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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Occasioned by his presence at the Armistice day, celebration, bareheaded, and by the strenuous programmed, he had to go through on that day, the king suddenly took ill on the 21st November and since then the state of his health, alternating between persisting decline and negligible progress has given cause for universal anxiety. Not till about the 27th last, were his Majesty's medical attendants definitely able to discover the dangerous pleural infection in his right lung. The bulletins that they issued from time to time gave till then ambiguous readings of the external symptoms. In spite of the optimism of the doctors, however the administration of oxygen, the sudden recall of the Prince of Wales and the appointment of the State Commission to transact the King's business, at once gave people cause for alarm. At this stage the bulletins also made reference for the first time to a slight fall in His Majesty's pulse. It was on the 7th of December that the needle exploration was made in his chest and on the 12th, that relief came to him with the draining of the pleural effusion from his lung. From that day the King has begun his snail-slow recovery against such a heavy odd as his weak heart, and the presence of the Prince of Wales by his bedside has appreciably helped it. Even so the royal physicians declared that for all the clear progress made by the king, they would be able to pronounce him entirely out of danger only on the Christmas day. This is consolation enough to those who have stood on tenterhooks these thirty-five days and there is therefore every reason for cheerfulness on our part. Though it is true that as a result of the prolonged strain on His Majesty's heart and the general system, the low fever continues and causes extreme exhaustion, his naturally robust constitution

tion will, we assure ourselves, maintain its power of resistance till complete health is established and joy reigns once again in the heart of the Queen and her royal children.

* * *

HIS Highness the Nawab of Bhopal delivered a few days ago a speech at a public dinner in Bhopal. In the course of it he displayed abilities of a high order in twisting facts or in misinterpreting them so as to suit his own purpose. The gist of what he said comes in a word to this. India under the Princes and India under the British are two separate entities which should not interfere with each other. Indian States have their treaty relations direct with the British Crown and will not consent to being transferred to a "foreign" government (i. e.) the government of India. The British promised democratic government to India under them for that was their national form of government and they regarded it as the best. The Nawab however had serious doubts as to democracy being suited to India but was prepared to give his subjects a government suited to their own traditions. The demands of the Indian States Subjects Committee, put forth in England, displayed ineptitude and ignorance or disregard of facts. The speech gives evidence of a subtle brain and a glib tongue but not of any political foresight or imagination. The contention of the Princes that their relations are with the British Crown direct and not as represented by the Government of India commits the serious mistake of counting without the host. The question will finally be decided neither by the Rulers nor by the Butler Committee but by the people of the States. The influence of democracy in British India is sure to cross imaginary political borders in spite of reactionaries like the Nawab. It is only a question of time when state subjects themselves will demand democracy in all the states: indeed in some of them like Mysore, they are already doing so. No amount of post-prandial oratory is likely to blind them to what is going on across the borders. Neither will prohibition of public meetings nor suppression of a free press succeed in the task. These are like ineffectual dams that help the current to accumulate before, in one mighty onrush, it sweeps them all away. The Nawab asked why, if the State subjects had any grievances, they did not present them to their rulers, who would have dealt with them suitably. As well might it be asked why a person should not speak out because his mouth is gagged. The entire speech, if one will overlook the lack of statesmanship that inspires it, betokens shortsighted optimism. His Highness, though not a believer in democracy "has the fullest sympathy with the just aspirations of India." As for his own subjects, however he very obligingly promises them genuine and unchecked autocracy for ever and ever. There is no doubt their gratefulness to him will overflow among them in many directions if only it is permitted to do so.

Constitutional Reforms in Mysore. THE Mysore Legislative Council, which opened on the 17th instant discussed a resolution on constitutional reforms in the State. The mover in urging consideration of the question by a committee with non-official majority, made out a strong case for his position. He said that both the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council were really powerless as their resolutions were only advisory in their nature. Besides the fact that the Dewan presided over both the bodies stood in the way of a free and frank discussion of questions. The representatives of the people wanted power and the executive should be made responsible to the legislature. The government strongly opposed the resolution. One official said that there were many social evils in the State and they should be removed before people asked for political reform. To this exploded plea of the last century, however, no serious attention need be paid. But another ground of government opposition deserves some consideration. The Second Member of Council said that the Simon Commission was considering the question of further reforms in British India and that they in Mysore should await its report before taking up a similar problem in their own area. This plea betrays a confusion of ideas as to the nature of the reforms asked for in Mysore and in British India. In the latter case what is being considered by the Simon Commission is a *further* step in making the executive responsible to the legislature. But the Government of Mysore has yet to take the very first step in the direction of responsibility. The change required in Mysore is similar to that which took place in British India in 1919, Autocracy needs to be definitely given up as a principle, however benevolent it might be and whatever the number of powerless advisory bodies in the State. The government has obviously not read the signs of the times or it is unwilling to yield power to the people. In either case, popular pressure needs to be exerted on it steadily and incessantly till there is adequate response. And this will not be long in forthcoming, for in Indian States, the interests of the rulers and of the ruled are not opposed to each other as in British India. Mysore politicians will do well to think less of their communal rights and more of their political duties. Once they begin to do so, responsible government will follow in an incredibly short time.

The Trade Union Congress. THE All-India Trade Union Congress opened at Jharia on the 18th instant with Mr. M. Daud in chair. In the course of a lengthy presidential address he said that the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms gave official recognition to labour for the first time and that fact proved a great impetus to the trade union movement. Racial inequalities in the railway service were to be urgently removed. The All-India Railway men's Federation also which met at Jharia the day previous complained against the attitude of the government, towards the grievances of the railway men. Mr. Daud next opposed the cult of Independence and felt satisfied with Dominion Status for India. In any future constitution of the country, he wanted adult franchise to be granted to men and women. Seats for labour representation in the Central and Provincial legislatures should be guaranteed. And in other ways also, labour interests should be amply safeguarded. Among the resolutions passed was one protesting against the arrest of Mr. Johnston, a representative of the League against Imperialism. Another condemned the policy of employers who reduced their cost of production by retrenching labourers and taking more work from the remaining operatives. A third asked for immediate legisla-

tion in favour of adult franchise, eight-hour day or 44 hour week, the fixing of minimum wage, the provision of old age, widows' and orphans' pensions, maternity benefit and weekly payment of wages. Lastly in moving another resolution, Dewan Chamanlal strongly protested against the employment of police and military forces on almost every important occasion of strike or lock-out. He said the only reply to such a policy was for the workers to organise themselves strongly. The labour movement is young and vigorous in the country but sagacious and calm leaders in it are few. Of equal importance with better organisation is increase in the number of such leaders.

Industries in Madras. THE Administration Report of the Industries Department of Madras for the year 1927-1928 reveals a certain amount of brisk activity. Under the State Aid to Industries Act, there is a Board of Industries appointed with the Director of Industries as Chairman. Its duty is to recommend to the government loan applications from industrialists which it considers to be deserving of help. In the year under review the government had set apart Rs. 4 lakhs for such loans but it appears that only little more than half a lakh was utilised and the remainder of the grant lapsed. This matter needs to be carefully looked into. With vast room for the industrial exploitation of the country, it is strange that the assistance proffered by the state has not been taken advantage of by the public to the full extent. One defect of the Act indeed was detected and steps to remove it were under contemplation. It was that certain sections of the Act had the effect of preventing cottage and small scale industries from applying for help. In fact, though the Act had been in force for five years nearly, very few applications from such industries had been received. The exemption therefore of such small concerns from the provisions of the Act concerned received consideration. A Special Officer to survey cottage industries in the presidency was at work during the year. And towards its close, he had finished surveying about eight districts. In addition he was also making an intensive study of the economic conditions of two villages in each district, in order to ascertain the principal occupation of the villagers, the period and the amount of their leisure, the best use to which it could be put and so on. His recommendations in the case of industries peculiar to certain districts were given effect to without undue delay. But such of them as were of a general nature were naturally made to await the completion of the survey in the whole of the presidency.

Education in Fiji. THE Fiji government Report on Education for 1927 gives interesting details about the education of Europeans, of Fijians and of Indians in Fiji. The population of the three races is respectively about 4000, 90,000 and 70,000. There is almost complete provision in the colony for the education of European children. A scheme of co-operation with the New Zealand education department enables Fiji to adopt the courses of instruction in her government schools for Europeans to those in New Zealand. Fijian education however is not in half so satisfactory a condition. There were in 1927 about 25 primary schools assisted with grants by the government which, in addition maintained seven schools, presumably teaching up to a higher standard. There were also Joint Provincial Schools contributed to by all the Provinces except one and dependent on the good-will of the Fijians. The report speaks of a satisfactory measure of this good-will but also says that only one pupil out of fifty was being educated

in these schools. In a New Zealand Technical College four Fijian government scholars were studying. Figures are not detailed enough in the Report to help the formation of an accurate estimate of native literacy in the colony. The education of Indians is not in a better position than that of Fijians. The number of government schools for Indian pupils was one while it was seven for Fijians and four for Europeans. There were 53 schools for Indians, 25 of which received grants: some were under private management and some under Missions. A census taken in 1926 showed that one out of every four Indian boys of school age was under instruction and one girl out of every twenty. Two Indians were studying in a Technical College in New Zealand as government scholars. It is pleasing to note that our countrymen in Fiji have shown a keen interest in education and are maintaining a number of schools largely by means of local subscriptions. Expenditure on education out of General Revenue rose from £3000 in 1915 to £34000 in 1927: but we would like to know how this increase was allotted between the various races as well as the total amount spent on education in the case of each race. The Report is silent on these points.

LAHORE witnessed the other day a fatal attack on Mr. Saunders a police official. Whether viewed from the high altitude of moral principle or from the lower one of political expediency, the attack is to be strongly condemned. The arm of the law is long enough in the country to apprehend the culprit and to mete out to him the punishment that is richly his due. But it is a mistake to think that the event is only of individual importance. It is really a tragic reminder of the estranged feelings that prevail between the rulers and the ruled. The immediate cause of the deplorable occurrence is beyond all doubt the brutal assault that the Lahore Police recently made on the late Lalaji. In view of the high esteem in which he was held by all people, young and old, alike, that by itself was enough to provoke popular indignation. But his subsequent death widened the gulf between the people and the government much more. As a result, a more than ordinarily sensitive person, presumably a youth, thought in all probability of avenging Lalaji's death by perpetrating a horrible crime. But the real cause of the assassination is much deeper. It consists in the continued flouting of Indian opinion and wounding of Indian sentiment that we have been witnessing for the last few years. The imposition of a detested Royal Commission on India in flagrant disregard of unanimous national opposition to it, is but the latest instance of this attitude. On the other hand, Gandhiji's influence in favour of non-violence is unmistakably on the wane. There is no wonder then that the out-raged sense of self-respect in a sensitive nation expresses itself in various directions, some of them distinctly reprehensible. The duty of the government today is clear. It does not end with the apprehension and punishment of the author of the dastardly act: rather it begins there. The government should save itself from getting panic-stricken and taking any short-sighted steps. That will only make matters worse. And it should, secondly, begin, even at this stage, to respect and to conciliate public opinion in India. Even today, the political horizon is thickly clouded but the next few years, threaten to be really stormy. Will the government display some imagination and check its mad career? The immediate future depends a good deal on the answer.

IT is very happy news that the dispute in Miraj between the Chief and the ryots **Miraj Dispute Settled.** in regard to the recent land revenue assessment, is amicably settled. In a public notification issued through the State Karbhari, the Chief gracefully yields almost all the important demands made, on behalf of the ryots, by certain public-spirited citizens of the State. He agrees to a permanent reduction of 25 per cent in the recent enhancement and to collect, during the current year, only 35 per cent of the increased assessment. Further he is prepared to consider with sympathy individual cases of inability to pay. This move on his part is very welcome either as a sign of decreased stubbornness in him or as the effect of popular agitation. His announcement seems to be vague on one point and it would be advisable to make it perfectly clear: that would save future trouble. The amount to be collected during the current year is reported to be 35 per cent of the increased assessment. But does "increased assessment" mean, assessment increased by the Settlement Officers or by the Chief in the final instance? In other words does it mean 35 per cent of the reduced assessment or of the original one? Probably the Chief means the former but the notification does not clearly express the idea. While thus far the announcement is satisfactory, there are portions in it to which exception must be taken. In a deprecatory tone, it refers to certain "agitators" who had no idea of "the special mutual interests of the ruler of an Indian State and his people" and who caused "a grave misunderstanding" among the ryots. Here the broad suggestions made are that persons from outside Miraj were responsible for recent happenings and that they, as well as the local leaders who were associated with them, intended to create misunderstanding between the Chief and the ryots affected. Nothing of course is further from truth. There were no outside people connected with the movement. And the local leaders, far from desiring to create misunderstandings, were actuated by the best of motives. Indeed, in openly advocating the cause of the ryots, they consciously exposed themselves to the displeasure or even the wrath, of their Chief. Nobody does so for the mere love of it. As to misunderstanding, we are glad that the Chief has at last cleared himself of it and understanding the seriousness of the situation, taken steps to conciliate the distressed ryots.

IN our note of November 8 last on Railway **Sustained Humour.** Auditors as Humourists we referred to two railway auditors—one in Government service and the other in a company's employ. The former has not been able to sustain the humour, but the latter has been an entire success. As stated before, the Chief Auditor of the company-worked railway, on being asked the date of the actual payment of certain Provident Fund dues, wrote back over 1600 miles to the retired railway servant instructing him to submit his application through his previous departmental chief whose office was located within but two miles of the Chief Auditor's. The servant obeyed the order and in due course a reply was received—not giving the date but—saying he is unable to give the required information. After this who will be so foolish as to say that a company is not more businesslike than a State department administering its own railways?

THE ALL-PARTIES CONVENTION

SINCE the All-Parties Conference met at Delhi, there had been two questions of outstanding importance which exercised the minds of progressive Indians of all shades of political thought. The first was as to the basis on which the future Indian constitution was to be built up. Should India expect her political development in association with Britain claiming the same freedom and autonomy as the Dominions enjoyed? Or did circumstances require that she should discard British connection and claim the fullest independence in theory and in practice? The other question concerned the settlement of communal differences so that we might cease to be a house divided against itself and our demand be regarded as representing the will of a united living nation. The question whether India was to aim at independence or at Dominion Status was left undecided by the All-Parties Conference at Delhi. But the Sub-Committee appointed by it in August, and presided over by Pandit Motilal, came to the conclusion that it would be difficult to formulate even the principles of the constitution unless this question was settled. It then decided that the future Indian constitution should be modelled on that of the self-governing dominions. This decision was received with considerable dissatisfaction by some Congressmen who felt that it lowered the flag of the Congress which only a few months earlier had declared in favour of independence. But that very Congress which resolved that independence should be the goal of our efforts also authorised its Working Committee to draft a Swaraj constitution for India on the basis of a Declaration of Rights, in consultation with other organisations and to place the same for consideration and approval before a special Convention consisting of representatives of the A. I. C. C. of other organisations political, labour, commercial, communal, and of the elected members of the Provincial and Central Legislatures. The only direction that the Congress gave to its Working Committee was that the constitution should contain a Declaration of Rights but otherwise the descretion of the Committee was unfettered to frame a constitution which would have the support of non-congress organisations. Further he it noted that the constitution so framed was to be placed for approval, not before the Congress but before a body representative of various interests and schools of thought. It is true that the Congress placed before itself the ideal of independence; but it seems to have realised that political unity was of much greater practical importance than mere abstract theories and formulas. The Nehru Committee carried out the spirit of the Congress resolution by laying down that our efforts should be directed to the attainment of a position of equality with the self-governing Dominions. when it found that this was the only basis on which unanimity could be reached. Its decision however was questioned at the meeting of the All-Parties Conference, held at Lucknow in August last. But it was there decided to endorse the conclusion at which the Committee had arrived.

It is not to be wondered at that the All-Parties Convention should have found itself face to face with the same issues as had confronted the conference.

The Convention met in an atmosphere of uncertainty and the results of its deliberations were being anxiously awaited by the country. But it appeared scarcely doubtful as soon as the Convention began which way it inclined. It was clear that representatives of the various bodies that had met were fully conscious of the indispensibility of unity under present state of affairs and would not allow themselves to do anything which would destroy the harmony that had been created by the All-parties Conference and undo the valuable work it had done. Those who were against the acceptance of dominion status contented themselves with placing a statement of their views before the Convention. The resolution asking for this country the same status as that enjoyed by the self-governing dominions was passed nem con. The advocates of independence who were members of the Congress however asked the president to note that this resolution did not seem to be in accord with that passed by the A. I. C. C. in November last. The A. I. C. C. could not as a body be supposed to have accepted it. Thus it is clear that although the Convention decided against severance of British connection, the matter has not yet been finally settled. Those who saw no chance of succeeding in the Convention will redouble their efforts to have their view accepted by the All India Congress Committee. The position is thus not free from doubt. Mr. Gandhi has been asked to intervene and it is to be trusted that the majority of the congressmen will look realities in the face and not be carried away by empty shibboleths. So impartial an observer as the late Lalaji declared after the November meeting of the A. I. C. C., that personal considerations were to no small extent responsible for opposition to the Nehru Report. Besides while the Congress may if it so chooses have the empty satisfaction of being regarded as the most advanced political body by rejecting the Report, it will have shown itself to be utterly incapable of grappling hard realities and uniting with other organisations in a patriotic endeavour to present a united front to the enemy. To those who think lightly of the confusion and the setback that would be caused by rejection of the Report, we would commend careful perusal of Mr. Yakub Hassan's speech on Sunday. He pertinently asked why those who were in favour of independence wanted to have a constitution at all. Referring to communalists, he wondered how champions of communal rights could put themselves forward as undiluted patriots whose self-respect would be satisfied with nothing less than independence. He pointedly asked "My friends who want independence, why should they have any constitution at all? There will be time enough for constitutions after they gain independence. Let us as practical men take stock of the real facts. Do the Hindus who wise to fight for independence realise that with them they must have Muslims who are

communalists? And if Muslims are serious about independence, why do they worry and fight about the rights of minorities in the constitution?" No one who tries to consider the present position dispassionately can fail to be impressed by the weighty arguments advanced by our Mr. Yakub Hassan. Our creed as he said, is non-violence. We are divided amongst ourselves. And Indian States which are already looking upon us with suspicion, will be definitely ranged against us, should we declare independence to be our goal. When we bear in mind, along with these facts the status assigned to the self-governing dominions by the Imperial Conference in 1926, it seems so incomprehensible that any body of serious politicians should think of dividing the national strength at this crucial moment of India's destiny by trying to create prejudice against the Nehru Report simply because it does not insist on theoretical independence. We hope Congress will follow the courageous lead given by Pandit Motilal and complete the good work begun by it in December last by treating the decisions of the Convention as the National Demand. The Government should note the signs of the times and see that the upholders of the ideal of independence have been unable to make headway for the time being because the country has elected to follow the advice of her saner and more farsighted leaders and chosen the path of friendly cooperation. But should the reply of the government to their gesture of good-will be a haughty refusal to treat India as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of nations, it will create an unbridgeable gulf between India and Britain. Whether Britain will choose to be our friend or foe, we do not know. But one thing is certain. India is determined to win her freedom whatever the price she might have to pay for it.

Pandit H. N. KUNZRU M.L.A.

THE MADRAS LABOUR DEPARTMENT.

THE name of this Department is not precisely indicative of the duties it performs. The Administration Report for 1927-28 that has just reached us shows that the Department deals, in addition to labour, with the administration of the Indian Factories Act of 1911, with the amelioration of the Depressed Classes and with Criminal Tribes Settlements. The Report says that in view of the fact that accidents in railway workshops happened mostly to workmen with short service, there is a proposal to educate the illiterate workmen by publishing a book illustrating the dangerous parts of machinery and how to fence them. As to Labour, a meeting of the Labour Advisory Board is reported to have been held in January of this year to discuss the attitude of the Department towards industrial disputes. And it was decided therein that what the Department should do was to keep itself fully informed of the facts, considering them in their relation to the ascertained conditions of industrial labour generally in the Presidency and to interfere at the last resort. The Workmen's Compensation Act was found to restrict unduly its application in the case of some classes of workmen who do not benefit by it and amendments have been suggested to remove the defect. On the basis of the Unemployment Committee's Report which was published in October 1927, the Government opined that the problem could not be

solved at once and that the real difficulty lay in the prevailing misconception as to the object of education and in non-recognition of the dignity of agricultural labour.

Emigration is lawful only to Ceylon and Malaya at present. In spite of the restricted production of rubber in Malaya and of the decreased demand in consequence, seasonal conditions in India were so bad that the number of emigrants was as high as 117,892. The North Arcot District sent the largest number of these. Ceylon absorbed as many as 102,802 labourers mainly from the Trichinopoly District. The demand for labour in Assam was supplied mainly by the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts and during the year ending with 30th June 1927, 11,376 recruits were enlisted. The general conduct of recruitment is reported to be satisfactory. In 1927 South Africa sent back 2387 emigrants in ten batches.

The Depressed Classes are probably the most important concern of the Department. Special staff to improve their condition has been working for some time past in many districts and in the year under review, three more districts had such staff appointed to them. The measures of improvement adopted relate mainly to housing, co-operation and education. For house-sites, an extent of 503 acres of Government land was assigned during the year for the benefit of 2305 families. And since the inception of the Department, the number of sites so provided was 22,237. In addition, private land was acquired to the extent of 173.87 acres at a cost of Rs. 116,158. At the beginning of the year, there were 1332 co-operative societies working and 193 were organised afresh. These societies finance the acquisition of house-sites on an easy instalment system, finance loans for agricultural purposes or to discharge debts contracted at higher rates of interest, and provide for collective sale and trade. Educational progress continued unabated. 271 new schools were started bringing the total number of schools to 1178 with a strength of 36,885 boys and 5,914 girls. And in addition the payment of grants to private bodies engaged in educating these down-trodden people was also kept up. Two hostels were maintained for students: the Paddison Hostel at Madras and the Government Depressed Classes Hostel in Masulipatam. Boarding grants were given to the Badagas and the Todas in the Nilgiri District, and to Koravas in the Salem and the Trichinopoly districts. 550 scholarships and 220 free studentships were also granted during the year. Apart from these measures, the Government also helped in the provision of wells, of pathways to cheries, of burial or burning grounds, and in the construction and repair of school-sheds. For these miscellaneous purposes an amount of Rs. 446,842 was spent. These were steps taken to help the Depressed Classes generally but in particular colonies were opened to settle some of them on the land. Thus the Nayadis in Malabar had a settlement at Olavakkot; similarly the Dandasis of Ganjam and the Todas of the Nilgiris. The majority of the Union Boards in the presidency had no depressed class representatives on them but steps were proposed to secure such representation at the least by nomination of suitable persons.

Dealing with Criminal Tribes is, if not the most important, at any rate the most difficult part of the work of the Department. The Kallars live in the Madura, Ramnad and Tanjore Districts and inhabit in all more than 1000 villages. Other criminal tribes dealt with are the Lambadis and the Nakkalas of East Godavari. There are various settlements for all these tribes, some of which are under the control of the Salvation Army, some others under that of the American Baptist Mission and the res: under

Government Control. The work taught at these settlements is mainly agricultural but industries like weaving, leather and sandal work, carpet making, etc. are also taught. Education is imparted to the boys and girls of the tribes, the progress in this direction being really satisfactory. Efforts are made to start and run co-operative societies among these people. It is but natural that there should be some absconders but their number is very small and may be neglected.

The Labour Department is thus doing very valuable work. One of the greatest problems we have to solve relates to the Depressed Classes and yet all provincial Governments have not taken to ameliorative measures for the benefit of those classes just as the Madras Government have done. It is high time they did so.

LABOUR POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA IX.

BY A STUDENT.

THE CASE AGAINST WHITE LABOUR POLICY.

In the last article we summed up the case for the White Labour Policy now pursued in South Africa. One other argument is also advanced in its favour. The Native is not a landless labourer depending solely on industrial labour in urban areas for his support; he has his own communal land to fall back upon. As a matter of fact the Native returns to his land occasionally himself, and in his absence his relations look after the land. Industrial labour is merely a supplementary occupation to him; not the sole nor the main occupation. The case of the European industrial labourer is different; he is landless and has no other or alternative work to do and is solely dependent on industrial labour and the wages it brings. This is yet another handicap that weighs heavily against the White in the competition with the Native.

This argument, as all the other arguments, is but partially true. In recent years quite a considerable class of Natives has grown up which is urban, industrial and landless. Recruited for or attracted by urban industrial labour, many a Native has severed his connection with his ancestral *kraal*, and migrated to cities, and is now in exactly the same position as the white industrial worker.

This circumstance has brought about a corresponding change in the standard of life of the Native. The city-bred Native and non-European has a standard of life far superior to that of the raw Native in the *Kraal*, and means permitting, not inferior to that of the corresponding class among the white workers. The oft-repeated and, in consequence almost axiomatically accepted thesis that a gulf divides the standard of living of the white and the black in South Africa is rather mis-leading in its generalisation. It is true if the standard of the raw *Kraal* Native is compared with that of the skilled white worker in South Africa. Be it remembered that the latter is much higher than that of the corresponding class in England, even more so than that of the corresponding class in Eastern Europe. Even in South Africa itself the standard of living of the poor whites and of the rural whites is not perceptibly higher than that of the urban Native. If the Native is an unfair competitor with the European because of disparity in the standards of life, the rural whites, who in such large numbers are drifting to the towns, are no less unfair competitors of the urban whites. This exodus to the towns is due to the great disparity in the wages of the whites themselves in urban and rural areas, and the corresponding standards of life. The fact of the matter is that there is a general move towards a higher standard of life all the world over, and the native is no exception. To deny opportunities to the

native on the ground of his lower standard of life is not likely to mitigate the disparity, and in consequence the unfair competition, as is alleged, but will only perpetuate and accentuate it. The only wise course is to accelerate the pace of advance of the standard of life of those that are somewhat backward. And the most effective method is to give them full opportunities for development, and higher economic means.

A policy which deliberately denies opportunities for development to the Natives is not only indefensible and unrighteous from a moral point of view but it is dangerous from a political point of view. A rankling sense of injustice and outrage in what is the major part of the population of South Africa, is no strength to the State. "On general principles, it appears to us," said the Economic and Wage Commission, (p, 122), "to be unsound policy to exclude by legislation a class which has no representation in the legislature, from the economic opportunities at present open to them, for the benefit of the politically privileged class." No stronger condemnation of the white labour policy can be imagined. If further proof was necessary, the Commission quotes from the reports of several previous Commissions to the same effect. The Transvaal Indegency Commission, 1906-8, said, "We are opposed to any Government action which is designed to protect the white men against reasonable competition from the coloured races. Any action on the part of the State which would have the result of suddenly throwing large numbers of Natives out of employment in order to ease the position for the white man would, in our opinion, be unjust. Moreover, no attempt to determine the respective positions of the two races in the industrial world which ignores economic laws can be successful. We are opposed to these proposals (white labour policy) because they would have the effect of ensuring to the white man higher wages than would be economically justified." The Mining Industry Commission, 1907-8, stated, "But in our opinion any measure which seeks to place a permanent artificial barrier by legislation in the way of the coloured man improving his position according to his capacity is very difficult to justify or maintain. Further, we feel assured that no such measure could by itself be permanently effective in securing the ends desired so long as conditions are permitted to exist which cause natural laws and economic forces to be operating in the opposite direction." The Economic Commission, 1914, said, "Your Commissioners are of opinion that there should be no legal barriers to prevent natives or others of the non-white population, from engaging in any work above the grade of unskilled." The Relief and Grants-in-Aid Commission, 1916, said "Repressive laws, aimed against the natives, would be wrong morally and politically, and would only serve artificially to protect the white races and would, therefore, in our opinion, do more harm than good in actual practice".

Apart from the unrighteousness of it, there are practical difficulties in carrying out the white labour policy. In the first place there are not enough white jobs, which justify, economically speaking white wages, for all the white men. It is absolutely uneconomic to pay every white man a wage of a pound a day. Many of them do not deserve it. It may be that at the present moment the wage policy is contemplating only the urban white workers, who form a fraction of the total white population. But the very fact of high wages guaranteed by State action in industrial pursuits is responsible for a considerable and growing drift of the rural whites to the towns. And it may not be long before the vast bulk of the whites will congregate in towns and expect and demand from the State that they should be given white wages and no less. And that is impracticable.

Nor are there enough white jobs for all white men. Some of them will perforce have to accept *kaffir* work, as they are doing at the present moment. To pay the white man the white wage for *kaffir* work is again uneconomic. The attempts to prove the contrary are more heroic than convincing. The Economic and Wage Commission put the matter beyond doubt. To quote only one instance, the Railway authorities found that while the white man had a higher efficiency of 15 per cent he cost 100 per cent more than the Native. Recently addressing the Annual Conference of Divisional Councils the Acting Secretary of the Labour Department stated "On roads constructed for the Lands Department in the British area, the cost of employing white labour on day pay was considerably higher than the cost of employing native labour, but as soon as they were put upon piece-work, the excess cost was reduced, first to 25 per cent, then to 15 percent., and eventually to 7 per cent, while the men earned up to 12s a day." He estimated that white labour would cost some 20 per cent more than native labour. The proof of the pudding is in the eating thereof. He complained that "although the Union Government had given a splendid lead in providing manual workers with work at reasonable remuneration, other public bodies such as Provincial Councils, Municipal Councils, and Divisional Councils, with a few exceptions, had not deemed it fit to adopt that policy and to do all that lay in their power to give it a fair chance of success." (Social and Industrial Review, Nov. 1928). This complaint is significant; it is the clearest proof that white labour is not economic. If public bodies controlled by whites do not adopt the white labour policy, it is small wonder that private employers are even more reluctant to try the hazardous experiment, and that the Government has to offer all kinds of inducements to get them to do so. The manipulation of the Tariffs is one of them. Industries are offered greater protection on condition that they undertake to employ white labour.

Part of the uneconomic character of white labour is due to the inefficiency of the individual. The accidental possession of a white skin does not necessarily make one more efficient. Partly it is due to what may be called the white complex. The unskilled white worker is very reluctant to do unskilled work for the reason that it is *Kaffir* work. He does not put his heart in his work; he sulks, and does not attain the maximum of such efficiency as he possesses. That makes it even more uneconomic to pay him the white wage. This colour prejudice extends even to semi-skilled and skilled trades. For instance, in the matter of apprentices in the Bespoke Tailoring industry, great difficulty is experienced in getting South African whites for the work. They avoid it because most of the work in that line has hitherto been done by non-Europeans. (Social and Industrial Review, Jan. 1927) In his report for 1924 the Chief Inspector of Labour said, "The Western Province Inspector reported that most occupiers in his area were averse to employing civilised juvenile labour, the reason given being that European juveniles were undisciplined and their parents interfering and unreasonable. Some occupiers who attempted replacing coloured by European youths became discouraged and reverted to coloured labour as being easier to handle." Again, "The Inspector reported that a fairly general attempt was made on the Rand to employ European youths on bakers' vans instead of natives, and more than 50 were placed in 1924. Some were a success, but others not, the complaint against them being excessive smoking, coming late to work, and pilfering bread, cakes and even money. Several apprentices left when they were put on night shift, not caring to be deprived of their evening

amusements. On the other hand, one large baker proved very successful in training European lads." This colour prejudice has not yet died down. In the address referred to above, the Acting Secretary for Labour said, "They (white workers) had been brought up to a belief that the work which natives do was not fit for a white man. They had become terribly sensitive on this point."

Not only is white labour inefficient, it is also inadequate for all the unskilled work to be done, and the white workers will not consent to work alongside the native. It is degrading enough for them to have to do *kaffir* work, it is simply unthinkable that they should do it alongside the despised *kaffir* and within his sight. Unskilled work in South Africa cannot all be done by whites, considering that hitherto almost the whole of it was being done by non-Europeans. It is very doubtful if even road-making, which the Government thinks is so eminently fit for whites to undertake, can all be done by whites, if it were reserved for them. Natives will have to be employed in large numbers, and both races will not work together. The gangs must be segregated and the white workers will receive a higher wage than the native. Small wonder that the Provincial Councils are chary of the costly and withal uncertain project.

The pursuit of the white labour policy has landed the Cape Town Municipality in an unenviable position. With laudable intentions the Municipality decided on constructing houses for the poorer members of the coloured community. In response to the Government call for white labour policy the houses were built with white labour at white wages. Now the houses are ready, but there are no occupants forthcoming. The economic rent is much too high for the coloured worker with his lower wages to pay. The height of economic absurdity is reached when Bloemfontein contemplated the building of houses for natives getting a wage of a pound a week or lower with white labour getting a pound a day.

There is at the back of the mind of people who clamour for a white labour policy a feeling that, of semi-skilled and skilled work there is a limited quantity, and that every single such job secured by a non-European means one less for the white, and that if the non-European is excluded from such jobs, there would be more openings for the whites. The most elementary truisms of economics flatly contradict such theories. "The fallacy of the view is obvious," says the Economic and Wage Commission "if we consider that the native population increased by nearly 700,000 persons between 1911 and 1921, most of whom are now in some work or other, without causing any displacement of white workers, who also increased in numbers."

The Commission proceeds to rub the point home by stating that "the introduction of labour-saving machines has proceeded apace, with the result that more workers are employed, not less. Again, "the population of most countries is increasing and this increase creates no problem of unemployment. The reason is obvious on a little consideration—the increase in the population has to be fed and clothed and housed and amused, and employment is provided for the increase in the population by the expansion of industry to provide the additional food, clothing, housing and entertainment."

Far from the unhampered progress of the native being a handicap to the whites, it will be their salvation as it were. Even if the standard of life of the native does not keep pace with the rise in his skill and wages, it is bound to rise, and rise rapidly. The demand for goods for his consumption will grow

with it and more people will be wanted to create the goods and more employment will be forthcoming. It is suicidal, therefore, for the whites to interpose a bar to the economic progress of the native.

So much then for the case against the white labour policy.

(To be continued.)

OUR SOUTH AFRICAN LETTER.

SIR K. V. REDDI, THE NEW AGENT.

South Africa was somewhat taken by surprise when it was announced that Sir Kurma was to succeed Mr. Sastri as the Agent of the Government of India. Surprise because his name was not among those Dame Rumour speculated about; and his reputation had not reached South Africa yet. Few people knew anything about him. But all classes were willing to extend to him a cordial welcome and do their best to make his task easy and pleasant. The "Natal Witness" has a very appreciative leader on the subject. It refers to the "considerable amount of self-sacrifice involved when a man of Sir Kurma's eminence and proved ability absents himself from India awhile," when Indian politics is so full of "boundless possibilities for able and far-sighted Indians". It ends up with the hope that "his term of office in the Union may be fruitful of good for both countries as was that of his predecessor, Mr. Sastri." and assures him that "he will commence his duties with the goodwill and the goodwishes of everyone concerned." The "Cape Times" also writes in a similar strain, "South Africa will, we are sure, extend to Sir Kurma Reddi a cordial and sincere welcome and will do its best to render his task as little thankless as from the nature of the circumstances it can be."

STATUS OF THE AGENT

The "Cape Times" goes on to make a suggestion which should be carefully noted in India. "Mr. Sastri has been so much bigger than his post that few have noticed how small in itself the post is. We hope that no Indian Agent in South Africa will ever be smaller than his post. That Sir Kurma Reddi is nothing of the kind, is already obvious, even from our present too meagre knowledge. Nevertheless, the Government of India will probably find it desirable on general grounds to enlarge the post and to match it somewhat more equally with the man."

INDIAN TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

The Natal Indian Congress has taken in hand the organisation trade unions among Indians, and the first Trade Union Congress met on the 1st December in Durban. There is but just one Indian trade union which is registered, there are a few unregistered. The position in South Africa with regards to trade unions is rather novel and perhaps has no parallel in any other country. They are almost entirely European and opposed to the admission of non-Europeans. They can and do negotiate with the employers regarding wages and other conditions of work, which are binding on non-Europeans as well. That is unfair enough. But worse may and has happened. The agreements between the European employees and the employers may and do include clauses prohibiting the employment of persons who are not members of trade unions. The National Printing Industry Agreement has such a clause, and such Indians as are now employed in the trade are there by special and individual exemptions granted and renewable at the pleasure of the unions.

In certain designated trades young men may not be apprenticed without the sanction of Apprenticeship Committees created under the Apprentice-

ship Act. These Boards consist entirely of Europeans; moreover, the minimum educational qualification for apprentices is the VI standard. Now education up to that standard is compulsory for Europeans, so that every European youth has the minimum qualification. But education is not compulsory for non-Europeans, and even on a voluntary basis, the facilities are notoriously inadequate. Again, apprentices have to undergo technical education during their apprenticeship. Facilities are provided for such education for Europeans; and not for non-Europeans, except perhaps in Cape Town. There are Juvenile Affairs Boards for the purpose of placing youths in industry, and finding proper jobs for them. But they cater only to the European youth.

As if all this was not unfair enough, the wages fixed by the Wage Board and by mutual agreement between the European employees and the employers, approximate to the unduly high traditional European standard. It may be remarked here that the Economic and Wage Commission found that real wages in England were 30 per cent less, in Amsterdam nearly 40 per cent less, in Paris and Berlin over 50 per cent less in Brussels and Milan over 60 per cent less than in South Africa, and that these high wages were being paid at the expense of the non-European workers. It is obvious that employers can afford to pay these high wages to only the most efficient. It has been shown in the previous paragraph that facilities to improve one's efficiency are pressed on Europeans but denied to non-Europeans. As if to add insult to injury, the non-European is told that wage determination in South Africa takes no notice of race or colour, that the same wage is open to all races, and that South African Labour holds aloft the exalted principle of equal pay for equal work, irrespective of race or colour.

One of the tasks of the Indian Trade Union Congress is to consider an intriguing situation that has recently arisen. It has been the policy of the Government to permit the registration of only one trade union for each occupation. In many occupations Europeans, who predominate in numbers have registered trade unions, into which they do not admit non-Europeans. The minority of non-Europeans in these occupations could not register separate unions. It happens, however, that in one particular trade, to wit, hotel employees, Indians who form some 97% of the employees had anticipated the Europeans and registered a union in Durban. They are prepared to admit other races to membership, but the European hotel employees disdain entering that union. They, therefore, asked they may be allowed to form a separate union and it might be registered. The law was against it. The horror of parallel unions has now in consequence greatly abated, and the Government are willing to consider with equanimity the formation of parallel unions, but only in special circumstances. If the European has forestalled the non-European and formed a union, then no parallel union is desirable since it violates the high principle of solidarity of labour and a single union! But if a non-European anticipated the European, then, of course, a parallel union is permissible! Indian opinion is decidedly against parallel unions. Indians consider it outrageous that the open constitution of their union, which represents some 97 per cent of the employees, should be altered and made exclusively Indian in order to meet the prejudices of just 3 per cent of the employees.

The case is different when an existing trade union debar non-Europeans either by its constitution or by executive action. If the former, there is no alternative except to register a parallel union. If the latter, the law is against such a step. For the

Registrar can register another union only when the existing union is not representative of the trade, and it cannot be said to be so when its constitution is open to all races, though by executive action, it is kept closed. A European union earlier in the field can, by adopting an open constitution but keeping out non-Europeans by executive action, effectively prevent the registration of a parallel non-European union, and it is doubtful if the Department of Labour can order otherwise.

A third alternative is being suggested. The second union may be a branch of the first union, and not a separate union. These alternatives are being debated with energy and earnestness.

Mr. Sastri opened the Congress on the 1st Dec. in Durban. He detailed at some length the disabilities of Indians in the industrial field, and made a fervent appeal to Government for fairplay and more tender consideration for the interests of a disfranchised and persecuted people; to the Government officials for even-handed justice and sympathy, and to the Indian trade unionists for moderation and good sense coupled with dogged persistence in ventilating their grievances. The Department of Labour was represented by the Registrar of Trade Unions, the Chief Inspector of Labour and the Divisional Inspector of Labour, who are very helpful with expert knowledge and advice.

REVIEWS.

COOPERATION BETWEEN TOWN AND COUNTRY.

TOWN AND COUNTRY. By ELVA E. MILLER. (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.) 1928. 8½ x 5½. pp. 212. \$2.

THIS is one of the most interesting books that have appeared in recent times on rural topics. The book is primarily a study of the town in the country.

"The writer believes that the country town can be truly seen only against its unescapable background of fields and farm houses and farming folk. He believes too that much discussion of agriculture and agricultural problems has been inadequate because it has stopped with the end of the farming lands and at the boundaries of the town."

The country town, as it is discussed in the book, is one that does most of its business with the country and whose prosperity is bound up with that of the country people.

The first settlements in America were towns near the sea coasts, and were mainly inhabited by commercial people. Gradually a farming community grew up and these proceeded inland to establish other towns. The typical pioneer was the farmer, who took his family and his belongings into the wilderness to make a home. He was essentially a town-bred man. The town in these localities was not a separate development or a separate interest; it developed out of the needs of the farmers. The town not only grows out of the country, it continues to live on it. There is a mutual dependence of the one on the other for continued prosperity to both, and this point has been well brought out. At the same time we have to remember that a common point of contact between the country and the town is when they come together for exchange of commodities. Then is seen the divergence of their interests, for the buyer's interest cannot be the same as the seller's interest. Each wants to strike the best bargain possible. Again, more wealth flows from the country to the city than in the other direction, and the best youth of the country tends to go in the same direction.

The country in fact feeds the town in many ways.

"The country produces the child, cares for him through the dazed-demanding days of his infancy, feeds and clothes him through his unproductive years, bears the expense of his education, and turns him over to the city, a finished product, at the beginning of his productive period of life."

In a way, this is natural. The city offers better rewards, and puts within the reach of everybody the results of modern scientific advance. Until the rural parts can be made more attractive in the matter of social amenities, and in the matter of conveniences like the telephone, electric light, etc., this kind of drain is inevitable.

"Up to a certain point, the growth of the towns and the development of urban business means better things for the farmer; beyond a certain point, every increase in comparative wealth and comforts and progress of the town promotes a decadence of country life." "If the town too far outstrips the country in the things that make life desirable and effort productive, there will be a steady deterioration of country stamina along with the deterioration of country finances."

In the matter of education and roads, the country is badly served. The town school has better buildings, better equipment and better teachers. The town should realise that the education of the children of its rural neighbourhood is as much its concern as the concern of the locality itself. Good roads, again, are not merely the concern of any particular locality, especially in these times of long distance travel.

"The town, as an institution, is not always exactly cordial towards the countryman in town; it is often not very considerate either of his welfare or his comfort; at times it is to be feared, it forgets to be courteous to him, and forgetting to be courteous, it is in danger of forgetting to be just." "People who pride themselves on their respectability go hunting through the farmers' fields without their permission, litter up his roadsides with cans and bottles and old papers and never imagine that they are losing their respectability in a domineering discourtesy of a petty sort of dishonesty."

The town, possessing a higher culture, must lead in many ways and must not forget that it is incumbent on it to carry the country along with it.

"It can give the most fully, however, can make its leadership the most effective, only when it gives to the country, along with what is best of its own attainments, appreciation of and pride in the best of the old country traditions and customs and graces." "There must be developed in the country a rural civilisation equal to, and integrated with, the civilisation of the city. For the man on the farm, life must be made equally pleasant, labour equally profitable, with the life and labour of the man in town. The material blessings of the city must extend themselves into the country. Whatever cultural opportunity the city holds must be open to the youth of the farm. There must be convenience and comfort and beauty and the lightening of labour in the country home as well as in the city apartment. The path to knowledge and to accomplishment and to power must be open before the feet of childhood from every farm yard gate. Only so can the future of the nation be assured."

The book is a powerful plea, for on one side the proper development of the countryside and on the other, for an understanding cooperation between the town and country. It is full of very valuable suggestions, born out of actual experience, and it deserves to be closely studied by all who are interested in and working for the betterment of the rural parts.

GUNDAPPA S. KURPAD.

INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

HARMONY BETWEEN LABOUR AND CAPITAL. By OSCAR NEWFANG. (Putnam). 1927.

8¼ × 5¼, pp. 238.

CONSIDERING how much wealth is lost to us by industrial conflict an attempt to find a solution for it will find a ready hearing at this time when strikes are supposed to be the last word in the social and economic welfare of the workers. In the first part Mr. Newfang analyses the causes of industrial unrest. They are the fixation of wages without reference to a just rule, the separation of management from capital and consequent "cold-blooded, economic, and inhumanly oppressive attitude towards labour." In part II, the author considers existing methods of establishing harmony. The author gives impartially what can be said against several methods like the Bonus system, Profit-sharing, Socialism, Communism and Social insurance. One of his judgments is peculiarly apt to-day in England as well as India:—

"Trade-unionism is not therefore an attempt to establish harmony between labour and capital but it is a plan to organize the camp of labour and put it into a position of fighting power superior to the camp of capital."

In the third part, the author expounds his own devices to bring about the harmony between the two agents of production. The essence of his scheme is that instead of capital being the 'residuary legatee' labour should be in that position; so that after a fixed interest for capital is deducted the excess of gross receipts over the cost should be handed over to labour—including in this brain labour, summed up in the phrase 'management'. This rate, according to the author, should be determined by public authority which at the same time should strictly regulate capitalization and reserve funds in order to prevent watered stock. As disputes are sure to arise with regard to the division of the surplus earnings the author suggests that it should be distributed in the proportion that the salary or wages of a person bears to the total payment-bill, with the proviso that workers are given free preference to choose their jobs and perfect competition is allowed. An important item in the scheme is the appointment of workers' auditors to prevent diversion of profits in underhand ways like excessive depreciation accounts, buying raw materials from favoured concerns, &c. The larger share of the total earnings that this scheme would give to labour, would enable it gradually to invest more and more till they practically control the industry. To avoid disputes about accounting methods the State should, in the opinion of the author, make regulations about these and an appeal to courts should be allowed in case of facts with regard to the annual earnings, strikes and lock-outs being forbidden by legislation. In this connection the author admits that the Soviet statesmen made a mistake in banishing the technical skill of management from their country and is glad to find that they are replacing undiluted Communism by a system of private initiative and capitalistic operation in the matter of manufacturing and trade.

It is quite true, as the author says, that this scheme would substitute for the present rule of force a rule of reason for making the division of the total proceeds between labour and capital. Under the plan the increase or decrease of wages and capital is made automatically in accordance with justice and equity. Another advantage claimed for the scheme is that in times when a reduction of selling price is necessary this is made practicable by the preliminary contract of partnership between labour and capital to accept and divide whatever remains at the end of the

year as surplus earnings, whereas under the present system a reduction below the cost line is impossible. Besides there would be no unemployment; the diffusion of wealth would provide a steady market for most commodities. By examining the records of a few companies in U. S. the author shows that the ultimate control of industry by workers is not so Utopian as might be generally imagined. The whole scheme however presupposes that managers and entrepreneurs would consent to be parts of the machine of production if everything beyond their salaries is handed over to the manual labourers along with themselves, as if both are equally responsible for the result; so far as we know the issue is just this:—can manual labour in its corporate capacity supplement the brain work or 'the management' by a promise of salaries plus 10% of the total earnings to which the scheme restricts its bonus? Mr. Newfang considers the various objections against the newsystem fairly in a separate chapter; throughout this consideration he relies on the reasonableness of shrewd and sane labour leaders whereas we doubt whether there are many such leaders and whether they have the necessary power over their followers to ensure the adoption of the system; we do not think that he has satisfactorily answered the objection that the plan would require extensive legislation and governmental control of industry; such legislation may be justifiable but it is doubtful whether it would be acquiesced in without a strong protest by the capitalists and the 'management'. We are confident however that the author's idea would have a marked educative effect in the industrial world. The whole plan breathes the spirit of Ruskin with his powerful advocacy of altruism. With regard to international labour problems, the author approves of the activities of the International Labour Organization under the auspices of the League of Nations. He is also completely on the side of the free and unrestricted flow of capital between countries which also can be secured only by international cooperation treating the world as an economic unit. The author must be congratulated on suggesting a scheme for industrial peace which avoids the pitfalls of schemes held in favour by extreme Socialism and Communism.

V. N. GODBOLE.

EARLY BRITISH ADMINISTRATORS
IN BIHAR.**THE ANNALS OF THE EARLY ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN BIHAR.** By N. N. RAYE.

(Kamala Book Depot, Ltd., Calcutta.) 1927.

8¼ × 5¼, pp. 320. Rs. 5.

THIS work is the fruit of a close study of the East India Company's affairs upto 1772 and although it deals with a particular province viz. Bihar, the account will interest all students of Indian history. As a matter of fact the English Trading Company definitely stepped into the political field and assumed the responsibilities of administration for the first time in Bihar and Bengal and with the active help of the influential and wealthy Hindoo bankers in these two provinces the trading Company was transformed into a military power. But this transformation has been attributed by many historians to the self-sacrificing and patriotic spirit as well as the moral superiority of the Company's servants. A critical study of the original historical material in this connection, however, reveals quite a different tale. Many servants of the Company found wives from the lower classes of Indian society and the contact instead of improving the Indian partner resulted in Indianising the English factor who con-

attracted evil habits of laziness and took to hooka-smoking (p. 62). Of course it was small blame to the poor factor that his life was no better and since he was not recruited from the educated and respectable section in England but was generally a 'vagabond boy' in his younger days and had to pass and mix with the lower strata of society in Bengal and Bihar, with money-making as the sole ideal of life and without lawful means to attain his aim, "what else could he prove but what he became?" (p. 63). This 'sole ideal of money-making' explains the conduct of the Company's servants from the lowest grade to the highest, and the current stories of their patriotic motives do not bear scrutiny. Some of the current fictions have been carefully examined and exposed by the author. The inscription, for example, on the tomb of Lushington at Patna says: 'His race was truly glorious. The rising generation must admire. May they imitate so bright an example's but this Lushington had forged Watson's signature in the Lal Coggedge (the Red Treaty) and drawn up and forged the signature of Caillaud in the paper with the three seals" (p. 231). The 'Black Hole affair has been proved by contemporary evidence "to have not the least foundation in truth" (p. 195, note 2) and must be regarded as the deliberate invention of Holwell by way of propaganda to blacken the character of Mir Jafar. The story of Gabriel Boughton, an English surgeon at the court of Shuja in Bengal, having secured a *farman* for the Company in a self-sacrificing spirit has been also carefully scrutinised by Mr. Raye (pp. 37, 38) since it has been accepted unchallenged by historians like Elphinstone, Wheeler and Hunter.

"The story", says Mr. Raye, "had no foundation in fact and the astute surgeon had not the stuff in him of which heroes of romances are supposed to be composed. So far from being moved by patriotism and readily placing the favour he enjoyed at court at the disposal of his countrymen he had to be bribed and bribed heavily before he exerted his influence on their behalf and he made a sorry return of their good will by carrying on private trade much to the injury of the infant trade of the Company." (p. 37).

We need not multiply instances of Mr. Raye's having made dry facts interesting and of his possessing a happy literary gift "which makes what he writes eminently readable" as remarked in the (Foreword by E. A. Horne).

D. V. APTE

SHORT NOTICES.

STUDIES IN ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCE. By D. B. COPLAND, (Macmillan, Melbourne.) 1927. 9 x 6. pp. 86.

THIS book is Economic Series No. 2 of the Melbourne University Publications and is the result of an extensive tour of American and European Universities undertaken in 1926 by the author as travelling representative of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller memorial. His object was "to collect data and to discuss problems connected with the organization of studies in social science with many eminent authorities abroad". In achieving his end, the author has eminently succeeded. After showing that in Britain, France and the U. S. A. the tendency to-day is against too early specialisation in the case of undergraduates, he goes on to describe the facilities that exist for post-graduate study in those countries, especially in relation to economics and commerce. America is easily ahead of the rest of the world in this respect. The graduate school is thus described.

"In general, the instruction is informal; the student is expected to profit as much by his personal contact as

by his class-room work. In fact, the school is the residence of a group engaged in a co-operative adventure in learning."

It is said that the graduate school of Business and Government at Washington has attracted some of the best students from the universities of the United States and includes in its student-body, representatives from universities in Europe. Such schools exist not only for business but also for Administration, Rural Economics, Sociology, Geography etc. It should be noted that, in many cases, such schools are maintained by private endowments and are managed by autonomous Boards of Control. What a sad contrast to India where charity is ill-directed and the spirit of research is not much in evidence.

The methods of study followed in these schools are also remarkable. The classes are small and what is known as the case or the problem method is adopted for study. That consists in a student preparing one side of a question well with the aid of the library and then discussing it with the tutor in his small class, where some other students will present another aspect of the problem. These schools are also engaged in the research of some problems which might prove to be of practical value in commerce or industry. On the whole, the book is one which our universities, industrialists, rich men and the lay public in general should study and profit by.

S. P. S.

CHINESE REALITIES. By JOHN FOSTER. (Edinburgh House Press.) 1928. 7½ x 5. pp. 240. 2s. 6d.

ENTER CHINA. By GEORGE G. BARNES. (Edinburgh House Press.) 1928. 7¼ x 4¾. pp. 168. 2s.

IN these books Messrs. Foster and Barnes give a faithful picture of the revolution that has been going on in China in recent years. The authors have concentrated their attention on the literary, social and political revolution which has made old China young again. Both the authors seem to have spent some time in China and are eminently qualified for the task they have undertaken.

Though the books contain a very good pen picture of Chinese realities, they suffer from a serious defect. The authors seem to be possessed with missionary zeal, so much so that they think that without the religion of Jesus there is no hope for Young China. But while Mr. Barnes wants the Christian spirit to prevail in China, Mr. Foster wants the Christian religion to be the religion for the Chinese. Mr. Foster thinks that "if Young China does not become Christian, she will very soon have no religion at all." And why? Because he believes firmly that Christianity meets modern needs, fits "yawning gaps in China's scheme of rebuilding." Can zeal for Christianity go any further? Mr. Foster's idea seems to be that if any nation wants to be abreast of the modern age, it must become Christian; we would ask the author: How is it that non-Christian Japan is a great Power? In this connection, Mr. Allen in "Modern Japan and Its Problems" assures us that Japan fully realises "that she has nothing whatever to gain by conversion to Christianity either morally or otherwise but very much to lose."

Interesting though the books are, they suffer from an overdose of Christian zeal. We wish the authors had written as students of history and not as missionaries.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

FIRST STEPS ON THE PATH. By GEOFFREY HODSON. (Theosophical Publishing House, Madras.) 1928. 7¼ x 5. pp. 135. Re. 1-8.

THOSE who look upon life as something terribly earnest and virile will find "First Steps on the Path" so much after their heart. The theosophical imagery with which the book abounds may have little or no attraction for them but they will assuredly take full stock of the inexhaustible "will power" that they possess and utilise it for radiating "power, wisdom and beauty upon the world" as also "for producing an atmosphere of upliftment" by means of which "they could attack all social problems of their locality and could even send forth powerful currents of force for the improvement of both national and international situations". There is so much that is ugly and shocking in our affairs, such that Religion is largely "heir to," that with a judicious use of Mr. Hodson's book, we must be able to invoke the hidden "power which maketh all things new".

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR:—There are two sides to every question, as every one knows. But persons who condemn India on account of what they have read in Miss Mayo's book, "Mother India," have considered only one side of the question. I advise such persons to read Dhan Gopal Mukerji's able reply to Miss Mayo in his book "A Son of Mother India Answers."

Mr. Mukerji takes Miss Mayo to task for giving to a book filled with adverse criticisms of India the tender title of "Mother India." He denies the truth of Miss Mayo's sweeping generalizations condemnatory of the Indian people, and questions the veracity of the anonymous quotations in "Mother India." He also denies the contention of Miss Mayo that sex is at the bottom of India's troubles. The only parts of her book that he accepts as valid are those parts that give concrete evidence of India's social ills.

There can be no doubt that "Mother India" presents a case of special pleading. Miss Mayo deliberately set out to paint a black picture of India. Granting this, we must ask, what was her motive? In order to answer this question properly, we must consider the different attitudes toward love on the part of the oriental Indian and the occidental American. The Indian regards love as benevolence, tenderness, sweetness, kindness, a fundamental principle from which all harshness, bitterness, coldness, reproof, and condemnation are absent. The occidental, on the other hand, finds harshness, reproof, and condemnation necessary ingredients of love. He shows his love, more often than not, by condemning and destroying all that is hurtful to humanity. Before building a sanitary, comfortable house for a poor man, he tears down the insanitary, miserable hovel in which the poor man dwells, so that neither the poor man nor any one else can ever dwell in that poor hovel again. "Faithful are the wounds of a friend," as our Scriptures say. It is my firm belief that Miss Mayo was moved by a genuine spirit of love when she wrote "Mother India," and that she called attention to certain evils merely in order that they might be removed. However, there can be little doubt that she did not take into sufficient consideration the tender sensibilities of the Indian people.

She ought to have conciliated the Indian people, and shown them plainly and unmistakably that she loved them. She could have shown her love by a due mention of the many fine qualities of the people of India, and by a just appreciation of their virtues. East and West can meet, despite what Kipling says to the contrary.

It is a question in my mind whether Mr. Mukerji, native of India as he is, is altogether right in denying Miss Mayo's contention that sex is at the bottom of India's troubles. Sex may not play the great part in India that Miss Mayo makes it play, but in my opinion it plays a greater part in India than in many other countries. My warrant for thinking so is furnished by the works of Sir Richard Burton, who knew India better than most native Indians know it. Has not Strickland, the character in Kipling's tales who knew the soul of India, been identified with Sir Richard Burton? Richard Burton was thoroughly familiar with the languages and customs of India, and his anthropological notes, based upon his first-hand knowledge of India, indicates that the Indian people are, indeed, very much preoccupied with sex, though perhaps to a less degree than Miss Mayo thinks.

As an Indian, a holy man of Benares, quoted by Mr. Mukerji, says: "India needs love". This is true. But Indians must not forget that there is a love that hates, and a hate that loves. Misplaced kindness is a cruelty, just as well-placed cruelty is kindness. We cannot love good unless we hate evil, nor love evil unless we hate good. An all-embracing, indiscriminate love must necessarily fold its arms about evil also, and thus in the end bring all things to evil. Let us love wisely, and with discrimination. Such a love will embrace the proper object of love whether that object be clothed in fine linen or in rags. Indian reformers themselves have taken a cue from Miss Mayo's book. They are beginning to discern the real spirit of love behind her caustic words, and they are applying remedies to such undoubted evils as she sets forth in her book.

Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, U.S.A., Yours very truly,
November 16th 1928. CHARLES HOOPER.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- SOME IMPLICATIONS OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By O. H. HARLAND. (Knopf, London.) 1928. 7¼ x 5. pp. 104. 3s.
- POLITICAL MEMOIRS, 1914-1917. By H. R. H. PRINCE NICOLAS OF GREECE. (Hutchinson.) 1928. 9¼ x 6¼. pp. 309. 24s.
- THE CAMPAIGN IN GALLIPOLI. By HANS KANNENGISSER PASHA. (Hutchinson.) 1927. 9¼ x 6. pp. 280. 21s.
- THE OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS. By LAURENCE F. SCHMECKEBIER. (Service Monographs, U.S. Government. No. 48.) (Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore.) 9¼ x 6. pp. 591. 3s.

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