

reins from the East India Company, and since then India has been an integral part of the Empire. There was then, and there is now, a general desire on the part of the people of these islands that her Government should be absolutely impartial, to her own good and as far as may be in consonance with her own wishes and ideals. Can any man say in face of the recorded facts that this is the case in matters industrial and commercial? One of the most glorious pages in the history of the British Empire is that which records how on the outbreak of war in 1914 the millions of our fellow subjects in India sprang to the side of Britain. Equal justice to India! Nay, more than equal justice, large-hearted generosity is her due. How better can this oneness in ideal be resented and perpetuated than by finding men to guide and means to provide for the restoration to its old high standard of her cotton industry. And even as we should thus be greatly benetting the millions of our Indian fellow subjects most of whom are always living very near to the border line of poverty and famine, we should also be greatly helping ourselves by rising their financial status, at one and the same time be providing a supply of raw material for Lankashire spindles from the cotton fields of India.

India's Population Poorest in the World.

We now turn to another branch of the cotton industry. The manufactured product from the raw material: its distribution. Of the total annual product of the industry we have seen that five-eighths is exported. The amount exported annually on the average of the five years 1909-13, yarn and manufactures taken together, was £112 millions. To India alone we exported out of the total £29 millions. In the case of raw cotton we have seen that the law of the even distribution of load is seriously infringed by depending upon one single country, the United States of America, for three-fourths of our supply. The same thing is repeated in the case of the disposal of the manufactured product from the raw material. We depend upon one country, India taking more than one fourth of the total exports. It is true that she has a large population, it is also true that it is the poorest population in the world. The policy hitherto adopted of putting a brake on the internal industrial development of India is disastrous, in that it consists of the senseless performance described in ancient adage as 'killing the goose that lays the golden eggs.' It is certain that in the not very distant future America will absorb all the cotton she grows.

Agricultural Suicide in England.

Before leaving this branch of the subject it may be as well to point out that the operation of Nature's laws and forces is not confined to the cotton industry. 'The Reign of Law' is all embracing. We will cite a few other industries in order 'to point a moral or adorn a tale.' Agriculture is the greatest of all our national industries, and not only intrinsically but extrinsically, of great importance to the country at large. Food is the first necessity of the people. A prosperous agricultural industry is conducive to the commonweal, in that while on the one hand it supplies food, on the other it is a purchaser of the goods from the manufacturing districts. A depressed agriculture is, on the converse, a dead weight on the manufacturing interests. The relative importance of agriculture is clearly shown by the following comparison of production and persons engaged.

Census of Production (1907)

	Production.	No. of persons employed.
Agriculture	£210,000,000	988,210
Cotton	176,000,000	572,869
Coal Mining	123,000,000	840,240
Iron and Steel	105,000,000	262,225

In 1861, 1,803,049 persons were engaged in agriculture, so that in 40 years the number of persons employed in it had fallen to one-half. Over a million acres had gone out of cultivation and agricultural land values, i.e. rents, had decreased by millions sterling. And we are living in a fool's paradise, depending upon America for one fourth of the imported food of the people.

'Dynamics is the science that deals with force and inertia. Cotton Dynamics is the same with a difference; it deals with forces and inertia.' With these words we commenced our investigation. You can not see the forces of nature, you see the effects of operation of forces and the laws which control them. So in the cotton industry the effects of the forces are what we see. What then have we seen?

India Dumping Ground of the World.

The principal cause of the decreasing trade with foreign countries is due to the establishment by them of cotton industries of their own. For the better development of these British goods are excluded by means of heavy duties. The lowest average on cotton

goods is in the case of Italy 37 per cent and highest average is Russia with 203 per cent duty. The highest specific duty is levied by the S. A. viz., 375 per cent on sewing cotton. These foreign countries which began by excluding British goods, so as to enable their home markets to be supplied by their own manufactures, finally produced a surplus, for which they had to find a market. By our action in 1861 of abolishing the duties upon all manufactured goods, we provided for the surplus the only great open market of the world. It was then to the British Empire that the surplus manufactures of all the foreign countries came duty free.

In face of the fact that foreign countries were raising what were tantamount to prohibitive duties against our manufactures, we deliberately threw away the only weapon for self-defence which we possessed—the power to bargain. Those foreign countries had us at their mercy, and from then till now they have mercilessly punished our manufactures, while building up their own, till they have become formidable opponents not only in all the foreign markets, where they have trading advantages over us, but also in the United Kingdom where by fair means or foul they are undermining and destroying one British industry after another, compelling us at the same time, helplessly, to buy from their own trade essentials, at their own prices.

The exports of textile machinery to foreign countries has increased *pari passu* with the decrease in the exports of cotton goods. Japan is an Ally; she excludes British cotton goods by import duties and that notwithstanding, is allowed free entry to all British Empire markets, except those of the self-governing Dominions. The English language has the largest and richest vocabulary in the world, and yet it can not supply words strong enough to suitably describe the ineffable folly of one-eyed politicians, with that solitary option fixed upon the ballot box."

INDIA IN JAPAN.

Marquis Okuma on India.

[In "the Journal of the Indo-Japanese Association" of January last Marquis Okuma contributes an article on "The Post-Bellum Mission of Japan" in which he obligingly refers among other matters to India which is indeed very interesting.]

First of all, let us be liberal and large-minded enough to appreciate and sympathise with China. Her people belong to the same race as we, and use the same written language as ours, and it ought to be no difficult question for us to enter into more intimate national and economical relations with them than at present. In addition to this, let us endeavour to establish closer intimacy with the Southern Pacific Islands, and what is vastly more important, with India. The nations of the East can not generally be regarded as highly advanced, and it is the duty of Japan to guide and assist them in their onward progress. She can thus make a valuable contribution to the peace of the world and to the advancement of civilisation.

Let me speak of India a little more. Several months ago, Mr. R. D. Tata, a member of the famous Tata House of Bombay, visited this country. He complained that it is to be much regretted that the Japanese do not pay due respect to the Indian people; although the latter welcome the former as friends, some of the former, imitating the example set before them by Englishman, are apt to treat the Indian people with contempt, and that under such circumstances it would not be possible for the Indians to be on terms of intimacy with the Japanese, however much the former may desire it, the result being that the feelings of Indians towards Japanese are generally undergoing a change for the worse.

Such is the cry of disappointment of the Indian people. Their trust in us and their sympathy with us seem to be undergoing a test, and if this state of things continues much longer, friendship between the two peoples will suffer, perhaps irrevocably. This is, indeed, a very serious question with us, and so long as our people do not acknowledge their own fault and determine to be wiser, they can never be expected to achieve any considerable economical or political success in foreign countries, for to be a great people, we must entirely do away with egotism and race prejudice, and while we endeavour to develop ourselves, we must show respect for and sympathy with other peoples, and assist them in their efforts to progress.

If intimate national and economical relations can be established between all the countries of the East, and their co-operation secured, then the peace of the Orient will be a great contribution towards securing the peace of the world and the happiness of mankind. Such has been, and will be, my ideal.

If China can be developed and advanced by the efforts of Japan, not only the East, but also the whole world will be benefitted.

ON JAPAN AND INDIA

Considering Japan's geographical position and her historical and racial relations with China, it is evident that she is better fitted than any other nation for the accomplishment of this noble task. Again, if Japan can become more intimate with the Southern Pacific Islands and with India, this in itself will be instrumental in bringing us to a better understanding with England and other powers. The East and the West can thus be united in a much closer tie of friendship, which will be a great step towards securing the peace of the world.

Situated outside the sphere of Western civilisation, Japan has yet been able to make wonderful progress by adopting and digesting, by means of a special aptitude, western science and civilization. On this account the Japanese are often criticised as unsurpassed in imitative traits but lacking in creative genius. It is not necessary for us to enter into a discussion of this criticism which, however, our people should always bear in mind and endeavour to be more earnest in political, economical, social and other matters. Unless we do so, we can never have a civilisation of which we can boast that it is our very own.

Perhaps the only means of securing the lasting peace of the world is to be found in the thorough understanding between, and the eager co-operation of, the Japanese, Slavs, Germans, French, English and people of the United States. Whether this can be realised as the outcome of the present war still remains to be seen. Meanwhile, it will be well for us Japanese to be more liberal and magnanimous to appreciate the urgent need of the united efforts of the different races for the establishment of peace, and to attempt to come to a more complete understanding of, and greater sympathy with the economical and political situations, as well as thoughts and ideals of other peoples, so that our beloved Nation as the Peace-Maker of the East may discharge its duty to perfection.

INDIA IN SOUTH AFRICA.

A mass meeting of the Indian Community was held in January last in the Muhammanadan Madrassa Hall, Durban, for the purpose of considering the advisability of placing their grievances and demands before the proper authorities and also to elect delegates for the forthcoming South African Conference.

Mr. A. D. Padia presided and Mr. J. M. Francis acted as the Secretary.

The Chairman in the course of his speech, said :—We have now assembled here for the purpose of considering what steps to take in regard to matters connected with the great National Movement taking place both in South Africa and India.

After referring to the Allied victories in the War, he said :

At a time when the phase of the civilised world is going to be evolutionised, as a sequel to this great war, we South African Indians, want to know, where do we come in the adjustment of the new state? We have patiently waited all these years with the hope that the Union Government will spontaneously right our wrongs and inaugurate the proverbial British System of Administration, based and acted upon equality and justice, but unhappily, as yet we find no signs of its forthcoming from any responsible quarter, we have no other choice in the matter than to submit our present condition to the British people with a view to enable them to judge it in the new light of things.

It is a matter of great pleasure for me to state here that our countrymen from all parts of South Africa are going to assemble in Cape Town next week for the purpose of deciding an uniform course of action for promoting the cause of the South African Indians. This is the first time that a United South African Indian Conference is going to be held, and I believe, I am echoing the opinion of all assembled here when I say, that we wish every success to the Conference, and we ardently hope and pray that good will come out of the Conference.

The following resolutions were unanimously passed :

“This mass meeting of the Indians of Natal respectfully ventures to urge the claim of British Indian Subjects for the extension of Franchise rights and this meeting prays that the Union Government will be pleased to introduce the necessary legislation in the Union Government.

In view of the fact that since the absorption of the four Self-governing Colonies into the Union, British Indian Subjects have derived very little benefit therefrom, this mass meeting, in order to render the Union a meaningful expression, requests the Union Government to remove the inter-state restrictions placed upon the free movement of Indians throughout the Union.”

South African Indian Conference.

The following are among the resolutions passed at the Conference held in January last—

"In view of the fact that since the inauguration of the Union, British Indian subjects here derived very little benefit therefrom, and as the word 'Union' has been rendered a meaningless expression by the perpetuation of a parochial policy, this conference of Indians, representing the Cape, Transvaal and Natal, resolves to ask the Union to amend the laws that operate oppressively against British Indians, including the Act that prohibits the free movement of Indians throughout the Union."

"That this Conference of the Indian community, representing Natal, Cape and the Transvaal, respectfully ventures to draw the attention of the Union Government to the advisability of repealing the laws governing the indentured Indian immigration into Natal, as the Government of this Union and India have abolished the indenture system, and seeing that the existence of the Indian Immigration Trust Board is inimical to the interests of the Indian labouring class, this conference respectfully prays that the Government will be pleased to take into their immediate consideration the request contained herein."

It was decided that a deputation be appointed to wait on the Minister of the Interior and to submit the resolutions passed at the Conference for his consideration.

"Having regard to the fact that since the formation of the South African Union, British Indian subjects have derived no benefit therefrom and as the laws founded on account of colour still disfigure the statute books of the Union, inflicting considerable hardship, annoyances and injustice to British Indian subjects, this Conference of the Indian community in Natal, Cape and the Transvaal respectfully ventures to ask the Imperial Government and other Allied Powers not to concede the conquered territories in German West Africa to the Union Government until the latter Government repeals all the obnoxious laws enacted on racial and religious grounds, and restore to them the rights of which they were deprived and to which they are entitled, being equal tax-payers to the State. This Conference authorises the Chairman to cable the foregoing resolution to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies."

"The Conference resolves to send at least two Indian delegates from each Province of the Union to attend the special session of the Indian National Congress to be held in London, in order to support the claim of their motherland for autonomy, and that this Conference authorises the delegates to place the cause of the S. A. Indians before all constituted authorities and others who are capable of wielding authority over the Union Government, with a view to securing equal rights for all civilised peoples in South Africa."

"This Conference resolves to establish a committee consisting of 36 members, each of the Provinces contributing 12 members, for the purpose of devising ways and means of bringing about a unification of the Indians in the Union, and authorises this committee to submit a constitution for consideration to the next South African Conference."

"The Conference strongly protests against the action of the local authorities of the Cape Province in refusing to grant licences to Indians solely on account of nationality, and urging on the Provincial Council the necessity to amend the Ordinance so as to allow an appeal to the Supreme Court."

In pursuance of the resolution passed by the South African Indian Conference a deputation consisting of all the delegates from Natal, the Transvaal, and the Cape, headed by the president Sheik Ismail, waited on Sir Thomas Watt, Minister of the Interior, by the end of January.

Mr. M. Alexander in introducing the deputation referred to the fact that that was the first Conference of Indians held in South Africa.

Mr. P. S. Aiyar, on behalf of the deputation, read a statement giving an exhaustive resume of the positions of Indians in the Union, and suggested remedies that would meet the requirements of Indians domiciled in that country.

Mr. M. C. Anglia stated the grievances of Indians in Natal while Mr. P. K. Naidoo, on behalf of the Transvaal delegates, ventilated their grievances; and Dr. Gool spoke for the Cape Indians.

The Minister after a patient hearing expressed himself sympathetically and the deputation withdrew after thanking the minister.

SIR J. D. REES ON INDIA.

[The following appeared in the "Reynold's News of November last over the signature of Sir J. D. Rees, M.P.]

The so-called Montagu proposals are not Mr. Montagu's proposals. He is a part, and, being who and what he is, necessarily a large part, of them, but they are the joint proposals of himself and of Lord Chelmsford. It was Lord Chelmsford, who, succeeding Lord Hardinge as Viceroy, found conditions in India such, that as a practical and moderate man of statesmanlike views and attitude, such as he has always proved himself hitherto to be, he considered an advance in the direction of self-government an urgent necessity, such as could not wait till after the War. Indeed, he found the pressure of War, and the conduct of Indian princes and peoples during its progress, such as to precipitate the necessity for giving at once an instalment of a Constitution, the eventual grant of which has been inevitable ever since we ourselves decided to educate India in Western ideas of Government. We created in fact an intelligentsia, resembling in many respects that which next after German intrigue contributed in no inconsiderable, if not in the chief degree, to the ruin of a Russia, in which there was no place and no occupation for a generation brought up on a diet of modern democracy.

German gold and German intrigue indeed stimulated this body in India also into sedition, if not into revolt, and Lord Chelmsford made such representations to the then Secretary of State, Mr. Chamberlain, that he arranged to go out to India to inquire and confer with the Viceroy. His unexpected resignation and Mr. Montagu's appointment to succeed him, transferred this duty to the latter statesman, whom I have known throughout his Parliamentary career as a man of very great ability, with a high sense of public duty.

His proposals for the better government of India have been strongly attacked at a recent meeting of the new Indo-British Association, but if the House of Commons is any reflex of public opinion, and if the Councils of the Secretary of State and of the Viceroy, composed of the most distinguished Indian authorities of the day, are judges of Indian questions, the view of the new Association are not likely to prevail. If the question were, what form of Government is best for India, there would be a great deal

to say for their attitude, and it is by no means certain that the proposed changes will lead to better government.

But the question is what steps are to be taken and when to carry out a pledge given last August in Parliament to the effect that the policy of the Government shall be the gradual development of self-governing institutions in view to the ultimate realisation of responsible Government in India.

The policy may of course be mistaken. But there is no mistake possible as to its acceptance in the democratic House, and as to the necessity for giving effect to those, or to somewhat similar reforms.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that if these proposals are not accepted and acted upon without any avoidable delay justifiable disappointment will result, and further difficulty experienced in governing India. The best proof of their moderate character is that extremists in both directions, and particularly the Indian extremists, will have none of them, while they appear to satisfy moderate men at home and in India.

Everything must now await the result of the General Election, but all the news from India, and the results of such inquiries as had been held since Mr. Montagu's return, confirm the position taken by him and Lord Chelmsford, and proves that India by its articulate section will accept what is offered by way of reform, but wants it without delay.

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD ON INDIAN CONGRESS.

(Labour Leader—Sept., 1918).

The Indian National Congress seems to have split for good upon the Montagu Report, but so unreliable are newspapers and press cables that we must reserve final opinion until the Indian mails arrive some weeks hence. Meanwhile certain obvious facts may be pointed out and accepted.

Before the Montagu Report came to drive a wedge through Congress, the wedge was there. The old leaders never accepted Mrs. Besant, Mr. Tilak and the new Home Rule movement.

The men who had grown up in the earlier stages of India's demand for a liberal political policy found that their success came in the form, not of a political triumph against the Government, but of a new movement in the Indian opinion, far bolder in its expressions and demands and much more fundamental in its conception of political liberties.

This new movement brought new leaders ; it was more moving than the old in its appeal and brought new adherents. Mrs. Besant emerging from Adyar and the more confined fields of theosophy, slipped to the front and joined hands with Mr. Tilak. In many quarters she was not acceptable, but in the more advanced sections she was, and her contributions by voice and pen, enormously aided by the stupid persecution of the Government, have given her a status and the Home Rule movement an impetus which they would not otherwise have had.

The new adherents also made the movement for the first time "popular." The old Congress did lack a popular mass. It had the support of the educated and the middle class. It was just open to the suspicion that it was a movement of landowner's, capitalists, and lawyers, and some of its resolutions on political subjects and its neglect of certain popular interests gave colour to that suspicion. Now, village life has been influenced and political tides have made their motions felt at greater depths in Indian existence than ever before. India has gone far and fast during the last four years.

That being so, another change was inevitable.

Hitherto India has had to appear to be unanimous. The Congress was an Indian movement against a non-Indian bureaucracy, and this had to remain so until the fate of the bureaucracy was settled, and the general claims of India admitted. Then it was no longer a United India demanding the recognition of Indian rights that was required, but the rights being recognised, an India of various schools of opinion and outlook, working out India's destinies by conflict, debate, and rival methods. Congress has divided because a united Congress has done its work. My old Congress friends, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Surendranath Banerjee and the others must see in this their own success even if they are sad that events have taken this form.

Mrs. Besant, with her British political experience, will not miss the significance of what has happened and ought to be able to give

the new movement wise guidance. What we are seeing is the natural evolution of a right and a left wing in Indian politics, consequential upon the freeing of the Indian political mind to discuss Indian political policy on its own merits and not merely as against the political policy of the bureaucracy.

So far from regretting the division, I believe it is natural, and I should welcome the definite formation of two wings—provided the right keeps decidedly Indian and does not allow the left to force it into an unnatural alliance with the bureaucracy, and of this I see no signs. I have the fullest trust in the Moderate leaders. They have still a great contribution to make to Indian political liberty. Their attitude to the Montagu Report is intelligent, consistent, and wise, and they will have enormous influence in modifying it in the right direction and in reaping from it a rich harvest.

SIR SUBRAMANIA IYER.

But the left is also essential. India now requires robust independent thought and action. When Sir Subramanya Iyer flung back his knighthood at the feet of the Government in consequence of the attack made upon him by Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons, he did a fine thing. It is that spirit which is to awake India from a subordinate and cringing attitude and spirit, and India sadly needs such an awakening.

The life of India is to depend upon the two sides honestly and fearlessly setting forth their own views independently of each other, but with a sense of responsibility and tolerance. The days of meaningless compromise declarations, patchworks of the opinions of both sides and acceptable in reality to neither, have passed. India must know what its sections reply, think and choose between them. Perhaps our own Labour movement is going through a somewhat similar evolution.

On the actual points of immediate division little can be said with profit, till we have full reports of the Special Congress in front of us. The comments cabled here are pettifogging. There is agreement that the Montagu Report must be taken as a basis, must be criticised and amended. That a time limit should be placed upon the transition stage between the bureaucracy and self-

government I consider to be of very minor importance. Indian public opinion will settle that if it be worth its salt.

That kind of guarantee is always elusive. That there should be an agreement on the details of self-government I believe to be of the greatest importance, and of equal importance is a determination to eliminate from the Scheme all committees and councils and powers which, set up nominally for the transition period, will acquire such authority during it that they will become blocks in the end to the realisation of a proper system of self-government.

I should therefore concentrate opinion on the abolition of the Secretary of State's Council in London, the appointment of two Under-secretaries, one of whom should be an Indian, and an arrangement of councils and executives which should take political control out of the hands of civil servants and put it in those of the elected legislatures. That done, we may trust that the system will evolve itself, and the creation of a real public opinion in India will take care that the evolution is not unnecessarily delayed.

SIR. S. P. SINHA AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE.

Speaking at a conference of the Overseas Press Deputation in Oct. 1918, on the situation in India and the bearing of the proposed changes of the constitution upon it, Sir S. P. Sinha (now Lord) said :—

It had been always understood that the ultimate goal to the system of government in India should be responsible government. It was small wonder that Indians who had been educated on English literature should aspire to the introduction to the East of the principles of democracy which had developed in the West. There was no reason to believe that those principles would not work equally as well in other countries as they had among Western nations. All systems of government were progressive and he admitted that India must pass through many stages before she was as well educated in the application of democratic principles as England was. Speaking as an Indian, he would say that the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was valuable not so much because of the measure of immediate performance which it gave, as of the promise of greater performance which it contained. If the scheme was carried out in its main principles, with possibly some of its too cautious checks and counter-checks eliminated, he thought it would give satisfaction to the great bulk of the people of India. Judging from newspaper reports and from communications he had received from India within the last few weeks, he thought he was justified in saying that the more the people of India studied the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme the more

they were coming round to the opinion that it was a measure worthy of their acceptance.

The Economic Situation.

Referring to the economic conditions of India Sir S. P. Sinha said that he noticed the other day that Sir James Meston had been reported as having said that India was in a great state of prosperity. He had reason for believing that Sir James Meston had been misunderstood. It was not a constitution alone that was wanted for India, but contentment and prosperity. However efficient the system of Government might be in India, it would be generally admitted that India was a very poor country, and unless the whole policy of *laissez faire* was changed, was likely to remain so. India had not been prosperous for a long time past and was not prosperous now. *India had been the hewer of wood and the drawer of water for the rest of the Empire.* She desired and demanded a place in the Empire worthy of her glorious past, of her present resource, and of the part she had been privileged to bear in this war. With a peaceful people, fertile soil, and unlimited reserves in men and material, there was no reason why India should not be as prosperous as any other part of the Empire. They looked to the rest of the Empire, and particularly to England, to find the remedy. The industrial development of India was the most essential need of the present moment.

Without an increase of prosperity it was useless to expect India to be content and loyal to its connection with the Empire. It was no wonder that the educated classes of India were continually asking what was wrong with the Government, because after all, it was the function of the Government and not of the people to see that there was prosperity in the land. Literally millions in India were on the border of starvation. Half the population never had a full meal in the day, and means must be found to remedy this state of things. It was essentially necessary to take steps with regard to the constitution as a means of bringing about contentment and prosperity. What was wanted was democratic government, and there was no reason why it should not work equally as well in India as in any other country. The object of the war was that every people should have the same chance and right of self-development.

INDIA IN THE IMPERIAL WAR CONFERENCE

IMMIGRATION PROBLEMS.

The following papers regarding reciprocity in matters of immigration between India and the Dominions are published for the information of those interested in the subject :—

Extract from a letter from the Colonial Office to the India Office
From Colonial Office to India Office, No. 35892.

Downing Street, 7th Aug. 1918.

Sir,—I am directed by Mr. Secretary Long to transmit to you, to be laid before Mr. Secretary Montagu, copies of an extract from the Fifteenth Day's Proceedings at the Imperial Conference, together with copies of the memorandum prepared by Sir S. P. Sinha.

I am &c.,

HENRY LAMBERT.

To

The Under Secretary of State of India.

ANNEX. I :—**Memorandum by Sir S. P. Sinha.**

The views and recommendations of the Indian representatives on the position of Indians in the Self-Governing Dominions were placed before the War Conference last year in the form of a memorandum which appears as an annexure to the printed report of the Conference. The subject was discussed on Friday the 27th April 1917, and the "Conference unanimously accepted the principle of reciprocity of treatment between India and the Dominions, and recommended the memorandum to the favourable consideration of the Governments concerned." It is mainly with a view to eliciting information as to whether any action has been actually taken, and, if not, how soon it is likely to be taken by the Government concerned to give effect to our suggestions that a few of the outstanding questions are mentioned in the present note.

2. The Indian grievances dealt with in the last memorandum fall conveniently under the following three groups :—

(1) Treatment of Indians who are already settled and resident in the Self-Governing Dominions.

(2) The difficulties and disadvantages of Indians intending to visit the Dominions not with the object of settlement but for purpose of travel, education, or business.

(3) The question of future immigration to the Dominions.

3. As regards the difficulties of resident Indians, the disability imposed on the Sikh settlers in Canada, numbering about 4,000 men, of not being allowed to bring their wives and minor children to live with them, is a very real and serious hardship, and, as was pointed out in last year's notice, has caused acute dissatisfaction amongst perhaps the most prominent martial race in India and those who flocked with the greatest alacrity to the Indian Army for the defence of the Empire. This unfair and unnatural prohibition is the more galling because the Indians resident in South Africa have, since the passing of the Indians Relief Act of 1914, the privilege of introducing into the Colony one wife as well as her minor children. The Japanese have the right of taking not only their wives, but also their domestic servants. No further time should be lost in removing the prohibition which appears to be in force in Australia also.

4. Of the Indians settled in the Self-Governing Dominions, by far the largest number is domiciled in South Africa. Cape Colony has an Indian population of 6,606, Transvaal of 10,048, Orange Free State of 106, and Natal of 133,031 souls. The Indians Relief Act of 1914 has removed many disabilities, but from reliable materials placed before us it appears that there are still many substantial grievances and disabilities which are not merely of an administrative character, as General Smuts seemed to be under the impression last year, but are based upon already existing or impending statutory enactments.

The following would appear to be some of the principal grievances of South African Indians :—

(1) *Trading Licences.*—It is necessary to obtain a license in order to be able to carry on any trade or business in South Africa. Each Province has its own trading licence legislation, and the tendency recently has been in every Province to transfer the control of licence from the Government to municipalities. Although there is a system of appeals from the decisions of the municipalities, *e. g.*, in Natal to Town Councils or to Licensing Appeal Boards, the right of appeal to the Courts is extremely limited. Thus, in Natal, against refusals of application for new licences there is a right of appeal in matters of procedure, but not of facts, to the Provincial Division of the Supreme Court, whereas, in cases of refusal to renew licences there is a right of appeal on facts also. It is generally contended that the municipalities arbitrarily refuse to grant licences to Indians with the improper and indirect object of destroying Indian trade, and the Indian newspapers are full of such instances. The trading rights of Indians in South Africa are a

vital issue. If the Indian community remains at the mercy of their European rivals in respect of the right of their members to earn an honest livelihood by trade it is only a question of time for the whole community to become impoverished and be reduced to industrial helotry. The remedy seems to be to give the fullest right of appeal in all cases of refusal of licences to the Provincial Division of the Supreme Court—on questions of fact as well as of procedure.

(2) *Parliamentary and Municipal Franchise.*—As observed in last year's note, there are stronger and more obvious grounds for extending the municipal franchise to the Indians resident in South Africa than the Parliamentary franchise. It might be pointed out, however, that we are nearer to the introduction of representative institutions in India this year than we were last year, and therefore the argument for depriving the African Indians of the franchise on the ground of their coming from a country where representative institutions do not exist will carry still less weight now, and there is a strong case for granting the franchise, at least to the richer Indian merchants. Their claim to the extension of the municipal franchise in all the States seems to be much stronger as this right is enjoyed in Natal and Cape Colony, where some Indians are reported to be discharging municipal functions to their credit. The special necessity for the grant of the municipal franchise will appear from what has already been stated with regard to trade licences.

(3) *The Ownership of Land.*—Unlike their compatriots in Natal and at the Cape, Transvaal Indians, under the old Republican Law 3 of 1885, remain under the disability that they are denied the right to own fixed property, i. e., from having the legal ownership registered in their own names. The system of indirect ownership, in other words, nominal European ownership originally suggested by the Republican Government themselves, prevailed until quite recently, and is still occasionally adopted. The process is round about, cumbersome and expensive, but the facts are notorious, and the circumstances are legally recognised by the Courts.

Since about the year 1914, the practice has grown up of forming and registering, under the Transvaal Companies Act, 1909, small private companies with limited liability, whose members are all Indians (frequently an Indian and his wife), and possessing an independent legal *personal* for the purpose, amongst other things, of acquiring fixed property. All these transactions have recently received judicial recognition. It is said that attempts are now being made by interested parties to deprive Indians of this right of indirect ownership of fixed property. Recently a question was put on the subject in Parliament, and the Government spokesman replied that it was intended to examine into the question, when the new companies law was under consideration. Advantage has frequently been taken by Indians of these indirect, but quite legal, methods to open business in townships whose private regulations prohibit the sale of stands to Indians, which, in themselves, are intended indirectly to compel Indians to reside and trade in special locations, which, again, would mean financial ruin to most of them, and against which attempt the Indian community has fought since long before the Boer War.

On the contrary, the prohibition against Indian ownership of fixed or landed property should be repealed by Parliament, on the grounds that it tends to foster insincerity on all sides, to deprive Indians of some of the

elementary rights and responsibilities of citizenship, which are not denied even to the aboriginal natives and other non-Asiatic coloured peoples of the Province, and which are possessed by their compatriots in the coast Provinces, and especially in Natal, where the bulk of the Indian population of the Union is to be found. Transvaal Indians ought not to be compelled to regard themselves as possessing an inferior status, in this respect, to their compatriots resident in the coast Provinces, and such a statute as Law 8 of 1885 is an anachronism and opposed to the spirit of modern legislation.

(4) *Railway Regulations.*—In the Transvaal, for a number of years past the policy of racial segregation has been enforced on the railways. Special legislation to that end was sought in 1910, but was strenuously opposed by the Indian community, with the result that certain regulations were eventually agreed to, embodied in the papers published in Blue Book Cd. 5363 of 1910 (pages 102-5 and 114), at a time when the Indian community was in a relatively weak position, having its energies fully engaged in the passive resistance struggle which was then at its height, and which left the community powerless effectively to resist further encroachments upon its liberties. But the arrangements therein referred to were of purely local application, and were not intended in any way to affect the position or diminish the rights of Indians in the other Provinces. Recently, however, regulations applicable throughout the Union have been published, some of which have already been withdrawn in deference to strong Indian opposition, while others remain, in spite of that opposition, not only embodying provisions contained in the old Transvaal arrangement, but going much farther, and extending to other Provinces of the Union a racial discrimination not hitherto known there. The Indian community, for a long period of years, has consistently fought against statutory discrimination based upon racial distinction. Segregation in travelling would only be tolerable if designed by statute, where exactly equal opportunities and facilities were provided for the different races affected. This is impossible for financial reasons and no such remedy is available. Apart from this, the situation in the Transvaal and in South Africa generally is very different from what it was in 1910, and less than ever are Indians disposed to depart from the principle of equality under the law, which they regard as fundamental in the British Constitution, and for which they have suffered enormously in the past, and are prepared to suffer for again. Not only ought the position of Indians elsewhere in the union not be reduced to the level of that in the Transvaal, but the latter should be raised to the highest level anywhere in the Union.

The settlement of these and other outstanding difficulties should receive the earnest attention of the Provincial Governments and the Union Government. It should not be forgotten that the bulk of the Indian settlement in South Africa is the result of the action of the South Africans themselves, and Natal, where the majority are domiciled, owes much of its prosperity to Indian labour. "The whole of Durban was absolutely built up by the Indian population," said Sir Leige Hewlett, ex-Prime Minister of Natal in 1903. In his farewell speech at Pretoria in November 1912, Mr. Ghokhale appealed to the European community in the

following words : " You have all the power, and yours, therefore, is the responsibility for the manner in which the affairs of this land are administered. You owe it to your good name, you owe it to your civilisation, you owe it to the Empire of which you are a part and whose flag stands for opportunities, for progress, for all who live under its protection, that your administration should be such that you can justify it in the eyes of the civilised world." This noble exhortation points to an angle of vision which is much nearer reality to-day than it was in Mr. Gokhale's time, and after the promise of " peaceful and statesmanlike " solution made by General Smuts last year there should really be no difficulty now. In order to enable the Union Government to deal with Indian problems impartially and promptly, the provision of convenient agency by which Indian grievances can be brought to the notice of the Local Government authorities would be a first step. The appointment of a local agent of the Indian Government at Pretoria should be an advantage both to the Indians in South Africa and the South African Government which has to deal with them.

5. For the group of questions relating to facilities for travel, education, or business, it is clear that it should be easy to arrive at a liberal and satisfactory solution almost immediately.

The present position is that the Dominion laws allow persons with good credentials to enter on temporary visits, in Canada as " tourists ", and elsewhere by special permits, which presumably are granted in the Dominion concerned. For instance, Australian Circular No. 31 of August 1904 lays down " that any persons, *bona fide* merchants, students, and tourist travellers, provided they are in possession of passports, may be admitted. On arrival in the Commonwealth the education test in their cases will not be imposed, and such persons are to be permitted to land without restriction, but, in the event of their wishing to stay longer than twelve months, an application for a certificate of exemption should be made before the expiry of the term stating reasons for extended stay."

In the case of *bona fide* students intending to study at any of the Australian Universities, the above requirement of special certificate of exemption appears to be quite unnecessary. The question of the Indian student problem in Australasia has assumed special importance, because at the present moment most of the Western world is practically almost shut out from Indian students, and will be for some time after the War, on account of the great rise in the cost of living and other causes. Australian Universities

are out of the War zone and comparatively cheap, and the Indian student is poor, and the West Australian University is only about nine-and-a-half days from Colombo.

6. Finally, as regards the question of future emigration of Indians to the Colonies for purposes of settlement, there is no change from the position which was taken up last year, that in this matter the Indian British subjects have a right to expect that they should not receive a less favourable treatment than other Asiatic people who are not subjects of the British Empire. But this question is not of any immediate urgency for India, and might well wait future discussion.

On our side we are being pressed to give practical effects to the resolution of last year's Conference.

7. It is only necessary in conclusion, to emphasise the necessity of definite action and a forward advance in these matters without any more delay. "I do not lose a due sense of proportion", says the Aga Khan in his recent book, "India in Transition," "when I say that one of the deeper causes, if not of discontent or disaffection, at any rate of the distrust of England and Englishmen that appeared on the surface in India of recent years, was the strained relationship between Indians and their white fellow-subjects in East Africa. A rankling sense of injustice was aroused by the reservation of the best lands for Europeans, and by a succession of ordinances and regulations based on an assumption of race inferiority. It must be remembered that such a state of injured feeling evokes a sub-conscious spirit, which in a few decades, may lead to results out of all proportion in importance to the "original causes." If the Indian representatives did not press this aspect of the question last year it is not because they did not realise their force or importance, but because they felt that the sympathetic attitude of the oversea Ministers made it unnecessary for any special emphasis to be laid on the racial aspect of these questions. A most excellent start was made last year and the impression created in India was most favourable. It would be a thousand pities if steps were not now taken to give effect and tangible shape to the good understanding and mutual comprehension attained last year. It is also obvious that these important questions should be settled not in any petty huckstering spirit of reciprocity only, far less of militant animosity and retaliation, but on those broad principles of justice and equality which are now more than ever the guiding principles of the British Empire, and which must be the foundations of the mighty Empire round the shores of

the Pacific and the Indian Oceans which are slowly but surely rising before one's eyes.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

Annex. 2 :—Extract from Proceedings of the Imperial War Conference, 24th July, 1918.

Chairman :—Mr. Hughes cannot come this morning, and Sir Robert Borden is away. The first subject on the agenda is Reciprocity of Treatment between India and the Dominions, on which there is a Memorandum by Sir Satyendra Sinha, which has been circulated, and also a draft Resolution, which I understand is the result of a meeting at the India Office. Shall I read the draft Resolution as the basis of discussion?

Sir S. P. Sinha :—As you please, Sir.

Chairman :—The Resolution is as follows :—

"The Imperial War Conference is of opinion that effect should now be given to the principle of reciprocity approved by Resolution 22 of the Imperial War Conference, 1917. In pursuance of that Resolution it is agreed that :—

"1. It is an inherent function of the Governments of the several communities of the British Commonwealth, including India, that each should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any of the other communities.

"2. British citizens domiciled in any British country, including India, should be admitted into other British country for visits, for the purpose of pleasure or commerce, including temporary residence for the purpose of education. The conditions of such visits should be regulated on the principle of reciprocity, as follows :—

"(a) The right of the Government of India is recognised to enact laws which shall have the effect of subjecting British citizens domiciled in any other British country to the same conditions in visiting India as those imposed on Indians desiring to visit such country.

"(b) Such right of visit or temporary residence shall, in each individual case, be embodied in a passport or written permit issued by the country of domicile and subject to *visé* there by an officer appointed by and acting on behalf of the country to be visited, if such country so desires.

"(c) Such right shall not extend to a visit or temporary residence for labour purposes or to permanent settlement.

"3. Indians already permanently domiciled in the other British countries should be allowed to bring in their wives and minor children on condition (a) that not more than one wife and her children shall be admitted for each such Indian, and (b) that each individual so admitted shall be certified by the Government of India as being the lawful child of such Indian.

"4. The Conference recommends the other questions covered by the memoranda presented this year and last year to the Conference by the representatives of India, so far as not dealt with in the foregoing paragraphs of this Resolution, to the various Governments concerned with a view to early consideration."

Sir S. P. Sinha :—Mr. Long, I am desired by my colleague, the Maharajah of Patiala, who is unfortunately prevented from being present to-day, to express his entire concurrence in what I am going to say to the Conference. I also regret exceedingly the absence of Sir Robert Bordon, because I wanted to express in his presence my deep feeling of gratitude for the generous and sympathetic spirit in which he has treated the whole question, both last year and this year. I desire to express my gratitude to him for the very great assistance he has rendered, to which I think the satisfactory solution which has been reached is very largely due—that is, if the Conference accepts the Resolution which I have the honour to propose.

Sir, the position of Indian immigrants in the Colonies has been the cause of great difficulties both in the Dominions themselves and particularly in my own country, India. As long ago as 1897, the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in addressing the Conference of Colonial Premiers, made a stirring appeal on behalf of the Indians who had emigrated to the Dominions. The same appeal was made in 1907 by Mr. Asquith, and in 1911. During all this time India was not represented at the Conference and it is only due to the India Office here to say that they did all they could to assist us. In 1911, the Marquiss of Crewe, as Secretary of State for India, presented a Memorandum to the Conference, which is printed in the proceedings for that year, and I cannot do better than just read one of the passages from that Memorandum :—

"It does not appear to have been thoroughly considered that each Dominion owes responsibility to the rest of the Empire for ensuring that its domestic policy shall not unnecessarily create embarrassment in the administration of India.

"It is difficult for statesmen who have seen Indians represented only by manual labourers and petty traders to realise the importance to the Empire as a whole of a country with some three hundred million inhabitants, possessing ancient civilisations of a very high order, which has furnished and furnishes some of the finest military material in the world to the Imperial forces, and which offers the fullest opportunities to financial and commercial enterprise. It is difficult to convey to those who do not know India the intense and natural resentment felt by veterans of the Indian Army, who have seen active service and won medals under the British flag; and who have been treated by their British Officers with the consideration and courtesy to which their character entitles them, when (as has actually happened) they find themselves described as 'coolies' and treated with contemptuous severity in parts of the British Empire. Matters like this are of course, very largely beyond the power of any Government to control, but popular misunderstandings are such a fruitful source of mischief that it seems worth while to put on record the grave fact that a radically false conception of the real position of India is undoubtedly rife in many parts of the Empire.

"The immigration difficulty, however, has, on the whole, been met by a series of statutes which succeeded in preventing Asiatic influx without the use of differential or insulting language. It is accepted that the Dominions shall not admit as permanent residents people whose mode of life is inconsistent with their own political and social ideals.

"But the admission of temporary visitors, to which this objection does not apply, has not yet been satisfactorily settled. If the questions were not so grave, it would be seem to be ludicrous that regulations framed with an eye to coolies should affect Ruling Princes who are in subordinate alliance with His Majesty and have placed their troops at his disposal, members of the Privy Council of the Empire, or gentlemen who have the honour to be His Majesty's own Aides de Camp. It is, of course, true that no person of such distinguished position would, in fact, be turned back if he visited one of the Dominions. But these Indian gentlemen are known to entertain very strongly the feeling that, while they can move freely in the best society of any European capital, they could not set foot in some of the Dominions without undergoing vexatious catechisms from petty officials. At the same time, the highest posts in the Imperial service in India are open to subjects of His Majesty from the Dominions.

"The efforts of the British Government to create and foster a sense of citizenship in India have, within the last few years, undoubtedly been hampered by the feeling of soreness caused by the general attitude of the Dominions towards the peoples of India. The loyalty of the great mass of Indians to the Throne is a very conspicuous fact, and it is noteworthy that this feeling is sincerely entertained by many Indian critics of the details of British administration. The recent constitutional changes have given the people of the country increased association with the Government, and have at the same time afforded Indians greater opportunities of bringing to the direct notice of Government their views on the wider question of the place of India in the Empire. The gravity of the friction between Indians and the Dominions lies in this, that on the Colonial question, and on that alone, are united the seditious agitators, and the absolutely loyal representatives of moderate Indian opinions."

This, Sir, was in 1911, three years before the War; and if the position was correctly described then, you will conceive with how much greater strength the same observations apply to the present position as between India and the Dominions. Of course, since 1911, so far as South-Africa is concerned, many practical grievances which then existed have, I gratefully acknowledge, been removed, but there are still many others outstanding. Those are referred to in the memorandum which has been circulated to the Conference, and I trust my friends Mr. Burton and General Smuts, to whose statesmanship South-Africa, including all its inhabitants, owes so much, will be able, on their return to their own country in process of time to remove all, or at any rate some, of the grievances to which I refer. I recognise that it is a matter of time. I recognise their desire to remove those grievances, and I appreciate the difficulties of getting any legislation through their own Parliaments for that purpose; but at the same time I hope the matter will not be lost sight of, and that an early consideration will be given to matters which have not been the subject of agreement between us on this occasion.

But, Sir, so far as the outstanding difficulty of India is concerned, I am happy to think that the Resolution which I now propose before the Conference, if accepted, will get rid of that which has caused the greatest amount of trouble both in Canada and in India. There are now about 4,000 or 5,000 I think nearer 4,000 than 5,000—Indians in the Dominion of Canada, mostly in British Columbia, I think, in fact, all in British Columbia; and the great difficulty of their position—a difficulty which is appreciated in India—is that these men are not allowed to take their wives and

children with them. Now the Resolution, in paragraph 3, removed this difficulty—that is to say, if it is accepted and given effect to—and I consider that that will cause the greatest satisfaction to my countrymen, and particularly to that great community of Sikhs who have furnished the largest number of soldiers during the war, and to whom these 4,000 men in Canada belong.

The principle of reciprocity which was accepted by the Conference on the last occasion is again referred to with approval, and effect is to be given to it immediately as regards some of the most urgent matters concerned.

I have read from Lord Crew's Memorandum, Sir, the ludicrous position which now exists with regard to Indians of position visiting the Dominions. That position will be altogether altered if the Conference accepts the second part of the Resolution which I propose—namely, that "British citizens domiciled in any British admitted into any other British country, including India, should be country for visits," and that the system of passports now in existence be continued, which would prevent any influx of undesirable labour population.

I think that, as the whole matter has been before the Conference so long, it would not be right for me to take up the time of the Conference further. I venture to think that if this Resolution is accepted, it will solve many of the most acute difficulties which have arisen between the Dominions and India and, speaking for India, I can assure you that it will cause the greatest satisfaction, and will help us to allay the agitation which, particularly at a time like this, is a source of grave embarrassment. That is all I have to say, Sir.

Mr. Rowell : There are just one or two observations I should like to make, Mr. Chairman. May I say how sincerely Sir Robert Borden regrets that he could not be here this morning for this question. He has personally taken a very keen interest in the question, and I am sure he will appreciate the very kind references which the representatives of India have made to his endeavour to find a solution of the difficulties which have existed for many years between India and the Dominions in connection with this very important problem.

The Resolution as submitted is accepted by Canada. We have had several conferences, and the terms of the Resolution represent an understanding arrived at by India and the Dominions. We look upon it as a matter of importance that the principle implied in the first paragraph of the Resolution should be frankly recognised by all the communities within the British Common wealth. We recognise that there are distinctions in racial characteristics, and in other

matters, which make it necessary that, while we fully recognise the principle of reciprocity, each should exercise full control over its own population. The other paragraphs of the Resolution give effect to the proposals which have been discussed before the Committee set up by the Conference for the purpose, and give effect in such a way as I am sure we all hope will meet the general approval of the citizens of the Dominions and of India, as well as of the other portions of the Empire. We are glad to be able to remove the grounds of objection which India has felt, particularly with reference to the liberty of the Indian residents in Canada to bring their wives and minor children to Canada; but it was felt that this matter could not be dealt with except as part of the whole problem, and it is in connection with the solution of the whole problem that this forms an important part.

I think the number of Sikhs in Canada is not quite so large as Sir Satyendra has mentioned. While there was this number at one time, I think a number have returned to India, and the number is not now large. I am sure we all appreciate the splendid qualities which the Sikhs have shown in the War, and the magnificent contribution which that portion of India particularly has given to the fighting forces of the Empire, and I am sure it would have been a matter of gratification to us all if Sir Robert Borden could have been here when this important matter was being dealt with by the Conference. I am also confident that the effect of this resolution will be to draw together the Dominions and India into closer bonds of sympathy and to cement the bonds that bind our whole Empire together as a unit for great national purposes—for those great, humane, and Imperial purposes for which our Empire exists.

Chairman : Mr. Cook, do you desire to say anything on this?

Mr. Cook : No, I think not, Sir.

Mr. Massey : I am very glad that this solution of the difficulty has been arrived at. So far as New Zealand is concerned there is no serious difficulty. We have very, very few Indians in New Zealand, and so far as I know, the people of India have never shown any tendency to emigrate to New Zealand. I simply state the fact—I am not able to explain the reason. The objections, I understand, have come mostly from Canada and South Africa, and I am very glad indeed, from what has been said, to learn that those objections have been removed. Of course, we shall have the administration of the law in so far as it does apply to New Zealand, but I do not anticipate any difficulty there, and I think what has been done to-day not only removes the present difficulties, such as they are, but will prevent serious difficulty occurring in the future. I value the Resolu-

tion on that account really more than on any other. Though New Zealand, as I have said, is not seriously interested in this matter, I have no doubt if Indians had come to New Zealand in considerable numbers, objections would have been raised, and it would have been the duty of the Government to take the matter in hand. That, however, has not taken place.

I should like to learn from Sir Satyendra Sinha whether this will affect Fiji in any way. Fiji is a neighbour of ours, and most of our sugar is produced there. It is not refined there, but is sent to Auckland for refining purposes. I understand a very large number—I am not going into details, but I believe over 60,000 Indians are employed in Fiji at the present time in the production of sugar. I simply ask the question because the point is likely to be raised as to whether it will affect them.

Sir S. P. Sinha : In no way.

Mr. Massey : I am very glad to hear it. I hope as far as Fiji labour is concerned that even in Fiji some satisfactory solution of the difficulty will be arrived at in connection with that Dependency of the Empire. I know there is a little friction—not serious, but a little—but as far as I can understand the position—I do not profess to know the whole details—the difficulties are not insurmountable.

Sir S. P. Sinha : The difficulties are of a different nature. I hope they have been practically solved.

Mr. Massey : That is all I wish to say, Sir.

Mr. Burton : The matters which were raised by Sir Satyendra Sinha and the Maharaja in connection with this question present, I suppose, some of the most difficult and delicate problems which we have had to deal with, and which it is our duty as statesmen to attempt to solve satisfactorily if the British Empire is to remain a healthy organisation. I am sure we all feel, as far as we are concerned—I have told Sir Satyendra myself that my own attitude has been, and I am sure it is the attitude of my colleagues—sympathetic towards the Indian position generally. There are, of course, difficulties, and it would be idle to disguise the fact that many of these difficulties are of substantial importance, which have to be faced in dealing with this matter. But I do not despair of satisfactory solutions being arrived at.

Sir Satyendra Sinha has been good enough to refer to the attitude adopted by Canada and ourselves in discussing this matter in Committee, and I think it is only right from our point of view to add that the possibility of our arriving at a satisfactory solution on this occasion has been due very largely indeed to the reasonable and moderate attitude which the Indian representatives themselves

have adopted. But for that, of course, the difficulties would have been ever so much greater. As far as we are concerned, it is only fair to say—and it is the truth—that we have found that the Indians in our midst in South Africa, who form in some parts a very substantial portion of the population, are good, law-abiding, quiet citizens, and it is our duty to see, as he himself expressed it, that they are treated as human beings, with feelings like our own, and in a proper manner.

As to the details, I need not go into all of them. Paragraph No. 3 embodies, as a matter of fact, the present law of the Union of South Africa. That is our position there, so that our agreement as to that is no concession. I pointed out to Sir Satyendra when we were in Committee, that in some of these points which he brought up as affecting South Africa, I thought in all probability, if he were in a position to investigate some of them himself, he would find that perhaps the complaints had been somewhat exaggerated. I cannot help feeling that that is the case, but I will not go into these matters now. As far as we are concerned in South Africa, we are in agreement with this Resolution, and also with the proposal referring the Memorandum to the consideration of our Government, and we will give it the most sympathetic consideration that we can, certainly.

Sir Joseph Ward: Mr. Long, this is a development in connexion with the Empire that I regard as one of the very greatest importance. At the last Conference we made a move in the direction of meeting the wishes of India, and this Resolution, now embodying the results arrived at by the Committee which has been enquiring into this matter, carries the matter, I think rightly so, a good deal further. I think it is a move in the right direction. The underlying recognition of the right of the overseas communities to control their own populations within or coming to their own territories is one as to which no recommendation from this Conference, if it were made in the opposite to their wishes, could have the least effect within any portion of the British Empire, and in that respect it is laying down a foundation upon which I regard the whole of these proposals as being based.

The important factor in connection with it is this. All our countries, at all events, New Zealand, have in the past, from causes or reasons one need not specially refer to, viewed with some concern the possibility of large numbers of Indians coming to them and becoming factors that would disturb, interfere with, or change the course of employment. I am of the opinion that the first proposal submitted is one that would be agreed to by every reasonable person in our country and would meet with their approval.

I take the opportunity of saying that sub-clause (c) of the second paragraph of this draft Resolution "Such right shall not extend to a visit or temporary residence for labour purposes or to permanent settlement"—completely meets the position that a good many peoples have had difficulties about, and I assume the Indian representatives are just as familiar with them as we are.

Upon the question of the introduction—although I have nothing to do with it as a representative here—of the wives of those men who have been admitted into Canada, that is, in my opinion, not only a wise thing to do, but on the highest grounds, possibly moral grounds—it seems to be a legitimate corollary to what the Canadian Dominion have done with regard to the 4,000 or 5,000 men who are there.

And I want to say with regard to the Memorandum which has been placed before us by the Indian representative on those several matters, that as far as I am concerned I have read the Memorandum very carefully this morning, and I shall be glad, at the proper time, to give the matters referred to the fullest consideration in our country.

Mr. Montagu : Mr. Long, may I just detain the Conference one minute to express, on behalf of the Government of India and my colleagues, our gratitude for the way in which this Resolution has been received at this meeting of the Conference. Sir Joseph Ward has rightly said that this Resolution has taken the question a good deal further. I emphasise that by way of caution, and I hope I shall not be charged with ingratitude when I say that it would not be fair to the Conference to regard that Resolution as a solution of all outstanding questions. Many of them can only be cured by time. Many of them, as Mr. Burton has said, require careful study. But I feel sure that the spirit in which the Resolution has been met, and the whole attitude which the representatives of the various Dominions have taken towards it, will prove to India that as matters progress, and as time advances, there is every prospect that Indians throughout the Empire will be treated not only as human beings, but will have all the rights and privileges of British citizens.

Mr. Cook :—Mr. Long, may I just say one word, lest my silence be misunderstood. As my friends know, I attended the Committee meeting yesterday, and concurred in these proposals, and the reason I do not occupy the time of the Conference is that there is nothing specifically relating to Australia in them. That is to say, many of the things referred to in this Memorandum are concessions which have already been agreed to in Australia very many years ago, even with regard to the bringing of the wives and minor children. Whatever the technical difficulties may be, I do not

think there is trouble occurring along those lines. At any rate, I am one of those who believe that when we admit a man to our shores we should admit his wife also and his family, and if we are not prepared to admit his wife and family, we have no right to admit him. It seems to me that is among the elementary things. I concur entirely with the proposal in that respect, but that being the only outstanding feature of the proposal which can in the remotest degree affect Australia, I will not take up time in discussing the matter, but agree cordially with what has been suggested and what has been done. I think we owe a great debt of gratitude to India for the attitude she has taken since this War began.

Chairman:—Perhaps I may be allowed to say a word in putting the Resolution. It will only be a very brief one. Last year the Conference was specially marked by the addition to our councils of the representatives of India, and I think we all feel that that made the Conference more complete and more real than it ever claimed to be before. This year sees another steady step forward and I am bound to say that I think, having followed these proceedings very closely—I had the privilege to be present at the meeting which the Prime Minister of Canada was good enough to summon last year, when Sir Satyendra put the general case before us, and I think you will agree that that was a very useful meeting and started us in the direction which has been consistently followed since—I think this steady advance is due, as has been said, not only to the wise, moderate, and extremely able line taken by Sir Satyendra and his colleagues—last year it was Sir James Meston and the Maharaja of Bikanir who represented India with him, while this year it is the Maharaja of Patiala—but also to the very statesmanlike view which has been taken of their responsibilities by those who speak on behalf of the great Self-governing Dominions of the Empire. And certainly I rejoice more than I can say to see this evidence of the steady progress of the Empire along those lines which have been always followed in the past, and which, I believe, have made the Empire what it is—the recognition of fundamental principles, and a steady refusal to deny to any citizen of the Empire the privileges of Empire simply because of the accident of birth or locality. I regard this as a very important decision. On behalf of the Conference, I may perhaps be allowed to offer my congratulations to those who represent India and the Dominions upon this very considerable step in the development of our Empire. May I put the Resolution?

(The Resolution was carried unanimously.)

Savoy Hotel.

Dinner to Lord Sinha—Mar. 12, 1919.

The **MAHARAJAH OF BIKANIR** presided on March 12, 1919 at a complimentary dinner to Lord Sinha, Under-Secretary of state for India, at the Savoy Hotel.

Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, returned from Pairs in order to attend ; and among those present were :—

H. H. The Aga Khan, Lord Carmichael, Messrs Fisher, Barnes, Lords Hardinge, Donoughmore, Elphinstone, Cromer, Islington, Leigh, Willingdon, Brassey, H. Cavendish Bentinck, the Maharajah of Mayurbhanj, Lords Sligo, Lamington, Gainford, Mr. Herbert Samuel Sir George Foster, Sir Arthur Lawley, Major Sir Philip Grey-Egerton, Sir Thomas Berridge, Sir W. R. Lawrence, Colonel Sir J. Dunlop Smith, Sir Abbas Ali Baig, Colonel Thakar Sadul Singh, Mr. B. N. Basu, Mr. T. Lall, Sir Charles Balley and others.

Bikanir's Speech

The Maharaja of Bikanir proposing the health of Lord Sinha said : he had the greatest pleasure in associating himself whole-heartedly with Lord Sinha's other friends, whose name was legion, in offering the warmest congratulations upon the honour which the King-Emperor had been graciously pleased to bestow upon him. Another object of this function was to enable Indians to express their grateful appreciation of the true statesmanship and rare stroke of imagination which had prompted the Secretary of State to suggest and the Premier to accept Lord Sinha's appointment, which India welcomed as clearly emphasising the determination of His Majesty's Government to carry out without unnecessary delay a substantial measure of constitutional reform. The Maharaja of Bikanir paid a tribute to Lord Sinha's modesty and profound patrio-

tism combined with the utmost loyalty to the British Crown and his grateful appreciation of all that India's connection with British meant for India, also his high sense of public duty, his political insight and strength of character. He had never attempted to court cheap popularity by playing to the gallery. He had always unhesitatingly spoken and acted according to the dictates of his conscience in support of what appeared to him best for India and the British Empire. Law, order, and good government had been as dear to Lord Sinha as the continued political advancement of his countrymen. These characteristics had distinguished Lord Sinha throughout his career. His sterling worth had won for him both east and west of Suez the respect of Englishmen and Indians alike. His country was justly proud of this great Indian who had led the way in so many spheres with such conspicuous merit and success.

If there was one Indian whose appointment as Under-Secretary was certain to evoke widespread approbation it was Lord Sinha. The cordial reception with which the innate sense of justice and fairplay characterising the British people had been extended to Lord Sinha's appointment virtually unanimously by the responsible press and informed public opinion in England, had been noted with lively gratification in India, but there had been a few insinuations and misrepresentations by those who posing as experts on India had been assiduously carrying on an anti-Reform and anti-Indian campaign.

He continued :—

It is an open secret—and I hear that that popular Governor, Lord Willingdon (cheers) told the story in a sympathetic speech at the dinner recently given in his honour—that for some years the highest authorities in India had been urging upon His Majesty's Government the pressing necessity for a declaration of British policy in relation to Indian aspirations. I think I can add without impropriety that it subsequently fell to the lot of those of us who had the honour of representing India here two years ago further to press this consideration. This view was accepted by that high-minded statesman, Mr. Austen Chamberlain. His successor, within a few weeks of receiving the seals of office, made the most welcome and historic announcement of the 20th August, 1917 (cheers), with the full authority of His Majesty's Government and the concurrence of the Government of India. Two months later, in the Upper House, Lord Curzon showed the necessity for this action in the following eloquent terms :

"You cannot unchain the forces which are now loosened and at

work in every part of the world without having a repercussion which extends over every hemisphere and every ocean ; and believe me, the events happening in Russia, in Ireland, in almost every country in Europe, the speeches being made about little nations and the spirit of nationality have their echo in India itself. If the noble Viscount (Lord Midleton) had been at the India Office in the past summer he would have been the first to bring to us those serious representations continually coming from the Government of India and its head to have called upon us to take action and make some pronouncement. That is exactly what happened, and this statement of policy, not at all challenging, couched, I think, in most moderate and certainly in well thought-out terms, was the subject of repeated discussion at the Cabinet."

The Declaration and the official visit to India of Mr. Montagu at the express invitation of the Viceroy, were productive of immense good (cheers)—a view which is widely shared by both the Princes and people of India.

The Anti-Indian Agitation.

We knew some of our old Anglo Indian friends too well to expect them to be in real sympathy with such a declaration. And no reasonable person will for a moment cavil at honest differences of opinion. But what do we find ? On the 30th of October, 1917—several days before Mr. Montagu had reached India on the mission with which His Majesty's Government had specially entrusted him—the Indo-British Association held its inaugural meeting in London. The minutes of its proceedings were published under the surprising title of "The Interests of India." (Laughter.) Perhaps it was chosen because one of the professed objects of the Association is, we are told, "to promote and foster the unity and advancement of the Indian peoples." (Laughter.) The methods, arguments, and manifold activities of the Association have, however, singularly disguised this avowed aim, and all that we can say is—Save us from such friends. (Cheers.)

The Association does not expressly oppose the Declaration. But its real hostility to the policy of His Majesty's Government is revealed in almost every phase of its activity. From the first it has been developing a ceaseless pamphleteering and press propaganda. The booklets and leaflets it issues so freely are intended to alarm the ordinary man as to the condition of India, to belittle in every possible way the educated classes of that country (and indeed everyone who

has the temerity to disagree with its views), and to appeal to the personal and class interests at one time of the working man, at another—and more frequently—of business firms participating in Indian trade. Such firms were asked by circular, intended to be private, but which found a publicity unwelcome to the authors, for subscriptions to the Association of any sums from £1,000 downwards. The suggestion was made in this begging letter that such subscriptions could be regarded as “insurance premiums for British interests in India.” We believe in an industrial as well as a political future for our country, but we have yet to learn that the Indian Empire exists for exploitation by any particular commercial interests. As my right honourable friend, Mr. Chamberlain, publicly said when Secretary of State, India refuses to be regarded any longer in the economic sphere as a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water. But industrial development means increased purchasing power, and British trade stands to gain and not to lose thereby.

Unjustifiable Attacks.

My Lords and Gentlemen, if I have not been greatly misinformed, I think that the word “reaction” has not been entirely unknown in connection with your domestic policy (Laughter) And one section of your extremists in this country—for India has no monopoly of of this class of people (laughter)—are sounding shrill notes of alarm about India. Without going back to earlier occasions, we recollect that similar cries were raised some twelve years ago, when the Morley-Minto Reforms were under consideration; but with this difference, that as there is now an Indo-British Association, the anti-reform agitation is more noisy and persistent. Uneasily conscious that they are fighting a bad case, the Association—and in my remarks to-night I include generally the writer and speakers who have been co-operating in the campaign—freely resort to wholesale vituperation and personal abuse. Indians—including the dangerous and scheming Bengali Peer on my right (laughter)—have been indiscriminately branded as agitators, and India represented as seething with sedition and crime.

The policies of four consecutive Secretaries of State—Lord Morley, Lord Crewe, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, and Mr. Montagu—and of three consecutive Viceroy—Lords Minto, Hardinge and Chelmsford (cheer)—have been criticised in the most unjust terms. In fact, the “noncontents” would have you believe that they are right and that the Prime Minister, His Majesty’s Government, the

Secretary of State, the Viceroy, and the Government of India are all wrong. (Laughter.) We are even asked to believe that Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford are out to weaken British authority in India, and that they are courting a grave political disaster. The burden of their jeremiad comes to this: Carry the reforms through, aim at responsible government in India, and you strike a blow at the rule of the King-Emperor in India. But they have deliberately suppressed the fact that the Indian leaders fully recognize and have repeatedly stated that their ideal of self-government can only be realized by India remaining an integral part of the British Empire. This recognition is prompted not only by that deep and universal loyalty of the Indian people to their beloved Sovereign which their religion and traditions enjoin, but also by what has been termed "reasoned attachment."

The Rowlatt Report.

The mendacity and unfairness of such a campaign is nowhere more conspicuous—and that is saying a great deal—than in a pamphlet of the Association, under the title of "Danger in India: Sedition and Murder," an annotated eptiome of the findings of the Rowlatt Committee. You can imagine how eagerly anti-reform capital is made therein of these findings. Lamentable and serious as are the outrages dealt with in the Report, they relate to the nefarious activities of an infinitely small number out of a loyal Indian population of 315 millions, constituting one fifth of the inhabitants of the globe. (Cheers.)

It cannot too often be emphasized that India, especially in the last decade or so, has been progressing at such a rapid rate that the people who left the country even five years ago are not entitled to speak as experts. And it is all very well to refer to isolated incidents and opinions of individuals—usually anonymous—claiming to represent this or the other class in India. What India asks is that her affairs should be judged as a whole and by the public declarations of her responsible leaders.

The Ruling Princes.

Finally, I must deal with an issue on which I claim a first-hand knowledge, at least not inferior to that of the Indo-British Association or even of vehement leader-writers in organs echoing its views, (Cheers.) The impression has been very freely conveyed that the Princes of India are hostile not only to Lord Sinha's ap-

pointment but also to the reforms under contemplation. As one who has the honour to represent in England for the second time the Princes of India, I feel it my bounden duty to give to this gross misrepresentation the most authoritative and emphatic denial.

May I preface what I have to say with a word of explanation? As is well known the Indian Princes belong to no political parties whether here or in India. Their territories, representing an area of about one-third of the vast Indian Empire, are outside the limits of British India proper, and British jurisdiction is inapplicable therein. The interests of the Princes and their subjects—who constitute more than one fifth of the entire Indian population—are thus already safeguarded in many ways by treaties of friendship and alliance concluded, almost invariably at least a century ago, and sometimes longer, between the Rulers and the East India Company. When the administration of British India was transferred to the Crown more than sixty years ago, these treaties were accepted as permanently binding both by Queen Victoria and the British Parliament. Such assurances have been graciously reiterated by each successive British Sovereign in regard to the pledges and rights secured by the Princes through such treaties.

It follows that in matters relating to administrative reform in British India, the Ruling Princes are in the direct sense disinterested parties, actuated by no selfish considerations or personal motives, and that they have no axe to grind. I hope that their loyal and deep devotion to the King-Emperor and their attachment to the Empire need no words from me. (Cheers) Their only concern is to see such measures adopted as will further popularize, strengthen, and preserve the ties that bind England and India together. They have amply demonstrated time and again that in any matter endangering the Empire they can always be relied upon unhesitatingly to fight for the British Throne, and to range themselves in a solid phalanx on the side of constituted authority. (Hear, hear.) Nothing is more true than what has been repeatedly stated by the high officers of the Crown and the Princes themselves that there is a very great and real identity of interests between the British Government and the Princes.

Is it conceivable, therefore, that the Princes would be in sympathy with, much less advocate, measures of a revolutionary nature, or prejudicial to the stability of the King-Emperor's rule in India.

Sympathy with the Political Advance.

Nearly two years ago, speaking publicly in London for the Princes, I stated that the Rulers of the Indian States, far from being alarmed at or resenting any political advance in British India, would rejoice at such progress. Nevertheless, persistent allegations to the contrary have continued to be made by Lord Sydenham and others. It has even been stated in a recent book, described in Mr. Garvin's paper, by one speaking with authoritative knowledge of India, as "a harmful and spiteful contribution to the study of Indian reform," that some of us (and the reference to myself is obvious) do not represent the views of our Brother Princes; whilst in another page it is definitely asserted that the Maharajah of Patiala and myself were merely re-echoing the "gentle words" of Lord Sinha! (Laughter).

I propose, therefore to show categorically and conclusively the enlightened and favourable views held by the Princes of India generally in this connection.

He then quoted several speeches of Princes to show that the Princes favoured Reforms, the proceedings of, and the sentiments expressed at, the last Delhi Conference of Ruling Princes were next referred to and he quoted the Maharaja of Scindia.

Turning Point.

My Lords and Gentlemen, we are now face to face with one of the most critical periods in the political regeneration of India under the aegis of the British Crown. The decisions regarding Indian constitutional reform, ultimately reached in this country, must irrevocably affect, for good or ill, India's future political progress. (Cheers). Thus a very grave responsibility lies on His Majesty's Government, and the British Parliament and people. It rests with them, by seizing the golden opportunity now offered of handling the Indian problem in a sympathetic and liberal spirit, with imagination, breadth of view and boldness, to bring about the greater happiness and the enhanced loyalty and contentment of the people of India. Thereby they will be doing a great service, not only to India, but also to the Empire as a whole, and will be acting in accord with the best traditions of Great Britain, the nursing mother of representative institutions and free nations. She has taught us to appreciate fully the rights and liberties of citizenship, which now more than at any previous time, have become the natural aim and desire of every civilized people all the world over. Not only will India be placed well on the road to the goal of responsible

government, as an integral part of the Empire, she will also be enabled to bear a still greater share in Imperial burdens and responsibilities. A great deal of what has come to be known as "legitimate unrests" will further subside, and the anxiety and uncertainty in men's minds will be replaced by an ever-increasing confidence in the fulfilment of Britain's glorious mission in India. Instead of being discredited and disheartened, the ranks of sobriety, moderation, and restraint will receive constant accessions of strength. A loyal, developing, and contented India will be an asset of immense value to the Empire. (Cheers).

A Note of Warning.

On the other hand, should reactionary tendencies prevail in wrecking or whittling down the reforms or leading to inadequate or half-hearted measures, inconsistent with the spirit and letter of the Declaration, a situation of extreme gravity will be created. Speaking under a strong sense of duty to the King-Emperor and the vast Empire under his sway, I wish to sound this solemn note of warning. Should the counsels of the opponents of genuine reform be followed, feelings of bitter disappointment and grievous wrong will be dominant throughout the length and breadth of India. (Loud cheers). The full force of that dissatisfaction no man can gauge; but it must be obvious that in comparison with it the unrest and discontent of recent years would seem small. Should such a situation ensue, it is a matter for earnest consideration, whether the Indian people would be held solely responsible at the bar of history for results which would be as deplorable as they would be unfair both for Great Britain and for India. Let me assure you as an Indian, that India's Princes and people ardently desire progress without disorder, reform without revolution. (Cheers).

We are persuaded to expect better things than that the British Government and Parliament should accept the guidance of reactionaries whose activities and constant libels on the Indian peoples are responsible in no small degree for the unrest, constitute a barrier to better feelings and closer understanding between Indians and Englishmen, and have so baneful an influence upon impressionable youths. Let us not forget Edmund Burke's striking axiom that "a great empire and little minds go ill together." As Lord Carmichael, another popular Governor, pointed out in the House of Lords last August, we cannot stand still; we must either go back or go forward. To go back, he said, is a policy the people of the Empire

will not tolerate. Liberality, sympathy, and bold statesmanship have invariably answered well and advanced the greatness of the Empire in the past—notably in the case of the South African Union—and they will certainly not be misplaced in the India of to-day. (Cheers). Some two and a half years before the outbreak of war, His gracious Majesty said in his ever-memorable speech at Calcutta :

“Six years ago I sent from England to India a message of sympathy : to-day, in India I give to India the watchword of hope. On every side I trace the signs and stirrings of new life.”

India has amply proved her right to share in the fairer and better world which we have all been promised on every hand, at the victorious termination of the mighty struggle. If the British Government will but seize occasion by the hand to shape the promised reforms on bold and generous lines at the earliest possible opportunity, they will confirm the solidarity of the widely varied dominions of His Imperial King Majesty George V by strengthening the most enduring ties between England and India—those of mutual trust and helpfulness. (Loud applause.)

My Lords and Gentlemen, I give you the toast of Lord Sinha.

Lord Sinha.

The Right Hon. Lord Sinha, who was received with great enthusiasm, said :—

Your Highness, my Lords and Gentlemen—I can hardly express my sense of gratefulness to your Highness for the very kind, much too kind, and cordial terms in which you have proposed the toast of my health, and to you, my Lords and Gentlemen, for your very generous response. I should be more than human, less than human if I may say so, if I failed to be touched to the innermost recesses of my heart by this warm expression of your goodwill towards me, and I say without exaggeration that it will leave an abiding impression on my mind. But I am sure you will not think me vain enough to take this generous appreciation on your part of the position to which I have been called by the King-Emperor as in any sense personal to myself. My appointment as Under-Secretary of State for India is a striking illustration of the principle which Great Britain has adopted in the government of our commonwealth as applied to India. We, the loyal Indian subjects of His Majesty, have been holding fast for now more than sixty years to the gracious proclamation of Queen Victoria, emphasizing the abolition of all distinctions of race and

religion in the administration of India as the great Charter of our rights ; but slowly, steadily, almost imperceptibly, the march of events has taken us far beyond the position which that great proclamation gave us. India has been given a recognized and honoured place in the central councils of the Empire in war and peace, her Princes and her people have been treated as the equal custodians of our joint heritage, and Indian aspirations are measured today not in terms of our country, great as she is, but in terms of a greater fatherland of which India forms an integral part. (Cheers.) Indian representatives have participated on equal terms with the rest of the Empire in the anxious deliberations of war and peace ; and though I frankly confess (not in any spirit of assumed humility, but in all seriousness) that I am all too unworthy of the great honour done to me, England has shown to the world that in her Imperial family she recognizes the claims of all its members and disregards the prejudices which have prevailed for centuries.

Equal Citizenship.

I have no doubt that you are here tonight, not so much to do honour to me as to put the seal of your approbation to this policy, to let all whom it may concern know that England is not going to retrace her steps because the danger with which she was threatened is over, but that she holds fast to that great principle of freedom and equality in vindication of which she staked her very existence. (Loud cheers). It is that aspect of my appointment which has given such universal gratification to my countrymen. I have had the honour of receiving congratulatory telegrams which have come pouring in from all parts of India, and indeed from all parts of the world wherever there are Indians, from our great ruling Princes, from heads of ancient religious foundations, from our territorial aristocracy, from the leaders of Indian thought of all shades of opinion, and resolutions of approval and gratitude have been passed by different provincial councils, municipal corporations, district boards, public associations, and at public meetings in towns and villages. What can be the meaning and the significance of this universal acclamation from India ? It is not because of me, for I only occupy the position of an illustration of a great principle ; it is because the great principle to which I have referred has been so strikingly upheld and vindicated, and more especially because such vindication has largely dispelled, as I firmly believe, the doubts and misgivings which were everywhere arising in India owing to indis-

criminate and ill-informed attacks against the educated classes of India, not merely by irresponsible critics in the Press, but even by some who have held high and responsible office in India.

Loyalty of the Educated Classes.

And, sir, I should like to take this opportunity to enter a solemn protest, not so much against scornful sneers or offensive epithets, for these may be left to be their own answer, but against the idea that appears still to prevail in certain quarters that the educated classes of India are unfriendly to British. If by British rule is meant autocracy and domination in the name and under the garb of efficiency, we are opposed to it. (Loud applause.) We should not be worthy of our long connection with Great Britain and of our education if we were not. It is this critical attitude of mind which has in the past brought down upon our devoted heads invectives of reactionary politicians and officials.

I do not deny that there have been occasional aberrations on the part of a very small number, but I venture to think that, when not due to enemy intrigues, these have been almost solely due to the doubts and misgivings I have already referred to—often unreasonable, often unfounded, but still there. I can only express a hope that in the future no act or speech of responsible journalists and statesmen will foment or add to these suspicions. cheers)

Sir, I venture to assert that the educated classes, without exception, ardently desire to remain within the fold of the British Empire with the status of equal British citizens. They desire equality within the Empire and not severance therefrom. (cheers.) How otherwise is it possible to understand the thrill of pleasure which was felt by all India when Lord Morley referred to me as "one of the King's equal subjects"? How otherwise can we explain the wave of enthusiasm that has passed over India with regard to my recent preferment?

British Congratulations.

Sir, I must also take this opportunity to say what a source of peculiar pride and pleasure it is to me that hosts of my Anglo-Indian and British friends, officials as well as non-officials, have sent me their congratulations in terms no less appreciative, so far as I am personally concerned, and what is more precious to me—recognizing equally with my own countrymen the political

value of the unprecedented step that has been so boldly taken by those who are responsible for the future destiny of this far-flung Empire. To all and each of these friends of mine, I have tried to reply either by cable or by letter, but I take this opportunity of thanking them again, singly and collectively.

The Press, too, both in this country and in India have accorded almost without exception their sanction and approval to my appointment and elevation, and I should like to express grateful thanks, both for myself and my country, for their generous attitude. I hope I may be pardoned for referring to another personal aspect of the matter. I know that there are many countrymen of mine far more deserving than myself of the honours which have been bestowed upon me ("No, no") I can honestly say, I wish that these honours had gone to one of them. But uppermost in my mind to-day, and indeed ever since, the thought that there was one man who would and could have done far the greatest service to India if my position to-day were his—Gopal Krishna Gokhale (loud applause)—whom India shall ever mourn as one of her most patriotic sons and whose untimely death was one of the greatest of our misfortunes. Nor can I help giving expression to a poignant sense of regret that the true friend of Indian aspirations, than whom no man worked more hard or more unselfishly for our advancement—Sir William Wedderburn (cheers)—should not have lived to see what I am sure he would have hailed as a token of the new spirit which to-day animates Great Britain in her relations with India. A high British official and friend of mine has written to me that India has taken my appointment as "clearly showing that His Majesty Government mean business when they declare that it is their intention to raise India to the position of an equal partner in the Empire." (Cheers).

The Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme.

I have no doubt they mean business, and I am confident that a liberal and a generous scheme of reforms will be passed by the Parliament of this country—and that the pre-occupations of the coming peace and the necessity for full consideration of the Reports of the different Committees will not cause any great delay. I am confident that a reform scheme will be in operation within the next twelve months. (cheers.)

There is at present, at any rate, one well considered scheme before the public—the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme. I agree

with so much of what is said in a leading article of yesterday's *Times* that I make no apology for quoting one sentence from it :

"The great need of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme at this juncture is neither laudation nor abuse, of both by which it has had far too much, but constructive criticism of which there has been far too little."

Large parts of that scheme were accepted by all shades of opinion : namely, firstly closer connection between Indian States and British India ; secondly, necessity for as complete decentralisation as possible between the Secretary of State, the Government of India and Provincial Governments ; thirdly, the necessity for complete freedom in local self-Government ; fourthly much larger inclusion of Indians in the superior services, civil and military, fifthly, full industrial development ; sixthly broadening of the franchise of Legislative Councils ; and seventhly transfer of so much control as was consistent with the interests of law and order from the bureaucracy to representatives of the people. Controversy centred principally round the extent of such control and the method of transfer. He trusted that when there was so much agreement a satisfactory solution would be found. Lord Sinha concluded by appealing to Indians not to lose trust in England which had given conspicuous proof that she deserved all their trust in the responsible duties with which she was entrusted (cheers.)

Mr. Montagu.

After this substantial feast, gastronomic and intellectual I am reluctant to detain you many minutes. But I do want to take this opportunity for a little plain speaking (A Voice : That's what we want). The politician who regards it the prime function and duty of his life to promote the welfare and advancement of the Indian Empire, labours under the disadvantage of the rareness of occasions on which he can speak to audiences in England of the situation in the Indian Empire. If, therefore, I abuse your hospitality to-night, it is because I have got the chance of saying just one or two things that are uppermost in my mind.

It is now a little more than eighteen months since I accepted the responsible and high office I now hold, and my experience in that time gathered in India, in England and in Paris, has amplified and magnified the conviction with which I became Secretary of State, that the reform of the Government machine in India is vital

and urgent and ought not to be delayed (loud cheers). The whole spirit of our deliberations across the Channel today is that an Empire can alone be justified by the freedom and liberty which it guarantees, and the motive of the world's statesmanship at this moment is a hatred and detestation of ascendancy and dominion (loud cheers). Therefore I say, my Lords and gentlemen, that those who would stand in the way of Indian reform in this direction are not only in my opinion enemies of the British Empire, but are setting themselves athwart of world wide influence (cheers).

I am part author of a scheme of Indian reforms published for criticism. Never has anything been asked for to which a more generous response has been given (laughter). In pamphlets and in books, in streams and in deluge, criticism has poured forth, much of it helpful and constructive but also much of it prejudiced and ill-willed. His Highness the Maharajah and Lord Sinha have said something about the effect of such strictures upon youth. As I listened to their speeches I felt that they conveyed a lesson for those who write about India of the harm that can be done by ill-considered words, and the mischief that can be wrought by forgetting the sensitiveness of people who are striving for progress. For the British politician abuse and criticism, however ill founded and imaginative, are the bread and butter upon which he lives (laughter.) Sometimes it is a matter of astonishment to those who do not live in England that we hardly take the trouble to answer those who make abuse their stock in trade. People who write and speak on India, however, often forget that their words are far more than for domestic consumption.

The True Decentralisation.

The one thing proposed by the Viceroy and myself which seems to meet with universal satisfaction is the great project of decentralisation (cheers). In a speech I once made and which I have not since been allowed to forget, and before I was appointed to my present office, I dragged into a discussion in the House of Commons on Mesopotamia, by the kindness and toleration of the speaker, a picture of an India for which we should strive, consisting of a group of self-governing provinces or dominions, masters in their own houses, joined together for the common purpose of the country as a whole by the Government of India, and joined by a never-ending bond to the Empire which made them and gave them their liberty. (Cheers). Now nothing on the adminis-

trative side seems to me so obvious in the present administration than the irritation which is felt by those who constitute the Government of India with the horrible institution called the India Office (laughter). It is only equalled by the irritation that is felt by those who constitute the Provincial Governments with the horrible institution which is known as the Government of India (laughter). My Lords and gentlemen, this phenomenon, which is so shocking when you meet it in a partnership arrangement, seems to me inevitable when one authority sits on the head of another. I well remember looking at an excellent picture in *Punch*, drawn I think by Du Maurier, of the inside of an episcopal palace, when a letter was opened from a rector asking permission to do something or other in his parish. The bishop was warming himself in front of the fire, his wife was knitting in the armchair, and their small son in sailor suit was laboriously writing a letter: "Dear Mr. So and So, Dady says you mustn't." (laughter). That is the irritating part. Some inscrutable decree is passed many hundreds of miles away from Delhi or London, often unintelligible to those who receive it, preventing the man on the spot from doing what he wants. Harmony cannot be obtained, a quick solution of present difficulties cannot be achieved unless the Government of India is allowed to run its own affairs, and the Governments of the provinces are similarly given a free hand. (Applause.)

Yes, but where does that take us? There can be only one substitute for authority from above. There can be only one substitute for the ultimate control of the British Parliament—and that is the control of the people of India (loud and long continued cheering.) If I stopped at decentralisation I should have the unanimous support of the Indo-British Association (laughter). The Governor would no longer be hampered by tedious and irritating despatches from London; he would be ruler of his own country without the necessity of bothering about the opinions of his Legislative Council. The purpose of the Viceroy and myself, however, is by no means to increase the bureaucratic character of governments in the Province. Decentralisation can only be effective and autonomy can only be brought about by the substitution of responsible government for government by the India Office. (Cheers.)

Government by Vote.

But where does this lead us? It means that the substitute of government by despatch is government by vote. It has often been said that the reforms we propose have the unfortunate feature

that India is unfit to govern itself. To-night I am surrounded by Indians who hold, or have held, high places. We are convinced of the fitness of many. What we want to see is how India learns to use the vote on which the whole machinery will depend. (cheers.) Can Indians grudge a few years in which to see how the franchise works? How many people vote in India to-day? Only a few hand-fuls. The work of Lord Southborough's committee will enfranchise millions of Indians. Will they vote? Will they know what a vote means and what can be achieved by it? Will the constituencies which the Committee will devise be representative of the Indian Empire? If the British Parliament is the custodian of the growth of self-government in India we must have a few years in which to study the stages of that growth; and Indians have no right to tell us that in providing for this we are acting too cautiously or with too much hesitation.

Communal Electorates.

The first thing to do is to devise a representative electorate. That brings me to the subject of communal representation. I repeat that to my mind this is an unfortunate expedient fraught with many risks. (Hear, hear). However, everything else, theoretical and practical, must be sacrificed to obtaining representative legislative councils. If communal electorates are the only means to this end,—provided that they are designed to give the representation demanded by the necessity of the case—well then, there must be communal representation. (Hear, hear). But if such electorates are advocated simply, as I fear they are sometimes advocated, because there are still in the world believers in the old theory that if you split a country up you can govern it more easily, then communal representation is to be rejected. (Cheers).

I hasten to add that I make an exception for the Mahomedans, to whom we are bound by pledges as solemn as any Government ever gave to any people. To those pledges I am convinced that we shall remain faithful (cheers) until the day comes when the mahomedans themselves tell us that there is no necessity for separate electorates.

May I say one more thing, prompted by the remarks of His Highness, the Aga Khan? I for one do not believe that there is any essential antagonism between the interests of one section of the Indian people and any other. (Loud cheers). If in the Peace Conference it is unfortunate that India is presented by three men

none of whom is a Mahomedan, I can assure the Mahomedans of India that their peculiar interests and aspirations are as zealously voiced and as sympathetically considered by my two colleagues and myself as the opinions, desires and wishes of any other section of the Indian people. (Hear, hear.)

The Services and reform.

I want to say one word about the Indian Civil Service. There is no doubt in the minds of all thinking men that any unprejudiced and well-informed observer of Indian history and conditions will agree that services rendered to the country by the Indian Civil Service will stand for ever conspicuous as the greatest work ever accomplished in the history of the world by the men of one country for the people of another. But it is sometimes said that the reforms proposed will be to alter and prejudice the position of the Indian Services. Yes, it will alter the position. This is a time for plain speaking. The announcement of 20th August, 1917 promised the transfer of responsibility. From whom, to whom? To the people of India from the Civil Service of India. (Cheers). If we said to the Civil Service to-day that their political position will be the same in the future as it has been in the past, the announcement of H. M's Government becomes meaningless. (Hear, hear). For the past ten years I have been in close association with the Home Civil Service. Is their position unendurable? Is there any doubt about the great imperial services they render because they are subordinate to the policy laid down by Parliament? There is, believe me, for the Indian Civil Service an indispensable and honourable part in the future of India. The pronouncement of eighteen months ago meant nothing unless it meant that the political destinies of India are to be gradually reposed in the people of India, and gradually taken from those who have gloriously built up India as we know it to-day (loud cheers.) Although any talk of reform in his country brings out of retirement those who walk dangerously, as it seems to me, with their heads over their shoulders, gazing admiringly on the past, I do not believe that there is any Civil Servant in India who thinks (though it is sometimes claimed on their behalf) that the appointed destiny of the country can be delayed or altered in the interests of the Service (loud cheers.)

Work of the Transitional Stages.

I turn from the position of the Civil Service to that of Indian workers. It is for Parliament to decide what the Act will be. What I do know is that the reforms that are wanted for India to-day are not concessions flung to the hungry politician, but the opening of

the clearly marked road which will lead the people surely to their appointed destiny (loud cheers.) Nothing matters to me—the friction, the peculiar anomalies, the novelties, the friction which is prophesied—so much as to be sure of seeing before us the road which we are going to take (cheers.) Supposing, as I claim for the Referee Scheme which the Viceroy and I have published for criticism, that the future stages of progress depend not upon agitation but on the principles that constitute the essential ingredients of future stages, what have Indians to do? I tell you that there is only one way of ensuring rapid progress along that road, and that way does not lie in making political speeches abusing a race or class, or abusing your partners in the great experiment. Is there nothing definite that Indians can do during the transitional stages? No tongue can exaggerate the benefits of British rule in India. But education is still confined to a very small minority. Industrial development is in its infancy. Does anybody in this audience realise that last year in the great influenza epidemic no less than six million people died in India? In the State ruled by our Chairman, I believe that one out of seven died. The horrors of war are nothing to the influenza epidemic which has visited the whole earth. But has not the exceptional mortality in India something to do with poverty and the consequent lack of resisting power (cheer)? I say, supposing the questions of public health, education and industrial development were in the power of Indians to work for themselves, would these be dishonourable tasks? Would they not be the tasks for laying the foundation of a great Empire in the future?

When I was very young I was a great admirer of the game of cricket. One thing that impressed upon my youthful observation was always this, that each member of the team was left to discharge the function for which he was responsible. If the whole team ran after a particular ball it fell through their fingers. Nothing was worse for the side at the wickets than to spend its time in the pavilion criticising the batsmen. Let us see that in the new India the functions of each man and of each partner in the combination are defined, and let them each fulfil their appointed tasks without trying to interfere with the functions of others.

British and Indian co-operation.

The basis of this dinner is the honours we desire to do to our guest, Lord Sinha. He and I are called upon to work together with our colleagues in the India Office. It was a proud moment of my life when I learned that the recommendation of Lord Sinha as my comrade had been accepted by His Majesty, though at the time I felt a sorrow which you will all understand at the loss of Lord

Wington (cheers) to whom I owe very much for his friendship and assistance, and to whom India owes very much (cheers). Lord Curzon's associations with me has only been a short one ; but we propose of benefiting the Indian Empire. It seems to me that you forget personalities and just think of an Englishman and Indian thus working together in the control of Indian administration, you will have an excellent example of the co-operation and union between the two races which has been, and believe me, will continue to be, a creative force of all the best work to be done for India. I do not believe that, as has been said, the experiment upon which Government has embarked is a leap in the dark. I believe that the growth of Parliamentary and self-governing institution is an inevitable consequence and a result of British rule. Whether I consider the aspirations of India, or the interests of the British Empire, or the work which has been done by my fellow countrymen in India, I feel confident that the result of their labour in association with Indians, the only vision that they ought to desire to see achieved is a peaceful and prosperous India in which Indians will walk the highways of their own country conscious that they are to be the controllers of its destinies (Loud and long continued cheers).

Lord Carmichael briefly proposed the health of the Chairman in a humorous speech, and His Highness expressed his acknowledgments.

India in the Peace Conference.

Paris—11 April, '19.

At the Plenary Session of the Peace Conference held on the 11 April 1919, under the presidency of M. Clemenceau (French Premier) Mr Barnes on behalf of the International Labour convention placed a scheme for International Labour Organisation for insertion in the Peace Treaty. Delegates for the different countries were present including Lord Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikanir as the Indian representatives and also representatives of the British Dominions.

Mr. Barnes outlined the unhappy nature of the pre-war Labour conditions, and emphasised that the workers were determined never to return to those conditions. He urged that the highest wage-earning countries were not the best successful in the world-competition. For the first time in history they were now seeking the co-operation of all concerned, namely the State, employers and workers with a view to raising the standard of life everywhere in the world. The best means of doing this was not penalties against the weak and poor workers but publicity and agreement. The fundamental idea of the proposed organisation is to bring together in a public conference all the three concerned, so that the fullest information may be collected and distributed publicly for a betterment of past and existing conditions. The organisation would work in harmony with the League of Nations. The annual conference would be held at the seat of the League of Nations. The permanent office would be situated at this seat to collect and distribute informations. The conference would consist of 4 members from each State, 2 being the state representatives, 1 for the workers and 1 for the employers. As regards the Federal States certain reservations would be embodied to allow their representation, and provision for providing special modifications in the case of countries imperfectly developed. The first conference is to be held at Washington in 1919. He concluded by emphasising the importance of the Labour Organisation, as it would strengthen the League of Nations by enabling it to take root in the daily life of the People.

President Wilson warmly welcomed the proposal and said that that was a Labour Charter which he accepted on behalf of the American workers.

Sir S. P. Sinha in the course of his speech said that from the industrial standpoint India was in an extremely backward condition, but they hoped in the next few years a great impetus would be given to indigenous industries. If these industries were to be developed on sound foundations they must look to the welfare of the workers. Already something had been done in India. The Factory Act of some years ago had already produced some good effect, but as regards India's climatic, social and other conditions, their own Factory commission recommended that progress must be slow. As representatives of India, they had watched the developments of this convention (the Labour Convention) with some misgiving, fearing that allowance would not be made for peculiar conditions of other countries. Happily now those misgivings have been banished by Mr. Barnes' amendment which has reference to countries having special labour conditions. Happily those labour conditions of his country were vastly different from those of the Western countries, and he gladly and wholeheartedly accepted the Labour Convention with that amendment.

The Maharaja of Bikanir also spoke. He warmly sympathised with the efforts of the Convention to ameliorate the conditions of Labour. He was glad that special provisions, which were very necessary, have been inserted with a view to meeting the condition of countries like India. He would however like to make one point clear. As the territories of the Ruling Princes lay outside British India, and as legislation enacted for British India by the British Government could not apply to Indian States, and as the only competent authority to legislate for an Indian state was the Government of the state concerned, it should be clearly understood that the authority within whose competence the matter lies for enactment of legislation would be the constitutive authority of the various Indian or other states concerned.

The Resolution.

Mr. Barnes introduced the resolution which was unanimously accepted, that the Peace Conference approved the proposed Scheme the Governments concerned were requested to proceed forthwith the nomination of their representatives on the Organising Committee for the October Conference, the Committee to begin work immediately.

India in America.

[The following account of the work done in America for and Indians during the early part of 1918 is taken from Mrs. Besant's Paper "New India."]

An "Indian Home Rule League of America" has been started in New York U. S. A., with the following constitution.

"Whereas, The Indian Home Rule movement is being pushed on vigorously in India and England with the help and co-operation of eminent Englishmen and Englishwomen, and

"Whereas, a large number of the Hindus in this country do sympathise with the movement and are anxious to further it as far as lies in their power, and

"Whereas, the war utterances of President Wilson in favour of the rights of nationalities to determine their own forms of government have made it clear that the people of this country sympathise with the efforts of subject and small nationalities to achieve autonomy ; therefore it is desirable that an Indian Home Rule League be formed and established in this country to include all such Hindus and Americans as sympathise with the cause and are prepared to give their moral and national support to it."

The aims and objects to this League shall be :

1. (a) To support the Home Rule movement in India and co-operate with the Home Rule League, the All-India Moslem League and the Indian National Congress—organisations of India and England.

- (b) To further all kinds of friendly intercourse—social, educational, cultural and commercial—between India and America.

2. The membership of this League is open to all who sympathise with its object.

3. The membership will be of three kinds.

- (a) Active members who will pay dollars 10 (Rs. 30) a year.

- (b) Associate members who will pay dollars 3 (Rs. 9) a year.

- (c) Members who will pay dollar 1 (Rs. 3) a year.

4. The affairs of the League shall be managed by a council consisting of seven, five of whom will be elected annually by the associate-members.

5. The League shall maintain an office in the City of New York where regular accounts shall be kept of all receipts and disbursements of money in connection with the League.

The President of the League is Lala Lajpat Rai.

We hear from the United States that "American interest in India is increasing rapidly, and many factors are combining to effectuate this." One of these is the League for World Liberation, founded in October by native-born Americans, who were in sympathy not only with the Allies' plan of liberating all subject peoples, but also with what they call Mrs. Annie Besant's "greater plan of a free world, that would include religious and economic equality as well as political." In fact, Mrs. Besant was offered the post of International President, but has not, at present, accepted it, while feeling grateful for the honour, since her work is already too heavy, and the difficulties of communication between India and the rest of the world are so great. The broad ideals of the League, as regards World Liberation, are stated in a small book by Mr. Shibley, who has long been connected with constructive work in Washington, and it has been sent to leading politicians in America. We hear that a statement about India has been included in the book, but the little volume has not yet reached us.

Our correspondent says :

The League's immediate object is to help in the democratising of India along the harmonious lines suggested by Mr. Montagu, and more particularly by means of the Congress League Reform Scheme. India is the largest Nation still held subject, the one most needing relief. The representatives of the people have amicably agreed upon their demands, and the granting of their aspirations would not dislocate India's war contribution, but on the contrary enhance it. Because the League for World Liberation feels that the granting of complete self determination would not only redound to the advantage of the Allies, but it would also be the first great step towards the achievement of a world made safe for democracy, according to President Wilson's ideals. Therefore our League is working, by loyal and peaceful methods, to awaken American sympathy and support for India's liberation and elevation to the status of a Self Governing British Dominion.

Branches of the League have been established in the principal cities of America, through which our activities are being carried on. The most important eastern centre is at Washington, D. C., where Dr. Robins and Mr. Shibley are especially helpful and devoted.

President Wilson's reception of the data on India previously sent to him was very sympathetic, and, as our correspondent says, "his heart goes out to all oppressed peoples". Petitions bearing thousands of signatures in favour of President Wilson's ideals being applied to India are pouring into Washington, and are placed in his hands by our Washington representatives.

Another very valuable piece of work which is being done is the establishment of a Research Bureau. On this our correspondent tells us :

We have classified all data concerning India, including the valuable pamphlets which we brought with us, and your books on the subject. These are all cross indexed for quick reference. We have given widespread notification that we have this data for all who desire it. We are thus enabled to supply information whenever it is needed, which is often, and upon short notice. We now have the most complete and up-to-date library in America upon Indian matters. What we greatly need is that we shall receive at least two copies of all pamphlets printed in India on important topics, and especially Mrs. Besant's speeches.

Newspapers are constantly stopped though regularly subscribed for. Still our good friends manage to present India's case pretty fully :

This is an important part of our work, as reliable, recent, and unprejudiced information is difficult to obtain. A short time ago Mr. Blum of Kansas City met Sir Frederick Smith, England's Attorney General travelling in America, who asked for a statement of India's case. Mr. Blum wrote for this and asked us if we could prepare it quickly. We said Yes, and in a few days had the Ms. ready and it was forwarded to Sir Frederick. This is only one illustration of the work which we are doing. It is unobtrusive, but highly important.

Diplomatic Work : This is also effective. Our seeing the important leaders in Washington, important Senators, editors, statesmen, as well as Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Gompers, head of the American Labour Movement, has had definite results. We have kept in touch with these people, where advisable, and shall keep them informed of new developments regarding India. The consensus of American opinion is emphatically that India must participate in the world's advance towards democracy. Among Government circles, of course, the usual diplomatic courtesy between Nations forbids any public announcement of suggested interference or bringing pressure to bear upon England. Certainly, however, recent developments in the Far East will emphasise the need of granting India any concessions necessary to keep her as an Allied friend and a generous contributor to the war.

Press Work : We have continued our publicity campaign through the newspapers, and have sent statements of India's case to Canadian dailies as well. The tremendous publicity which our mission gained last October, brought India to the attention of the

American papers as never before, and the result is that their columns are now open to Indian items. Literally hundreds of articles appear each month in American papers, where only a few appeared before. This is permeating the mind of the people with Indian thought, and the result is magnificent. In this department we suffer from lack of funds to engage clerks and shorthand writers but we are doing the best we can.

A Bureau has also been started for the defence of Mrs. Besant against the slanders circulated against her by Lord Sydenham and the Indo-British Association.

Our friends are cooperating with Lala Lajpat Rai and the Indian Home Rule League founded by him :

They publish a small monthly magazine "young India," which will do a good work if they are tactful. We are members of the League and are helping it in every way possible. Its methods are peaceful and constitutional ; in fact, they are endeavouring to counteract the bad impression made by the revolutionists who have recently been on trial in San Francisco in connection with German intrigue. Mrs. Hotchner is President of the Los Angeles Chapter of the Indian H. R. League.

[N. B. Lajpat Rai's "Young India" is prohibited in India—See on this pp. 18-25, *India in Parliament*].

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