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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Sir K. Srinivasa Aiyangar's Magnanimity.

IN resigning his membership of the Madras Executive Council as a consequence of his Irrigation Bill being thrown out by the legislature, Sir K. Srinivasa Aiyangar has created a wholesome precedent, which, we hope, will become a convention of our constitutional practice. It is indeed strange, even under diarchy, that an important Government measure should be thrown out unceremoniously by a well organised party in power. But it is difficult to say to what extent the Ministers were to blame, if at all they were to blame, in this matter; for one does not know what exactly took place in the cabinet: whether the Ministers were consulted about the Bill and whether they promised for it the support of their party. After the Bill was thrown out, two other courses were open to Government: one was for the Governor to certify the Bill and push it on, as suggested by the *Madras Mail*, under the extraordinary powers vested in him by the Government of India Act; and the other was to dissolve the Legislative Council, as suggested by the *Hindu*. Either course would have been attended with serious consequences. By an act of self-sacrifice Sir K. Srinivasa Aiyangar has rescued the Government from an awkward situation, and Madras may well be proud of the high-mindedness of its late non-official Member of Council.

Dr. P. C. Ray's outspoken Address.

DR. P. C. RAY'S convocation address at the National Muslim University of Aligarh was a remarkably stimulating utterance. "Not much in love with sectarian and denominational institutions," he earnestly hoped that the University would "never sink down to the narrow groove of sectarian exclusiveness and communal chapwinnism, nor settle down to the

stagnant rut of religious bigotry and ignorant fanaticism'. The watchword of a university, he said, should ever be freedom—not in the narrow sense of mere administrative autonomy, but freedom of the mind in all directions. Authorities, precedents, dogmas—all should be subjected to the search-light of cold and unimpassioned intellect, and if found wanting, defective or absurd, relegated to the lumber-heap. After describing the cultural and scientific achievements of Islam in the past, he dwelt on Hindu-Moslem brotherhood and said:

The welfare of India must be our first concern, our last concern. We are Indians first and Hindus and Muslims and Christians and Sikhs and Parsees afterwards. You may remember the example of the great French statesman, Richelieu, who though wearing the Cardinal's hat, ever placed the interests of France above the claims of Rome. That is the only proper attitude to take. I am certainly not impervious to the grandeur of the Pan-Islamic movement as one of the most promising portents of the awakening of Asia, nor to the sublimity of the spiritual call of the Khalifa upon the rank and file of the faithful in all parts of the world; but these demands must be all viewed in their proper perspective and must not be allowed to drown the clarion call of Mother India herself to her sons for achieving an independent, sovereign national life. We must not allow our loyalty to the motherland to be swamped by the wave of extra-territorial patriotism. India must not be a spoke in the Khilafat wheel gyrated from Stamboul. The Swaraj of India must be our one all-compelling goal, and everything else must be kept in its place.

We are glad that Dr. Ray gave such clear and emphatic expression to the paramountcy of India's interests, for in the past Messrs. Gandhi and Muhammad Ali have declared that they are Hindu or Mussalman first and Indians next; and the reference to the Pan-Islamic and Khilafat movements was specially appropriate, being made at Aligarh, the home of those movements.

National Education.

DR. RAY then briefly discussed the various wrong interpretations that have been put on the expression 'national education' and gave his own correct interpretation as one which instilled into the youth of the country a sense of national self-respect and inspired them with a passionate desire for national service. He however added further that institutions of national education should stand on their own legs in the matter of finance and not look to Government aid for the purpose. The latter condition is quite unnecessary if the former is fulfilled. Education being now a transferred subject under the control of a popular Minister, there is nothing to prevent

its being made national in the correct sense, if need be. Nor is there any special virtue, even as an ideal, in declining assistance from national revenues for promoting education. The Calcutta University, to which we believe Dr. Ray concedes national character under Sir Ashtosh Mukherjea's vice-chancellorship, is none the worse for taking Government aid. The same can be said of the Fergusson College, Poona and many other institutions. In the concluding part of his address Dr. Ray laid stress on physical culture and the development of a spirit of adventure :

Let us promote in our boys a love of manly sports and of adventure, which has made the West what she is, with her aerial achievements, her Polar exploits, her Everest expeditions, and which alone is capable of transforming this puny, sickly nation into a nation of brave men ; let us train up our youths in true military discipline, let us make them physically strong and athletic, let us make them true soldiers in spirit as well as in body, so that the cruel taunt so often levelled against us by the British that India wants Swaraj for herself but for self-defence trusts to British bayonets, may be falsified for ever. And what a splendid future lies before us if we can combine our gigantic natural resources with a race of men, strong in body, free in mind, and brave in spirit !

Certainly.

* * *

Child Welfare. THE Corporation of Madras is justly proud of its maternity and child welfare department on which it is now spending Rs. 40,000 a year and will soon spend a much larger amount. Before 1917, when the scheme was first started on a modest scale, the rate of infantile mortality was 300 per 1000, but it has been steadily decreasing with the expansion of the department. According to a report in the *Madras Mail* it had fallen to 173 by the end of 1920. The Corporation is fortunate in possessing a very competent, energetic and enthusiastic Indian lady doctor as the head of this department. Its large staff of trained midwives whose services are given free and its several welfare centres where good milk is distributed gratis, are exceedingly popular with the poorer section of the population. The other day when a baby-show was held as many as 500 babies of all castes and communities were on exhibition. To ensure a more hygienic supply of milk the Corporation is starting a dairy of its own at a convenient distance from the city. Other cities will do well to emulate the example of Madras.

* * *

A Bulletin on Kenya. THE thanks of the public are due to the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association (Nicol Road, Fort, Bombay) for a timely and useful Bulletin on the Kenya question. It contains all the important news relating to Kenya published in January last, the resolutions passed by the Association, its correspondence with the authorities and among other things by no means the least valuable, extracts from the outrageous report of the East African Economic Commission of 1917, which has been adopted as their Gospel by the European community in Kenya. There is also given an interesting extract from Mr. Churchill's book, " My African Journey", in which after recounting the various services rendered by Indians to East Africa he says :

He (Indian) may point to as many generations of useful industry on the coast and inland as the white settlers, especially the most recently arrived contingents from South Africa (the loudest against him of all) can count years of residence. Is it possible for any Government with a scrap of respect for honest dealing between

man and man, to embark on a policy of deliberately squeezing out that native of India from regions in which he has established himself under every security of public faith ?

Yet Mr. Churchill as Secretary of State for the Colonies supported the white settlers against the Indian community !

* * *

Sir William Marris's Critique. IT is amusing but not quite surprising that the *Morning Post* should see red ruin in Sir William Marris's Amnesty to political prisoners—which expression, by the by, has been narrowly interpreted by the jail authorities to mean only those so classified at their sweet discretion—and should wish to know how under a Conservative Government, with a Secretary of State who is so effectively interfering in the good government of India, such indiscipline, such " calamitous and suicidal policy " has been permitted. We hope, however, that when the news of the wonderful enthusiasm with which Sir William was recently received by the public of Allahabad reaches the *Post*, as also the assurance that the Viceroy is still regarded as the head of the Government its fears will somewhat abate. But it is surprising that *Young India*, departing—only for the moment, we hope—from its traditional fairness, should see in this release of prisoners, ' not any deference to or regard for public opinion ' as claimed by Sir William in his speech and generally admitted by the public, but a fresh manoeuvre to impose additional taxation—an attempt to compound with the Council for ' a fresh offence against the people. ' We venture to suggest that the writer of the note should read again Sir William's speech in clearer spiritual light.

* * *

Futility of Declaration of Rights. THAT a mere enunciation of the fundamental rights and liberties of citizens in a charter of the constitution is not of much practical value receives confirmation from the provisions introduced into the Constitution of the Czecho-Slovak Republic in regard to this. Section V of the Constitutional Charter guarantees to all citizens of the Republic personal freedom, freedom of the press, the right of free assembly and association, &c., but in all these matters it is laid down that the several rights may suffer restriction in the public interests and on the basis of law. The very purpose of a Declaration of Rights is to secure the elementary rights of citizenship against possible infringements by the action of the legislature, and if the Constitution embodying these rights is itself liable to modification by the ordinary legislation, there is no point whatsoever in having a Constitutional Charter, except for the public education it imparts. How the Constitution is made subject to ordinary law will be apparent from this instance : " No person shall be deprived of personal liberty or restricted in the enjoyment of the same except upon legal grounds. " It will be remembered that the Constitution of the Irish Free State also similarly refuses to debar the legislature from restricting rights mentioned in the Constitution. The authors of the pamphlet on the Czecho-Slovak Constitution (published by the American Association for International Conciliation) say in justification : " That it is possible in certain cases to limit by an ordinary law the rights and liberties guaranteed by the Constitution or even, in circumstances of some extraordinary nature, to suspend these rights partially or completely, is nothing new. We meet with the same thing in other democratic republics. "

OUR PLAN FOR SWARAJ.*

BY V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

ONE set of people believe that if the Indian Progressives forbore altogether to agitate for political advance, the operation of the Government of India Act 1919 would automatically expand the constitution and that in course of time, without any strong or disorderly action on the part of the politically-minded classes, the attainment of Swaraj is certain to come about and that it would come about at a safe and comfortable pace, taking, say, a few decades in the process. On the other hand, a considerable section of the educated classes in India maintain that the present Act was passed to meet an unexampled emergency, that those who wish for further steps towards responsible government must make another emergency and that to trust the Section about the Commission at the end of ten years to take effect as a matter of course, would be to court stagnation at present and the final defeat of our national purposes. The latter view would require our neglecting minor advantages and reforms, and heading straight for complete responsible government by vigorous and persistent agitation. The Liberal line of thought lies between these two extremes. It credits the average British politician with a certain amount of good faith, but knows at the same time that he will abandon the true and just course of action if the other party is not wakeful and determined to have his due. To cease utterly from agitation might lead the British representatives in India to think that the Indian was quite content with his lot and desired no more. He himself is accustomed to a very different style of behaviour in politics. When he has any political cravings unsatisfied, he does not rest nor allow the authorities to rest. The present stand-still in India and the tendency on the part of the Secretary of State to tighten his grip on Indian affairs are only manifestations of an essentially human quality, namely, to act only under compelling pressure. Some years ago, the Government of Lord Minto just before inaugurating the reforms of 1909, protested that it moved forward in response to no external stimulus, but of its own sweet will and accord. But it protested so much that the public scarcely believed it. Nowadays such a pretence is not made. It is commonly understood that the Government of India, whether the part of it in England or the part of it in India, is not impelled to beneficent activity by abstract considerations of justice, the freedom of peoples, or their right to govern themselves. When they profess to weigh carefully the capacity of the electorates or the virtues of their representatives, or assess with scrupulous exactitude the precise proportion of the higher services which must be occupied by the British element, they are thinking all the time "how much can we keep, and how little need we

yield." Of course, I am not cynic enough to deny that the higher considerations are present in their minds, but their decisions on any given occasion are governed rather by more practical considerations and the expediencies of the moment. On our side, we must be prepared along both lines. While ready at all times to produce our testimonials and title deeds, we must manipulate the political forces of the country so as to be able to exert at any given moment all the constitutional pressure of which we are capable. It is our conviction that the power to exert constitutional pressure is exactly measured by the progress we make under the present constitution, by the use to which we put our new privileges and opportunities and by the prosperity and strength which we build up for our nation. For this reason, we cannot slacken in the slightest degree our efforts to ameliorate the material and moral condition of our people and evoke, on the common ground of our national and provincial legislatures, a bond of brotherhood and fellowship amongst the various communities of the land. An attempt at constructing a system of national education in the true sense of the word, at improving sanitation and through that means the vitality and efficiency of the people, and at building up our industries and manufactures, is no bar to constitutional advance or a dangerous distraction, but a necessary condition of it, inasmuch as it furnishes a practical proof of the utility of political power and draws an ever increasing circle of appreciative citizens into its pursuit. That is why we cannot afford to countenance, even for a moment, the morbid cry "paralyse the government, paralyse the administration and paralyse all national work till Swaraj is attained." We part company decisively from those who have no use for the current constitution and the legislatures created under it, whether they profess to boycott them or seek, by entering, to destroy them. We insist on our allies having faith in these institutions, no matter whether the faith be large or small.

It is fairly clear that the ten year limit for the next stage of advance cannot be maintained. By a vote, which, if not unanimous, was at least without contradiction, the Assembly recommended that the matter be taken up within the statutory period and in this recommendation members of the Government and the non-official Europeans either concurred or acquiesced. By its failure to take action, not requiring the approval of Parliament, in furtherance of the Reform Scheme, Government has lent justification to the attitude of suspicion and distrust with which nearly all sections of the public regard the intentions of the suzerain power. And it is desirable from every point of view not to allow this suspicion and distrust to grow unchecked for eight years more. The period of change is difficult for all concerned and must be abridged as much as possible. Government at the centre has to carry on without the support of any party and subsist partly on the tolerant spirit of the new legislators, partly on their internal dissensions;

* Memorandum submitted to the Delhi Conference presided over by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru on the 12th inst.

and except the spirit of pedantry or excessive obstinacy, one does not see any conclusive reason for delay. And as both Mr. Montagu and Mr. Fisher have stated in Parliament, there is nothing in the Act to preclude a comprehensive enquiry within ten years.

It is common ground among Indian Progressives that provincial autonomy should be included in our next move towards the goal. The precise contents of that expression are hard to enumerate, but the essence is that the Governor should be more or less a constitutional chief and his Cabinet should consist exclusively of Ministers chosen from and responsible to the legislature. The ill-defined demarkation between the central government and the Local Government, the continuation, or however small a scale, of British personnel in the higher services, and one or two other conditions, may militate against the integrity of provincial autonomy. But they are inheritances from our past and must be tolerated for a time as anomalies.

An irresponsible government over a group of autonomous administrations would be an incongruity. At three or four meetings, the Liberal Party has demanded that, to the extent to which it is possible to-day, even the Central Government should be made responsible to the Assembly. The obvious limitations are the Military, Political and Foreign Departments. The Ecclesiastical is hardly worth mentioning, though in reason it is difficult to defend its continuance. Military policy, like the position of Indian States, must be left to the personal conduct of the Governor General. This does not mean, however, that Military expenditure should continue to be non-votable. It is not an unreasonable demand to make that beyond a figure agreed upon as a fixed and irreducible item, expenditure on the defence of the country must be subject to discussion and vote by the popular chamber. Theoretical considerations, like the interdependence of autonomy in the civil administration and autonomy in military administration and the necessity of the two marching together in equal strides, can have no application to Indian politics, while British military policy has been disfigured from the outset by distrust of the loyalty of the people.

Now that the Secretary of State has refused to take action pursuant to the resolution adopted by the Legislative Assembly in September 1921, what is the best means of attaining our end? Regular constitutions laid on democratic lines are based in the last resort on the will of the people as disclosed at a general election. Large measures cannot be undertaken by a Parliament which has no mandate for the purpose. And where there is such a mandate, nothing should ordinarily come in the way of its fulfilment. Now that India has a constitution based on direct popular constituencies, however rudimentary it may be, a forward move in the direction of democracy must be based on the desire of the constitution as expressed at the next

election. Of course, in the provinces, a number of local issues will complicate the matter. The election of the Legislative Assembly, however, can be fought on a clear and simple issue, viz., the acquisition by peaceful and constitutional methods of complete provincial autonomy and of responsibility in the central government, exclusive of defence and foreign affairs. At the provincial elections also, the issue can be brought more or less into the foreground, although it can only occupy it along with other issues which to the ordinary elector will appear equally important. To ensure a thorough education of the electorates, this Conference proposes to put the subject before them under the auspices of an influential organisation and keep up the propaganda till the candidates to the next councils announce themselves and carry it on as an election cry. Such preliminary work is absolutely indispensable and it is to be hoped that both candidates and their friends and well-wishers, in fact, all men of political influence will take their share of this educative work in an ungrudging and zealous spirit. Assuming that a majority of those elected to the new Assembly and the new Councils have received such a mandate, the next step would be for them to elect representatives from themselves to an all-India convention. It would be well if the Assembly and the Councils did so at a regular session convened by the Governor General or the Governor. Should, however, the countenance of the executive be not forthcoming, it would be well also, though not so well, The Legislators in each place who respected their mandate would not be deterred by official displeasure, but would meet of their own accord and bring about the all-India convention. The duty of this convention would be to propose the precise steps necessary for the purpose of fulfilling their mandate, which is the attainment of Swaraj as qualified above. It might be helpful to empower the convention at the outset to co-opt men and women of established political reputation, who are not members of any legislature and who express their general sympathy with the aim and methods of the convention. My personal bias is towards building on the present constitution and I should, therefore, favour the idea of introducing modifications into the present Act, so as to convert it into an instrument of responsible Government. Possibly, however, the convention may prefer to indicate the outlines of a distinct constitution. The important thing is for its proposals to be published broadcast in the country. When sufficient time has been allowed for public criticism and suggestions, the convention would meet again, revise proposals, and formulate them finally. A small deputation of leading men from different parts of India would then be appointed by the convention to take the proposals to Great Britain and negotiate with His Majesty's Government.

The plan roughly sketched above is doubtless capable of improvement in the light of experience and political sagacity of the members of the

Conference. To some persons it may appear too elaborate, but in my humble judgment it is none too elaborate when we consider the great ends in view or the amount of prejudice and opposition to be encountered. No step should be omitted which was necessary to swell the volume of opinion behind the movement or which was calculated to win respect for the actual suggestions contained in the final scheme. Unfriendly critics and perhaps some patriots of an academic disposition might evolve grandiose ideas of self-determination by the masses of the people or a universal referendum. We must sternly refuse to be tempted by these attractive notions and content ourselves with working through the present constitution and up to its limits.

Too much emphasis cannot be laid on the importance of giving the all-India convention fairly wide terms of reference and a certain amount of latitude as to the methods of work. If the personnel were carefully chosen, their deliberations and conclusions will command respectful attention both in and out of India. It is not to be expected that their efforts would be crowned with success at once. On the other hand the probability is that, under the present conservative government, far-sighted counsels will not prevail. In this case, what should be done? I do not hesitate to answer that another effort should be made and if necessary, yet another. We must win in the end. Besides, all the time the convention is at work, the legislatures would function as usual and the work of nation-building go on continuously under the provisions of the present Act. I would not listen to the advice of those who would back up the convention or the deputation by threats of labour troubles, students' strikes or civil disobedience of sorts. Constitutional agitation has been rewarded before and will yet be rewarded. A sudden catastrophe may frustrate all our hopes like some untoward development in Kenya, but to the extent that we can control events, our influence must be cast on the side of faith, hope and charity.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

THE 'Bill to provide for the payment by certain classes of employers to their workmen of compensation for injury by accident', which was published in September last in the Gazette and was last month considered by a Joint Committee of both Chambers, was carefully discussed by the Assembly on the 3rd, 5th and 6th Feb. and on the latter date duly passed. As the title indicates, the scope of the Bill in a modest one. It does not deal with all employees, nor even with all employees receiving a remuneration not exceeding Rs. 300 per month, but only with those in a 'factory' as defined in the Factories Act; a mine; the building trade (in case of major injuries only); with transport workers; workers in public utility works such as connected with sewerage, Fire Brigades, electric cables and wires; and with any worker engaged

in a 'hazardous occupation' of which, however, so far only those are recognized which are subject to the risk of anthrax infection or to lead and phosphorus poisoning. As regards railway servants, the minimum wage of Rs. 300 p. m. does not apply. And the criterion is substituted of the person not being permanently employed in any administrative, district or sub-divisional office. These persons, in case of accident in the course of their employment, will, as soon as the Bill becomes law (July 1st 1924), be able to get compensation for injuries received, at a fixed rate of 42 months' wages in case of total disablement (or Rs. 3,500, whichever is less) and *pro rata* compensation in the case of partial disablement, ranging from 70% of the above rate for loss of right arm down to 5% for loss of any finger other than the index finger. In case of death, the workmen's dependents will be able to obtain 30 months' wages or Rs. 2,500, whichever is less, and in the case of a minor, the compensation paid is to be Rs. 200 in case of death and 84 months' wages or Rs. 3,500 in the case of total disablement. All of which payments the Bill regulates by direct treaty between employer and employed or, failing agreement, by reference to a 'Commissioner' to be set up under the Bill.

It is well to bear in mind at the outset, that the Bill does not deal with the principle of employers' liability for negligence, on account of which already a person is entitled to file a suit in a civil court for damages in respect of injury so received. What this Bill, on the other hand, purports to do is to ensure the payment of compensation in the case of certain manual workers even if there is no question of negligence. Unfortunately, however, there is no Indian Act defining employers' liability and the point seems doubtful, whether an employer so sued, if able to prove that the accident was not due to any direct negligence on his part, could not plead that the workman by entering upon a common employment had assumed the risk in question by the very fact of his agreeing to be so employed and therefore was not entitled to damages. The Bill, as originally published, in fact contained a useful chapter on this employers' liability and *inter alia* provided that an employer could not make such a plea unless he could prove that the workman fully understood the risk attaching to his employment and voluntarily undertook the same. But the Joint Committee did away with these sections altogether, a fact deplored by the signatories of minutes of dissent (Messrs. Joshi, Neogy and Rangachariar). Mr. Joshi drew attention to this point, as soon as the member in charge (Mr. Innes) had moved the Bill, and Mr. Neogy later on moved an amendment for the reintroduction of the section, but all in vain. And not only does the Bill thus emasculate provide no facility for a workman to get, in addition to his compensation, damages for proved negligence on the employer's part, it actually (in Section 3) deprives him of his right and compels him to choose between a claim for dama-

ges and one for compensation. As Mr. Rangchariar said, this section tries to frighten the employee into foregoing his right to go to any other court except the one set up under this Workmen's Compensation Bill, and it really seems monstrous to penalise the workman—*pace* Dr. Nand Lal—because his lawyer has advised him badly. Mr. Joshi very reasonably moved an amendment that the workman should not be deprived of this right of his, unless damages in his favour had actually been awarded, and Mr. Rangchariar that the compensation granted to him should only be taken into account in awarding his damages, but only 23 members of the House (which at division time averaged 70) could be found to vote for them.

Indeed, although at the outset Mr. Innes had eulogized, 'the generous reception accorded to the Bill by the employers' and Capt. Sassoon on their behalf had benevolently welcomed it, it soon became unpleasantly clear that their benevolence was of a rigorously limited nature. Mr. Joshi was, it is true, able—with the support of Government—to widen the definition of 'dependents' in section 6; he obtained a promise from Mr. Innes to see how the Bill could be redrafted so as to include the review of a case by a Commissioner if the workman had been cheated by his employer; his arguments as to the omission of section 8 (7) so impressed Mr. Innes, as to ensure the deletion of this proviso (about the repayment of balance of lump sum in case of compensated workmen's supervening death); and Dr. Gour succeeded in getting an undertaking from Mr. Innes to consider the possibility of bringing in seamen on ships not registered in India: but apart from these few and somewhat minor points the advocate of labour availed nothing against the alliance of Government and Capital.

As it is, the Bill has been allowed to retain some very serious blots beyond those mentioned already in connection with employers' liability. The foremost of these is contained in section 3(1)(b) which exempts the employer from the duty of paying compensation for death or permanent total disablement, if the injured at the time was drunk disobedient or had wilfully removed safety devices. Mr. Joshi, in moving an amendment for the expunging of this principle from the Bill showed that the contrary principle was embodied in the English law and he questioned whether Indians were greater drunkards, less docile and more prone to suicide than English workmen. He ridiculed the idea of a workman killing himself for the sake of getting compensation and quoted to that effect Mr. F. E. Smith (now Lord Birkenhead) during the English debate on this point in 1906. But though he pleaded that not the workmen, but his dependents, would be punished for his wilfulness, though he quoted Mr. Herbert (now Lord Gladstone) on the point and showed that no less a person than Mr. Rufus Daniel Isaacs, now Earl Reading and Viceroy of India, had voted for the corresponding section in the English Act, the

House, by 51 votes to 22, declared itself against this simple humane amendment which would have placed no great burden on industry but would have afforded some material additional protection to our still so largely ignorant working classes.

On the other hand it must be admitted that the attempt of employers to worsen the Bill, as introduced, also failed, as when Capt. Sassoon moved that an injured workman must remain 'in the vicinity' for three days after giving notice of accident, so as to be easily available for examination by the employer's doctor. The House indeed threw out the amendment by 34 to 28 votes (Government not voting), but when Mr. Innes moved a not very dissimilar amendment which will compel the workman to 'return to the vicinity of his place of employment' for the purpose of medical examination by the employer's doctor, the House, by 44 to 29 votes (National Party not voting) adopted it. In fact without Government support, no employer's amendment succeeded. Sir M. Webb, for instance, was unable to get rid of the anthrax clause or of the percentages contained in schedule 1; Mr. N. C. Sircar to restrict the Bill to persons drawing a maximum of Rs. 100; or Mr. B. C. Allen to reduce the value of a minor's life to Rs. 100.

On the whole, then, the Bill is a great advance and a good beginning and the country owes a real debt of gratitude to Mr. A. G. Clow, who more than anybody else is responsible for the careful working out of the measure. The Legislative Assembly also should come in for a meed of praise for having dealt with so technical and difficult a measure in a reasonable a time and without having tied itself up in any such complications as threatened at one time, when an amended section was found to refer to unmarried grandmothers or when a calculation was discovered to divide by 12 what had just been multiplied by 12. Mr. Innes in winding up the debate thought the passing of the Bill a good augury for the mutual good-will existing in this country between employers and workers and for the future of the labour problem in India; and Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas was sanguine enough to prognosticate industrial development in India without the engendering of class suspicions and hatred. Somewhat easy optimism.

THE INDIAN FISCAL COMMISSION.

THE TARIFF BOARD.

THE recommendations of the Indian Fiscal Commission have been discussed so frequently and at such great length that it seems unnecessary to offer detailed criticism at this stage. The subject will soon come up for discussion in the Imperial Legislature; and this makes it necessary that it should be considered from a practical point of view and the main principles stated in such a way as to ensure general acceptance.

The principal recommendation of the Majority Report is summed up in the phrase 'protection

with discrimination'. The Minority object to the words 'with discrimination' in a general declaration of fiscal policy on the ground that it would emphasise unduly the limitations under which protection is to be applied in India and belittle the need for a bold forward policy in regard to industrial development. The question does not seem to be of sufficient intrinsic importance to justify a division of opinion. In the first place, as the Minority point out, even ultra protectionist countries have found it necessary in actual practice to exercise considerable discrimination in working out protective principles. In fact, discrimination in some form or other is implied in the very idea of protection. In the second place, both the Majority and the Minority accept the proposal for an independent Tariff Board for deciding such questions as the selection of industries for protection and the extent and duration of the protection required in each case. Whether 'discrimination' is expressly included in a general declaration of policy or not, discrimination of a very real kind is bound to be exercised so long as an independent *ad hoc* machinery for tariff purposes is in existence.

Therefore, from a purely economic point of view, the inclusion of a provision for discrimination in a general declaration of tariff policy seems hardly necessary. The only question is whether there is advantage in including the provision from a sentimental point of view. There are two sentiments to be considered in the matter of Indian tariffs—the English sentiment and the Indian. It would probably satisfy English sentiment if, in declaring now for a protective tariff, India contented herself with a policy of limited protection; while Indian sentiment, meaning by it the sentiment of the intelligent and articulate part of the country, would undoubtedly derive greater satisfaction from a declaration based on a bold policy of protection. It is hard to decide which of these sentiments it is more important politically to satisfy at the present stage. All that could be said is that under a system of progressive responsible government it would be dangerous—certainly inconvenient—to give legislative expression to a tariff policy which is not in harmony with public opinion among the electorate.

Whether discrimination is expressly laid down as part of our protective policy or only implied as in the recommendation of the Minority, it is necessary to be clear as to the sort of authority by whom the discrimination is to be exercised. The Fiscal Commission recommends the formation of a permanent and independent tariff board, more or less on the American model, to whom the responsibility for discrimination is to be entrusted. The proposal for a permanent tariff board as set forth in the Commission's Report raises certain difficult points. The matters which are assigned to the tariff board for advice, almost without exception, call for expert knowledge and experience. But the composition of the

board as proposed in the Majority report and to a large extent also in the Minority report suggests a judicial rather than an expert body. The Report apparently contemplates a dual character for the board—partly judicial and partly expert. This sort of duality in practice is hardly likely to work satisfactorily. The mentality and environment required for a judicial body will not do for an expert body, and an institution which tries to combine the two will yield results which might not be satisfactory from either point of view. The American Commission, judged by its composition, appears to be based on this sort of duality. But it is well known that hitherto the really valuable part of their work has been the investigation of technical questions of trade and industry during the war through their highly competent expert staff rather than the settlement of rival claims to protection.

A point which is of importance in this connection is whether, so long as every tariff question must be submitted for public discussion to the legislature and probably to examination by a select committee of the legislature, it is really so important to have a preliminary judicial inquiry by an *ad hoc* body with purely advisory powers. A representative legislature may be trusted to deal fairly by rival claims, but what the legislature cannot always be trusted to do is to deal with technical matters with knowledge. Therefore the case for an expert body appears to be stronger than a judicial body.

If this is granted, the question remains, is it necessary to have an independent expert body? Or will it do to have an expert staff for tariff matters as part of the Department of Commerce, the Government having the power in cases of exceptional importance to refer questions to special tribunals on the lines of the Safe-guarding of Industries Act? The Fiscal Commission have been obviously influenced by the American model in their proposal for a permanent tariff board. But it is worthwhile remembering that in the case of the U. S. A. the creation of a permanent tariff commission is largely due to the circumstance that, as far as responsible administrative problems are concerned, America does not possess a permanent service in the sense in which the older countries of Europe have it.

JOHN MATTHAI.

THE DELHI SESSION.

(FROM OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.)

DELHI, 10th FEB. 1923.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION.

THE week under review has yielded one solid piece of achievement, the Workmen's Compensation Bill; but as you are referring to this elsewhere, I shall restrict myself to the "also rans". First amongst these, both in order of time and importance, came Sir Malcolm Hailey's introduction of the famous Bill which is to provide for the

removal of discrimination between European British subjects and Indians in criminal trials. The occasion being momentous, what would otherwise have been the mere formality of laying a Bill on the table of the House, was accompanied by one of Sir Malcolm's clever and happy little speeches. But all the Home Member's dexterity could not banish the one solid fact which dominates all: *viz.*, that the Bill, instead of removing racial discrimination, merely lessens the extent of it. One can but be glad that the extent of racial discrimination is going to be lessened; but if one is right in that sentiment, it can only be, because racial discrimination in itself is opposed to the very principle of justice. For quite a long time after entering upon his viceroyalty, Lord Reading emphasized, against all *malcontents* and critics, that anyhow he was going to take his stand on justice and that hereafter—whatever *desiderata* over and above mere justice might have to be reserved for a calmer future—that basic achievement of justice at least would be secured for India at once. Yet when at last the long promised Bill emerges, which is to substitute principle for privilege, it is found that the early dream of justice still remains—a dream.

* * * * *

A COMPROMISE.

But there is another point in connection with this matter, which deserves close attention—and it is, that the Bill, as now presented, has been tampered with by the Secretary of State in two respects, *viz.* in regard to British Dominion subjects and British soldiers. As the Bill left the Committee, India at least was spared the humiliation of having to accord special privileges to citizens of countries, which not only grant to Indians resident there no special privileges in return, but do not even extend to them common rights of citizenship. The point, it is true, is more of a sentimental than of a practical nature, but it brings at the same time into high relief the prevailing mentality of Whitehall. The widening of racial discrimination in the case of the British soldier in India may be inevitable under present circumstances, as we are told; but should that view be correct, it surely provides a most powerful argument for changing the circumstances and a most scathing comment on the fact that so far there has not yet been produced a hint of a programme for the elimination of the British soldier from India—whether in 5, or in 50 years. But the main fact now emerging is that a Select Committee of the Indian Legislature and the Indian Government, having come to an agreement, are both, as has now, alas, become customary, being thwarted by the Secretary of State. That is the truly intolerable part of the situation; and most sinister of all are the words with which Sir Malcolm sat down—*viz.* that the Bill breathed the spirit of compromise and goodwill: "capture it", he exclaimed, "while you can."

* * * * *

INTOLERABLE INTERFERENCE OF WHITEHALL.

So it has come to this, that after the Indian Legislature and Government, each as Sir Malcolm said having made heavy sacrifices have arrived at a compromise, the "goodwill" of Whitehall is such that, having shown its quality by upsetting the compromise in the two flagrant points mentioned, it threatens to evaporate altogether, unless its offer is immediately being accepted! A further and perhaps even more startling exhibition of this "spirit of Whitehall" obviously lay at the back of the declaration made by Government on the 8th, when a crowded House (and galleries) had come to hear the Government policy as to the fate of the E. I. R. and G. I. P. Railways at the expiry of their "contracts." It was accepted on all sides here as an open secret that the Indian Government, confronted by the findings of the Acworth Committee and the very strong feeling in the Legislature (and the country) as to the necessity of ending Company management of Indian railways, would accept the verdict of the House and announce its decision of taking over the two railway systems named, as their leases matured. What then was the surprise, not to say consternation of everybody, when Mr. Innes informed the House that the Secretary of State had not yet had sufficient time to go into the matter and therefore the Government would not be able to take part in the debate, unless it was further postponed—say for a fortnight! And what other conclusion can one draw, but that once more it is the Secretary of State who sets himself in opposition to Indian Legislature and Government and who—obviously 'got at' by English Big Business—is going to insist on the said Big Business's pound of flesh?

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MALAYA'S DISINGENUOUSNESS.

The papers in connection with emigration to Ceylon and Malaya have now been printed and published and will in due course come up for discussion before the Legislature, when I shall revert to them again. Meanwhile it may be as well to take the earliest opportunity of drawing attention to what cannot but be called the disingenuous reply given by the Government of the Straits Settlements (in its letter of November 3rd 1922) regarding the disability on the Indians entering the public services of Malaya. The letter in question puts forward the specious plea that Malaya is aiming at a Malayanisation of the service, just as India is aiming at an Indianisation. It says nothing however that the order, denying admission to the higher branches of public service to any person who is not of European descent on the both sides, was made 20 years ago and that the "Malayanization" of the services has in that period not yet attained even one per cent. of the total. Even granting the legitimacy of their precious Malayanization policy for a country, the population of which (I refer to the Straits Settlements) contains only 25 lakhs of

Malays out of a total population of 88 lakhs—(as against 50 lakhs of Chinese and 10 lakhs of Indians): what reason anyhow is that policy for keeping the 99% of still non-Malayanized services for persons of European descent on both sides? And why, if Malayanization is the sole reason, was that Colonial Office order applied to all Eastern cadetships, including Hongkong, which can boast of no resident Malaya at all, and whose exclusively Chinese inhabitants are thereby rigorously excluded from all the superior services in their own colony, and without any ghost of idea of their "Sinization"?

THE WORLD OUTSIDE.

OUR esteemed contributor, Prof. Devin L. Schücking, has in the October number of the *zeitschrift für die Reform der höheren Schulen* a very interesting article on a new method followed by him in his English courses at the University of Breslau. The principle from which he starts is that merely academic interest in and scientific knowledge of a modern language cannot be enough without a sympathetic understanding of the racial psychology and national mentality of the people whose language one is studying. And how true it is that it is not only the knowledge of facts, that matters, but the seeing eye to interpret them aright! One is reminded of R. L. Stevenson's "Lay Morals" which contains an open letter to a certain Presbyterian, Dr. Hyde, who had written disparagingly of Fr. Damien. It is masterly in its admission of all the facts adduced by Dr. Hyde, while drawing from them absolutely contrary conclusions—in order to show, as he says, "how well you have been served by your informants, but how badly by your intelligence and sympathy." So people talk glibly about a knowledge of "native" races, a knowledge of history, a knowledge of such and such a movement, as though there were any kind of knowledge of race, history or movement which was worth anything at all without the faculty of appreciative insight and sympathy. Don't we Indians know only too well how a gallant Colonel of Dragoons or a noble and learned lord may have all the knowledge possible of India: but how can their interpretation of such knowledge be trusted, if one knows that all their sympathies are with British Imperialism?

Mutatis mutandis these considerations have always applied with great force to pre-war Germany, where the Junker complex of supreme militarism and blatant imperialism made Germans notoriously incapable of understanding any non-German point of view and led to those series of appalling follies which from the first moment of war in a regular crescendo led to an alienation of the sympathy of one neutral after another and eventually ranged so

many of them as belligerents against a Germany which allied propaganda had no difficulty in showing as a sort of inhuman monstrosity. This lesson of the war is now well understood in new Republican Germany, and Prof. Schücking's venture is a clear indication of that fact. This venture consisted in an extra course of "knowledge of England" lectures delivered for a couple of weeks in the middle of last summer term by different people, including two English friends, whose endeavour it was to give a clear picture of English current mentality: as for instance, how public opinion in England is made; what inspires the aims of the English intelligentsia &c., &c. Although the lectures were in English, as many as 500 people attended the course and so great was the success, that as we see, other universities are now taking up the idea—the same Journal, already quoted, reporting a series of lectures at Baden Baden by professors from Heidelberg, on the same lines as those inaugurated by Prof. Schücking at Breslau. Visvebharata University undoubtedly is guided by the same considerations in attracting foreign visitors to Shantiniketan: one only wishes that our other universities would similarly arrange for eminent foreigners to come and give a glimpse to our people of mentalities and cultures which are all the more stimulating because they are altogether strange and unknown, and which may be very valuable indeed, though neither Indian nor British.

TALKING of new educational methods, the *New Republic* of Dec. 20th had a very interesting article by Prof. H. A. Overstreet, in the course of which he refers to the "project" method. This new method he illustrates as follows:

In an elementary grade, let us say, the project is of "food supply." The class of youngsters are taken to a truck farm; the children watch the vegetables being gathered from the fields, loaded on to wagons, and carried to the station. They are then taken in the docks, where they see how the freight cars are transported to lighters; then they are taken to where the lighters are unloaded and the perishable freight placed in refrigerating rooms; and so on.

When that class settles down again in the classroom, the teacher does not quiz each student upon what he has seen and mark him on his individual recitation. She gets the class as a whole to construct an account of what they have seen, each one contributing as he can, his contribution being accepted or rejected or modified by the rest. She may induce them to work out what they have seen with blocks and boxes and clay. In this process there will be mutual planning, mutual criticism and the result, when it is finished, will therefore be a conjoint one.

Another description of the same method is given by Mr. W. Paton in the *Guardian* of January 12th and this is all the more interesting, because it refers to the way this method is being worked here in India, at a village school of the Punjab American Presbyterian Mission. Says Mr. Paton:

Let me give an instance of the way that the best modern educational science can be harnessed to the work of producing a genuinely village education. There is a thing

called the 'Project' method, which means in unpsychological English that you get the pupils to take up some plan of work for themselves and allow the things they ought to know to come out in the course of their own work and explorations. They will take up, for instance, the home, and start to build a little house (I am speaking of eight year old boys) with appropriate materials, furnishing it and making it as perfect a little model as possible of the kind of home they would like to live in their own villages. They find they need to read to learn how to build, how to make their dolls and furniture, etc.; they need to write in order to label the things they have made, or to write an account of their work to a relative; they need arithmetic in order to measure the quantities of things they want. Some hygiene comes in through the study of the ventilation of the house and the lighting of it. And so on. This 'Project' would take a year: at the end of that time the pupils would have got through more of the ordinary curriculum than pupils taught on the old lines, and in addition they would be thoroughly alive and thinking all the time about their village conditions, and the life there for which they are unconsciously and yet of their own initiative fitting themselves.

The Play Method. AS will be seen, the application of the method differs a good deal in the two instances given, but the underlying idea of course is the same and consists in fostering discussion rather than debate, co-operation than individualism. The worst of the old methods of "instruction" is that they are based on the pupil being passively receptive and that they therefore offer no guarantee that the instruction imparted is really being assimilated. The pedagogue of a fortunately passing age expected his pupil to learn, not because he desired to, but because he feared not to learn, what his master had ordered him to learn. As a counterblast to this the Montessori method for instance lays all emphasis on the desire of the child and only tries to so guide his play, that all unconscious of it, it may learn whilst consciously it only believes that it is playing. Along this line the child learns, because it is really interested. This is excellent as far as it goes; but obviously there is a danger that the child will only learn what at the time it is interested in. The difficulty comes well out in the quandary that American Colleges find themselves in to-day as regards their humanistic curriculum for under-graduates. The object of course is to provide a liberal education—and originally that was achieved by a cut and dried curriculum which all students had to follow. Latterly however that rigidity of a curriculum laid down by the faculty has been completely given up and students have been given full liberty to choose subjects themselves. As a consequence, some have chosen wisely, others far otherwise—with the result, that instead of getting the liberal education aimed at, students have only too often left college with nothing to their credit but a mass of unrelated smatterings.

Learning and Culture.

THE danger is so real and so widely realized in all academic circles of the United States that the *New Republic* on October 25th last felt it opportune to

devote a whole special number to the ventilation of this subject—a number which contains much matter for serious thought for all educationalists. On the one hand, of course, there is the specialist who aims at learning; on the other the humanist who aims at culture—and in the nature of things the teacher must always be a specialist, whilst the B. A. student whom he teaches is supposedly a humanist. If therefore students are left quite free to choose the subjects which they wish to study, and confronted as they are at modern universities by a plethora of specialists lecturing on every conceivable subject under the sun, the danger is obvious of their becoming devotees of "subjects", just as their professors are. It is extremely interesting to see, how the difficulty is being met—*viz.*, not by curtailing the liberty of the students to select their subjects, but by imposing at the B. A. examinations a test intended to prove that the candidate has succeeded in relating the separate subjects which he has studied. That is the *crux* of all liberal education, after all, not to think in fragments, but to bring all data of one's knowledge, however scattered, into one ordered scheme of thought. Out of the turmoil of study and the confusion of doubt the truly educated man is ever seeking order and meaning. President A. Meiklejohn of Amherst has some hard words to say about the average professors "who send our students out with scattered studies never brought together, without a notion of the mode of thought by which the fundamental unifying motives may be found, are not giving liberal education." And he significantly adds: "I know that I am saying here that in its essence a liberal course of study must be a study in philosophy. But one must say just that, because it is the truth." But if that is true of America, how much more true is that of India? To have a philosophy of one's own—not the skill of the sophists to argue for and against anything; not the memory of the historian who can describe all systems of philosophy but a philosophy which will in one luminous whole correlate all knowledge and all life: where, we ask not, is this achieved in India, but where, at least, is it aimed at? And the echo mockingly answers: where?

MISCELLANEA.

WORKING WOMEN IN CHINA.

THE following extracts from a very interesting article by a Chinese gentleman in the December issue of "Monthly Labour Review," Washington, show that the Chinese women are modernising themselves in the economic sphere more rapidly than their Indian sisters:—

Chinese women are clamoring for political and economic emancipation. In the revolution of 1911 many of them joined the movement of soldiers and others known as the "dare-to-dies" whose object was to free the country from the monarchical yoke. Since then, suffragette leaders have been persistently agitating for equal political suffrage with them. In their campaign they use such weapons as the pen, the tongue, and occasionally the fist. They have persuaded liberal-mind-

ed editors, teachers, and politicians to champion their cause. But as the political arena is traditionally reserved for men only, the idea of woman participation is received by the public with unsympathetic skepticism.

The economic independence of China's womanhood is making rapid progress. The reason is twofold: First, in the middle and lower strata of Chinese society the wife is a helper as well as a mate to the husband. She generally has a vocation, which, according to her early training, may be that of an agricultural worker or of an expert in some household art. Secondly, certain jobs, even in factories, seem to be peculiarly fitted for women and girls, especially those operations which require patience, precision, and dexterity. Indeed, women have an indispensable part in industrial life.

WOMEN IN FACTORIES.

There are in the city of Shanghai 56 silk filatures having considerable capital, 25 of which are situated in Chapei. The workers, at present numbering about 60,000, are mostly women, the treasurers, supervisors, and messengers, however, usually being men.

As to size, the silk factories may be separated into three classes: the first class has from 720 to 840 reeling machines, the second from 92 to 480, and the third only 192. In factories of the first class the machines are arranged in rows, 36 in each row, which are attended by 18 "basin girls" and 4 helpers. On the basis of one basin girl to every two machines, the company usually employs over 400 such girls. Each machine is attended by a reeling girl, and for every 12 machines there is a girl who attends to the waste. Girls are employed for cocoon stripping, in the ratio of about one girl to every 10 reeling machines. Besides these, there are from 15 to 30 girls for packing and weighing the finished silk. Twelve hours usually constitute their daily working hours, namely from 5 a. m. to 6 p. m., with one hour intermission at noon, working 7 days in the week. Their daily wages, hardly average 3 cents per hour. (A cent is roughly equal to a pice.)

The silk workers are not now slow in realizing the excessively long hours of labour, which tend to impair their physical well-being, and the relatively low wages, which are not adequate to meet the rising cost of living. Sometime in May they submitted a petition to the Provincial Assembly of Kiangsu asking for a 10-hour working day, an increase of 5 cents per day, and a provision for an unconditional weekly and monthly bonus. It is customary for the silk filatures to grant a weekly bonus of 5 cents, or a monthly bonus of \$1.50, to each girl who is not absent from her work during the week or the month. An absence of even 1 hour, however, will deprive her of this privilege, and as a result, bonuses were sometimes withheld from them, which they considered a grievance against the employers.

These points were later referred by the Assembly to the Chinese magistrate, but no satisfactory settlement was reached, and the discontent grew more and more intense. On August 6, the first woman strike was declared, 20,000 female employees of the Chapei filatures striking. With banners and placards, they paraded the streets in order "to make the world know of their harsh conditions." During the following days strikers marched into the Chinese quarter, ostensibly to solicit sympathetic strikes. As martial law was then in force, some were arrested on the charge of violation of that law. Other strikers staged demonstrations and inaugurated picketing activities in the foreign section, locally known as the International Settlement. These strikers were also arrested and tried at the mixed court for having "incited workers to strike." Taking advantage of this situation, the Silk and Cocoon Guild, which is one of the most powerful capitalistic organizations of Shanghai, stressed the unlawfulness of the acts of the strikers and secured the victory. Since August 11, the strikers have gradually returned to their jobs under illusory promises of wage increase.

Generally speaking, the failure of the strike was due partly to the looseness of organization of the women's union which was not able to concentrate its efforts in the emergency

and partly to the ignorant and "inexperienced" girls who blindly followed the leadership of a few forewomen in the strike. However, the strikers benefited by their experience in this defeat, and immediately after the strike their union promulgated new regulations and solicited new members in order to strengthen themselves for future disputes.

The cotton industry has had perhaps the fastest growth in the recent industrial boom. Its working force now consists of not less than 100,000 persons. In the Yang-shih-poo district of Shanghai 35 Chinese and foreign owned mills of large size are in operation. Although male workers predominate numerically in these factories, the work performed by female employees is by no means negligible. According to the workers' skill and the nature of employment in this industry, there seems to be a natural division of labour between men and women.

In this industry the women workers are fairly well organized. In the Yang-shih-poo district they have a reading room of moderate size, and the local union is a meeting place for general discussions to promote their common welfare. The most outstanding defect of their organization is the lack of educational advantages for their members.

WOMEN IN DOMESTIC INDUSTRY.

After all, China is pre-eminently an agricultural country and her household arts overshadow factory labour. Women produce far more in homes than in mills. By the farming population the nation is fed and clothed.

Except in a few manufacturing centres, spinning and weaving is largely a domestic industry. In the intervals between their household duties, and particularly in the evenings, mothers sit beside their looms under the dim light of oil lamps spinning and weaving, with the help of the children. The father produces food to feed the children and the mother cloth to clothe them. In this sense the farmer's household is a self-sufficing economic unit.

Even in some cities, such as Nanking, factories hire widows and unmarried girls to do spooling, spinning, and weaving in their own homes. Working conditions are relatively more hygienic in the homes than in the factories and the cost of production cheaper. The women are paid by the piece and usually earn, on the average, 20 cents a day. Some factories enter into a contract with a contractor, who opens a boarding house and recruits workers to live therein. The girls work about 10 hours a day and earn a daily wage of about 25 cents, plus board and lodging. In case of sickness, holidays and temporary unemployment the workers are entitled to free board and lodging.

SILK-WORM REARING.

In King-su, Chekiang, and Shantung the rearing of silk-worms is principally the task of women and girls, though the male members of the household assist. The feeding of the worms usually starts at the beginning of March and lasts through that month or a little longer. The worms are put on trays and carefully protected from flies and other insects. Mulberry leaves are gathered from the trees by the men and spread over the floor to dry. At regular intervals during the day and night leaves are spread over the trays skillfully and evenly. The worms eat continuously and, during the last days of their life, voraciously. Women, girls, and others attend to the worms, sometimes to the neglect of sleep and other bodily needs, for the income derived from the worms usually constitutes from 30 to 45 per cent of the total income of the family, the remainder coming from the harvests. In most places two crops, though in some places three, of silkworms are reared each year.

After the cocoons have been formed, the silk must be reeled off before the sleeping grub eats its way out. Although in the cities a considerable portion of the reeling is now done in factories, in the country reeling is essentially a household art and the burden falls chiefly upon the women and girls. Sitting before a vessel of boiling water, the reeler dexterously catches the thread of the cocoon, connects it with a revolving wheel and unrolls without breaking the almost invisible twist so wonderfully constructed by the worm.

WOMEN IN PROFESSIONS.

Ascending the social ladder of gainful occupations, Chinese women of technical training should now be sketched. The woman teacher is a familiar sight, and the woman doctor is becoming more popular day by day. In the realm of social service woman has long been recognized as an important factor. Some Chinese women may be a little in advance of their American sisters, as they have decided to dispense with their needle and take up civil engineering as a "new vocation." The Ladies Journal of Shanghai is a splendid example of women's achievement in literary work. With its editorials and articles, the magazine is enlightening great numbers of mothers, wives, and girls of various social classes.

Women are also active in business enterprises. The Business Women's Club in Shanghai has just enlarged its staff in order to furnish adequate information to business women in other cities, such as Singapore, Batavia, and Manila. Indirectly inspired by the success of the women's department of the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank, the wealthy women of Peking have opened a bank, with a capital of \$2,000,000 primarily for the benefit of business women in the capital.

Woman experts in industrial pursuits are also increasing in numbers. Of late, more than 40 women have been appointed as secretaries, ticket collectors, and inspectors of the Canton-Samsui Railway. In treaty ports, female stenographers, book-keepers, and telephone operators are much in evidence.

SOCIAL CHANGES.

The changing customs of Chinese society influence the social behaviour of the working women in multifarious ways. Thus, Grundyism, which also standardizes or condemns public morals elsewhere, seems in full swing in China. It mourns the passing of the old-fashioned girl, the symbol of modesty and chastity. It mocks the modern girl as a "monstrous" creature puffing a cigarette, the working girl of to-day takes delight in "puttering away" her leisure in a cozy tea-house with a fellow worker of the male sex. Her dress is not made of homespun such as her mother used to wear, but of a cheap grade of "imported" material. Not infrequently she uses superficially few words which belong to the vocabulary of Young China, such as a "free love," "votes for women," and "sacredness of labor." In all probability the modern "flapper" in the rising generation of China has come to stay.

To many young women the farm is unattractive and the relatively higher wages in the factory lure them to the cities. In the absence of adequate transportation and housing facilities, sanitation and recreation among urban women workers are generally unsatisfactory. The city-ward drift of women further tends to increase vice, immorality, and congestion of population.

While women's wants and luxuries have greatly increased their wages have not been raised in proportion. Therein lies an impending danger of socioeconomic maladjustments. Women's labor organizations have made but a modest beginning. In most cases they are not able to look after the social, economic, and educational needs of their members. The safeguarding of the well-being of woman workers rests chiefly with labor leaders and broad-minded capitalists.

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