restrictions on any particular section of the community, but as a matter of administrative convenience, grants should not be made to Indians in the upland areas." This appears to me at any rate a very sensible regulation. East Africa has a large extent of territory which is suitable to the black and brown races, and a small area which is favourable to white colonisation, and the

Indians might stick to their own share without coveting the white man's share. The situation seems to be very analogous to that which you enjoy in Bombay, where the Hindu and Parsi millionaire has crowded the white merchant and government official out of the health-giving breezes of Malabar and Cumballa Hills, and the government is now seeking to recover property which it should never have allowed to be alienated. The East African government seem to me to be eminently wise to take time by the forelock in this respect.

The Indian Daily Telegraph, 31st August 1910.

THE HON. MR. A. M. JEEVANJEE IN LONDON.

[FROM A CORRESPONDENT.]

To meet the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E., LL.D., and other friends the Hon. A. M. Jeevanjee, the Indian member of the British East Africa Legislative Council, gave a luncheon party at Whitehall Rooms, Hotel Metropole, on August 5th. Unfortunately, owing to the holiday season having commenced, many friends of the hon. gentleman were out of town and therefore unable to accept his invitation. Still the gathering was a large one, and afforded evidence of the many influential friends in England Mr. Jeevanjee possesses. The guests included :— The Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, Sir J. Dunlop Smith, Sir George Birdwood, Sir George Mackenzie, Mr. C. A. Latif, Mr. Ratan Tata, Mr. John Nicholson, Mr. M. T. Kaderbhoy (Secretary, the London All-India Moslem League), Mr. Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, India Council, Mr. A. S. M. Anik, Mr. Austin Low, Mr. L. W. Ritch, Sir M. M. Bhowuggree, Major Edward Atkins, Mr. Frank Birdwood, Mr. Fazulbhoy Visram, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. R. D. Galbraith, and others.

After the toast of the King had been duly honoured, the Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali proposed the health of the host. He

said :—"It is now twenty-five years ago since I first met Mr. Jeevanjee on the occasion of a memorable visit I paid to the town to which he originally belonged—Karachi. He was then a young man of promise, and the promise has been fulfilled. His activities have led him into various parts of the British Empire, Australia, East Africa, and other dominions of the Crown, and wherever he has gone, he has been of great use in the work of developing the resources of the country, and also in furthering the interests of his community. In Australia he was, I understand, a pioneer in developing what is now a large carrying trade between the North of the Continent and Queensland. In East Africa he has so many irons in the fire that it is difficult to understand how he is able to attend to all of them. All of them tend to develop the country, and to assist in the progress of civilization amongst the Native inhabitants. Considering the enormous Musalman population over whom our Sovereign rules, it must be a matter of satisfaction to every citizen of the Empire to know that a member of the Musalman community is engaged in so many enterprises calculated to develop the resources of the Empire. His recent elevation to the Legislative Council of British East Africa was a well-merited recognition of the esteem in which he is held by his community, and of the service he has rendered to the country in which he has established what may be termed his home. He could not have achieved so much success had he not been a man of wonderful energy and pertinacity. I ask you to drink to his health and prosperity.

Sir George Birdwood, on being called upon to speak, referred at length in eloquent terms to the great services the Borah committee had rendered to the commercial world, not only in India, but in all parts of the British Empire. He spoke in very high terms of Mr. Jeevanjee's various activities and enterprises in commercial world, and styled Mr. Jeevanjee is one of the greatest pioneers of commerce. He concluded his admirable speech by wishing the host every success and prosperity in all his undertakings.

THE HOST'S REPLY.

Mr. Jeevanjee who was received with loud applaus, said in reply :—

My friend, The Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, and gentlemen, the pleasure and honour it has been to me to receive you here to-day are increased by the heartiness with which you have received this toast. I may return the thanks you have expressed, and say that I am indebted to you for coming here at a time when many friends have already left town for their summer holidays and when others are on the point of departure. To my eminent friend, Mr. Ameer Ali, I am much indebted for his kind allusions in proposing the toast. His distinguished career and his contributions to Islamic literature are well known among his co-religionists in East Africa, and our rejoicing was very great, indeed, when we learned that he had been named of the Privy Council and had been appointed to the Judicial Committee. I trust that if he finds time for further writings on Moslem civilization he will give due credit to the work of Moslem traders and others as pioneers of civilization in East Africa. The connexion of Asiatic Moslems with the country goes back nearly 300 years; and the prominent part they now play in the life and enterprise of the Protectorate maybe judged when I tell you that the Asiatics there, mainly Moslems, number 25,000. Nor is it to be forgotten that Islam has become the faith of no small proportion of the African population, especially on the coast. When I reflect on these facts I feel how inadequate I am for the task of representing the Indian, and indeed the entire Moslem, population upon the recently formed Legislative Council, an appointment to which such kindly reference has been made. My experience in that capacity, and my general knowledge both of East Africa and of India, enable me to say with all conviction that King George has no more loyal or devoted subjects than the Moslems who own his sway. Such a gathering as this, with many prominent Englishmen present, is a reminder of the good-will and sympathy they enjoy in well-informed quarters in this country. In this con-

nection I would thank Sir George Birdwood for his kind and learned remarks. Gentlemen, you have kindly drunk my health. I now ask you to drink the health of each other, and I lead the toast with all my heart.

Indian Daily Telegraph, Lucknow, 8th September 1910

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

The report of the Committee on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates, recently published, shows that the situation in East Africa in respect to the Indian population is not so satisfactory as could be desired, and there are indications that the problem may become one of increasing perplexity as time goes on. The connection of Indian and Arab immigrants, with the coast districts of what is now British East Africa, goes back to a time anterior to the Portuguese occupation at the close of the fifteenth century. The immigration from that day forward has been in the main of persons belonging to the trading class. But it will be recalled that the Uganda Railway was built chiefly by Indian labour. The contract was for a period of three years, each man being given a return passage to his *gaon* in this country. At one time as many as 18,000 Indians were employed on the construction of the railway. The line is still worked to a great extent by means of indentured immigrants, of whom it is estimated that about 2,000 are employed partly as clerks and artisans, partly as ordinary labourers. A certain proportion of the men remain in the country at the end of the three years' contract, and of those who come back a considerable number renew their indentures and return bringing their wives and families with them. Those who remain in the country when free from indenture mostly become traders and artisans. When asked if they were a useful addition to the popu-

lation, the manager of the railway replied that at the present time they were indispensable. Sir John Kirk, who for a considerable period was officially responsible for the construction of the Uganda Railway, said that it was only by means of the Indian trader, that at Nairobi, the capital town of the uplands district, and elsewhere, articles of European use could be obtained at moderate prices. "In fact," he said, "drive away the Indians and you may shut up the Protectorate."

The disappearance of the Indians of whom there are 25,000 in the Protectorate, as against 2,000 Europeans, would at any rate involve such an increase in the cost of living as to necessitate a general rise of salaries. As the Protectorate is still dependent upon a considerable grant-in-aid from Imperial funds, this is not a contingency "to be lightly faced," as Lord Sanderson's Committee observed. The Committee had no hesitation in affirming that the presence of a considerable number of Indian inhabitants has been, and continues to be, of material advantage to the British administration of the Protectorate. Along the coast there is a considerable amount of land awaiting development which could be put to profit much more rapidly if indentured labourers were procured from India than is likely if only local native labour is available. In the intermediate zone between the coast districts and the uplands the need for a supply of regular labour has been severely felt. Again and again the proprietors of the fibre factories have represented that unless indentured labour from India can be supplied they will have no alternative but to abandon their enterprise. Sir J. Hayes Sadler, when Governor of the Protectorate, asked the sanction of the Colonial Office to a scheme for the employment of indentured Indians to make up for the uncertainty and vagrancy of the indigenous labour supply. But Lord Crewe came to the conclusion that the objections to the scheme were so great as to preclude him from sanctioning it. He suggested importation of labour from Nyassaland, but this was found to be impracticable on account of the cost, besides being open to other objections.

The reasons for Lord Crewe's veto of the Indian project are not set forth in the published papers ; but undoubtedly a strong consideration was that in the upland districts, where the supply of native labour is said to be sufficient for the needs of the white settlers, there is great jealousy of any measures which would tend materially to increase the numbers of Indian residents. These settlers number about 1,500, of whom a considerable proportion are from Natal, and bring with them the prejudices of South Africa in respect to Indian competition. With the exception of a certain number of market gardens round Nairobi the land in the upland districts, which is not reserved for the natives, has been granted only to Europeans or emigrants from South Africa of European descent. As, however, it is recognised that such artificial boundaries might more or less break down were the Indian population much increased, the call for indentured labour is accompanied by the proviso that return to India at the expiration of the contract should be obligatory. Lord Sanderson's Committee, in accordance with the general principle it adopted, reported against acceptance of this condition. They held that it would be undesirable from an administrative point of view, and unfair to the immigrants themselves, that they should be encouraged to go out to a country where the right of ultimate settlement would be denied them. The Indians should be free to renounce their right of return and should have the opportunity of acquiring land in any part of the Protectorate suited to them. In view of the feeling existing among the white settlers in the upland districts, the Committee urged that while those districts were reserved for settlement by white men indentured immigration to the Protectorate should only be permitted under the direct control of Government and for public objects. It is to be hoped that the authorities at home and in this country will steadfastly follow this recommendation.

Times of India.

(FROM A LONDON CORRESPONDENT.)

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

A coming question is that of the exclusion of Indians (other than a few market gardeners round Nairobi) from the uplands of British East Africa—a country which owes so much to Indian enterprise and labour. The idea has been to reserve this vast area (estimated at some 30,000 square miles) for European settlers, but I gather from the evidence placed before the Colonial Office Committee on Indian Immigration that the effort has not been attended with success, the number of settlers being very small in comparison with the vastness of the area to be developed. At a luncheon given at the National Liberal Club, on Tuesday, and organised by Mr. Edward Atkin, the Honorary Secretary of the Eastern Question Association, to Mr. A. M. Jeevanjee, that most enterprising of Indians in East Africa condemned the short-sighted policy of such exclusion. He said it had been assumed in the past that this region would be the home of a large European population. Ten years had past and had seen the incoming of only a handful of settlers of European birth—many of them from South Africa—and there was no prospect of any considerable addition to the number. The fact was that the country was not, nor would it ever be, even in the judgment of many Europeans residing there, a “white man’s country.” Notwithstanding the imposition of restrictions upon Indians, the bulk of the business interests of East Africa were, and had long been, in the hands of Indian merchants. Whilst such restrictions remained he could not encourage either the emigration of his countrymen or the influx of Indian capital. He was sure that the “dog-in-the-manger” policy adopted in the Protectorate was greatly retarding its best interests. Very few of the European settlers given large farms had developed them in any degree, while many of these

who had done so had relinquished them or were willing to sell. If existing restrictions were removed he was positive that a good class of Britain's Indian subjects would be attracted with the capital necessary to change the whole aspect of the country in a very few years, from its present quiescent, stagnant condition to one of prosperity and importance. As to colour prejudice, it was a remarkable fact that in business relations there was none, everyone there, as elsewhere, being desirous of buying in the cheapest market. These remarks made a considerable impression and I understand that Mr. Jeevanjee, in his capacity as a Legislative Councillor of East Africa, has brought the matter to the notice of the Colonial Office. I may add that, at the luncheon, his health was proposed by Professor Margoliouth, of Oxford, and that Sir George Birdwood and Mr. Abbas Ali Baig also spoke.

London letter in "Englishman," Calcutta 6th September 1910,

INDIAN IN EAST AFRICA.

Mr. Edward Atkin, the energetic secretary of the Eastern Question Association, organised a pleasant luncheon in honour of Mr. Jeevanjee, the first Indian member of the British East African Legislature, at the National Liberal Club on Tuesday. Professor Margoliouth proposed Mr. Jeevanjee's health, and in reply that enterprising Khojah merchant adduced a number of reasons for the encouragement of an inflow of labour and capital from India to the part of the British dominions he has made his home. He said that the Protectorate was only being developed in a minor degree. The reason was that it had been assumed that this vast tropical region, at least in the uplands, would be the home of a large European population. The fact of the matter was that it was not, nor would it ever be, even in the judgment of many Europeans residing there, a "white man's country." He claimed therefore that the onerous and even odious restrictions upon Indian immigration and settlement should be removed. He was sure that this dog-of-the-manger

policy was greatly retarding the best interests of the colony. Very few of the European settlers who possessed farms there had developed them in any degree, while many of those who had attempted to do so, had relinquished them or were willing to sell. On the other hand, if Indian immigrants were given facilities for taking up larger areas of land, and the country was opened up to them for legitimate trading and agriculture, he was positive that a good close of Britain's Indian subjects would be attracted with the capital necessary to change the whole aspect of the country in the course of a very few years, and would make it one of the most prosperous and importance of Britain's colonies. A call to the East was the one thing needed to make British East Africa a land flowing with milk and honey.

AFRICAN WHITE PRESS (C).

A FEW SAMPLES.

The Leader of British East Africa, 5th November 1910.

THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

As anticipated by us in our article of last week, the doings of the new Legislative Council (as we termed it) show increased activity in the non-official element, the advent of Mr. T. A. Wood and Mr. V. M. Newland to its debates giving strength to the popular side. This broadening of debate must be as welcome to the Administration as it is to the public. It is a sign of weakness and poverty in Government to seek to limit popular expression; it is a sign of strength to welcome and encourage it.

The feature of this sitting is the replies made by Government to the questions asked by Mr. V. M. Newland on the Jeevanjee statements in England. The figures and particulars elicited in reply give direct negatives to almost all the state-

ments forming the case of Mr. Jeevanjee in his endeavour to evoke the indignation of the home people on the treatment of Indians here. So far is it untrue that the Indians pay the most of the rates and own most of the property in Nairobi that statistics show the proportion of rates paid by Indian residents is only about a quarter of the total received, and of the water rate very much less than a quarter. Of the property owned in the Municipal area, 1,356 acres are held by Europeans, and 238 acres only by Indians (including Goans). This disposes effectually of the claim by Mr. Jeevanjee that he and his fellow Indians own the best part of Nairobi. Questions were not asked as to the relative trade of the two classes of residents here, but even in this, including the old Indian merchant firms at Mombasa, it would be seen, we maintain, that the gross trade, inwards and outwards, is overwhelmingly in favour of the European element. Thus, at one fell swoop, the case of Mr. Jeevanjee is demolished. The settlers of this colony, indignant at such misrepresentations being made at home by a member of their Legislative Council, deliberately uttered, it would seem, to arouse racial strife, look to His Excellency the Governor, as the person responsible for their welfare and peaceful administration, for such redress as the occasion demands. It would be a danger and a farce for Mr. Jeevanjee to again resume his seat on the Council, and the Colonial Office will be very ill-advised indeed should they seek to continue the dangerous experiment of appointing an inexperienced Indian merchant, unversed in public affairs, to the Legislative Council of a European settlement.

Upon the first announcement of the appointment of Mr. Jeevanjee we deemed it a great political risk on the part of His Majesty's Government, a venture which would probably end in disaster. The very danger we feared has come about, and it is now up to His Excellency to make proper representations to the Home Government for a reconsideration of their policy in order that this, as we hope, abortive attempt to arouse racial jealousy and rivalry in a peaceful community, shall not have a chance of being repeated.

The Leader of British East Africa, 1st October 1910.

THE JEEVANJEE ESCAPEDE.

Mr. Jeevanjee has outdone his previous performance in his latest taradiddle. We always considered that Mr. Jeevanjee had brains, good commercial brains, but we underrated him; the simple Indian merchant has splendidly spoofed the *Daily Chronicle*, which has fallen beautifully in the trap set for it by the wily East African Indian. Of course the Hon. Mr. Jeevanjee, M. L. C., the millionaire trader and absentee landowner (who has recently been absent from British East Africa for over two years) is "acting for the Nairobi Agricultural Department." Of course, "85 per cent. of the commerce of this country is in the hands of the Indians." Naturally, "Mr. Jeevanjee owns *all* the best property in Nairobi" and "has built *all* the Government buildings." "He built all the hospitals and post offices between Mombasa and Port Florence." Of course "in Nairobi, the Indians pay practically all the taxes." We are all so well aware (the *Daily Chronicle* tells us on the word of Mr. Jeevanjee) that no Indian may enter the market. (Query—the JEEVANJEE MARKET!). Of course Mr. Jeevanjee represents the commercial interests of Uganda, Mombasa and Nairobi (By the bye we *thought* we had a Chamber of Commerce here, officially acknowledged, with over 30 members and no Jeevanjee among them all!). We are even to acknowledge that Indians run the steamers on the Lake!—Well, all these facts are true, with the exception that Mr. Jeevanjee is *not* acting for the "Nairobi Agricultural Department," which does not even exist! Eighty-five per cent. of the commerce of the country is *not* in the hands of the Indians, or anything approaching it. Mr. Jeevanjee does *not* own all the best property in Nairobi nor did he build the Government buildings; the only Hospital here with any pretence to being a hospital was *not* built by Mr. Jeevanjee. Indians do *not* even pay all the taxes; they do not even pay their due share of taxes. Mr. Jeevanjee is modest

enough to hide the fact that the only Market here for years was his own, in which no European vendor is included— all Indians ! The market he does mention in one only recently established and supported by Europeans for Europeans. The old market which still flourishes, is an Indian preserve and has always catered, and does to-day cater for the public. In commerce Mr. Jeevanjee only represents himself and has no prominent place of business here at all. Of course the Lake Steamers are run by Government with European officers and *not* by Indians. With the exception of all these negatives Mr. Jeevanjee is perhaps, correct. The “pace we think” is too fast to last. “Philip drunk” will soon be “Philip sober.” When these *absolute negatives* reach England (if they have not already been discounted) those who have been taken in by this de Rougemont yarn will learn that these Highlands of British East Africa have been first settled and occupied by the European and *not* Indian ; that the trade and commerce of the place here is *not* Indian controlled that it never will be ; that neither Mr. Jeevanjee, the “*Daily Chronicle*,” nor even the British Government itself can force Indian settlement over British settlement ; that it would be a pretty sight for the gods to see at one and the same time the British people paramount in India and the Indian people paramount in a British Colony, planted there by a regiment of dragoons from England ! !

The Leader of Africa, 1st October 1910.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LEASING TO NATIVES.

THE EDITOR OF THE “LEADER.”

SIR,—Firmly believing, as I do, that few settlers, if any, desire to retain natives on their holdings merely in order to have sufficient cultivation to justify their right to the land, I was much surprised at the attitude of some gentlemen at the Colonists' meeting of the 19th instant, in regard to this important question.

I object to the words "sub-letting" and "leasing" as applied to the retention of natives of any kind on European lands. I do not think we "sub-let" or "lease" land when we permit a few natives to cultivate small areas on our lands, on the emphatic understanding that they can be removed at any time, and when, in addition, these men render us service whenever called on to do so.

May I point out a few advantages to be gained by having men on one's own land? Firstly I take it that such men are clearly given to understand that they are liable to be moved at any time that the land they live on, or cultivate, is required, and that a condition of their occupancy is that they shall work, for pay, for the owner, for a given period in each year. By having men on our lands we have, in any emergency, such as shortage of labour, at least a few men near at hand, who are known, and can be relied on.

It is well known that men will work on for long periods when engaged in the near neighbourhood of their homes, and this enables the settler—I speak from experience—to train men to use the plough, the harrow, the cultivator, and other implements, and it is from the men on his own land that the owner draws his supply of, what I may call, skilled labour.

If we—I speak of those of us who live in the Highlands—have to send to, say, the Fort Hall district, for our men for farm work, they will remain with us at most three months, and this will entail teaching new men, every now and again, work that is not easily learnt by the African native. Again, imported labour has to be fed, while the worker with his "shamba" near at hand, feeds himself, with no increase of wage.

Is it not better for those who keep live stock to have them in the hands of men living on their lands, men who are known; men who if they do run away, can possibly be traced; who at least have something to lose, in their huts, wives and families, than in the custody of imported natives, who once they disappear, can never be found again?

Against the benefits I have urged, it may be argued that there are disadvantages, such as diseases brought in by cattle and sheep, but I would submit that with one's tenants well in hand; with the fear in their minds that any wrong-doing on their part will mean their instant removal from their present homes—and I know that a native detests moving from a home he has once built—and more than likely punishment from the hands of Government as well, they can be kept from moving their flocks and herds without permission.

I do not for a moment hold with natives being left to do such, and all, cultivation, as alone shall justify the owner's claim to the fulfilment of Government requirements, nor do I think absentee owners should be allowed to have natives residing, or cultivating, on their lands, for the simple reason that such natives cannot be watched, and may do any amount of thieving from adjacent farms, or move stock, but I do say that in the case of settlers, who in most cases are working hard to get some *permanent* crop down, the retaining of a few natives on their lands, at any rate for some years to come, is an imperative necessity.

The leading article in the "Standard" of the 19th instant imputes two most unworthy motives to Europeans, when it asserts that they are deliberately sub-letting their holdings for the purposes of financial gain, and to get their lands developed. To say the least of it, an assertion of this serious nature should not be made without an exhaustive enquiry into the matter.

Yours faithfully,

R. BLADEN TAYLOR.

Castle Farm, Kikuyu, 22nd September, 1910.

[This letter was received too late to admit inclusion in last week's issue.—ED. LEADER.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "LEADER."

SIR,—I cannot help thinking that there has been a serious confusion of ideas and purpose on the subject of sub-letting land to natives. Government letting Crown Lands to natives

of any description is a very different matter to owners of farms making a private arrangement with natives to till their land. Whereas the former is strongly to be deprecated as acting directly against the settlers' interest and desire to make this a white man's country, to try and prevent the latter is to interfere with the liberty of the subject, who must be justified in claiming the right to do that which seemeth unto him best with his own.

There are a large number of small farmers in the Nairobi and Kiambu district owning 640 acres of land who have not the where-withal to cultivate more than 50 or 100 acres at most, and surely it must be to the advantage of the farmer concerned and the country in general to have the land worked, than that such should remain in a state of unproductiveness covered, with bush.

The view put forward to the effect that by allowing natives to work land which ought to be worked by the white owner is putting a premium on idleness, is neither here nor there. It is impossible for legislation to cater for the idler and waster, such are parasites of the community and parasites there must always be.

I cannot help thinking that only a small mole-hill has to be dealt with and that the mountain of difficulties exist merely in imagination. Yet there are points which require legislation, for instance it is questionable whether sub-letting for an actual cash rental should be allowed, more especially with coast natives, Asiatics or any native that is not indigenious to the land, neither should natives' live stock of any description be allowed on farms which are surrounded by other farms and only on special permit in the case of isolated estates, Mount Margaret for example, where stock would interfere with no one.

The above phase of the question appears to be hopelessly mixed up with quite a material and private matter of the man on the land and should he be desirous of establishing families of the indigenious natives on his farm, which is done pretty well all over South Africa, why in the name of common sense should he

not do so? Under these circumstances there need not or should not be any question of sub-letting or any shauri of the kind in lieu of which the owner of the land would draw his labour therefrom and have first claim on their disposable produce at a fixed rate, which would pay a native well, but which could not be produced at the price by a white man. At the same time, in his own interests, the owner of the farm would provide them with improved seed which incidentally would cost the natives no more to grow than their own rubbish. The advantages thus derived by the export trade are obvious and it is difficult to see any cause for contention.

The natives thus established on private land would be under Governmental control but the farmer would be at liberty to turn them off if unsatisfactory as also the natives would be at liberty to leave and go back to the reserve if the arrangements did not suit them. There would be no compulsion either way, so that any suggestion of serfdom is little short of absurd.

The attacks on Lord Delamere by those who have not the courage to subscribe their own names to their letters are worthy of only passing notice, but I would suggest that the "small retired farmer" could not do better than keep in retirement and not try to take up mud in a swift-running stream. Lord Delamere requires no champion and I would not insult him by posing as such. He is a man whose interests are centred solely in the progress of the country, one whose motives are absolutely pure, although his methods may have from time to time been open to criticism, one to whom East Africans owe a very great deal.

In conclusion, I would add that it is infamous the way some people throw in Lord Delamere's teeth what they call his "high caste" and that such an attitude displays an infinitely worse type of snobbery than what is known as open toadyism.

Gilgil,

26th September, 1910.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN K. HILL.

CHAPTER III.

COUNCIL INTERPELLATIONS, &C.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

MONDAY.

THE JEEVANJEE STATEMENTS.

THE Legislative Council's new session opened on Monday, there being present, His Excellency the Governor, (Sir Percy Girouard, K.C.M.G.), The Hon. Messrs. Bowring (Treasurer), Hobley (Provincial Commissioner), Combe (Crown Advocate), Currie (General Manager of Uganda Railway), Major (Chief of Customs), and Macdonald (Director of Agriculture), and the following nominated members:—Right Hon. Lord Delamere, Hon. Messrs. Wilson, Wood, Swift and Newland.

The Hon. Messrs. T. R. Swift, F. W. Major and T. A. Wood were sworn in.

QUESTIONS.

The Hon. Mr. T. A. Wood asked:—

Is it a fact that the Native Pass Regulations of 1900 have been allowed to fall into disuse in parts of the Kikuyu country, Ukamba Province? If so, upon whose authority? Was the question of the probable effect on the native labour supply, in the district referred to, given full consideration before such an authority was granted?

The Provincial Commissioner replied :—

The Rules under the Native Pass Regulations 1900 which require that a native travelling outside the district in which he ordinarily resides shall obtain a pass from a Provincial Commissioner or District Commissioner were cancelled in so far as they related to natives passing between the Nairobi and Kiambu Districts, by a Rule published in the Official Gazette of May 1st of this year.

As a very large number of natives pass between those two districts in the course of their daily business or in the service of their employers it was found impossible to enforce the Pass Regulations without unduly inconveniencing natives and their employers.

The cancellation of the Rule would not appear to affect the labour supply in either of the districts concerned since there could have been no question of refusing a pass to any native desirous of moving from one of those districts to the other with the *bona fide* intention of seeking work.

With this exception the Pass Regulations are, in law, in force throughout the Ukamba Province and no authority has been given to the District Officers or to the Police to permit natives to travel out of their districts without a pass.

It must, however, be admitted that the pass law is not fully enforced, and, further, cannot be enforced without a considerable increase in the staff of officers charged with the duty of issuing and checking passes.

The matter is under consideration but at the moment it is not possible to say that, even with the assistance of the Justices of the Peace to be appointed, adequate machinery can be provided for carrying into effect a pass law which requires that a special permit shall be obtained by a native on each occasion on which he desires to travel outside the district in which he resides. A further question deserving of careful consideration is whether, provided that some means can be devised of identifying natives travelling outside their districts, it would not be

advisable to permit natives to move freely from district to district except when for political reasons it may be deemed necessary to restrict the movement of natives into or out any particular area.

Honourable Members will be given an opportunity of discussing in Council any alteration in the existing pass law which it may be proposed to introduce.

The Hon. Mr. V. M. Newland asked :—

(1) Is it true that the Hon. Mr. A. M. Jeevanjee was requested by the Agricultural Department to act as a commercial representative of the East Africa Protectorate during his recent visit to Europe, as reported in the *Daily Chronicle* of the 1st September ?

The Crown Advocate replied :—

The reply to this question is in the negative.

Mr. Newland asked :—

(2) Can any information be given to Council as to the amount of rates and taxes paid per annum in Nairobi (a) by Indians (b) by Europeans and other residents, it being reported in the *Daily Chronicle* of the 1st September that the Hon. Mr. Jeevanjee claims that Indians pay practically the whole of these ?

The Crown Advocate replied :—

It is estimated that the fees levied under the Township Fees and Conservancy Ordinance 1908 in the Township of Nairobi will, in this year, amount to 40,456 rupees ; of this sum British Indians will pay, directly, Rs. 10,912 and indirectly through the Uganda Railway Administration on account of houses in the Township occupied by employees of the Railway a further sum of approximately Rs. 125. Europeans and other residents, excepting Natives who pay no fees under the Ordinance referred to, will pay directly Rs. 12,428 and indirectly through the Uganda Railway Administration a further sum of approximately Rs. 348. The balance of the revenues

obtained under the Ordinance will be paid by the Government for services rendered by the Township authority to Government Departments.

The water rate collected by the Township authority amounts to some 11,940 rupees per annum. Of this sum Europeans pay 9,120 rupees, Goanese 660 rupees and British Indians 1,980 rupees. The balance amounting to Rs. 180 is levied in respect of certain street stand-pipes and is paid by the occupants of houses in the neighbourhood of the stand-pipes, the majority of such persons being British Indians.

Mr. Newland asked :—

(3) Can any information be given to Council as to the area and value of property in Nairobi (a) owned by Indians (b) held by Europeans and others, the Hon. Mr. Jeevanjee claiming, according to the *Daily Chronicle* of the 1st September, that Indians own nearly the whole town ?

The Crown Advocate replied :—

Nairobi Township area contains some 4,524 acres.

The Government has reserved 869 acres for the purposes of the Uganda Railway Administration, 123 acres as a Forest Reserve for Township purposes, and 48 acres for the purposes of the Waterworks.

1,594 acres have been leased. Of these 1,356 acres are held by Europeans, and 238 acres by Asiatics (British Indian and Goanese being included). The balance, some 1,890 acres, include roads, land occupied by Government Offices and Quarters, and unalienated Crown land.

These figures relate only to land within the area which has been proclaimed to be a Township for the purposes of certain Municipal Regulations. A portion of Parklands and some of the land on Nairobi Hill outside such area and occupied for residential purposes by Europeans engaged in business in Nairobi Township, are excluded.

I regret that I am unable to inform the Honourable Member as to the value of property in the Township held by Indians, Europeans, and others respectively. To obtain an accurate estimate it would be necessary that a valuation of property should be directed for such purpose.

Mr. Newland asked :—

(4) May the Council be informed as to what townships, if any, have been laid out in the Protectorate, in which Indians may not acquire land, it being reported in the *Daily Chronicle* of the 1st September that the Hon. Mr. Jeevanjee alleged Indians are debarred from acquiring town properties in the Protectorate ?

The Crown Advocate replied :—

There is no Township in the Protectorate in which Indians are prohibited from acquiring land.

Mr. Newland asked :—

(5) Can any information be given to Council as to whether it is true that the Hon. Mr. Jeevanjee stated to a representative of the *Daily Chronicle* (as reported in an article published in the 1st of September issue of that paper) that Indians are debarred from entering the Naisobi Produce Market ? If the Hon. Member made that statement, should it not be explained in justice to the Administration of the Protectorate, that three Produce Markets exist in Nairobi (a) the European Produce Market, (b) the Native Produce Market, and (c) the Asiatic Produce Market, the last being owned by the Hon. Mr. A. M. Jeevanjee, and having a turnover vastly exceeding that of the European Produce Market, which has only recently come into existence ?

The Crown Advocate replied :—

The Government have no official information as to the statements in question.

Lord Delamere asked what steps the Governor would take in regard to this misrepresentation by one of the members of the Council in England ? Surely some steps should be taken to con-

tradict the statements as an ordinary person reading such things believed them. Surely the Council was responsible to some extent in this matter. The replies to Mr. Newland's questions were almost in the direct negative to the assertions of Mr. Jeevanjee and he would like to know if His Excellency had any intention to refute those statements, seeing they would do grave harm to the country if not denied.

His Excellency stated that he had already intimated to one of the colonial associations in England that the Government intended to take action in this matter. But they had no Official information of any kind and at present they were merely replying to statements made by a member of the Council to a London newspaper. His Excellency added that he intended to investigate the matter himself, personally, when in England shortly.

Standard, 24th December 1910.

INDIAN IN EAST AFRICA.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE STANDARD."

Sir,—On my return to London from provincial and Continental journeys my attention has been called to a letter published in your issue of December 7th from a number of European traders and merchants in Nairobi taking exception to some statements made in an interview with me reported in the *Daily Chronicle* of September 1. Attached to the letter was a reproduction from the "African Standard" or questions asked in the Legislative Council by Mr. V. M. Newland and the official replies of Mr. Combe. With your permission I will, as briefly as possible, defend myself from the charge of your correspondents that "several statements made in the interview were most misleading" by dealing *seriatim* with the interpellations made in the Legislature, wherein I have the honour to represent the Indian community.

The first question had relation to the statement of the interviewer that I am in Europe "acting as a sort of commercial traveller for (my) adopted country at the request of the Nairobi Agricultural Department." This statement was too broad and general, but there was a foundation for it that does not fit in with the denial of Mr. Combe. I have in my possession a copy of a letter from the Department of Agriculture received by my firm just before my departure for Europe, and dated May 25th last, forwarding 21 samples of seeds for me to bring to Europe. The letter added: "These samples are all numbered according to the attached list, and duplicate samples have been kept in the office. In getting quotations it would be advisable to refer to the numbers as well as the name in order to avoid mistakes."

The second and third questions had relation to my statement that in Nairobi Indians "pay practically the whole of the taxes, and own nearly the whole of the town." The figures given by Mr. Combe as to fees levied under the Township Fees and Conservance Ordinance, 1908, show that British Indians will pay directly Rs. 10,912, while "Europeans and other residents, excepting natives who pay no fees under the ordinance referred to" will pay directly Rs. 12,428. The balance of the revenues obtainable will be paid by the Government and the railway, and, therefore, do not come into the question. I would in the first place point out that the term "other residents," excluding as it does both Europeans and natives, applies only to Asiatics. The distinction drawn between British Indians and Goanese is quite artificial, for, as is well known, the great majority of the latter are domiciled in British India, since in the Portuguese settlement of Goa there is inadequate scope for them. Moreover, settlers from India though they may have been born and bred in East Africa should be classed for the purpose of such inquiries as British Indians, since they in common with their brethren who have come directly and emigrated from India are subject to the restrictions of which the community have complained. These distinctions greatly affect the validity of the official figures.

The Goanese are separately specified in Mr. Combe's reply as to the water rate. He states that Europeans pay Rs. 9,120, Goanese Rs. 660, and British Indians Rs. 1,980, thus making the Asiatic total Rs. 2,640. The disparity between this figure and that for European residents is due in a large measure to the regrettable fact that the Indians are, in many cases, denied facilities for securing a supply of water in their own homes. Mr. Combe admitted that in respect to the levy for street stand-pipes the majority of persons who have no other supply than the stand-pipes provided are British Indians. I have a file of correspondence with the municipal authorities showing that applications from Indian residents for the laying on of water have been refused. In reply to complaints I was informed by the president of the municipality in a letter dated April 11 last that "it is expected that by the end of this year the present supply will be doubled, and that further extensions will be effected in the future" Meanwhile the sufferers from the shortage have been the British Indians.

As to Indian ownership of properties, my reference, as must be obvious to any one acquainted with the town and district of Nairobi, was to the business centre of the town, just in the same way as allusions to "the City" relate to "the square mile" round the Bank of England and not to the vast suburban areas. The "municipal circle" at Nairobi was defined with a view to future developments, and includes a large area of residential suburbs, native locations, and ground for market gardening. Every Government and railway European official receives a ten-acre plot. The 869 acres for the purposes of the Uganda Railway administration, the 123 acres as a forest reserve, and 48 acres for water works mentioned in Mr. Combe's reply are all outside the "town" to which I referred. It follows that the figures given by the hon. member, relating as they did to the whole of the municipal area, are not pertinent to my allegation. Indeed, he intimated that he was unable to state the value of property in the township held by Indians, Europeans, and others respectively, since to do this a

valuation of property would be required. If the figures are obtained for the business quarters they will, I am sure, bear out my statement.

Mr. Newland did not correctly quote me when in his fourth question he said that I had alleged that Indians are debarred from acquiring town properties in the Protectorate. A reference to the interview will show that, on being handed some notifications showing that plots of land offered for sale could only be disposed of or leased to persons of European origin, my interlocutor asked what it meant. I replied that it meant "we are not to be allowed to purchase land in our own country," *i.e.*, if this exclusion is to be maintained. When Mr. Combe stated that there is no township in which Indians are prohibited from acquiring land he must have meant that this policy is not definitely and expressly laid down in any legislative ordinance or town regulation. But in practice—as numerous official notices of sale recently issued testify—it has been over and over again laid down that lands in townships offered for sale are not to be sold or leased to non-Europeans. It follows that it is true only in a technical sense that in no township are Indians prohibited from acquiring land.

In a final question, couched in argumentative form, Mr. Newland took exception to the statement that Indians are debarred from entering the produce market at Nairobi, and said it ought to be explained that there are three produce markets in the town. Of these, however, the market for natives, situated outside the business area to which I have referred, is used only by the native population for their domestic and agricultural sales and purchases, and does not come into the question. From 1903, when I built, at the request of the Government, what is known all over the Protectorate as the Jeevanjee market, it has been maintained by the municipal authorities, and traders of all nationalities have had unrestricted access thereto. But shortly after my departure from East Africa last summer a separate market was opened for Europeans, and the regulations quoted by the interviewer show that non-Europeans may not enter the

market or transact business there without being authorised to do so by European employers. I did not intend to suggest that Indians had no marketing centres to resort to ; indeed, my remark that these rules were issued in a town "where practically the whole of the business is carried on by us Indians" was in itself evidence that we have facilities for exchange and sale. My complaint was, and is, that the municipal authority should institute this racial discrimination, apparently with a view to give European producers and merchants an artificial and unfair advantage over their Indian competitors.

I am confident that the foregoing explanations will satisfy unprejudiced observers that there was no want of good faith on my part. It is satisfactory to note that all other statements made in the course of the interview have remained unchallenged. In all I said I was actuated by the most loyal motives, and nothing could be further from my thoughts than to show any ill-will towards the European element, with which I am proud to have been associated for many years in active work for the development of the country. I simply claim, and shall continue to claim, that the policy of seeking to restrict and prevent the full play of Indian co-operation in such development is a suicidal one; because I hold most strongly that British East Africa can only be truly prosperous and yield to man its potential resources by the cordial and sympathetic co-operation of the English and the Indian races. It is entirely contrary to my purpose to do or say anything prejudicial to such co-operation, and I feel it my duty to call attention to any policy antagonistic thereto.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

A. M. JEEVANJEE

Cannon-street Hotel.

CHAPTER IV.

MOSLEM LEAGUE REPRESENTATION.

THE LONDON ALL-INDIA MOSLEM LEAGUE.

42, Queen Anne's Chambers,
Westminster, S. W.

To

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
THE COLONIES,
COLONIAL OFFICE, S. W.

SIR,

From time to time my Committee have had their attention directed to certain serious disabilities imposed of late upon Indians in British East Africa. In response to requests reaching them from influential and varied quarters, they feel compelled to submit a statement of the case and their views thereon for the consideration of the Right Honourable Secretary of State, in the earnest confidence that his Lordship will see that these grievances cannot remain unredressed, and will consequently give instructions for substantial modifications in the policy now being pursued. My Committee take up the question with the greater assurance that their views will be duly considered, because a considerable proportion of the Indian inhabitants of the Protectorate follow the Moslem faith, and because the Indians who have done most to develop the resources and trade of the country are our co-religionists.

2. It is unnecessary to dwell in any detail upon the signal contribution the Indian community has rendered to civilisation and material development in East Africa. This contribution is

known to date back at least to the 15th century, and probably began much earlier, being anterior to the advent of European influence in Zanzibar and on the adjacent portion of the mainland. The value of Indian merchants and traders to this part of Africa, great as it was in the past has been vastly increased by the establishment of British rule. In the conquest and pacification of the Protectorate, Indian soldiers bore an honourable part. The peace and ordered liberty brought thereby have permitted of industrial developments in which the Indians have rendered invaluable, not to say, indispensable service. To quote the Right Honourable Winston Churchill, in his book, "My African Journey" (a journey undertaken as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies): "It is the Indian trader, who, penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no white man could go or in which no white man could earn a living, has more than any one else developed the early beginnings of trade and opened up the first slender means of communication." Not only so; the construction of the railway from the coast to Lake Victoria Nyanza was carried out by Indian labourers recruited by Government, it being found impossible to obtain indigenous labour either in sufficient quantities or of a sufficiently continuous kind. At one time as many as 25,000 Indians were employed upon the line. The contract for the supply of labour was in the hands of a distinguished Indian Moslem, who has made East Africa his home, and who occupies now a seat on the British East African Legislature. The contractual period was three years, and a return passage to the home of each worker could be claimed. The labourers were, however, free to remain in the country at the expiration of their contract, and a few of them did so, sending for, or fetching their wives and families.

3. At the present time the railway is chiefly worked by indentured immigrants from India under the same conditions of contract, and it is estimated that some 2,000 Indians are so employed. The evidence laid before the important Committee appointed by the Secretary of State with Lord Sanderson as

Chairman, to consider the question of Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates (Cd. 5192-4, 1910), shows that a large Indian staff is essential to the working of the line. "We could not do without them," said the manager of the line. There was much other similar testimony as to the need for the continuance of the Indian trader in the country, since their enterprise enables articles of European use to be obtained at moderate prices. Sir John Kirk, whose official connection with Zanzibar began some 45 years ago, and who has probably an unequalled knowledge of the Protectorate, told the Committee that the disappearance of the Indian trader would mean such an increase in the cost of living as would necessitate a general rise of salaries. His Lordship does not need to be reminded that this would be a serious contingency in a country which is still far from self-supporting, and is therefore dependent upon heavy annual grants-in-aid from the British Exchequer. Asked whether the Indians had played a considerable part in the development of the Protectorate, Sir John Kirk replied: "But for the Indians we should not be there "now. It was entirely through gaining possession of the influence of these "Indian merchants that we were enabled to build up influence "that eventually resulted in our position." The conclusion reached by Lord Sanderson's Committee on this and other evidence was that the presence of a considerable number of Indian inhabitants has been and continues to be of material advantage to the British administration of the Protectorate. They added that the importation of Indian labour afforded indispensable assistance for the rapid completion of the Railway, and is still of material use for its economical maintenance and working.

4. The Sanderson Committee held that the practice of obtaining indentured labour from India for the Railway is unobjectionable and indeed beneficial, and might in case of necessity, be adopted for the execution of other public undertakings by the State, though, for obvious reasons, native labour should have the preference when available. With regard to the applications that have been made to Government from time to time to promote the importation of Indian labour for the assis-

tance of private enterprise, the Departmental Committee justly took up a somewhat different attitude. Government help of this kind has been asked for in regard to the cotton plantations on the coast, and also for the fibre factories in what is known as the intermediate zone between the coast districts and the uplands. The factory owners have represented that indentured labour from India is necessary if their enterprise is to be maintained, the native labour-supply having proved utterly insufficient and unsatisfactory. In these circumstances Sir James Hayes-Sadler, when Governor of the Protectorate, on June 4th, 1908, sent a despatch to the Secretary of State proposing that his Lordship should address the India Office with a view to ascertaining the terms on which labourers would be allowed to be recruited for private enterprise in East Africa. He expressed the strong opinion that the Indian labourers should be induced to bring with them their wives and families, and should be given facilities for setting in the country outside "the European settlement area." Outside such area, he said :—

" The Protectorate has everything to gain from Indian settlement, both in the actual development, it will itself bring about, and in the stimulating effect it will have on production by the natives, on whom and the Indians, East Africa must, whatever be the conditions of the uplands, mainly depend for the production and development of its economic resources."

5. His Lordship replied on the 27th August, 1908, that while he desired to give every assistance to the settlers who were seeking to develop the resources of the country, the objections to the scheme appeared to him to be so great as to preclude him from sanctioning it. The alternative of importing labourers from Nyassaland was suggested by his Lordship. The Governor, by despatch and cable, both dated 25th February, 1909, informed the Secretary of State that it had been found that the cost of importing labour from Nyassaland would be prohibitive ; and urged the Secretary of State to reconsider

the question of indentured Indian labour, and to approach the India Office with the object of obtaining 1,200 men, with their families, for contract periods of not less than three years. His Lordship replied on 12th April, 1909, stating that he was then precluded from considering the question, as an Inter-Departmental Committee had been appointed to report on Indian emigration to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates, and its report must be awaited.

6. The objections entertained by his Lordship to the proposals of the ex-Governor when first submitted are not set forth in detail in the printed papers. But my Committee cherish the confident belief that they correspond with those which led Lord Sanderson's Committee to ask for a change of conditions of Indian settlement as an essential pre-requisite to Government aid in the obtainment of indentured Indian labour. They reported that while the planters and fibre manufacturers are eager for the recruitment of their labour-supply by Indians, the European settlers in the upland zone show great jealousy of any measures which would tend to increase materially the number of Indian residents, and that there is, in particular, the strongest objection to allowing them to acquire land and enter into competition with the European farmer.

7. His Lordship is aware that in August, 1907, the Land Board of the Protectorates recommended that Government land in certain specified areas should not be allotted to Indians. In transmitting the resolution to his Lordship's predecessor (Lord Elgin), Mr. Montgomery, the Commissioner of Lands, reminded the Secretary of State that the claims of the Indian community could not be lightly disregarded, seeing that they were in the country long before Europeans settled there, that but for Indian labour the Uganda Railway would never have been constructed; that "most of the trading wealth of the country is in the hands " of the Indians," and " finally, Indians are British subjects." These strong considerations, unhappily, were not kept in view by Lord Elgin to the degree they merited. In a despatch to the Governor (March 19th, 1908), his Lordship

said : " With regard to the granting of land to Indians, it is not " consonant with the views of his Majesty's Government to " impose legal restrictions on any particular section of the com- " munity, but as a matter of administrative convenience grants " should not be made to Indians in the upland areas." My Committee venture to submit that questions of principle, affecting the contentment and well-being of the Indian subjects of His Majesty ought not to be subordinated to mere " administrative convenience," and that a grave mistake was made in reaching a conclusion so opposed to the declared policy of His Majesty's Government. It would appear from the published fact that Lord Elgin did not contemplate the extension of the restriction he reluctantly accepted for " administrative convenience," to anything like so wide an area as is now claimed to be suitable for reservation for those designated " white settlers."

8. The present claim is that the whole of the highlands, which are fertile, and have an area estimated at from 25,000 to 30,000 square miles, should be reserved exclusively for a white population. To meet the requirements of European residents in and about Nairobi, the upland capital of the Protectorate, Indians have been allowed to till a certain number of market gardens in the neighbourhood. But, otherwise the land in this vast upland area is being and has been granted only to Europeans, or emigrants from South Africa of European descent. Including the Eurasians, or persons of mixed nationality, the European element in the Protectorate population numbers only 2,000. Nearly 600 of the total live in Nairobi, and some 200 are resident in Mombassa. There are some 400 European or Eurasian farmers in the uplands within easy reach of Nairobi. This is a very paltry result of the effects made within the last ten years to colonise the upland tracts with white men. The region in question enjoys a fairly temperate climate " in which it is affirmed," cautiously observes the report of Lord Sander- son's Committee, " that Europeans can live all the year round with their families, " and even do a certain amount of moderate manual labour without injury to health." But it would appear

from statistics that there are some 50,000 natives in the area of these forms, and there can be no question that the work is done almost entirely by the negro population.

9. That high authority on African affairs, Sir Harry H. Johnston, assented when before the Committee to Sir George Robertson's view that "it is rather a scandal . . . that 400 European farmers should have the power to monopolise the whole of this district of British East Africa and exclude Indians from coming and settling there." There are obvious misplacements in the official report of Sir Harry Johnston's answer (No. 4118), but its drift is clear. Sir Harry holds the regulation to be "absurd." He thinks that there is in this area patches, not necessarily connected, which might be allotted to white people, if they care to take them up; "but all the rest should certainly be open to all races."

Sir Harry Johnston also observed that mixture of races in settlements on the uplands was inevitable. He thought they must give up all idea of a self-governing colony in East Africa :—

"It is possible, of course, that things might so develop, that you could allow a little enclave to have great local municipal powers of administration if it were thickly populated by whites. But if the whites are not going to come while the land lies open to them—it should not lie open indefinitely—I should certainly not offer such a favour to them and embarrass your own administration by looking forward to any such idea."

10. Some of the evidence heard by the Inter-Departmental Committee was favourable to the continuance of a restriction, which more than anything else stands in the way of the development of the richest and most fertile portion of the Protectorate. But the Committee could not accept this view. The report points out that the mere prohibition of purchase of land by Indians is not itself a sufficient barrier; that "there is a strong feeling that unless further precautions are taken it will

“ be very difficult, if not impossible, in the future to exclude
 “ the Indian agriculturist from over stepping any artificial bound-
 dary that may be laid down.” The suggestion that the indented
 labour for privately owned industries should be allowed with
 the proviso of compulsory repatriation to India is emphatically
 condemned by the Sanderson Committee. After pointing out
 that such a refusal to permit settlement in the country is not
 attached to the system under which the Railway obtains con-
 tractual Indian labour, the Report proceeds :—

“It appears to us that in any new system of inden-
 “tured immigration which may be instituted, for the bene-
 “fit of private enterprise it should be an essential condi-
 “tion that the freedom of the labourer should not be
 “interfered with more than is necessary for his own
 “protection and for the due performance of his contract,
 “and that on the expiration of his term of indentured
 “service he should be free to remain in the country if he
 “pleases, without any disabilities other than those which
 “may attach to residents of Indian extraction who have
 “been born there or have come over in the ordinary way.
 “Unless these conditions are willingly and frankly ac-
 “cepted by the European community, it would, in our
 “opinion, be undesirable from an administrative point of
 “view, and unfair to the immigrants themselves, that
 “they should be encouraged to come to a country where
 “their continued presence will be viewed with suspi-
 “cion and dislike and may not impossibly give rise to
 “political trouble in the future. We cannot, therefore,
 “advise the institution of a system of indentured immi-
 “gration for co on plantations in the coast districts, and
 “for a fibre factories in the intermediate zone, unless the
 “immigrants, when their contract has expired, are free
 “to renounce their right to return and have the oppor-
 “tunity of acquiring land in any part of the Protectorate
 “which is suited to them. And in view of the feeling
 “which exists among the white settlers in the upland
 “districts, we should urge that while these districts are

“reserved for settlement by white colonists, indentured immigration to the Protectorate should only be permitted under the direct control of the Government and for public objects.”

11. My Committee earnestly appeal to the Secretary of State to adhere undeviatingly to this recommendation, and to make abrogation of the present injurious policy a condition of the organisation of a system of a indentured labour from India for private industrial enterprises. We desire to quote in this connection the substance of some observations recently made by the representative of the Indian community upon the Legislature of the Protectorate. He remarked that British East Africa had enormous latent wealth, but this had only been developed spasmodically and in very minor degree. The Protectorate had the finest harbour along the entire Eastern seaboard of the African Continent, and a railway traversed the entire length of the territory. Yet ten years of booming had brought only a handful of European settlers, and there was no prospect of any considerable augmentation. The fact of the matter was that British East Africa was not, nor would it ever be (even in the judgment of many European residents there) what is termed “a white men’s country.” This being so, why not remove the onerous and even odious restrictions in respect to Indians? Whilst such restrictions remained he could not encourage either the emigration of his countrymen to the Protectorate or the provision of Indian capital for its development.

12. The spokesman of the Indians of the Protectorate went on to say that he was certain this “dog-in-the-manger” policy was greatly retarding the best interests of the country. India could supply thousand of the most industrious agricultural labourers in the world, and numbers of them, if assured they could make a permanent home there, and obtain some continuity of tenure, would settle with their families. Very few of the European settlers who possessed farm had developed them in any degree, while many of those who had made the attempt had relinquished it and were willing to sell. If the restriction on Indian settlement were abolished, and the country was opened

up to them for legitimate trading and agriculture, he was certain that the whole aspect of the Protectorate would be changed in a very few of years from quiescence and stagnation to prosperity and importance. The Indian had traded along the East African coast and in the Hinterland for centuries. He was a loyal British subject, and why should he not be given a fair chance to assist in developing the country which already owed so much to his labour and enterprise? To make British East Africa a "land flowing with milk and honey" was a work which the Indian could best achieve, having regard to the climatic conditions of the country and its accessibility from the Indian peninsula.

His Lordship will recognize the weight of these considerations, my Committee are persuaded, seeing that they are advanced by a gentleman who has placed a most important and beneficial part in the development of the trade and industry of East Africa in the last twenty years.

13. The economic advancement of the Protectorate being dependent, as we venture to submit, upon the substantial contribution thereto of Indian labour and enterprise, the considerations urged herein have an important bearing on the question of the annual subsidy the Protectorate has so long received and continues to receive from the British Exchequer. There can be no question that if Indian settlers were granted lands belonging to the Crown on terms similar to those prevailing in Northern India, the revenues of the country would in course of time be so well developed as to make it self-supporting, like nearly all other portions of the King's Dominions, instead of being dependent upon a heavy grant-in-aid. Sir Edward Buck, a high authority on Indian land tenure, told Lord Sanderson's Committee that if the Indian analogy were followed, the East African Administration could reap a very large revenue from a contented population. The same witness testified that when he visited the Protectorate five or six years ago prejudices against the Indians were practically non-existent, although "they were looking upon East Africa as a white man's country all the while."

14. It appears from a study of the evidence given before the Departmental Committee that a proportion of the white settlers came from Natal, and that some of the farmers are Boers. His Lordship is aware that the Boer and the Africaner have been accustomed for generations to treat the Native of Africa with contumely, not to say cruelty, and that in their bitter and unreasoning prejudice against "colour" they fail to sufficiently recognize the very wide distinction between the highly organised and ancient civilization of India and the semi-barbarous condition and outlook of the Kaffir. Their prejudices have been accentuated by the degree to which the sobriety, industry and other good qualities of the Indians enable them to compete in trade. If there were reasonable likelihood that the conditions prevailing in South Africa would in course of time be repeated even in a minor degree in the Protectorate, the political danger might well be guarded against in any review of the policy of the Protectorate in respect of Indian settlement. But the cumulative effect of the evidence given before Lord Sanderson's Committee has been to entirely dissipate belief in the possibility of such a contingency. Sir John Kirk, to whose high authority reference has already been made, told the Committee that he did not think the difficulties experienced in Natal on account of the large Indian population there could be repeated in East Africa, supposing the emigration of Indians under indenture, or otherwise, is encouraged. The white population, he said, would never be comparatively numerous enough to feel it. Asked the difference between the conditions of British East Africa and Natal, he replied (No. 7706) :—

"The one is a tropical country; the coast land and inland, except higher up, is tropical where the white man cannot be permanently established. Natal is a white man's country, where the white man and his family can live and settle, and naturally they feel the competition of the Indian keenly."

15. In endorsing this authoritative opinion, my Committee would humbly but strongly urge that the prejudices and selfish conceptions of a mere handful of men coming from a part of Africa where the conditions differ completely from those prevailing in the Protectorate, should not be permitted to override the economic welfare of the country.

In attempting to meet those prejudices the Government can do no good but will only aggravate the sense of indignation entertained in India on the question of emigration to some of the self-governing portions of the King's dominions. Sir Harry Johnson pointed most clearly to this danger in his evidence before Lord Sanderson's Committee. In expressing the conviction that East Africa could not get on without the Indian trader, he added that the question should be looked at from a larger point of view (No. 4094):—

“ With the eventual complete self-government of South
 “ Africa, undoubtedly, so far as I am able to follow, they
 “ will push out the Indian from Natal ; they will have no
 “ more Indians in Natal or in the Transvaal. Then the
 “ only reply of the Imperial Government to India will
 “ be : That is true ; it is, perhaps, a regrettable thing,
 “ but still, there it is, but let us point out to you as
 “ against that, in compensation, the splendid opportunities
 “ that lie before you in East Africa and Nyassaland.
 “ But if you are going to allow the white man to close
 “ East Africa to Asiatic enterprise as well as South
 “ Africa, you will create, I should think, in the long run,
 “ very grave dissatisfaction in India.”

16. The case might well be put with greater emphasis than that Sir Harry Johnson employed. The indignation of Indians of all classes and sections of political opinion in respect to the treatment of their fellow-countrymen in some of the self-governing dominions is of most serious imperial concern. Nothing could be more calculated to intensify the grave political perils with which the situation is fraught than the confirmation by His Majesty's Government of the policy of Indian restric-

tion and exclusion in East Africa, seeing that there was close-business relationship between that land and India centuries before the establishment of British rule in either land, and that ever since there has been constant direct maritime and trading contact between the two countries. In the words of His Lordship's Right Honorable colleague, Mr. Winston Churchill, it may be asked:—

“ Is it possible for any Government with a scrap of
 “ respect for honest dealing between man and man to
 “ embark upon a policy of deliberately squeezing out the
 “ native of India from regions in which he has established
 “ himself under every security of good faith? Most of all
 “ we ask is such a policy possible to the Government which
 “ bears sway over three hundred millions of our Indian
 “ Empire.”

17. Yet such policy has been entered upon, and already the introduction of racial disabilities into the legislation and administration of the country has tended to the disintegration of the amicable and mutually helpful relations which have subsisted there between Europeans and Indians for generations. The disabilities do not consist solely of the refusal to allow Indian settlement in the upland districts. The Emigration Act originally passed with a view to preventing the landing of Europeans with inadequate funds is now being applied to Indians. It was the custom to provide insufficiently well-to-do Europeans with passages for return to their own country; but my Committee understand that such provision is never made in the case of Indians. This differentiation is on occasions a source of hardship, and cannot have been contemplated by the framers of the Act. Its main purpose, of course, is not to keep up a certain standard of means for Indians, as in the case of Europeans, but to “squeeze them out,” in Mr. Winston Churchill's phrase, lest they should come into competition with a mere handful of white farmers on the uplands. These farmers may or may not be British subjects. Any white man—whether a German, Greek, Italian, Spaniard, or of any other European

or white American nationality—can claim this unfair preference as against Loyal Indian subjects of the King.

18. The new policy of hampering the business and abrogating the civil rights of a community which more than any other has built up the trade of the Protectorate is leading to singular results. In Nairobi the Indians own a considerable part of the town, carrying on the great bulk of the business, and, of course, pay most of the taxes. Yet the by-laws for the regulation of the produce market there provide—

“The market master shall not accept produce for sale
“from any but Europeans or American consignors.

“Non-Europeans may not enter the market-house
“unless authorised by European employers to act on
“their behalf.

“The market master shall not accept the bid of any
“non-European before satisfying himself that such
“bidder is duly authorised in writing to purchase on
“behalf of a European.”

This order constitutes an indefensible attempt to exclude the Indian community from any further share in the development of the commerce of the upland capital of the Protectorate of which they have been the main creators, and also to place obstacles in the way of Indian farming. No doubt there are ready methods of evading prohibitions so inconsistent with economic laws of supply, demand and exchange; but irrespective of their practical effect such prohibitions are degrading to the Indian community, and the very effort to circumvent them by the obtainment of nominal authorisations from white men will seem to Indians inconsistent with the elementary rights of citizenship. Nor can the economic effect be entirely overlooked. The rules have the design, and in various ways may have the effect of placing the Indian trader at a wholly unfair disadvantage as against the white competitor.

9. It seems to my Committee absurd and contrary to both reason and ordinary justice that the Nairobi authorities

should issue a regulation under which Indian merchants, to whose business enterprise that town, and indeed the whole Protectorate largely owes their development, will be dependent upon the good offices of some white man before they can enter the market, or can send thither a bale of cotton or a pound of rubber for sale, while any European, however inferior he may be in character or circumstances, has the free run of the place. It is similarly repugnant to British conceptions of reason and justice that recently the sale of plots in the Sixth Avenue, Nairobi, was accompanied by the condition that no plot should be used "as a place of residence for Asiatics or natives who are not domestic servants "in the employ of the lessee." It has been suggested that this condition would enable Europeans to avoid the propinquity of Indians; but the plots in question are surrounded by Indian-owned and Indian-equipped quarters. In the conditions under which Nairobi has been created—mainly by Indian capital and enterprise—no effective policy of racial location could be carried out without such wholesale expropriation and other proceedings so arbitrary as to render unthinkable any attempt of the kind under the flag of a British Protectorate. Attempts to apply the policy in this or that street are therefore quite futile, and can only give unnecessary annoyance to the Indian residents without securing, even from the standpoint of racial prejudice, the slightest compensating advantage.

20. As was inevitable, the treatment of Indians in public has undergone serious deterioration now that a ban has been placed upon their freedom of residence. The steamers running to and from Lake Victoria Nyanza, are in charge of Indians, and it is the trade of Indian merchants which make the continuance of the service economically possible. Yet when well-to-do Indians purchase second-class tickets, they are not given the facilities to which they are legally entitled. They are not provided with a proper berth and bedding, as in the case of white men. There is the more need to remedy this defect because if it is not stayed, the extension of the same spirit

of racial prejudice to the railway system may be expected, especially as the steamers are under the control of the railway authorities.

21. With regard to the administration of justice the position appears to my Committee to be far from satisfactory. Europeans, but not Indians, have the right to be tried by jury. The differentiation, it is respectfully submitted, is not justifiable, and my Committee agree with the argument of the Indian Association of East Africa that at least in important cases, particularly charges of murder, there should be a mixed jury, composed of the nationality of the accused and that of the person or persons aggrieved, or at whose instance the prosecution is instituted. In Uganda, Indians serve on juries in cases affecting their fellow countrymen, and there seems no reason why a similar practice should not prevail in the neighbouring and more advanced Protectorate. Sir John Kirk told the Sanderson Committee that, from his experience in Zanzibar, he was of opinion that the Indians should be entirely under the same law as Europeans save in the matters of inheritance, marriage, &c. In view of recent developments of anti-Asiatic policy, the Indians naturally feel that the denial in their case of the right of trial by jury enjoyed by other communities, is not conducive to the impartial administration of justice and certainly does not inspire the confidence which they desire to entertain in the constituted Courts.

22. My Committee must also take exception to the invidiousness of a recent Ordinance whereby the Governor may appoint "any resident of the Protectorate, being a British subject" of European extraction, to be a Justice of the Peace for the Protectorate or any district "thereof." This wording his Lordship will observe disqualifies from service on the magisterial bench any resident of Indian birth, no matter how influential and respected he may be. This express exclusion involves a wholly unjustifiable slur upon the Indian peoples, who, in their own land, serve the Crown not merely as Justices of the Peace but as District and Sessions Judges and Judges of the High Courts; indeed, the administration of justice is

mainly in their hands. Considering that the Indians in the Protectorate outnumber the Europeans by more than 12 to 1, and have amongst them men of the highest probity and standing, it should at least be within the competence of the Governor to place representatives of the community upon the Bench.

23. A further grievance connected with the administration of justice is, that Indians suffering terms of imprisonment have little or no consideration paid to their religious scruples although these are often as dear to them as life itself. They are required to do scavenging and other menial work repugnant to their religious beliefs. The distinction between Hindus and Mahomedans, though greatly affecting dietetic and other observances and practices of daily life, is wholly disregarded. When representations upon the subject were made to the authorities, the cynical reply given was not the effect that the Indians lost their religion on leaving their native land. This reply was most unhappy, and does not accord with familiar facts. Speaking for the Moslem community my Committee can assure his Lordship that adhesion to the faith is in no sense limited by considerations of locality or isolation from fellow-Moslems. Perhaps the best answer to so ungenerous a taunt is to ask how it is, if Moslem immigrants have lost their faith, that large numbers of the indigenous races, particularly in the coastal zone, have embraced the tenets of Islam. It is incredible that conversions to Mahomedanism could have taken place on a large scale if immigrant Moslems from other lands had not carried with them a devoted attachment to the tenets and practices of their faith.

24. My Committee hold that the root-cause of these general grievances is to be found in the policy of excluding Indians from the upland zone. They venture to urge that as the attempts to colonize the uplands with white settlers, though patiently tried, has been attended with so little success it should be abandoned in the best interests of the Protectorate, and as a measure of justice for the community by whose labour and enterprise British East Africa has so greatly benefitted. It is

manifestly unfair and unreasonable to look to Indian labour to save European-owned manufacturing and planting industries from decay, and at the same time to exclude Indian settlers from participating in the agricultural development of the upland tracts. My Committee is strongly of opinion that there should be no exclusion of Indians, but if it is argued that, having regard to the conditions upon which the white settlers were granted lands complete reversal of the present policy would create difficulties, my Committee would submit that at most the reservation of ground for Europeans should be confined to a reasonable number of tracts or holdings in the area, categorically defined, bearing due relation to the very limited demand from the class the reservation was intended to benefit. The development of the greater part of the area, now lying untilled, by Indians would probably increase the profits of the European farmers themselves since it would give East Africa a larger share in the world's markets for the produce of the soil.

25. My Committee regret the necessity to place before his Lordship so many facts and arguments, but they feel that the great Imperial importance of the subject fully justifies a detailed exposition of the Indian case. It may be convenient for his Lordship to have set out, with all brevity, the measures for the restoration of Indian rights and the amelioration of grievances which we pray His Majesty's Government to direct:—

(a) The recognition that the attempts to colonize the upland tracks by white labour have failed, and that they constitute a grave injustice to the Indian community, with its long record of invaluable work in developing the Protectorate and its domicile in the country long before the advent of British rule, going back indeed, as Sir Harry Johnson has observed, to "prehistoric times" in the history of East Africa. Such recognition would involve a reversal of the present policy of exclusion, and adhesion in practice and not merely in theory to the principle laid down by his Lordship's predecessor that "it is not consonant with the views of His Majesty's Government to

impose legal restrictions (in the "matter of renting or acquiring land) on any particular section of the community."

(b) The giving of full and unqualified effect to the recommendation of the Sanderson Committee that indentured immigration from India to assist private enterprises should only be allowed on condition that the labourer on completion of his contract is free to remain in East Africa and settle where he pleases.

(c) That in view of the arrested development of the Protectorate and its dependence on the British exchequer, Indian settlers should be granted Crown lands on terms similar to those prevailing in many parts of India, thus yielding a substantial direct revenue to the country, in addition to that obtainable from its agricultural development.

(d) The Imperial application of the Emigration Act as between people of European or mixed birth and Indians; exclusions to be based on grounds entirely personal to the individual, as set forth in the Act, and not those of race.

(e) The exclusion of Indian traders or merchants from the market-house at Nairobi, save as agents for Europeans, to be revoked, and their produce to have equal rights of access to the market with the produce of white farmers. This revocation would naturally follow the policy of freedom to acquire and farm lands asked for under head (A).

(f) That due regard be paid to the vested rights of the Indians in Nairobi in the matter of property and residence, and that there should be no attempts at dispossession in order to bring about anything like segregation of them in locations.

(g) That no disabilities should be placed upon well-to-do Indians in respect to the hire of accommodation in the steamers and on the railways.

(h) That, as in Uganda, there should be no differentiation between Europeans and Indians in respect of the right of trial by jury ; and that this system should be applied to trials of Indians on serious charges at least.

(i) That the power of the Governor to nominate to the magisterial bench should not be restricted, as at present, to British subjects "of European extraction," but that Indians should be eligible for such appointments.

(j) That due regard should be paid to the religious scruples and caste observances of Indians when suffering terms of imprisonment.

26. In praying His Majesty's Government to take these measures for the amelioration of Indian grievances, my Committee would lay stress upon the consideration that the responsibility, both administrative and moral, rests upon His Majesty's Government. There is here no question of imposing the will of Whitehall upon a self-governing colony. Nor is his Lordship faced with the difficulties arising in those Dominions where the ideal of a white man's country is entertained. British East Africa is not a white man's country either in the sense of having been won, like Australia, from barbarism by the unaided labour and enterprise of the white man, or in the sense that it can be developed and colonized by a non-tropical community. His Majesty's Government owes it alike to the British taxpayer and to East Africa to rescue the Protectorate from a policy involving not merely arrest of the economic progress but the actual retrogression of the country. Nor can it be overlooked by his Lordship that the issue is fraught with consequences of the highest Imperial moment. As has been shown, the maintenance and extension of anti-Indian prejudice in the legislation and

administration of East Africa cannot fail to have most unfortunate effects on the contentment of the people of India under British rule, and to react most adversely on the political situation in that vast Dependency. My Committee are confident that these considerations will be duly weighed by His Majesty's Government, and, moreover, that his Lordship will be anxious to afford the Indian community which has done such signal service for the development of the Protectorate, those ordinary rights of free men it has so fully earned.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

M. T. KADERBHOY,

Hon. Secretary.

13th October, 1910.