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TOPICS OF THE WEEK

THE sudden death, due to heart-failure, of Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, removes from our midst the late representative of that illustrious line of reformers—Telang, Ranade, Agarkar—who laid equal emphasis on social, religious, educational and political reform as essential factors in the country's onward march. At a time when the masses were altogether inert and the reformers, few in number as they were, were divided in hostile camps, according as they devoted themselves to the political or social side of public life, Telang and Ranade, who could see far into the future, always emphasised the need of an all-round progress, and Chandavarkar carried on the tradition of his predecessors. In all these spheres he rose to a position of great eminence : President of the Indian National Congress, General Secretary of the National Social Conference, Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University and the life and soul of the Prarthana Samaj. Latterly, since he became President of the Bombay Legislative Council, his political work had naturally receded into the background, but before that time he took an active part in politics and was one of the foremost leaders of the Liberal party. Of a very kindly disposition, he placed all his talents and experience at the service of his country and particularly laid himself out to be of use to backward communities, who always looked upon him as their guide, philosopher, and Friend.

* * *

WE are very glad that the Metropolitan of Calcutta as Chairman of the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon, and Mr. S. K. Dutta as Chairman of the Indian Christian Conference,

with the Secretaries of their respective institutions have issued a statement which certainly represents "the opinion of the overwhelming majority of Indian Christians and of missionaries in India" and emphatically repudiates the position taken up by the white settlers and some missionaries of Kenya—that the exclusion of Indian immigrants from East Africa and the denial of citizenship to Indians are necessary for the spread of Christianity in Africa. The statement calls it "a gross disservice to Christianity to suggest that it can be extended, maintained or preserved by the doing of an injustice to anyone," repudiates the calumny of Indian womanhood indulged in by some settlers and points out that while the chief consideration of the Government should be the interests of the natives, it is a violation of the principles on which the British Empire is built to treat Indian claims unfairly or to listen to race prejudice or religious bigotry. To civilise the natives on the lines of "Western Christianity" these bigots want to keep out Asiatic influences, but it has not occurred to them that Jesus himself was an Asiatic influence—apart from the absurdity of inviting the State to abandon its well-established policy of religious neutrality. We hope that this statement of the Bishop of Calcutta and others will prevent well-meaning simple folk in England from being misled by Rev. Dr. Arthur of Kenya.

* * *

THE people of Bhagur in Nasik district are as happy in the meshes of bureaucratic red-tape as a fly in the spider's web. Bhagur in the vicinity of Devlali, is a village of less than 5,000 to which the Cantonment Act was applied in 1919 with the result that the taxation per head per annum was raised at a jump from about 6 annas to Rs. 10. From that time onwards the villagers made repeated representations to the authorities, from the Collector of Nasik to the Governor-General, sometimes not getting even an acknowledgment in reply. In August 1922, however, they were permitted to wait in deputation on H. E. Sir George Lloyd who was then on a visit to Devlali and the result was that the taxes were stopped for a time. But a couple of months later the Cantonment Magistrate issued a notice that most of the taxes would be put in force again from 1st January 1923, whereupon the people resolved to commence a *hartal* from that date. In February last Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla announced in the Legislative

Strangled by
Red-Tape.

Kenya and
Christianity.

Council that the Government had requested the Military authorities to suspend the collection of taxes, but as the latter continued to collect them, the villagers made enquiries at Delhi and Bombay and obtained the interesting information that the recommendation of the Bombay Government had been sent to the Government of India but had not reached the Military Department. Meanwhile the shop-keepers, in pursuance of their resolution, have gone on strike and the villagers are being put to every kind of inconvenience. So even after the Mesopotamia muddle the official machinery continues wooden and all the sympathy of the local Government cannot save the villagers from being strangled by red-tape!

THAT Mr. K. Natarajan should have been chosen President of the

Mr. Natarajan and the Dasites. Bombay Council of the Das-Nehru party is conclusive proof (if proof were needed) that that party has no active faith in non-co-operation to which it still continues to profess its adherence, or in indiscriminate obstruction which is demanded by non-co-operation. Mr. Natarajan is uncompromisingly opposed to both, and reiterated his opposition when accepting the office of President. Messrs. Das and Nehru still harp on obstruction, but it seems certain that to an overwhelming section of the party, the policy of offering wholesale opposition to all Government measures, whether good or bad, in pursuance of the doctrine of non-co-operation, makes no appeal as a practical course of action. Several leaders of the party will, however, try to confuse issues for the electorates. Opposition to bad measures and the consequent creation of deadlocks on such an occasion is of course common ground to all parties; the question simply is, whether the Swaraj party will, because of its being pledged to non-co-operation, reject all Government proposals irrespective of their merits. Messrs. Das and Nehru say yes; but most other prominent persons in the party evade giving a definite reply to this, but mean an emphatic no. Anyhow, this party is not willing to ask for the suffrages of the electorates on this distinct programme of pursuing obstructive tactics.

Mr. Das by a curious error advocated in his speech at Buldana his favourite policy of obstruction as being identical with responsive co-operation favoured by Mr. Tilak and has consequently roused the ire of the Maharashtra press of the Swaraj party. The *Lokasangraha*, for instance, says that the two policies are radically different and expresses its emphatic approval of Mr. Tilak's policy of "support of all good measures and opposition to all bad measures" in preference to that of Mr. Das. Its reasoning is entirely sound: there are not so few opportunities of opposing bad measures in the ordinary working of reforms that we need go out of our way to oppose even good ones; as we have to attain swaraj we have to accomplish several other important reforms; why unnecessarily sacrifice the latter while trying to win the former which, after all, is likely to be a long process? Nor can we trust even our leaders, let alone followers, to forego smaller reforms like local option in the hope of accelerating the pace of reforms. They will find no support in the country if they persevere in this impracticable policy. "We are much troubled," says this paper, "by the powers of certification, &c., vested in the Governor-General or the Govern-

or, for we are certain that if only our people do their duty wisely and well, the authorities will not dare to use the certification powers for long." The Maharashtra view even in the Swaraj party is accurately reflected in this criticism, and we gladly endorse it.

Seva Sadan at Baramati.

THE Poona Seva Sadan, which in its mother institution is giving instruction to over a thousand women, is gradually extending its beneficent activities to the moffusal. At present it has branches at Satara, Sholapur, Ahmednagar and Baramati. The first annual report of the last mentioned branch shows that there were 64 women learning in its several classes, and considering the fact that Baramati is a small taluka town, generally impervious to ideas of Social Reform, the progress achieved is considerable. The Seva Sadan desires chiefly to minister to the needs of widows and married women who can spare some amount of time from their household work for education, and its special contribution to the spread of female education consists in this, that it fills a distinct void in the existing educational machinery of Maharashtra. The feature of Baramati branch that will give the greatest pleasure to all reformers is that there are as in many as 19 non-Brahman women, and one Mahomedan and 2 Christians, receiving instruction in this institution, along with Brahman women. That such a high proportion of women of the backward classes are among the recipients of education could only be due to the insistence by Mr. Devadhar, in season and out of season, of doing all work in a thoroughly non-sectarian spirit. The educational work is supplemented by medical work too, the Seva Sadan having stationed one of its trained nurses at Baramati to do infant welfare work and attend to maternity cases. The institution owes its existence to the financial help given by the late Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, but it depends largely upon the support of the general public, which we hope will give it in a generous measure.

THE first number of this new quarterly* of the Santiniketan University has just reached us and exhibits

to the full that ideal of a common fellowship of study of East and West. The Editor in an article "A Vision of India's History" gives his own philosophical interpretation of Indian history as an attempt to assimilate, first Brahman and Kshatriya, and later Aryan and Dravida, in a unitary culture—and as such, "not because I cultivate the idolatry of geography", he would have us love India. Dr. M. Winternitz (Visiting Professor for 1923) follows with the lecture he gave last November in Bombay, on "The Ethics of Zoroastrianism" which he compares with those of the Hindu and Buddhist religions. Mr. Jas. H. Cousins contributes "Poetry and World Problems" and finally Miss Kramrisch endeavours to explain (?) Post-Cubist art as an appeal "not to the comparative of the conscious intellect, but to the superlative of the subconscious emotions."

The new quarterly certainly fulfils all that friends of Visva Bharati will have hoped from it and forms a definite contribution to contemporary Indian thought. Its typographical garb could not be bettered—and one only hopes, that future numbers will extend to reproductions of both pictorial art and of music.

*Editor Rabindranath Tagore, Calcutta. 10x6¼. pp. 82. Annual Subscription, Ra. 6.

HOW MILLHANDS LIVE.

AN enquiry into various matters bearing on the cost of living and well-being of the working classes in Bombay City and Island was set on foot at the instance of his Excellency the Governor and the task of collecting and tabulating the information was entrusted to the Labour Office, which has now published the results of that enquiry in the form of a report.* The volume is full of statistical tables and coloured charts. The Labour Office has already rendered a useful service to the cause of labour by publishing its "Report on an Enquiry into Wages in the Cotton Mill Industry", and the present volume, embracing as it does a much wider field of enquiry, will be still more useful to all persons interested in the well-being of labour. No less than 2,473 working class family budgets and 603 single men's budgets—a total of 3,076 budgets—were collected during the twelve months—May 1921 to April 1922. The budgets related to Hindus of different castes, Mohamedans and Christians and also to workmen employed in various occupations, such as mill-workers, municipal workers, dock workers, railway workers, engineering workers, &c. They were classified into different income groups, from below Rs. 30 to Rs. 90 and over per month. Mr. Shirras is an able and well-known statistician and has brought all his knowledge of similar efforts in other countries to bear on the subject in hand. The enquiry undertaken by the Labour Office was the first of its kind on such a wide scale and its results, as presented in the volume under review, throw a good deal of light on the life of the Bombay workman. The sample budgets give a tolerably fair idea of the quantities and prices of the articles required for the maintenance of a working class family in each group. The standard of comfort is extremely low and that fact in a great measure accounts for the low efficiency of the Bombay workman. A careful analysis of the expenditure on necessaries, decencies, and luxuries will enable the well-wishers of labour as well as of industry to decide what improvements are urgently called for in the condition of the working classes.

THE NEED FOR MORE INTENSIVE ENQUIRY.

The enquiry was fairly extensive and in view of the fact that the differences in religion, race and caste are more numerous in Bombay than in a similarly large centre of population in many other countries, it was quite necessary. But, we fear, the intensive system was not followed to the necessary extent. This could have been done only on the lines of "case work". A month's budget gives only a partial view of the income and expenditure sides and consequently does not provide sufficient materials to arrive at right conclusions regarding the various aspects of the workman's life. It would therefore have been necessary to select some

* Report on an Enquiry into Working Class Budgets in Bombay. By G. Findlay Shirras, Director of the Labour Office, Government of Bombay. pp. 299. Price Rs. 3-14-0.

typical families and to have their accounts kept from month to month for a year or so. This would have given a deeper insight into the workman's life and would have revealed some interesting facts which are not likely to be found in the monthly budgets mostly prepared not on the basis of accounts actually kept, but on the basis of information orally supplied. The Social Service League of Bombay has undertaken this kind of intensive enquiry and the results thereof will, it is hoped, serve as a useful supplement to the volume under review.

In the summary of conclusions Mr. Shirras states that the average working class family in the City of Bombay consists of 4.2 persons, namely 1.1 men, 1.1 women and 2.0 children, exclusive of 6 dependents living outside Bombay. "In every 100 families there were 154 wage-earners of whom 104 were men, 42 women and 8 children."

FOOD.

More than half the expenditure of the family is spent on food, and naturally the greater the earnings the smaller the percentage of those earnings spent on food. The quantity of cereals consumed by the industrial workers in Bombay compares favourably with the maximum prescribed by the Bombay Famine Code, but falls below the scale prescribed for jails! The diet is predominantly vegetarian. About 30 per cent. are strictly vegetarian and do not eat meat. Ireland is regarded as a poor country, but there is a larger percentage expenditure on fats and meat food in the Irish worker's budget. The Konkani is chiefly a consumer of rice and Konkans form the majority of Bombay's industrial population. So far as our information goes the diet of the Konkani is very poor. The comparison of the diet of the Bhayya (the Hindu from Upper India), the Ghati, the Upper India Mohamedan, the Gujarati and the Konkani would be interesting. No work on the subject of dietetics has yet been done in this country and it is a subject worthy of being investigated by expert physiologists. The quantity of protein and the number of calories of fuel energy required per day by a man engaged on moderate muscular work will have to be first fixed in the case of the Bombay workman. Food is a prime factor in physical efficiency and it would be interesting and useful to learn to what extent the backwardness of the Bombay worker in that respect is due to deficiency in food requirements. Food varies not according to caste so much as according to the native place of each worker. The budgets collected by the Labour Office were classified by income and occupation and in future enquiries it is also proposed to classify by caste. We would suggest the desirability of classification by district also.

EXPENDITURE ON DRINK.

Women workers in Bombay, with a few exceptions do not drink and the average figure with regard to expenditure on liquor does not indicate, as observed by Mr. Shirras, the actual expenditure, because it is the average of extremes. Moreover,

the worker is, as admitted by Mr. Shirras, averse to giving information under this head. These difficulties can be easily realised. A more intensive enquiry would have, perhaps, thrown more light on this subject. It was estimated by investigators that, for those families whose members drink, the average expenditure amounts to *at least* from 8 to 10 per cent. of the income. As against the rise in wages in the cotton mill industry of 87 per cent. above the pre-war rates (1914), the increased consumption per head of country spirit is 32 per cent. To this, we think, ought to be added the increase in consumption of European liquor, though the patrons of the latter are comparatively few among the mill hands and other industrial workers. The liberal provision of clubs and other sources of recreation is the remedy suggested by Mr. Shirras for reducing the consumption of drink. But is the work of organising clubs amongst such a vast population so easy? It is not possible even to touch the fringe of the problem. We do not, however, expect a Government servant like Mr. Shirras to advocate total prohibition through legislation, but, after all is said it is the only remedy. Liquor is mainly responsible for the poor efficiency, domestic misery, heavy indebtedness and absenteeism of the worker and tinkering with the problem will spell nothing but waste of time and energy.

HORRIBLE HOUSING CONDITIONS.

In Bombay the housing of the labouring population is the most difficult and the most pressing problem. It may be ever said to be the crux of the labour problem at the present hour. The housing conditions disclosed in the report under review provide a clue to the low efficiency of the Bombay worker, and also to the high rate of infantile mortality. Two-thirds of the population of the Bombay City live in one room as against 6 per cent. in London. According to the 1921 census there are 3,125 one-roomed tenements in Bombay containing two families and more and of these 3,125 one-roomed tenements 1,955 contain two families, 658 three, 242 four, 136 five, 42 six, 34 seven, and 58 eight families and over! Little wonder then that the millhand in the midst of this unimaginable overcrowding should try to find out "the shortest way out of Bombay" by resorting to drink. Compare with the overcrowding indicated above, the housing accommodation that will meet the needs of physical efficiency, as described by Mr. Rowntree in his "Human Needs of Labour." "Such a house", he says, "must provide a fair-sized living room, a small scullery-kitchen, preferably with a bath in it, and three bed-rooms." In Bombay even to the middle class people this will appear as nothing but a vision. "While the worker lives in one room in Bombay, in France and Belgium two rooms are customary, in Germany three, and in England and Wales and in the United States even four or five." "A Scotch Education Blue Book, 1907, dealing with school children in Glasgow, shows that boys from one-roomed houses are on an average 11.7 lbs. lighter and 4.7 inches smaller

than boys from four-roomed houses; while girls from one-roomed houses are 14 lbs. lighter and 3.3 inches smaller than girls from four-roomed houses." The very mills and factories, full of cotton fluff, smoke, heat and vapours as they are, are healthier and more hygienic than the chawls where the workers of Bombay live. Are we not, while manufacturing goods, also manufacturing morally and physically degenerate types of humanity? If these conditions are tolerated for long we shall have perhaps to import labour from China half a century hence! Mr. Shirras appears to entertain high hopes of the building programmes of the Development Directorate, the Improvement Trust and the Municipality, but can we really expect anything better than "long, unlovely rows of cages for factory hands" from those bodies? The chawls built by the Development Directorate have already received condemnation at the hands of those eminently fitted to judge, and besides, the rents demanded for them exceed considerably the predominant ones hitherto paid by the industrial worker. In fact, the problem of housing the worker earning Rs. 50 or less remains still unsolved and there are no signs to show that it is going to be tackled in right earnest.

INDEBTEDNESS.

No less than 47 per cent. of the families approached by the investigators were in debt. The usual rate of interest is one anna per rupee per mensem or 75 per cent. per annum. It is also mentioned in the report that in a few cases it is as high as 2 annas per rupee per mensem. We fear no persons in the clutches of the Pathan moneylenders who generally charge 4 annas per rupee per mensem or 300 per cent. per annum could be caught hold of by the investigators. It is estimated that the number of Pathan moneylenders in Bombay and its suburbs is not less than a thousand and their clients mostly belong to the lowest strata of the labouring class population. The figures showing the interest on debt paid by Bhangis or Municipal scavengers that have been given in the sample family budgets of that class, though they vary from family to family, are on the whole, we have reason to suspect, much below the ones actually paid. The Bhangis have to contract heavy debts at the time of securing employment and on account of the exorbitant rate of interest the poor devils are perpetually in debt. The debts run and accumulate from generation to generation. "The small expenditure on food," Mr. Shirras remarks when considering the proportion of food expenses, "in the income class, 'Rs. 30 and under' where sweepers are included is noticeable as compared with the percentage when these are excluded." The fact is that in the case of sweepers a large portion of the income is absorbed by moneylenders in the form of interest or by the persons giving them employment in the form of monthly instalments with interest as agreed between the parties. Most of the sweepers have to live more or less

upon stale leavings and rotten articles of food which cost them nothing, and consequently the rate of mortality is very high among them. The injustice and corruption to which the helpless Bhangis are subjected were exposed a few years ago by Mr. A. V. Thakkar of the Servants of India Society, who also presented to the public a detailed study of the conditions of living of over 200 families of Bhangis before forming debt redemption societies for this class. The investigators from the Labour Office, we suppose, approached the Bhangis through their Mukadams and other officers and in that case it was not possible for the investigators to get at the true facts. The causes that lead to indebtedness of the working class people in general are, according to Mr. Shirras, connected with marriages, funeral rites, festivals, payment of old debts, &c. In addition to these, we think, the conditions of employment, the methods of paying wages in mills and factories in Bombay, are also responsible to some extent for the indebtedness of the worker. As regards the indebtedness of families whose monthly income is below Rs. 40, we think it is inevitable in view of the cost of living. Wages below subsistence level cannot but drive the worker into the moneylender's arms.

The average expenditure on education is only Rs. 0-2-11 per mensem. Out of 2,473 families 21 per cent. spent on this account and the average expenditure of those who spent on education was Rs. 0-13-0. The percentage of illiteracy is high—76. These facts speak for themselves. Compulsory education is still hanging fire.

The single man spends more on refreshments, liquor, tobacco and betelnut than does the man living with his family. The former however remits more to his village up-country. More than half the number of single men do not pay house rent, and sleep in the open air, on verandahs of shop fronts or wherever they can stretch themselves. As a good many men cannot afford to live with their families in Bombay owing to the housing difficulties the number of single men has, we have reason to believe, greatly increased during the last few years.

Most of the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Shirras are sound. His observations deserve the most careful attention of the Government, the industrialists and all well-wishers of labour. At certain places he is, we regret to note, unduly harsh on the workman. For instance, Mr. Shirras says, "absenteeism rises when pay is raised, and after a bonus absenteeism still further rises." Help to raise his standard of living, and the workman will begin to care more for money. The conditions of work in mills and factories are far from what they ought to be and no wonder he tries to avoid work if he can. As regards absenteeism after the payment of bonus, the reason must be sought elsewhere, if Mr. Shirras means also the annual exodus. When going to his native village the worker must have sufficient cash in his hand and as he is able to save very little from his

monthly earnings he waits still he receives the annual bonus. On the whole, however, Mr. Shirras has given a sympathetic consideration to the needs and difficulties of labour, and we congratulate him on the production of this very useful and interesting volume.

But who can lay aside this authentic study of the appalling conditions, under which our mill-hands live, without shuddering at the thought, how much more appalling still must be the conditions, from which they escape even to the slums of Bombay, as to a lesser evil?

INTER-COMMUNAL RELATIONS IN THE PUNJAB—I.

IT was not quite four years ago that the Punjab gave a unique demonstration of inter-communal unity. Hindus and Muhammadans who had treated each other as untouchables for decades, nay centuries past, actually drank water out of the same cups. The communal festivals, the Dasara and the Mohurram, instead of being occasions for a breach of the peace, were freely and enthusiastically participated in by both communities. On this unique demonstration great hopes were naturally built for the future of India. But to-day it would be desperate optimism to affirm that Hindu-Moslem unity exists at all. It would be truer to speak of Hindu-Moslem *enmity*. And in this communal antagonism, all old distinctions of classes and masses, of politicians and laymen, of co-operators and non-co-operators, have been driven underground and communal distinctions hold the field in sole possession. This rapid and disconcerting change is not without significance to the rest of India nor without instruction to the student of Indian politics.

In the history of these communal relations, the Jallianwallah Bagh massacre of April 1919, the arrest of Mr. Gandhi in March 1922 and the Lahore conference of the All-India Congress leaders of last month, seem to mark off so many distinct periods. There are, however, more threads than one in the story and it would perhaps be well not to permit consideration of chronological accuracy to confuse the picture.

The Indian nationalist has to encounter very heavy odds in his efforts to evolve the sentiment of an Indian nationality as opposed to communalism. Previous history has already written on the slate religious animosities and communal conflicts and has left an unenviable legacy of strong communal consciousness and prejudice. Nowhere is this legacy more obtrusive or stronger than in the Punjab. Here one has to deal with three communities whose traditions and conditions are different—Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs. The Muhammadans, forming 55 p. c. of the population are educationally backward, unable to compete with the Hindus intellectually and demanding special protection of their interests. They are in addition aggressive both in religion and

politics. They are more Pan-Islamic than national and claim a special political value for themselves, encouraged in this by the deferential and yielding attitude of the Congress both in the old and new regimes. The Hindus who form 34 p. c. of the population are educationally advanced, reside chiefly in towns, are economically in a better condition than the Muhammadans and are afraid of their fanaticism. The Sikhs, forming 11 p. c. of the population, were until a few years ago part and parcel of the Hindu community. But within the last ten or twelve years there has been a remarkable renaissance among them which has made them keenly conscious of their individuality, and of their military and political importance. The qualities exhibited by the Akalis in their recent struggle against Government—organisation, self-control and tenacity of purpose—has now made them an important political factor, though when the Congress Muslim League Compact of Lucknow was arrived at their separate communal interests were neither pressed nor recognised. These different traditions and interests of the three communities have resulted in making the Punjab at all times more communal and less national in outlook than any other part of India. Economic inter-dependence between the rural Muhammadan and the moneyed urban Hindu, and common subjection to the British had no doubt tended to remove communal acerbity and bring about unity. But the influence of these factors was altogether nullified by the grant of communal representation to the Muhammadans by the Minto-Morley reforms in 1909. Faced with an accomplished fact, the Congress, reluctantly and much against its better judgment approved of this communal representation in the Lucknow compact of 1916 and granted to Muhammadans 50 p. c. of the seats in the Punjab Legislative Council, thereby going one step further on a wrong course than the Government of the day, in order to secure Hindu-Muslim unity. Since then Mr. Gandhi and the Congress went yet another step along the same road and for a similar purpose, when the Khilafat was made a Hindu and Congress grievance.

General Dyer's exploits at Jallianwallah Bagh and the impartial humiliation of all the communities under the martial law regime brought about a change. Under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi, communal antipathy gave place to cordiality and unity, and occasioned the demonstrations referred to above. To expect this exotic seed of communal amity to sprout and grow in an inhospitable soil without careful tending and protection, is to expect a miracle. And, as fate would have it, it was not destined to get this tending and protection for a sufficient length of time.

It is a bitter irony of fate that the very non-co-operation movement which was meant to cement communal unity has itself given rise to forces which have so early in its life dealt a death-blow to such a hope. Following, as it were, the Congress policy of the Lucknow compact, Mr.

Gandhi sought to win over the Muhammadans to the Indian Swaraj cause at any sacrifice and by any method. He made the Khilafat perhaps the principal plank of the Congress agitation to be supported by Hindus. This introduced religion and communalism into Indian politics—a reversal of the old Congress policy—and Mr. Gandhi emphasised the change.

In the programme of non-co-operation there were but two items which had a communal applicability, the Khilafat for the Muhammadans and the removal of untouchability for the Hindus. The untouchability item was certainly not one in tune with the existing predilection and prejudices of the Hindus, while the Khilafat was in entire consonance with those of the Muhammadans. It is no wonder that the Khilafat appealed universally to the latter, while the removal of untouchability did not appeal to the Hindus of all classes. Under the cover of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress, ignorant and fanatical *Moulvis* and *Mullahs* rose to influence in the Khilafat cause, and strengthened the already strong communalism, the pride and prestige of the Muhammadans. The Hindus had to second these dangerous efforts and propaganda, which were at best religious, communal and extra-territorial and certainly not Hindu, nor Indian.

Again, the non-co-operation movement which certainly worked for communal unity, kept away from the Councils, and perhaps Ministerships, some of the best advocates of the unity, who would have used such influence as the Councils and Ministerships wield in promoting the growth of communal unity by rejecting the Lucknow compact theory of the balance of influence in favour of the non-co-operation theory of identity of interests of the communities. Instead, the movement sent them to jail and thereby put out of action their powerful influence for unity even outside the Councils and Government.

BHISHMA.

(To be continued).

CONTINENTAL LETTER.

BRESLAU, 19th APRIL.

IT must be difficult for newspaper readers in other parts of the world not to skip the Continental news because of their boring monotony. There is no argument in the speeches on the Ruhr question nor in the newspaper articles about it, no point of view in those on the reparation question that lies at the bottom of it, that has not been discussed over and over again *ad nauseam*. The only event that could give things a new turn would be the intervention of the United States. This however is not to be expected. America had its great time when President Wilson proclaimed his fourteen points, another and modernised version, as it seemed, of the "Rights of Man" as coined by the Great French Revolution, and when he seemed ready to enforce their realisation on the battlefields of Europe. One has seen since that the crops that

grow on battlefields do not bear the seed of humanity. The fourteen points are forgotten, President Wilson himself has seen a defeat of his party in America that is almost unequalled in the history of modern American party life as to the complete veering round of public opinion at the elections of 1920, and his successor, President Harding, or rather his responsible minister, Senator Lodge, seems to think that the surest way to avoid going wrong is to stay at home. A great democratic American paper some time ago contained a cartoon for this season, that represented the President standing behind the counter as a shop assistant and informing his customer, Uncle Sam: "Foreign Politics? I am sorry, but we do not keep that article in stock any longer."

In the political shops of Europe it meanwhile displaces all other merchandise. It is astonishing for instance, how far the whole political life of France has come under the spell of it. The old recipe to avoid all difficulties at home by directing the general attention to things abroad works here as splendidly as ever. All European governments have got their troubles at home, some greater, some lesser ones, but the government of the *bloc national* forms a triumphant unity and M. Poincaré in his speeches is able to point to the few dissenting voices as to a real *quantité négligeable*. This result is reached by the government's being able to feed the public with edifying news like that the Marseillaise has been played on the market place of Düsseldorf or that French horse-races have taken place on a race course in the Ruhr district and that the tricolore fluttered from the platform all the time—exactly the sort of stuff that we got to hear in this country for four years during the war. The idea of military glory is a kind of intoxicating poison drink, it seems, very similar to alcohol and others, the only difference being that the intoxication lasts longer and that the bad effects, the headache and the seediness and worse things, set in later. But come they will.

Meanwhile the Ruhr district tries to work on. Its passive resistance remains what it was. This is what everybody who knows something of the character of the Ruhr population expected. A very humane English correspondent who visited the Ruhr on the very day before the French invasion had heard so little then about a decision to put any obstacles in the way of the French conquest that he wrote to his paper, the rumour about passive resistance going to take place seemed to be absolutely without foundation. Two days later over the whole district, many millions of people rose in passive resistance like one man. Still his impression was not to be wondered at. These Westphalian working people are anything but boisterous; no kind of braggardism finds favour with them, the least so the usual "patriotic" phrases of the "home warriors". But for all their unassumingness they know their own mind and a certain inborn stubbornness did already in the days of Prussian

millitarism make them its not most pliable objects. This stubbornness they do not even renounce in face of the elements of nature, it being a well known observation first made during the Franco-German war of 1870-1 that you could recognise a Westphalian regiment from afar by its singing in the rain and marching along silently in good weather.

The political weather is very bad now in the Ruhr district. The French invaders try to crush the resistance by means which raise the bitterest feelings imaginable. Their principal fury turns itself against the railwaymen who in the Ruhr district as well as in the Rhineland have declined to make themselves the instrument of enslaving their compatriots. So they are expelled, but not only they but also their wives and children are driven from their houses, their furniture being thrown out of the window if they do not leave as quickly as the French order prescribes. At the same time the French generals try to feign as though they only warred against the government officials and the *entrepreneurs* and were full of goodwill towards the population itself. Exactly like the Prussian generals who during the war stifled every spark of oppositional opinion in their country and at the same time favoured the extreme radicalism in Russia by sending its leaders in a special railway car across the whole of Germany to the Russian frontier, so the French military representatives of the most inveterate bourgeois opinion speak in their proclamations to the population of the Ruhr district in grand phrases of the capitalists who make the working man suffer and of the capitalist system which does not let him reap the fruits of his labour. But the working man at the Ruhr thinks with Shakespeare's Polonius of these fine sentences: "spring to catch woodcocks" and does not change his attitude.

The situation is indeed too clear. The Berlin government has again and again declared: Let impartial experts inquire into things and find out how much we can pay, for nobody, not even the French themselves believe, that we are able to pay the 132 milliards of gold of the London ultimatum. If a reasonable sum is fixed, we will pay it and we shall pay it. If the French government in opposition to the whole world's opinion insists upon the old sum, it only shows that it wants something different from reparation sums. There can be no doubt that it does. It wants the Rhine and Ruhr districts. And this therefore is the only kind of progress that is being made, while the whole reparation business does not really stir but remains on the spot: *penetration pacifique* of Western Germany. The word "pacifique" is of course a cant phrase of the worst order. It always has been, even at a time when it was applied to the so-called half-civilised states for whose heroic struggles against the brutality of the so-called civilised nations, most of us have had no voice in past times until now it is our turn to share their lot. The recipe that has proved

workable in Morocco will serve in Germany too, they think. So all officials that show any backbone are being dismissed and expelled with their families. They are being sent into an overcrowded country where during the last ten years not one thousandth part of the necessary houses have been built and the difficulties of life have increased in an enormous degree. All organisations are to be suppressed unless they show themselves either politically absolutely indifferent or adapt themselves to the French wishes.

But the whole endeavour is a political anachronism. Measures like these may have been possible before the masses had woken up to the idea of the right of self-determination of the nations. They are certainly impossible now. The eleven millions of people who live in those districts that France tries to annex under the mask of a buffer-state (which can be proclaimed at any moment, as things stand now) do not want to change their nationality and no force can compel them. So the only result is disorder and confusion on the one hand and exasperation, hatred and bitterness on the other. As no export of coal is allowed, the output naturally decreases. Before the invasion 330,000 tons everyday left the mines, to-day the output is 200,000 tons, perhaps less already. However a certain amount of coal will be produced as long as the industries of the Ruhr district work on, which before the invasion used about 40 to 42 per cent. of the whole coal output. So in a time of general misery, when millions do not know how to find their daily bread, one of the few sources of wealth is wilfully stopped up. But things are evidently going to become worse still. As the militarist doctors know only one remedy against resistance, namely more force, the last conference of the French and Belgian governments have decided upon "stronger measures." One can imagine what this means. And it is to be feared that it will lead to terrible consequences. Perhaps it is meant to do so. Up to now the attitude of the population has been admirable. It is little short of a miracle that all oppressions and vexations, all cruelty and brutality have not made the inhabitants lose their temper. For one must keep in mind that the mentality of a mass of hundred thousand miners is not uniformly that of a quaker community. Even in cases like at Essen where a French detachment directed its machine guns against an unarmed multitude that did nothing to hurt them and killed about fourteen peaceful and quiet people, the masses in spite of their excitement and indignation have been able to preserve their self-control. But the question is whether circumstances will allow this self-control in future. The oppression has reached a degree which makes it appear improbable. This seems to be also the opinion of a number of British labour leaders who have just published a report about their visit to the Ruhr. But the skin of humanity has remarkably thickened since 1914 and human lives have become astonishingly cheap.

LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, APRIL 26.

VICE OF UNIVERSAL INDIOTMENT.

WHATEVER one may think of the views of Sir John Hewett, M. P., regarding Indian affairs, it may at least be said of him that he has so far exercised a wise reticence and displayed a considerable sense or responsibility. But what is one to say and think of men like Lord Sydenham and Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who seem to have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing either during their stay in or since their departure from India? They never cease to seek for opportunities of maligning the country from which for years they derived their sustenance. They never hesitate to distort events and twist facts from their context. They stick at nothing, apparently, in order that they may revenge themselves upon their opponents. It never occurs to them that there is such a thing as an honest scepticism regarding their constant assertion that, in their day, and perhaps before, all went well and the world was at its best. Let an unfortunate English girl be captured by a ruffianly Afridi in the course of a blood feud or individual vendetta: Lord Sydenham at once shrieks loudly that British prestige is irreparably damaged, otherwise the capture could not have been effected. Sir Michael O'Dwyer immediately recurs to the events at Amritsar, like a dog to its vomit, and attributes this isolated event to the weakness of the Punjab authorities and the Government of India, after his retirement. What a pity it is that Burke is not alive to-day. He would find how possible it is for a couple of his countrymen to indict a whole nation. And the worst of it is that we have put the Diehards, who feed upon such offal as these two controversialists provide for them, into power and give cause to malignant critics on your side to imitate that very vice of a universal indiotment. It is a thousand pities.

THE DOUBLED SALT DUTY.

The enhancement of the salt duty has brought forth some valuable and interesting correspondence in the British press, from which I select two letters, one by Sir M. de P. Webb, in the *Manchester Guardian*, and the other by Sir Valentine Chirol, in the *Times*. After setting forth the facts of the present dispute and criticising the Government's action in forcing this hated tax upon the country, Sir Montagu says:—

It will be extremely difficult for me or any other self respecting member of the Legislature to serve on an Assembly whose vote is liable to be autocratically overruled: not, be it noted, on a matter of great moment involving the safety or tranquillity of the State, but on a matter of ordinary routine budget business wherein a difference of opinion may arise as to the type of taxation most suitable at the moment, or to the degree of retrenchment practicable during the next twelve months. And Lord Reading has elected to provoke this crisis just on the eve of a general election, when all loyal members of the Assembly are about to face their constituents to explain that autocracy has ended and that responsible self-government has commenced and to ask for re-election! It would be impossible to give to non-co-operators, malcontents, and other disloyal elements a better weapon with which to attack not only loyal legislators but also the Government itself.

He concludes by hoping that the House of Commons will deal with the crisis in a statesmanlike manner and not on narrow party lines.

Sir Valentine writes in very similar strain. He says:—

Can the rejection of the salt tax by the Legislative Assembly be reasonably described as such an emergency, especially when one remembers the interpretation placed upon the Act when the new constitutional charter was inaugurated under Lord Chelmsford, and his Finance Member, Sir Malcolm Hailey, declared that in future, "if we impose taxation, it will be by their (the Indian Legislature's) vote?" It was reserved for Lord Reading and a Finance Member quite new to India to throw overboard at a very critical moment, together with that assurance, the solemn pledge given by the Duke of Connaught himself at the opening of the Legislative Assembly a little more than two years ago, that the principle of autocracy has been abandoned. General elections will take place this year all over India, and Lord Reading, who has the reputation of being a pillar of British Liberalism, has not only once more shaken the faith of Indian Moderates who believed in the sincerity of British promises, but he has given the extremists the very handle which they wanted for reviving their assault on the constitutional reforms by denouncing, as giving the lie to them, an exercise by the Viceroy of the autocratic principle in the very form that must be most obnoxious to the mass of an immature electorate.

Nothing could be more outspoken than these remarks and doubtless Sir Stanley Reed, who has now arrived here, will add to the weight of opinion that is forming against the Viceroy's action. It may at some later date be shown that the Viceroy's hands have been forced by the India Office in the ordinary processes of interference, but no one can positively say that this is the case.

JOINT STANDING COMMITTEE.

On Tuesday, Lord Peel moved a resolution in the House of Lords for the appointment of a Joint Standing Committee of both Houses in the following novel terms:—"To examine and report on any Bill or matter referred to them specifically by either House of Parliament and to consider, with a view to reporting if necessary thereon, any matter relating to Indian affairs brought to the notice of the Committee by the Secretary of State for India." He said that the Joint Committee which functioned last year and the year before had to his surprise no reference. He understood that it was not merely unusual but unprecedented to set up a Committee merely to consider the general affairs of India or any other place. There were risks in a Committee of that kind. Without saying that it might approach the French system and infringe upon the responsibility of a particular Minister, he thought it might have a tendency to warp, and such a change in our system ought not to be introduced by a side wind in the case of a particular Bill. If it was the general opinion in India that a Joint Committee of both houses had to examine into and report upon all sorts of administrative questions which were dealt with by the Government of India, it might give rise to some constitutional difficulty as to the extent to which Committees could go. A Committee seemed to him to be of great value. It provided a standing body in which great knowledge and information about India were concentrated and to which measures affecting India could be handed over for consideration and report. Further, any matter which either House thought should be referred to that Committee should stand as referred. As some of the knowledge of ex-Viceroy and ex-Governors might not be quite up-to-date, it would be of great advantage if the Secretary of State could go before the Committee and post them as to recent developments. He desired to bring back the Committee to its original intention. Lord Islington said he was glad the Joint Committee were to be confined to examining

and reporting on Indian affairs referred to them by Parliament or the Secretary of State for India. The curtailment of the powers of the Committee would, he thought, be welcomed in India, because as India proceeded on its constitutional path it would look with jealousy upon any interference in subjects which came within its own proper function. Lord Harris and Viscount Chelmsford also welcomed the resolution in its revised form, and Lord Peel assured the House that he would try to use such powers as might be granted to him with great discretion.

THE KENYA QUESTION.

The Kenya question is boiling up with the arrival of the European deputation and their missionary allies. The Bishop of Uganda had a long article in yesterday's *Times*, in which he confuses the case of Uganda with that of Kenya, and seeks to show that to apply the Imperial Conference resolution would be to break pledges to the natives. This of course, is a first-class fallacy, but the *Times* characteristically makes use of the Bishop's argument to bolster up its thesis that Europeans and Indians should be kept on opposite sides of the line, not as a badge of inferiority or superiority, but as a recognition of difference. The fact is that an attempt is being made to confuse the issue, in order that British public opinion may be entangled into acceptance of the view that the white settler—apart altogether from the missionary—is the friend of the native, whilst the Indian is his enemy and must not be heeded lest the sacred principle of trusteeship should be defined. I am afraid that before we have gone much further we shall have reached an impasse. I can see only one way out, and that will be to exclude native affairs entirely from the purview of the Kenya Legislature and the non-official members of the Executive Council. That will reduce the problem to its right proportions, namely, that the Europeans are determined not to accept the principle of equality with themselves of any coloured race. That is the fundamental fact, and it will be for the Colonial Office, or, rather, His Majesty's Government to decide whether they will allow the South African point of view to prevail within the British Empire or whether India is really to aspire to equal partnership in rights and responsibilities within the Commonwealth. I send you herewith a copy of the memorandum just issued by the Indians Overseas Association on the whole question. It is concise, effective, and difficult to controvert.

HINDUS OF INSULINDE.

The *Times* publishes an interesting report of the display of drawings and paintings of Miss Tyra Kleen, a Swedish artist, of the various phases and figures in the ritual dances of Bali, an island in the Dutch East Indies, neighbouring upon Java, with a mixed Polynesian and Hindu race. Miss Kleen's residence in Bali, among the native people, and her difficulties in getting the subjects for her studies, provide material for an interesting story in themselves. A teacher of dancing helped her to draw the dances, from the first rapid sketches, through elaborate and detailed notes of colour, material, and movement, up to the richly coloured finished sketches. She seems, too, to have obtained the assistance of a none too scrupulous native chief in order to secure a series of rare and precise studies of ritual movements by priests of Siva and Buddha. The chief subjects of Miss Kleen's drawings are certain religious dances, the Legong and the Garuda, or dance of the sacred bird, both danced by slender girls of 10 to 15 years,

sumptuously dressed, with elaborate head-dresses. Each movement has a special ritual significance. Then there is a secular dance, the Djoged, in which married women participate. There is a devil-dance, performed at fullmoon in the Temple of Death. Its subject is particularly horrible, and represents the introduction to a long tale of strife between the benevolent divinities and the demonic forces. Another series, interesting just now because of the performance here of the Italian puppet-shows, is one in which puppets, representing the heroes of the Ramayana or the Mahabharata, attended always by grotesque clowns, enact well-known stories from those rich treasures. Another series depicts the various types of musical instruments used in the island, many of which are obviously reproductions or near relatives of the Hindu instruments originally introduced by the Hindu immigrants many centuries ago. Probably the most interesting series is that of the ritual movements of the priests of Buddha and Siva, the ceremonial objects they use, and the sacred champaka. Each position has been drawn both full face and side-view. Miss Klein has made a most useful contribution to our knowledge of Hindu and Buddhist culture, as modified by a population of mixed racial origin. She has placed both Europe and Asia under a deep debt of gratitude to her for patient, courageous, and accurate work in the field of comparative religion, ethnography, and art.

A TRAVELOGUER

Mr. Lowell Thomas, an American, is presenting a travelogue entitled "Through Romantic India." Mr. Thomas is a confirmed pro-Britisher and thinks great things of British rule in India. Doubtless he spent much time in the Anglo-Indian clubs and in official circles, and comparatively little time in Indian political circles, from whom he might have learnt a corrective for his generous effusiveness. His lecture is illustrated by a valuable and interesting film, showing the travellers journey from Cape Comorin to the North-West frontier. Mr. Thomas was much affected by the spectacle of religious piety throughout the country, and he contrives to show a good many pictures which reveal an India more or less unknown to stay at home Britishers. Much of the film is in colour, and depicts scenes taken during the Prince of Wales's visit.

MISCELLANEA.

THE KENYA COLONY SITUATION

A STATEMENT ISSUED BY

THE INDIANS OVERSEAS ASSOCIATION.

KENYA (formerly called the British East Africa Protectorate) is a Crown Colony governed directly from Downing Street. The Governor takes his instructions on all major questions of policy from the Secretary of State for the Colonies. He is assisted by an Executive Council, with a majority of senior officials and a minority of non-officials, of whom two are European and one is Indian. Legislation is effected through a Legislative Council, with an over-riding official majority and a non-official minority consisting of eleven elected Europeans and four nominated Indians. The native population, numbering about 2½ millions, is not directly or indirectly (save through the official majority) represented either in the Executive or the Legislative Council. In addition to the native population, there are less than 10,000 Europeans of both sexes and all ages and nationalities, including officials and missionaries; normally, about 30,000 Indians, mostly of the middle and lower middle classes; and a few thousand Arabs. The last three elements are an im-

migrant population, of whom the Europeans are the most recent.

Close trade relations between India and East Africa have existed for centuries, and since the time of Lord Canning, India has been active in extending British trade and influence in the country. Sir John Kirk, whose authority was unrivalled, has placed it on record (Sanderson Committee, 1910) that "but for the Indians we (the British) should not be there now, and it was entirely through being in possession of the influence of these Indian merchants that we were enabled to build up the influence that eventually resulted in our position."

The Imperial British East Africa Company's Charter (1888) declares "that there shall be no differential treatment of the subjects of any Power as to trade or settlement," and shows that one of the chief grounds of its grant was that it was calculated to be advantageous to the "commercial and other interests" of Her Majesty's Indian subjects and that "the possession by a British Company of the East African Coast line" would protect British Indian Subjects from being compelled to reside and trade under the government and protection of alien Powers. When the interior of Kenya was opened up in the early 'nineties, the Indians were expressly invited to share in that enterprise. This they did through trade, the circulation of currency, the erection of public and private buildings, and in many other ways. The Uganda Railway (without which progress was impossible) was built by Indian labour and organisation, combined with British capital. Evidence exists that one of the main purposes of the opening up of the interior of Kenya was to provide an outlet for the surplus population of India. It was upon such representations that the Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow and Birmingham Chambers of Commerce were induced to recommend the Imperial Government to make the railway. Unequivocal tributes to the pioneer work of the Indian population, both at the coast and in the interior of Kenya, have been given by such unimpeachable authorities as Sir Harry Johnston (*Times*, August, 1921), the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill ("My African Journey"), Mr. John Ainsworth, late Chief Native-Commissioner of Kenya, and Mr. W. McGregor Ross, late Director of Public Works. Indian soldiers played a leading part in the early days of the conquest and pacification of the Protectorate, and the Indian contribution, in men, money and material, during the late War, in saving East Africa for the British Empire cannot be over-estimated. Indians, many of whom are members of families settled in East Africa for three generations, carry on the bulk of the trade and commerce of Kenya. They have invested their capital and enterprise in the country, but have been denied any adequate voice in the settlement of policy or the imposition of taxation, a very large proportion of which is paid by them. The public services are largely Indian in character and composition, the system of law is Indian, and until recently the very currency was Indian, and was changed in order to give the white settler minority a commercial advantage.

Whilst the country was under the Foreign Office, the services rendered by the Indian population were generously recognised. But with the handing over of the administration to the Colonial Office and the advent of Dutch settlers from South Africa after the Boer War, bringing with them racial and colour prejudice, the attitude of the local Government changed and a policy was adopted subordinating the interests of the Indian pioneer settlers to those of European new-comers of British nationality. A beginning was officially made in 1908, when, "for reasons of administrative convenience," Lord Elgin authorised the restriction of the issue of Crown grants of agricultural land in the Highland area to European settlers. It is submitted that this act, in itself, taken without the consent of the Indian population, was a breach of trust on the part of the Colonial Office. At the same time, however, Lord Elgin declared that the Imperial Government would be no party to statutory discrimination of a racial character. There never was any public pledge to reserve the Highlands for sole European occupation. Indeed,

large numbers of Indians are to be found there, but they cannot acquire agricultural land. The grants of Crown lands were made, in due course, to the Europeans, but without any restrictions upon subsequent transfer for value to Indians. It was not until 1915, during martial law, when Indians were specially enjoined not to press their demands for equal treatment and opportunity was taken to impose still further disabilities upon them, that Lord Elgin's declaration as to the Highlands was violated, and such transactions were prohibited by statute. In many other ways Indians have been statutorily deprived of opportunities of making their full contribution in the opening up of a still semi-barbarous and undeveloped country.

From 1919, until the present time, numerous attempts have been made to effect a settlement upon an equitable basis, each being met, however, with a campaign of abuse and violence directed against the Indian community or the authorities (when they were believed to recognise partially the Indian claim) by the white settlers. The Indian community has, both by deputation and conference, shown its willingness to concede largely in detail, if its claim to equal treatment were admitted in principle and an honest attempt made to apply the principle. This admission was made at the Imperial Conference, 1921, when equal citizenship rights for Indians overseas were recommended, South Africa alone standing out.

After various attempts to make a beginning in applying this principle in Kenya, the Colonial and India Offices, in consultation with the Government of India, agreed upon a series of proposals, which were sent out last September to the Governor to be placed before the European and Indian communities. These proposals have never been officially published and they have been communicated in garbled form at European public meetings, with consequent misunderstanding which has been diligently fostered in order to prevent a settlement. The official proposals, which do not, in fact provide for immediate equality of citizenship, are known, however, to include the following:

Highlands.—The Colonial Office regards itself as bound by previous history and policy, which are not recognised by the India Office, the latter Department reserving the right to reopen the question at a convenient later date.

Segregation.—The policy to be abandoned, subject to the administration of building and sanitary by-laws of general application.

Franchise.—All adult white British subjects are at present entitled to registration as voters. It is not proposed to disturb their rights, but in future all British or British-protected subjects, regardless of race, will have to acquire an educational and a property qualification which, whilst, in practice not preventing any average white British settler from becoming a voter, will automatically exclude from the franchise at the commencement, nine-tenths of the Indian population. A common electoral roll is provided for, as well as a majority of at least seven out of eleven non-official seats for the white population.

Immigration.—No further restriction, but the Colonial Office reserves the right, in case of need, to impose such restriction.

The Europeans have refused even to discuss these proposals. They insist upon complete reservation of the Highlands for themselves (even preferring white aliens to British Indians), in spite of Lord Elgin's pledge to the Indians in 1908. They still demand racial segregation. They refuse to contemplate the possibility of a common franchise and a common electoral roll, but demand instead communal electorates, in order that they may not have to submit to a democratic constitution and so as to retain a permanent majority of the elective seats in the Legislature, in addition to the over-riding white official majority. They arrogate to themselves—a small group of less than 10,000, aliens and officials included—the status of a self-governing Dominion, and claim to be allowed to exclude the immigration of Indians, who represent the far older immigrant population. They reject the doctrine of equal citizenship for Indians, laid down by the Imperial Conference,

1921, as a "flattering platitude." In fine, they will not tolerate for a coloured community, either now or in the future, any but a status of racial inferiority and political subordination. They allege that their present stand is maintained in order to preserve the privileges of the white ruling race and in the interests of native trusteeship. The Colony has never been administered as a native trust, but mainly in the interests of the white settlers. Native rights have constantly been over-riden and their interests ignored both by the local Administration and the white settlers. Owing to, and so long as there is maintained, an official majority, native interests can be fully protected (if that be the Colonial Office policy) no matter what immigrant community may have the larger number of elective seats in the Legislative Council.

The Indians accepted the proposals as the first step to give effect to the principle of equal citizenship. They, however, steadily resisted the Colonial Office attempt to place special restrictions upon Indian immigration under the colour of general legislation which, in effect, would leave white immigration virtually untouched. The people of India claim the same right of access to Kenya as the people of any other part of the Empire, and as they have exercised for centuries but never abused. No settlement will be acceptable that favours the immigration of white British subjects to a Colony that should be administered by the Crown as an Imperial trust. The Indian community has frankly recognised the paramount claim of the indigenous population over all immigrant communities, but demands equality of citizenship as among such communities with an official majority until the natives are able to manage their own affairs. It claims that the natives are more likely to learn the arts of civilisation from a community that is making a stand for equality of opportunity for all races in the British Empire than from one that demands homage as a permanent ruling race. In addition, it claims that Indian interests do not clash with those of the indigenous population, but are complementary thereto. The Indians reject a communal franchise on the grounds that it is undemocratic; that in the Cape Colony and S. Rhodesia Indians and Europeans have always enjoyed a common franchise and electoral roll; that the Europeans, who will have a majority of voters for many years to come, do not need it and they themselves do not want it; that the Europeans demand it in order to maintain their racial aloofness, which makes them contemptuous of the non-white voter; that it will render common citizenship and friendly political relations impossible; that it will encourage racial feuds both within and outside the Legislature; that the Europeans hope by its means to obtain a permanent majority of the non-official element in the Legislature; and that a common franchise with a common electoral roll will result in the election of only moderate men of both races, who can be relied upon to work together in the interests of the country, but who at present are able to make their influence felt with difficulty.

In India the case of Kenya, as three successive Viceroys have borne witness, is regarded as the acid test of British sincerity. India as an equal Member of the League of Nations, is entitled to require a status for her nationals in the British Crown Colony of Kenya in no way inferior to that assured for them in the neighbouring mandated Territory of Tanganyika. She has been assured that equal membership of the British Commonwealth is her ideal, her right, and her privilege. She is a member of the Imperial Conference that has, with the exception of South Africa—where racial and colour prejudice have already created an Imperial crisis of considerable magnitude—adopted the principle of equal citizenship. Kenya is India's oldest place of settlement within the British Empire, a settlement that long antedated the Empire, in fact. But for the Indian merchants, who first carried British trade to Kenya, the British flag would not be flying there now. If the first steps towards equality of citizenship are not to be taken in Kenya, under the threat of violence on the part of the white settlers, notwithstanding the Imperial Conference resolution and the solemn obligation of the British Government, which is pledged to religious and racial neutrality, the effect upon the constitution of the

Empire will be profound and fundamental, and India will be driven to face a future either of racial subordination within the British Commonwealth which will then be no Commonwealth for the non-white races, but a racial Imperialism, or of sullen hostility to it, but outside the British Confederation.

It is these facts that deputations respectively of the Indian Legislature and the Kenya Indian community will shortly be placing vigorously before the British public and Government, and upon the success of their mission the future of the Empire will largely depend.

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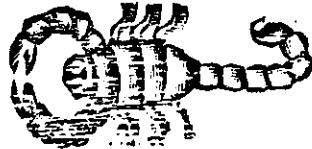
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