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NON-CO-OPERATION

AND THE

BREAD PROBLEM

THE FIRST LECTURE OF A SERIES DELIVERED TO
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

BY

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LECTURER ON THE POVERTY PROBLEM, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

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NON-CO-OPERATION AND THE BREAD PROBLEM

LECTURE I

TWO ASPECTS OF NON-CO-OPERATION

It is not altogether astonishing that, taken aback as we were by the suddenness with which the non-co-operation movement burst upon us, we looked upon it as an entirely new thing, the course of which we could not foresee, some expecting extraordinary good from it and others dire calamities, but now that matters have settled down a little, it is time that we should realise at least that in one of its aspects it is a repetition, only under other conditions, and in a different form, of a movement that took place in Europe about a century ago, and that there is every reason to believe that it will go to some extent along the same lines as that movement.

Briefly, with the advent of machinery, a new power arose in Europe—the power that is now called Capitalism, which took the place of the power of the old aristocracy, creating a powerful middle class but bringing the masses under a new domination.

About a century ago, the workers rose in revolt against that new power ; they realised that it was to be attacked, not by political agitation or by violence,

but by withholding co-operation from it, and so the first movement of non-violent non-co-operation was started; and it was really a militant movement as regards its extremists, although they are now almost a forgotten faction.

The plan of the extremists of the European movement in organising the workers to produce the main necessities of life for themselves was to enable them effectively to boycott capitalism and bring about its downfall and, at the same time, transfer the whole political power to the democracy.

But the economic organisation was of course not devised merely for fighting purposes, but as the best system from the point of view of the welfare of the working classes. The movement, therefore, attracted people interested in its constructive side. Most, in fact, were people to whom co-operation was itself the end, not a means to an end, and who had no idea of destroying capitalism.

The plan of many co-operators was to establish industries that would produce some of the principal necessities of life for themselves, that would be supported by the workers in capitalist-employment buying some produce from them to provide them with the money to purchase what they could not produce themselves, and it was hoped in that way to prevent unemployment, also unfair exploitation of labour, as the workers would have thus an alternative to employment under the capitalist, the result of which would be to give them great independence, and the power to demand good remuneration. From this the movement went on to what we might call

still more moderate forms in the various co-operative organisations we are acquainted with, that are essentially constructive and have nothing specially militant about them, fighting the capitalist system only in the way in which most organisations fight others: namely, by competing with them. The militants, generally left the movement and allied themselves with the socialists, who are a militant political party; the movement however continued, supported by people of moderate views, and has remained to this day a force of emancipation, though not active enough to fulfil the original purpose for which it was conceived.

In any case people in league to "non-co-operate" with any institution are in league also to co-operate among themselves, and the more closely they co-operate on the one side the more effectively they will be able to "non-co-operate" on the other; starting a movement of that kind is like beating a sheet of metal into a dome shape, which makes it convex on one and concave on the other.

Now, we are certainly not going to attempt any general comparison between the European movement of a century ago and the Indian one of to-day; the differences would vitiate most comparisons we might be tempted to make. What concerns us at present is merely the fact that with the Indian movement, as with the European one, there will be important developments on the constructive side. In other words, there must be the convex as well as the concave side, and the economic weapon has now been definitely introduced into the Indian political field, and will be a power to be reckoned with in a great many ways,

social as well as political, and a weapon in the hands of others besides extremists.

There are a very large number of people who, whilst being in full sympathy with the object the militant political party is striving to attain, hold aloof from its activities, saying that the methods it employs are dangerous, that turning young men into agitators may have results disastrous to themselves and unfortunate to the country ; whilst a humanitarian feeling makes them hesitate to do anything that might contribute to plunge their country into the horrors of anarchy.

But on the constructive side there is work for these people, organising the young men who want to work for liberation to make the best use of their enthusiasm and by doing that, they will be diminishing instead of increasing the danger they fear. This work makes a clear call on them now. The militants are making the greatest sacrifices for the national cause, and others will see it to be their duty to make their sacrifices in this way.

Apart from any other consideration, many will be called upon to do something of the kind for their own relations, to save them from the dangers of a sterile career of political agitation.

Now, on the surface it sounds Utopian and even foolish to talk of providing good employment of national utility for all young men who give up their careers to serve their country. It will be said that if such a thing were at all possible, it would have been done long ago ; that, in fact, the question of providing employment of any kind is just one of those that perplex us the most.

Finding employment, however, for people who are seeking only their own ends and their own advancement and in work to yield at once profits to those who employ them is one thing, but when employers and employees are ready to sacrifice themselves, it is quite another thing. The latter will be satisfied with any work that will be of clear national utility, and the young men's friends will have reason to be satisfied if it is an instructive training to qualify them to earn well should they find it necessary to do so at some future time.

Now, as the pioneers of the European movement pointed out, great things might be done in the way of developing industrial organisations utilising our ever-increasing productive power for the general good, if only some self-sacrificing people would come forward and do the pioneering work, which must always present difficulties. Now we have numbers willing to give up their studies to work for the national cause, and people willing to subscribe money for anything that can help in the fight for freedom, we have such an opportunity as arises rarely in the history of the country to do some pioneering work of this kind, that should be of permanent utility for the emancipation and welfare of India. Boys at school, without leaving their schools, could give help in pioneering work that might prove to be of the very greatest value, if those who have means would put them in a position to do it; for one of the most hopeful things now is the possibilities that have been opened up of applying co-operation to education, and of its extending from that beginning.

Now in the report of the XIII Indian Industrial Conference will be found a paper showing that if India would adopt an industrial system which, without attempting to attain the idealism of the co-operative system, would work on its lines instead of those of the competitive system of the West, she might develop industrially in a manner that would avoid the evils that condemn Western civilisation and, at the same time, be able to develop very much more rapidly than is possible with the present system. It was suggested that the plan is altogether in accordance with Indian ideas and traditions, that it would be in fact the socialism of the Indian village carried out in the manner suitable with modern methods; also that there would be a localisation and centralisation which corresponds remarkably with the essentially Indian political organisation. It is well-known of course, that, with the immense productive power we now possess, a co-ordinated industrial system would be so strong economically that a country adopting it might soon be as well off as the richest are now; and that is what is taught by the whole School of economics described as socialistic.

The fundamental correctness of the contention is altogether beyond dispute; co-ordination in profit-making concerns has produced the colossal fortunes of to-day, and Germany's rapid recovery after the war is attributed to co-ordination among her industries.

Capitalists, however, will carry out co-ordination as far only as actual experience has shown them that it will pay them, and will give little attention

to the arguments of economists for new kinds of organisation, however well conceived they may be. Practical people, in other words, are extremely conservative. Their conservativeness is not simply a stupid side of their character, as it is sometimes represented to be, but based on practical wisdom; on the knowledge that any plan, however sound it may be in theory and however certain even to be ultimately successful, may fail to give satisfactory results for a long time in practice, until experience in its practical application has been more or less slowly won. It is for this reason that new departures that would be nationally useful must be picnored ly devoted and self-sacrificing people; and now we have an opportunity for such new departures.

The pioneers of the European movement pointed out a century ago, that in order to develop a country rapidly, and make its industrial development benefit the masses of the people, and to avoid the evils of Western civilisation as it is now, we must go a step further in co-ordination than capitalists have gone, and have co-ordinated industries supplying the principal necessities of life, so that they will always be busy as long as their own workers have wants to be supplied. Then nobody wanting anything will remain unemployed, but will get to work in these industries to produce it, in an organised way of course, with labour properly subdivided among the workers. With the productive power we have now, it was pointed out, we might start industries of this kind, supplying necessities for their workers and useful articles for those who provided

the capital, as their interest, and leaving a substantial balance over for extension. Once started thus, such industries might spread over the country like seeding plants over suitable land with a rapidity that is not possible with industries that produce for sale entirely, and are therefore always limited by the uncertainties of the market. With an industrial organisation of that kind, properly developed, there would now be no such thing as unmerited poverty. The management of such industries, it was pointed out, would be reduced, by the virtual elimination of the commercial element, to the greatest possible simplicity. They would be, in an organised way, customers for each other.

The educational applications of the plan received special notice, as being not only of great value and hopefulness in itself but as being also probably the right way to begin. An organization formed in Great Britain¹ to advocate this educational plan with the double object, educational and economic, made a special appeal to India to lead the way in its practical application. The invitation of the Industrial Conference was not the only answer to that appeal.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, prompt to see the possibilities opened up in that way for the solution of the problems both of popular education and middle class unemployment, placed the scheme before the Calcutta University Commission (see Vol. VII, p. 18) and the President declared his hope to see it tried practically. The Maharajah of Cossimbazar, meanwhile, has started

¹ The Educational Colonies Association; Hon. Sec. J. B. Pennington, Esq., I.C.S., 3, Victoria Street Westminster S.W.

to train young men to be useful in such an organisation should it be established.

DR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE
AND
THE PROBLEM OF POPULAR EDUCATION.

(From the "Commonweal," March, 1914.)

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore is one of those patriots whose patriotism takes a practical shape, and one of those who soon realised that if we established a system of popular education such as we might establish now, we should lay the foundations of a Co-operative Commonwealth that would become a State within the State, far more powerful to do good to the people than the strongest and best government has ever been, and making the people much more free than the most liberal governments have ever made them.* Educational reform, thus, opens up an infinite horizon, one that can satisfy the ambitions of the most ardent social reformer, or even of the most ardent nationalist.

Dr. Tagore, with a poet's insight, perceived long ago that to solve the problem of popular education we must teach the children to do useful work co-operatively; that has been his steadfast aim at his school at Bolpur. It is not exceptional, but rather the common thing, for the dream of the poet to prove itself to be the correct sketch of the plan which will be drawn in more detail later by the statesman or the social reformer. It was so in this case, and, during his visit to England he became acquainted with the Educational Colonies and Self-Supporting Schools Association, which was formed to advocate social reform *via* educational reform, on the lines he had dreamt of.

Let us state in a general way what its scheme of social reform is. Industrial progress has had the effect, on the one hand, of enabling quite unskilled workers to be employed in

* Many people consider that of all the things we could do to prevent unmerited poverty, that is the most hopeful.

large industrial organisations with just a small proportion of skilled leaders, and, on the other hand, of making organised labour extremely productive. The result is that we might organise boys after their school years—and girls too if they could be spared from their homes—in a great educational organisation, in which they would produce the main necessities of life for their own use, and for their parents, when it was necessary to help them, so that they would be able to earn their living better even than by going out into commercial employment *and earn any education for themselves.*

Now the effect of these “educational colonies,” as they are termed by their advocates, would be revolutionary, both on education and on the social question. When the school years were to be followed by a period of educative employment, it would obviously be possible to give a good manual training in the elementary schools; for lessons could be continued, if necessary, in evening classes during the “educational colony” period, so all would be well educated and well trained. Educationalists recognise the immense value of manual training. With this plan, we should not only have the system that is regarded as the best to train the mind, but one also under which children would be taken in hand young and brought up to be industrious; we should have them kept under the healthiest possible conditions, and employed at healthy work, during the whole of their tender years; we should have them trained to be versatile before their vocational work ran them into a groove. A training in versatility is of paramount importance, not only because man cannot be the best specialist unless he has first learnt to be versatile, but also, and chiefly, because if he has learnt to do only one thing his development, as a man, is one-sided and, moreover, he can never be sure of a living mind and hand must be trained in every case.

Now, if we gave the boys the training that would make men of them, and fit them to be efficient workers, the value of their labour in the “educational colonies” would be so great that it would pay in a short period for whole of the expense of their

training. *We arrive, thus, at the fact of infinite hopefulness that, under modern conditions, we have only to make our educational system thoroughly good, and it will also be inexpensive.*

The "educational colonies" would produce things mainly for their own use; but in every country there is some work the youths could do for the public, if it were necessary to make the educational system pay for itself entirely.

To explain "self-supporting education" in another way: children should have a good schooling, and those who have left school, *i.e.*, the community generally, should pay for it. Modern industrial methods have rendered it possible for the boys to pay as soon as they leave school by giving their labour for a time in "educational colonies." The only sacrifice they would make would be that of taking their remuneration in produce instead of "having the money to handle." Evidently, however, this discipline during adolescence would be the best possible thing for them. *Again here the system would be made educationally good by being economical.*

The effect of educational colonies on the solution of the social question would be the most important thing in connection with them; making any education or training accessible to every youth their effect would be revolutionary.

Our commercial system wastes productive power wholesale, or when it does not waste it, uses it to make profits for capitalists "educational colonies" would not.

An organisation producing things for use, and remunerating its workers with its own produce, does not dissipate its energies in those ways: hence its immense strength, as illustrated in such a striking manner by the Swiss organisation on that principle, which employs tramps and vagrants and is self-supporting.¹ Well-trained young men working under the same economically advantageous conditions would easily produce enough to enjoy a considerable degree of comfort. Having once experienced economic freedom, and the enjoyment of all the decencies of

¹ The colony of Witzwil, Bern.

life they would not easily remain content in after life with conditions of dependence and squalor.

They would be able to organize co-operation in the towns and villages to which they would return when their education was completed, and put into practice the lesson in practical economics they had learnt. A production-for-use organisation could work just as well with its various industries spread out in different localities, as with them gathered together on an "Educational Colony."

In India it is of the greatest importance that the management of this industrial State would call for the display of civic virtues. Those who had tasted freedom and well-being, and who knew what they had to do to continue to enjoy them, could be counted upon to display the necessary qualities and thus be trained for independence.

Complete success would not, of course, be realised at once, results would fall far short of theoretical possibilities. The capitalist system and the wage system would, no doubt, continue very long to exist by the side of an industrial republic rising slowly to power.

Meanwhile, however, the path to freedom could be opened up, by "educational colonies" and they would give us at once workers who would be worth a good wage and able to command it, and that, coupled with good education, would open up a broad horizon of social progress.

Shortly after the appearance of this article the Indian Polytechnic Association was formed.

THE INDIAN POLYTECHNIC ASSOCIATION.

*See Report of Calcutta University Commission, Vol. II,
pp. 20 to 22.*

The Indian Polytechnic Association was formed first to help the establishment of practical training in schools generally by making commercial use of the equipment and of the boy's labour.

In connection with this problem we are always confronted with the fundamental difficulty that the equipment for a good training is costly. But it must be used commercially and then it can make education self-supporting. In the case of industrial work, we must, in order to have a general solution, have an organisation to arrange what each school is to produce, when necessary giving different schools different parts of an article to make, changing occasionally the distribution of work to make it instructive, and arranging for the disposal of articles.

But there is another difficulty to be met in the fact that the way in which we should have to set children to work for educational purposes is not that which is calculated to secure the best economic return. In a word, people have to be employed in a different way to learn from what they have to earn. To make work instructive, we should keep the young worker at one process until he had learnt it, and then pass him on to another, whereas, to get an economic return, we have to keep the workers to one process—which, with modern methods, makes the work singularly uninteresting—this difficulty also has to be met by organisation.

THE SIMPLEST CASE.

When, however, we employ the children producing things for use in their own homes, so that they will be able to earn distributor's profits, we need not trouble about their work as producers having any economic value.

There is, in that case a simple way out of the last named difficulty, arising from the economic fact that there is such a

great difference, with many articles, between cost of production and the retail price. Let us take it first, illustrating it by the example of a school market garden.

Boys might, with great benefit to themselves, spend, say, four hours a week working on the land.

In a school farm or market garden paid workers would perhaps have at first to be engaged in sufficient numbers, practically to do the whole work, without reckoning on the boys. The boys, however, would, in a systematic way, help the hired workers.

Now to understand how this should be organised we have to understand the principles of the employment of small groups of unskilled workers under skilled ones.

If a worker has quite unskilled boy assistants sent to him in a haphazard manner, they are likely to hinder more than help him. If, however, they come to him systematically, in groups of suitable sizes, which might be two, four, six, or even more, according to the work ; if, moreover, we arrange systematically that when the boys composing a group are changed, it will not be all at once, but half of them at a time, so that there will always be some boys in the group familiar with the work ; if, finally, the boy helpers are generally of the same age, so that the men will know from experience what they can expect of them, the men will, at least, manage, with them, to do a full day's work ; that is to say, to be helped as much as they will be hindered, and will be *kept at work, which is very important as all practical people know* ; in the latter way the children, in a properly managed school, would have a very real economic value and as soon as they manage'd just not to hinder, the boys would be earning well as distributors by taking the produce into their homes. But most people will say that we should soon get material help from them.

From the educational point of view at least such work would be valuable in many ways ; the boys would be trained to understand practical work *and when older to supervise it.*

AGRICULTURAL TRAINING FOR TOWN BOYS.

Now, the next thing we have to understand is that the benefit of this training could be given to all town boys.

It would be a most excellent thing to do everywhere what is done to a very great extent in America: namely, to take town children by railway or tramway to schools outside the towns, at least for some days in the week. We cannot, of course, contemplate schools removing at once outside the towns, but it should be possible, at least, to induce some to send their boys twice a week or so to a "garden school." If two or three classes went each day, on a regular routine, it should be possible to make good arrangements for school work being done. The children should go early to the "garden school" and return as late as possible, so as to have time for studies, practical work and games, and should have a meal at the school consisting largely of things they had grown themselves.

It would be an advantage if a number of schools combined and had one "educational colony," to use the usual expression; though they might have their separate school house, gardens, and workshops.

To enable the boys to earn their railway fare and other expenses by bringing produce home it would be sufficient to carry out the market garden plan systematically.

In this connection we need to realise that the cost of conveying people by rail is extremely small, as illustrated by the fact that workmen's tickets have been issued at as low rates as twenty-six miles for one penny. The cost of railway travelling is, in fact, made up by the standing charges on a railway system, not by the actual cost of haulage. That means that very low fares can be charged, without loss, for extra traffic—in exactly the same way as a theatre, when not quite full, might without loss admit poor people at nominal rates.

In America the plan, generally, is for town children to go out to schools in the suburbs by the trains, or trams, that bring in the town-workers, and that return empty unless so used, and

to bring them back by those that go to the town to take town-workers out again. That, of course, is the ideal arrangement, though not always possible.

INDUSTRIES AND INDUSTRIAL TRAINING.

But besides gardening it would be desirable to add industries as soon as possible, and in connection with them an organisation such as the Indian Polytechnic Association would supply would be necessary.

Here, again, we should have to work in similar ways. In the first place, we should endeavour to make the boys earn as distributors, industrial work also being done on the group system.

The group system has been tried with most unskilled workers with brilliant success in the Swiss Colony at Witzwil, and its application to education will be a very interesting and hopeful study, which we should start upon without delay.

In industrial work, the sizes of the groups would vary very much indeed; they might be anything from one to half a dozen, or even more in some cases. Modern industrial methods lend themselves so well to this arrangement, that the very moderate ideal of the young helpers being useful enough for the total effect to be neither to hinder nor to help, is an easily attainable one, whilst changing the boys about from one process to another, so as to make the work really instructive.

AN IMPORTANT BY-PRODUCT, MIDDLE CLASS EMPLOYMENT.

Now this brings us to an aspect of the question that is of the greatest interest. It might prove to be possible, to a very great extent, in the industrial work, to employ men of education as "group masters." Modern developments help us there. The pay of an efficient industrial worker is now quite enough to satisfy a man of education; and, as the war has demonstrated so fully, people can soon learn to take their place usefully in many of the processes of modern manufacturing. Educated "group masters" would be members of the educational staff, able to help

in the educational object. Moreover, working in an organisation of this kind, that would be producing for its own use, the real wage would be greater than the nominal wage.* These educational organisations, therefore, would offer a hopeful solution to the problem of middle class unemployment in all countries, the problem of the "new poor" as it is called in Europe. There need not be any hard and fast distinction between the educational and industrial staff; in fact, in many cases they could be combined.

PAID APPRENTICES.

Youths past school age could also be employed as paid apprentices paid in kind which would give suitable employment at once to large numbers of middle class people.

Thus teachers also would be able to learn commercial and industrial work, which would broaden their horizon and enable them to command better remuneration, whilst the schools, we should hope, would earn the means to pay them better, in kind and in cash; the "Educational Colonies" giving thus an immediate solution to the problem of middle class unemployment.

In connection specially with the industrial work we see that, whilst bold and well-organised action might give splendid results, any piecemeal attempts can give but costly and disappointing failure. We cannot count on the groups being larger than three, on an average, in industrial work, so that, if we allowed for the boys doing one-and-a-half hours a day of practical work, a school of 450 boys would need about thirty "group masters," in other words, thirty capable industrial workers receiving good pay as such, clearly they would have to do work of economic value; or the cost would be prohibitive. There are not a great variety of independent industries that could economically employ that number of workers. Schools would have to do some portion of some manufacturing work, either for each other or for firms. Organisation would therefore be needed. We should have to

* See *Self-Government and the Bread Question*, Calcutta University, Price Re. 1.

arrange also for each school to be, as far as possible, a distributor for the industrial products of all the schools.

CO-OPERATION AND COMMERCIAL TRAINING.

Now this brings us to the commercial side of practical training, that is very important, and would probably have to be organised, before much could be done successfully on the industrial side, and is the readiest means by which schools can earn to at once improve their teaching generally.

On the commercial side school co-operative stores could be greatly developed. The school is a place where the representatives of a large number of families meet, which is the thing required for business, and this opportunity should be utilised to the full.

But the mere school co-operative store, good as it is as far as it goes, is apt to die of inanition, because, after all, in most articles of daily use, the difference between the wholesale and retail price is not very great, so the savings on co-operative buying are small.

If, however, there were a central co-operative agency for all the school-stores, the margin would, of course, be greater, and *through the central agency the stores would be able to do business in connection with articles that people do not buy every day, and on which considerable savings might be made.*

Together, then, with school gardening school co-operative stores, with a central organisation, seem to be the natural first steps. All use garden produce, and little capital is required for market gardens; and, of all forms of co-operation, a co-operative general agency, to help people in making purchases that are not of every day, would be one of the most useful. No school store, however large, would be able carry on such an agency, but a central organisation of school and college co-operative stores would be in an ideal position to do it. It could not only make purchases for members when wanted to, but also place information at their disposal, to help them in making purchases themselves. It could ascertain the experience of all

its members in connection with purchases, and record the information, and in that way place the experience of all at the service of anyone making purchases that are not of daily occurrence.

Members would also be able to get many things cheaper through such an organisation than they would by purchasing them themselves, because discount is allowed to agencies. An educational organisation of the kind would have special advantage in this respect. Firms would give it discounts because of the useful work it was doing.

Opportunities would be given to boys to be canvassers—through their school store—and they would be able to get all kinds of practical commercial training and be rewarded in suitable ways for their efforts.

As a co-operative general agency, the school organisation would enjoy a kind of monopoly, because no commercial organisation of the kind would be as useful, as it would not be entirely impartial; and perhaps no other kind of co-operative one would succeed, because it would be costly to organise.

Experienced people would give the benefit of their experience liberally to an educational organisation, and the boys would do the work as an excellent training, helped by experienced people. These special advantages would be of great value in making the start.

There are special lines an educational agency would be able to take up, and that would give it immediate opportunities to earn. Some novelties placed on the market are good, some are worth a small outlay for the trial, because they are useful in some cases, but a great many are almost worthless, so people are, on the whole, shy of them, and novelties are, therefore, often difficult to sell. The Board of an educational co-operative organisation, however, would always consist of people in whom all would have confidence, so it would have a unique advantage as regards novelties.

Repair work would be in many ways one of the most suitable kinds of work for school industries.

The agency would therefore do very useful business in connection with second-hand articles. Members would send to it lists of articles they were willing to dispose of, if they could obtain fair prices for them, and people wishing to buy good second-hand articles would apply to the school agency for its lists and be willing to give fair prices, because they will have its guarantee that the articles were put in good condition in the school workshops.

The general agency would, of course, canvass for work for school workshops, obtaining orders from private people, contracts from firms and deal in, and advise about, workshop equipment.

OTHER IMPORTANT FUNCTIONS.

It would be able to get firms to take youths as apprentices.

It would be able also perhaps to overcome the difficulty of schools equipping themselves, by supplying various equipment on easy terms, as it would be able to borrow money at low interest from philanthropic people, when there was an organisation to use it and make it pay.

Finally, the co-operative general agency would help the youths, when trained, to set up their own business, or their own commercial or professional work.

THE IDEAL EDUCATION.

The idea, then, of the Indian Polytechnic Association, to which, again so many prominent business men, and educationists—including conspicuously among the former Sir Dorab Tata, and among the latter Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, have given support and patronage, is to take advantage of the unique commercial opportunities educational establishments offer, and create a great school co-operative organisation, first distributive, then productive, which could raise education to a level that is not dreamt of at present. It would make the system of instruction practical, and make it a training of the character, by loving service of the children to their homes, and to the advancement of their country; recognising the principle so well stated by Ruskin that "Employment is the half, and the primal half, of

education" "it is the warp of it; and the fineness or the endurance of all the subsequently woven pattern depends wholly on its straightness and its strength." "The formation, namely, of the character of nations *and the determination of their final fate by their character.*" It will give teachers the opportunity of being, not ill-paid men, too often with a hopeless outlook on life, but men of business, earning well, teaching their pupils to be business-like, energetic and self-reliant. Progress has made all this possible, only our own good efforts now will show us how fast and how far we can advance towards the realisation of these possibilities; the future of education is now in the hands of the educationalists themselves. They can revolutionise it and, from it as a foundation reconstruct society, by energetically and intelligently supporting a movement in favour of vocational training that would be to their own immense advantage.

We must follow in the footsteps of the co-operators who have taught us that a co-operative distributive organisation is, in many cases, the step leading to co-operative production and the agency clearly would lead the way for the school industries, whilst giving boys commercial training.

The complete set of lectures published by Calcutta University *Self-Government and the Bread Problem* can be had from Calcutta University through Messrs. Cambay & Co. Price, Board Bound Re. 1; Cloth Bound Re. 1-4.





OPINIONS

The facts and suggestions put forward in these lectures are dealt with at greater length in books by the author, and in lectures reprinted for the various Indian Education Departments and for Calcutta University obtainable:—

IN LONDON. from Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Museum Street, Bloomsbury, W. C., and from the Hon. Sec., Educational Colonies Association, C/o the East Indian Association, 3, Victoria Street, Westminster, S. W.

IN CALCUTTA, from Messrs. Cambray & Co, and Calcutta University.

LEADING OPINIONS.

The late Lord Roberts wrote, "It appears to me an honest attempt at the solution of problems of the greatest moment to the State."

Sir Horace Plunkett wrote, "Your essay on the co-operation of the future is intensely interesting and well thought out.....I assure you you have the deepest sympathy of a fellow worker."

Professor T. N. Carver of Harvard University, the prominent economist of America, writes, "I read your book with great interest." "Your suggestions seem to me entirely worthy and practical."

Professor Charles Gide, Professor of Co-operation of the University of Paris, the prominent economist of Europe, in a lengthy review of the French edition concludes by saying "There is no doubt that events are leading us towards the realisation of what the author foresees."

Professor Todd, Illinois University, writes, "My students unite with me in endorsing your plan for Educational Colonies as one of the most hopeful signs of a coming solution of the problem of unemployment."

Professor Richard (Bordeaux University) "No better book has been written on its subject. Contains novel and scientifically true ideas."

Professor Louis Wuarin, (Professor of Social Economics of the University of Geneva), says, "Captain Petavel shows in his studies a knowledge and earnestness together with remarkable ingenuity which have very soon gained him the confidence of his readers."

Professor Walker (in Chamber's Journal) says, "the most original, the most fascinating and the most hope-inspiring books I have ever read on the social question," "I shall see that all my students leave imbued with their teachings."

Lord Crewe, Lord Milner, the Education Ministers of the Union of South Africa and the Dominion of Canada and the late High Commissioner for Australia are among those who have asked to be kept acquainted with the progress of the Association's work.

AMONG THE LEADING PUBLICATIONS OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

The Hibbert Journal (in a special article by Professor Walker, entitled "Are the Brains Behind the Labour Revolt Wrong") says "He develops a fascinating programme of reform which is quite free from the taint of class warfare, and far more promising than that which begins by war."

The Times "The chief value of the theories so earnestly pressed..... lies in relating them to the economic obstacle to general education"

The Journal de Geneve (in a leading article) say, "Shows strong common sense and that characteristically English faculty for presenting abstract problems in a practical light."

The Berlin Tagezeitung (in a leading article) says "They (these suggestions) form a welcome contrast with other suggestions for reform."

The Survey (New York) "Well worth careful study."

The Wednesday Review (India) says, "written with such ability, originality, tolerance and earnestness that we can recommend it to every Social Reformer, Christian, Hindoo or Mahomedan,"



YC

