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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	253
ARTICLES :—	
Geneva and Shanghai	255
Indians Abroad. By J. B. Sen.	256
Nature and Man—V. By Dr. H. C. E. Zacharias.	258
A LETTER FROM LONDON	260
REVIEW :—	
Morley and Minto. Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri.	261
MISCELLANEA :—	
Mr. Chaman Lal at Geneva.	263

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Colour Bar Bill

THE Colour Bar Bill passed its third reading in the House of Assembly by a narrow majority (44 to 31) on the 25th ulto. and it is believed that it will be rejected by the Senate in which, being still composed as it was when Gen. Smuts held office, the South African Party commands a majority. Indians need not exult over the difficulties which the Hertzog Government has to face in giving effect to this first measure of racial segregation to which policy it pins its faith. For on the colour bar the South African party holds views which are in substance identical with those held by the Nationalist and Labour parties. The differences that have so far been revealed between them relate solely to method and not at all to principle. Indeed, it is not quite clear why Gen. Smuts, whose suggestion to the effect that the Bill should be redrafted so as to eliminate the specific mention of Asiatics and natives therefrom has already been adopted, should now continue to offer opposition. His point all along has been that a disqualification from entering into skilled employment should be imposed upon Asiatics only by practice and implication, and this is precisely the line that the Bill has now taken. The ground of opposition that is now put forward is that the Select Committee, to which the Bill was referred, refused to hear the representations of the communities which the Bill seeks to exclude from certain occupations. That however is a poor ground on which to found opposition, when on matters of policy and principle there

is identity of opinion in all the quarters of the Legislature. The fact seems to be that General Smuts's opposition is inspired by considerations extraneous to the merits of the measure, and we in India must not rejoice overmuch at the turn events are taking. We must set ourselves in opposition to all unjust exclusions, whether effected by the method advocated by Gen. Hertzog or that by Gen. Smuts (if indeed there is now a difference even of method between them). The overthrow of all artificial barriers is what we aim at, and we can have the support of no political party among the Whites in that aim.

* * *

Indian Leadership. WE are reprinting to-day the speech made by Mr. Chaman Lal at the International Labour Conference on May 30th: a speech, dotting the i's and stroking the t's of the points made by Mr. Joshi on the 28th. Mr. Joshi, in raising for the first time the questions of labour conditions in what the I. L. O. technically classes as "special countries" (i. e. colonies, protectorates and mandated territories) deserves to be congratulated by all, who can look beyond the immediate needs of the moment. For if one thing is certain, it is, that Labour with a high standard of life will never be allowed to maintain that standard, as long as capitalists can start in "special countries" industries with labour on a lower standard. The far-reaching consequences of that tendency of capitalism are illustrated by the events in China, to which we refer more particularly in our leader. But the phenomenon is universal, and will soon even hit us here inside India, when the *benevolent* autocracies of "Princely India" will begin to be made the venue for over-working and under-paying labour in a way made impossible in British India. But quite apart from such considerations of a more narrow character, we are indeed glad to find that representatives of Indian Labour should now be voicing the grievances of the otherwise dumb millions of Africa. This is indeed a case of "Workers of the World uniting" and of the mantle of non-white leadership, basely repudiated by Japan, falling on India. Well done, India!

* * *

Skeen Committee. THE press communique of the Government of India, which announces the appointment of the Skeen Committee, refers to the undertaking given by the Home Member on March 14th during the discussion on the budget. He said:

"In that connection I should like to say that the Government are quite prepared to carry out the offer which I made on behalf of the Government in the recent debate on the Indian Sandhurst question. I do not know whether the House intended to reject it or not, but I do not think they accepted it. The Government of India consider that the time has come when we could with advantage appoint a Committee to consider the means of attracting Indian youths of good educational qualifications to a military career as King's commissioned officers and to consider also the best means of giving them military education."

The debate on the Indian Sandhurst question to which reference is made was initiated by Mr. Venkatapathi Raju, who moved that 'early steps be taken for starting a well equipped Military College in a suitable locality to train Indians for the commissioned ranks in the Indian Army Service and the necessary amount be sanctioned to start the preliminary work.' His proposal was not acceptable to Government and therefore the Home Member proposed by way of amendment the following in the place of Mr. Raju's resolution: "That a Committee including Indian Members of the Legislature be immediately appointed to investigate and report: (a) whether it is not practicable to establish a military college in India to train Indian officers for the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army; (b) if so, how soon should the scheme be initiated and what steps should be taken to carry it out; and (c) whether if a Military College is established in India it should supersede or be supplemented by Sandhurst and Woolwich so far as the training of Indian officers is concerned."

The Home Member explained that notice of this amendment had been given by Sir Sivaswami Aiyar, but as the latter had changed his mind, he himself had adopted it. That, however, did not win the House to his side; for they were not prepared to entertain any doubt about the need or practicability of a Military College. They therefore accepted Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's amendment to the Home Member's proposal—to substitute in (a) 'what steps should be taken' for 'whether it is not practicable,' to omit (b) altogether and to add a new clause 'to advise at what rate Indianisation of the Army shall be accelerated for the purpose of attracting educated Indians to a military career.' The present Committee thus falls far short of what the Assembly asked, and that explains the lack of public enthusiasm for it. Considering all this, we doubt very much whether Sir Sivaswami Aiyar and Mr. Jinnab, whose names have been mentioned in this connection, will think it worth their while to serve on it.

* * *

The Poona Post and R. M. S. Union is to be congratulated on the substantial work it turned out during the year 1924. Its membership and finances improved considerably and many of the local and general grievances ventilated by it were redressed. These had been in existence for a number of years and but for an organised attempt on the part of the

men there is little doubt that these grievances would have remained unremedied. The Union is fortunate in having Mr. N. C. Kelkar as its President, Mr. S. G. Vaze of the Servant of India Society as Vice-President and Mr. N. V. Bhande, B. A., LL.B., as Hon. Secretary. The report bears eloquent testimony to the invaluable help rendered to the Union by these outside sympathisers, particularly to the services of Mr. Bhande, who has been also editing and publishing its monthly 'Circular.' It is gratifying to learn that the managing committee and the general body met quite frequently, the latter no less than 25 times, of which on one occasion only was there want of quorum. Among the subsidiary activities of the Union was the attempt to start a mutual benefit fund. It did not materialise last year, but we hope the attempt will be renewed this year. The example of this Union deserves to be widely followed.

* * *

WHEN German East Africa had not yet emerged into the blissful light of a Mandated Territory under British administration, the wicked German Government there had established the Amani Institute for dealing with every phase of agricultural and horticultural research. As we gather from the June issue of the *Church Missionary Review*, a recommendation is now (six years after "peace") afoot to—reopen this Institution! Which daring and original wisdom, in the words of the C. M. R. "may go far to accomplish for Tropical Africa what Trinidad in its College of Tropical Agriculture is attempting for the West Indies." And still there are obtuse people who ask, whether East Africa has really gained so very much by having been taken out of the hands of German Colonial incompetence. Colonizers, my dear Sir, are born, not made; and they never are born except as Anglo-Saxons.

* * *

A humble hero—AMONG the recipients of the Birthday honours in England is a humble individual whose remarkable humanitarian services ought to be widely known. Mr. B. W. Tibble is only a poor artisan, but during the last five and a half years he has given 51 pints of his blood to 51 patients of the London Hospital and has saved their lives. He is a non-smoker and teetotaler and though there is a fee of five guineas attached to each operation he has always refused it. To a representative of a London paper he said. "It always makes me feel a little queer for a week, but I have never stayed at home a day after any of the transfusions. I once had three calls in a fortnight and responded to two of them, but I was afraid it might be dangerous if I gave, the third pint." In appreciation of these "services rendered" the London Hospital authorities have appointed him a life governor of the institution, which appointment for this reason is said to be a very rare honour. And who will doubt that it was well deserved?

* * *

GENEVA AND SHANGHAI.

THE Seventh Session of the International Labour Conference at Geneva has once more offered the melancholy spectacle of all the Governments of the world "explaining" why exactly they had not yet ratified the Eight Hour Convention passed by them in 1919, when the good resolutions of war time had not yet evaporated. These excuses and "explanations" have been made with astonishing monotony year after year, since 1920. All Government delegates invariably assure the Conference that the 8-Hour Day is "practically" the rule already in their own country: but there is always a "but" following that assurance. Most Continental delegates declare, that, much as their own country would love to ratify the Washington Convention, they unfortunately cannot do so, unless their competitors do the same: and the latter of course retaliate by saying that they of course would ratify at once, but that they cannot move alone. As a matter of fact, not a single Government delegate has ever given the true reason for non-ratification, which is that the capitalists of no country are prepared to bind their hands so as to make it impossible for them to go back on the Eight-Hour Day, even where it prevails at present. Now the Eight Hour Day is admittedly the basis of all other legislation for the amelioration of the Workers' lot: and if that is not guaranteed, all else becomes illusory.

It is notorious, how much the *International Labour Organization* stinks in the nostrils of capitalists, being the main bulwark that Labour has got against the unlimited exploitation which alone satisfies capitalism the world over. The French Workers' delegate, Mr. Jouhaux, therefore actually suggested that this conspiracy of non-ratification of the Washington Eight Hour Day Convention was a subtle plan on the part of Capital, so to disgust Labour with the futility of the I. L. O., as to make them indifferent to its extinction—the one goal devoutly wished for by all "Big Business." If such is the state of affairs in Western countries, where Labour is powerfully organized, what can be expected in lands where Western industrialism is of but recent introduction? At the meeting of May 28th the Japanese Workers' delegate, Mr. Suzuki, led off by showing that not only had the long promised "Trade Union Bill" not yet been introduced (and that all labour organization therefore was still illegal), but that the Japanese Government had actually forged a new weapon for stifling the Labour movement by promulgating a new "Public Peace and Safety Act", ostensibly designed to meet "communistic intrigues to undermine the foundations of the national existence", as Mr. Mayeda for the Japanese Government later explained. Another chicanery of the same Government was exposed by Mr. Suzuki: viz. that whilst the Versailles Treaty obliged each Member of the I. L. O. to submit each Convention to the "competent national authority", whereby clearly the national legislature was meant, Japan got round this provision by maintaining that in that country not

the Diet, but the Privy Council was "the competent authority" of the letter of the law! Mr. Suzuki of course, as all workers, clamoured for the Eight Hour Day: meanwhile Japan has not yet ratified even the 60 Hour Week, allowed to it under the Washington Convention.

Mr. Joshi, our Indian Workers' delegate (whose speech we published verbatim in our issue of the 18th ult.) was not slow to follow up this indictment of Japan, which not merely exploits inhumanly its own workers, but by competition depresses the workers' lot even of other countries, such as India, which happen to have ratified the Washington Convention. In this the Indian Employers' delegate (Sir Thomas Smith) was at one with Mr. Joshi; and Mr. Mayeda of course had no reply to make, though he spoke at length. Mr. Mayeda blandly denied that Japanese mills were competing with Indian cotton mills and stated that "if the export of Indian cotton manufactures into China had decreased in recent years, this was due not to Japanese competition, but rather to the enormous development of the spinning industry in China." This is true, as far as it goes, but it is not the whole truth. For if Chinese competition is bad for India, the fact must be borne in mind that e. g. in Shanghai out of 22 cotton mills only 12, with a total of 264,326 spindles, are Chinese, whilst 5, with 245,879 spindles, are British, and 5 with 313,928 spindles, Japanese—figures we are taking from the *China Year Book* for 1921/2. As regards the Shanghai mill industry therefore, over two thirds of it is in foreign hands, Japanese capitalists owning as much as 40% of the total. Now as for the utterly inhuman exploitation of labour that is going on in these mills in China, there is perfect unanimity of testimony: even the *Japan Year Book* admitting that conditions "are as bad there as they were in Japan 25 years ago," whilst Dame Adelaide Anderson's recent report on women's and children's conditions in the Shanghai mills is still fresh in the memory of all. Now these Shanghai horrors are not merely, as to 68%, carried on for the benefit of foreigners: they are carried on in what poses as a "model settlement", the extra-territorial rights of which are guarded by an "international" police force, largely composed of Indian ex-army men and entirely controlled by British officers.

The London *Times*, we see, is thundering against the nefarious Bolsheviks, whose hidden hand it discovers behind all the present uprising in China against foreign exploitation. This revolt started however in a strike: it started in a Japanese mill in Tsingtao and spread to Japanese mills in Shanghai; and one must be peculiarly deficient in commonsense, not to mention bowels of compassion, if, knowing the labour conditions there, one's sympathies go not wholeheartedly out to the strikers who have been making an endeavour to improve their almost incredible lot. Now we do not suggest for one moment that conditions in foreign mills are worse in China, than in Chinese mills. On the contrary, human nature being what it is, imitators of foreign

ways usually are careful to leave out of their imitation the good points in the foreign ways. But again, that being so, it is only natural that Chinese capitalists should take with both hands any opportunity which promises to conduct the lightning of wrath that should fall on their own heads on to the pates of others; and that Chinese profiteers should now turn Chinese patrioteers and lay all the blame at the door of foreign capitalists. Not that they would initiate so dangerous a policy: but once started by others, they certainly would take to it, to save their own skins.

And if the strike was economic and started by workers, its ruthless military suppression by foreign troops in an extra-territorial Settlement surely was enough to inflame the already exasperated intelligentsia of China, which cannot be expected to put up indefinitely with foreign *imperia in imperio*, meant to perpetuate the domination of foreigners over an impotent China, deemed by these same foreigners to be but a *corpus vile* for exploitation. Such being the actual position in China, is there any need to search for the "hidden hand" of England's archenemy, in order to explain the flare-up of Young China's revolt? Russia naturally fishes in troubled waters; we do not for a moment say, that the Soviet Government is not heart and soul in this revolt—what else can be expected? But Bolshevism does not arise out of nothing: unless there is a soil prepared by misery and oppression, it dies of inanition—witness the Communist party of Great Britain, which even to-day cannot muster more than a measly 5000 adherents. And here we come back to the International Labour Organisation. If only self-complacent England had ratified the Washington Convention in 1920, all other great Western industrial countries would have ratified it too: and if they, Japan and China too could not have stood out. Instead of which, England, the foremost industrial country in the world, has gone on quibbling about ratifying and has thus set this other sort of example, which every body else has been only too keen to follow. As a consequence Japan is almost as bad industrially still as in pre-Genevan days; and instead of forcing China to observe at least a 60-hour week, British and Japanese forces are now trying to compel her, to allow foreign capitalists to go on exploiting her children to work at a penny a day.

We venture to prophesy that the war, that has now practically broken out between China on the one hand and Japan and Britain on the other, will prove a good deal bigger thing than a mere strike riot or two. But if so, let us be quite clear that England cannot get out of her own, palmary, responsibility by passing it on to Russian Bolshevism. For six long years England has refused to ratify, what she pledged herself to in 1918 at Washington—viz. to lay the foundation to humane conditions of labour the world over. She has deliberately sown the wind—she is reaping some of the whirlwind now, in Shanghai.

INDIANS ABROAD : SOME CENSUS FIGURES.

IN the following article an attempt is made to present relevant figures, mostly from the latest census reports, concerning Indians living in the four British colonies of Trinidad, Mauritius, Fiji and British Guiana. The most important fact of the intercensal period is the abolition of the indenture system of recruitment. The abolition of this iniquitous and degrading system has to a great extent brought emigration under the normal operation of economic forces, enabling surplus Indian population to seek higher economic levels outside India. Civic and political disabilities, however, retard and in many cases prohibit the free outflow of the Indian population.

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO.

The area of Trinidad and Tobago is 1976 sq. miles. Of the total population of 365,913 enumerated in 1921, the East Indians were 1,21,420 or (nearly 33 per cent). The Indian population according to parentage and birth place was constituted as follows:

Natives of India—	31,354.
Born in Trinidad :	
Indian parents	81,837.
Indian fathers	1,580.
Indian mothers	649.

Total 121,420.

The census of 1921 shows an increase of 32,361 persons over the enumeration of 1911, or an increase of 9.7 per cent in the total population. The origin of the Indian colony in Trinidad dates back to 1845 when the first set arrived and took work under indenture. 'They came at regular seasons until 1848. From 1849 to 1851 there was a suspension of arrivals, but from 1852 the arrivals continued with more or less regularity until 1916. From 1917 no returns of arrivals have been made and from this time the cessation must be fixed. The average increase in the 5 periods from 1871 to 1901 was 10,133 or 1,013 per year. In the period 1901-11 this average dropped to 2,916 or 291 per year. In the period ended by this census although a few arrivals were recorded in the early years of the decade these ceased entirely and a fairly regular outflow has taken place.' (Census of the Colony of Trinidad and Tobago, 1921, p. 31.). The East Indian population might be arranged thus according to sex :

	Males	Females
Natives of India	23,866	7,488
Indian parents	42,057	39,780
Indian father only	824	756
Indian mother only	330	316

According to religious persuasion : Hindus—88,404, Muhammadans—17,691, Christians—14,343, others—982. The following figures from the professions and occupations census are interesting :

	Indians	Non-Indians
Public Officers	54	1,030
Police	8	857
Teachers	284	1994
	(Males 223, Females 61)	(Males 880, Females 1,135)
Lawyers	5	146
Medical profession	1	231
Managers, Sub-Managers and Overseers	257	1,921
Mechanics and Handicraftsmen	992	17,569

It will be seen that Indians have a far less important place in the above professions than is expected from their numerical position. Of the Indian population 49,380 were returned as agricultural labourers. The literate population among the East Indians forms only 12.6 of the total. The following

is an abstract of the literacy, or rather illiteracy, position;

	Males	Females	Total
Able to read and write	10,685	2,878	13,563.
Able to read only	1,321	508	1,829.
Unable to read or write	55,058	50,957	106,015.

Of the 293 primary schools 49 were under the Government. There were two colleges for boys and one for girls to provide secondary education. The total revenue of the Colony (1922) was £ 1,661,607. The total expenditure on elementary education (including private contribution) was £ 134,897. The Colony has a Legislative Council consisting of 10 officials and 11 non-officials, all nominated. How many of them are Indians is not known; probably only two or three.

MAURITIUS.

The Colony of Mauritius is 720 sq. miles in area. The total population enumerated in 1921 was 376,485 against 368,791 in 1911. The Indian population for the respective periods was 265,524 and 257,697. It will be seen that Indian immigrants and their descendants constitute the majority of the population, comprising 70% of the inhabitants of the island. The birth and death rates among Indians (1922) were 35.9 and 33.3 per mille respectively. Of the total population 139,150 were males and 126,374 females. The following table shows their conjugal condition:

	Males	Females
Persons legally married by Civil Status		
Officers	14,460	16,432
Persons married according to religious rites but not before a Civil Status Officer	12,763	13,807
Persons living together as man and wife in permanent unions but not married either religiously or civilly	19,136	21,382.

On the conjugal condition of Indians the Census Commissioner makes the following remarks: 'The large number of persons living in concubinage are not to be considered as living immoral lives according to their Eastern standards: the unions are to all intents and purposes permanent ones, large families being born of them. . . . The Indian community is undoubtedly influenced to a great extent by early marriages and caste prejudices. Widows cannot remarry and the different castes do not contract religious or civil unions among themselves.' (Report of the Census Enumeration, Mauritius, 1921. p. 9) 'Of the couples living as man and wife in the Indian population 68% have been through either a religious or civil ceremony. . . . These returns cannot be interpreted as indicating a condition of immorality, although they should lead the most influential members of the community to exert their influence with a view to remedying a state of affairs which cannot do otherwise than reflect on the moral well-being of the offspring. The new legislation passed during the last decade gives facilities to all ministers of religion for fulfilling the formalities required by both the religious and the civil authorities.' (Ibid. p. 12). As will be seen from the following, the percentage of civilly married Indians in 1921 was considerably greater than in 1911: 1911—8.89 males, 10.11 females; 1921—12.28 males, 13.98 females. The Indian population, arranged according to religious persuasions, was as follows: Hindus—187,662, Muhammadans—42,694, Christians—16,678, others—18,490.

The number of primary schools in the Colony was 151, made up of 57 Government schools, 66 Roman Catholic, 19 Church of England, 2 Presbyterian, 4 Hindoo and 3 Muhammadan institutions. Calculating the number of Indian children of school-going age as 15% of the total Indian population, out of nearly 40,000 children, only 16,398 were attending primary schools. Of them 13,863 were boys and only 2,535 girls. (The figures are taken from the Annual Report on Primary Education, Mauritius, 1923.) Primary education is free in the Colony but not compulsory. The total revenue of the Colony in 1921-22 amounted to Rs. 26,307,658 of which Rs. 1,095,734 was spent on education. The Council of Government consists of the Governor and 27 members of whom 10 are elected, 8 are ex-officio and 9 are nominated. Though subject to no political disabilities no Indian has ever sat on the Council.

FIJI.

The area of Fiji, including Rotuma, is 7,083 sq. miles. The total population increased from 139,541 in 1911 to 157,266 in 1921, an increase of 12.70%. The Indian population during the same period increased from 40,286 to 60,634, an increase of 50.51%. Of the total Indian population 26,810 (44.22%) were born in Fiji. The birth and death rates in 1920 were 35.96 and 6.51 per mille respectively. The Indians born in Fiji have more than doubled their number during the last decade as shown by the following table:

Intercensal period	Total Ind. Population	Fijiborn Ind.	Per cent
1901-1911	40,284	11,069	27.48
1911-1921	60,634	26,810	44.22

The following table shows the sex-proportion:

	1911		1921	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Indian Immigrant	64.70	35.30	68.95	31.05
Indian Fiji-born			51.06	48.94.

The following table shows the conjugal conditions of the Indian population among persons of over 15 years of age:

	Married		Unmarried		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Immigrant	11,402	8,519	9,583	1,026	22,608	9,886
Fiji-born	1,095	2,011	1,229	378	2,334	2,474

Of the total Indian population 52,912 are Hindus, 6442 are Muhammadans, 710 are Christians and 570 are Parsis, Buddhists, etc. The following table gives the literacy position, children under 15 being excluded.

Proportion per cent of the total returned as literate.

	Males	Females
1921	38.50	25.0
1911	13.64	17.4

The improvement in literacy among Indians during the decade is noticeable and satisfactory. The following is the occupation census of Indians in Fiji:

Agriculturists and cultivators	...	14,233
Agricultural labourers	...	4,130
Engaged in commerce	...	854
Engaged in industry	...	3,179
Industrial labourers	...	1,115
Clerks and Interpreters	...	54
Mission students, school and	...	
Mission teachers	...	91
Constables and Warders	...	88

The higher professions and civil service are completely monopolised by Europeans. The Fiji Legislative Council consists of the Governor, twelve nominated members (one Indian) and seven members elected by persons of European descent, whose number is only 3,848 in the Colony, and two nominated Fijian members. The Council has recently

agreed to have two elected Indian representatives to that body.

BRITISH GUIANA.

The area of British Guiana is 89,480 sq. miles. The population in 1921 was 297,691, an increase of 1,650 persons over that of 1911. The total number of East Indians enumerated in 1921 was 124,938, showing a decrease of 1,529 from the 1911 census. Of the total Indian population 69,130 were males and 55,808 females, or approximately 80 females for every 100 males. The following table shows conjugal conditions among Indians:

	Male	Female	Total
Married	26,400	24,717	51,117
Unmarried	40,350	27,210	67,560
Widowed	2,380	3,881	6,261

Of the total number of children of school-going age, nearly 19,000, only 7,459 (M. 5,085, F. 2,574) attended school. The Compulsory Education Act has not been effectively applied in the case of Indian children. The Indian population can be arranged as follows according to religious persuasions: Hindus-95,478, Muhammadans-18,217, Christians-10,000 (nearly). The following figures show the electoral position of the different races in the Colony: Total adult male population-85,929. Total number of registered voters-4,976. Percentage of voters of different races to their population respectively: European-43.7, East Indian-1.0, Black and Coloured-8.8.

The Governor of British Guiana is assisted by a Court of Policy, a legislative body consisting of seven official members, and a Combined Court of Policy containing, in addition to the above, six financial representatives elected by the registered voters. The Combined Court considers the Estimate of Expenditure, raises the ways and means to meet it, and this Court alone can levy taxes. Only one Indian has yet been returned to the Combined Court and no Indian has ever sat on the Court of Policy.

It will be seen that there are certain features common to all the four Colonies. They are:

(1) Indians form a very large portion of population of these Colonies. Of the total population they comprise 70% in Mauritius, 39% in Fiji, 42% in British Guiana and 33% in Trinidad.

(2) Though on the whole the Colonial Indians have a higher economic level in the Colonies than the level they left or would enjoy in India, by far the largest number are employed as agricultural labourers and form what is known as the 'coolie' class.

(3) Educationally the Colonial Indians are very backward. The Colonial governments do not offer them sufficient educational facilities. In British Guiana the Education Act is not effectively applied in the case of Indian children. Also, the schools being mostly denominational (Christian), Indian parents dislike to send their children to such schools.

(4) The influence of Indians in the municipal and political life of the Colonies is negligible, due to their backwardness and lack of organisation and leadership. No great improvement is possible until the Colonial Indians pull themselves out of the rut of 'coolie' mentality and 'coolie' ideals of life. They have yet to traverse the distance between a 'coolie' and a citizen. Towards the achieving of this end they must rely on their own initiative more than on anything else, help from India included. Their civic and political importance must more and more correspond to their numerical strength. It will be to the permanent benefit of the Colonies if their Governments recognise early that in the transformation of the Indian from the 'oolie' to the citizen lies the prosperity of these Colonies.

J. B. SEN.

NATURE AND MAN.

V.

SPENOER has certainly been left behind and many have got as far as Mercier. Many—but a book like that of A. R. Wiggam's reminds one, that a good many have not. Of course this pretentious "New Decalogue of Science" is not written by a scientist nor by a philosopher: but, alas, it seems only too accurately to set forth what the semi-educated masses of the West take for granted. It is American, of course; and so one has got that small consolation at least that all Western countries have not yet come to quite that pass of blatancy: and it is useful therefore also, as providing the deterrent example of what is in store for all civilization, if, refusing the Mercierian signpost, it is content to proceed on the inclined plane of Spencerism.

I have called the Spencerian age one standing under the sign of Technology, and not of Science; because the average Victorian did not, in Schiller's words, worship science as a goddess, but rather looked upon her as the good cow that was to provide him with an ever-flowing supply of comforts. Mr. Wiggam's book proves that my choice of words is justified: what he and his constituents want, is science so applied that it "will automatically improve man" (p. 99) and that it will "supply mankind with the true technology of the will of God" (p. 15); "for the social organization of science is simply the technical administration of the love of God" (p. 119). Now of course love in any sense of the word could never survive being technically administered: but to a reader of this "New Decalogue" it is quite clear that if any choice lies between love and technology, it is the former that our author would dispense with. His great indictment of the present "unscientific" and haphazard methods is that "you appropriate vast sums of money to stamp out tuberculosis, to care for the cripple and deformed. You establish hospitals in every ward and country to prolong the life of the weak, the rheumatic, the diabetic. You furnish special hospital wards for bringing charity babes into the world from parents too incompetent to earn the money to pay even for their birth" (p. 53). &c., &c. He on his part would never breed the sick and feeble and incompetent. But even as a palliative, whilst the technology of eugenics has not yet been applied in the way he advocates, he finds no space for saying a good word for altruism. On the contrary, he finds greater satisfaction in the thought that "vice and disease purify a race. Wickedness, folly, sin, are all nature's methods of racial purgation." (p. 59). Having praised "the stupendous cosmic engine of science now in man's hands," he sneers, that if "with it he cannot clean up this world, he does not deserve another, but will have to receive it as a pittance because somebody else 'atoned' for his foolishness." (p. 16). No, Mr. Wiggam sees nothing beautiful or praiseworthy in love and sacrifice: that much is clear. Then what exactly is his ideal, which he would have the world embrace? His answer is definite: that of "a race endowed with inborn health, sanity, energy, intelligence and beauty" (p. 197). There is no room for sympathy, compassion, mercy; for the foolish occasions for such silliness will have been eliminated. We shall all enjoy good digestion, normalcy and philistinism and if we are not all members of a Charity Organization Society it is simply, because "science" has made even that admirable institution superfluous. What a world to live in! What an ideal of smug self-complacency, dull mediocrity and heartless conceit! Over against that "ideal of a being healthy, sane and free" (p. 121) (and of being nothing else besides) one

thinks of that other ideal, hitherto acknowledged supreme, of One healthy, but tortured, sane but deemed mad. free but consenting to the Cross. . . .

Not of course that anybody would advocate disease, oppression or folly as good things: but to concentrate exclusively on their elimination in order to make altruism unnecessary—that surely is a doctrine that casts a staggering beam of light on the nature of that "New Decalogue" for which we are told to scrap both the old one and the Beatitudes; and on the nature of the only Universe that Materialism can provide for man. For man of course is not a being "in whose cranium God has implanted a special intelligence much as a farmer implants beans in a specially prepared hill" (p. 61)—shades of Descartes—"but a brother not only to the brute but to the clod, sweeping for a brief moment round his little orbit and passing into the trackless void with the same mechanical precision as the stars" (p. 233). These things have been said before and I have in previous sections tried to show that, scientifically and philosophically, that view does not meet the facts of the actual nature of things: here I am not concerned with all this, but rather with the result in human values which such Naturalism must inevitably bring about. Mr. Wiggam cannot be suspected to be a witness biased against such philosophy: yet he admits plainly that "the social and political impact of Naturalism is one of the chief causes of four of the most outstanding psychological phenomena of our times: (1) the increase of crime; (2) the increase of suicide; (3) the increase of insanity; and (4) the increase of social unrest." (p. 238). The author believes that this is however merely a transitional stage and that in the end—presumably when none but eugenically bred Nordics remain—a "deeper devotion to the social and political good as the only way to attain the highest, widest and deepest experience of this brief fever of living, loving and dying" (p. 242) will emerge and keep people from crime, suicide, insanity and revolution. Yet he does not exclude the possibility that even "these highest intellectual triumphs of man may fail to give him any sound or satisfying reason for living at all" (p. 248): a curious comment on the "mechanical precision" which only a few pages back we were told regulated man's "passing into the trackless void." And now suicide steps in and ends, wilfully and capriciously, a life become burdensome, however "healthy, sane and free" it may be—merely because "the clod" holds a certain philosophy! Can there be a greater bundle of contradictions than this Naturalism of a "New Decalogue"? At any rate one thing is certain, whether on this author's own showing, or in the judgment of those whose philosophy is opposed to his, viz. that either the naturalistic development of this civilization must cease or else this civilization itself will do so. America, where according to the latest census only 44% of the population return themselves as professing any religion whatsoever (!), clearly leads the way to the Naturalistic *debâcle*. A countryman of Mr. Wiggam's, Mr. N. M. Butler, prescribed as the only remedy that of "getting back to Greek ideals"—a dictum at which Mr. Wiggam naturally sneers (p. 175), but which nevertheless happens to be profoundly true. In a penetrating study* Percy Gardner lays it down that, broadly speaking, Israel discovered God, Greece Man—and our age Nature; and, he continues, "I venture to suggest that the true road to progress cannot be found, unless we preserve the Jewish and the Greek points of view, and do not rest content with regarding science merely as a means of exploiting the material world. Instead of harnessing the forces of nature to true human ends, to happiness, we have

* "The Legacy of Greece", p. 356.

allowed them to be used for any purpose, moral or immoral, by any one who by cunning or pushing has gained control of them. Every great discovery in physical science has been turned, primarily, not to the welfare but to the destruction of mankind. We have dehumanized the world, and allowed it to ride rough-shod over human life": and a book like this precious "New Decalogue of Science" actually wishes to exalt that monstrous tendency into an ideal! The American spirit gloats over success—that "bitch goddess", as Max Beerbohm once called her,—and the only success it values is one that can be quantitatively measured. Hence this incessant striving after the biggest something or other in the world, a pathetic emblem of which is that "biggest loaf ever baked in the world" of which one read the other day: a loaf, which does not make better eating the bigger it is; which in fact is not meant to be eaten at all, but just to be stared at and cackled about and gloated over, as a tangible token of how Xville licked the world. Now that is exactly the spirit which the Greeks called *Hybris*, overbearing conceit, and to which they traced all human failure. Arnold Toynbee says† that the Greeks analyzed this mental aberration as due to "the shock of sudden, unexpected attainment" and he quotes their proverb that "*koros* (surfeit) breeds *hybris* when prosperity visits unbalanced minds." What better characterization of the American spirit is needed?

And as the Greek spirit is not bound to time and space, neither, unfortunately, is the American spirit. America is its natural home, but everywhere in the world today it permeates Western civilization: and in that one can not even leave out India. The sudden shock of technological attainment has unhinged our age; and if the effects are a thousand times worse still in America than elsewhere, one reason for that is clearly that America never passed through the furnace of affliction that Europe has gone through since 1914. The war at last did demonstrate to the Old World, that Technology and Progress are Dead Sea fruit and that with another such victory of Science mankind itself will progress out of existence. America has waxen fat; like a loathsome ogre it crouches on its hoards of blood money and defiantly screams: "Who is richer and stronger in the world?" Dehumanized—yes; but that is exactly what Materialism is always so anxious to effect. It acclaims Copernicus, Darwin and Freud as the great men who have put man in his place—in space, in time, in morals,—though by the irony of fate it has now cut the ground under its own feet by its latest pet theory of Einsteinian Relativity, according to which the Copernican system is no more "true" nor "false" than the Ptolemaean: one being the reference-system of an observer on the Sun, the other of one on the Earth. And if the world is infinite, why not consider man its centre with as much right, as any other point in space or time? It certainly is Man that measures the infinitely small worlds of the electron and the infinitely big worlds of ultra-galactic nebulas: is he then not in sober fact at the centre of things? It is at first sight curious that the Materialist who has got so good a conceit of himself, should of all people be so anxious to depreciate anthropocentricity: yet this attitude is necessary, really, because if man occupies the centre of the stage, he incurs a correspondingly large responsibility, and for that responsibility of course the Materialist has no use whatever; man being for him (*pace* Mr. Wiggam) but "a clod of the same mechanical precision as the stars"

And since to the Materialist there is no Free-will nor Human Responsibility, he cannot accommodate in his system such virtues as would curb

† *ibid.* p. 309.

koros and *hybris*, surfeit and conceit. The ever increasing severity of the cancer scourge today is an indication of the habitual over-indulgence of Western civilization, which under the pleasing guise of a "high standard of life" wastes on over-feeding and over-pampering one individual, what economically should suffice to keep ten; the equally increasing lawlessness of nations, classes and individuals again is a sign that *hybris* has destroyed the equipoise of a world which is no longer seen steadily nor as a whole. Temperance—not in the modern absurdly anti-alcoholic sense, but in that of a virtue which enables man to keep his natural appetite under the governance of reason—Temperance is the key note of Greek culture, just as its utter absence is typical of the American spirit of vulgarity, ostentatiousness, satiety and sensationalism. What today is first needed therefore is a return to self-discipline and frugality; to a preference of quality to quantity, of high thinking to high living, of a respectable poverty to superfluous riches, of simplicity and beauty to mere complication and artificiality. And secondly we must try to regain our balance, as of life, so of outlook. We must go back to that "Natural Catholicism" of the Greeks, to that "habit of mind which insists on looking at the whole before the parts, at setting the common before the sectional interest and which sweetens and harmonises the natural contrarieties and antagonisms of life by remaining steadily conscious of its major and reconciling interests", as A. R. Zimmern* defines it: an attitude he contrasts with that of Protestantism, that "spirit which is conscious only of what it is *against*, and which is too ignorant or too angry to survey the whole field of problems involved in its protest." Protest is followed by reaction, and reaction by protest: yet both merely demonstrate the existence of a disease, and all disease is but the disturbance of a balance, a harmony. The Greek mind is essentially a balanced mind and Greek culture one informed by the spirit of harmoniousness: the American civilization one of discordant noise, of fanatical sectionalism, unlimited competition, mutual shouting down and outbidding, of perpetual exaggeration and self-advertisement.

"It is by our will", says the Aquinate (Ia, 5.4 ad 3), "that we employ whatever powers we may have. Hence a man is said to be good, not by his good understanding but by his good will." Humanism, as the Greeks understood it, put this goodwill first; the technological spirit of Americanism is needs content with cleverness, since a will that is not free, can be neither good nor evil. But "peace on earth" can only exist "amongst men of goodwill", and human goodwill—let us complete the quotation from Lk. 2:14—must first give "Glory to God in the highest." It is only when this age works out a new philosophical equilibrium between God, Man and Nature, that the decay which is eating the vitals out of contemporary civilization can and will be stayed. That equilibrium will not mean neglect of or contempt for science; but it can as little mean neglect of or contempt for God or Man. The first need of this age, I venture therefore to think, is the formulation of a Cosmology, such as Cardinal Mercier is contemplating, adequate to our new knowledge of nature. Such Cosmology can but go back to the solid foundation laid once for all by the Stagyrte: but its superstructure must be of our own fashioning.

Such Cosmology will have overcome the spiritualism of Descartes no less than the Naturalism of Spencer. It will not tear Nature out of its relationships to God and Man, but will be content to form

part of a *Philosophia perennis*, which in a perfectly balanced system of thought will comprise God, Man and Nature.

And this I suggest, is the philosophy which India too needs—this and none other: and on this suggestion I close.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, June 11th

KENYA AND THE SOUTHBOROUGH COMMITTEE.

MR. N. M. JOSHI took advantage of the opportunity extended to him at Geneva to explain to the assembled delegates how the Kenya natives were being driven to work for the White settlers by reason of the economic incidence of certain poll-taxes. Of course, the British official representatives and Sir Atul Chatterjee, who received his brief apparently from them, contradicted this, but the facts are substantially true, as Mr. Chaman Lal pointed out. There is no doubt that the whole economic and administrative system of Kenya has been so to arrange taxation and the time of its collection as to compel, in practice, the native to seek work upon the White settlers' plantations in order to provide themselves with the money with which to pay their taxes upon the due date. Even the Ormsby-Gore Commission Report could not altogether conceal this fact. It is now semi-officially reported that, as was expected, the Southborough Committee has been dissolved, and that its re-establishment is not looked for. The Colonial Office view is, I understand, that it has served its purpose, and that it has now become useless in view of the Report and of the proposed setting up of a sort of super-Committee on the lines of the Imperial Committee of Defence, as Lord Balfour somewhat vaguely stated the other day in reply to Lord Olivier's interpellation. I learn that the only permanent member of the Committee of Imperial Defence is the Prime Minister, and that all other members are invited by him to become members. There are then set up various sub-Committees, which have a sort of permanent existence, to advise on the matters referred to them, and that all of their proceedings are confidential. It would seem that little is likely to become known of the activities of the proposed new Committee, which is, of course, still in the air, nor is it likely that anything will be known of its personnel. If it should have referred to it matters concerning racial relationships, it would seem to be essential that India should be specially represented upon it. It is almost a matter of certainty that the Colonial Office will desire to exclude India and will fight hard so as to prevent Indian representation. It is notorious that the Colonial Office has always resented the interest that the India Office takes in matters relating to the welfare of Indians overseas in the British territories under Colonial Office jurisdiction.

THE VICEROYALTY.

The "Manchester Guardian" deals in its London letter with the prospects of various candidates for the Viceroyalty. Sir George Lloyd has doubtless accepted the High Commissionership for Egypt as he sees the way barred to his advancement to India by Lord Birkenhead's uncertainty as to his own prospective career. Lord Reading, it is believed, would not be unwilling to have a year's extension of his office, but if the Cabinet are anxious to get rid of an uncomfortable and energetic colleague, they may dally with the idea of allowing the present Secretary of State for India to strut upon the Indian stage for a time. The "Guardian" correspondent hazards the opinion that the next Viceroy will go out from

* Ibid. p. 242.

England direct, and will not be appointed from an Indian Province. This, indeed, is highly probable, and would rule out any supposed preferment of Lord Loytton. I should not wonder if, leaving out the Birkenhead possibility, Lord Ronaldshay were the most probable appointment.

MR. GANDHI IN INDIA AND AT WEMBLEY.

MAHATMA Gandhi's slogan of "Down with Untouchability" is being listened to here with great sympathy. The news that he has fallen foul of orthodoxy is regarded as some evidence that he is making progress in his campaign for the removal of this, the greatest shame of India. The "Guardian" says that it is useless for the Brahmins of Benares to implore the National Congress leaders not to mix up politics and religion. "Mr. Gandhi denounces the condition of the Untouchables as the shame of Hinduism, and on this matter he cannot be silenced." The old story of Canute and the waves might be dressed up in Indian garb and retailed for the benefit of the Benares pundits. On the whole, the Indian pavilion at Wembley presents a disappointing spectacle to the visitor who remembers last year's spectacular display. It is, however, redeemed by a wax-model, in movement, of the Mahatma, at the charkha. The inscription at the stall runs as follows:—

"Self-help and self-sacrifice, based on absolute non-violence, these are the tenets of India's high-souled saint and leader of modern times. He is here seated on the rough woolen rug, with his favourite charkha, or spinning-wheel, with cotton supplied from all over India."

REVIEWS.

MORLEY AND MINTO.

LORD MINTO: A MEMOIR. By JOHN BUCHAN.
(Thomas Nelson & Sons, London.) 1925. 9 x 5¾.
pp. 352.

MR. JOHN BUCHAN has established a name among writers of English prose, and anything from his pen may be expected to be full of interest and attraction. The present biography does not disappoint the reader. Its 300 odd pages bring before us in vivid and fascinating style one of the great men of British race who have striven to maintain British character and British prestige in different parts of the Empire. Lord Minto, called in his earlier years Lord Melgund, was born with a silver spoon in his mouth, went through Eton and saw plenty of fighting in the field before being called upon to do the work of administration. Like many another dashing youth belonging to the classes who still practically monopolise political and diplomatic offices in Britain, he made better progress on the playground than in class, and he imbibed the fashionable opinions which were current coin among aristocrats of the Tory persuasion. What he thought of Gladstone in his callow youth is interesting. "I would not have thought that any one could have disgraced his country as Gladstone has done. I would not be seen frequenting such an unpatriotic disreputable coffee house as the House of Commons for a fortune. I suppose when one gets out of England one is more prone to remember that one is an Englishman." When on duty as a soldier on the Afghan frontier he formed a high estimate of the value of India to England.

"What a splendid fellow Nicholson was! Yet, I believe India could produce many such men. It is our school for great administrators and as such alone is worth millions to this country; but many of our home-staying, book-taught, theoretical politicians are incapable of realising this. I do not suppose they would be able to appreciate a good frontier officer." He likewise tells us of a press correspondent who in describing the march of a British force across an Indian river had said that crocodiles peopled the water and palm trees adorned the banks. Some vulgar lover of fact pointed out that neither crocodiles nor palm trees were within many miles of the spot. The correspondent had his reply ready. "What does that matter? The British public must have its crocodiles and it must have its palm trees." But Melgund took serious and just views of public affairs. It is good to know that he called Rhodes a damned blackguard and thought he deserved five years imprisonment. "The worst feature" he added "of the whole thing is the very lukewarm condemnation of Rhodes in high places, the evident wish to palliate what he has done and the one-sidedness of the press on his behalf."

His six years as Governor-General of Canada broadened his outlook on affairs, deepened his sense of justice and taught him to respect the excellences of the British constitution. When therefore he was appointed to the Viceroyalty of India after the dramatic exit of Lord Curzon, great hopes were entertained in this country. At one of the farewell dinners on the eve of his departure to the east he said "My racing days have taught me that many a race has been won by giving the horse a rest in his gallops." What with the Press Act and the Seditious Meetings Act and deportations and political assassinations, he was not able to give the horse a rest in his gallops; but he gave proof of affection for the Indian people, of a large and manly toleration and of an undaunted resolve to initiate long-delayed political reforms. It is also due to him to say that he did not allow his hereditary conservatism to become encrusted, but developed what he himself describes as a cross-bench mind. Though he stood loyally by his Civilian colleagues, he did not allow himself to become their mouthpiece in all matters. He carried his point against great odds in what was known as the Native Councillorship question. After the wicked attempt on his life at Ahmedabad he (and his noble partner) did not allow his attitude towards India to be affected in any way, and at the earliest opportunity he declared his determination to go on with his progressive policy. Though there was much complaint that the regulations of the Government of India nearly frustrated the intentions of the Secretary of State and of the Viceroy, the public feeling at Lord Minto's departure was one of personal affection for him and gratitude for the large step that he had taken in popularising the constitution of India.

All this is brought out pretty fully in Book III of the volume before us. But we cannot help feeling that Mr. Buchan might have made greater use

of the ample materials placed at his disposal. An important chapter in the modern history of India is covered by Lord Minto's lustrum of office and deserves to be treated at far greater length. The fact is that this book bears too obviously the mark of having been written with the object of correcting the impression unfavourable to Lord Minto supposed to have been created by Lord Morley's "Recollections." Mr. Buchan has devoted many pages to the task of redressing the balance in favour of his hero. An uncommon dexterity of language and skill in producing an "atmosphere" have been employed on the task. Lord Morley's faults of temper and defective equipment for administrative charge have been emphasised to the full, while excessive laudation is bestowed on Lord Minto's tact and never-failing patience and firmness of purpose. So overdrawn is the picture that the reader cannot resist the feeling that more concern is felt for Lord Minto's reputation by his friends and admirers than he would have felt himself, and the world is invited to believe an actual antagonism to have existed between colleagues who remained to the end of their common lives on a footing of the utmost friendship and trust. No doubt they pulled different ways on many subjects and some of these were very important and touched the roots of policy; still the personal relations of the illustrious pair were never clouded even for a day and the frankness and the intimacy of their correspondence suffered no check. Mr. Buchan's asseverations may or may not be justified in point of fact, but in spite of the great facilities he has enjoyed, he has not placed before his readers sufficient materials for a drastic revision of judgment as to the mutual relations of the two servants of the crown who were associated in a great endeavour. Take for instance the question of "native Councillorship." Who first conceived the idea? Without quoting diary, letter or despatch our author asserts, "The first step was taken by the Viceroy. In March 1906 before leaving Calcutta he raised boldly in private with certain members of his Executive Council the question of the desirability of appointing an Indian to its membership, since to him the path of executive partnership between the races seemed the simplest and the most hopeful. He found the majority of his advisers strongly against the proposal and he did not report the discussions to the Secretary of State since he intended to open the whole question later." One would like to ask where the boldness came in if the question was mooted in private and only with some members of the Executive Council and their opposition silenced the Viceroy for the time. Writing on the subject three years later to His Majesty, who had opposed the innovation strongly, the Viceroy said that "he was inclined when he first came to India to argue with certain of his colleagues on his Executive Council that an Indian member should be added to their number and a seat provided for him by the statute." The expression "was inclined" suggests neither fixity nor boldness of purpose. Nor does the passage just quoted sustain a claim to hav-

ing taken the first step. Evidently Mr. Buchan here strays from the safe line of discretion which he himself has laid down: "It would be an idle task to determine whether the first suggestion came from the side of the Viceroy or of the Secretary of State."

Morley and Minto disagreed sharply on the question how far the Secretary of State should interfere in the administration of India. Morley's exposition of the constitution and citation of precedents did not satisfy the Viceroy who seems to have complained of it in a private communication to His Majesty's Secretary. It is in this that he makes use of the famous expression, "Do what he will, the Secretary of State cannot administer India." Our good friend Montagu is dragged by his ill-luck into this controversy. As Under-Secretary of State he said in a Budget speech, "Lord Morley and his Council, *working through the agency of Lord Minto*, have accomplished much." Slight though the indiscretion was compared with others that stand to his credit, he was severely criticised for it in India. But Lord Morley stood by him though he apologised for his infelicitous manner. The deportation of suspected men in the Punjab and in Bengal called forth a continuous wail from the Liberal Secretary of State in his correspondence with the Viceroy, though he gallantly defended the odious step in Parliament. In fact the extent to which he gave in to the man on the spot on this matter, on the subject of the special Muhammadan electorates and on sundry other subjects shows how far he was from a doctrinaire statesman. Mr. Buchan is obliged to admit this, for he says, "He desired to make concessions for the Indian people and was the more zealous therefore to show that he also stood for law and order." How then does he bring himself to write in a half scoffing tone: "The scholar, especially the scholar of Mr. Morley's type, transferred to the seat of power, is always apt to order things with a high hand, because he has little knowledge of the daily compromises by means of which the business of the world is conducted." Surely Mr. Buchan must have forgotten that it was Morley who called politics 'a game of compromise and one long second best.'

The fact is that our author is unacquainted with India and his first interest in her problems was aroused in the writing of this book. No wonder therefore that his treatment lacks perspective utterly. Some great events of the period are dismissed with a brief reference, while others get no mention at all. Of the Indian politicians Mr. Gokhale is the only one who receives serious notice, though of what Lord and Lady Minto said or wrote of him nothing is vouchsafed to the reader. One remembers how on the publication of the diaries of Sir M. E. Grant Duff some years ago the Indian world was startled at there being little or no reference in them to Madras. Though an extreme instance, it is somewhat typical of the life of pro-consuls in India and of the incredibly limited intercourse that they have with Indians. It is perhaps natural that Sir Pertab Singh should have enlivened and amused Viceregal and gubernatorial parties. We know the type too

well. But this story is worth reproducing. It is told by Minto himself. "I will tell you a story of Sir Pertab. Not long ago a British officer of whom he was very fond died of cholera in his house. He was to be buried the same afternoon, and had just been put in his coffin in a room in which were Sir Pertab and an English officer, who, seeing that there would be some difficulty in carrying the officer down to the gun-carriage at the door, asked Sir Pertab to send for a 'sweeper.' 'Sweeper', said Sir Pertab, 'what do you want a sweeper for? I shall carry the boy down myself.' The English officer, knowing that this meant that he would lose his caste, implored him not to do so, but he insisted, carried the coffin on his shoulder to the door, walked by the gun-carriage, and again carried the coffin from it to the grave. Next morning a deputation of Brahmins came to Sir Pertab's house and told him that a terrible thing had happened the day before. 'Yes,' he answered 'a young officer died here.' 'More terrible than that' they said, 'You, a Rahtor Rajput, have lost your caste.' He flared up like a shot. 'Look here, you pigs. There is one caste higher than all other castes throughout the world, and that is the caste of a soldier! That is my caste!' Turning to one of his staff he angrily asked for his hunting whip, the Brahmins fled and he remained as great as ever. And that is the man that we can't allow inside an English club at Calcutta!"

In spite of the inordinate length which this review has attained we cannot refrain from alluding to the part played by the European community of Calcutta in the years 1909—10. Lord Minto was much perturbed by their attitude towards the unrest in Bengal. He was of opinion that the ordinary law was sufficient, but their clamour overbore him, as it does on all such occasions. The Indian reader at least will not be surprised when he reads the following extract. He knows by sad experience what to expect of his European brethren in time of trouble. "The difficulty is that the European Calcutta population is so unnerved that if things go wrong it may be necessary to restore confidence by immediate deportation. I do not like saying this sort of thing at all, but that's how it is." There was a proposal for martial law, made by the Commander-in-Chief, which Minto vetoed, and which, Lord Morley said, made his hair stand on end.

V. S. SRINIVASAN.

MISCELLANEA.

MR. CHAMAN LAL AT GENEVA.

The following speech was made by Mr. Chaman Lal at the International Labour Conference on the 30th May last:—
MR. CHAMAN LAL (India):—I wish to thank you, Mr. President, for giving me this opportunity to address the Conference on a subject about which one hears very little here. I can see the humour of the position in my making a speech which will perhaps not cover more than five minutes, about a large country like India, containing one-fifth of the population of the whole world; but the occasion which compels me to rise is this.

A couple of years ago this Conference passed a Resolution by which it authorised the International Labour Office to send correspondents to various countries of the world. One of those countries was India. I want to know, Sir, why a correspondent has not been appointed in India, and I wish to tell you of the necessity for appointing a correspondent. Yesterday, or the day before, we heard a statement from my colleague who represents the working-classes of India, to the effect that the Government in Kenya was, actually forcing workers to leave their little plots of land where they are free men, and forcing them to go into the plantations to work as forced labourers for the English planters of Kenya. That statement has been challenged by the Representatives of the British Government here who, for reasons which I do not know, call themselves the Representatives of the British Empire. They are the Representatives of Great Britain, I grant you, but who gave them the authority to speak on behalf of the British Empire? This is what they said. Mr. Wolfe, speaking as the Representative of Great Britain, said that Mr. Joshi had made the following statement: "In Kenya the natives are forced to work for the English planters and landlords by a system of poll-taxes." He characterised that statement as a light one, and, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, said that he did not accept that statement as an accurate representation of the state of affairs in Kenya.

I do not speak on behalf of His Majesty's Government; I am speaking here on behalf of the workers of India and on behalf of His Majesty the Truth. I want to challenge the statement which Mr. Wolfe made. I have in my hand an extract from the *East African Standard* of 8 February 1913, which reports no less a person than the Governor of Kenya as saying: "We consider that taxation is the only possible method of compelling the native to leave his reserve for the purpose of seeking work. We consider that the only natural and automatic method of securing a constant labour supply is to ensure that there shall be competition among labourers for hire, and not among employers for labourers. Such competition can be brought about only by a rise in the cost of living for the native, and this rise can be produced only by an increase in the tax."

Is not that a direct refutation of the statement that the British Government does not consider Mr. Joshi's statement to be an accurate representation of the facts?

Dr. Norman Leys, who is the greatest authority on Kenya, says in his book, which was published in 1924: "The hut and poll tax falls on old men and on women living alone, as well as on able-bodied males, and compels an increasing number not only of males over 30, but of women and children to seek employment."

I should like also to make a brief quotation from the report of the East African Commission, which was published in April 1925. Speaking of Nyassaland, the report states that: "In order to obtain money to pay the tax and to buy necessities, it is alleged that approximately 30,000 Nyassaland natives leave the Protectorate every year to seek work in other territories."

In a circular issued by the Administration of Kenya, and quoted by Lord Islington in the British House of Lords on 14 July 1920, occurs the following passage: "I believe there should be an increased rate of taxation on young able-bodied men." That gives you an idea of what is in the minds of those who are supporting the planters of Kenya. The passage occurs in a discussion of the labour situation.

Further, Lord Stanley, in the House of Lords on 13 May of this year—only a few days ago—said: "There is a tendency to urge the Governments who are directly responsible for the tropical Dependencies to compel labour to flow in those channels in which we consider that it is most advantageous, and that compulsion may be by means of an economic lever, such as taxation, or by ordinances compelling labour to flow into a channel in which it would be unwilling to flow if it were not compelled."

The last quotation I wish to make is from Dr. Norman Leys. In a letter to *The Times* on 27 May last—a day or two

ago, he says: "The facts about the hut tax are these: it is paid out of wages. The standard wage rate, which two years ago was 8/—, is now from 12/—to 16/— a month. Direct taxation of Africans brings us in £575,000 a year. There are officially stated to be 430,000 adult males, fit and unfit, in the country, so that the average African in Kenya has to spend two months' wages each year in direct taxation alone."

The statement that my colleague Mr. Joshi made here is, therefore, a very mild one. He merely said that within the territories of the British Empire you will find forced labour in existence. You will find it not only outside India, but actually inside India. I make bold to say that one third of India, which is under native rule at the present moment, is entirely under forced labour. At any moment, any official of a native State can call on any worker in that State to do work for him for nothing. Those who are familiar with the Indian situation know very well that, when no less a person than the late Viceroy of India, Lord Chelmsford, went to the Hills from Simla, the States employed peasants who were dragged away from their fields and made to do forced labour in preparing the roads for His Excellency to travel over.

The problem is not only that of forced labour; the problem is that the International Labour Office is entirely unaware of the situation in countries like India. You are ignorant of what is happening in the East. We sit here and talk about labour conditions in Europe, and the Director presents you with a Report. I have examined that Report, and I find that there are 15 lines and three words over in it with reference to India, a country containing one-fifth of the population of the world.

It is not the Director's fault; the fault is in the system which prevents your getting information from countries like India. India to-day is a land of slaves; it consist of workers and peasants who are living on the starvation line. If I were to tell you of the condition of wages in India you would be surprised. You find in the cotton mills women working ten hours a day and getting Rs. 19 a month, and a maximum of Rs. 20 a month. You find men, women and children working on the tea plantations, the men getting Rs. 8 a month, the women Rs. 6 and the children Rs. 4. You find in jute factories—and here I want to draw the attention of my colleagues who represent the workers of Great Britain to the facts—that the jute workers in Calcutta are getting Rs. 5 a week as wages, while similar work done in Dundee in similar mills for the same proprietors, is paid at the rate of £3 a week. The result is that the owners close down their mills in Dundee; they shut up their mills there and start fresh mills in Calcutta, because there they can get cheap labour and cheap raw material.

Not only in the cotton mills and in the jute mills do such things occur; you will find in the coal fields men and women working on a mere pittance of Annas 8 a day. This is the glorious India, the great Eastern Empire, which is the substratum of the system which is known as the British Empire!

As an Indian I should be ashamed to hide these facts from the world. I do not want the International Labour Office, which is meant for the sustenance of the poor of the world (if it means anything at all, it means that) to hide these facts from itself or from those who come here to these Conferences. If you want to ameliorate the conditions of the world, think of the countries like India which need your help and your assistance. Let it not be said in the world outside, as it is being said, that the International Labour Office exists for the purpose of hoodwinking the workers of the world, and that it is trying to prevent the onward march of the workers by giving them a little here and a little there in order to prevent them from rising up and destroying the system which is keeping them in slavery.

Let us make of the International Labour Office a real support for the great labouring masses of the world who are at present living in conditions of abject misery and sorrow.

I know that the pallor of great sorrows and here and there bluish of treachery, overspreads the faces of the workers of the world. Let us pray for greater vision than we have yet seen, for greater powers than we have yet used, that these may raise us from the slough of despond and defeat, and set our feet on the road to victory.

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