

# THE Servant of India

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Office: KIBE WADA, BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY

VOL. VIII, No. 26

POONA—THURSDAY, JULY 30, 1925.

INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.  
FOREIGN 10s.

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

**SPEAKING** at a dinner to a South African deputation now visiting England, Mr. Lloyd George is reported to have said:

Observing that they were of all races at that gathering, Mr. Lloyd George said it was a great partnership, a great league of nations of their own, and a great league of equal nations. It was not so long ago that they were fighting each other very bitterly. Now they had got a common partnership for common ends; they were working for a great commonwealth. They felt the part that they could play in civilisation as long as they realized the principle of complete equality and of freedom, because freedom was the best cement of empire.

These beautiful and glowing sentiments are a part of Mr. Lloyd George's enthusiastic and liberty-loving nature. He has often spoken in this strain. It was a noble outburst of this kind that secured the acceptance of the Indians overseas resolution by the Imperial Conference of 1921. Unfortunately there is a very prosaic and calculating side to the character of this great parliamentarian, and it triumphs frequently where India is concerned. True he has never been head of a genuine Liberal administration, and it is idle to speculate on what he might have done for India if he had been. Nor is it possible, as things are, to expect the Liberal party ever to come to power again.

**MEANWHILE** the visit of an American fleet of eight battleships (not to speak of auxiliary vessels, aeroplanes &c.) which is just being made to Australia, and the

great popular response it has called forth there, are a timely reminder to all who are not wilfully blind of the blunt fact that Britannia only continues to rule the waves, where Unde Sam lets her do so. We are carefully brought up to think of the British Empire with 45 crores as one, versus the rest of a world of 125 crores of "foreigners." As a matter of fact, though not of theory, the world to-day consists of 100 crores of coloured and 70 crores of whites. The Whites, however, do not all feel as do the Anglo-Saxons, and of Anglo-Saxons there are only 18 crores in the world. The British Empire was and is an Anglo-Saxon domination over non-white subject races. At first the United Kingdom and Anglo-Saxondom were interchangeable terms. But first the U. S. A. broke away and after that the other white colonies claimed equality with the U. K. To-day therefore the British Empire consists of only six crores of whites (of whom 4.5 live in Europe, 0.7 each in Canada and Australia, and 0.1 in Africa); whilst the United States comprise ten crores of whites. The question is therefore really quite simple: if "Empire" means Anglo-Saxon Empire, obviously it is the U. S. and not the U. K. which deserve to lead it; and a Pacific nation of 0.7 crores of Anglo-Saxons like Australia naturally drifts into an orbit round the 10 crores of American Anglo-Saxons, rather than of mere 4½ crores of European Anglo-Saxons. That is the meaning (after spectacular manoeuvres at Hawaii) of the American fleet's visit to Australia and of the—almost simultaneously—floated Australian loan in New York. No Singapore Base can alter that fact and that drift: the Briton may build the Base, but it is the Yankee that is going to utilize it. And no sudden building of half a dozen extra cruisers (not mentioned in the Washington Convention!) by Britain will alter the further stubborn fact that Anglo-Saxondom means primarily America plus Canada plus Australia; and no longer primarily means Great Britain plus Dominions. If the British still pursue as their Empire policy Anglo-Saxon hegemony, their quest is bound to prove hopeless; for Anglo-Saxon hegemony can only end in American hegemony. If the British want to counter that, it is no longer Anglo-Saxondom they must strive after, but a partnership of white and black. With India as a full partner, the British Empire is a possibility; without that, it is merely a halfway house to an American Empire. But seeing, they seem not to see, these British Imperial statesmen.

Now or at next election ?

"THE People" of Lahore takes exception to Mr. Sastri's advice to Swarajists to accept office, on the ground that it is not right to ignore the electors to whom a pledge was given at the last election abjuring office. Mr. Sastri recommended open and straightforward setting aside of the pledge after due consultation among the leaders. It would be shabby to go back on a solemn word in a sneaky or under-hand manner. We should expect the leaders to make their intention known to their constituents by setting forth the changed circumstances. This may be done by meetings in the electoral area or by announcements in the press as well as by letters addressed to important local leaders. The expedient adopted in countries where constitutions are fully developed is to force a new general election. This is obviously not open to Swarajists here. Nor would it be wise to insist on their resigning their seats individually and seek a re-election on a revised plan of action. Just as, when we disobey a law on public grounds, we are fully prepared for the legal penalty, so when we disregard a promise made to electors on public grounds in the interval between elections, it should for the present be regarded as sufficient to notify the constituencies and await their judgment at the next opportunity. They may approve the changed policy and re-elect the plucky member, or they may refuse to endorse the change and choose another representative. In either case there is no stain on his conduct.

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A Gazette Extraordinary, issued by the Government of H. H. the Maharajah of Alwar, contains the report of the Commission appointed by His Highness to enquire into the Nimuchana firing incident and the speech made by him on the subject at a public durbar at Alwar in connection with his birthday celebrations. The Commission reports the facts of the incident as differing from those of the press *communiqué*, issued by His Highness from Abu. One is surprised at the discrepancy. Obviously it was not reliable information that his officials conveyed to His Highness in the first instance. The Commission places the number of killed at 13 and of wounded at 12, while the corresponding figures in the *communiqué* were only 2 and 4 respectively. It also transpires that the firing by troops was not in attempting to disperse a prohibited meeting but in arresting certain leaders. After all peaceful methods had failed, the troops surrounded the village and advanced towards it. When they were some two hundred yards from it, the villagers, some of whom were armed and who were guided by some retired soldiers and had taken up positions on the dry nullahs which surround the village, fired on the military; and when the latter returned fire and advanced, the villagers retired to their houses from which the firing continued. This version of facts puts a new complexion altogether on the incident. It explains also—what was a mystery before—how the casualties happened to be so few when the firing by the troops was continued for 15 to 20 minutes. The report finds no support for the allegation that the soldiers deliberately set fire to huts and houses. It is quite probable, as suggested in it, that the inflammable material of the huts caught fire in the exchanges.

The Maharajah's Speech.

THE Maharajah in his speech confirms the findings of the Commission on the strength of an independent personal enquiry, during which it is interesting to

know that the Political Agent, Mr. Gibson, was also present by invitation. The Maharajah explains why he did not allow persons from British India to make independent investigations in his State: "I could not be expected to make an indirect admission by accepting their suggestion that I or my Government were incapable of conducting an impartial inquiry. It seemed strange that outside bodies should deem it their right to interfere in the Government of a territory with which by treaty or law they have no concern." We appreciate the motive of self-respect which is here given expression to. We are anxious that the authorities in the States should deserve and retain the confidence of the people. But the above passage is no answer to the journals which wanted permission to send their representatives to Nimuchana. They were not going to 'interfere' with His Highness's Government but only to report facts. If he had allowed even a limited number of them, he would have inspired confidence in the public mind. Publicity is the best safeguard against official misbehaviour anywhere, and the need for publicity is much greater in the States than in British India. We should certainly have preferred the inclusion of one or two prominent publicists of British India in the Commission of inquiry. Far from lowering public confidence in the capacity of His Highness to love and be just to his subjects, such a step would have immensely enhanced it. We hope he will not call any interest which the British Indian public may take in the administration of his State an 'interference'. Despite treaties and laws the people of British India and of Indian States are intimately bound up and have to progress together. As a representative of India at the Imperial Conference His Highness appropriately voiced India's claim to dominion status, which implies democratic self-government. If he introduces it in his State and thus provides a constitutional channel for the expression of popular grievances, unfortunate incidents like the present one will be obviated.

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THE most important point urged by the Indian Mining Federation on Sir Bhupendranath Mitra during his recent visit to Calcutta was that Government should not heed the demand for the prohibition of underground female labour in Indian mines, but should keep an open mind on the subject. Only the Federation can understand how keeping an open mind is consistent with acceding to its main request. The Federation assured Sir Bhupendranath that the entire industry would break down if female labour were withdrawn. If the industry can be maintained only with the physical and moral injury it is now causing to the workers, we have no hesitation in choosing its extinction. But the fears of the Federation are absolutely unfounded. Human nature in India—even in Indian-owned coal mines—is not different from what it is elsewhere. If in all civilised countries of the world the mining industry is being carried on with the prohibition of underground female labour, we do not see why it should break down only in India, unless the management is extraordinarily inefficient. As a matter of fact the prohibition will make labour in mines cheaper and more efficient in the long run. Sir Bhupendranath told the Federation that Government still kept an open mind on the question and that he and some members of the Assembly would soon visit the mines to study the conditions of labour on the spot. Let us pray for light unto them.

\* \* \*

EDUCATION IN BOMBAY.

THE report of the Director of Public Instruction in Bombay for 1923-24 shows that very satisfactory progress was made during that and the preceding years. In 1916-17 Bombay stood fourth in the list of provinces as regards the proportion of boys and second as regards that of girls attending school, but by 1922-23 it had risen to the first place in respect of both. In those six years while the percentage of increase of pupils was only 9 in the whole of India it was 29 in Bombay. This result was of course brought about by Bombay spending, absolutely and proportionately to its revenues, a larger amount on education than other provinces, the expenditure from Provincial revenues being now about 2¾ times of what it was ten years ago. In 1923-24 eight per cent. of the male population and 2.1 per cent. of the female population were attending school. In other words, taking 15 per cent. of the population as that of school-going age, one-half of the boys and one-seventh of the girls of that age were attending school. However satisfactory this position may appear, judged by Indian standards, it is very far from what it ought to be, as is clearly shown by the following comparison with England, made in the report, regarding the number of pupils attending educational institutions per 1000 of the population :

	Bombay		England	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Primary Schools	64	18	160	139
Secondary Schools	6.7	1.2	12	9.8
Colleges	0.8	0.03	1.4	6

The backwardness of female education in Bombay compared with that in England is very striking. It is really worse than the figures indicate, since 75 per cent. of girls receiving secondary and college education come from a few small but advanced communities like the Parsis. The only way of remedying this general backwardness is to bring compulsory education into force, accompanied by intensive propaganda in rural areas. The report explains why there has been so much delay in putting the new Compulsory Education Act in force and assures that in the early part of the current year it will be brought into operation. In the matter of administration it is satisfactory to note that Indianisation is proceeding at a sufficiently rapid rate. "Ten years ago the I. E. S. was purely European, and now less than one-third of the posts are held by Europeans."

It is not possible for us to refer here to the numerous points of interest dealt with in the report. We can touch upon only a few. In primary education there is a regrettable amount of wastage. Less than 10 per cent of the pupils receiving elementary education are in the three upper primary classes, while as many as 50 per cent are found in the infant and first standards. A very large proportion of the children of agriculturists are withdrawn after a schooling of only a couple of years, and lapse into illiteracy. The only remedy, as pointed out in the report, for this wastage is compulsory

education. We are told that the "shift system," which was tried in several districts in the Central Division as an experiment, has not been very successful. Under this system in one-master schools the infants attend for 2½ hours in one session and the rest of the school in another session of 3 hours. Educationally this ought to prove quite successful, but the parents, we are told, are generally opposed to the system because they think the hours insufficient. We hope that before the experiment is abandoned an attempt will be made, by the inspecting staff of the department and prominent non-officials, to inform the parents correctly. Many of the Mission schools, the report says, introduced during the year "the story method of teaching reading, which has most remarkable results. Children who could not previously read a single word or recognise a letter, are reading a simple story fluently and with great interest in 6 weeks!" This is very interesting news indeed, and those concerned with the management of primary schools will do well to visit the S. P. G. Mission school at Karanji, a small village about 18 miles from Ahmednagar, where this method is employed with striking success.

The report shows a surprising fall during the year in the number of male pupils undergoing training as teachers. In Government institutions—the number of which was reduced from 17 to 13—it fell from 1,428 to 980. The report offers no clear or specific explanation, such as it does in explaining the decrease of girls under training. We are told, however, that the third year class was abolished, that inequalities in the proportion of trained men to others were set right to some extent and so on. But these neither explain nor justify the fall. As against 980 males, there were 808 females undergoing training, but the primary schools for boys were more than 11,000 while those for girls were less than 1,500. We are now on the eve of a large expansion of schools for boys as well as girls under the Compulsory Education Act, and it seems to be a most unwise step at present to cut down the supply of trained teachers. One can understand, though not quite approve, the restriction of admissions into the Dharwar and Poona female training schools, as there is reported to be some unemployment among trained women, because they are unwilling to accept appointments in rural schools. But no such explanation is given in the case of training schools for males. It is certainly a matter deserving the attention of our M. L. C.'S.

It is gratifying to learn from the report that Muhammadans and Intermediate and Backward Hindus are taking long strides in education, owing to the special encouragement given them in various forms. This is specially true of university and secondary education. While the increase in the total number of students attending colleges and secondary schools was 12 and 8 per cent respectively, the corresponding figures for Muhammadans were 18 and 13 per cent and for Intermediate and Backward Hindus together 15 and 14 per cent. While the increase in the year in respect

of all students was 3.9 per cent. the increase in the number of Intermediate Students was 7.7 per cent and of Backward students 13 per cent. The Sind Muhammadans are in a really backward condition, but the Presidency Muhammadans are well ahead of the general population and of course in a much more favoured position than the Intermediate and Backward Hindus. In the general population 80 boys and 21 girls, per 1000 male and female population respectively, are at school. But among the Presidency Muhammadans 105 boys per thousand males and 39 girls per thousand females are at school, so that the Presidency Muhammadans cannot by any means be called a backward people or considered as requiring special encouragement at the hands of the Government. They are no doubt behind the Parsis and some advanced Hindu Castes like Brahmans and Prabhus. But that does not entitle them, as it does not entitle Indian Christians, for instance, to be classed as a backward community. Only those may be called backward and given special assistance by Government who are behind the general population. The Sind Muhammadans and the Intermediate and Backward Hindus of the Presidency come under this category.

Among the Backward classes, who include the depressed classes, jungle and hill tribes and the criminal tribes, the last, under the care of their Settlement Officer ( Mr. O. H. B. Starte, I. C. S. ), are making excellent progress. Primary education is compulsory for all boys and girls between 5 and 12 years and for all children who work as half-timers in the mills, i. e. until they are fifteen years. "The fact that in the 14 settlements, 18.3 per cent. of the population are attending school is conclusive evidence that compulsory education is a reality." In addition night schools are conducted in all the larger settlements and a large number of lads are attending them. The boy scout movement has made very good progress in the settlements—there being 12 troops of day school boys and 9 troops of night school boys. "The boys themselves have taken up scouting keenly and many of the settlements testify to its value in character forming." An excellent beginning with girl guides has also been made in Sholapur under Miss Hoxie. Not so favourable is the opinion expressed regarding other scouts, and of the zeal and efficiency of scout-masters. We are told that quality has been sacrificed for numbers and that the scout-masters, though they have undergone arduous training, take on the whole but little interest in the work. It is probable that they were expecting some special remuneration, as the Provincial Secretary of the Scouts' Council hitherto was a member of I. E. S. Now that a nonofficial has been appointed to the post, we hope the scout-masters will recognise the real nature of the movement and work for it with disinterested enthusiasm.

## SWARAJISTS AND OFFICE.

BY THE RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

OUR readers will find elsewhere a lucid and courteous letter signed "R." His experience is wide and I entertain great respect for his judgment. After turning over his views in my mind I see that our agreement is large and our difference small. We agree that the Swarajists' refusal of office in Bengal and the C. P. was a blunder and has not brought Swaraj nearer. We agree that, if Indians but did their duty, the "settled fact" of diarchy will go the way of other "settled facts." We agree in our reading of modern history. We agree that we must exert steady, unmistakable, irresistible pressure on the British public. Now to the difference. I maintain that what would have been wise action on the part of the Swarajists before Lord Birkenhead spoke is still wise action after he has spoken. My friend "R" would seem to imply—I won't assert it positively—that the Swarajists had better not accept office now. For one thing, they cannot make diarchy succeed; for another, they ought not to take seriously Lord Birkenhead's statement about an early Royal Commission, which is meant merely to gain time. I demur. If they had got hold, to the extent possible, of the machinery of Government, not only would a stronger and more vigorous administration of the transferred subjects have been possible, but the pressure of a solid majority would have exerted more potent influence on the reserved administration. Constitutionally the gain would have been even more. Ministers would have learned to be independent of official support, and the legislatures would have put to the proof their power of turning out Ministers, which is the cardinal feature of "responsible government." These things are still possible in the two provinces with a Swarajist majority in a sense and in a degree in which they are not possible elsewhere. That by falling into line we should show undue pliancy and lose prestige does not deter me. In my judgment non-co-operation, whether unqualified or qualified, has weakened and injured the country. The Secretary of State's offer, however it may have been meant, is a good and sufficient occasion for a change of policy which all along has been, and still is, inherently sound. Diarchic government is difficult and discordant government, because it is only partially popular. We all desire to put an end to it. The sooner the better. During the unavoidable interval my conviction is that even a partially popular government is better than a wholly bureaucratic government. This is the clear issue between Swarajists and Liberals. I have no doubt where "R" will take his stand.

By accepting a seat on the Skeen Committee, even though the terms of reference are unsatisfactory, the President of the Swarajya Party has shown a courageous and resourceful spirit of adaptability, which is an example of high promise to leaders of parties and groups. It is the duty of us all to hold up this example and help it spread.

## LORD MORLEY.

By RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

THE career of Lord Morley opens the ancient question whether a man of letters can make a good statesman. It gives a clear answer in the affirmative, for Morley was certainly no failure in parliament, cabinet or office. That he failed of the highest in affairs may be granted. But short of the highest there are degrees of eminence and worth entitled to the world's respect and affording sure standards for human conduct. Morley's achievement in the India Office, if it stood alone, would give him a place among the great administrators of the British empire. True his own ambition was not fully realised. But that is the fate of all but a very few among the sons of men. In the highly evolved and complicated sphere where Morley's lot was cast, exquisite fineness of nature and consideration for the rights and feelings of others are a handicap. Notwithstanding much conscious adjustment on his part to the inexorable demands of public life, he could not compromise his ideals or principles beyond a certain point. As Massingham wrote, "he was an essentially unworldly man. To the society where mean advantages are taken, and coarse standards prevail, and the life of the soul is always in peril, John Morley never belonged, and his rejection of it, in his life and in the written and spoken word, makes the best inscription on his tomb." Contemporary opinion recognised this rare quality and called him "honest John". It is not always a blessing to be distinguished by such an appellation in one's life-time. The pride of all one's fellows and compeers is challenged thereby, and meticulous tests are applied to the details of one's conduct which could scarcely be satisfied by divinity. Morley dreaded the title and disowned it, but he was not able to shake it off, any more than Mr. Gandhi is able to shake off the name of Mahatma. If we are to believe General Morgan\*, Morley was not even a doctrinaire, though the critics of his policy always called him so. We know in India how far his practice deviated from his theory, and what risks of misunderstanding and miscarriage his reforms encountered from the approval which he was compelled to accord to deportations without trial and measures of repressive legislation. I heard from his own lips how he held out long against separate electorates for Muhammadans, but yielded on finding that he could not otherwise carry his reforms. But unlike less highly sensitised natures, he felt as wounds on his soul the compromises that he was forced to make, and the ceaseless questions and relentless taunts to which he was subjected both by political opponents and friends of India aggravated the misery of one who was by no means at peace with himself. Morley seems indeed to have been excessively sensitive. His quickness to feel and slowness to forget caused continual anxiety to his colleagues. For weeks together he would sit

\* John, Viscount Morley. By J. H. Morgan (John Murray, London). 1925. 81 x 61. pp. 215. 10s. 6s.

on the treasury bench next to Sir William Harcourt without once turning towards him or saying a word, and Gladstone had frequent occasion to complain of the inconvenience caused by his 'feminine sensibility.' This personal touchiness, however, was but as a spot in the sun. His most prominent and indeed characteristic quality was compassion. General Morgan records that his favourite motto was: "The more noble a soul is, the more objects of compassion it hath." This fellow-feeling was deep and comprehensive, embracing not merely individuals but communities, institutions and beliefs. That is why his friendships extended to all political parties, and his judgments were tempered in every case by sympathy and charity. Scoffing, lofty contempt, angry anathema were no part of his composition. Himself unencumbered by dogma or creed, he could appreciate devotion even in extravagance and ritual even when it ran riot. With a passion for freedom which informed every one of his public activities, the heroes of history whom he loved to depict included some who trampled ruthlessly on the lives, liberties and fortunes of their fellow-men. His zeal for the cause of Irish emancipation knew no relaxation. He never could bring himself to condemn the excesses of Sinn Fein without at the same time affirming the responsibility of the English nation. His countenance lighted up with hope and joy (I was privileged to see it in 1919), as he hailed the conversion of the *Times* to the Irish cause and likened it to the conversion of Gladstone to Home Rule. In fact his mind loved to dwell on great men, great deeds, great passages, great movements. General Morgan mentions a favourite catechism of his: "Which, if you had had your choice, would you rather have been, Gibbon or Pitt, Macaulay or Palmerston?" At my interview it took the form, "Which would you rather have done, written the *Decline and Fall* or won Waterloo?" He did not seem to care, as he propounded the poser, which way you answered it. The idea itself lifted him, as he would have said, into the upper air. To one who felt this exalted region to be his proper home, is it any wonder that the wrangles and manoeuvres of the political game often appeared sordid, and that he caused his colleagues great concern every now and then by proposing to retire?

Of Morley's work in the India office our author has no great opinion. In fact he endorses the familiar conservative complaint that he was an autocrat, that in his desire of reform he exhibited haste, impatience of criticism, and unwillingness to follow expert guidance, and that he exalted his own office by undue usurpation of initiative and correspondingly depressed the Government of India. He is actually charged with having begun that vicious practice of private and personal correspondence with the Viceroy which, by reducing the latter's Executive Council to nought, became responsible in Lord Hardinge's time for the disasters of Mesopotamia. It is true Morley held in slight regard the authority of his own Council and did not write to Lord Minto of his advisers in reverential

terms. Was he not once so flippant as to suggest that two of these mighty ones might be deported and that he would defend the operation with *verve*? It is easy to imagine how he must have summoned the utmost hatred and scorn of which his gentle nature was capable as he contemplated these *avatars* of stubborn and malign imperialism. The biographer of Lord Minto goes so far as to assert that Morley did not understand and professed no natural sympathy for coloured races. In so far as this defect was real, it must have been due to imperfect knowledge. Perhaps his early reading did not include much Indian history, and however industrious a student he was, during his reign in Whitehall, of the records of British rule in India, it was impossible to acquire such knowledge of our ancient and many-sided culture as would satisfy a conscientious inquirer and profound historian. On a great occasion the late Mr. Gokhale spoke of him as one to whom educated Indians looked up as to a teacher. That is the light in which, long after the reforms of 1908-9 have been forgotten, he will still be regarded by reverent generations at school and college. His writings will still be studied with attention as those of one who set greater store by things of spirit than by things of matter, who abhorred tyranny as he loathed meanness, and whose sententious precepts and maxims, of fit application in the ever-changing picture of human affairs, give him a place among the great masters of the world.

### A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, July 9th.

#### THE HOUSE OF LORDS AND INDIA.

THE long expected interpellation of the Government by Lord Olivier took place in the House of Lords on Tuesday evening. Lord Olivier, as Lord Birkenhead remarked with some gratitude, had repeatedly held over his inquiries, in order to enable the new Secretary of State for India first to study his task, and later to take counsel with Lord Reading, who, availing himself of the opportunity that the new statute had afforded him, had accepted the urgent invitation of the Government to return here in order to consult with the Cabinet generally and in particular with Lord Birkenhead.

The Lords attended the great occasion to the number of rather over 100, not at all bad, considering the lamentably small attendance in the Upper House except upon occasions of the very greatest importance, and that cannot, of course, be said of an interpellation upon the subject of India. Still, the Lords are evidently waking up a little, and that is something to be thankful for. But if there were a large number of vacant places upon the shabby red benches of the Upper House, the galleries were crowded with friends and opponents of Indian aspirations, the female relatives of peers, and Indians, more or less distinguished. Among the latter might have been seen the Yuvaraj of Mysore, the Jamsahab of Navanagar, the Maharaja of Rajpipla, Sir

Atul Chatterjee, the Raja of Vizianagram, Sir Prabhaskar Pattani, and Indian members of the Council of India, besides sundry members of Indian legislatures, such as Sir M. B. Dadabhoy, Mr. N. M. Joshi, Mr. Goswami, Mr. Chamman Lal, and Mr. Satyamurti. There were also several Governors and ex-Governors and Lieut.-Governors, of whom the most prominent were Sir Harcourt Butler, Sir Edward Gait, Sir Henry Wheeler, and Sir Michael O'Dwyer. It is doubtful whether anyone really expected to hear anything particularly new or particularly hopeful, and the general anticipations were realised.

On the steps of the Throne were seated a large number of Privy Councillors, whilst several members of Parliament, including the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were among those who attended in various places of privilege. That the occasion was a worthy one was more evident from the personnel of the visitors than that of the Gilded Chamber.

Lord Olivier was commendably brief, speaking only for twenty minutes, in putting his all-important question to the Secretary of State for India. He was more audible than usual to the gallery, and though he had evidently come furnished with voluminous notes, he exercised great self-restraint in his references to the blue pages that he was fingering from time to time. What he wanted to know was whether His Majesty's Government could now inform the House as to the policy which they proposed to pursue in regard to Indian constitutional questions. I need not deal in detail with the speeches of himself and Lord Birkenhead—they were the only two participants in the discussion that ensued at some length—as you will have the whole thing available from the lengthy telegraphic reports and Hansard which goes out by this mail.

Lord Birkenhead is ordinarily very self-confident and fluent. On this occasion he had decided that he ought not to trust to the improvisations of the moment, however fire-hot from the mint of an original mind the finely turned eloquence might come. He steadily kept to his notes throughout the hour and twenty minutes of his survey of the Indian situation. Never once did he interject what was not in the brief. One nevertheless seemed to feel where Lord Reading ended and Lord Birkenhead commenced.

#### LORD BIRKENHEAD'S SPEECH.

With hands in trousers pockets, virtually no nervousness—why should there be with this superman?—and great rapidity of utterance, he delivered himself of the first and less picturesque part of his manuscript eloquence, which is allowed only to great statesmen of the past, present, or future, and not to ordinary mortals. Later as he came to the purple patches, he became more lively and energetic in his movements, emphasising here and there with great effect, which was slightly spoilt, nevertheless, by a tendency to monotony and sing-song. He thanked both the House and Lord Olivier for their patience in permitting even so high-browed a

person as himself, gifted, as we remember, with "first-class brains," so long as eight months, less than which not even the most eminent would demand in order to master the intricacies of so vast a subject. It was a fine effort after modesty, which doubtless everyone present appreciated. Nor did he hesitate to assure his hearers that the time that he had given, in between contributing voluminously highly-paid articles to the Press, to this study had been well-spent. Had he not been in close conference with the Governor General, with all the advantage of that eminent statesman's wide and local experience?

To the general surprise, he announced that the Cabinet and he himself had come to no exact conclusions or decisions, but that they would await in due course the formal views of the Government of India, assisted by the Indian Legislature before these would be reached. In the meantime, however, it was clear that the Cabinet (and he himself) had reached certain fairly definite, if tentative, ideas concerning the policy that they should pursue during the next few years. Briefly, it was to keep finance stabilised, encourage industry and agriculture, and leave politics more or less alone. Lord Birkenhead made great play with the correct pronunciation of the word lakhs and the incorrect pronunciation of the word Punjab, but these were minor blemishes. The important points were that "we should never be diverted, etc.," the non-co-operators had almost appeared anxious to prove, from their own attitude, that they believed in the reality of the old gag, "East is East and West is West and never the twin shall meet." It is true that Birkenhead misquoted the lines, but one need not expect meticulous accuracy from an ex-rebel; rebuking those who remain loyal to their rebellious faith. He also told us—and this has aroused the hostile criticism of both the "Times" and the "Manchester Guardian," which censure this indiscretion—that India never has been a nation and that there does not seem any proximate time when it will be one. We had the usual references to the communal disputes and the doctrine of trusteeship.

Lord Birkenhead, though he was never enamoured of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, paid a generous tribute to the genius and sacrifice of Mr. Montagu, and accepted full responsibility for the Cabinet decision to adopt the Act of 1919, passed during the period of post-war idealism. No one would, of course, ever expect that hard-headed realist, the present Secretary of State for India, to have much time for ideals. The practical needs of the moment interest him much more. He would not say that this experiment of doubtful value had failed, but he could not say that it had succeeded. Like the curate's egg, it was good in parts, and on the whole it had worked. There might be need of small modifications, but there could really be no thought of anticipating the verdict of a Royal Commission after the all too short ten year's period contemplated in the Act. Unless in the interval, even the "only permanent and static" part of the

Act might be in the melting pot. So that, from Lord Birkenhead's point of view, as some of the papers have not failed to note, even the preamble of the Act has been rendered none too secure by the methods of non-co-operation.

There could in any case be no reconsideration of a favourable character without general co-operation, and he hoped that in effecting this the Indian Liberals, with the accession of other moderate elements in the country, would have an increasingly important share. Along the road of non-co-operation there was no possible progress. Then followed a significant passage. If Indians thought that they knew better than we did what sort of a constitution would satisfy them, why, we were not so wedded to our own methods, much as we preferred them, as to ignore such well-meant efforts if Indians should decide to produce their own special brand or brands of constitution, and if these were forthcoming, they would receive most sympathetic consideration. Now that Dr. Annie Besant is on her way here with the Indian National Convention's Bill in her baggage, she will doubtless, upon arrival, make the fullest play with this suggestion. But it is to be remembered that Lord Birkenhead made it a condition that Indian constitutions must have substantial backing from Indian public opinion. It is to be hoped that this will not be lacking. Finally, there was to be no "lost Dominion." The long speech concluded with references to the Services, the Indianisation of the Army, which was to proceed according to plan, and the position of the Indian communities overseas, regarding whom Lord Birkenhead urged upon the Dominions that they should not legislate differentially against Indians so as to add to the already overcharged bitterness under which Indians in India labour to-day. It may here be parenthetically remarked that the Senate of the Union Parliament has thrown out the Mines and Works Act Amendment Bill—the Colour Bar Bill, as it has come to be known—thus postponing further action on the subject for another year. This gives further time for useful remonstrance.

All that Lord Birkenhead's speech appears to mean is that, though in the main the Cabinet have not any lingering doubts as to the policy that should be pursued by a Conservative Administration as regards India, they do not wish to appear to commit themselves to a declaration of policy until Lord Reading shall have returned and announced the heads of decisions to his colleagues and advisers, perhaps in the Indian Legislative Assembly. It is not altogether a Dishard declaration—the "Morning Post" shares the view of the "Daily News" in calling it a disappointing performance, and it may leave the door slightly ajar to further developments. On the other hand, there is the possibility—and certainly a hint was uttered in Lord Birkenhead's remarks on agriculture—that the Government may try to side-track the political movement by taking kindly to Prof. Gangulee's possibly well-meant proposal for an agricultural inquiry as a preliminary to further political advancement.

The Swarajist Parliamentarians here have naturally denounced the Secretary of State's speech as thoroughly reactionary and closing the door to co-operation, whilst generally the English Press supports the main principles of his remarks. Yesterday, at the meeting of the British Committee on Indian Affairs, which was addressed by Messrs. Chamman Lal and N. M. Joshi, the latter took occasion to traverse Lord Birkenhead's speech, in order to show how shallow was the foundation for the doctrine of trusteeship for the masses upon which British statesmen build when they want to refuse India's national demands and aspirations. To-day in the House of Commons the Cabinet policy and the affairs of India will receive detailed examination in the Debate on the India Office Vote, in which Earl Winterton, Col. Wedgwood, and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald will participate.

### REVIEWS.

**THE MENACE OF COLOUR.** By J. W. Gregory (Seeley Service & Co Ltd. London.) 1925 8½ × 5 pp. 264. 12s. 6d.

THE title of this book unfortunately suggests that the "Menace" intended is that of the coloured races to the white. This would be an injustice; the menace is that of colour differences and prejudices to the progress of the world; and it is dealt with very comprehensively and scientifically.

Dr. Gregory has a great admiration for the Negro of America. Not only has amazing progress been made since the Civil War, in education and in trade, but also the service rendered in the late war was such as to entitle the Negro to a consideration he has not received. Towards the Asiatic, the writer is less sympathetic. While it is probably safe to regard the Negro as very much more promising for the future of humanity than either the European or the Asiatic, we cannot think only for the remote future. "The Indian" he writes "if freely allowed into tropical East Africa, would probably in time drive the Arab out of the internal trade, and prevent the development of a class of Negro traders, owing to his greater efficiency and thriftiness." This solicitude for the Negro is very edifying, but the British settler shows little desire to avoid preventing the development of a class of Negro planters. At the same time, Indians will do wrong to ignore the grievous exploitation by Banias of, for instance, Panjab ryats or Cheta Nagpur aborigines: and such traffic should not be allowed to spread among the lower cultures.

In one respect the writer is not altogether free from racio-cultural prejudice. He seems to support the United States in their desire to keep out the Latin Peoples called here the "Dark Caucasian Race." Americans complain bitterly that the Italians refuse to be Americanised: not a very remarkable thing, in view of the immense superiority, on any but a purely material criterion, of the Latin culture, and their very much cheaper standard of

living. But another reason lies behind this legislation, namely, that the Latin Peoples do not share the colour prejudice of the Anglo-Saxons, but will and do mate freely with Negroes and Asiatics, so the immigration legislation of the United States is a pure matter of fear. They know that their culture their views on "race" and their standard of living will not stand the test of mixture with others.

In discussing the possible outlets for the expansion of different peoples, Dr. Gregory concludes that the white man can colonise in the Tropics, and advocates the preservation of Australia for them. He appears to neglect the possibility of the expansion of the white-skinned peoples to the North. The Arctic region, Siberia and northern Canada are by no means the impossible climates that they are painted, and are likely to become more important. Hitherto the push of vigorous peoples has always been from North to South, but as invention increases and Nature unfolds, it is quite possible that the short hot summer of the far North will provide a good livelihood for active and industrious men.

WALTER O. FICHT.

### THE UNIQUENESS OF HISTORICAL EVENTS.

**DIE EINMALIGKEIT DER GESCHICHTE.** By DR. JOHANNES THYSSEN. Bonn. 1924. 8 × 5½ pp. 259. (Friedr. Cohen. 6 mk.)

THIS treatise of Logic as applied to historical science is a severely technical one, written by a professional philosopher for professional philosophers and therefore full of a becoming obscurity, which is not rendered the less obscure, by a style which is made up of saying things in brackets.

The point of the investigation is that what History is concerned with is unique events; and that the uniqueness of the event consists not in its content, but in its localization in time. If so, History is the science of the localizing accident in time; but not taken absolutely, but rather from the point of view of an observer whose reference-system is the human present. For history is not possible, unless the past is both linked up with the "now" and humanly "lived through" again. Hence History is only thinkable, as long as we take for granted an essential equivalence between men of the historian's own and of past ages.

Again, History deals not with all past events, but makes a selection amongst them: that being object of historical science only, which rises above mere individual experience and value. History moreover reduces its material to make it humanly graspable, i. e. comprehensible, by selecting amongst the infinity of causal connections, which actually exist between events. This selection is done by a historical perspective, which, as in optical perspective, makes smaller and smaller what is further and further away from the observer.

Hence Dr. Thyssen defines the task of History as that of reproducing series of past events as they are being successively made to live again in our

Today. This Anthropocentricity can only be true, if man is a true measure of things: and this, the foundation postulate of all Realism, is also the basis on which Dr. Thyssen takes up his philosophical position, though he never as much as breathes the word *Realism*, let alone Neo-Scholasticism. The objects of human knowledge, he finely observes, are being forced upon the knower; and these objects all human knowledge consciously strives to represent unchanged (pp. 124/5); truth being the exact correspondence between *thing* and *idea*, nothing extrinsic having any positive contribution to make in this genesis of truth (p. 70).

A fact therefore not merely may humanly seem small yesterday and big tomorrow, but absolutely is small yesterday and big tomorrow, because tomorrow more will have become manifest than what was manifest yesterday (p. 129). Hence every past event is not of historical value. On the other hand, the past not only has a value, as far as the present may thereby be known: its value lies in itself and History is the science of understanding the past in its becoming and passing away; although, as already remarked, such understanding is impossible without reference to a To-day.

Dr. Thyssen's book thus is a very valuable contribution against subjectivism and the philosophy of relativity, all the more valuable perhaps because he arrives at identical results as does Scholastic Realism, without having started with a Scholastic ideology. But since he e. g. manifestly means *substance* and *accident*, when he talks of *content* and *this-ness*, he will, I venture to believe, gain, if in future, he will become a *bon gre* what hitherto seems to be *malgre lui*—a Scholastic. He would then also be able to make more precise what lies behind his present meaning of "space and time being *principia individuationis*" (p. 191) and of his "principles of order": and if, in addition one may wish for one thing more, it would be that he may in future restrain his proneness to over-subtlety.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

### SHORT NOTICES.

**THE EXPLOITATION OF THE COLOURED MAN.** By C. R. BUXTON, London. 1925. 9×6. pp. 24. (Antislavery & Aborigines Protection Society, 3d.)

THIS is an extremely useful little pamphlet, put out last month by the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society. It follows the lines of Dr. Leys' great book *Kenya* and one can but congratulate the author for concentrating in so small a compass all the leading points of the problem which *Kenya* has brought into the light of publicity. If few can be expected to read a book, no excuse is left for anybody to remain ignorant, now that this little 24 page pamphlet is available. Not only is it most readable, but so restrained, as to be all the more telling.

Nor is it merely an *aperçu* of Dr. Leys' book. The matter is brought right up to date and there are many other incidental features which are the author's own. One is particularly glad to find him put it clearly (p. 10) that "the habit of continuous work at the same pace over a fixed period of hours is not one that is inherent in human nature as such. It has been developed in the European worker largely by the steady toiling of our modern industrial system." So much for the "racial" laziness of the negro!

Mr. Buxton closes with some wise words on the "trusteeship" policy, the ultimate ideal of which, he holds, must be "not tutelage, but self-government, progressively and deliberately realised." May his

words find a wide echo in the hearts of his countrymen who in the last instance are responsible, whether or not the exploitation of the coloured man shall continue.

Z.

**BATOUALA.** PAR RENE MARAN. (Albin Michel, Paris.) 7×4½. pp. 189. Fros 3-75.

RENE MARAN'S book is a picture of African life in French Equatorial Africa. The story is the result of close personal observation for many years. The book was awarded the Goncourt prize and is running its 140th thousand. Maran is a full-blooded negro born in Martinique and is in the French Colonial service. The African life that Maran depicts is full of dark superstitions and darker practices. It is a life of nature free and wild. The European comes into this life with alcohol and diseases, imposes his will and slavery on the natives. Military service involving long absence from home and family, forced labour, use of natives over long distances as pack animals, ruthless exploitation and diseases decimate the population. Depopulation is the greatest problem in Africa to-day. The Belgian, the French and the British in Africa all have to face it. It is the result of the European system.

To close with a few quotations:

'In the little village of Ouahm in 1918 the population was not more than 1060: seven years earlier it was nearly 10,000!' (p. 10). 'In certain regions the negroes have been obliged to sell their wives at prices varying from 25 to 75 francs' (p. 13). 'In days of distress the negroes pick up from the dung of horses belonging to their rapacious benefactors undigested grains of maize and millet and eat them for sustenance' (p. 10). 'Work does not frighten him. Only in the language of the whites the word has acquired an astonishing meaning. It signifies fatigue without tangible or immediate results; anxiety and pain, wrong and ill-health, pursuit of imaginary ends' (p. 21.)

J. B. SEN.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

#### "THE SILVER LINING"

TO THE EDITOR, THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

Sir,—May I venture to make a few observations on the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri's criticism of Lord Birkenhead's recent speech, published in your issue of the 16th July?

Diarchy, worked with the "Steel Frame" as its predominant partner, has been condemned by almost all Indian political organizations and publicists, by a majority of the Legislative Assembly, by most of the ex-Ministers examined by the Muddiman Committee and by all but one of the non-official Indians on that Committee in their minority report. Lord Birkenhead himself is not enamoured of diarchy, except that he considers it as an inevitable system in the experimental stage of reforms. Is then this generally condemned experiment, with its inherent defects, to continue in order to test the fitness or prove the unfitness of Indians for a further advance towards responsible government? If anything clearly emerges from the two reports of the Muddiman Committee, it is this, that, since Mr. Montagu resigned the office of Secretary of State, diarchy has been worked in an atmosphere of suspicion between the two halves of Provincial Governments, while the Indian public generally have strongly resented and viewed with distrust the extent as well as the object of the control which the Statute empowers the Secretary of State to exercise over the Government of India, especially in respect of the Services.

Mr. Sastri urges the Swarajists, as a response to the invitation of the Secretary of State, to co-operate with

Government, and as a majority, to take office in Bengal and in the Central Provinces in order to remove the supposed obstacle to the appointment of a Royal Commission earlier than in 1929. I have never considered as wise the policy of Swarajists not to take office as a protest against diarchy, and I do not think that policy has brought us a day nearer to the removal of diarchy. But the question is whether the remedy suggested would accelerate progress. Diarchy was worked for three years in all the major Provinces, and has been working since the last election in all but two Provinces. If the Swarajists as a majority now take office there and diarchy continues to prove a failure, would it not reinforce the old argument of want of goodwill as a reason for that failure, an argument repeated in the majority report of the Muddiman Committee? Has diarchy, under present conditions, the remotest chance of success by its continuance in these two Provinces or in the rest of British India for another three and a half years, or till such earlier date as a Royal Commission is appointed? I do not think the Government of India or the Secretary of State would admit the suggestion that this condition for further progress in the near future is imposed for the petty satisfaction that the mighty British Government would derive from the surrender of a political party, or for the maintenance of British prestige.

After all that has been written and said by the public and legislature about diarchy and the excessive control vested in the Secretary of State, what is there against the immediate appointment of a Royal Commission to investigate the whole matter? Is the demand of the public for a Commission less insistent than was that of the Services which led to the appointment of the Lee Commission? If a Commission is appointed now, no legislation can reasonably be expected till 1929 or 1930. That four more years of an experiment which has been condemned by the Indian public will prove India's fitness or otherwise for further advance is a proposition which I am sure no responsible authorities honestly believe or expect the public to credit.

According to the Simla correspondent of the "Indian Daily Mail" (17 July) the Government of India in the Home Department are considering the Local Government's views on the Muddiman Committee's report, and are at the same time drafting a resolution for adoption by the Legislative Assembly of the recommendations contained in the majority report. This, if correct, obviously means the continuance of diarchy at least till 1929. For surely, Government would want time to watch the effects of the minor changes proposed before they could think of appointing a Royal Commission to review the whole situation. While Lord Birkenhead said that he could make no pronouncement arising from his consultations with Lord Reading, till the Government of India has been consulted on Lord Reading's return to India, he took care to indicate that the adoption of the recommendations of the majority report of the Muddiman Committee was a settled fact. And this evidently while the full replies of the Provincial Governments are being considered by the Government of India! That is sufficient answer to the leader in the "Times of India" of the 18th July, which deprecates haste on the part of Indian publicists in judging the Secretary of State's speech and commends his reticence which is imposed by the constitution. What are we to hope from any further announcements, or from the Swarajists taking office in Bengal and Nagpur when the main question of diarchy continuing has been settled? One can only hope that events will prove this to be no more "a settled fact" than was the partition of Bengal. And to this end, the most urgent, if not the only, step is vigorous and sustained political campaign throughout the country. In the Secretary of State's speech I read tactics of delay where Mr. Sastri sees the "Silver Lining." Mr. Sastri's sanity and clarity of vision would be readily admitted by all impartial critics, no less than his great patriotism. But the fire of patriotism is kept alive by emotions which sway people alternately between optimism and despondency. My reading of modern history is that British statesmanship has, with notable exceptions, consisted in a policy of drift, and this is inevitable where the

people are the State. That state of affairs particularly applies to the problems of India which Englishmen know so little about and care less till an emergency arises. The policy of gaining time is again expedient, as communal differences may grow and there may be further splits among political parties, and these conditions may secure to bureaucracy a fresh lease of power.

The only way therefore for India to advance towards the accepted goal is to bring steady, unmistakable, irresistible pressure to bear on the British public which must eventually respond to the demands of this country. While not an optimist, I am no believer in "a settled fact" which is not accepted by a big country like India. But it has to be proved to doubters and sceptics that the voice of the vocal public is the voice of the whole country. United and sustained effort, supported by faith in higher powers which regulate the destinies of a people must in the end prevail even over a nation which has assumed the role of "trustee".

Bombay.

R.

TO THE EDITOR, THE SERVANT OF INDIA,

Dear Sir,

It is a welcome sign that the adverse criticism of Lord Birkenhead's speech in the Lords is slowly giving place to a true understanding of the real significance of that speech. It being realised that in proposing to consider sympathetically a reform scheme drawn up by Indians with a fair amount of support from the different parties, he has gone further than the late Mr. Montague. This thin end of the wedge of self-determination must be driven home. But one must not forget the difficulties in our way. It is not so easy to secure a degree of unanimity which would command the respect of Parliament if we try to draw up a full fledged bill. Nor have we guarantee, which the Australians had, that it would be accepted by that body without any change. After all, the Secretary of State promises 'to consider with sympathy' and not to accept wholesale any genuine Indian scheme.

Would it not be wise, under these circumstances, to confine our efforts to the less ambitious plan of securing unanimity upon certain first principles and leave the work of framing a regular constitution to that neutral body, the Royal Commission? There is a fair chance that unanimity may be secured on certain fundamental points like the following:—

- (a) Swaraj within the British Empire
- (b) Safeguards of the rights of speech, assembly, etc.
- (c) Control over the police and the internal security troops
- (d) Limits to the principle of minority representation with a view to bring that mischievous principle to an end under certain conditions in the near future; and not allow it to penetrate into the public services
- (e) Joint responsibility and joint purse and so on.

Will the Liberals give the country a lead and arrange for a Round Table conference?

Poona City.

Yours etc.

RAHEL.

## MISCELLANEA.

### OCCUPATIONAL RISK IN WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

MR. N. M. JOSHI'S SPEECH AT GENEVA.

ON 4th June, 1925, the International Labour Conference at Geneva considered the report of its Committee on "Compensation for Industrial Accidents." The second Article of that report ran as follows:—

"The laws and regulations as to workmen's compensation shall apply to every workman, employee or apprentice, employed by any public or private enterprise.

"Provided that it shall be open to any member to make such exceptions in its national legislation as it deems necessary in respect of:

- (a) Persons employed in establishments or parts of establishments which the national laws and regulations

~~recognise as not involving a sufficiently appreciable risk ;~~

- (b) Non-manual workers whose remuneration exceeds such limit as may be fixed by national laws or regulations ;
- (c) Persons whose employment is of a casual nature and who are employed otherwise than for the purpose of the employer's trade or business ;
- (d) Outworkers.
- (e) Members of employer's family dwelling in his own house ;
- (f) Share fishermen, that is to say, such members of the crew of a fishing vessel as are remunerated wholly or mainly by shares in the profits or gross earning of the working of such vessel."

Mr. Arthur Fontaine, the representative of the French Government, proposed the deletion of paragraph (a) of the Article on the following grounds :—

(1) That the original draft of the International Labour Office on this subject did not go so far as existing French legislation ;

(2) That about forty years ago the idea of occupational risk, that is to say, risk inherent in industry, was substituted for the idea of compensation only in the case of the fault of the employers ;

and (3) that anything which went against this theory of occupational risk and compensation in the case of such risk was very dangerous and that it was impossible to allow these two different and contradictory principles to remain side by side.

Mr. N. M. Joshi, while supporting Mr. Fontaine's amendment, delivered the following speech :—

"I rise to support the amendment moved by the representative of the French Government, Mr. Fontaine. The object of the amendment is to exclude sub-paragraph (a) of Article 2. Sub-Paragraph (a) is one of the most dangerous clauses of this Article. It makes the whole Convention practically useless. One of the tests by which the Convention on workmen's compensation will be judged is the number of persons which it benefits. If this Convention applies to a large number of people, it will be more useful ; but if we give power to a national government to exclude any class of people from the benefits of workmen's compensation, the Convention will become practically useless.

My view is that this part of the Article 2 is inconsistent with paragraph 1 which we have just passed. Paragraph 1 says that the Convention is to be applied, and that the benefits of workmen's compensation should be given to every workman or employee. Then we go on to say in the next paragraph that every national Government shall have power to exclude any class of people. I do not think that these two paragraphs can be reconciled. When we pass these Conventions, their usefulness lies in improving the conditions which exist in the different parts of the world. If they improve these conditions they are useful in two ways. It is said that when these Conventions are ratified they become international treaties. Unfortunately, very few countries nowadays are willing to ratify any of the Conventions passed by this Conference ; but even if countries ratify any of the Conventions, if you give power to national Governments practically to nullify the effect of the Conventions, I do not know what will be the use of passing international treaties.

The Secretary-General in his speech on the Report, said that, even if this Conventions were not ratified, they are useful standards and models for the countries to follow. If the Convention is a model, then let us put it on the basis of fairness and justice. Let us not give weight to the considerations which the various national Governments place before this Conference to suit their national legislations.

After having been in this Conference for some time, and having worked in the Committee, I find that every national Government is trying to get the Convention passed according to its national laws. No Government wants to make any progress. I cannot understand how any international

~~progress can be achieved if we are going to satisfy every national Government. Unless the national Governments are willing to adjust their legislation to the international Conventions, we are not likely to secure any progress for any part of the world.~~

My friend Mr Cotter, and some other friends from the Worker's Group, mentioned the fact that several countries want to whittle down the Convention in order to meet the convenience of the colonial Governments or of special countries. I want to make it clear in this Conference, on behalf of the workers of the special countries, that we do not wish to stand in the way of the progress of the workers in the Western world. It is quite possible to secure progress for the workers in the Western world and also in the special countries which are considered to be less advanced. At Washington we had separate Conventions passed for the European world and for the special countries. Let that method be adopted here, so that the European countries will have their own Convention and the special countries theirs. Unfortunately, no Government from the special countries comes forward here to say that, if such and such a change were made in the Convention, they would accept it. I cannot propose any change, because my view is that even the Convention which may be passed for the European world could, without much difficulty, be applied in India and in other special countries so far as workmen's compensation is concerned. I do not see how any difference of climatic conditions, or any other difference, will prevent a Convention on workmen's compensation being applied to all countries alike. When, therefore, the argument is used that we must whittle down the Convention in order to suit the convenience of the special countries, I do not think we are doing good either to the European world or to the special countries.

Take the case of my own country. We have Workmen's Compensation Act, but at present it is only applied to a small class of people—workers in factories and mines and some of the minor industries. When I came here I thought we were going to draw up a Convention which would benefit the Indian worker, I thought that workmen's compensation legislation in India might be modified so as to apply to a larger number of people. But, if you are going to empower (as you do in sub-paragraph (a) of Article 2) the Government of India to exclude any class of people from the benefit of workmen's compensation legislation, I cannot see how Indian workers will derive any benefit from this Convention, even if the Government of India ratifies it. I therefore think that this Conference should not adopt sub-paragraph (a).

"If we allow this sub-paragraph to remain the Convention will not be of any use to the European workers, nor will it do any good to the workers in the special countries. I therefore hope that the Conference will delete sub-paragraph (a) and will thus enable the workers in Europe to progress. I do not want the discredit of standing in the way of the progress of European workers to be thrown on the workers of the backward countries. I think it is quite possible to secure the progress of the European world as well as that of the workers in the special countries."

The amendment was subsequently carried by 63 votes to 43.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- WAGE-SLAVERY. By J. K. HEYDON. (John Lane, London.) 1924. 8 x 5. pp. 215. 5s.
- A HAND BOOK TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. (Second Edition). By SIR GEOFFREY BUTLER. (Longmans Green & Co., London.) 1925. 9 x 5½. pp. 239. 10s. 6d.
- THE EMPLOYMENT & WELFARE OF JUVENILES. By O. BOLTON KING. (John Murray, London.) 1925. 7½ x 5. pp. 244. 6s.
- THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES. By MAXIMO M. KALAW. (The McCullough Printing Company, Manila.) 9 x 6. pp. 165.

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