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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

The Official Secrets Bill. **THE Official Secrets Bill** has emerged from the Select Committee in a considerably softened and improved form. The purpose of the Bill is to assimilate the law in India to the law in England, but the legislation in the latter country is exceedingly drastic and was described in responsible circles as scare legislation, carrying into peace times the temper generated in war. We are therefore very glad that some material abatements have been introduced with the present Bill, one of which is the division of the offences reached by it into two classes and the retention of the maximum punishment originally prescribed for all offences only for the graver ones in regard to the secrets of defence, the lighter ones concerning civil secrets being punishable with a much milder maximum sentence. Another important point wherein the severity of the provisions as originally proposed is mitigated is that now only the graver offences are made non-bailable and cognisable, others being made partly cognisable and bailable and partly non-cognisable and bailable.

The chief objection to which the English law on the subject is open is as regards the mode of proof. It places the burden of proof, not on the prosecution, but on the man against whom action may be taken under it. This objection was taken both in 1911 and 1920, when the matter came under discussion in Parliament, but no heed was paid to it. Mr. Clynes, e. g., put the point in this way :

"We commonly regard a person innocent until he is proved to be guilty. The terms of this Bill (of 1920) require anybody proceeded against under it to prove himself innocent or else he is deemed to be guilty. Under this measure it would appear that a man may be arrested on the ground of having committed some offence under this

Act, and if he does not establish his innocence he is to be regarded as guilty. I am, I think clearly within the terms of this Bill, when I say that reversal of British law, not to say common justice, is a step which I hope that this House will not sanction."

This method of proof is introduced into the Indian Bill and was taken exception to, on its introduction, by Mr. Seshagiri Ayyar. But the Select Committee has limited its application to prosecutions for the graver class of offences. In regard to the offence of unauthorised use of official documents, etc., covered by clause 6 (2), the clause which excited the strongest opposition in Parliament, it is made incumbent on the prosecution to prove that the acts complained of were done for a purpose prejudicial to the safety of the State. Similarly in clause 15. This is undoubtedly a great improvement.

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A Notable Government Defeat. **THE Hon. Mr. A. R. Knapp**, Home Member of the Madras Government, walked into a veritable hornets' nest the other day when he made a supplementary demand for Rs. 10 lakhs, mainly with a view to write off the loans granted last year by Government to victims of the Moplah rebellion. In the discussion the fact was brought out that out of about Rs. 9 lakhs so far loaned out, nearly a half had been given to well to do people and to rubber estates, etc., some of which had even been insured. There was certainly no need to write off their loans. If they should be unable to pay them up on due dates, all that would be needed was to give them an extension of time. Nor had sufficient grounds been mentioned for the writing off of other loans. The non-official opposition was in fact so unanimous that Mr. Knapp was very glad to withdraw his motion. It was notable that among those who opposed the grant were persons intimately connected with Malabar and with relief operations.

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Unofficial Business in Madras Council. **AS Government business** in the reserved and transferred subjects, grows, it is only natural that the time available for unofficial business should contract. Nevertheless, it is a legitimate grievance that a member should be unable to move a resolution even six months after it was balloted. Such instances have occurred in nearly every Council. The congestion of unofficial business being particularly great in the Madras Council, an influential committee of the house was appointed to suggest

the best means of relieving and remedying it. The committee's recommendations are very liberal: out of five days in a month (the Madras Council ordinarily holds monthly meetings lasting for five days) two are to be set apart for unofficial business, one day for bills and another day for resolutions. For every meeting not more than thirty resolutions may be balloted, though ordinarily only about ten resolutions can be got through in two days. We are not sure that these recommendations will be found acceptable, as the time available for Government business will become insufficient unless the Council sits longer than five days at a time. Indeed it is very uneconomical for the Council to have short monthly meetings for the travelling expenses of the members get unnecessarily swollen—a state of things which the taxpayer cannot afford to tolerate in these days—and the discussions have to be put off or terminated abruptly. We hope the Madras Council will soon revert to the practice of its predecessor and of the other Councils in the country of holding longer sittings and meeting at longer intervals.

Impracticable
Boycotts.

IT will be remembered that a resolution for boycotting British goods was accepted by the subjects committee but defeated in the open Congress at Gaya. It is interesting to note that Mr. J. K. Mehta, Secretary of the Indian Merchants Chamber and Bureau, who was one of the five persons that were thought of for a committee in that connection, is himself against the boycott and has explained his reasons in a note prepared for Mr. C. R. Das's use. Brushing aside sentimental grounds, he says that his principal reason is that it will weaken the Swadeshi, especially the Khaddar, movement. At Mr. Gandhi's instance the Congress has accepted the boycott of all foreign cloth, in order to encourage the use of Indian cloth, particularly hand-spun and hand-woven cloth. Mr. Mehta rightly points out that if a resolution for the boycott of British goods was passed, the emphasis would shift from foreign to British cloth; and those who are not over-enthusiastic about Khaddar will go in largely for Japanese, American or other foreign cloth, particularly as the marriage season is at hand. It will thus be foreign countries and not India that will benefit by the resolution. With regard to other British goods, chief among which are metals, machinery and railway plant, Mr. Mehta shows that the boycott is unthinkable because firstly, for renewals, spare parts, &c., of the machinery already installed in the country, orders have necessarily to be placed with England; secondly, America and Japan which come next to Britain are a very poor second and would not be able to give us satisfaction; thirdly, the purchasers of machinery and railway plant—millowners and Government—owe no allegiance to the Congress, and the resolution would only be a pious wish. This is very sound reasoning and all we would like to add is that the reasons against the other boycotts—of

educational institutions, law courts and Councils—are equally sound and the resolutions regarding them are no more than a pious wish.

"A Sex-Inferno." ONE is glad to know that the horrible immorality prevailing among Indian labourers in Fiji, the result of the indentured system of the past, is being vigorously attacked by a section of the New Zealand Parliament. It will be remembered that the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, which is the chief employer of Indian labour, is mainly a concern of New Zealand capitalists. The *Living Age* quotes the following passage from the speech of a Radical member of that Parliament in which he scornfully pointed out how far their ethical aversions were qualified by political sympathies and material interests:

While our New Zealand papers were blackheadlining the lie that the women of Russia were nationalized, while that lie was being propagated... under our own flag we had the women of India nationalized. Missionaries protested to Heaven against it. The women of India, despite the principles of caste which had divided them for centuries, met on a common platform and in great public meetings carried their motions of protest to the British Government. Sir, that vile system of forced immorality was operated for the benefit of the C. S. R. Company; and today although the indentured labour system has been legally ended in Fiji, its results remain. People who visited Fiji recently have described it as a veritable sex-inferno. It is asserted that young girls are literally sold to the highest bidder in Fiji at the present time, and forced polyandry is rife in the case of married women.

Mr. Pal and
Obstruction.

WE have already drawn the attention of our readers to the transformation of Mr. B. C. Pal from an obstructive wrecker to a constructive worker of the reforms. But, from an essay entitled "Swaraj" which he has contributed to "Pros and Cons of Council of Controversy" (Messrs. Vadhvani & Co., Khatau Mansions, Bombay 4), it would appear that he still retains some of the prejudice against an honest working of the reforms from the time when he set up as a wrecker. In this essay he inveighs against those who would oppose every proposal coming from Government in a manner with which we have now become familiar in his writings; he says that no one can "conscientiously" oppose good measures, and that absolute obstruction or opposition in the Councils is neither "reasonable under existing conditions" nor "practicable under any condition." The right policy would be, in his judgment, to support whatever is calculated to help the establishment of swaraj and to resist whatever is likely to hinder it. This sound commonsense is, however, contradicted by him in the next breath when he advocates the rejection of the entire budget in order to force Government to suspend the present limited constitution, and to introduce the full-fledged Dominion constitution. It is a matter for surprise that such a clear thinker as Mr. Pal should forget that the objections he urged against the Dasite policy on the score of "conscientiousness"

and "feasibility" apply with equal cogency to his own policy.

THIS policy is based upon an entire misapprehension of the provisions of the Government of India Act. He says, "We are precluded from moving any amendment in the allotment to reserved subjects. We can only do so in regard to transferred subjects. So there is no room for enforcing public opinion upon the expenses of the reserved departments. All that members of Council may do, under the present constitution, is to try and throw out the whole Budget." But members can bring forward proposals for reducing or disallowing the reserved part of the Budget. The only way in which their proposals in regard to the reserved departments will differ from those in regard to the transferred, is that while the former, if carried, will necessarily take effect, the latter may be set aside by the Governor and the original allotment reinstated. It is therefore unnecessary for members to "throw out the whole Budget"; they may throw out only that portion of it to which they have conscientious objection, just as (and in this Mr. Pal agrees) it is unnecessary to throw out all measures, but only those that hinder swaraj. In fact it is not possible to "throw out the whole Budget" except by throwing out every individual item of it, for the Budget as a whole is not put to the House at any stage, but only all the several parts of it. And since one can only "try" to throw out the whole Budget, one can as well "try" to throw out only the objectionable parts of it, thus doing nothing forbidden by one's conscience. If it is unreasonable to oppose good measures though relating to reserved subjects, it is equally unreasonable to reject good appropriations in the Budget though relating to reserved subjects.

It is equally impracticable also. If Mr. Pal thinks that it is more feasible to reject the Budget wholesale than to employ pure obstructive tactics in regard to Government's legislative business, he is very much mistaken. The ground for such a belief is, that the power vested in Government to restore the items in the reserved Budget reduced by the Council "has to be exercised sparingly and always under exceptional circumstances." Indeed it is so, but the same is the case with the Government's power of giving the effect of law to legislative proposals rejected by the Councils. That power also is to be used sparingly and under exceptional circumstances. But cannot the Government plead exceptional circumstances, in one case as well as in the other, when the legislators conspire to throw out the proposals of the executive, whether in themselves good or bad? Apart from this, how can the benefit resulting from a good measure of Government, to secure which he advises Mr. Das to give up his policy of unreasoning obstruction, accrue if Mr. Pal is to throw out the provision made in the Budget for giving effect to it? A proposal for constituting a citizen army, e. g. he would have Mr. Das support in the Council; but the army will come into being only if money is voted for it. And if obstructive tactics are at all to be pursued it is certainly better to pursue them both as regards the Budget and legislation than as regards the Budget alone. We must say, however, that this booklet was published some time before the Gaya Congress, and possibly Mr. Pal's ideas had had no time then to become clear. We do not suppose he continues to hold these views now.

RACIAL EQUALITY IN JUDICIAL PROCEDURE.

THE average Indian will perhaps share the opinion of Mr. Justice Shah that the one thing of consequence is that all race distinctions should be abolished in matters of judicial procedure, the precise method adopted in abolishing them being somewhat immaterial. "I consider it a matter of great importance," he says, "to have uniformity of procedure in criminal trials, as regards all persons, whether European British subjects or not. It does not matter so much what particular line is adopted in altering the existing provisions with a view to have such uniformity." If indeed it is indifferent to the public how the equality they seek is brought about, they will feel almost complete satisfaction with the results of the endeavours of the Sapru Committee in devising a *modus vivendi*, for the Committee has recommended the removal of all but a few minor racial inequalities. The particular method chosen by the Committee in doing so, however, cannot give equal satisfaction to the thinking section of the community. The general principle on which the Committee has proceeded is, in the words of Mr. Carey, that "none of the rights and privileges hitherto enjoyed by Europeans should be taken away from them" except where absolutely necessary. The European community maintains most of its existing privileges; and the few it is made to shed are of little importance.

The one serious inequality still to be retained in the criminal law of the country is that, except in cases punishable only with a fine of Rs. 50, second and third class magistrates are even now to exercise no jurisdiction over European British subjects. In regard to this, Mr. Rangachariar says: "I quite recognise it will not be safe, from more points of view than one, to entrust the trial of European British subjects for serious offences in their hands," and his judgment may be accepted. Having exempted Europeans from the control of these subordinate courts, one would have thought that they would be made amenable to the jurisdiction of the superior magistracy in the ordinary way, but the recollection of the outbursts of race hatred in the past and a knowledge of the state of feeling in the European community even at present have deterred the Committee from depriving the community of any of its existing important privileges, which, left to oneself, no one would think of retaining at this time of the day. The device of mixed juries and mixed benches which the Committee has recommended no doubt establishes uniformity of procedure, but it cannot be said to be conducive to justice. There is nothing novel in that expedient; it figures very frequently in the controversies of the past, and the circumstances in which it was suggested and accepted (in so far as it was accepted) by the European community in Lord Ripon's time will help us to understand the real significance of the proposal. The Bombay Government, in their letter of 14th May, 1883, had suggested the constitution

of mixed benches and mixed juries " by way of compensation for the privilege, of which the European British subject would be deprived by the [Ilbert] Bill,"* of being tried by his compatriot. This suggestion received no support from the Law advisers of the Bombay Government itself and was rejected in the first instance by the Government of India, though it was subsequently adopted by them in part only as a *dernier ressort*. The Europeans accepted mixed juries (i.e. juries of which a majority consisted of members of their own community), because it practically gave them what they had been asking for. As Mr. Evans, a most determined opponent of the Ilbert Bill, frankly said in the Viceroy's Council, " The main point that they had fought and struggled was the right to be tried by their own fellow-countrymen, that their own fellow-countrymen should decide whether they were guilty or not guilty. This right or privilege was secured to them by this arrangement. " This meant, in plain English, that all the elements of injustice and grievance contained in the former system were continued in the new system also and Rai Kristodas Pal referred pointedly to the imminent risk of egregious miscarriage of justice typified in cases of "enlarged spleen" with which we have since been only too familiar. " Amidst a small and sparse European population in the outlying districts of India," he said, " and particularly in critical times of excited feelings, in a small jury of these persons, the risk of failure of justice is one which no Legislature should overlook. " The Law Member of the time was himself constrained to give a warning to the Europeans that the maintenance of the jury system was dependent on the assumption that " an instrument of justice which is intended and ought to be a terror, will not be converted into a source of impunity, to evil-doers. " No one can deny that this complacent assumption has been belied by facts, and the immense extension of this essentially unsound arrangement which is involved in the Sapru Committee's recommendations would necessarily mean a multiplication of the injustice of that arrangement, if remedies were not applied to counteract the evil. The Sapru Committee was thus forced, by the logic of circumstances, to recommend a large extension of the power of appeal, which no doubt the majority of the Committee (and Mr. Justice Shah in particular) are prepared to justify " on general grounds and apart from the particular case of the European British subject, " but which it would hardly have recommended if it had not had to deal with mixed juries. The injustice inherent in the Act of 1884 has thus been adequately removed, and race equality also established. This is a gain we have no desire to minimize, but one cannot help wishing that the same result were possible by other means and that it were not necessary to devise a machinery which would first aggravate the chances of

injustice and then introduce safeguards against such chances.

In the High Court and also in Sessions Courts European British subjects (and therefore Indians as well) will be entitled to claim to be tried by jury (i.e. mixed jury) in all cases in which such a mode of trial is prescribed and also in those cases in Session Courts which are normally triable with assessors, if racial considerations are involved ; and in all cases where the two parties are of different nationalities, " racial considerations shall be deemed to arise. " Even in other cases where no racial considerations are in question, the accused can claim to be tried with the aid of assessors all of whom will be of his own nationality ! In this latter class of cases at least one would have supposed that nationality would not obtrude itself, but that has to be brought in because we cannot afford to tell the European British subject that he should part at least with such of his privileges as are unnecessary and not even to his particular advantage. He now has the right to be tried before a mixed jury in all Sessions cases. This right, if withdrawn in name, must be retained in substance. Therefore, an offer is to be made to him that instead of being tried by three European jurors, he will hereafter be tried with four European assessors ! In practice no injustice will be done to Indians in such cases. For, if in all cases between an Indian and a European the accused is to have the right to demand a trial by a majority of jurors belonging to his own nationality, it does not matter in the least to an Indian if in cases between European and European all the assessors are required to be Europeans. But that is not the point ; that it should be thought necessary to exclude all Indian assessors even in cases where Indians cannot possibly be influenced by racial bias is not a reflexion that is comforting to their sense of national self-respect. In warrant cases involving racial considerations (i.e. in cases where one party is an Indian and the other a European) either party is to be given the right to have the case committed to the Sessions for trial by a mixed jury, and the same procedure is to apply, according to the Government's proposal embodied in the Bill, to summons cases. On this latter point the Committee had recommended a mixed Bench, and it was the one point on which some of the European members of the Committee had dissented from the others. But on this the Government have given up the Committee and espoused the side of the dissenting Europeans.

We have no desire to be censorious. The Committee's recommendations are obviously a compromise, a resultant of the opposing forces ; and over these forces the Committee had no control. It had on the other hand to recognise the forces at work and to adapt its proposals to them. Indians will do well to accept them, for they will in any case secure, if not full, nearly full equality in criminal procedure, and if it is not secured by the method they would themselves have

* Letter from the Government of India, dated the 10th August, 1883, to the Secretary of State for India. Command Paper No. 3952.

chosen, it is secured nonetheless. And there is much force in what Mr. Justice Shah has said: "If once the uniformity of procedure is secured, I have no doubt that in future both Europeans and Indians will be interested alike in seeing that the defects in procedure which experience may disclose hereafter are removed."

STATE MANAGEMENT OF RAILWAYS.

WE hear that a private meeting of members of both houses at Delhi was addressed on January 20th by Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas on the question of State Railways vs. Private Railways. This matter is of course looming very large indeed now with the imminent expiry of the E. I. R. and G. I. P. concessions, and one day this week has been set aside for a debate on the subject in the Legislative Assembly. Mr. Purshotamdas, who was a member of the famous Acworth Commission of 1920-1, which, if it came to curse State management of railways, left blessing it: Mr. Purshotamdas, we say, who has got all the facts of the case at his fingers' tips, would have had no difficulty in putting it to his friends conclusively and convincingly. In fact the present "system" prevailing in India is a real monstrosity: for it consists of Company management without Company ownership, and one really does not know what can be said for the continuation of a method, which puts a premium on inefficiency, chaos and favouritism and succeeds in nothing so much as in the safeguarding of this greatest of public utilities against all public criticism and demands.

In fact the defenders of the principle of private enterprise in Railways have no case whatsoever—the strength of their position consisting merely in a rooted prejudice, assiduously fostered by capitalist propaganda, that somehow or other it is to be taken as axiomatic that a private enterprise must be more efficient and economic than one undertaken by the State. We truly believe that there is no more glaring example of the power of suggestion, than this *a priori* assumption, which runs contrary to all known facts. This paper has again and again drawn attention to the perfectly appalling inefficiency of private enterprise—*e. g.* in the American petroleum industry which wastes 90% of the deposits and markets only 10%; or in the British coal industry, which the Sankey Report proved to be 40% inefficient. We have before us just now another example—*viz.*, the the bankruptcy statistics of the United Kingdom for 1922, according to which 6,814 people were declared bankrupt there in that one year, with liabilities amounting to £9,765,811 and assets amounting to £3,643,458. Here is private enterprise, making an annual loss of six million sterling, running its business so inefficiently that 6,814 of its votaries have to shut up shop completely. Who hears of this economic waste which goes on year in, year out? And note that this waste does not include the waste and losses incurred in those

businesses which can still meet their liabilities, which latter waste in the aggregate must come to something altogether fantastic. Yet, in the face of these elementary facts, people still go on talking as if there was a magic about private concerns which inevitably spelt efficiency and economy.

The truth is, that it is not wastefulness which is greater in public concerns than in private, but publicity. A public concern is open to the criticism of the Argus-eyed public; its failures are blazoned forth in the world's press; and they are held up to opprobrium by the very people who in their private concerns bury their mistakes in the secrecy of their board meetings and gloze over them by another dip into their shareholders' pockets. It is obvious that a public concern is not proof against mistakes nor inefficiency: but the very fact that all its mistakes are liable to very close and public scrutiny can but make for ever-increasing efficiency. The gathering-in of taxes was until modern times left to "private enterprise"; it was farmed out to private individuals who contracted to pay the State a fixed sum and in return had the right to squeeze the public to their heart's content. When the State took over this business out of the hands of "private enterprise", its machinery may have cost more than the old-time tax-farmer's: yet every year the methods of the Inland Revenue officials grew more efficient, until at the present time the gathering-in of *e. g.* the income-tax in the United Kingdom has been brought to such a pitch (under State management!) that not a gnat can escape through the microscopic meshes of that department. And the proof of the potentially greater efficiency of State management is not merely theoretical. The history of the German Railways is a practical proof and is so in the very branch of public utilities now discussed. Before the war, the Prussian State Railways were, without a shadow of doubt, the best managed and the most efficient: nowhere was travel more comfortable; nowhere was public convenience, from the first class to the fourth class passenger, better studied; nowhere did the public exchequer benefit more largely than from this great State-managed and State-owned railway business in pre-war Germany.

To-day the experience of State Railways in every country is being adduced, except in that of pre-war Prussia; and in adducing any such experience, it is invariably and conveniently being forgotten that such experience is the experience of the war-years or after the war years; and no attempt is made to gauge what the losses incurred would have been under private control. In fact, it is just because private enterprise would not face the inevitable loss during those years that the State—very reluctantly at first—was being forced into taking over one private concern after another. The showing made during the war for State management of innumerable branches of commerce and industry in fact was so good, that as soon as the military

danger was over, capitalism concentrated all its powers on smashing the organizations that had grown up. The British Auditor General's recent report on the result of these public enterprises is full proof that State management not only can be, but has been, far more efficient than private management. But who would read the dry figures of an Auditor General's report? It is easier to read amusing little stories in the half-penny press about flappers in Whitehall and about Mr. Churchill's fleet of motor cars; about the crass stupidity of the War Office and the payment of cheques with a few noughts added by mistake.

Yet the very basis of private enterprise has gone now-a-days. For in its heyday it was supposed to be so magically efficient, because there was competition. But to-day competition is dead! For to-day is the day of gigantic trusts and combines, which have seen the advantage of together fleecing the consumer, rather than cutting each other's throat. Only the other day Lord Furness at a meeting of the South Durham Steel and Iron Company said that the iron and steel trade in Great Britain was in somewhat similar position to that of the U. S. shortly before the formation (in 1900) of the United States Steel Corporation and advocated in his own country the formation of an analogous trust. Again, since the 1st of January of this year all British railways have been trustified; four (non-competing!) groups taking the place of the former 120 unrelated companies, and 100 directors that of the former directorate of 1,300. All the world over the era of small individual competing units has gone and nothing is left but gigantic combines in the hands of a few magnates, who are as safely entrenched against competition as against interference on the part of consumers.

Is it really to be believed for one moment that these great concerns are carried on without a bureaucracy of their own or that these bureaucracies are more efficient than that of a State department? There is no sudden magic change in human nature, whether serving the Standard Oil Company or a Post and Telegraph department. The only difference, as far as the public in a country with Parliamentary government is concerned, is that in the one case the public is powerless against the bureaucracy of the private trust and that in the other it can, through its representatives, force the bureaucracy of the State department to subserve the interests of the Commonwealth and stimulate it, by its sustained criticism, into serving those interests ever more efficiently and economically. That is the real question: and we hope it will be insisted upon, and that the ridiculous bogey of State inefficiency will be brushed aside into that limbo which is its proper place.

ADMINISTRATION REPORT ON INDIAN RAILWAYS IN 1921-22.

I.—THE IMPROVED FORM.

THE publication of the report of the Indian Railway Committee of 1920-21, the division in that

Committee on the most important question of the future management of Indian railways with the Knights of the Indian Empire opposing State management, the prospect of recurring deficits in railway working, the unbusinesslike methods of the present railway management—these are some of the factors that have served to stimulate public interest in railway affairs to an extent not previously equalled. This interest is reflected in the fuller—and, on the whole wise and useful—exercise by the legislators of the right of interpellation and of moving resolutions; in the active propaganda in the press and on the platform in favour of or against company management; in the nervous anxiety displayed by railway administrations to advertise their efforts in bringing their railways up to a proper standard of public usefulness and comfort. It was, therefore, impossible that the Government alone should be left unaffected by the contagion of publicity which they found all around them in this matter. The improved form in which the annual report on the administration of Indian railways has been appearing for the past two years is directly traceable to these forces. The report for 1920-21 was itself a marked improvement on many of its predecessors which were all cast to suit some skeleton form with only the names, events and figures altered where necessary. The report for 1921-22, now before us, not only sustains this improvement, but goes further. For instance, the Government of India have now accorded, in due recognition of the fact that proper finance is the foundation of a commercial undertaking, the chapter on Railway Finance the premier place instead of the seventh place it occupied last year; the chapter on Railway Earnings rightly comes second instead of sixth; the chapter on Working Expenses and that on Railway Staff have each advanced a step higher; the chapter on Railway Materials which last year was given all but the last place occupies a much more important position, coming fifth, in view of the legitimate demand of India to be freed from dependence on foreign countries for railway supplies; while the matters in which the customers of the railways, as apart from the country as a whole, are directly interested are grouped in three consecutive chapters under the headings "Rolling Stock", "Rehabilitation and Development" and "Traffic Problems and Remedies." The only comment we have for the present to make is that at least a small chapter might be assigned to the item "coal", which in point of cost exceeds any other single item of consumable stores used in railway working, and to the transactions of State collieries which are difficult to understand from the bald figures given in appendix 15. It is also very desirable that the public should be furnished with fuller information in connection with the transactions of the Fine Funds than can be gleaned from appendix 25 to the report, if only that the public may be

assured that the bulk of the fines and forfeitures of bonuses is not levied from Indians and spent on non-Indian institutions.

IMPORTANCE OF STATISTICS.

This improvement noticed above is, however, confined to part I of the report and can hardly be said to touch part II which forms a compilation of the statistical results of the individual railways or railway systems. Statistics have never been a strong point with the principals of our railway administration. It has been a plaything in their hands for the last fifteen years or so, the pastime engaged in being for the most part confined to deletion of useful but inconvenient statistics and that too without a word of explanation. At the moment of writing we have particularly in mind the statistics which used to be published right up to the end of the year 1919-20 regarding the rate of profit earned or loss sustained on the different classes of passengers and the ratio of accommodation provided for the different classes of passengers to the number actually carried. The Railway Board, which it is possible may now emerge as the Railway Commission, was called into existence to manage our railways on commercial lines. The fact that this body, hitherto the sole expert adviser to the Government of India, has failed to appreciate the proper value of statistics as a necessary aid to efficient management is clearly brought out in paragraphs 129-134 of the report of the Indian Railway Committee. The report (dated 30th December 1903) on the Organisation and Working of Railways in America by the late Mr. Neville Priestley devotes a whole chapter to "Statistics" which is at once both interesting and instructive. The present form of statistics was introduced as long ago as 1880, a period in railway history which, as Indian Railway Committee said, may be described as mediæval. That this mediæval form should have been allowed to continue throughout the past eighteen years shows that the Railway Board could not have paid much attention to the chapter on "Statistics" in Mr. Priestley's report; otherwise the question of the general overhaul of statistics would certainly have been taken up by them within a year or two of their assumption of office instead of eight years later. Likewise there would have been no necessity to defer its further consideration owing to the outbreak of the war until no less than four years after the cessation of hostilities. In any case it is satisfactory to learn that "an experienced officer has now been placed on special duty and has collected information in regard to up-to-date procedure in England and America", and that "it is now proposed to employ him in association with an officer of the Audit Department to make a complete overhaul of the existing methods and policy in this matter." It is impossible that the present system—so called by courtesy—of maintaining the railway statistics should not vitiate many of the conclusions based thereon. Thus, to give only one example from each of the several chapters

of the report now under review, the deficit of Rs. 9,27,30,501 made out in chapter I, has been forced to exaggerated dimensions in so far as the payments made on account of annuities and sinking funds in connection with the purchase of the old guaranteed railways are taken as *revenue* expenditure, although these are all contributions towards the extinction of *capital* liabilities; the comparison in chapter II of the total earnings of railways is vitiated by the inclusion of what, from the public point of view, may for the most part be called paper earnings, such as those on account of the carriage of military troops and stores, of railway coal and revenue stores, etc. etc.; the omission to add to working expenses a well-ascertained and uniform allowance from year to year for depreciation gives an erroneous idea of the ratios of expenses to earnings as exhibited in chapter III, whether relatively or absolutely; the comparison in chapter V of the expenditure on fuel is vitiated owing to the fact that since April 1920 railways are charged lower rates for the carriage of coal than in the earlier periods and that in some years the freight is added on to the cost of coal and in other years not so added; the figures in chapter VI of the additions to the rolling stock of open lines are likely to be overstated if only for the reason that they include the provision for this kind of equipment on account of new budget-lines that is, those under construction.

We have dilated in our observations on part II. of the Railway Administration Report, not only because of the intrinsic importance of the subject but also because a right appreciation of the potentialities of reliable statistics for economy and efficient management of large railway undertakings, is calculated to rob the problem of the regrouping of railways in India of some of its terrors and give courage and confidence to the authorities who are now inclined to approach it with a cautiousness bordering on timidity. In this connection we cannot resist the temptation to give a few excerpts from Mr. Priestley's report:

"One of the subjects which had exercised my mind a good deal before I went to America was how the large undertakings now operated under one organisation were managed and controlled, since personal supervision by the higher officers was no longer practicable. I asked the question of several Presidents, Vice Presidents, Heads of Departments and District Officers whom I met. Without exception they gave me the answer that the control was exercised through Statistics. Equally without exception, they said they could not possibly conduct their business efficiently without Statistics; that without them they were working in the dark; and that they could not understand how any railroad could be efficiently and economically operated without Statistics"

"The President of the railway which has made the most scientific study of the subject, told me that at one time his railway kept only the most meagre Statistics. . . . He felt this was not right, and that if he was to operate his railway economically and with profit, he must know exactly where the money went, and what income was being received in return for a particular expenditure. He accordingly proceeded to devise some form of Statistics which would give him the necessary information, and,

after many trials and errors, he arrived at his present system. It is elaborate, . . . and involves a good deal of expenditure when the amount is gauged merely by the sum spent; but I was assured that both he and his officers were quite satisfied that the money was more than well spent, and that by means of these Statistics they had been enabled to introduce reforms and economies, the necessity for which would otherwise never have been known, and that generally the outlay which they incurred in the compilation of the Statistics represented only a very small percentage of the saving effected by their aid."

"It is by means of these Statistics that the American Railways have been able to reduce expenses generally and to increase the load in their vehicles and in their trains and consequently to reduce the cost per ton mile, and it is to no small extent because of these Statistics, that those railways which have adopted the most elaborate Statistics, and learnt the lessons which they teach, are in as good a financial position as they are to-day."

ECONOMY.

THE DELHI SESSION.

(FROM OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.)
DELHI, FEB. 3rd.

THE INDIAN MINES BILL.

THE week has seen a notable measure of social legislation materially advanced towards its rightful goal on the Statute Book of India. "The Indian Mines Bill" with the report of the Joint Committee thereon, having been considered on Monday and Tuesday, was duly passed by the Assembly, as amended, and now merely awaits ratification at the hands of the second chamber. That the Bill marks a great step in advance of present conditions, was acknowledged all round; but whilst some members drew therefrom the comforting conviction that no further steps were needed, others rather felt the appalling state out of which workers were emerging. Labour's representative in the Assembly, Mr. N.M. Joshi, indeed welcomed the Bill, because at last the principle had been accepted of eliminating the labour of women and children underground; but he frankly grudged the oblique way in which the principle as regards women had been introduced. Indeed the Bill itself only mentions (in section 29j) that the Governor General in Council may prohibit the employment of women, whilst the Committee's Report "places on record a recommendation that the employment of women below ground" be prohibited "at the end of about five years;" and the member in charge of the Bill (Mr. Innes) during the debate repeatedly stated that Government were resolved to end this employment of women in due course of time and regarded the absolute prohibition of children below ground as a first step in that direction. One would rather agree with Mr. Joshi that to find substitutes for the 50,000 women actually employed underground at present, cannot be a very difficult task in a country like India which abounds in what is described as "cheap labour". Still, seeing that the present Bill was the first revision of the mining law in 22 years, he preferred to be satisfied with half the loaf conceded rather than delay so necessary a piece of legislation still further.

LABOUR CONDITIONS IN COAL MINES.

The debate brought out the present conditions prevailing in Indian coal mines—labour there being whole-timers only to a small extent and the bulk being supplied by villagers, who once a week trek from their farms 5 to 10 miles away, go below ground and stay there for 3 days or so on end; sleeping, eating and working in the grime and dark-

ness, until they have hewn what they consider enough to keep them for an other week—whereupon they return to their farms for the rest of the week. Under this system it is not only the chief bread-winner of a family that goes mining, but with him he takes his wife and children: conditions unparalleled to-day in any civilized country. Section 23 fixes the maximum hours of work, viz., six days a week and 60 hours (or 54 hours if below ground) per week. Mr. Misra wished to reduce these hours to 48 and 42 respectively and Mr. Agnihotri to 54 and 48; but the House seemed but amused at the idea of reducing the hours of work in what is undoubtedly the hardest and most dangerous of modern industries. Mr. Sircar, the well-known Bengali mine-owner, lamented that already miners were not doing more work and as it was all piece-work, there was no means of forcing them to work longer hours: which drew Mr. Joshi's quick retort upon him, why, if that was so, he objected to embody these actual hours of work in the Bill?

* * * * * HUMANITY OR INDUSTRY?

The 60 and 54 hours' maximum in fact has been included in accordance with the stipulations of the Washington Convention, but does not touch the abominable system of sleeping underground, which, "although forbidden, is only too common", *pace* the last report of the Chief Inspector of Mines. Mr. Joshi struggled hard to win the House for the abolition of this economically and medically disastrous system and moved for a daily maximum of eleven hours—not, as he said, because he did not think a lower limit desirable, but because he merely aimed at making impossible the degrading habit of living underground for days on end, and because he hoped to carry the whole House with him by stretching the daily maximum to even 11 hours. But the House would have none of it. "The habits of the people" were trotted out as something sacrosanct, as has always been the case in all countries, whenever an attempt is made to raise the standard of a class of people. "Are they not quite happy as they are?" ask the hard-faced ones; "why should we and how can we interfere in their manners of life?" And then came the doom of a "key industry" the very existence of which would be threatened by such "hasty legislation", which could but materially increase the price of all coal and would thus affect all other industries as well. This appeal on the part of Mr. Innes to the pockets of all employers promptly brought Mr. Kamat to his feet with a determined demand not to let Industry (capital "I", please) be throttled for purely academic considerations; and made Mr. Sircar raise a warning finger, recalling the coal shortage of 1922 which had necessitated the importation of foreign coal. "Industry"—what are the lives, the health, the decencies of a few lakhs of our countrymen, compared with the needs of "Industry"? Munshi Iswar Saran indeed indignantly refuted the idea of such a question being academic when it was as a matter of fact an intensely practical and human one: but only 29 members were found on the side of humanity when the decision bell rang, Mr. Joshi's amendment being thrown out by 43 "noes".

* * * * * AMENDMENTS LOST.

Well might Mr. Joshi ask, as he moved his further amendment (to prohibit more than six hours' continuous work without an hours' interval for meals), whether the Coal Industry would once more be in danger, if the miner was given time for his meals and regular periods of rest: but his

amendment was lost—this time even without a division. A similar fate awaited another amendment of his, which purported (in Sections 10 and 11) to ensure the representation of the workers on the Mining Boards and Committees to be set up under the Bill. In Section 10 Mr. Joshi wished to insert "in consultation with the organisation of employees if such exist" and in section 11 "in consultation with the employees"; but Mr. Innes was aghast at the very idea of making any trade-union, whether registered or not, statutorily compulsory. He further enunciated "the class war" in terms, which may gladden the heart of Communist fanatics, but must sadden all lovers of India and humanity; saying, that as there were no trade-unions in existence, the House had better wait until they came into being and compelled the Legislature to take cognizance of them. With an airy epigram, that Mr. Joshi was concerned about the rights of the miners, whilst he was concerned about their safety, Mr. Innes sat down, well pleased at the lance he had been able to break once more in defence of "good government" against "self-government". Mr. Rangachariar had something sarcastic to intersperse about the "omniscience of the Government", but Mr. Chatterjee (who was described in his early youth as a precocious little boy already violently interested in the social welfare of the miners) persuasively depicted the hopelessness of consulting an ever-shifting mining population, divided even at the best of times into opposing factions: with the result that the amendment was lost by 23 against 36 votes. Eventually the Bill was passed as it had emerged from the Select Committee, and for that mercy at least, one may be thankful in these days when public opinion in India as a whole is still so deaf to the rights and needs of labour.

* * * * *

LABOUR IN THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

On Wednesday the Council of State, having awakened to a fitful spurt of work before taking another two weeks' rest cure, had before it two resolutions, dealing with a Convention and two Recommendations passed at the International Labour Conference at Geneva in 1921, and referring to the extension to agricultural labourers of provisions for workmen's compensation, social insurance, housing, and the employment of women and children. Mr. Chadwick, moving that no action be taken, explained that India was an original member of the "International Labour Organization" and that as such it was bound to place all draft resolutions there passed before its own Legislature, which was at liberty to adopt or reject, but not to amend, them. As in India even industrial workers enjoyed none of the privileges referred to, it was, Mr. Chadwick argued, out of the question to apply them to agricultural workers, especially seeing the working conditions of Indian agriculture. However, Mr. Sastri rose to move as an amendment that there be added, "at the same time this Council recommends that an inquiry be made as to what action in regard to these matters is practicable and necessary in the case of organized plantations like those of tea, rubber and sugar." Mr. Sastri pleaded for giving loyal support in spirit, no less than in letter, to the humanitarian effort of the I. L. O. He showed that plantation labour and other agricultural labour obviously differed radically and concluded from the state of, e.g., the Assam Plantations, that there was *prima facie* evidence for an enquiry though neither Government nor this Council would thereby be committed to any actual measures.

GOING SLOW.

Sir Arthur Froom, representing the great No Change Party which dominates the Council, exhorted his fellow-members *festinare lente*, which he quaintly described as an Italian proverb and for the benefit of the less erudite translated by the Anglo-Saxon "Go slow." Mr. Khaparde objected on logical and grammatical grounds to the words "organized," but Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas gave the show away by bluntly stating that he objected to the inclusion of sugar. Mr. Kale was surprised at his honourable friend's taste in preferring tea to be without sugar and still more so, why anybody should be frightened at a mere enquiry. Still Mr. Chadwick remained adamant and the resolutions, after the tiniest of storms in a tea- and latex-cup, were duly passed, as desired. The next day, Thursday, the Assembly on its part, was called upon to do its duty in regard to the same two Government resolutions: but there too breezes—stronger than those that blow at Metcalfe House—accompanied their despatch. Mr. Ley having introduced the resolutions, Mr. Joshi moved an addition to the words of the resolution, viz. "and requests the Government to enquire and report to the Assembly what action regarding these matters is necessary and practicable in the case of organized plantations." He reminded his hearers that organized plantations were already governed by special laws; that in Kala Azar and Ankylostomiasis they had their occupational diseases; that, according to the last Assam Labour Report, many plantations were already doing voluntarily a good deal by way of old age pensions, maternity benefits, &c. He only asked the Assembly, after having accepted the resolution, to act in the spirit of the Convention, and showed, that since they already had legislation for organized factories and not for all factories, there was not the slightest reason why they should not likewise discriminate between organized plantations and other agriculture.

* * * * *

IN THE ASSEMBLY AGAIN.

Mr. J. N. Mukherjee emulated Sir A. Froom in the other chamber by acting as "brakesman" against "the danger of breakneck speed" in their social legislation: a sentiment, the blatant irony of which was apparently felt neither by the speaker nor by other members. Mr. Rangachariar's irony rather took the form of enquiring whether boots were not to be made compulsory for labourers working in muddy fields, and most speakers dwelt on the inapplicability of Western standards to their own village folks. Mr. Kabiruddin Ahmed pertinently asked why the welfare provisions mentioned were to be deemed appropriate to Western women and children, but not to their own kith and kin; but Mr. Kamat contemptuously suggested that Mr. Joshi himself was suffering from an occupational disease—that of labour legislation. The temperature of the discussion was perceptibly rising, when Munshi Iswar Saran retorted that it seemed to him rather that those employers were suffering from their occupational disease, who had grown dead to all generous impulses; but an all-round *détente* followed upon his assertion that Mr. Joshi in his work on behalf of Indian labour had the fullest confidence and whole-hearted admiration of the whole House: a remark which was greeted by warm applause on the part of all. In the end, of course, both amendments of Mr. Joshi's were thrown out, but one can only echo the prophetic words of his that the time is surely coming when labour will not be represented by only one or even a few members in the Assembly, and that those

who now pour ridicule on the Labour member's endeavours will one day court the smiles of the serried ranks of workers. And at that I would leave it.

LABOUR EMIGRATION.

In marked contrast to the discussion on welfare legislation for agricultural labour in India, the welfare of Indian agricultural labour abroad was espoused in most solicitous terms by the very members who in India had pooch-pooched it the minute before. Mr. Hullah moved that the draft notifications about emigration of Indian agricultural labour to Ceylon and Malaya be adopted—notifications which were described by me last week. But immediately member after member got up and asked for further information being laid before the House on the condition of Indians in those countries, a condition which they lugubriously opined was anything but the rosy picture drawn by Mr. Hullah. In fact their solicitude was so remarkable as to move Mr. Sarma to declare that Government would leave it entirely to the House, if they desired to postpone discussion for a week, until all the facts before the Standing Committee had been placed within reach of all other members too. The House accordingly decided to postpone discussion for a week, and reverted instead to the ever green (or ever dry?) consideration of the Criminal Procedure Code, the end of which seems as far off as ever. On the other hand, the law relating to steam-boilers has now been passed, as has a Cantonments House Accommodation Amendment Bill, and the Treaty for the Limitation of Naval Armaments has also been given effect to. The rest of the week was devoted to cotton: a bill for a cess to improve the growing, marketing and manufacture being by both Houses referred to a Joint Committee; though with not a few misgivings as to the propriety of burdening the producer still further. The Assembly moreover passed another bill, which is to control the transport of cotton from one Indian district to another, thus to check the fraud of exporting cotton, though produced in an inferior cotton district, as if originating in a superior cotton district. The Council of State on Tuesday considered Lala Sukhbir Sinha's motion *re* control of the possession of minors by sadhus, etc., but "stood fat", as it considered the motion in advance of public opinion. "And so home", as Pepsy says.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

JAN. 18, 1923.

SIR T. B. SAPRU'S VIEWS.

THE "Times" correspondent at Delhi has sent a long cable containing a summary of the views of Sir T. B. Sapru on the future manning of the Indian services. According to the correspondent, he was strongly of opinion that the Government should without delay fix a minimum percentage of Britishers in those services, recruiting accordingly, so that the security of tenure offered will attract good men. This he regarded as essential, as the danger lay in recruiting haphazard men who might be thrown on the market later. He considered that the police and the Civil Service are the two services which will require the strongest percentage of Britishers for some time to come. He also advocated a policy of extended provincialisation, for with full

self-government there would no longer be a need for all-India services. Sir T. B. Sapru recommends the adoption of an Indian standard of pay, with overseas allowances for Britishers, and he wants a Civil Service Act, similar to the Canadian Act, defining the rights and duties of the Indian services as a guarantee and safeguard of their interests. He thinks that the great need in the manning of the Indian services is the maintenance of character rather than intellect. He therefore urges the establishment of an administrative college in India for the training of recruits in the traditions of British administration. I have given these views briefly, as, so far as I am aware, they represent the first pronouncement of a public character on this subject since Sir T. B. Sapru left office, and they might not otherwise have been reported.

RECRUITMENT TO INDIAN SERVICES.

It would seem that Mr. Montagu's articles in the "Times" on the Indian services have attracted a great deal of attention at the Universities, particularly at Oxford. If, as has been rumoured, there will be more places open to competition this year, they raise a very practical question. Many of the best Oxford undergraduates are quite ready to go to India under the new conditions and in the new spirit. They are prepared "to serve and not to rule", to quote Mr. Montagu, but before committing themselves to such a career they require assurance that it will, in fact, be a career and that they will not be thrown on the world after ten or fifteen years' service. They would also like to have an assurance that they would be welcomed by their Indian colleagues, and it has been suggested that if some such declaration could come from India it would go far to mitigate the present difficulties of recruitment. On the other hand, a view that is not uncommon among the younger present members of the Indian service is that, even without further recruitment in this country, there are quite enough Britishers in the services for some years to come. If, however, there is to be further recruitment, it is clear that India cannot bear the financial burden of having all her public servants of the higher ranks paid at the European rate, and that the normal scale should be an Indian one, the non-Indian scale being exceptional, it being clearly understood that if Britishers are desired, they must be adequately paid and that there must be a certainty of continued employment and of function. The last, it is suggested, should be virtually of an advisory or inspecting character. It is along these lines that some of the younger I. C. S. men, who are quite out of sympathy with the old die-hards of the services, will probably move in the near future. They recognise the inconsistency of the maintenance of the present methods of recruitment with the implications of the declaration of the British Government in August 1917, to which the 1919 Act gave legislative effect.

KENYA.

As I indicated in correspondence some time ago, the new proposals for a settlement of the

Kenya Indian question, agreed to by the Colonial and India Offices, and approved by the Government of India, have now reached the Kenya Government, and are stated to go far in the direction of meeting the Indian contentions. But telegrams that have reached here from Nairobi show a growing movement on the part of the European settlers to revolt against the terms that, it has been unofficially stated, have been laid down for acceptance by them, with the possibility of merely minor or technical alterations. The situation promises to become rapidly acute, for the "Times" correspondent alleges that the Governor, Sir Robert Coryndon, has notified the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Duke of Devonshire, of his disinclination to give effect to the proposals, whilst both this correspondent and Reuter's agent are agreed that the settlers are threatening to create disturbances, unless the proposals are so modified that they no longer offend European susceptibilities, namely, when they no longer pretend to give effect to the doctrine of equal citizenship laid down in the Imperial Conference resolution in 1921. It is even suggested that there is a possibility of the Colonial Office being brought to substitute "more moderate" proposals, though I believe that there is no prospect of such a breach of faith, so long as Mr. Ormsby-Gore is Under-Secretary. It must be quite a long time since anyone accused the Colonial Office of extremism! However, there the matter stands for the moment, pending action on the part of the Indian public and the Legislature. Mr. Polak, on behalf of the Indians Overseas Association, has written to the "Times" pointing out the disastrous effect upon Indian opinion, which looks upon the case of Kenya as the crucial test of the sincerity of the British Government in matters affecting the welfare and status of Indians overseas, if, under pressure from a Governor amenable to local influences and European settlers who threaten violence and are unable to understand the very elements of Imperial obligation, the resolution of the Imperial Conference should not be given effect to. I understand that the Indians Overseas Association are taking the matter up strongly and are closely watching developments.

CULTIVATING PUBLIC OPINION.

To-morrow, Viscount Peel presiding, the Earl of Ronaldshay will lecture before the Indian Section of the Royal Society of Arts, John Street, Adelphi, on "A Clash of Ideals as a Source of Indian Unrest." The subject was dealt with editorially in the "Times" this week, in view of recent events at Gaya and Nagpur, but that paper did not throw any specially new light on the subject. Truth to tell, there is a general tendency here to look upon the situation in India as a little obscure, though there is a certain amount of congratulation and satisfaction that unrest is apparently not quite so pronounced, or, at any rate, so overt, as it was some months ago. It is earnestly to be hoped that advantage will be taken by Indian leaders of the present lull to develop

a point of view that will appeal to the more restrained enthusiasms of the present Parliament, gravely pre-occupied, as it will be, with problems of domestic unemployment and foreign entanglements. A business proposition, emphasising the relative ineffectiveness and inefficiency of the system of diarchy, and the administrative necessity of proceeding to provincial autonomy, coupled with a transfer of power to the electorate in the Central Government, should make an appeal even to many who at present refuse to contemplate a further advance in the reforms on the ground of meeting Indian political aspirations. There are undoubtedly other ways of breaking down stone-walls than by battering them with one's skull. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that a representative delegation from Ceylon is now here with a view to convert the Colonial Office to acceptance of a scheme of further reforms in the Ceylon constitution. I understand that the Colonial Office has already sent a despatch embodying the draft reforms for discussion by the Ceylon Legislative Council. Messrs. James Pairis, D. B. Jayatilaka, A. De Silva, and A. T. C. Wijeyekoon, the delegates, are not allowing the grass to grow under their feet, but they expect to be here for some weeks yet. It seems a pity that the Indian leaders are not taking the trouble to cultivate public opinion here, and it is to be hoped that a strong Indian contingent will come here this spring and spend the summer in Europe.

CORRESPONDENCE

ONE BUSINESS PROHIBITION DESTROYS. INSTITUTES FOR ALCOHOLICS CLOSED.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—The liquor trade has often urged that Prohibition would injure business. At last proof has been secured of one business destroyed by Prohibition, but the liquor trade is not advertising the fact.

Dr. Gifford Gordon of Australia, who went to America to study Prohibition, has written of the effect of Prohibition upon the business of curing drunkards. He went to the men who operate the institutes for the treatment of alcoholics and this is what he writes:

"To learn what effect the new Amendment has had on the prevalence of alcoholism, I went direct to the men who operate these institutions. The first I interviewed was Dr. Wallace of the San Francisco Neal Institute. 'Mr. Gordon', he said to me, 'there were 68 Neal Institutes throughout the United States. Twelve years prior to Prohibition these institutes treated more than 125,000 patients. After two years of Prohibition they are out of Commission.'

"Dr. Neal whom I interviewed in Los Angeles confirmed Dr. Wallace's statement.

"But Neal Brothers do not regret that their business has gone. They are glad to be relieved of the heart-aches and misery caused by liquor. If anyone knows the evils of the liquor traffic, they know it."

"Journeying to Chicago, I stopped at Dwight, Illinois. I wanted to see what used to be the largest Keeley Institute, not only in America but in the world. It is a beautiful building, but since Prohibition it has proved far too large for the patients. Now it has been leased to the United States Government for five years, and is being used for a Hospital for soldiers. Dr. Ougaton, head of this Institution, told me that there used to be fifty Keeley institutes in America. To-day

there are only twelve, and most of these are very small. The building now being used by Keeley Cure in Dwight is a small brick cottage and has only 50 patients.

"In Chicago, I stood before the old Washington Home on West Madison Street. This institution was established in 1863 for the care of inebriates. In 1917, 995 patients were admitted there. On March 1st, 1920, Washingtonian Home closed its doors, and since then it has been sold for other purposes.

"Dr. Horatio Pollock, Statistician of the State Hospital Commission for the State of New York, wrote me a letter in which he states:

"There are now no institutions in this country solely for inebriates. Restrictions on the liquor traffic during the War period undoubtedly hastened the extinction of the institutions."

"I realised the truth of this statement when I visited the old Inebriate Home in Knoxville, Iowa. There were five great buildings but they no longer contained alcoholic patients. The building has been purchased by the Federal Government for use as a hospital and home for disabled soldiers."—Yours, etc.,

DELLA STEEPER.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

From Ferd. Dummler's Verlag, Berlin.

GRUNWALD GEORG: PÄDAGOGISCHE PSYCHOLOGIE. Eine genetische Psychologie der Wissenschaft, Kunst, Sittlichkeit und Religion bis zur vollen Reife des Menschen, auf Grund einer differentiellen Psychologie des Zöglings und des Erziehers. 9x6. pp. vi & 407 Berlin. 1921.

From G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

FAMOUS NON-CO-OPERATORS: SKETCH OF LIFE & CAREER OF (1) CHITTA RANJAN DAS (pp. 45), (2) THE ALI BROTHERS (pp. 39), (3) AUBOINDO GHOSE (pp. 32), (4) MOTILAL NEHRU (pp. 40), (5) HAKIM AJMAL KHAN BY C. F. ANDREWS (pp. 32). 6½x4. 1922. As. 4. each.

From D. Appleton & Co., New York.

BUELL, RAYMOND LESLIE: THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE. 1922. 8½x5½. pp. xiii & 461. 12s. 6d.

From Herbert Jenkins Ltd., London.

WOODYATT, MAJOR GEN. NIGEL: UNDER TEN VICEEROYS. REMINISCENCES OF A GURKHA. 1922. 8½x5½. pp. 320.

From Edward Arnold & Co., London.

RODD, RT. HON., SIR JAMES RENNELL: SOCIAL & DIPLOMATIC MEMORIES, 1884—1893. 1922. 9x5½. pp. xi & 356 & 160. 21s.

From Cassell & Co. Ltd., London.

WILSON, RT. HON. SIR GUY FLEETWOOD: LETTERS TO SOMEBODY. (Illus.) 1922. 8½x5½. pp. xi & 174. 7s. 9d.

From Longmans Green & Co., London.

INGE, WILLIAM RALPH: OUTSPOKEN ESSAYS. 1922. 7½x5½. pp. 275. 6s.

From W. Collins Sons & Co., London.

LIBERAL SUMMER SCHOOL, OXFORD. ESSAYS IN LIBERALISM, being the lectures & papers delivered at 1922. 7½x4½. pp. viii & 243. 2s. 6d.

From Government Printing Office, Washington.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR, CHILDREN'S BUREAU: COUNTY ORGANIZATION FOR CHILD CARE & PROTECTION. Publication No 107. 1922. 9x5½ pp. vii & 173.
THE LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE JUVENILE COURT: Publication No. 28. 1922. 9x5½. pp. 42.

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