

THE Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK

Mr. Baldwin's Plunge.

MR. BALDWIN has unquestionably displayed a good deal of daring by going to the country on the question of Protection—an expedient against which there has grown up in England for the last three generations a deep prejudice. No doubt Mr. Baldwin would not have taken this course, if he did not expect to get the country at large to copy his "Plymouth Plunge"—unless he had found it increasingly difficult to carry on a Tory Government with a non-Tory policy. In any case, the ridicule with which this expedient is being greeted by its opponents, proves what the traditional English view is: if the proposal was one on which the public felt that much could be said for and against, free-traders could not resort to the tactics of mere ridicule—of which, needless to say, Mr. George is a past-master. And if Mr. George knows anything, it is surely how to say the popular thing. Another straw, which to our mind shows how the wind is blowing, is provided by the announcement that Sir Allan Smith disapproves of the Government's protection and unemployment policies and as a consequence refuses to re-contest his seat as a Conservative. Now Sir Allan Smith happens to be the Chairman of the Federation of British Industries: that mammoth union of employers as a class; the brain, eye and mouth of Big Business in Britain; an organization with a membership of 19,000 firms of an aggregate capital of £6000 millions. If such a man has no use for Mr. Baldwin's fiscal policy, who can be expected to plunge for it? Again, one hears that at least 50 Conservative candidates are going to appeal to their electors as free traders.

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NO: as things go, Mr. Baldwin's campaign does not seem to shape any too well for him. And the Pro-

tectionist policy itself, as hedged about, can hardly satisfy even protectionists. For Mr. Baldwin has pledged himself not to put any import duties on wheat and meat, the staple food of the country. But what else do the Dominions produce, but wheat and meat? If Preference is to do anything for the wheat farmers of Canada and Australia and for the sheepmasters of Australia and New Zealand, it must reserve to them the British market and eliminate there the competition of the Argentine, the United States and Russia. That Mr. Baldwin refuses to do in deference to the women's vote which will certainly not be given to a man who increases the cost of food. And as Mr. Baldwin meets more and more interests, he gives further and further pledges. We see he has now added oats as an item exempt from his fiscal policy, and—more important—cotton. Then what about cotton growing in the Empire? If not by tariffs, how is it to be stimulated and nursed? By subsidies? But where is the money to come from for all these schemes? Import duties on manufactured articles from foreign countries can surely not be relied upon: for if they yield much, it proves that they do not protect the British manufacturer; and if they are really protective, they will not prove a source of income. The whole policy seems singularly futile: so much so, that one really cannot bring oneself to believe that Mr. Baldwin is really so simple, as to place his trust in them, especially when the incontrovertible fact stares everyone in the face that the most protectionist countries (like the U. S. A., Australia, &c.) are suffering as acutely from unemployment as free trade England, where now suddenly protection is to prove the panacea for unemployment. Which brings one back to the suspicion that it is more the state of the Tory party than the venture of protection which has necessitated the election.

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The Man of Tomorrow.

IF that is so, the Government, even if Mr. Baldwin is returned, will probably be reconstructed and an end will be made to the anomaly of Mr. Baldwin denouncing French policy and Mr. Ronald MacNeil praising it; only to mention one of the various rifts in the Tory flute which have become increasingly noticeable during the past twelvemonth. But will Mr. Baldwin be returned to power? No forecast is possible, as the result with a vote split between three parties is largely one of chance.

Last year we said that the Conservatives would probably be the largest individual party returned, but inferior in number to Liberals and Labour taken together. As regards the votes cast, our prophecy turned out right—the Conservatives polling only 40% of the votes, whilst the Liberals and Labour each received 30%; but as regards seats gained, the 40% Conservative votes cast were by the existing system turned into a gain of 56% of the seats in Parliament. This year we should certainly say that the Conservatives have no chance of polling even 40%, their drop in votes being shared both by Liberals and Labour. In fact we should be surprised if Labour did not get 40% this time, leaving 30% each to the two bourgeois parties. But we repeat, from these figures to deduce the number of seats gained, is pure guessing work, as long as three-cornered contests are fought under the present system. Only one thing stands out: that of all the three parties in the field, Labour alone has a policy which is constructive, well knit, well thought out and courageous. Labour alone has a programme which deals radically with the disease from which England and all Europe is sickening, whilst even the best friend of Mr. Baldwin could not claim more for him than that he is anxious to try a few old nostrums and new palliatives. Liberalism of course, whether of the Asquithian or of the Georgian complexion, is purely negative and once more pins its faith to salvation by muddling through. Nobody, we think, can read *e. g.* the pithy sentences of the Labour Party program, without being struck that here at last speaks the voice of true statesmanship. As a coincidence, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's biography is just about to be published: and the title is "The Man of Tomorrow." May it prove a good omen.

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The Madras
Ministry.

IN Madras a reshuffling of the non-Brahman Ministry has taken place, Sir K. V. Reddy having given place to Rao Bahadur T. N. Sivaghanum Pillay. When the Ministry will face the newly constituted Legislative Council on the 26th inst., it will have to encounter on the very first day a resolution of want of confidence, brought not by a member of the Swaraj party, but by a member of the *Justice* party itself. The dissensions in the Ministerial group have latterly been so great that the Ministry will have but a very precarious tenure of office. The group which has now detached itself from the Ministerial party contains some notable figures in the Council and is to be led by Mr. C. R. Reddy, by far the ablest of the non-Brahman members. These will receive the hearty co-operation of the Swaraj and Liberal parties so far as opposition to the Ministry is concerned, and it is more than doubtful if the Ministers will retain for long the support of even a working majority in the Council. It is not to be supposed, however, that if the present Ministry should be turned out, any other group which will venture to take its place will have a more assured support; for the

opposing groups do not seem to have anything in common except a desire to oppose the party in power. Nor is it plain that the party of which Mr. C. R. Reddy is the leader is free from the communalistic spirit, which was and is the bane of the *Justice* party. We have no cause therefore to rejoice at the split which has taken place in the non-Brahman party. We may indeed feel the reverse of joy, for in effect a party with a strong party backing is now succeeded in the seats of power by a group, strenuously opposed by other groups, none of which, however, has in it the making of a stable Ministry.

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Mr. Paranjpye's
Defeat.

THE ill-success of Mr. Paranjpye at the election illustrates as nothing else can the political immaturity of the electors and their liability to be swayed by irresponsible and interested criticism. He may have committed mistakes, but looking at the broad results of his policy, no dispassionate observer can help admiring the very substantial achievements he has to his credit. Many of the criticisms to which his Primary Education Act was subjected can easily be proved to proceed from ignorance or partizan spirit. If the electors think that the criticisms are valid and have unseated him on that account, have they obtained a pledge from his successor as the representative of the Bombay University that he will bring forward a Government or private Amending Bill with a view to getting all the alleged defects of the Paranjpye Act removed? Have they ensured, *e. g.*, that a time-limit will be inserted in the Act, a limit of 10, or preferably 5, years; that statutory provision will be made for a 4/5ths grant to municipalities and a 9/10ths to local boards; that the Government will retain no power whatever of interfering with the composition of the School Boards or of inspection, and so forth? Or, better still, have the voters made certain that the whole Act will be abrogated, thus rescuing "national education" from the blighting effect of association with the Government? If they want these results to flow from the choice of their representatives, as must be inferred from the transference of their suffrages to Mr. Jayakar, we only hope that they will hold the latter strictly to the execution of all the above-mentioned "reforms."

* * *

Concern for the
African Natives.

THE professed concern of the Kenya Government for the well-being of the native Africans can well be assessed at its proper value by the treatment which the Government is according to their leader, Harry Thuku. This Kikuyu leader was deported in March of last year apparently for no other reason than that he brought about an awakening among the natives as regards their servitude and organised a vigorous protest against the fearful maltreatment to which they are subjected by the notorious Convention of Associations and other Europeans of that ilk. He was never put upon his

trial, nor was he even informed of his offence. He has been making from his place of exile representations to the Government challenging it to produce evidence before a court of law to sustain the charge that may be brought against him. For this impertinence the leader's ration has now been reduced from 40 to 15 shs. per mensem. And when asked to restore the ration to its former quantity, he is gravely told by the Chief Native Commissioner (of all people!) that the allowance cannot be increased! This august official, ostensibly maintained for the purpose of looking after the interests of the natives, further tells him incidentally and for the first time that he has been "deported for serious misconduct" and that "it is due to (his) seditious utterances and actions that over twenty people lost their lives in Nairobi."

* * *

Mean
Vindictiveness.

NOW, surely, if Harry Thuku is guilty of "grave misconduct and seditious utterances", the guilt can be brought home to him by due legal processes. Why then does the Government withhold the proof from the public? Why is he to be condemned merely on the statements taken on oath by the Governor from those against whose dominance he was battling? So far as the public can guess, his fault was nothing more than that he got resolutions passed at public meetings demanding, *inter alia*, that "adequate provision be made for the education of the Africans, that the practice of compulsorily taking out unmarried girls and married women to European plantations for work be put a stop to, that all educated natives be given the vote in common with educated Europeans and Indians." As regards over 20 people losing their lives, the *Nairobi Democrat* says, "that little episode is entered in the Book of God to the credit of the Kenya Government." Harry Thuku, if he was a seditionist, must have been one of a very unusual type, for his attitude to the Government and to the European community is disclosed in the letter giving cover to these very offending resolutions, as follows "The natives look upon both Indians and Europeans as their friends and the Government as their protector, as also of the other communities resident in the country. I am, however, constrained to say that there is a certain class of white men who treat the natives very badly and our complaint is mainly against them. I may also state that some of the activities of the Convention of Associations are detrimental to our interests." Is it then high treason to criticize Lord Delamere's Convention? The meanly vindictive treatment now being meted out to Harry Thuku throws a flood of light on the professions of the Government that its primary concern is for the welfare of the natives. We hope that our Indian brethren in Kenya will help forward this and other movements for the emancipation of the natives, no matter if thereby they give a handle to the Kenya Government to persecute themselves all the more.

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THE FUTURE OF LIBERALISM.

THE heavy defeat which most of the Liberal candidates sustained at the poll in Bombay Presidency raises the whole question of the future of Liberalism, so far as this Presidency is concerned. And for ourselves we hasten to answer the question in no uncertain terms: whatever changes the virtual wiping out of the party from the Bombay Council may suggest in its minor aims and tactics, the party will not allow itself to swerve from its fundamental principles and methods. In fact, it may be claimed that if the Liberals have been discarded at the election, an appreciable portion of Liberalism has been enthusiastically embraced by the country. For the political ideals and methods for which the Liberal party stands and which it maintained amidst such fearful obloquy are now adopted as their very own by its avowed opponents. Internal autonomy and constitutional action are the political principles on behalf which the Liberals had to give battle to the real non-co-operators and those others who have now detached themselves from that group and call themselves by the name of Swarajists. Both these groups derided Home Rule as utterly insufficient to satisfy the political ambition of India and pinned their faith to extra-constitutionalism. The Swarajists at any rate have now repudiated this method and have acknowledged autonomy in the domestic affairs of India as their objective. If the non-co-operators have not yet elected to pursue the path of constitutional agitation, it is certain that non-co-operation of the orthodox type is now dead past any hope of resuscitation.

To the extent to which the Swarajists are new converts to Liberalism, we welcome their entry into the Legislature. Satisfied about the soundness of political views, we do not mind one whit who comes into the Council and who has temporarily to retire. For it is not persons, but principles for which we care. But in one respect the constitutionalism of the Swaraj party is of an uncertain quality. It professes to offer opposition to Government for opposition's sake. We do not believe it will adhere rigidly to this policy in the end, but if it should do so the Liberal party will have to offer uncompromising opposition to this creed in the country, as it did to the non-co-operation creed three years ago. The constitutional action advocated by the Liberals ranges from hearty support of Government's measures to strenuous opposition and discriminating obstruction, as any particular measure may demand. What the Liberal party's attitude will be to the Swarajists—or to any other group—will therefore depend upon what policy they adopt. Co-operation wherever possible and opposition wherever necessary will be its own policy in reference to other parties as well as to the Government. Of one thing we feel certain—that it will be found at the end of three years that the Swarajists will have lost a good deal of their present popularity. The

diarchical form of government which is now in force and the ignorance of the electorates make the assumption of responsibility extremely difficult in the present circumstances. Everything conspires at present to encourage irresponsibility in critics. If the Liberals have now become unpopular, it is for no other reason than that they ventured to shoulder responsibility in this formative period, when politics are in a hopelessly fluid condition. The Swarajists will have now to bear the brunt of these adverse circumstances. If they accept ministerial responsibility, the odds are that at the end of this term of the Council they will be little less unpopular than the Liberals. But we hope that in the larger interests of the country they will accept, as did the Liberals, the responsibility of office, which goes necessarily with numerical superiority, even if this should cost them their popularity. The Liberals will in that case promise them their support in all measures of national advancement. They will not offer factious opposition to their measures. But if they should refuse to be burdened with ministerial responsibility, even then popularity will not be theirs, if they pursued obstructive tactics on every conceivable occasion. For ignorant as is the electorate, it will not tolerate the blind opposition to constructive measures which the Swarajists propose to offer. If, on the other hand, their opposition is selective, their policy will essentially be identical with that of the Liberals, and it will not be difficult for any one who places electoral success and popularity above principles to make them unpopular by a vigorous, but none too scrupulous propaganda in the country, like what the Swarajists themselves carried on for the last three years against the Liberals.

In the matter of social reform the Liberals will have to fight the Swarajists on many occasions. Here their constant aim will be, as their manifesto of three years ago declared, "a rounded development of freedom based on the extinction of the disabilities from which sections of the people have suffered, whether women, or the depressed classes, or the labouring professions; the practical embodiment of the ideas of social equality and justice in our institutions; the moral and economic uplift of Indians as a nation no less than their political elevation." The average member of the Swaraj party from the Deccan is very lukewarm, if not actively antagonistic to these objects, and the Liberal party fears that there will be a definite setback in this direction. In social matters it will be more in accord with the ideals of the non-Brahman party, which happily contains some active spirits this time. We have no hesitation in saying that, in all matters which vitally concern the welfare of the people at large, we look to the non-Brahmans more than to the Swarajists, and to the former as to the latter we promise our wholehearted support in all schemes of national regeneration. They too will have to sacrifice popularity if they wish to do any solid good to the country, for in

the present circumstances to accept any kind of responsibility is to write yourself down as an unpopular man. We trust, however, that this will not deter the non-Brahmans from assuming responsibility.

EDUCATION IN AFRICA.—II.

IF there is one thing in the report of the African Commission, on which it insists in almost every one of its pages, it is the importance of adapting education to the needs of the African peoples. It is therefore necessary to look more closely into the ideas of the Commission regarding adaptation and the methods suggested by them for securing it. For, it is quite possible for the principle of adaptation to be so handled as to be made the ground for the establishment of a type of education that would tend to confine within narrow limits the aspirations and development of the African races and to deny the more intelligent and ambitious individuals opportunities to fit themselves for taking their legitimate share in advancing the interests of their countrymen. The report itself points out that some educated Africans are opposed to any departure from the existing conventionalized school system, and the Commission traced the origin of the protest to the fear that such a departure might imply the permanent segregation of the black people. To quote the report, "Past experience has convinced some of the educated natives that departure from the white man's methods have too frequently meant an inferior provision for the black people. They are therefore naturally suspicious of adaptations as the entering wedge for educational segregation." The report, therefore, disclaims in the clearest possible terms any intention to recommend an inferior kind of provision for the native races, and assures the Africans and their friends, that their idea of the application of the principle of adaptation is wide enough to include every place of education, from the elementary school to the highly specialized professional college and provides equally for the improvement of mass education and of education for native leadership.

As tests of educational adaptation, the Commission selected certain elements of individual development. Health was given the first place, not because it is more important than the others, but because all others directly depend upon it, in a greater or smaller measure, and because in the existing conditions of African life, an adequate health programme in the school activity is among the first responsibilities of the school and the teacher. In view of the absence of such a programme, in the existing system, the Commission insists upon the inclusion of the subject of hygiene and sanitation at an early stage in the curriculum, the need for constant care in observing the laws of health taught in the class-room, in the arrangement of the school building, toilet facilities, sewage disposal, water-supply, the training of every teacher in the principles of health and hygiene, and the making provision for the training of health workers such as visiting nurses and medical assistants.

Next to health comes the use of environment in respect to which the Commission found the schools, both governmental and missionary, to be sadly lacking. They consider the fundamental demands of the African masses to be those that

pertain to the cultivation of the soil and the improvement of the conditions of village life through simple handicrafts. To this end, they recommend that the methods and practice of gardening and the care and breeding of small farm animals should form a subject of instruction in the elementary grades of all schools, along with regular instruction and practice in handwork with native materials that may be used in the making of simple implements of industry, the little conveniences required in the home and articles for recreation and play. The work in both these subjects must of course be graded according to the age and skill of the pupils, and the proportion of time to be devoted to them determined by the advancement of the pupil and the condition of the country in which the school is located. Further, every school system must include at least one school with a department of technical or industrial education giving specialized training.

Home life is the next element of individual development. The primitive family of the African lacks many of the most vital requisites of a healthful home life. So the school must provide such instruction as will convince the pupil of the need of improvement of home arrangements for eating, playing, sleeping, clothing, &c. Here, the Commission point out, proper standards do not require the introduction of European furniture and European food, but rather the better use of existing facilities. Thoughtless imitation of European modes of living leads frequently to ludicrous and even harmful results. In the preparation of youth for home life, the Commission regard the training of the girls as even more important than that of the boys, and think that village life cannot be effectively or permanently improved without a distinct elevation of African womanhood, and to this end they recommend that all school systems should make a special effort to bring to their schools a full proportion of the girls of the community and make provision for instruction in the preparation of food, household comforts and the care and feeding of children and other occupations that are suited to women.

Along with the use of environment and preparation for home life, recreation or the use of leisure time constitutes an integral element of the individual's relation to the social and economic forces that surround him. It is not enough that people around be taught to work effectively; they must also be taught to play healthfully. This is all the more necessary in African education, for, as the Commission observe, sex indulgence and wild forms of emotion are all too general in the life of primitive peoples. The corrective lies in the substitution for these of pleasure activities in which the African can engage to the advantage of his physical morals and *morale*. To this end is recommended a careful study of the possibility of adopting native games and ceremonies of tribal life and modifying them, so as to eliminate the harmful and emphasize the helpful elements.

In the direct work of the schools, the language of instruction demands more careful consideration than any other problem of school-work, inasmuch as there is a confusing multiplicity of languages in Africa. Some of these languages are spoken by great masses of people, others by small numbers only; some are crude and inadequate to express the simplest ideas while others are quite fully developed, with a considerable vocabulary and capable of expressing

subtle and delicate shades of meaning. In spite of this multiplicity and variety, the report records its emphatic conviction (which it says is also shared by all representatives of civilization in Africa) that the Native people have a fundamental right to be educated as far as possible in the vernacular of their tribes, that there must be a *lingua franca* or *linguae francae* of African origin for intercommunication between neighbouring tribes and that the native teachers and leaders of the people must have an opportunity to learn one of the great European languages, so that they may have access to the wisdom and inspiration of civilization. It was a matter of great regret to the Commission to find the claims of the African tongues almost everywhere neglected in the past, though they were greatly reassured by the fact that the great colonial powers are beginning to give increased recognition to their native languages. But even as recently as December 1921, the Portuguese Government of Angola issued a decree setting forth their educational policy and programme of help to the educational work of the missions, which contains as one of its articles the following:

1. The use of the native languages is only allowed orally in religious instruction and as a help during the elementary period of teaching the Portuguese language.
2. The use of the native languages in written form is forbidden in the religious teaching of the missions, in their schools, or in any relations with the natives.
3. The oral employment of the language referred to in this article ... (is) only allowed transitorily and while the knowledge of Portuguese language is not general among the native.

This kind of prohibition, says the report, is a clear denial of a fundamental human right and contrary to the best educational methods of practically all civilized nations. The struggle for a proper recognition of the mother-tongue as an essential means of education and social intercourse is a part of the great movement for human liberty and cannot be suppressed without undesirable consequences. The definite recommendations of the Commission as regards the language problem are that the tribal languages should be used in the lower elementary standard, that a *lingua franca* of African origin should be used in the middle classes, if the area is occupied by large native groups speaking diverse languages, and that the languages of the European nation in control should be a subject of instruction in the upper classes. The Commission trust to time to show that some one of the native languages is so highly developed as to make possible the translation of the great works of civilization into that language.

Before considering other aspects of school work, it will be convenient to describe the idea of the Commission regarding a typical school system for an African province. According to them, the determining factors in this respect are the educational ends to be attained and the economic, social and educational conditions of the area where a school system is located. The educational ends are classified as (1) the training of the masses of the people, (2) the education of native leadership, and (3) the educational preparation of those who must pass the conventional tests required by professional schools. The local day school of the elementary grade is the pioneer station for the education of the masses and is also the basis of the whole educational system. This with its three or four years of instructional course is to be followed by the middle school with a course of about the same duration. Side by side with these two agencies there must exist various forms

of community extension activities to be described later. The secondary school is to be the all-important institution for the training of almost every type of leader required in Africa. It is to give training in teaching, trades, handicrafts, agriculture, medicine, and religious work. While the elementary and secondary schools form a system complete in itself so far as the ordinary needs of life are concerned, colleges of university grade are essential for the further development of native leadership. For, the Commission assert, "Only a broadminded leadership, with a thorough grasp of human development can understand the peculiar difficulties attending the rise of a primitive people; more and more leadership of the Africans is devolving upon the stray and capable native men and women, successful leadership requires the best lessons of sociology, economics and education; without such, misunderstanding will multiply and increase in perpetuity."

The Commission give definite directions as regards the school programmes of work, buildings, equipment, school personnel, activities, and educational supervision. Useful as these details are, we shall only notice two of them here inasmuch as they indicate the lines proposed to be followed in overcoming difficulties similar to those which have to be faced by the promoters of mass education in this country. An extensive programme of primary education to be carried on in thousands of villages and for millions of children, can do little good unless it provides for effective supervision and direction of the work of teaching when teachers with a very limited amount of training or none at all have to be put in charge of school. How is such supervision and direction to be secured? The English system of inspection, says the report, is universally known for its thoroughness. Its success in requiring accuracy in the conventional school activities has been notable. But it is a system least adapted to the case in question. The report quotes a passage from Dr. C. T. Loram's book on "The Education of the South African Native," which thus describes the unfortunate elements of the system: "Its inherent wrongness is that it puts teacher and inspector in a wrong relation to one another. There is a suspicion of espionage—especially when the so-called surprise visits are paid—which is hurtful to education. The objective of both teacher and inspector should be the same, and the inspector from his superior training, experience, and knowledge, should take the attitude of friend and adviser and not that of detective. The school conditions at an inspector's examination are not normal. Teachers and pupils are in an unnatural state of excitement; the inspector is hurried and perhaps out of sorts. The Native, being more emotional than the European, suffers greatly from the tense atmosphere. The time at the inspector's disposal is all too short for anything like a thorough examination. The result is that the teacher's work for a year is often inadequately estimated in a few minutes." The report therefore recommends the adoption of the system of supervisory teachers instituted for the American rural schools by the Jeanes Fund and gradually adopted by local school authorities. The middle school, located at the centre of an area containing several elementary village schools is to be the home station for the supervisory teachers, who go out for regular visitation among the out-station schools. These supervisors are qualified to enter sympathetically into the problems of rural education and initiate necessary educational changes by actual

demonstration in co-operation with the teacher and pupils, rather than by talks or memoranda. The visits may be of very brief duration or may extend over three, four or even six days. The visiting teacher tactfully joins in the work of the school and gradually makes changes in class room instruction. His influence extends from the teaching of the three R's to other activities, such as gardening, handicrafts, and the repairs and improvement of the school buildings and the environment. In the appointment of such teachers, says the report, lies the chief hope for the betterment of the schools in all Africa.

The community education activities must form a principal feature of a scheme of mass education, especially as they alone can help in overcoming apathy and distaste for education naturally felt by people long accustomed to ignorance and habits of mental indolence. For this purpose schools must be so organised that their activities extend out into the homes and institutions of the community. Thus, the school-building, order and neatness of the school yard must be such as to exert an influence on those who pass by. The teacher's home must become a part of the school plant, and teacher and pupils must work together in the garden, the play-ground, and the class-room. The regular class-room must be but one of the rooms where home-activities as well as the regular school subjects are taught. And so the school-home must merge into the village-homes and become a leaven for the transformation of the community. In rural community education, the "movable school" used by the Tuskegee Institute, can be very effectively utilized for carrying the influence of schools among the people. The following quotation will give an idea of what a movable school is. "The first step in planning for a movable school is to send out an agent to a neighbouring community to arrange for the coming of the school. This agent consults the local preacher, the teacher and other community leaders. The place is explained to them and they agree to begin the school on a certain day and to continue it for three, four or five days as circumstances permit. The time is selected with due regard for the weather and the condition of the crops. As the farm-homes in America are usually widely distributed, the distance varying from a half-mile to a mile apart, a farm home is selected as the centre for the demonstration. The farmer and his wife agree to lend every part of their home and their farm to be used as laboratory for the occasion. Notices are then sent to all the farmers situated at convenient distances from the scene of the school. At the agreed time the teachers arrive and the people assemble to share in the demonstrations to be made. The teachers have brought with them a variety of equipment, including whitewash, paints, brushes; a churn and milk-tester, farm-implements, first-aid equipment, and other articles that may be useful in explaining the simple needs of the home and the farm." When the school assembles the men, women and children begin to work under the direction of the teachers in various kinds of occupations, such as house-repairs, rebottoming chairs, making straw hats and bags, mugs out of old tins, sieves, fly-traps, etc., the material used being always such as is at hand or easily available. Then practical lessons are given in sawing wood, stacking potatoes, sanitary arrangements, preserving eggs, fruits, etc., choosing corn for seed, fertilizing the soil, etc. Such a system combined with welfare work for commercial and industrial workers, is recommended in the report for adoption both by Colonial Governments and missions to in-

fluence the life of the community and bring about a state of harmonious inter-relation between the schools and the community.

The whole report of the Africa Commission is full of suggestions that may prove of use in dealing with problems of mass education, as well as education of a specialized character. The chapters devoted to the detailed survey of educational conditions in the different parts of Africa contain always definite recommendations suited to those parts. If the Governments of these countries co-operate with the missions in carrying out the recommendations in the spirit in which they are made, the hope of a bright future for the African peoples will not fail to be realised.

V. B. NAIK.

CONTINENTAL LETTER.

BRESLAU, 25th OCTOBER.

YESTERDAY an Englishwoman, who happens to be here, said to me, "Since I have been in Germany I have not got rid of the feeling that we used to have in London during the war, when a Zeppelin raid appeared to be imminent: that there was something sinister and dreadful in the air." It is impossible to characterize the mental atmosphere in Central Europe more aptly. For since the passive resistance in the Ruhr district has had to be given up, the feverishness of public life has increased to an extent which is difficult to describe. The mark falls not daily but hourly and all prices rise accordingly, so that a humorist lately proposed to save all shopkeepers much work by the invention of a price automaton, for the retail trade, showing figures which would double themselves every two hours. This is grim humour. Not everybody is capable of it, it might be confessed, for the sufferings that arise out of the decay of the currency are too severe. I was at the baker's yesterday when the wife of a workman entered and asked how much the loaf of bread was to-day. "Eight milliards," the baker-woman replied. "Good God," the poor woman said and grew pale. "My husband has not brought home more than six milliards yesterday for the whole week." One can imagine the bitterness that results from these conditions. Communist revolts are frequent; plunderings occur in many places.

One party accuses the other of having caused this state of things—the more narrow-minded their outlook the more fanatical their language—and the government has a difficult stand between the extremists on both sides, the chauvinistic south which preaches active resistance (without arms!) against the French and the ultra-radical Saxon centre, that ignores the French altogether and seems to know one foe only, i.e., the *entrepreneurs* and industrialists. The French government however evidently look upon this imminent chaos with the satisfaction of a man who sees that his well-planned schemes are commencing to reach their realisation. As long as the passive resistance in the Ruhr district put obstacles in their way, they did not grow

tired of declaring to the whole world, that they would instantly enter into negotiations with the German government about the reparation question as soon as those ordinances that organised the passive resistance would be cancelled. They have been cancelled weeks ago, but nothing has altered. No step is taken towards any sort of agreement with the Reich. Why should it, considering the automatically growing difficulties which work for the French militarists in destroying the basis of public as well as private life in Germany? When the German *chargé d'affaires* lately reminded M. Poincaré of his promise that as soon as passive resistance would disappear he would enter into negotiations with Germany and that these negotiations were absolutely necessary because Germany from the financial point of view was in the abyss already, the French Premier answered with a kind of cold sneer, that he considered this very remark that Germany was unable to fulfil her obligations as part of that passive resistance which ought to be given up first. This of course only means "adding insult to injury".

Meanwhile the French plan of separating the Rhineland from the Reich is more or less successfully inaugurated. This cannot be achieved, it is true, in the old-fashioned and immoral way of open annexation. The world would take exception to this method. Better ones have been invented, which the French militarists apply with virtuosity. An example of this happened two years ago already some miles from here in Upper Silesia. There the first measure of the French occupation troops consisted in abolishing the police. The second consisted in general disarmament. When in such way no means of protecting oneself was left to the population a gang of the worst hooligans imaginable was let loose on the unfortunate inhabitants who under cover of political rebellion ransacked, tortured and murdered a great number of those people who were known as the representatives of German patriotism. The French soldiers and officers stood smiling by when these misdeeds and murders were perpetrated. That was the way to curb the spirit of the population.

In the Rhineland things take a similar turn at present. There is, it is true, no antagonism there between two nationalities with different languages as it was more or less artificially created in Upper Silesia, but there is in the Rhineland a certain set of people mostly among the house-owners and shopkeepers who feel particularly dissatisfied with the present miserable conditions of life. Among these the French make converts. One can imagine after all that has happened what sort of men they might be to desert their country at this moment. Their leaders are in fact without exception disreputable persons, often of a description that no decent person would like to be seen in their company. They are however encouraged by the French, getting money, arms and promises from them. For their meetings the French military,

provides halls, they get extra trains on the railways. They are to play the role which the Polish "rebels" played in Upper Silesia. For this purpose they must be enabled to intimidate the population. This was done in Düsseldorf lately, the most important of the towns occupied by the French and Belgians, in a quite exemplary way. The "Separatists" who met there, being allowed to bear arms whereas everybody else has to atone for the possession of any kind of weapon with the heaviest punishments, attacked the regular police and killed one of them, wounding several others. Thereupon the police attacked the "Separatists". That was the moment the French military waited for. Instantly French troops overwhelmed the German police, disarmed them and delivered them up to the "Separatists", who instantly killed several of the unfortunate men in the most cruel and barbaric way while the French were looking on. It is the Upper Silesian system. A handful of traitors and ruffians is to appear in the eyes of the population as sacrosanct because they enjoy the unrestricted protection of the occupation authorities. The inhabitants are in this way to be impressed with the feeling of their own absolute impotence in order to curb their spirit. The Düsseldorf case has been quickly followed by happenings of greater political importance: in a number of Rhenish towns the "Rhenish Republic" has been declared.

If one knows how despised the inferior sort of people who lend themselves to such a kind of high treason are in their own country, one runs the risk to underrate the danger that consists in the French zeal of using the most threadbare pretexts to reach their aim. The population however is certainly not in the dark about the perils that threaten it in this way from French imperialism. That is why in almost all places unarmed masses have thrown themselves upon the well-armed "Separatists" who had occupied the public buildings and centres of the administration and chased them out. In many cases this has been done to a great extent by working men as in Aachen often it has cost them heavy sacrifices, in some places the rage of the masses against the traitors who so meanly united with the torturers of the nation has been so tremendous that the "Separatists" have been literally torn to pieces by the crowd. In other towns they are still being protected by the French or Belgian authorities, a scheme which has evidently not been possible everywhere. There can be no doubt, however, that this is only the first act of a sinister drama. For how could M. Poincaré put up with such an end of his plans? He will soon come to the conclusion that in spite of all hunger and privations the Rhenish population is not starved nearly enough, that its vitality is still much too great, also that there are still too many people at large who had better ponder over the benefits of French civilisation in a prison-cell, he will find in short, that the French have up to now by their extreme humanity been prevented from applying those more severe

methods which alone are able to convert the population and he will not hesitate to apply them. Meanwhile a new endeavour has been made to tear a limb out of the living body of the Reich in declaring the Palatinate an autonomous state. This has been done by the official representative of the "Rhineland Commission." This Commission contains also an English member. What does he say to it? There are animals which, when endangered, have the curious but effective habit to sham dead. This is about the attitude of the British statesmen at present. The aforesaid animals, it is true, are usually not reckoned among the noblest in the animal kingdom.

LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, OCTOBER 25.

COLONEL WEDGWOOD, last Friday night, made an important reference to the Imperial Conference in the course of an interesting lecture, delivered under the auspices of the Independent Labour Party, with Mr. John Scurr in the chair, on "England and India under a Labour Government", in the course of which he said that, whilst there were undoubted risks in making further constitutional advances in India, there were graver risks in standing still, and that if the Labour Party were to be hesitant in taking risks, they might just as well dub themselves Conservatives right away. He expressed his gladness that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the nominative representative of India at the Conference, was making certain proposals which would, if carried into effect, as was their purpose, at least, cause an inquiry to be made into the question of the actual status of Indians overseas in their relationship to Imperial citizenship. After the Cabinet decisions on Kenya, he did not envy the position of any Indian at the Conference. Nevertheless, he added, "It is possible that this might rectify the position created by Kenya. In any case it will give the Empire time to reflect on the vital question as to whether a Commonwealth can be created by the establishment of two different castes of citizens."

The great debate in the Conference was opened yesterday morning, and has been further postponed until Monday next, owing to Mr. Baldwin's political engagements. Mainly because the Dominion representatives have not yet had the opportunity of expressing their views on the subject as opened out by the spokesmen on behalf of India, it was decided that the proceedings should not yet be published, but only a bald official summary issued to the press. This reads as follows:—"The Imperial Conference, with the Prime Minister presiding, discussed yesterday morning the position of British Indians in other parts of the British Empire. The subject was introduced by Lord Peel, Secretary of State for India, who as head of the Indian delegation, gave

a comprehensive review of the present position. His address was followed by a full presentation of the Indian case by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Maharaja of Alwar. The discussion is to be continued when the Conference holds another meeting on Monday next week. It is intended at a later date to publish the greater portion of the speeches made yesterday, but the Conference took the view that it would be better to defer publication until statements had been made on behalf of the other Governments represented and the discussion had been completed. The Maharaja of Alwar, at the close of his speech, read the following message from his Order:—"Had the Chamber been sitting at this time, we may safely assume that Indian Princes would have desired to send a message to this Conference in view of the important question of Indians overseas, including Indian States' subjects who are affected, especially in Kenya. But as the Chamber is not sitting, the princes wish me (Maharaja of Bikaner) to ask you, as their representative, to convey a cordial message of friendship and good-will from the Princes and States of India to His Majesty's Government, to the British nation, to the Dominions and Colonies, and their distinguished representatives at the Imperial Conference, with whom the Princes are united by common ties of loyalty to His Imperial Majesty, the King-Emperor. With this they cable an expression of their hope that the united efforts of all concerned at the Conference will yield some satisfactory result, drawing closely together into bonds of good fellowship the great comity of nations forming the British Empire, to which the Princes and States are firmly attached, and securing the Indians, including the subjects of Indian States, an honoured position in all parts of the Empire in keeping with India's rightful place in the British Commonwealth and in conformity with the assiduous and constant efforts of His Excellency the Viceroy and the Government of India."

An interesting judgment was delivered during the last week by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on a matter in dispute between the Dominion Government of Canada and the Government of British Columbia. It appears that the British Columbia Legislature passed certain resolutions in favour of the exclusion of Japanese and Chinese from employment under contracts made by virtue of a certain provincial statute. The local Government thereupon passed Orders in Council carrying into effect the resolutions of the British Columbian Legislature, and providing that no Chinese or Japanese should be employed in public works carried out under the provisions of the local statute. In 1921, the Provincial Legislature passed legislation purporting to validate the Orders in Council, with retrospective effect. The Dominion Government intervened, and asked the Supreme Court of Canada for a declaration that the statute in question was

contrary to the provisions of the Japanese Treaty Act and also in conflict with the British North America Act. This the Supreme Court did, and the matter thereupon came up for decision, upon appeal by the Provincial Government, to the Privy Council. In a long and learned judgment of Lord Haldane, the other judges being Lords Buckmaster, Atkinson, Shaw and Sumner, the Judicial Committee dismissed the appeal and upheld the decision of the Canadian Supreme Court. So British Columbia will have to try again. Perhaps she may console herself—if she does not again contravene the provisions of the British North America Act—by trying to make her statute applicable to Asiatic British subjects.

In the Imperial Economic Conference, the other day, the question of communications within the Empire was discussed at length. On the subject of India's wireless policy and general attitude on communications, Mr. Innes is reported to have said that what the Government of India chiefly desired, since so much of Indian business was done by cable, was regularity of mails rather than increased speed, in view of the increased cost of the latter. As regards the cable service, he did not think that India had much to complain of at present. The Indian postal and telegraph department was constantly examining such questions as the possibility of reductions in rates, of week-end services, daily letter telegrams, since introduced, and so forth, and the general conclusion was that with the present system, and with the prospect of an Indian wireless company, which was now being considered, Indian needs were adequately met for some time to come. As regards wireless, they had always taken the view that if possible it should be entrusted to private enterprise, naturally imposing the most careful safeguards upon it. He understood that the Government of India were now actually considering the question of placing a contract with a bona fide Indian wireless company to start a big wireless station.

Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for the Air, also addressed the Economic Conference on the subject of Imperial air-mails. Commander Burney, he said, had been working out a scheme for the development of a commercial airship service to India. The first object was to produce a machine that could get to India in one hundred flying hours. The next stage would be to develop a weekly service with more than one machine to India, and the third stage would be to convert that weekly service into a bi-weekly service and eventually to have six large airships, of perhaps five million cubic feet, actually in commission. The Government assistance from here would be based upon the successful accomplishment of each of these stages. If the scheme were practicable, it would shorten the mail-time for India from 14½ days to about five days. There did not seem to be any insuperable difficulty.

MISCELLANEA.

BOYCOTT OF THE "WHITE" EMPIRE EXHIBITION.

PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU'S SPEECH.

On 27th October Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru made the following speech in the United Provinces Legislative Council on Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra's resolution re non participation in the Empire Exhibition by way of protest against the Kenya decision:—

"I give my cordial support to the resolution of Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra. Why is it that we feel the Kenya decision so bitterly? Read the history of India, which is one, alas, of a few victories and needless humiliations. We suffer under numerous disabilities in our own country. How is it then that we feel the indignity heaped upon us in another part of the Empire much more keenly than those under which we are labouring in our own. The reason is an obvious one. Whatever our difficulties in our own country, we are here at any rate fighting on our own soil and with the assistance of our countrymen, whose strength will surely in the end prove irresistible to win our rights, but the case with our countrymen across the seas is different. Their numbers are small and they depend for their existence, for their honour, entirely on the support of England. We could understand the position of Indians in the Colonies. It is indeed sad, Sir, to reflect that in South Africa, where one of the causes for going to war with the Boers was stated to be the humiliating treatment of Indians by the Government of President Kruger, our position to-day is worse than even what it was during the days of the Southern Boer War and so great a friend of India and so staunch a Liberal as Lord Morley said to a deputation that waited upon him in connection with the rights of Indians in that Colony, that it was indeed anomalous that the British Government should be in a better position to press the claims of Indians in foreign countries than in those over which its own flag flies.

The theory advanced for the neutrality of England was that the countries complained of were fully self-governed and that it could not under the constitution take away from those countries with one hand what it gave them with the other. But the case with regard to East Africa is different. East Africa is directly under the Crown. It is governed from the seat of the Empire. No law can be enforced there which does not secure the approval of the authorities in England. At the Imperial Conference of 1921, after a great deal of discussion and with the support of the late Secretary of State, for which the whole of India is immensely grateful, a resolution was passed which made us feel for the time being that our position, at least in those parts of the Empire which were directly under England, was secure. That resolution did not, it is true, relate directly to the colonies, but everybody present at the Conference knew that the representatives of the British Government who were asking the colonies to agree to confer rights of citizenship on Indians in the Dominions would themselves abide by the pledges, implicit and explicit, given by them during the last half a century and more. It is not merely sad, Sir, but bitter and tragic that the very power which supported us at the Imperial Conference of 1921, and on which we have depended so far, has forsaken us, and, on the first occasion which presented itself to that power to show its genuineness and to set an example to the other constituent members of the Empire, it has quietly abandoned the principle which was at stake. And why was this shameful betrayal agreed to? It is an open secret, Sir, that the white colonist in East Africa threatened to use force in case Indians were placed on an equality with them. I am not using, Sir, my imagination, for which Orientals are famous; I am speaking of hard facts. Any Indian who has had any opportunity of talking to the responsible authorities there in connection with this question will testify that the one question that was insistently put to him

was, what India would do in case the decision went against it. And what does this mean in plain English? I confess it appears to me to mean, what is the sanction behind all the agitation in India? What are the means that India will use to compel England to bow to her wishes? Now, if England wishes to ask her whether we are in the same position as the other Dominions to use brute naked force, I must confess that we are unfortunately the same position. We are not in a position to hold out threats to the not in British Empire in the way in which a handful of colonists can East Africa. But is that, after all the vaunted declarations of right and truth and justice made for five years during the European War, the final sanction on which the British Empire rests? It is for England to make her decision. We make no empty threats, indeed we cannot hold out any threats, for it is not in our power to use threats, but we hope that even those who are wedded to force, even those who laugh at all protests that are not backed up by force, will realize that it is the thoughts of men that ultimately shake even the destinies of empires based for the moment on irresistible force. "British Empire," Sir, is a nomenclature that is bad enough for a composite empire. Anyone with an Imperial imagination would suggest the name "Indo-British Empire" or better still "Indo-British Commonwealth" for an empire which consists of such diverse races; but we refuse to be helots willingly in a Boer Empire. I say Boer Empire because it is clear as the noonday sun that the decision in the matter of East Africa has been dictated by South Africa. General Smuts did not openly head the deputation of the East Africans; but anyone who is in touch with public affairs knows that the East Africans had his moral support and that counted for not a little in the decision which the British Government arrived at.

The question, therefore, Sir, before us is one of self-respect it is one of giving all the moral support that we can to those who are unable to defend themselves; and it is also, Sir, one of vindicating our position before the whole world; for not only has our position in the Empire deteriorated, but what is being done in the Empire is not merely certain to be followed but is actually being followed in other countries where there are Indians. The failure of the British Government to improve our position in South Africa led to disabilities being imposed upon us in Portuguese Africa. But disabilities are being imposed on Indians even in the free United States. How can Britain with a mote in her own eye complain of the beam in the eye of another power.

Now, Sir, the argument that has been brought against our withdrawal from participation in the Exhibition is that a great deal of money has been spent on the Exhibition and that we decided to participate in it for our good and not for that of East Africa or the British Empire. We voted the money certainly in the hope, though not under the assurance, that some economic advantage will result to this country. But let us suppose that our expectations were not far from being realized, for I am willing that all these advantages should be foregone. We happily have not been a nation of shopkeepers. We refuse to bury ourselves in the heaps of gold and silver. We do not care for demonstrations only. But this is the only means in our power of exhibiting our feelings to the Empire, of telling the Empire that whatever gain we might have derived by joining the Exhibition, we refuse to be willing partners in the glorification of an Empire in which we are not treated on equal terms. The next argument and the only one that I have urged in this connection is that other provinces have decided to continue to participate in the Exhibition. Let us suppose that we are in a minority. Instances have happened in this Council when movers and supporters of resolutions have been in a minority. But have we given up our cause for fear of being in a minority? Even the Chief Secretary has fairness to acknowledge that we have never given up the cause which we believe to be right and the testimony from such quarter, I believe, is valuable indeed. We are not afraid of being in a minority. Why need we care what other Provinces are doing? It may be that merchants who have been induced to join the Exhibition will suffer some loss in case we reverse our

previous decision. If necessary, I am perfectly willing that they should be compensated. That is a proposition to which, I am sure, the Hon'ble the Finance Member will demur; but considering the lakhs and lakhs that have been wasted on unfruitful projects in the past, I wonder whether Government will have the courage to tell us that it will oppose our proposal because it might result in an extra expenditure of 2 or 3 lakhs. It is true that the Secretary is helping Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in the Imperial Conference now. I wish he would have helped Indians before instead of helping Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to put forward the case for India and being zealous in our cause now. It is like weeping over the death of a man whom you have sent to an untimely grave. I am glad, however, that the Secretary of State is even now willing to do something to improve the position of Indians in Kenya and to repair the almost irreparable mistake that has been committed. But for the moment we cannot forget that the authorities in England, including the Secretary of State, have accepted a decision which means a reversal of the pledges explicitly given to us and for reasons which do little credit either to the honour or to the dignity of these bodies. So it is a question pre-eminently of honour. I am willing to recognise that there may be differences of opinion on this question, but I deeply regret that any speaker here should have chosen to cast aspersions on others or to speak in a tone of flippancy. Our only object on the present occasion is to demonstrate the seriousness of the grievance which all Indians feel, to show that we are all, irrespective of distinctions of politics, united on this question. We wish to make it clear to the British Government that even those who stood by it during the two or three troublous years in the immediate past, who had undertaken in the midst of obloquy to work the reforms and who are not fond of spectacular demonstrations, have found themselves compelled to take this step to dissociating themselves from a movement which is intended to strengthen and glorify the Empire. We were standing on an island. We had the stormy waters raging round us. Suddenly we find that the waters have swept over the island and left it permanently submerged. If you destroy our hopes you cannot expect us to be grateful to you, and although you may repair partially your mistake in future, the legacy of the past will, I am afraid, to a certain extent remain.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

We give below extracts from a private letter addressed to Mr. Sastri by a prominent Australian on Dr. Sapru's performance at the Imperial Conference. His endorsement of the boycott proposal in the event of the Imperial Conference failing to reach a satisfactory solution of the question, is of immense value to us here.

I suppose you would like to know how things went yesterday morning (24th Oct.) Well, I will tell you. Dr. Sapru excelled himself, he spoke frankly, clearly and impressively. He held nothing back; he placed before the Conference what was the condition in India to-day, the seriousness of the whole position and what it meant to India and the Empire that justice should be done by India in her moderate and fair request that Great Britain and the Dominions should be true to the pledges given in 1921. He was ably supported by Viscount Peel, and also, I am pleased to relate, by Lord Curzon and the Duke of Devonshire. After Dr. Sapru sat down, Lord Peel threw him across the table a scrap of paper on which he had written in pencil: "you have made a great impression." At the finish the various Prime Ministers came round and shook hands with him and congratulated him; even General Smuts came up and told him that he "desired to help him." However I always take what Smuts says with "a grain of salt." He may be honest and I have no doubt he is, but to me he always appears to have much of the old Boer "slimness." Bruce I am afraid is still "sitting on a rail," apparently afraid to commit himself

in any way. However here again I may be mistaken. In any case we will see what happens on Monday. The opinion of the Ministers (Massey, Mackenzie King, Warren, Mulcahy) is I think honestly in favour of doing the straight and just thing by India. There is one thing however I do not like. I do not like this delay until Monday. I would have preferred to see the whole thing settled yesterday, for I know the danger of delays: how first insinuations are thrown out over one shoulder and then over the other until finally nothing is done and someone brings forward a resolution to delay matters as the time is not opportune. You know perfectly well what happened in Australia after your brilliant speech in the Queen's Hall at the Federal Parliament. If Hughes had done the straight thing, which he could easily have done at the time, half the difficulties would have been over. Instead of that he hedged and said "the time is not opportune." The time is always opportune for justice. There is no such thing as the time being inopportune for justice. Should Sapru fail, and God grant he may not, such failure will not be due to him or the splendid work of his able assistant Prof. Rushbrook Williams.

Should he fail, then I certainly think he would be quite justified in withdrawing from the Conference and India from the Empire Exhibition—something must then be done to bring home to the mind of the average Britisher that India is in deadly earnest and honestly, I often think that the only way to do it is by bringing economic pressure to bear upon Great Britain and the Dominions. It is not a course that anyone would advise without very grave and weighty consideration, but a complete boycott, through it would hurt India, would also drive into the mentality of the Britisher that all is not well in India. The average Britisher honestly desires to be fair and straight and to do the right thing, but he does not know anything about India and he cares less. He shrugs his shoulders and says, "Oh, that may be all as you say," but what are these people complaining about? Have not we governed them well for years? Is it not enough for them to consider themselves members of the Empire? That must mean something to them. What more do they want? If he was in India's position he would very likely be one of the first to kick against the present state of affairs and the failure to be true to our pledges of 1921, but he is not vitally affected and therefore he does not worry and he does not see why anyone else should either. If you tell him that the course we Britishers are taking is tending towards the disruption of the Empire he simply smiles and says, "Oh, don't talk rot. These fellows will never unite, in any case. They are all at sixes and sevens and even if they should unite it will only mean their own undoing. Therefore, why worry about it?"

Whatever is the outcome of this Conference, if anything is done it will have to be done now and not hung up for 3 or 4 years, which would simply mean, nothing would be done in the end. India to-day is as loyal to the Throne as she has ever been. There is absolutely no disloyalty against the Sovereign, but there is a great and growing distrust against the Empire and England can only recover her position by being absolutely true to her pledges. There is no other course. It is not a question of being true merely to India, it is one of being true also to ourselves. India desires, India longs to remain within the Empire. She knows perfectly well what a break from the Empire would mean, but she says, and quite naturally so I think, "Rather let me have that break and chaos than be as I am." The general opinion here and also in many centres in India is that the people of India as a whole are quite indifferent as to the status of British Indian subjects within the Empire. In that opinion I think even many of the best informed minds are in error. There is a great and growing feeling of national pride developing throughout India. It is well that the Westerners should remember that.

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