

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

REPORT

OF THE

UNEMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE

1926-27

Evidence

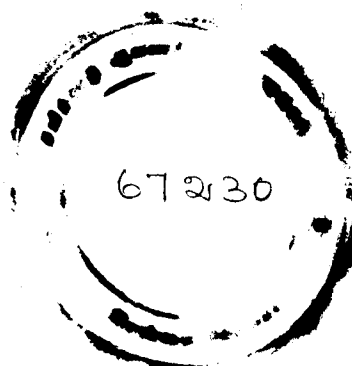
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MADRAS

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THE UNEMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE.

QUESTIONNAIRE.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Is it your opinion that unemployment exists among the middle classes? If so, is it prevalent amongst—

(1) *Literary classes*, and amongst them in (a) Graduates, (b) S.S.L.C.'s and Intermediates and (c) unqualified persons;

(2) *the Technical and Professional classes*, such as (a) Teachers, (b) Profession of Law, (c) Profession of Medicine, (d) Profession of Engineering, (e) Profession of Agriculture, (f) Handicrafts, such as weaving, etc., (g) Railways in—

(i) qualified persons,

(ii) unqualified persons;

(3) the Mercantile (including Insurance and Accountancy, etc.) and Banking businesses, and if so, amongst trained or untrained persons?

(4) Is there unemployment amongst Indians educated in foreign countries who have returned to this country? If so, state its extent and the cause.

II. CAUSES.

What is your opinion as to the causes of this unemployment? Is it due—

(1) to the present system of education, and if so, in what respect is the system defective;

(2) to the small remuneration offered in such employments;

(3) to want of fluidity, that is to say, is there any cause which prevents an applicant in one part of the Presidency from taking up an appointment in another part which is not adjacent to his native place;

(4) to social causes; if so, how do they operate;

(5) to want of organization, such as absence of Information and absence of Employment Bureaux and failure on the part of educational institutions to keep in touch with the employment market?

(6) What is the relative cost of education in (a) Literary, (b) Professional and (c) Commercial courses of question I mentioned above, and has the difference in cost any appreciable effect on the supply of applicants for these avocations?

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

In order to ascertain the normal number of situations and vacancies, can you give figures under any of the following heads:—

(1) *Government Servants.*—(a) What is the normal supply of Graduates, Intermediates, S.S.L.C.'s and unqualified candidates produced from educational institutions during the past five or ten years?

(b) What percentage under each head obtained permanent employment?

(c) What is the number of Government posts available during the same period, or for such shorter period as figures may be obtainable?

(d) What is the average pay of such posts?

(2) *Technical and Professional.*—(a) What is the number of qualified candidates produced during the past five or ten years or for such shorter period as figures may be obtainable?

(b) What is the number of appointments available during the same period?

(3) *Mercantile and Banking.*—(a) What is the number of qualified applicants available during the past five or ten years?

(b) What is the normal number of appointments?

IV. REMEDIES.

The following remedies have been suggested. Have you any remarks to make on them or any other suggestions to offer?—

(1) Vocational training and selection in schools.

(2) Technical education.

(3) Employment or Information Bureaux in colleges and Government offices, or Private Employment Agencies.

(4) Diversion of middle classes to—

(a) agriculture,

(b) mechanical occupations,

(c) trade and commerce.

(5) Provision of more capital for agricultural development and the best method of securing this.

(6) Village reconstruction as a means of employment.

(7) Co-operative agriculture.

(8) Farm colonies for middle classes.

(9) Development of banking in connection with extension of agriculture.

(10) Industrial Bank for promoting home industries and handicrafts especially.

(11) Co-operative production and distribution.

(12) Emigration—

(a) within British India,

(b) outside India.

Written evidence of the Accountant-General and his staff, Madras, dated the 26th August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

It is my opinion that unemployment exists, on a large scale, among the educated middle classes in this Presidency. This is a well-known fact and indeed a main issue at present.

(1) It is particularly conspicuous, amongst the literary classes. Owing to keen competition for employment in the ordinary ranks of Government service—so few in number, when compared to the large supply of educated young men—the best and the cheapest are naturally preferred, and in this uneven struggle the less qualified go to the wall. The intensity of the evil therefore varies inversely with the education standards referred to in (1).

(2) The professional and technical classes suffer too, though the evil is not keenly felt as yet, by them, for the following two reasons:—

(a) Scope for private practice, and

(b) comparatively small supply of qualified men.

The professions of teaching and law are already overcrowded and there has been much underbidding here, owing to keen competition. In medicine and engineering too, the scope for employment seems to be limited. Agriculture and handicrafts, if properly encouraged and developed on sound lines, may absorb a large portion of the unemployed. It is here that hopes for the future seem to be. The railways offer a wide scope for employment of young Indians. According to the last census, the number of men employed in railways in the Madras Presidency is as follows:—

	Europeans.	Indians
1. Officers	156	23
2. Others on a pay of more than Rs. 75	1,618	1,457
3. Do. Rs. 20	1,067	22,604
4. Men below Rs. 20	129	37,431
Total	2,970	61,515

The present policy of Indianization is bound to improve matters considerably.

(3) The mercantile and banking business in India are yet to develop and there is much virgin field left here.

(4) Foreign educated Indians are few in number and are generally absorbed in Government service or private employment sooner or later on their return. Therefore there cannot be much complaint here.

II. CAUSES.

The problem of unemployment, in both its quantitative and qualitative aspects, is primarily a problem of distribution and only secondarily one of supply and demand. For want of adaptability

and mobility. there is much uneven distribution and a craze for Government service; with the consequence that supply and demand—the two blades of the scissors—have vigorously operated, with unpleasant results.

(1) Among the other factors that have contributed to this widespread unemployment amongst the educated middle classes, the present system of education is one. Education, as given nowadays in the schools and colleges, appears to be defective in that it is more literary than technical and vocational and more academic than utilitarian. Again there is no personal touch between the teacher and the taught. Suffice it to say the end and aim of all education should be “to befit men for the world” and to make them good citizens of the State. Of course, a certain measure of general and liberal education is necessary for all; but beyond a certain standard, training in practical arts and crafts and specialization in commercial and technical studies is necessary. So long as the present system of education continues, a change in the average student's outlook cannot be expected and the glamour of Government service will not disappear. Opportunities for technical and vocational training are few now and for employment of men, who have received such training, fewer still. It is therefore very necessary to give a practical bias to the prevailing educational system.

(2) Small remuneration cannot be a cause for unemployment. Small remuneration in Government jobs is due to the operation of the law of supply and demand. In fact, there is keen competition for any place however low paid it may be, and in the desperate position in which the young men find themselves, the amount of pay offered—in most cases, a poor return on their educational outlay and sometimes not even representing a living wage—does not discourage them. A natural result of it is the progressive deterioration of efficiency and standard of living.

(3) & (4) These are partly responsible for unemployment though they have lost much force by now, owing to the spread of education and the awakening of the masses on the one hand and the keen struggle for existence on the other. “The economic factor is a great leveller.” The caste and joint family systems—which were a clog on economic freedom and on free choice of occupations—are rapidly breaking asunder, under various powerful dynamic forces already at work in Indian society. The occupational barriers are being fast swept away. Conservatism and ignorance, tradition and sentiment, caste prejudice and want of fluidity, and such other frictional forces, are all fast dying out, resulting in growth of initiative and enterprise and greater economic freedom.

(5) Organizations connecting the unemployed with the employment market and thus co-ordinating the supply and demand may be of advantage in mitigating the evil by a more even distribution, but they can never remove the complaint altogether. They may mend it to some extent, but never end it, so long as the other

causes contributing to it continue to operate; so that want of information and absence of Employment Bureaux and failure on the part of educational institutions to keep in touch with the employment market cannot be said to be an intimate cause of unemployment.

(6) Undoubtedly (b) and (c) cost very much more than (a); but this difference in cost should not deter men from resorting to these avocations provided they are assured of a decent living out of them.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

Apparently the supply seems to be greater than the demand.

(1) (a) & (b) The following figures give a three years' average (1924-26) for the Madras Presidency:—

	Supply of men.	Approximate percentage of the number permanently employed.
		PER CENT.
1. Arts graduates	1,400	28
2. Intermediates	2,300	16
3. S.S.L.C.'s declared eligible for admission to colleges.	5,000	12
4. S.S.L.C.'s not declared so eligible	11,000	8

(c) Six hundred and twenty applications were received in my office from graduates in the year 1925-26, and another 292 in 1926-27 up to date; of these, 100 and 74 respectively were from Honours men and M.A.'s, and 19 and 19 respectively were from B.A., B.L.'s. Out of this huge total, only 3 Honours men and 29 ordinary graduates were appointed in 1925-26. The corresponding figures for the current year so far are 4 and 3.

Thus from April 1925 to June 1926, roughly speaking 770 applications were received from graduates for clerks' posts, and of these only 35 were appointed, thus working out to a little less than 5 per cent.

(d) Graduates are started in this office on Rs. 46 in the scale of Rs. 40 to 175; and if they pass the Subordinate Accounts Service Examination they have a chance of getting into the scale of Rs. 190 to 400 as Accountants.

Non-graduates are appointed mostly as record-suppliers on Rs. 25—1—50 and the number of such appointments in a year is very small.

(2) (a) & (b) Statistics of candidates with requisite qualifications who apply for admission to the Medical, Engineering and Agricultural Colleges, and of those who are actually admitted, will demonstrate that opportunities for technical and vocational training and subsequent employment are still inadequate.

(3) (a) & (b) As regards mercantile and banking business too, qualified applicants are comparatively small, and appointments, still less. The very fact that even the technical men sometimes

seek employment in the ordinary ranks of Government service. proves the absence of adequate openings on the industrial and technical sides.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) & (2) Vocational training and selection in the schools, and technical education, seems to be a sound and an effective remedy for lessening middle-class unemployment. A system of practical tests, accompanied by proper coaching on an occupational basis, according to each student's inclination and talent, will improve matters considerably.

(3) This does not take us far in solving the problem on hand, though it is good in its own way.

(4) Diversion of the middle classes to agriculture, mechanical occupations and trade and commerce is both a sound and a practical measure. As regards agriculture—the economic backbone of the nation and the key to India's prosperity—improvement is desirable in the following directions:—

- (i) Large estate-holders should be trained in up-to-date methods of cultivation so that they may utilize their knowledge in improving their own estates.
- (ii) Zamindars and other big landholders should be prevailed upon to employ trained men for improving their estates.
- (iii) Large tracts of waste should be assigned to qualified men for cultivation, on favourable assessment terms, till they become sufficiently remunerative.

It is possible that the ryot will not fall in readily; but with the starting of agricultural schools, extension of irrigation facilities, and provision of cheap capital—the essentials of a good system of agriculture—matters are sure to improve. Other schemes such as starting of agricultural colonies financed by co-operative funds are hardly feasible and certainly beyond the pale of practical possibilities.

Revival of cottage industries, such as spinning and weaving, metal work, carpentry, leather trades, etc., extension and improvement of means of transport, and exploitation of forest and mineral products are all steps in the right direction.

(5) It is a fact that agriculture—the premier occupation of the land—is deplorably neglected and under-capitalised. The village banks and co-operative credit societies, just out of their teens, have barely touched the fringe of the problem of agricultural indebtedness. Direct money-doles by the State are not educative and therefore must be anathema. The ryot must first be educated in the use of capital, and to think of provision of cheap capital before educating him is to put the cart before the horse.

(6) Village reconstruction as a means of employment in this Presidency is strongly recommended. "Back to the village" is a healthy cry. Debt and faction, which are now eating like a

canker into the corporate village life, must be successfully encountered and the self-sufficiency of the village—a thing of the past—soon restored. We can no longer "let sleeping dogs lie." Of course, it is a difficult task for the administration to battle against poverty and ignorance—the twin curses of the land.

(7) Co-operative agriculture, an accomplished fact in Denmark and other Western countries, is still practically unknown in India; and after all, it is to be remembered co-operative agency is not a panacea for all economic ills.

(8) Hardly practicable. Is rather utopian.

(9) & (10) Banking facilities in this province are inadequate to its needs. Indian capital is still shy and the people have yet to develop sound banking habits and build up a healthy business tradition, when judged according to western standards.

Industrial banks are a crying need of the country for nursing home industries and urban crafts.

(11) Not much can be said in favour of this. Co-operative production, wherever tried in the West, has not been a success. True co-operation, a new force in industry, whose inspiration is fraternity, whose motive is honesty and whose method is economy—being an agency of thrift and self-help—is of high educative value. The co-operative store and the credit society have already rendered "a yeoman's service" for the rural and middle classes. Co-operative purchase and sale is also now being tried, in the Punjab and other provinces, not without some success. But it is better not to venture into co-operative production in this Presidency, since it is doomed to failure, as economic theory and practice has taught us.

(12) Emigration within British India may be encouraged, where there is scope for employment, such as bringing new lands under cultivation, by clearing jungles, sinking wells and opening canals and so on. Emigration outside India is hardly necessary at present.

V. OTHER SUGGESTIONS.

The solution for middle-class unemployment in India must primarily be sought in agriculture and railways. With the extension of railways and progress of Indianization, this department of Indian economic life is sure to promise much for the children of the soil. If the activities of railway workshops are developed so as to produce the railway requisites in the shape of rolling-stock, spare parts of machinery, etc., as far as possible within the country itself, it will create much employment for Indians. Again, the railway administration ought to train a larger number of men than at present as fitters and mechanics, for which no great general educational qualification is necessary. And every trading industrial concern should be induced—compelled when State aid is given—to train as many Indian apprentices as possible.

As regards engineering, there is very little employment here, and it is not a paying proposition at present.

VI. CONCLUSION.

Unemployment among the middle classes is a serious problem for society and the State. It has grave economic and moral consequences, and in the long run it corrupts politics too. It has got a baneful effect on social morals and discipline. Not only does it mean hardship and discontent for the people concerned, but it involves waste of fine talent and productive capacity to the loss of the State. Its bearings on over-population and under-production need hardly be mentioned here.

In the Madras Presidency, unemployment is not primarily due to any economic causes. The chief opening so far available has been the Public Service, but this opening is far too small for the number of men turned out by schools and colleges every year. The solution of the problem therefore lies in opening new avocations suitable to the resources of the country, and agriculture will supply the key to this.

Men's psychology and outlook must change too. Everybody need not aspire to become "a University man," thinking that practice of hereditary crafts is *infra dig.* The nation should give up Government employment as the goal of college education, and cease to think that the Government and God will make up for their deficiencies. They should learn that there is after all nothing ignoble in honest manual labour. Nor need they attribute everything to educational systems. They might as well say "Hospital is the cause of all diseases." What is badly wanted of them is ready adaptability and free choice of occupations.

The Government can only say in solving this problem of unemployment "*Nous travaillerons en esperance.*"

Written evidence of the Secretary, the Mysore Agricultural and Experimental Union, dated the 26th August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

- (1) Mostly amongst literary classes of all grades.

II. CAUSES.

(1) It is due to the present system of, mainly, secondary education which does not attempt to provide for the needs of life but which provides solely for the needs of services.

(2) It is natural that when the supply far exceeds the demand the remuneration offered is small.

(3) and (4) Generally no.

(5) Definitely no.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) & (2) Educational system should be so revised as to provide for both rural and urban needs. A distinctly agricultural

bias should be introduced in the curriculum of rural schools. Continuation must be provided for in the upper secondary or high school stage.

Technical education must be available at the end of each stage of education, viz., lower and upper secondary stages. Vernacular agricultural schools should be organized to provide for those who discontinue at the end of the lower secondary and agricultural colleges affiliated to universities to provide for the highest kind of agricultural education at the end of the Matriculation or School Final stage. These schools and colleges should be started only after a necessity for them becomes apparent as the result of giving an agricultural bias to rural education in the lower secondary stage. It is absurd to start from the top as we have done so far.

(8) Farm colonies confined to men trained in agriculture must be organised.

Written evidence of M.R.Ry. Rao Sahib A. S. Alaganan Chettyar Avargal, Chairman, Municipal Council, Bodinayakanur, dated the 13th August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Yes. Unemployment exists amongst middle classes.

(1) Yes. Among literary classes also. (a) in Graduates, a few cases, (b) in S.S.L.C's. and Intermediates in very large numbers and (c) unqualified persons in a very acute form.

(2) The technical and professional classes—(a) Teachers.—Unemployment does exist though the present policy of opening schools on a wide scale has relieved this class to some extent. Still it cannot be said that the relief has been to an appreciable extent.

(b) Profession of law.—Here also a large number find it difficult to make both ends meet. This is due to much congestion.

(c) Profession of medicine.—Same as for (b).

(d), (e), (f) & (g) Unemployment does exist but not to such an extent as to be called acute.

The same remarks apply to both—

(i) Qualified.

(ii) Unqualified persons.

(3) The mercantile, etc.—Unemployment exists in untrained persons in large numbers.

(4) Indians educated in foreign countries, etc.—Very few cases. No interference seems necessary.

II. CAUSES.

The present system of education is responsible in most cases for the unemployment in an acute form. Except that the University sets its seal upon those that come out of it there is no education in its proper sense. The present educated class look to only one aspect, i.e., earning. In a country like India which is chiefly an *agricultural* one, education should have an agricultural bias. Either along with the ordinary school or college education or after school education is over, a training is necessary; in the alternative an industrial course also should be given.

(2) The small remuneration which is now offered contributes no less to the acute form of unemployment.

(3) The unemployment problem becoming more and more acute every year of late, this disability is disappearing now little by little.

(4) Social causes operate very little.

(5) To a large extent want of proper organization is also responsible for the unemployment.

(6) I do not think there is large disparity in the relative cost of education in literary, professional and commercial courses. I, however, think it will be better the last two should cost cheaper.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1), (2), (3) & (4) I heartily support. In giving employment preference should be given first to those of indigent circumstances and middle classes, and those of affluent condition should be advised and encouraged by the Government to start private enterprises. Besides, local persons are to be provided first, and then hands from other districts should be imported.

(5) Provision of more capital for agricultural development is absolutely indispensable. The State aid should view with more sympathy when hard cases, such as failure of monsoons and seasonal rains, hit the ryot generally, in all cases which are beyond the ryots' control.

(6) I have not much hopes in this.

(7) Co-operative agriculture is a sure means of relieving the unemployed.

(8) May be tried.

(9) Surely this is desirable and may be tried.

(11) Very desirable.

(12) (a) Emigration within British India is to be enlarged.

(b) Emigration outside should be discouraged and put a stop to if possible.

*Written evidence of M.R.Ry. V. Appa Rao Garu, M.A., I.T.,
Lecturer in Physics, Government Arts College, Rajah-
mundry, dated the 14th August 1926.*

1. Unemployment exists among the middle classes. I have known many graduates of this college who are badly in need of an appointment. Most of them feel that they are too poor to wait for a job, but, being unable to get one, run into debts and go to the Law College to spend two or three more years in ease and comfort. Some of the rest join the Teachers' College and postpone the problem of earning a year more. The remaining very few enter a low-paid job with the idea of kicking it up whenever a better one is found. This underselling, due to intense poverty and need, results in bringing down the morale of the employed and the employer and in a more serious manner in the further unemployment of the undergraduate—an intermediate or an S.S.L.C. holder—who can as well or perhaps better fill the job.

A graduate in law sets up practice and finds very soon that he is very much disappointed in his expectations. His earnings are ridiculously low and sometimes are not even enough to run the establishment which, according to practice, he maintains. The graduate in teaching waits for a job an year or two, or perhaps takes an underpaid post for some time, and then joins the Law College and adds to the over-crowding in that profession. Even the few that get on as lawyers and teachers are dissatisfied with their incomes and feel that there is no comparison between the money they invested on their education and the money they earn at the end of the course. They are dissatisfied; they had spent the little immovable property they had possessed and are positively poorer for all the education they received.

2. The education which the graduate receives is unfortunately viewed generally as a means to earn a livelihood. It is with the prospect of a high-paid and prosperous career that parents put their children to school and college. They are not much to be blamed. The examples around them encourage them and fill them with high hopes. This idea has gathered enormous momentum and can have a set-back only some time hence when it is more and more realized that the conditions have changed.

The educated young man is certainly of a poorer physique than his so-called uneducated brother. His ideas about dignity of labour are very peculiar and his behaviour amongst and attitude towards his own uneducated brethren is deplorable. He is highly impractical. The education he receives is generally very much unnecessary to the work he does. Even in the case of professional men like engineers, a B.E. is no better than an upper subordinate for the kind of work in which he is generally employed. Why then should he not stop at the upper subordinate stage, be

more practical in his life and more contented? It is this meaningless pursuit of higher study which is enhancing the discontent among the unemployed. Graduates in agriculture think only of a job in the Government or in a zamindari. They do not think of going back to their home and utilizing their knowledge practically in tilling their own land, if they have any left, by that time. Their acquired habits are such that they cannot get out of them and settle down as simple practical villagers. If they can go back to the village, educate their brethren and improve the methods of agriculture, extend the area of cultivation, etc., the problem will, I believe, to an extent be solved. The courses of study must, therefore, be much more practical than they are at present and the student must go through at least three or four hours of hard manual labour in connexion with the course once at least a week and learn all the practical details of his job and must know the work from that of a cooly to that of the topmost man in that profession.

3. All students should not be allowed, automatically as they are now, to pursue higher education. There must be a diversion at an age of twelve. Some technical schools, in which boys of twelve and over can be trained for a trade or profession, must be opened. In order that trained young men may find employment, some new industries and manufactures must be started and articles of daily common use must be manufactured in this country and necessary steps must be taken to protect such infant concerns. This will, I believe, relieve much of the unemployment and the economic distress now prevalent among the middle classes.

Written evidence of G. G. Armstrong, Esq., Deputy Traffic Manager, Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway Company, Limited, dated the 10th August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(2) (g) Railways.

By qualified persons it is understood that, so far as railways are concerned, trained railway men are meant. Probably very few trained railway men are out of employment except by their own action. They have either lost their places through misdemeanour or have left of their own accord. Railways are naturally diffident about re-engaging such men.

By unqualified persons it is understood that those men are meant who, although fit to take up railway work, have not actually got railway experience. With regard to this, it may be said that, judging from the large number of applications for any vacancy on the railway, unemployment amongst this class of persons does exist.

II. CAUSES.

(1) From the appearance of the men of general school and college class who apply to the Head Traffic office of this railway for employment, I am of opinion that the bulk of the unemployed middle-class youths in Madras want clerical or indoor work. I cannot say in what respect the system of education is defective, but, so far as my personal knowledge goes, the men turned out by it are particularly fitted for clerical work rather than for executive posts, and the number of purely clerical posts offering good prospects is comparatively small.

(2) The amount of remuneration that can normally be offered for clerical work is limited by its scope. Further, it is as a rule found best to start men at the bottom and let them work their way up. The lower grades of clerks are not highly paid and several applicants refuse posts on that account. It is, however, desirable in clerical work, as in any other, that a man should start at the bottom. Sometimes a special appointment may be made in a grade higher than the lowest, but this cannot be usual.

The average man joining the railway in the subordinate grades without previous training starts as—

- (a) a clerk on Rs. 20 to Rs. 30;
- (b) an underguard on Rs. 24;
- (c) a loco. apprentice on subsistence pay;
- (d) a probationary engineering inspector on subsistence pay.

There are good openings for men specially in (c) and (d), but service under (a) and (b) probably involves a long period of years on low pay, and service under (c) and (d) means low pay for at least three years.

(3) Distance has a great deal to do with the securing of appointments. It is natural that the higher appointments on the railway are only to be obtained in Madras, although the lower ones, such as junior clerks, brakesmen, ticket collectors and locomotive apprentices in the lower classes, are filled by district officers at their own headquarters.

Speaking from personal experience, I am frequently astonished at the long distance from which applicants for posts seem to come and at the freedom with which persons seeking employment appear to travel about from one end of India to the other, but those are not always the most eligible applicants and it is probably true that the best men are a little hampered in obtaining posts by the long journeys they have to make to get them.

(5) Arising out of the answer to question II (3), I am of opinion that the establishment of Employment Bureaux will be of the greatest service alike to the prospective employer and the prospective employed.

If a man applies in writing for a post, I cannot help him unless his application is very strongly supported by some one I know and who knows him. While, if a man comes personally, I

can then see him and deal in a definite manner with his application. If, on the other hand, I were to send for all applicants who apply in writing for posts in the Traffic department of the railway, I should have time for no other work.

As a result, the securing of an appointment in the Traffic department is bound to depend partly on factors other than the sheer merit of the applicant and this is a bad thing. If we had an Employment Bureau or Bureaux to which we could refer, we should be able at once to secure a possible list of names for a vacancy, and the element of luck would be much reduced. Letters of recommendation from high officials, from personal friends and schoolmasters are of small help as a rule, the first because seldom based on anything more than official relations with the applicant's father or grandfather, the second because heavily biassed in the applicant's favour and the third because affording evidence only of the applicant's career as a school boy and college student.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

(2) *Technical and professional*.—Number of appointments available on the Railway during the past five years—

Traffic department	1,239
Loco. and Carriage department	576
Audit department	348
Engineering department	327
Stores department	93
Total	2,583

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) *Vocational training and selection in schools*.—Such training would probably have the effect of reducing the length of apprenticeship periods and would certainly help in sorting out boys for different careers. But no vocational training will, so far as the railway is concerned, make up for any falling short of at least the middle standard of general education. The latter is the minimum requirement for general education that we want to accept in any branch other than manual workers. Therefore, until they have achieved this standard, vocational training for boys is not desirable if they are looking for a railway career. Once a boy has reached this standard, it would probably assist him to rise in the mechanical engineering branch of the railway service if he came to it with training in handling of ordinary tools, drawing, mathematics and elementary mechanics.

(2) *Technical education*.—We do not want this. We prefer to give our own technical education. See the reply to IV (1).

(3) *Employment or Information Bureaux in colleges and Government offices or private employment agencies*.—This point has been dealt with in answering question No. II (5) above. Employment Bureaux should not be too many in number, not

more than one in each large centre of population; if there are many, they may compete with and defeat each other. They would be most useful if they were run in connexion with schools and colleges, not directly by Government and certainly not privately. A Government Employment Bureau might seek to bring undue pressure upon a semi-Government undertaking like the railway to employ its clients. A privately-run Bureau would be likely to get out of touch with the supply market, would not carry enough weight and could not be trusted to give an unbiassed opinion on a man's qualifications. The best chance is the Bureau run in close co-operation with the schools and colleges.

Written evidence of M.R.Ry. Rao Bahadur M. G. Arogyaswami Pillai Avargal, B.A., Coimbatore, dated the 6th August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(1) Certainly there is a great deal of unemployment amongst the middle classes who have taken to literary pursuits both among (a) graduates and (b) intermediates and S.S.L.C.'s. This is particularly noticeable among graduates who have in most cases spent large sums of money on their education. Some of them in these days of costly education have been put to the necessity of alienating their ancestral properties and find themselves stranded without any means of subsistence. The only professions to which they can ordinarily turn their attention to are clerkships in Government offices or private firms or teacherships. Both these departments are overcrowded; and where there exist only one or two vacancies, there are hundreds of applications to fill them. The result is that with the exception of the lucky few that are appointed to the vacancies the rest of the applicants meet with sore disappointment and swell the army of the discontented and disloyal.

(c) Where educated persons find it difficult or impossible to get even ordinary employment in the shape of clerkships it can be least expected that unqualified persons would succeed.

(2) *The technical and professional classes*—(a) *Teachers*.—I have in my answer to paragraph (1) briefly referred to the teaching profession. The supply far outruns the demand in this department. Graduates with Honours qualifications in English Literature, Physical Science, Chemistry, Botany and Mathematics find it comparatively easy to obtain employment in some school or other. But History graduates who are turned in large numbers by the several Universities find it extremely difficult to do so and it is a common sight to find crowds of these youths not only in large centres of population but also in comparatively small towns. In these days when graduates with the additional qualification of

having taken the L.T. Degree find it difficult to secure employment as teachers, it is no wonder that graduates fresh from college are altogether ignored.

(b) *Profession of law.*—It is the profession of law that is most crowded not only in India but all over the world. It is the ambition of every father or guardian in India to see his son, who takes the B.A. Degree, get through the B.L. also. There was a time some decades ago when fortunes beyond the dreams of avarice were within the grasp of such of them as had qualified themselves in arts and law, some of them rose to the position of Sub-Judges and District Judges. It stands to reason that where only a few succeed either in the accumulation of unexpected fortune or rise to high positions in the Judicial, the Revenue and the Secretariat departments a large number must meet with disappointment in either of the above aims. But every person who goes through the mill of B.A. and B.L. chooses to indulge in day dreams although he sees nothing to encourage him.

One way of lessening the effects of their undue competition in the Bar is of course to start partnership or firms of lawyers. I believe that this was tried in some places but failed owing to either extreme selfishness or individualisation. Another method by which the evil results may be minimised in the profession of law is by the members specialising in some special subjects, as Appeals, Execution, Probate and Administration, Criminal Law, etc. This specialisation can be successfully pursued only in large cities where there will be sufficient quantity of work in particular lines. Apart from the economic effects of this undue competition in the practice of law, the demoralisation in society is very serious also. But this is not the place to discuss this aspect of the question.

(c) *Profession of medicine.*—A large number of medical graduates who are not absorbed in the Government or the Local Fund services set up independent practice in moderately large towns and are maintaining themselves. The Ayurvedic, Unani and Sidha Vaidya systems are powerful competitors to the allopathic system followed in British hospitals and dispensaries. The establishment of a Government Ayurvedic and Unani Medical School at Madras is a step in the right direction. The policy pursued by the Local Self-Government of placing rural dispensaries in charge of men who have passed the L.M.P. and M.B.B.S. Degree Examinations with fixed monthly allowances to meet the charges of rent and cost of medicine has much to commend itself. The itinerant system of taking the medicine to the very doors of ryots may be expanded to a still larger extent with the double advantage of benefiting the poor ryots who live far from Government dispensaries and hospitals and relieving the large number of unemployed medical men.

(d) & (e) *Profession of engineering and of agriculture.*—I shall discuss agriculture and engineering together, for, both possess, in my opinion, many particulars in common. I do not

think that there is any unemployment among people who possess decent knowledge in engineering and agriculture. What India stands in need of is a large number of qualified men who have some practical training in engineering and agriculture. We do not require highly trained technical and scientific experts who are well-grounded in theories respecting these professions and who can deliver a course of lectures in their respective subjects. Of course, they are also needed to a certain extent but we want a considerable number of energetic and capable men who can go to villages and carry on agricultural and engineering demonstrations. A few elementary principles well impressed on the ryots' minds will be of infinite help. In engineering we want young men who have been specially trained in such subjects as survey, level, construction of roads and buildings. It will be enough if they are School Final candidates who need not undergo a longer course, say, than six months or so, and who must, at the end of the term, pass an examination entitling them to obtain diplomas. Both the above classes of people must be satisfied with a monthly salary of, say, Rs. 50 or 60 rising gradually to Rs. 75 or 80. India is a poor country and cannot afford to pay fat salaries of thousands of rupees for those who undergo training for four or five years and are started on a salary of Rs. 150 or 200 per month.

(4) I do not think that there is any unemployment amongst men educated in foreign countries such as England or America and who have returned to India with special qualifications. Such youths are eagerly seized by Government or by private firms for employment.

II. CAUSES.

(1) The most effective cause of unemployment generally is the present faulty system of education. All the departments of education, elementary, secondary and collegiate, must undergo radical changes before they meet the vital needs of the nation. I recommend that in every elementary school, the afternoon of each day must be set apart for the teaching of such simple industries as weaving, carpentry, smithy and rattan work, etc.

In the secondary schools, higher handicrafts may be taught. Even in the collegiate course, a foundation may be laid along with a general course of study for engineering, agriculture, bank business, accountancy, according to the individual taste of the student.

A far greater emphasis than what is done at present must be laid in imparting a knowledge of the Fine Arts. India, which was at one time the cradle of the fine arts, has altogether lost touch with its old associations.

(2) I am not of opinion that the small remuneration offered in such employments is the cause of unemployment. However, there may be a slightly fairer and more equitable distribution of the ample revenues of the country among the employees of the Government, including heads of offices and ministerial offices.

(3) & (4) I do not think that there is any serious difficulty in people moving from one province to another in search of employment. As a matter of fact, one can see many people from Malabar and Tanjore in various parts of India, Burma and the Federated Malay States. Caste is losing its hold on India and also there is a larger spirit of enterprise among educated persons than in former times.

(5) The absence of any organisation to supply information as to where employment can be had is a serious difficulty. The establishment of Information Bureaux in important cities working in co-ordination with educational institutions will be a step in the right direction.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) & (2) Please vide remarks in paragraph (1) of subject 'II. Causes.'

(3) Please vide remarks in paragraph (5) of subject 'II. Causes.'

(4) Diversion of middle classes to (a) agriculture, (b) mechanical occupation and (c) trade and commerce will do a great deal to relieve unemployment. As far as agriculture is concerned, it is necessary to adopt an improved system of the art, based on (1) the employment of simple machinery in substitution of manual labour; (2) use of chemical manure in addition to farm-yard manure in places where the latter is deficient in quantity; (3) use of the former, i.e., chemical manure, in sufficient quantities in places where farm-yard manure is entirely absent; (4) a careful analysis of the soil which will disclose in what respects the soil is defective and must be enriched.

(b) As far as the pursuit of mechanical occupations is concerned, it is absolutely necessary to open technological institutes in different parts of the country.

(c) *Trade and commerce.*—Commercial schools and colleges must be opened in leading centres.

(5) Where the ryots are too poor to employ improved methods of agriculture, the Government can advance small sums of money to them on the security of their lands which can be recovered by easy instalments.

(6) Unless there is considerable improvement in the standard of comfort to which the ordinary ryot is accustomed, I am of opinion that there is not much use in going in for village reconstruction as a means of employment.

(7) Where the holdings are small and the ryot has no facility or necessity for employing large capital on the improvement of the land with a view to improve its outturn, co-operative agriculture is not of much value unless the individual ryots join their holdings together and convert them into one convenient block.

(8) Please vide my remarks in paragraph (7) above.

(9) So far as paragraph (9) is concerned, a great deal of good is being done by the co-operative credit societies which show a steady tendency to increase year by year.

(10) It is difficult to understand as to what is meant by home industries and handicrafts. If it means a larger employment of the *charka* and the handloom, I do not think that the establishment of an industrial bank is necessary for the purpose.

(11) I am of opinion that co-operative production and distribution alone cannot solve the problem of unemployment among the middle classes, although it will have a tendency to increase the profits of the producer and the distributor by cutting off those of the intermediaries or brokers who, in their turn, will be thrown out of employment.

(12) (a) Please vide my remarks in paragraph (3) of subject 'II. Causes.'

(b) Emigration outside India is a vast and intricate subject involving many social, economical and political issues. But so far as the social and economical aspects are concerned, there are no serious difficulties inasmuch, as a matter of fact, thousands of literate men go to Burma and the Federated Malay States for employment. If the Government wants to encourage emigration of this class of people outside India, the employers of labour in the Colonial Governments concerned must treat them not as so many coolies but as respectable citizens entitled to political rights.

*Written evidence of the Bar Association, Kumbakonam,
dated the 14th August 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

It is in the middle classes that unemployment is most prevalent.

(1) It is prevalent among literary classes to an increasing extent according as the education is higher and higher, that is to say, there is greater unemployment in the case of graduates than in the case of undergraduates and similarly greater unemployment in the case of undergraduates than in the case of unqualified persons.

(2) In the technical and professional classes, there is unemployment to a remarkable degree in the profession of law in highly qualified persons. There does not seem to be unemployment in the case of mercantile classes, or foreign-returned Indians.

II. CAUSES.

So far as the profession of law is concerned, the cause for this unemployment seems to be a mass production of law graduates without any restriction, and issue of sanads to practise also by the

High Court without any restriction and also the non-absorption of graduates in law and lawyers in posts under the Government employ to which they are eminently fit. The walks of life available in this country for the men with higher education are limited. The passion for higher education and University degrees is always on the increase. Consequently, there is overcrowding in the profession of law—the only free trade profession available. Litigation has become prohibitively costly with enhanced court-fees and this tells and must tell on the pleaders' fees.

(1) The system of education is undoubtedly defective. Students ought to be directed to choose their vocation early in their collegiate career and take to the study of such branches as would fit them for the career they wish to enter into. Just as in the Engineering and Medical Colleges only students who have passed Group I or Group II are admitted, similar restrictions ought to be imposed in admitting students to the Law College.

(2) The scale of remuneration in the profession of law is neither reasonable, adequate, nor scientific and this also affects greatly the profession and the litigants.

(3) There is no such want of fluidity, at least to an appreciable extent which deters educated people from moving out to distant places.

(4) Latterly, social and communal causes are admittedly at work which stand in the way of merit being properly and adequately recognized or rewarded.

(5) Yes.

(6) The cost of professional education is far higher than either literary or commercial education, but this has no appreciable effect on the supply of applicants to these avocations. The cost of professional education is generally two to four times the cost of other educations.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

(2) (a) In the profession of law on an average about 450 graduates in law are produced every year these five years; five or ten years back only about 100 or 150 were produced every year.

(b) The number of appointments available has remained the same and consequently there has been a good deal of stagnation and unemployment.

IV. REMEDIES.

The remedies suggested are all very good in themselves, but none of them are suitable for people who have had professional education.

The congestion in the profession of law has become acute now and the following remedies, if adopted, may alleviate the situation a good deal:—

(1) Appointment of law graduates and lawyers of not more than five years' standing to 75 per cent of all the clerical and other posts on Rs. 60 and over in all the Civil and Criminal courts in the Presidency.

(2) Appointment of lawyers of not less than three years' standing to be Subordinate Magistrates, Sub-Registrars and District Registrars, Prosecuting Inspectors of Police, Income-tax Officers, heads of the executive and clerical staff in Local Boards and Municipalities and Railways. It cannot be denied that all these posts require a good knowledge of some branch of law or other and it does not stand to any reason why, when so many graduates in law and young lawyers are available, raw graduates, undergraduates and unpassed people with tinsel qualifications of a tenth-rate Civil Judicial Test or any other like test should be appointed to these posts.

In the profession of law the supply is out of all proportion to the demand and Provincial Judicial Service can be manned by twice the number of officers that are at present existing on the pay that existed prior to the present revised scale of pay.

*Written evidence of the Most Rev. Dr. J. Aelen, S.S.J.,
President, Catholic Indian Association of Southern India,
Madras, dated the 14th August 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

1. Yes, unemployment exists among the middle classes.

(1) Yes, among all.

(2) Yes, in all except (a), (d), (e) and (f).

(g) (i) Yes.

(ii) Yes.

(3) Only among untrained.

(4) Yes, among the above classes.

II. CAUSES.

(1) The defective system is due to (a) lack of other than "literary" appointments, lack of industries, lack of large-scale agricultural enterprise.

(2) The lack of openings for Indians in executive and technical branches of railways, factories, etc.

(3) Lack of foresight of parents in educating children for employments which are overstocked.

IV. REMEDIES.

- (1) Yes, if you can find work for the pupils afterwards.
- (2) Do. do. do.
- (3) Yes.
- (4) (a) Yes, but not much on account of the large number of small holdings.
(b) Yes, but first create them.
(c) Yes, but new openings must be made.
- (5) More capital would be necessary only in the case of fairly large holdings.
- (6) Yes, if the State can bear the cost.
- (7) These will not help the literary classes.
- (8) Do. do. do.
- (9) These will absorb a good proportion of the literary classes.
- (10) Do. do. do.
- (12) (a) Not much relief through this to the literary classes.
(b) Do. do. do.

Written evidence of the Chairman, Shevaroy Planters' Association, Yercaud, dated the 18th August 1926.

I am of opinion that there is a large amount of unemployment among the educated middle classes of India and that it is prevalent equally amongst the qualified, unqualified and educated classes for the following reasons:—

Employers have naturally always put a premium on education with the result that the higher standards of education have attracted the parents of those sons who ordinarily would have been settled on the land. This has resulted in educated labour becoming cheap, and employers now expect a higher standard than they did some years ago. I think the fault lies in the fact that higher education has been encouraged by the Government at the expense of agriculture, in a country which is the greatest agricultural country in the world. The landholder has continued the crude methods of his forefathers with the result that the soil has become impoverished and diseases have increased and the amount of work that Government has done in demonstrating improved methods and in fighting pests has been so infinitesimally small for such a large country that no appreciable benefit has resulted, and consequently men have crowded away from the land and gone in for higher education in the hope that it would provide a better means of livelihood. An agricultural country like India should have the largest staffed and most efficiently manned scientific agricultural department in the world, and the services of its officers should be

readily available in the smallest hamlet with demonstration farms in all large villages, which farms should be able to maintain themselves. In addition to this, there are fortunes being wasted in the amount of water that is lost in areas which are flooded year after year during the monsoon. Many of those districts suffer from famine or short crops because the average rainfall is not sufficient, and they will continue to do so, and yet they have rivers running through them which, if the waters that come down in flood annually were conserved, would make them flourishing and prosperous. It therefore seems to me that the solution of unemployment in India lies in making agriculture more profitable by the development of a large and efficient Government scientific agricultural department, the spending of money freely on conservation of flood water and the granting of loans to persons who have clear titles for the purpose of purchasing agricultural implements of improved types recommended by the officers of the Agricultural department, for seed and for manures without the difficulty and delay there is in obtaining them at present. Seed should also be readily available from the department. Later, when this system has developed, these loans could be taken over by co-operative banks. The provision of loans for agricultural development could be secured only if there existed an efficient Agricultural department, as such loans ought to be given on the recommendation of officers of that department who should be responsible, up to a point, for seeing that the money is applied to the purpose for which it was obtained and, wherever possible, the materials for which the money is required should be purchased by the Agricultural department.

Written evidence of the South Indian Railway Employees' Association (Podanur Branch), dated the 22nd September 1926.

The chief cause of unemployment is due to the over-production of graduates, intermediates and matriculates by the local universities without any special training of these graduates, intermediates, etc. The system is defective in that it is a soul-less system bent merely upon making money for the university and to carry on more or less a trade in education, without any apparent sympathy for its own productions. The university must confine its general education to a few middle-class people and the aristocrats who are after literary education for mere education sake. But as it is at present constituted, it admits any number of candidates for an aimless education, so much so, year after year thousands of young men are turned out of these universities with absolutely no practical knowledge of the world, or any particular trade or profession. The curricula of these universities are such as to sap the energy of these young men at their

very early age, so much so that soon after leaving the university these young men are physically and intellectually incapable of any further action than that of quill-driving in public offices.

2. Unemployment is not due to the small remuneration offered in any employment, for, should this be due to this cause, the appointments offered at small remuneration should be pending, whereas, due to the other causes of existing impoverishment in this country and determined will of the foreign agencies in this country to exploit labour to its best advantage unchecked by a foreign Government which has not the least sympathy for the people of this country, appointments worthy of higher wages are accepted at a pittance.

3. Unemployment was probably due to want of fluidity, say, a decade ago, when a Malayali of the West Coast of the Madras Presidency would not make up his mind to take up an appointment at Madras and a South Indian Brahman would not take up employment at either Calcutta or Bombay, but due to superfluity of candidates in South India, even the graduates of South India of either Malabar or Tinnevely districts are now prepared to take up appointments at Simla or any station further north, if not, at Rangoon or Penang. There is therefore no question of want of fluidity.

4. It would be a myth at this time to state that unemployment is due to social causes; a member of the depressed classes now takes his seat with one of the highest class in South India with absolutely no compunction on either side. Social causes do not now operate even to the smallest extent in accentuating the cause of unemployment.

5. We are of opinion that any amount of organization either by way of Information or Employment Bureaux will not relieve the tension of unemployment, for, as a matter of fact, most of these unemployed know where to tap, but as long as there is the over-production of the "generally educated classes" without any kind of specialisation, this unemployment will exist.

6. As the cost of the literary qualification necessary for entering any professional career is entirely dependent upon the general education so far as the matriculation course of the university is concerned, that cost is commonly applicable to all other courses. The commercial education prevailing in India is of a very insignificant character more or less qualifying clerks to the different branches of this kind of service. The wide field of mechanical engineering connected with locomotives, railway road, electrical engineering, ship-building, etc., is yet left untouched and is now more or less the monopoly of the foreigners in this country.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

Government service.—(a) We have no specific knowledge of the proportion of the supply as against the demand in regard to the Government service, but we can, with a certain amount of

accuracy, state that for every 50 vacancies there are about 500 applicants in this part of the Presidency in connexion with railway service, most of these applicants possessing qualifications not less than the S.S.L.C. standard.

(b) The percentage obtaining employment year after year is about 2 to 3.

(c) The percentage of appointments available in the railway during a year is about 3; say, if there were 1,000 permanent employees on the roll, there would be about 30 vacancies in a year due to age limit, death, dismissals and resignations.

(d) The average pay of such posts would be about Rs. 25.

(2) (a) *Technical and professional education.*—Technical in the sense of skilled labour for railway workshops, engine-driving, electrical installation, etc.—Nil. Professional.—Lawyers, etc., no specific knowledge; assume it is very much more than the markets can take them.

(3) No specific knowledge. But the number of qualified accountants, book-keepers, bankers, etc., is very much more than the appointments available for them, so much so that their knowledge in these specific branches is wasted by their taking up appointments not in consonance with their qualifications.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) We certainly advocate vocational training at once.

(2) *Technical education.*—The technical education must be of the right sort and not like the Commercial School at Calicut or so which merely specialises in the different branches of the clerical grade. The technical education must be such as to train skilled labour for the various kinds of factories which are in existence and for which skilled labour has to be imported from foreign countries and it must aim at not only turning out skilled labour, but to a certain extent original manufacture also.

(3) Employment or Information Bureaux in Government offices and colleges will not remedy unemployment, but might perhaps be able to secure offices to persons qualified in special branches suitable to their qualifications.

(4) *Diversion of middle classes to—(a) Agriculture.*—This would be an advantage but would take more time than diversion of middle classes to technical education as this affords them an opportunity to step into the shoes of the foreign skilled labour now employed in this country.

(b) *Mechanical occupations.*—Certainly, this is one that is most strongly advocated by this association.

(c) *Trade and commerce.*—Do.

(5), (6), (7), (8), (9), (10) & (11) We agree as one of the means of relieving unemployment.

24 THE SOUTH INDIAN RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' ASSOCIATION
(PODANUR BRANCH); THE SOUTH INDIAN RAILWAY EMPLOYEES'
CENTRAL ASSOCIATION, TRICHINOPOLY; THE SOUTHERN INDIA
SKIN AND HIDE MERCHANTS ASSOCIATION, MADRAS

(12) *Emigration*.—(a) Certainly.

(b) Outside India, certainly.

It is suggested that more medical men be employed also in rural areas as a means of employment.

Written evidence of the South Indian Railway Employees' Central Association, Trichinopoly, dated the 7th September 1926.

The question of unemployment being general, the views of my branches are also one and the same.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

The above exists in all classes—literary, technical, etc. In railways there is no material difference shown between qualified and unqualified persons.

II. CAUSES.

It is due to the present defective system of education inasmuch as it did not help any student to chalk out any scheme for his future career in life. On account of the small remuneration offered, persons from one Presidency to another find it difficult to go. It is also due to absence of Employment and Information Bureaux.

IV. REMEDIES.

The twelve remedies suggested in the questionnaire are by themselves self-sufficient. If the above are put to effect, the unemployment problem will be solved.

Written evidence of the Southern India Skin and Hide Merchants' Association, Madras, dated 13th August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Unemployment has become rather a serious problem requiring immediate attention of the State lest it would grow more acute and cause undesirable consequences at the end. In this country unemployment is a novel one. Though it may be said that it is not limited to a certain class of people, it particularly affects the middle classes—by middle class, we mean people who do not depend upon any accumulated wealth for their livelihood. But in other countries of the world it affects only people of particular trades or professions. In such countries relief is somehow or other found by the State or by the interested industrial or professional organizations.

THE SOUTHERN INDIA SKIN AND HIDE MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION, MADRAS 25

As for the present purpose, unemployment may be classified into that which exists among educated or qualified classes and that which exists among uneducated classes.

(1) *Literary classes*.—These mostly consist of people of the middle classes. There is unemployment among this class irrespective of the grade of education. The general education which they receive is not recognized as a sufficient means of getting oneself employed, and there is no scope of such recognition so long as the education does not provide for professional and industrial studies suitable for various avocations, thus raising the status of the educated classes in the estimation of the employers in general.

(2) *Technical and professional classes*.—In this section also unemployment may be understood to be present in the sense in which such people do not get sufficient wages or earn so much as to maintain their standard of life suitable to the grade of position and status they occupy. One cannot say that there is much unemployment among such professions as law, medicine, engineering, etc. But with regard to the agricultural classes and men of handicrafts, we are of opinion that there is a very large percentage of unemployment, say, far more than half, as their relative professions do not prove sufficient and substantial means of their livelihood in the present undeveloped state of affairs, since there is no scope for immediate expansion of agriculture and as there is not sufficient development of indigenous and cottage industries to enable them to engage themselves in.

(3) *Mercantile and banking business*.—We are of opinion that there is not so much unemployment in this class as it exists among the educated middle classes in general. But it may be said that they are not at present getting sufficient remuneration or earnings to maintain their standard of life. But it is purely due to the depression in trade and commerce of the country in general, which is purely due to the after-effects of the War. It cannot be said that there is much unemployment in this class. There is every likelihood of the trade and commerce of the country to revive and improve in due course and thereby much employment will be found.

II. CAUSES.

The root cause of the unemployment among educated classes particularly is no doubt due to the defective system of the present-day education. It turns out men with purely literary knowledge. The education should be so modified as it should turn out men of various professions and trades and industries suitable to the present-day conditions.

Unemployment is also due to the small wages offered to the employees, which are not sufficient to maintain their standard of life and at the same time to meet the present high cost of living.

It is also due to the want of fluidity. No doubt several among educated classes are averse to take up employment in other provinces beyond their own and want somehow or other to pull on

in their own neighbourhood. Further, they have not that spirit of adventure which the people of advanced countries have. Social causes also do operate to some extent as a cause of unemployment; but this sense of social customs is gradually waning as civilization advances.

IV. REMEDIES.

This association do approve of the remedial measures proposed in the questionnaire. Apart from them, the real remedy for the eradication of unemployment lies in the thorough overhauling and modification of the present system of education. The Government should open industrial and professional schools, various factories, ship-building, etc. Indian industries should be developed and encouraged to the fullest extent. Indians should be entertained in all railways, army and navy. Migration should be freely allowed, and the interests of such emigrants should be fully guarded by the Government of the country. Navigation schools must be opened within India, and the Coastal traffic should be reserved for Indian concerns, who should be made to employ and train Indians to responsible posts. The proposed establishment of Indian Mercantile Marine should be given effect to, when there will be much scope for employment. The Government should find out ways and means for the speedy expansion of banking and agriculture and development of Indian industries with the State aid and should also take steps towards the reconstruction of villages, so that they may be compact and self-contained as far as practicable and consistent with the above suggestions.

*Written evidence of the Women's Indian Association,
Adyar, dated the 25th August 1926.*

There is much poverty amongst women of the middle classes, and it is true that they also have quite a good amount of free time at their disposal in the middle hours of the day. If training in cottage industries were more fully organized, and especially if the Government could be responsible for procuring markets for the disposal of articles made by the women in their homes, much anxiety would be removed from the mothers. We consider the present education defective because it does not give a proper proportion of training to the hand as a parallel to the brain work. We think that every institution that is training women in handicrafts should be subsidised freely by the Labour department of the Government and that women trained in them should be able to get posts in municipal schools and other schools for teaching in these vocations alone without the other teaching being required of them. Thus, they could give several hours per day to a couple of schools. Our experience has taught us that group works better

than isolated home work if it is organized at the hours suitable for the women. An improvement in general character and a sense of a wider life comes to the women when they work together in good conditions.

Industrial banks and co-operative banks, and the co-operative movement generally will help much to ease the burden of unemployment.

Indian women generally do not realize the possibilities of making money that their free time gives them in the way women of other countries are. This ignorance and indolence can be changed only by the spread of education.

We consider that one reason why more of the educated girls do not come forward to help in teaching the masses is the want of lodging accommodation in strange towns. A need of the future is the establishment in every town of a non-denominational hostel for women workers under a properly qualified matron-superintendent.

The fact that there are fewer women than men in India prevents women from coming openly into the labour market either as employed or unemployed. The widows become the house servants. The women whose husbands turn out unsatisfactory and ill-treat them are those who are in greatest need of wage-earning, training and employment. I believe the demand for teachers, nurses, doctors, and professional work of all kinds for women is greater still than the supply here.

*Written evidence of the Chairman, Wynaad Planters'
Association, dated the 10th August 1926.*

My company, the E. & S. Joint Co-operative Wholesale Society, Ltd., owns about 10,000 acres of tea in Southern India and pays salaries on much the same scale, except that we pay mechanics up to Rs. 125 and clerks up to Rs. 150.

There are, as a rule, a large number of applications for any post advertised, but it is difficult to get competent men.

The chief reason for this is, I consider, that men of the class we want do not care for life on estates, which are fairly scattered; where there is little society of their own class, and where they are far removed from their relatives. They, therefore, prefer to take up jobs in big towns on far less pay.

Technical education seems deficient; to obtain good mechanics is almost impossible; the men we get are self-taught and have picked up their knowledge as best they can. This difficulty is likely to increase now that estates are going in for electric installations.

*Written evidence of the Secretary, Nedungadi Bank,
Limited, Calicut, dated the 27th July 1926.*

There is no doubt a good deal of unemployment among the middle and poor classes, and I attribute this to the defect in the present system of education. Everywhere in every school almost all young men are encouraged to aspire to higher education and to become graduates in arts, law, engineering, medicine, etc. This is all good with a certain proportion of men, but when this supply far exceeds the demand we see the evils of unemployment. All youngsters after they pass the Fourth Form examination must be sorted out, those who are brilliant, allowed to continue for higher education—others asked to choose their calling such as weavers, farmers, carpenters, artisans, maistris, overseers, petty clerks—postal and police—compounders, village officials, etc. Thus a large number of youths can be persuaded to start in life with modest ambitions instead of every one as at present wanting to come to the top.

The Government should give facilities to train up these young men to these various avocations at many centres in the Presidency and men so passed out should be employed as far as possible by the Government at least for the first few years or until they get sufficient practical knowledge to be able to stand upon their own legs. Every taluk should have its technical school where all these subjects are taught, particularly practical agriculture.

Those selected for higher education should be allowed to continue as long as they like, but entrance into Government service should be of two grades—the subordinate or lower services for men with intermediate, and the superior services for graduates, M.A.'s, etc. Entrance to all branches should be regulated as far as possible by competitive examinations. The railways may be advised to utilize the services of Indian youths more liberally in all its branches. Many of the higher appointments now reserved for Europeans can with advantage be entrusted to educated and well-connected Indians; and if a European training is considered necessary, candidates may be selected here and sent to Europe for special training.

The present system of education is defective inasmuch as it does not open out fields for youngsters to specialise early into different walks of life. Almost all go up and pass B.A. and M.A. and become so saturated with their own importance that they are discontented with almost anything except the highest. The market is crowded with such men, and if there is a vacancy for a clerk in any office there are 120 graduates applying. How much better it would have been if many of these mediocre men with high degrees had, early in life, specialised in the study of some technical handicraft! The remedies suggested in your questionnaire are all very good and will go a great way in mitigating the evil. There should be strict selection in schools, and only the best intellects should be allowed to go up for higher studies. The others

must be encouraged to start in life early in the different avocations mentioned amongst remedies in the questionnaire. The army and navy with suitable modifications as to the pay, prospects and position should attract a large number.

*Written evidence of M.R.Ry. Diwan Bahadur S. Bavanandam
Pillai Avargal, O.B.E., I.S.O., Ex-Sheriff of Madras,
dated the 12th August 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

In my opinion unemployment exists among the middle classes. It is prevalent amongst

- (1) Literary classes—(a) Graduates, (b) S.S.L.C.'s and intermediates and (c) unqualified persons.
- (2) The technical and professional classes such as (a) teachers, (b) profession of law, (c) profession of medicine to some extent, (d) profession of engineering to some extent, (e) profession of agriculture, (f) handicrafts such as weaving, etc., (g) railways in—

- (i) qualified persons to a limited extent,
- (ii) unqualified persons.
- (3) The mercantile (including insurance and accountancy, etc.) banking businesses. The unemployment exists mostly amongst untrained persons.
- (4) There is unemployment to a limited extent among Indians educated in foreign countries who have returned to this country. It is due to want of sufficient number of industrial and other institutions in India.

II. CAUSES.

This unemployment is due partly—

- (1) to the present system of education—please see enclosure A being extracts from my presidential address when I distributed certificates and medals to the exhibitors at the last Industrial Exhibition held in December last on the South Indian Athletic Association Grounds. The recent praiseworthy efforts made by the Educational Minister Sir A. P. Patro to introduce vocational training and technical education in the educational institutions of this Presidency are likely to be productive of satisfactory results in due time;
- (2) to the small remuneration offered in such employments;
- (3) to want of fluidity;
- (4) to social causes; but owing to the laudable efforts of the Labour Commissioner and the co-operation of the institutions influenced by him these causes are gradually being removed;

(5) to want of organization such as absence of Information and absence of Employment Bureaux and failure on the part of educational institutions to keep in touch with the employment market. The present system adopted by the Staff Selection Board may be so improved as to supply the above want of organization to some extent.

IV. REMEDIES.

I consider the suggested remedies are proper ones except emigration outside India which is *not desirable*.

Enclosure A.

The system of education given in the colleges and high schools in this country has, no doubt, done an immense amount of good to the people, and the direct and indirect benefits derived from it are, indeed, innumerable and incalculable; but it must be admitted that it is very defective still in some important respects. It cannot certainly be said to be particularly calculated to make the educated Hindu young men practical and businesslike, but, on the contrary, it may be easily perceived to have a tendency to make them more or less speculative, theoretical and visionary. This is undoubtedly a source of the greatest evil and misfortune to the country. All the mathematics, philosophy, and other studies of little or no practical and experimental character which are principally taught in the colleges and high schools, are not much calculated to stimulate and develop powers and habits of careful and accurate observation, and to produce sterling business habits which are indispensable for success in any undertaking, and useful to make men self-reliant, independent and really powerful. The Hindu mind from various causes and circumstances is found in most instances to be more of a speculative, theoretical and imaginative than of a practical character; and the system of education given in colleges and high schools in this country is not calculated to correct this weakness of the Hindu mind, but has, on the contrary, a tendency rather to confirm it.

The ordinary education and training received by the generality of Indian graduates in arts and laws, and the intellectual attainments possessed by them, are, no doubt, creditable in themselves; but it cannot be denied that they, by themselves, are too often found practically insufficient to enable the possessors to pass through life creditably amidst its stern realities, and its innumerable pressing and perplexing wants and difficulties, and in short to enable them to successfully fight the real battle of life.

Many of the educated Hindus, who may be able to elucidate obscure allusions in Shakespeare, to solve intricate problems in mathematics, to explain the structure and physical laws of distant worlds, and to learnedly propound the most profound and elaborate principles and theories of political and social sciences, are actually found to be more or less profoundly ignorant of some of

the most important subjects of every-day life and every-day cares—subjects connected with the most urgent and pressing wants of themselves, their families, and their country for which they often proclaim and display so much patriotic spirit. Many a graduate may be found to possess little or no idea, or at best a most hazy idea about many points of the greatest practical importance to himself, his family and his country, in connexion with such subjects as the production and distribution of food, clothes and other necessities, comforts and conveniences of life; and he may be found to have not as yet understood, or had an opportunity to understand, clearly whether the actual state of things with regard to such important matters connected with the welfare and happiness of himself, and his countrymen, is satisfactory or not, and whether there are any urgent wants about them, and whether it is possible or feasible to meet those wants, and improve the state of things, and if so, how, in what way, and by what means.

Such being unfortunately the case, it is evident that if it should be really and earnestly meant to promote the truest and the best interests of this country, a large proportion of the intelligent and educated young men in this country should, by all means possible, be encouraged to pay more practical attention to the necessity of their qualifying themselves for the various important industries which are calculated to develop and utilize the inexhaustible resources of this country, and thereby promote the material wealth and prosperity of the country which will soon lead to its prosperity in other respects also. They should by all means, ordinary and special, be induced to become good mechanics, good engineers, good agriculturists, manufacturers and merchants. What the country most needs at present are the best technical and industrial education planned on an enlightened, sound, and practical basis, and also the best possible encouragements and inducements for the introduction and promotion of important and needful industries in the country.

It should be well borne in mind by all the Indian graduates and others who have the welfare and elevation of India at their heart that the country cannot be made great in any important respect, unless its people have first made themselves great and rendered themselves self-reliant, independent, and powerful by introducing necessary changes and improvements in their social customs and institutions, and especially by their progress and achievements in industrial arts, commercial enterprise, and such other things which cannot fail to promote the material wealth and prosperity of the country, and gradually lead to its prosperity and elevation in all other respects also.

Handicraft is despised. The object of ambition, to use Gladstone's words, "is to escape from it into the supposed paradise of pen and ink". While the employment of some persons in public offices is useful to the whole community, their number ought not to be in excess of what is wanted. So far as food, clothing and

shelter are concerned, they are *consumers, not producers*. A nation does not become wealthy through mere quill-driving. England owes her prosperity largely to the attention paid to manufactures, agriculture and commerce; their neglect by the educated classes in India is one of the chief reasons why the circumstances of the people are so depressed.

*Written evidence of M.R. Ry. M. V. Bhimaraja Mudaliyar
Avargal, Chairman, Municipal Council, Gudiyattam, dated
the 14th September, 1926.*

I have the honour to state that the unemployment among the middle classes is very extensive and acute, that thousands of families have, I can say, become penniless and ruined. The Unemployment Committee, though belated, is just the one required to make suitable proposals for the alleviation of the sufferings of the helpless thousands, and I am of opinion that, whatever proposals are made by the Committee, it should be done without delay, and that Government also will be pleased to make sufficient and suitable provision for their adequate employment of them. Before proceeding further, the questions are replied.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

It is well known that unemployment exists among the middle classes.

(1) It is prevalent more among literary classes and most among S.S.L.C.'s and unqualified persons.

(2) But the technical and professional men whether qualified or unqualified have not suffered from unemployment.

(3) The mercantile and banking business—Nil.

(4) There is no unemployment amongst Indians educated in foreign countries.

II. CAUSES.

The causes of this unemployment are due—

(1) to the present system of education and it is defective in the following:—

For an average boy, it takes 10 years to become a S.S.L.C. and 14 years to become a graduate and with this literary education he seeks only employment elsewhere, for he is unable to earn his livelihood in any other way. Years of education make him unfit for any physical work and shy to any industry. But if at all any dares to become an industrial or mercantile man, he should learn the A B C of the business and has to undergo ups and downs on account of his ignorance before his business becomes

successful. Therefore it is imperative that the system of education should be completely overhauled and be made self-contained. That is, when he leaves the college or the school, he should be able to earn his livelihood either by employment if he gets one, or by his own self-work. What I mean is that the technical and professional classes should be made, for all practical purposes, a part of the study in his school or college career and never form a separate study after literary courses.

(2) Further in spite of years of education either in literary or in technology, the prospects offered in employments are comparatively less and the highest salary cannot be reached by the majority during the time of service. Therefore the remuneration offered should be not only increased at the initial stage but the final prospects be made more extensive.

(3) & (4) There is no want of fluidity among educated men, as I am aware that social causes will never operate on any against going to any part of the presidency, provided he is offered a salary quite sufficient to meet his expenses.

(5) The necessary organizations are also necessary and the educational institutions should always keep themselves in touch with the employment market, provided there are sufficient number of avocations vacant. The present system of education, the reduction of marks in English, the various alternative tests for qualification in the S.S.L.C. Examination and the holding of the Arts examinations twice in a year—all these have flooded the employment market, and it is impossible to find employments for the graduates, intermediates and S.S.L.C.'s and other professionals at the present rate of increase, unless some amendments are made to restrict the increase.

(6) The cost of education is as follows:—

	RS.
Graduate	4,000
Inter-mediate	3,000
S.S.L.C.	2,000
B.L.	6,000
B.C.E.	5,000
M.B.C.M.	7,000
L.M.S.	6,000

But deteriorating effect of the education is that a literate boy cannot find employment for his qualification and if at all he earns, it is comparatively less.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

As I have no statistics, I am unable to give any definite answers in respect of the questions under items (1), (2) and (3). But I am aware that the supply in literary classes exceeds the demand by more than three times and that the supply in technology is more or less equal and that the supply in mercantile and banking is less.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) Vocational training should be introduced in all colleges, secondary schools and higher elementary schools. But owing to financial consideration, the vocational training in selected centres in all localities should be started.

(2) Technical education should form part of the literary classes, and the specialisation of certain technical subject should form separate studies and examinations, and degrees or certificates for various subjects can be conferred in one and the same examination.

(3) The Employment Bureaux in colleges and Government offices should be established. Employment Bureaux of private agencies is not commendable.

(4) The courses of studies should be so arranged that the educated middle classes take themselves to agriculture, mechanical occupation and trade and commerce.

(5) Provision of more capital for agricultural development and making it within the reach of the ordinary men with sufficient security must be the course adopted, and the best means of securing that is—

- (1) by village reconstruction as means of employment,
- (2) by co-operative agriculture,
- (3) by farm colonies for middle classes.

Much can be written on the developments to be made in respect of the above. But capital is the primary thing that is wanted for middle classes and it should be found out by opening industrial and agricultural banks on co-operative basis for promoting home industries and handicrafts.

The production in these industries will have a sufficient demand, when spirit of co-operation is made to prevail.

(12) Emigration within British India and outside India can be made, if Government undertake to provide them with all facilities and requirements of life when they settle in emigrated lands.

(13) Finally I have to bring to notice that the question of the unemployment of the middle classes should be taken up with serious consideration as thousands of ruined families find it impossible to lift their heads in the world and require immediate steps taken to solve their difficulties.

(14) The following proposals to remedy the defects in the education system and in the employment are forwarded for consideration by the Committee:—

Defects in the Education System.

I (a) The model of text-books is to be changed so as to make the boy energetic, courageous and to exhibit the spirit of self-help and patriotism.

(b) There should be a public examination in the Third Form and there should be only one test in the S.S.L.C. Examination, viz., 35 per cent in all subjects.

(c) Vocational training should form part of studies up to the completion of secondary education, and technical and professional studies should also form part of studies in secondary and college courses.

(d) Double degrees should be conferred in a single examination.

(e) Higher studies in literary courses should be so arranged as to leave it only to a selected few.

Defects in the Employment System.

II (a) Railway department which employs a greater number of persons should be made to employ the services of qualified persons.

(b) There should be a central Employment Bureau for all departments wherein qualifications, literary and technical, are required.

(c) In district administrations preference should be given to persons of the locality in preference to the exported men from other districts.

(d) The heads of departments and the ministerial heads should be in proportion to the population of each district.

*Written evidence of Messrs. Binny & Co. (Madras), Limited,
dated the 14th August 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Our experience is that for nearly every vacancy which arises in any of the concerns under our management there are frequently dozens and in some cases literally hundreds of applicants, from which it would seem that unemployment does exist, among both qualified and unqualified persons.

We are unable to say whether unemployment is more prevalent in proportion among the literary or technical and professional classes or Indians educated in foreign countries than among the less well educated, though we think there is a tendency among the better educated to be rather too eclectic in their search for employment.

II. CAUSES.

We do not consider that the causes of unemployment can be attributed to any actual defects in the existing system of education itself. Unemployment at present seems to arise from an excess rather than a deficiency of qualified persons compared to the openings for employment available.

We are not however in a position to express an opinion as to whether the aims and objects of the present educational system may not require some adjustment, so as to direct students' attention to other openings in life besides the professions and mercantile business, which at present seem to be the only ones regarded as suitable. There is also perhaps rather too great a tendency to regard a certain course of education as an end in itself rather than a means to an end.

We should not attribute the cause of unemployment to the scale of remuneration obtainable or to want of fluidity or to want of organizations such as an absence of Information and Employment Bureaux.

We do not think such bureaux would prove of great practical help, except possibly to a restricted degree in appointments requiring exceptional qualifications. We think it probable, however, that appointments of this nature are so limited as to have little material effect on the general question of unemployment.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

We are not in a position to offer opinions on the points raised. In our own experience there appear to be far more persons with sufficient educational and technical qualifications than there is work to absorb them. The danger seems to be that the number of such persons increases year by year, as more students leave schools and colleges, while employment in commercial and industrial concerns does not expand in proportion.

IV. REMEDIES.

It must not be overlooked that the centres of employment of the kind usually sought for by the middle classes are mostly to be found only in the large towns of the Presidency and that these towns are very far apart, so that suitable openings of the sort required are insignificant in number compared to the extent of the Presidency as a whole.

There are wide tracts of country with a large population beyond the towns in which openings for employment in professional, industrial or commercial concerns on any large scale are practically non-existent, and this seems to suggest that one remedy for unemployment lies, not in training up youths with a view to their obtaining professional, commercial or industrial occupation in the towns, but in diverting them to the development of the natural resources of the country. Rural life in India, as compared with other countries, at present perhaps offers little scope or attraction for the better educated classes, but this need not necessarily be so, and the exploitation of rural occupations should react advantageously on village communities and relieve the pressure in the towns.

In the development of the natural resources of the country we would place first agriculture in its widest sense. There appears to be a field for activity not only in improved production of the essential food crops, but in the scientific cultivation and development of produce of an economic and commercial value, as well as the development and utilization of forest products.

The improvement and extension of the cotton crop in this Presidency would, for instance, seem to afford suitable avenues for employment of members of the middle classes. In an industry that should be of the first importance there would seem to be openings for more systematic and scientific cultivation and better control of the types of cotton grown. Cotton farms and plantations well conducted on an extensive scale should offer attractive and remunerative work to trained persons.

In another direction we would cite the mineral resources of the country. It might be found that a systematic survey of these would reveal potentialities in certain districts that, properly developed, would open up fresh avenues for employment for the educated middle classes away from the towns.

The development of occupations such as suggested would also be likely in course of time to offer increased opportunities for employment of students who have studied engineering, chemistry, geology, etc.

The development of agricultural occupations, however, would appear to afford perhaps the most promising means for relief of unemployment, even if it were only to divert the surplus population away from the already overcrowded trades and professions in the towns, but a difficulty, which is perhaps little susceptible to control, is the disinclination noticeable among the middle classes to adopt occupations which modern convention does not usually associate with them.

We are of opinion that emigration, other than in a strictly local sense, is unlikely to afford a suitable outlet except for the manual labourer.

*Written evidence of the Right Reverend the Bishop of Madras,
dated the 29th July 1926.*

[Note.—In these answers I have not dealt with the question of European and Anglo-Indian unemployment. That has been largely dealt with in the memorandum recently issued by Government and I have nothing new to say on the subject.]

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(1) From the figures which applicants give me of the number of competitors for every post, it seems to me that there is a very large amount of unemployment among the three classes (a), (b) and (c) mentioned under literary classes.

(2) (a) I think there is less unemployment among teachers than among other classes; but, as a rule, the teaching profession is not popular because of uncertainty of tenure, want of pension and smallness of pay coupled with the fact that it is a very exacting work.

(b) *Profession of law.*—This profession is very much overcrowded. Even if we except those who take up law with a view to managing their own property better or because it is not a Government profession, the number of lawyers is far in excess of the demand. This is evident also by the fact that any lawyer who wishes to be successful feels obliged to employ touts to bring clients.

(c) *Profession of medicine.*—There is no doubt that in Madras the number of doctors is excessive; but taking the profession as a whole there are not more doctors in the Presidency than are needed. The difficulty is in the mufassal towns and in the villages where the collection of fees is exceedingly difficult and men are not able to make an income which enables them to live on the scale to which they are accustomed.

(d), (e) & (f) *Engineering, agriculture and handicrafts.*—I have not come into contact with many applicants for these posts. In the two former, the appointments are few and specialized. Handicrafts are slowly getting a footing as a legitimate outlet for what are called literary classes, especially in connection with motoring.

(g) *Railways.*—As far as my experience goes, railways are able to employ a large number of applicants who go to them, if they are qualified. They would also take unqualified persons, but the latter generally find that the pay is less than the standard which they have set before themselves.

(3) Mercantile firms seem to take in a large number of persons who are qualified as clerks. There do not seem to be many openings for untrained men in this direction. Banks have lately been taking into employment highly trained men for special posts, and there is a very large number of applications for the posts.

(4) *Unemployment among Indians educated in foreign countries.*—Unless an Indian educated in a foreign country has already secured a job, it is very difficult for him to get one in India, as he expects a salary on a higher scale than can be obtained except in a very few cases. There seems also to be some confusion as to the proper place to apply to. I have had an application from a young man who was trained in Europe in scientific forestry. He was told at the India Office that he must apply in India. When he got to India, he was told he should have applied in London. I think that the question of recruitment for services which are now being Indianized should be gone into, and it should be made perfectly clear in which country application should be made. Confusion is probably due to the fact that we are at present in a state of transition, but I think the matter needs looking into.

II. CAUSES.

(1) The present system of education is defective not so much in curriculum but in ideals, and this defect is not entirely the fault of the Education Department, but is more due to the fact that English education is looked upon simply as an investment. It is expected to produce a pupil who is eligible at once for employment and will be able to make a speedy return of the capital which has been laid out on his education. Our educational system was originally started with the avowed object of training young men who could act as clerks under the East India Company. Naturally the people so trained expected jobs at the end of their training, and the bad tradition that a job awaits every school boy at the end of his school career has never been eradicated. There is little or no ideal of education as an end in itself or as a training of character, and it is difficult to see how this could be attained. Education which is avowedly secular naturally does not cater first for character but for efficiency. Another fact which tends in the same direction is the great importance which attaches to his passing an examination. No one is qualified for most jobs unless he has passed a particular examination. The reaction, on pupils and teachers both, naturally militates against real education. This makes itself felt also in social life as is evidenced by the value attached in the marriage market to passing examinations. A minor difficulty is the question of the medium of instruction. Parents demand that their children should know English. The result is that before they thoroughly master English they are required to learn subjects in English. It is exceedingly difficult to know how to meet this; if the study of English were postponed, there would be an outcry among parents and pupils and pressure is constantly put on the school to provide more English. This is proved by the fact that in higher elementary schools, in spite of any regulations to the contrary, the course is practically the same as in Anglo-vernacular lower secondary schools. This question has been occupying the anxious attention of the Education department for a long time, but no solution has yet appeared. Another defect in education which is exceedingly difficult to remedy is the fact that the whole thing is one system. Whether a school is elementary low or high, or secondary lower or higher, the whole course tends to be one section of the degree examination. There is no conception yet of elementary education which is complete as an elementary education and is not merely a section of the high school. Here, again, the Education department have to contend with a great deal of prejudice, because every parent who sends his child to school at all has a vision that he may ultimately blossom out as a B.A. and be the mainstay of the family for the rest of his life. Probably the best point to attack is the teacher. The teaching profession is very underpaid both in the elementary and higher divisions and the best men are not

attracted to it. The training of teachers also might be with advantage extended. If the rewards to be gained at the end were adequate there would be less prejudice against the extension.

(2) *Remuneration offered.*—The main considerations in taking employment are (i) its permanence, and (ii) pension. I think that in the teaching profession the emoluments are considered too small; the main consideration is the reputation which an employment carries with it. Men are not willing or are not allowed by their families to do as young men do in business in England, where they start on a nominal salary in the hopes of gradually rising in a firm. One of the chief causes of this is the requirement of the marriage market. Parents do not give their daughters to a young man who has got a salary below what is considered the market value of his education or who is in employment which does not rank in prestige with Government service.

(3) *Want of fluidity.*—It is perfectly true that in each district great pressure is exercised that the staffs of offices shall as far as possible be local men. To this must be added the dislike of many Indians to live far away from their homes even in the Madras Presidency. This does not apply to more highly-paid appointments as, e.g., police and revenue officers, and does not apply equally to all castes of Hindus or to Muhammadans.

(4) *Social causes.*—I know of no social cause which operates directly on the question of unemployment.

(5) *Want of organization.*—Very few applicants for employment get information from Employment Bureaux and I should say practically none from educational institutions. They rely almost exclusively on more or less private information obtained from friends in the places where they desire to get employment. It would doubtless be a good thing if schools were encouraged to receive lists of vacancies but in practice it would not help very much, because the examination results do not appear until after the pupils have severed their connexion with their schools and are scattered widely.

(6) The cheapest career is the educational which only requires a course of one or two years' training as a teacher and stipends are provided. Medical and law courses require in the higher branches at least two and four years respectively at the Arts College before the special training. This makes the medical and legal professions expensive. There is no special training for commercial subjects which is at all universally taken. One of the chief aims of candidates for the various professions is that they may get out of as many years training as possible and begin to earn as soon as possible.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) *Vocational training and selection in schools.*—I think it is fairly agreed that any real vocational training cannot be done at school until the candidate has passed through the middle school

and that only very little useful work can be done in the high school. Employers when asked what special teaching should be given to future employees in school always reply that they want them to be able to read and write English properly and to be reasonably intelligent.

(2) *Technical education.*—There is a great scope here for Government to do more in the way of opening technical and industrial schools and giving scholarships to boys direct from schools.

(3) *Employment or Information Bureaux in connection with the Staff Selection Board* would I think be useful; but they will have gradually to win their way in the confidence of the people.

(4) *Diversion of middle classes—(a) Agriculture.*—Government will do a service if they attempt it, but they will find it exceedingly difficult.

(b) *Mechanical occupations.*—This is already to a certain extent a fact especially in motor-engineering and electrical engineering. Judicious help in this direction would probably be most effective.

(c) *Trade and commerce.*—This also is possible, but it requires the co-operation of the commercial firms; and there are many reasons why they will not be very anxious to take candidates selected by other bodies; they prefer to choose their own men. But I think that if higher technical schools were opened to prepare boys for such occupations the firms would naturally turn to them first.

(5) to (11) I have not sufficient experience in these matters to give an opinion on them.

(12) *Emigration.*—Either inside British India or outside it would in my opinion best be left to the individuals. Any scheme of assisted emigration raises so many difficult questions and saddles Government with so many responsibilities that it is best to leave it alone; but Government should not relax their efforts to see that moral and physical care is taken of emigrants.

Oral evidence of the Right Reverend the Bishop of Madras, dated the 15th November 1926.

The PRESIDENT: Q.—You say at the beginning of your evidence that the teaching profession is not popular because of uncertainty of tenure. Is it more uncertain than any other profession?

A.—Yes. If a teacher does not fill a gap, he may be given notice, while in the case, for example, of Government service, a case should be made out before the present employee can be sent away.

Q.—I suppose the local bodies too have a fairly large staff of teachers employed under them?

A.—Yes; even there they are not so safe as those in Government service, for they are at the mercy of individuals.

Q.—In regard to unemployment among Indians you say that there seems to be some confusion as to the proper place for students trained in Europe to apply to. Have you any other instances in support of the statement?

A.—I know of a person who has spent a good deal of money and has specialized in some subjects who applied in England for a Government post and was told to apply in India. In India he was told that he ought to have applied in England.

Q.—Then you say that the people trained under the present educational system expected jobs at the end of their training. How are you going to eradicate that?

A.—I think that the natural remedy would be an advance in the manufacturing and industrial life of the country. The idea of looking round for a job, for a natural employment like the boys of the schools in London who work at first without any pay and then receive some pay on learning the job, is absent in India where a boy as soon as he gets out of school expects to find a job which is paid according to his idea of his market value and to go on for ever in it till he gets the pension.

Q.—Do you think that the present state of unemployment has something to do with the system of early marriage?

A.—Yes; the boys cannot take a job without pay and work as apprentices. There are also special caste disabilities at work. The boy gets his responsibilities too early in life; if he is a Hindu he has got to be married early, and especially in Southern India, to educate the next son or daughter and also to discharge the debts of the father. In that way a boy is considered as a regular family investment.

Q.—You say that the best men are not attracted to the teaching profession because of the low pay offered. If the pay were better would there be openings?

A.—I think that that is one opening which is not fully used. I believe I am right in saying that only one-third of the teachers in the Presidency are trained men. The place of untrained teachers is taken up by people who have failed in other walks of life and have taken to teaching as a last resort. There is an opening for a large number of people if they would undergo training and if the profession were sufficiently attractive and remunerative. I believe that that is an unexplored field. A number of people might be absorbed in the teaching profession.

Q.—But do you realise that unless a person is a B.A., L.T. he cannot entertain hopes of getting into the profession and that people less educated are not needed?

A.—I was thinking more of the S.S.L.C.'s and the teachers of elementary schools. They have not been absorbed because of the comparatively low standard of their education which does not make them fit for clerkships. We have got to face the fact that these elementary teachers are worse paid than domestic servants.

Mr. R. G. GRIEVE: Q.—One point that should be noted is the financial aspect that is involved in the question of improving the status of teachers. It costs us Rs. 8 lakhs if we pay each teacher a rupee more than he gets at present. Can you suggest a way to find the money?

A.—I am glad that it is not my job to do it. But the low pay of teachers is really a blot on the whole system and it is my duty to point it out now.

Rao Bahadur S. K. SUNDARACHARLU: Q.—Your Lordship refers to the demand of the parents for a knowledge of English on the part of their children, even in lower classes. You do not advocate the abolition of English altogether as the medium of instruction?

A.—No. I do not, but I think personally that a boy better understands what the teacher is talking about in the vernacular than in English, but we are faced with the fact that the more profitable language is English and the parents will not be fond of vernacular education. But sure it is that it puts back the pupil who does not understand the language in which the subject is taught and so cannot understand the subject either. But the parents are unwilling to pay for the two or three extra years which such education will really imply; and so, the pupil has to go on as far as possible and because he has not advanced far enough in English, he will have to learn things by heart. It will be found that a little knowledge of English is necessary for any profession that a person takes up.

Rao Sahib A. HANUMANTHA RAO: Q.—In your evidence you talk of an Information Bureau connected with the Staff Selection Board. Is it your idea that it should do advertising work for staff selection?

A.—No. I was only considering a possibility. I only answered the question whether an Employment Bureau would be a good remedy. I do not think much would be gained by advertising in the schools. Vacancies come to be known through friends in the several offices, and I doubt whether advertisements to the schools as vacancies occur would help. My suggestion is that the headmaster of an institution should be informed beforehand what probable vacancies there are and with what qualification applicants should apply each year. At present, only when boys leave the

school they think of their future career. Under the system that I suggest they will be able to know some two years before they leave school what the probable vacancies are.

Q.—At present, the Staff Selection Board publishes a notification and the notification is advertised also for selection of staff in Government service. Will that not suffice?

A.—I was thinking more of an Employment Advisory Bureau to enable the headmasters and through them the parents to have an idea of the market, say, two years hence, what sort of vacancies arise, rather than leaving it for individual posts to be advertised as men are needed.

Mr. C. GOPALA MENON: Q.—You refer to the difficulty in the collection of fees in the medical profession in the mufassal. Do you mean that the fees are high and that it would be more advisable to have doctors who have received training in Ayurvedic and Unani systems?

A.—No, I did not mean that. I only referred to the professional feeling against haggling about their fees. The fees being fixed in the case of the doctors they do not like to haggle about them. Even the Ayurvedic and Unani men will have to bargain for fees. I meant that there was some difficulty in the mufassal in collecting fees and making an income out of the profession.

Q.—Probably the Ayurvedic and Unani men will be more popular in these areas on account of that?

A.—It is a question of which treatment is going to win. People never stick right through to one kind of treatment.

Q.—Your Lordship says that examinations are given too much prominence in this country?

A.—True.

Q.—Is it not so in England and other countries?

A.—I think that the poison is infecting England to some extent. I do not think that even there we have yet got a system where the end and aim of education is passing of examinations.

Q.—Your Lordship says that more technical or vocational schools should be started in order to popularise technical education. Is it your Lordship's suggestion that the education must be made as cheap as possible?

A.—No, I have not mentioned it.

Q.—I only put it as a suggestion to your Lordship?

A.—In many cases, of course, scholarships and stipends are provided by Government or private bodies. I doubt, however, whether it will be possible to make education cheaper from the parents' point of view. I distinguish entirely between vocational education, industrial education and manual training. Vocational education will be education which gives some sort of bias towards

manual work not with the idea of training in any particular line but with the idea of making a person adaptable to any profession. Technical education is teaching the theory of a profession and would be preparatory to taking a course, say, in electrical engineering. Industrial education is totally different. It would imply the actual training in an industry supplemented by evening classes and fitting the boy to be an apprentice in due course. I believe that the state of industrial education at present should be improved if the question of unemployment should be relieved. Technical education will take care of itself and the Trades School in Madras will suffice. What we have to do is to attract people who pass through the Middle School course and put them in an industrial course, so that they can learn select trades. For example, there is a great future before the motor and electrical trades. For people to be attracted to this line I do not think a general education beyond the middle school will be necessary. I suggest that there should be separate institutions for separate branches.

Q.—Is there any suggestion to attract educated young men to agriculture?

A.—The present system of subdivision of holdings, the continual partition of estates till they become hardly sufficient to support a family is ruining agriculture at present, and if a system to stop this is devised, the difficulty can be remedied.

Written evidence of J. E. Bisset, Esq., Malayalam Plantations, Limited, Kardoor Estate, Meppadi, Malabar, dated the 5th August 1926.

The Malayalam Plantations, Limited, own ten tea estates in this, and the Nilgiri Wynaad districts, and on each of these estates we employ on an average two to three clerks in the estate office, one tea maker in charge of the factory, and an assistant, also a mechanic, three to four field writers, who supervise the field work, and one compounder in charge of the medical arrangements—about 11 to 12 men per estate.

The rates of pay paid to the above employees is approximately—

Office Clerk,	from Rs. 30 to Rs. 110	per month with free house.
Tea Makers,	from Rs. 30 to Rs. 120	do.
Mechanics,	from Rs. 50 to Rs. 90	do.
Field writers,	from Rs. 25 to Rs. 100	do.
Compounders,	from Rs. 45 to Rs. 90	do.

Over and above our company now pay the native staff a bonus for satisfactory work for the year, and they get free medical attendance, and 3 weeks to one month leave per year. We find it very difficult to get suitable men who can be trusted to do their work satisfactorily, the reason generally given is, that this district is too far away from any large town, and rather unhealthy for three to four months in the year. I consider that more technical and industrial education should be given in the schools.

*Written evidence of the Chamber of Commerce, Madras,
dated the 24th August 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

There is no doubt that considerable unemployment exists among the middle classes and it appears to be prevalent in all the grades mentioned and among both qualified and unqualified persons. [We exclude classes (2) (a) teachers, (b) profession of law, (c) profession of medicine and (e) profession of agriculture, of which we do not feel qualified to speak.]

We cannot express any opinion as to whether there is unemployment specially among Indians educated in foreign countries who have returned to this country, but we do not think that the numbers are sufficiently large to affect this question one way or the other.

II. CAUSES.

We take it that the word "education" is to be understood in this case purely in its scholastic sense, and, if that is so, from the point of view of mercantile and industrial interests the present system of education appears to be adequate and does not, we think, affect the question of unemployment. If education is to be understood in the broader sense of formation of character by the inculcation of discipline, development of a high moral standard, etc., with which any system of scholastic education can only partly cope even under the most favourable conditions and which is therefore largely a question of home and social influence, we should be inclined to modify this view, and in this connection we refer you to our remarks in paragraph (4) below dealing with social causes.

(2) Small remuneration is apparently not one of the causes as there is never a shortage of persons willing to fill vacancies on the salaries now paid.

(3) Generally in our experience applicants do not object to taking up appointments in other parts not adjacent to their native places, but we consider that linguistic difficulties may to some extent hamper free movement among the middle classes. In view, however, of the very general knowledge of the English language among the inhabitants of this Presidency, this disability can only apply in isolated cases and cannot affect the state of unemployment to any noticeable extent, more especially as there are not, within our knowledge, any districts free from unemployment to which the unemployed could profitably migrate.

(4) Under this head may be mentioned that there is probably a very large number of surplus "clerks" who would consider all manual or mechanical occupations as degrading, and would rather, in the case of Hindus, avail themselves of the privilege of being supported by others if they are members of an undivided family, which, according to Western standards, would be considered more

degrading than manual labour. The case would be very different if such persons were obliged to work or starve, and in our opinion the social system of the undivided family operates inimically in that it tends in many cases to destroy any normal impulse to seek occupation.

Quite apart, however, from any personal disinclination on the part of the individual to engage in work involving manual labour, the influence of public opinion must have great weight in deciding the individual's mental attitude towards this subject. Consequently we consider that the social code of the middle classes reacts unfavourably on unemployment and that this, combined with the domestic education at present obtaining, is the key to the whole situation. There are, we believe, already signs that at some future date the ideas and ideals of the Indian middle classes will undergo some modification, but the subject is so large that it cannot be dealt with here except superficially, and there appears to be little or no prospect of anything but a very gradual broadening of outlook in the matter under discussion.

(5) We do not consider that unemployment can be attributed to the absence of Information or Employment Bureaux, except possibly to a very limited extent. We would not go so far as to say that their establishment would be entirely valueless, but we are of opinion that the results would not justify the expenditure.

The cause of unemployment appears to resolve itself simply into a question of supply and demand. For every vacant post there is invariably a very large number of applicants, both qualified and unqualified.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1), (2) & (3) There are apparently already more persons qualified than can be given employment so that the establishment of special educational courses or of Unemployment Bureaux is not likely to improve matters to any appreciable extent.

(4) (a) & (b) As regards the suggested diversion to agriculture and mechanical occupations, we doubt whether the "middle classes" generally would consider these suitable occupations, but if the objection to manual labour could be overcome such diversions should go far to overcome the unemployment now prevalent among them.

In view of the enormous preponderance of agricultural occupation over all other forms of employment in India, it appears to us that the remedy for unemployment could definitely be found in this direction if a means could be devised of reconciling class prejudices with the nature of the work offering, or of utilising the middle classes in agricultural operations without violating their scruples, but we are unable to suggest any method of reconciling on any appreciable scale what are apparently mutually antagonistic principles.

(c) In trade and commerce there are already large numbers of the middle classes and we do not think there is any further scope in these directions.

(5), (7), (8) & (9) We consider that the development of agriculture would assist in relieving unemployment among the middle classes to the extent of the clerical staff; etc., that would be required, but it is unlikely that the manual work in connection with such development would attract them.

(6), (10) & (11) We do not think that these suggested remedies would be likely to prove of practical value.

12 (a) There is already considerable emigration within British India and we do not know how far this could be extended; it would depend upon the extent of unemployment in other parts of India.

(b) We are unable to express an opinion with any confidence but we are inclined to the view that suitable occupations for Indians overseas have already been exploited to the fullest extent at present possible, chiefly by emigration from other provinces.

*Written evidence of the Rev. J. S. Chandler, Kodaikanal,
dated the 13th August 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(1) There is unemployment among graduates, rather than among those of lower educational qualifications, because they are more willing to take whatever offers than graduates are. Christians, being fewer in number, have a better chance than non-Christians in Mission schools. But before the war I tried two years before I could get a Christian graduate for the Collector's office in Madura to accept an offered place. And then the man I secured had passed only a part of the B.A. examinations, and had to pass the other after taking up work. I have heard of a Brahman village where there are Brahman graduates who would take work at a starting pay of Rs. 10. The Rev. Van Person of Muscat tells me that Indian graduates in Arabia would be glad to take the post of Postmaster in Muscat if they could get it.

(4) It is hard for some Indians educated in foreign countries to get employment that will furnish them the living they want and bught to have after adopting foreign ways of living. The cause is their foreign training. I do not know the extent.

II. CAUSES.

(1) Theoretically the present system of education does not seem to me so very defective. But practically it is restricted by the poor ideals of the community, some of them being false. It is judged by its wage-earning efficiency. Many a good subject is

taken by few, while useless subjects for them are taken because the chance of passing is supposed to be greater. Latin is studied for that reason by some who use it simply to get a pass.

The vernaculars, which would be universally helpful, are poorly supported, while expensive English courses, supposed to bring a larger income, are more generally sought after.

(3) Want of fluidity seems to me a very potent cause of unemployment. It results from differences of language, of family customs, and especially from differences of caste.

One of the teachers in our Language School had a good place in Travancore, but left it to turn to his native place in the Madura district, because of the strange customs and distance from his relatives.

A young man came to me to-day, who had no means to pursue an education, so he is living on his parents and trying to keep his father's school while the father is ill.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) Here, as in II (1), the system is working in the direction of securing employment, but the boys are trying to use it for becoming teachers rather than workers.

(5) This and the other proposals have much of value in them. Many villages suffer for want of water. In the time of the old Dindigul Local Fund Board, of which I was a member, I was able to get advance money in small sums for wells in several places, where there had been none before. Some of those wells have now been in operation for forty years.

*Written evidence of M.R.Ry. C. V. Chandrasekhara Ayyar
Avargal, Thycaud, Trivandrum, dated the 14th August 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

There is unemployment to a considerable extent but to a much greater extent there is lack of remunerative employment. Both exist among all the classes mentioned in 1 (1) and in 2 (a) and (b) in the following order of intensity:—

- (1) Unqualified persons.
- (2) S.S.L.C.'s and intermediates.
- (3) Graduates.
- (4) Lawyers.
- (5) Teachers.

(4) To a very small extent there is unemployment among Indians educated in foreign countries who have returned to this country. This is quite a recent phenomenon and it is only in its earliest stage at present. It is partly due to young men of insufficient preliminary qualifications going abroad and taking

ordinary pass degrees and returning to find that their qualifications are considered to be no better than those of men with local degrees. It is partly also due to the lack of scope in India for men who return with some special training in some branch of industry.

II. CAUSES.

The causes are—

(1) Defects in the present system of education. The main defect is the predominance of English. So much time and energy has to be spent on the study of English that nothing else can be effectively done. A sound school education should develop the spirit of enterprise and the willingness to break away, if necessary, from traditions and conventions in the matter of choice of occupation. What is needed is good secondary education and this can only be obtained when the vernacular becomes the medium of secondary education though English may be retained as a compulsory second language. I am opposed to vocational education in the secondary stage. A good general training should be acquired before vocational training is undertaken.

University education is also hampered by the excessive attention that has to be devoted to English.

The University should provide facilities for taking courses in technological and commercial subjects. The courses should be controlled and supervised by industrialists and business men and should be such as to inspire their confidence.

(2) Lack of a large and varied field of employment is perhaps the most important cause. How the field can be widened and diversified will be considered later.

(3) The social causes are also important. They put a circle round the mind of the Indian youth. They paralyse the spirit of adventure and enterprise. Government service continues still to be regarded as the most valuable asset in the matrimonial market. The dependence on the caste and the family weakens the spirit of individualism and self-assertion. Early marriage and an excessive number of children conduce to moral and economic depression.

(4) The lack of grit and determination on the part of the Indian youths is another cause. It is due partly to social causes and partly to the defective education. To take his coat off and roll up his sleeves, to begin right at the bottom of the ladder and work his way up, he is not ready. A 'safe' Government job is more attractive.

(5) Want of organization such as absence of information mentioned in II (5) is one of the minor less important causes. The new Madras University Act reconstituted the Senate by including in it the Director of Agriculture, Director of Industries and representatives of Chambers of Commerce. But the possibilities of such co-operation have so far been lost sight of. The University with the help of the Government might organize an Employment Bureau.

(6) Literary education is too cheap; perhaps it is the cheapest in the world. Hence the supply is far greater than the demand.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) *Vide supra*.

(2) Technical education should follow a sound secondary education.

(4) (a) The facilities for training in agriculture on modern lines should be enormously increased and the men so trained should be given large enough holdings to enable them to apply modern methods successfully. The land required for this may be obtained by disafforestation.

(b) Yes; training as foremen and supervisors, e.g., in Railway Workshops. The conditions should be sufficiently attractive for the middle-class educated youth. Facilities for training in mechanical and electrical engineering should be provided on a large enough scale.

(c) *Vide supra*. A college of commerce should be started with an advisory board of business men.

(5), (7) & (9) are worth attempting.

Written evidence of M.R.Ry. Rao Sahib K. Chantan Avargal, Chairman, Municipal Council, Cannanore, dated the 29th July 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

I am emphatically of opinion that unemployment exists among the middle classes. The question is a serious problem. I think that this is a question that has to be left to experienced and expert statesmen for solution.

(1) It is prevalent amongst literary classes, amongst them in (a) graduates, (b) especially amongst S.S.L.C.'s and intermediates and (c) unqualified persons.

(2) & (3) There is not so much difficulty felt among these two classes to secure employment as in class (1). Persons trained in technical subjects secure employment more easily.

(4) Indians educated in foreign countries are seldom unemployed.

For appointments carrying small salaries and even for temporary posts on small pay a large number of applications is received from S.S.L.C.'s and intermediates. Very many applicants especially S.S.L.C.'s and unqualified men create vacancies in their imagination and put in applications for posts thus created by them. This is good evidence to show that the problem of unemployment is very acute.

II. CAUSES.

The supply is undoubtedly more than the demand. This is one of the causes for unemployment. Demand should therefore be increased.

(1) The present system of education is also partly responsible for unemployment. Thousands of boys are turned out every year from schools and colleges. Most of these boys are too poor to continue their studies for higher education and they leave the school from the S.S.L.C.'s class. Many of them are unfit for employment in Government and other offices and they remain without any employment. When a boy joins a secondary school it should be ascertained whether he is in a position to continue his studies for higher education. If not, he should be taught only in some technical subjects, such as industry, agriculture, commerce, etc., according to his taste.

Government should spend large amount of money and make arrangements in all the schools to give facilities for education in these technical subjects. The boys trained in these subjects will not find much difficulty to secure employment.

(2) Unemployment is not due to small remuneration offered by the employers.

(3) Unemployment is not due to want of fluidity. There are very many youngsters of Malabar, especially of this town, who have taken up appointments in Burma, Ceylon, Singapore, Malaya State and East and South Africa. Very many have gone to these places in search of employment.

(4) It is not due to social causes.

(5) The points noted in this clause have nothing to do with unemployment.

IV. REMEDIES.

Most of the remedies suggested are good. If Government are prepared to spend money sufficient for the purpose the solution of the problem of unemployment is easy.

(1) & (2) I would lay stress on those subjects. It is mainly by vocational training and technical education that the industry and commerce can be advanced and this would give employment to thousands of middle classes.

(3) The unemployed and their supporters are shrewd enough to find out vacancies. Employment or Information Bureaux does not seem to be necessary.

(4) Diversion of middle classes to (b) and (c) will be helpful to get employment for them; but diversion to agriculture will hardly produce any good result. Agriculture is not a paying concern. Without capital agriculture is useless. Educated middle classes are generally poor and have an aversion to agriculture.

(5) Provision of more capital for agriculture will be useful, but the middle class will not take to agriculture for its own sake. If Government are prepared to create several appointments in the department the middle classes would welcome them. This will give some relief.

(6) & (7) I doubt whether it is feasible to give relief by this method.

(8) & (9) These deserve trial; but I think it will be a failure.

(10) & (11) This is a good idea.

(12) Suggestion for emigration both within British India and outside India is an excellent one. This will give great relief to the unemployed middle class.

(13) I would suggest the creation of an Indian navy which will, I think, absorb the bulk of the unemployed.

Written evidence of M.R.Ry. Rao Bahadur J. Chelvaranga Raju Avargal, Pensioned Deputy Director of Agriculture, Saidapet, dated the 15th August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

The term 'middle classes' appears to me to be a very elastic one. Nearly 70 per cent of the population in this Presidency depend directly or indirectly on agriculture for their subsistence. Nearly 80 per cent of these ryots pay less than Rs. 10 assessment. On an average each ryot pays only Rs. 4 or thereabouts as assessment. So far as regards the general population.

If the educated classes are taken into consideration as the covering letter to the questionnaire indicates, the great majority of the educated are from families that are not destitute but decidedly poor. Several who attend the educational institutions may be from the families of the lowest and worst paid grades of public service. The sons of high officials and of those who are engaged in trade and sons of teachers, medical men, etc., can however be said to be comfortably off and these can be styled therefore under educated middle classes.

(1) Unemployment certainly prevails amongst literary classes (a) amongst graduates, (b) S.S.L.C.'s and intermediates and (c) unqualified persons.

If we take the figures of 1920-21 and scrutinise the number of scholars (Indian) in different stages of education in this Presidency, it would appear that for every 200 scholars one is in the collegiate arts, for every 5,460 one is in oriental colleges, for every 807 one is in professional colleges, for every 10 one is in secondary schools, for every 100 eighty are in elementary schools, for every 590 one is in technical school higher, for every 1,149 one is in technical school lower, for every 1,370 one is in medical schools, for every 4,381 one is in engineering school and for every 177 one is in training school.

The above will show that the great majority are those who are in the elementary schools and it is a good deal of these that remain without employment.

I would class unemployment into (a) enforced unemployment and (b) chance unemployment.

(2) There is unemployment in the (1) qualified and (2) unqualified technical and professional classes.

(4) So far as agricultural education is concerned, there is, I know, unemployment amongst Indians educated in foreign countries who have returned to this country. I am aware of nearly thirty of those who have returned from other countries after qualifying themselves in agricultural degrees remaining unemployed. The causes are that they are not given opportunities when vacancies are filled up in the Agricultural department. Either Europeans are preferred for such employments or they are offered very low salaries to start with. As a good portion of their money is already spent up in the foreign education they are unable to take to agriculture as a profession or any other business.

II. CAUSES.

The present system of education is certainly defective in that all educational institutions are worked out in the same unbending line marked out by the Educational department. The youths at present are cast as if it were in the same educational mould. The educational system is not fit to satisfy the special requirements of different classes of communities and according to the requirements of different tracts or districts. The sole aim at present appears that the education aims at qualifying the men trained or passed out of institutions for definite employments especially for Government service. Too great uniformity of standards and the keeping of all schools in one defined line acts injuriously on the pupils.

The education given is not according to the despatch of 1854. It states that "increased attention to vernacular schools indigenous or otherwise for elementary education should be paid. Attention of Government is specially directed to placing the means of acquiring *useful* and practical knowledge within the reach of the great mass of people. The English language is to be the medium of instruction in the higher branches and the vernacular in the lower branches. English is to be taught wherever there is a demand for it, but it is not to be substituted for the vernacular language of the country."

At present education which will satisfy the requirements of ordinary life of the bulk of the population is not given. Even in the case of primary and elementary education, attempts have not been made to give such education as to set the mind to work and to fit the person for the elementary duties of their hereditary profession and calling. The present system of education drives the pupils away from their ancestral callings. As has already been pointed out, nearly 70 per cent of the population depend directly or indirectly on agriculture and nearly 17½ per cent attend to industrial

pursuits. The education given in the elementary schools instead of attracting the young minds towards the above pursuits tends to drive them away and a hatred is created in the young minds to these pursuits. They think that the above callings are derogatory. A great percentage of those attending schools are obliged to discontinue their studies in the III and IV Forms. Such are unfit for their ancestral calling or for any appointments. These therefore do not benefit themselves by the education now given. A varied system of education is not given. The want of a business education, the want of an education which will lead one to restrain his tendencies to borrow, the want of an education leading to a study of rural economy account for the present defects.

(2) Not solely.

(3) No. Applicants very freely go from one part of this Presidency to different parts of India and even to foreign places like Singapore, Penang. Even amongst uneducated this is very common.

(4) No.

(5) No. There is no necessity for an Employment Bureau. A simple advertisement for a ticket collector's place in one of the dailies brings in more than 400 to 500 applications.

(6) Given in the Administration Report of the Public Instruction.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

(1) (a) Answer given to I (1) will furnish some idea.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) *Vocational training and selection in schools.*—Unless this forms part and parcel of all elementary schools, matters will not improve much. Separate schools for this purpose will entail large cost and the remedy even, if adopted, will improve only a small percentage.

(2) *Technical education.*—The present system does not appear to have improved matters much, as will be seen from the figures given under I (1).

(3) Not necessary.

(4) As has already been pointed out, the term 'middle classes' is very elastic in my opinion. Diversion to (a), (b) and (c) is impossible in later stages. The education given in primary standards, i.e., the course of instruction, could be rendered acceptable to the above and much more useful by the introduction of a greater number of lessons of practical interest bearing on the occupations and daily concerns of rural districts and urban population. For example, simple lessons on field and garden crops, operations and implements, in accounts and dealings in money to show the impropriety of borrowing and extravagant expenditure in marriages, deaths, etc., on the degrading state of dependance on money-lenders and the like will be very valuable.

It is also desirable to pay attention to local weights and measures. Simple lessons on religious matters (secular education) and on rules of conduct or such as can inspire the youths with a sense of their duties and future responsibilities as citizens should also form a part of the reading lessons. If the above is laid as foundation in the elementary school education, the remedies suggested in 4 (a), (b) and (c) will naturally follow.

(5) By the introduction and establishment of *co-operative village banks* which satisfy the conditions of proximity, security and facility and by the starting of village associations that are consonant with the village life and associated village effort which will tend to promote unselfishness, mutual assistance and self-help as principles of life.

(6), (7) & (8) These will follow from the above.

(9) *Development of banking in connection with extension of agriculture.*—It is an illusion to think that extension or improvement of agriculture and the difficulty of the agriculturists could be solved as soon as *banks only* are started and cheap credit is introduced through the banks. Unless qualities which tend to the promotion and enforcement of rural thrift, prudence and carefulness in the borrowing are developed in the agriculturists and other population by education and preaching by intelligent persons, mere development of banking will be next to useless.

(10) The industrial, trading and professional classes in the mufassal are, in my opinion, in a very low level. Hence small capital for small trades and small industries is in demand. The village banks that can help the agriculturists can also help the industrial classes in the villages. The promotion of rural home industries and handicrafts is very essential and money can be lent from the same banks to these.

(11) Co-operative production and distribution is good, but there are some difficulties in the matter of obtaining a uniform standard or quality of produce from all cultivators. For instance, there are several varieties of paddy and cotton grown by ryots. These again are of different grades and purity. Until some device is made to improve the quality and obtain a uniform standard, the co-operative sale and distribution of agricultural produce will be difficult.

To start with, a commencement can be made in preventing the selling of produce at the harvest time to meet kist and old borrowings as per contract and storing in grain by co-operative methods in a central store and selling later on when markets are favourable can be attempted.

(12) Emigration both within and outside British India should be stopped. The chief cause for emigration is want of some considerations and concessions by landowners, ryots, etc., to labouring classes. It is possible to cement the ties of both the parties by better methods, by co-operative methods when the causes that tend to emigration can be minimised a good deal.

Written evidence of M.R.Ry. V. K. Chelli Garu, No. 38, Errabaku Chelli Street, Madras, dated the 13th August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(1) There is unemployment more amongst the literary classes, which consist of graduates, S.S.L.C.'s and intermediates than among the unqualified persons, who have studied up to School Final or less.

(2) (a) I don't think there are many teachers (L.T.'s) who are unemployed.

(b) Of course, as many of the lawyers follow the profession of law in name, they could not technically be called out of employment, although by reason of over-crowding in it about three-fourths get a very small income which is very inadequate for the amount spent on their education.

(c) I am not in a position to say anything except that the medical men in Madras get on well and there are only some L.M.P.'s in the mufassal who are unemployed.

(d) I cannot give any definite opinion of it.

(e) There are very few qualified men who are agriculturists by profession and I think except a few England-returned men all are getting on well.

(f) At present there is no unemployment amongst handicraftsmen and weavers. They seem to get on well.

(3) Even amongst trained persons in the mercantile line including insurance, accountancy and banking, there is unemployment to some extent.

(4) There is unemployment problem amongst Indians educated in foreign countries who have returned home, as only those who take the I.C.S. or a medical degree get a decent job. Those that are called to the bar or take other diplomas are not generally well off. The men after spending a lot of money naturally expect an appointment with a decent salary and it is not always that such a job is available.

II. CAUSES.

(1) The unemployment amongst literary classes is due to the present system of education, inasmuch as every parent who wishes to see his children educated is compelled to give them a literary course which unfits them for any technical work and as there are no other openings except a literary career. In the present system of education much attention is not devoted to technical and commercial subjects.

(2) Amongst literary classes, the remuneration offered or realized is utterly inadequate to the amount spent on young men.

(3) A person from one part of this Presidency has no facilities nor means of obtaining information regarding chances of employment in other parts of the Presidency; nor do the employers have

any means of getting at men who possess the necessary qualifications. An Employment Bureau to keep in touch with qualified men is absolutely essential, the want of which is the primary cause of unemployment amongst literary classes as well as technical and professional classes.

(4) Owing to the rigidity of caste customs, members of the higher caste feel disinclined to follow occupations which involve mechanical skill and training. They do not follow the avocations to which they have natural inclinations and aptitude.

(5) The absence of an Employment Bureau in the chief towns of the Presidency is a chief cause of unemployment inasmuch as the applicants are unable to know where they can find work to which they are qualified by education and training.

(6) (a) The cost of giving a literary career to young men is very costly and the remuneration earned is not proportionate to the amount spent on education. In spite of heavy cost incurred in giving a literary career to young men many of them prefer it to technical or commercial courses.

(b) Professional career is still more costly as young men can choose the profession of law or can become a Licentiate in Teaching only after they become graduates. Even for that of medicine a preliminary literary course up to the Intermediate is obligatory to enable a person to take the degree of Licentiate in Medicine and Surgery or Bachelor of Medicine and Surgery.

(c) Till about a few years ago, there was a dearth of educational institutions which gave a commercial training. The cost of merely undergoing a training in the knowledge of commercial subjects is not costly, but the apprentice course seems to be heavy for the class of people who resort to it.

The cost of education is not a factor which affects the supply of men for these avocations.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) Vocational training will go a great way in reducing unemployment.

(2) Technical education will mitigate unemployment in middle and lower classes.

(3) Employment agencies will greatly relieve unemployment. I do not think that Employment Bureaux in colleges and Government offices are necessary as they can easily resort to private agencies.

(4) (a) I don't think the diversion of middle class to agriculture is a remedy as the sons of agriculturists mostly cultivate their own or hired lands.

(b) The diversion of middle class to mechanical occupations will relieve unemployment.

(5) I think provision for more capital for agricultural development will draw away men from other walks of life and this will relieve unemployment. The best method of securing capital for agricultural development is by organizing co-operative banks and societies in every village so that the agriculturists and others may get loan and other facilities from time to time easily at an easy rate of interest when in need of capital to improve their lands. At present whenever an agriculturist or a villager is in need of money he falls an easy prey to the tricks of private money-lenders who not only charge them exorbitant rate of interest but take a discount of as much as 50 per cent of the amount taken as loan. In consequence these agriculturists who resort to them are ruined at the end.

(9) & (10) In towns co-operative credit banks should be established for promoting industries and handicrafts. Co-operative production and distribution should be encouraged and persons even amongst educated classes in India are ignorant of the advantages of the co-operative production and distribution. Hence the necessary spread of knowledge on these matters is absolutely essential. There is considerable scope for the development of small industries like the preservation of fruits, the preparation of jams and pickles which can well be taught and which will keep many persons employed. Not much technical skill is required but many people will be kept engaged and will make some money as well.

(11) This has already been referred to. Co-operation, production and distribution is the best substitute for capital and unless people are educated and grow to trust each other they cannot co-operate.

(12) Emigration is a poor remedy and if any emigration is to be allowed it should be only within India. There are many places which can be successfully exploited—parts of Nilgiris and other hill tracts—Jeypore, and it is necessary and desirable that the surplus population goes here rather than outside where political and other considerations operate against the well being of Indians.

Written evidence of the Chief Engineer, Public Works Department (General, Buildings and Roads), Madras, dated the 11th August 1926.

I append hereto a statement showing the figures so far as available for the last five years relating to questions Nos. I (2) (d) and III (2) (a). It will be seen from the statement that unemployment exists among the men passed out of the College of Engineering, Madras, the number of appointments made in each year being less than the qualified candidates available for employment. (Some of these might have secured employment outside of Public Works Department.)

60 THE CHIEF ENGINEER, PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT (GENERAL,
BUILDINGS AND ROADS), MADRAS; THE CHIEF ENGINEER
FOR IRRIGATION, MADRAS; THE CHIEF
CONSERVATOR OF FORESTS, MADRAS

Year.	Number of men who passed out of the Engineering College and completed the course.			
	Civil Engineers.	Mechanical Engineers.	Upper Subordinates.	Total.
1921				
1922	23	10	39	72
1923	14	14	42	70
1924	17	11	50	78
1925	18	13	48	79
	23	24	64	111

Year.	Number of appointments made in the Public Works Department which was equivalent to the number of vacancies available.			
	Civil Engineers.	Mechanical Engineers.	Upper Subordinates.	Total.
1921				
1922	6	4	31	41
1923	..	..	2	2
1924	13	..	1	1
1925	23 †	1 ‡	32 §	56
				+ 1

* During these two years there was considerable reduction of establishment in the department.
† Excludes 24 discharged men reappointed. | § Excludes 15 discharged men reappointed.
‡ Excludes 1 discharged man reappointed. || A graduate of the Dublin University.

Written evidence of the Chief Engineer for Irrigation, Madras, dated the 13th August 1926.

Vigorous prosecution of work on the Cauvery-Mettur Irrigation project and one or other of the Hydro-electric schemes now in view must go to relieve unemployment among passed Engineering students to an appreciable extent.

Written evidence of the Chief Conservator of Forests, Madras, dated the 1st September 1926.

I chose your quotations, I (1), II (6), III (1) (c) and (d) and circulated them to the Conservators of Forests and to the Chief Forest Engineer. Their replies will be found below with my own remarks added.

The other questions which I have selected are III (2) (a) and (b), "What is the number of qualified candidates produced during the past ten years?" and "What is the number of appointments available during the same period?". To this I reply as follows.

THE CHIEF CONSERVATOR OF FORESTS, MADRAS. 61

During the past ten years the following numbers of trained students have passed out of the Madras Forest College at Coimbatore :—

Honours	...	...	...	...	34
Madras Ranger, Higher	...	...	...	...	180
Madras Ranger, Lower	...	...	...	...	75
Total	...	...	...	...	289

Of these, 282 were students deputed by and paid for by various Provincial Governments. They were already in Government service and their posts at the end of their training were rather in the nature of promotion than of appointments. The remaining seven men entered as private students, i.e., without appointments guaranteed for them after they had passed the examinations. No definite information is available as to their subsequent careers but it is understood that they all obtained employment.

I (1), (a), (b) & (c).

Chief Forest Engineer.—All of them.

Conservator, II Circle.—Yes : as it is observed that several applications are sent in even for short vacancies when advertised.

Conservator, IV Circle.—Unemployment among literary men of middle classes undoubtedly exists and the problem has assumed serious proportions within the last about ten years. While unqualified persons have often got to take up positions which hitherto were filled in by less literate or illiterate classes, the lot of the present day graduates has become even more pitiable indeed as the opening offered in public services for first appointment does not make any difference between graduates and S.S.L.C.'s. The position is even worse in the case of intermediates. It often takes five years or more before a graduate can feel settled down in a permanent employment after he graduates, while intermediates frequently fare worse. The S.S.L.C. man who is comparatively the youngest of the lot is in a more advantageous position by reason of his being able to secure some job before he becomes over-aged.

Conservator, V Circle.—Yes: whenever there is a vacancy for a clerk on Rs. 35 or a forester on Rs. 30 there are a very large number of applicants, mostly S.S.L.C.'s.

Conservator, VI Circle.—Yes.

Chief Conservator's remarks.—There seems no doubt that the number of men qualified for Government service is considerably in excess of requirements. Probably the S.S.L.C. has a good chance as any of getting employment provided he passes well and young. The new leave rules have resulted in far more acting appointments; consequently, though a man can get an acting appointment, he is probably out of the way when a permanent vacancy he is qualified for, comes along.

II (6).

Chief Forest Engineer.—Many say that they have to stop education on account of lack of funds.

Conservator, II Circle.—The cost of education for literary course is comparatively less when compared with professional or commercial course. The larger number of candidates who undergo literary course is due to their inability to pursue either of the other courses which are comparatively expensive.

Conservator, III Circle.—No remarks.

Conservator, IV Circle.—Generally the cost of a literary course of studies is less than that of a professional course or even of a commercial one assuming that in each a high standard is aimed at. Normal cost of education cannot be definitely estimated. Generally it would cost about Rs. 6,000 (compounded cost) before one can become a graduate, while it might amount to Rs. 8,000 or even Rs. 15,000, if an Engineering, Medical, or Forestry course is taken up up to the highest standard available in India.

The difference in cost of the different courses appears to have an appreciable effect on the supply of applicants for the avocations to which each of the courses of studies would benefit them, though in the present stage of development of the country there is undoubtedly an absence of sufficient opening for ambitious young men with the required qualifications in any walk of life.

V Circle—

Mr. J. M. Sweet, District Forest Officer, South Coimbatore.—Professional and commercial education no doubt costs more and the number of applications received from people who have had such education was very few.

Mr. D. F. Stileman, District Forest Officer, Madura.—Commercial courses cost less than literary and professional education. The cost of literary education is about twice that required for commercial education and professional education costs about four times that required for commercial education. The cost of education has no effect upon the supply of applicants for these avocations since most of the professions are already overcrowded.

Conservator.—I have no experience.

Conservator, VI Circle.—No information available.

Chief Conservator's remarks.—My impression is that Mr. Stileman has given the best answer.

III. (1), (c) & (d).

Chief Forest Engineer.—Cannot say.

Conservator, II Circle.—This office started in February 1921; except leave vacancies of short duration no post was vacant.

Conservator, III Circle.—No remarks.

Conservator, IV Circle.—Out of a total strength of eight clerks in this office only three permanent vacancies arose within the last ten years on an average pay of Rs. 48 per mensem for which two graduates were appointed who, however, resigned in a short time afterwards and the three vacancies were thereafter filled by three S.S.I.C.'s.

Conservator, V Circle.—There was only one vacancy in this office on an average pay of Rs. 47½ per mensem.

Conservator, VI Circle.—Sixteen posts were available on the average pay of Rs. 47½, 70, 100, 127½, 150. Nine posts were filled in by men already in the Government service and seven posts by outsiders.

Chief Conservator's remarks.—In this office there were three posts on an average pay of Rs. 94 and one post on an average pay of Rs. 59-14-0 during the last five years.

Written evidence of C. S. Martin, Esq., Chief Forest Engineer, Madras, dated the 13th July 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

- (1) All of them.
- (2) Apparently much less unemployment. We find it difficult to secure qualified mechanics.
- (3) Trained commercial accountants not overplentiful.
- (4) Some. Due to the fact that they assume a technical education makes them masters of their trade without practical experience.

II. CAUSES.

- (1) Too often superficial—not enough technical training.
- (2) No.
- (3) Most applicants do not like to leave their own part of the country. Language and lack of social life are some causes.
- (6) Many say they had to stop education on account of lack of funds.

IV. REMEDIES.

- (1) Favour it.
- (2) do.
- (4) (b) do.
- (12) Good for broadening outlook of people.

Written evidence of the Chief Mechanical Engineer, South Indian Railway Company, Limited, Golden Rock, Trichinopoly, dated 30th July 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

- (1) Yes, in all classes (a), (b) and (c).
- (2) (g) (i) & (ii) The proportion of unemployed persons amongst qualified is much less than in (ii).
- (3) & (4) Unable to express an opinion.

II. CAUSES.

(1) It is difficult to assign any specific cause: but possibly if the system of education provided for a general education as well as a technical subject as optional, there will be wider scope for one's career.

(2) Speaking generally, the employees have in the majority of cases been educated to a higher degree than is necessary for the appointments they hold and the remuneration is considered insufficient. In my opinion, I do not consider remuneration on railways, with few exceptions, insufficient.

(3) & (4) Not to any appreciable extent.

(5) No.

(6) There are different standards in cost for the three classes of education to be acquired by a student.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

No difficulty has been felt in obtaining the number of qualified candidates to fill vacancies.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) & (2) Vocational training and technical education in schools should be afforded.

(3) Information bureaux in colleges and Government offices might serve a useful purpose, but no private employment agencies.

(4) to (11) Suggestions may be given effect to.

(12) Except in very special subjects I do not consider emigration necessary.

Written evidence of the Chrome Leather Company, Pallavaram, dated the 14th July 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Unemployment exists to a fearful extent among the middle classes.

- (1) Yes. Amidst literary classes of all descriptions (a), (b) & (c).
- (2) (a) Not to an appreciable degree.

(b) Very much.

(c) Next to (b).

(d), (f) & (g) Tolerably well off.

(e) Trained men are mostly unemployed.

The object of an agricultural course is to train landowners who would go back to their lands with improved methods of cultivation. But this rarely happens.

This is for qualified men. What is exactly meant by the term 'unqualified' is not known. If it means the want of a theoretical education supplemented by a practical training, then those men cannot be classified under any one head of profession. But if it is supposed to mean want of a theoretical education alone, then there are very few men of experience unemployed.

(3) Amongst trained persons very few are unemployed. The term 'untrained' is as vague as 'unqualified'. Untrained persons can be classified only under the general term 'unemployed' and not as the 'unemployed' of the particular vocation.

(4) Yes. Estimated to 20 per cent. For want of openings especially in technical lines.

II. CAUSES.

(1) Yes. Greatly due to a defective system of education.

(i) More literary and tends to be superficial.

(ii) Does not create self-confidence and independent action.

(iii) Special training begun at a late age.

Only about one-third of the boys especially of a literary inclination must be chosen for higher collegiate education, and they can become teachers, lawyers, journalists, clergymen, etc. For others, literary education must be terminated earlier, say with the present V. Form standard. The course of study in the high school must be cleverly drawn as to give an elementary technical knowledge of the existing and possible industries of the country, together with a general knowledge of men and things. The object is to give an opportunity to the pupil to throw out the latent special taste in him for a certain vocation. The selection for a special training must take place at this stage. Every person must begin to receive his special training between 15 and 18.

(2) It is an economic fallacy to uphold this. It is not small remuneration that causes unemployment. But it is unemployment that brings about small remuneration.

(3) Unemployment is prevalent in all parts of the Presidency. There is a superfluous number of candidates for a given job in a locality. In our opinion educated professions are sufficiently mobile, and want of mobility cannot be said to be a contributing cause to unemployment.

(4) Not aware of any social cause among the educated middle classes.

(5) Absence of Information and Employment Bureaux, etc., does not cause unemployment. These agencies are useful in bringing the best man for a job, but do not create new jobs themselves. This does not aim at the root of the evil.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) Advisable. [Refer to Answer to Part II (1).]

(2) Approved, but subject to the conditions that

- (i) the Government should start pioneer industries;
- (ii) aid industries and get a guarantee that a certain number of technical men would be absorbed annually;
- (iii) promote industries by contributing a substantial part of the share capital, and subsequently withdraw themselves after the industry passes its infancy;
- (iv) Start a separate industrial bank to finance indigenous industry.

There is no use of giving technical education without creating openings. This will only increase the number of discontented young men.

(3) Good in their own way, but only an ointment for external application for a chronic disease.

(4) Agreed.

(a) India being an essentially agricultural country, with 75 per cent of the population working on land and 90 per cent depending upon it, there is a great chance for the young men finding occupation in agriculture with improved methods.

(b) & (c) Stand a lesser claim for encouragement compared with (a). Nevertheless would relieve unemployment to an appreciable extent.

(5) (a) Separate and increased allotment in budgets for agricultural development.

(b) Earmarking a proportion of land revenue—a provincial item under Meston Award—for agricultural improvement.

(c) Establishment of Land Banks.

(d) Influencing Imperial Bank to advance money to co-operative banks or opening a central co-operative bank.

(6) Village reconstruction necessarily involves development of agriculture and improvement of cottage industries. This would certainly alleviate unemployment. A number of unemployed middle-class people would be tempted back to the villages. At present, the defect is that there is no work for all the year round and this means the middle-class people do not find agriculture sufficiently remunerative. With an improved method of agriculture and subsidiary occupation of some cottage industry, this difficulty could be got over.

(7) Co-operative agriculture is a remedy for the evils of unemployment, but cannot directly eradicate unemployment itself. This leads to a larger production with a proportionately lesser expense, which brings down the cost of living.

(8) Fine idea indeed, if only sufficient lands and money to purchase them, if necessary, be found. In Canada and Australia this system has worked well, though for a different object; and we have reasons to think that it will be a success in India also.

(9) (a) Land banks,

(b) Co-operative banks financially well supported, and

(c) Mutual assurance societies to save agriculturists during bad harvest should be established.

In view of the importance of agriculture as an occupation for middle classes we suggest that

(i) Landowners should be protected from money-lenders by law in the model of the Dekkhan Agriculturists' Relief Act.

(ii) The system of land tenure should be modified to improve matters, so that the cultivators may have an interest in the land.

(iii) The system of taxation should be so adjusted that the cultivator is in no way discouraged in improving his lands.

(iv) The hopeless division of land into very small holdings should be prevented by law.

(v) More liberal takkavi loans should be granted.

(10) The advantages of home industry as a subsidiary occupation to agriculture cannot be exaggerated. As an independent profession, it is quite handy. So the establishment of an industrial bank to finance the small industry is highly commended.

(11) Co-operation pools together small capitals which would otherwise remain idle. It taps all resources. Many big industrial undertakings are made possible by co-operation. The gigantic productive societies in Great Britain demonstrate the possibilities the unemployed young Indians have in these institutions.

(12) Emigration both (a) within British India and (b) outside India are to be encouraged as good economic propositions. But the latter has to be looked upon with disfavour in view of certain disabilities for Indians in some foreign countries.

Written evidence of the Collector of Anantapur, dated the 28th August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Unemployment does exist amongst the literary classes and in particular amongst the S.S.L.C.'s, intermediates and unqualified persons. Graduates do not as a rule experience anything like

the same difficulty in securing suitable employment, though even in their cases competition is keen and the supply seems to be in excess of the demand. No cases have come to my notice of unemployment amongst the Indians educated in the foreign countries who have returned to this country.

II. CAUSES.

To some extent this unemployment can be attributed to the present system of education. The aim of most of the boys passing through the schools and colleges has been for so long and still is to join some office as a clerk, preferably in some office of Government service, or to take up to law and the learned professions generally. Professions involving manual labour have not attracted to anything like the same extent. This no doubt has been governed a good deal by the question of demand. Clerical work being the aim and object of many students, many people consider that the present system of education renders the boys fit only for this sort of the work and does not aim sufficiently at qualifying them for other vocations, suggested remedies being industrial schools and vocational training, with education in the vernacular. The present system of education seems to focus too much attention on clerical or sedentary work and does not lay sufficient stress on the dignity of labour and manual occupations generally. The remuneration seems sufficient to attract the number of applicants required and it does not appear that small remuneration is in itself a cause of unemployment. Unemployment can to some extent be attributed to want of fluidity. No doubt some persons are reluctant to leave their native places for reasons of family, climate, change of manners and customs or the extra cost of living involved in migrating to other parts, but I think that if suitable employment was forthcoming elsewhere these reasons would not to any large extent deter them from seeking it. Social causes are a handicap in securing employment to a small extent, and possibly early marriages resulting in family encumbrances and domestic responsibilities tend to want of fluidity. Unemployment can also be attributed to lack of enterprise and necessity, coupled with want of capital and opportunity.

IV. REMEDIES.

The most suitable remedies seem to be those in the direction of diverting the middle classes to agriculture, mechanical operations, trade and commerce. In the case of agriculture, what appears to be required is instruction in practical agriculture, with a better appreciation of the dignity of labour rather than the attainment of agricultural degrees—the aim to be, practical farming on improved lines rather than the attainment of posts in the Agricultural department. Here want of capital is likely to be a serious handicap, the present tendency generally being to the fragmentation of the holdings, and the remedy seems to lie in co-operative agriculture. The trend of the times indicates that

mechanical occupations are coming more and more to the front. In the case of industries everything depends on the adequate development of industries in this Presidency. It is generally felt that there is scope for employment in developing industries, though facts seem to show that inexperience is likely to result in many failures at first. The danger with regard to employment in industries lies in creating a supply above and out of all proportion to the demand.

*Written evidence of the Collector of Bellary, dated
the 16th August 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Unemployment does exist among the educated middle classes. It is perceptibly prevalent amongst qualified persons coming under (1) literary classes, such as (a) graduates, (b) S.S.L.C.'s and intermediates, and (2) professional classes such as profession of engineering, etc.

Theoretically speaking, there is no question of unemployment in the professions of law and medicine, as in the former case, there is no limit to the number of law graduates that can join the bar and in the latter case those who do not find employment under Government or local bodies or railway may set up private practice. But it must be remembered that the number of practising lawyers and private medical practitioners is already so large and ever so much on the increase that new recruits to the professions get very little practice and are therefore obliged to make a hand to mouth living, as the quantity of work available is a constant factor and will not increase with the number of recruits.

The case of the profession of engineering is different, for unlike in the case of law and medicine, engineering men can have no employment unless there is an employer and a post to occupy.

The same is the case with the profession of agriculture, but there are not so many graduates in agriculture as in other branches.

(3) It is not known if unemployment is prevalent among mercantile and banking businesses.

At any rate, the clamour among such technical men is not so loud as in the case of other professions, as they are comparatively insignificant men and will take up any walk of life that is open for them.

(4) The number of Indians educated in foreign countries is generally small and unemployment is not reported to exist among them as among other classes, as they are directly recruited to higher posts in the various departments in preference to those who have risen from the ranks and barristers join the bar.

II. CAUSES.

(1) The present system of education is defective in the sense that it has been producing comparatively poor specimens of, for instance, school final men as compared with the old matriculates, but the unemployment is not so much due to the present system of education as to other causes, of which retrenchment on account of financial stringency in all departments occupies a prominent place.

(2) In any service, Government or other, there is no longer any complaint that the remuneration offered is inadequate as can be seen from a comparison of the existing rates of pay with those in force in the previous years and from the flood of applications that pour in, in response to the advertisement of a vacancy. The existing minimum starting salaries of posts are quite ample to afford a living for an average family with average wants.

(3) Want of fluidity is to a certain extent responsible for the unemployment in the Telugu districts, for a Telugu man is generally not so enterprising and pushful as a Tamilian and is therefore reluctant to leave his native place and go to distant places. This fact is evidenced by the large disparity in the number of Telugu men and TAMILIANS that are found away from their homes in all parts of India and also outside it.

(4) Social causes do not appear to have an important bearing on the question of unemployment, as men belonging to any particular caste are not loth to take up an appointment in any department, though as observed in item No. (3) above, some classes of men for want of an enterprising spirit are unwilling to seek employment in distant places or distant countries. It cannot however be said that in other provinces or countries, the problem of unemployment is less keen than here. In view of the increasing number of men going for their education to foreign countries and mixing with their relations here on their return, their caste customs do not seem to operate as much of an unsurmountable barrier in the way of foreign travel and foreign education as formerly.

(5) Unemployment is not due to absence of information or absence of an employment bureau or failure on the part of educational institutions to keep in touch with the employment market, as candidates seeking for employment will ever be on their look out for exploiting every possible source.

(6) The course of education in professional subjects such as medicine, engineering, etc., is comparatively longer and the cost comparatively greater than in more literary subjects, but nevertheless there is no dearth of qualified men under the various professions, but on the other hand there is an excess over requirements.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

There is no doubt that there is now an excess of supply over demand. This is due partly to a larger percentage of people belonging to a variety of castes following other avocations formerly,

giving English education to their children, in view of the improved prospects of securing admission into Government and other services, and partly to the people who have long been used to such education continuing to pursue it according to the time-honoured custom, because of their unwillingness or unsuitability to take up other walks of life where English education is not required. It may be argued that by curtailing admissions into schools and colleges, the excess of supply over demand could be minimised but this or raising the school fees is, I think, by no means a legitimate way of meeting the situation. By giving free scope to higher education, we will have a large number of men having higher educational qualifications to take up posts in Government and other services and the efficiency of the work in all offices which has now considerably deteriorated will be improved. In regard to other men, education will not have been acquired in vain, but will have its own intrinsic value, as it will at least enable them to render better service to their country if they are unable to pursue one or other of the various walks of life suggested by the Unemployment Committee.

IV. REMEDIES.

The advantages of education being admitted on all hands, more schools may be opened in villages where they are wanting so as to afford employment to those in need of it. More dispensaries—rural dispensaries to start with—may be opened to afford employment to qualified medical men. Of the other remedies suggested,

- (2) Technical education
- (4) (a) Agriculture
- (c) Trade and commerce
- (5) Provision of more capital for agricultural development
- (7) Co-operative agriculture
- (9) Development of banking in connexion with extension of agriculture
- (10) Industrial bank for promoting home industries and handicrafts, especially

are well worth consideration. For most of the above, State aid is necessary.

*Written evidence of the Collector of Chittoor,
dated the 1st September 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

- (1) In my opinion unemployment exists to a considerable extent among graduates and intermediates and to a large extent among S.S.L.C.'s, both eligible and non-eligible.
- (2) In the legal profession. I have no accurate information about other professions.
- (3) I don't know.
- (4) Not as far as I know, except among Barristers.

II. CAUSES.

The main reason for unemployment appears to be that the supply of English educated men has come to exceed the demand. This over-supply may be due to the attraction offered by literary education to the Brahmans, it being in accordance with their hereditary ideas and traditions and with their natural distaste for physical exertion and manual labour. Unfortunately other castes, who are on the average less intellectual and less qualified for higher education, have followed their lead and thus led to an increase in the English educated class out of proportion to the employment available. A contributory cause has been the cheapness of secondary and higher education, which made them an attractive investment until unemployment became noticeable. At the same time, this literary class has come to have a contempt for manual labour, and also for agriculture, commerce, and industry, which remain largely in the hands of the uneducated classes and are thus conducted on a lower plane in respect of efficiency than they might be, if more educated men were attracted by them. The whole business of life for the middle classes thus revolves in a vicious circle. The productive occupations are despised and neglected, and consequently remain below par, while the parasitic occupations of Government service and the Law are overcrowded until they cannot adequately support the numbers who flock to them.

Other causes mentioned in the questionnaire.

(1) I do not think the present system of education is particularly defective. There is no doubt too much unintelligent learning by rote, but this is the time-honoured method of acquiring knowledge in India. The resultant product is less intelligent and efficient than he might be, but if he were more efficient, fewer of him would do the work now done by a larger number and unless the number of educated men were reduced, unemployment would be increased. I am inclined to think that the defects of the system have arisen from the natural defects of the average pupil, and cannot be remedied while all boys whose parents can raise a few rupees a month are allowed to get cheap secondary education.

(2) In the teaching profession alone, the remuneration is often inadequate. This is specially so in private schools. There is, I believe, a lack of qualified candidates for schoolmasters, this profession in its lower ranks being regarded as one to be avoided. The number of unemployed is thus increased.

(3) There is considerable disinclination on the part of the less enterprising to work at a distance from their own homes. This want of fluidity is however disappearing, e.g., I get many applications for employment from the Southern Tamil districts. Also, the supply of candidates locally is generally sufficient, so, greater fluidity would not go far towards preventing unemployment.

(4) I believe social causes have little appreciable effect, except the contempt for the productive occupations which I have referred to above.

(5) Not much. It is easy to get candidates for any post by advertisement in the daily press.

(6) I have no information.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

(1) I have no information. I could have collected figures of the S.S.L.C.'s turned out from the high schools of this district, but it would be impossible to trace them all and find out what percentage of them obtained employment.

(2) & (3) do not apply to this district, which has no technical or professional training schools or colleges.

I give below the figures of permanent vacancies and applications for my own office during the last three years:—

Year.	Posts.	Applications from			Total.
		S.S.L.C.'s.	Intermediates.	Graduates.	
1924	8	46	10	30	86
1925	6	35	8	20	63
1926 (to date) ..	6	42	8	13	63

In March last I advertised for candidates for a Probationary Revenue Inspector's vacancy. There were 47 applications, of which 46 were from graduates, the latter all pass men except two. These figures go to prove extensive unemployment among the "literary class."

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) *Vocational training and selection in schools.*—This is all right in theory and looks well on paper, but it does not appeal to me. Vocational training is regarded by some people as a panacea. In practice it is hampered by many difficulties, such as (1) the absence of any pronounced bent or taste in the vast majority of pupils; (2) the incapacity of the teachers to help in selection; (3) the prohibitive cost of superior teachers and headmasters; and (4) the caste system, which to some extent limits freedom of choice.

(2) *Technical education.*—Should keep up with the development of industries. Till industries are developed, more technical education would only swell the number of unemployed.

(3) Employment Bureaux and agencies do not seem to be much needed, until more employment is available.

(4) *Diversion of middle classes to—*

(a) *Agriculture.*—In my opinion this is the only remedy of importance as things are. India is mainly an agricultural country and seems destined to remain so. I would advocate the opening of agricultural schools, if there were any means of ensuring that the

pupils would take to real agriculture, and not depend on government posts as the graduates of the Agricultural Colleges do. This question might well be investigated carefully. The problem is to get bright boys, not duffers, of good physique, mainly from the agricultural castes and, if possible, of the substantial ryot class, who would, after qualifying, work on their own land or in farm colonies.

(b) *Mechanical occupations.*—There is not much scope as things are. The motor industry offers one useful opening.

(c) *Trade and commerce.*—The educated middle class does not show very much aptitude for these. It is difficult to get good openings in them without capital. Also trade and commerce in Indian hands are in a backward state, mainly owing to (a) lack of enterprise and initiative (a natural defect of the Indian people); and (b) lack of confidence due to the low stage of commercial morality. This defect prevents traders securing contributions of capital from the moneyed classes and prevents their enlarging their operations.

(5) Provision of more capital for agricultural operations is desirable in order to improve the productivity of the land and to finance improvements of all kinds. This might best be done by the promotion of limited companies with capital borrowed in the open market and secured on the land. As things are, public confidence in the promoters would be almost entirely lacking and not much capital would be forthcoming. The outlook for this remedy is at present not at all promising.

(6) *Village reconstruction as a means of employment.*—I do not understand this.

(7) *Co-operative agriculture.*—This requires public confidence. It would probably come as a later development. I fancy there is no hope for it in a backward community.

(8) *Farm colonies.*—Would be excellent if good land were available. I doubt if it is. Bad land would not support the educated class, who expect some luxuries and amusements and would not be content with drudgery for a mere pittance.

(9) *Development of banking.*—This means, I presume, the provision of cheap capital by banks. Co-operative societies are supposed to do this, I believe, but in practice the loans they give are, I hear, mainly taken for marriages and other unproductive expenditure or to pay debts and kists or by sowcars to lend out again. It might be possible to develop Rural Banks restricted to loans for agricultural and land improvements.

(10) *Promotion of home industries, etc.*—I have no suggestions to offer.

(11) *Co-operative production and distribution.*—These are, I believe, likely to develop only at a later stage.

(12) *Emigration.*—(a) I am not aware of any part of British India, which is insufficiently supplied with middle class employees at present.

(b) There is little scope for the Indian educated middle classes outside India. Other countries mostly have their own unemployment problems and either don't want foreigners or object to any but European immigrants.

My own suggestions.—(1) Among possible remedies for unemployment not suggested in the questionnaire, it is, I think, for consideration whether a large number of the unemployed literary classes might not be employed in the teaching profession. We seem to have now reached the point at which the High School and University man is becoming a drug in the market. Elementary education is, however, still very backward and what is taught in elementary schools is quickly forgotten. It will probably be admitted that universal elementary education is a desirable goal. If so, more and better elementary schools should be opened and night schools for adults should be started on a large scale. The posts of teachers in most of these might be restricted to S.S.L.C.'s. They should as a rule be aided schools and grants on a more liberal scale than at present should be granted for equipment and as teaching grants. Such schools would absorb a large proportion of the unemployed S.S.L.C.'s.

(2) To prevent the undesirable increase of S.S.L.C.'s a strict rule of superannuation in High Schools should be enforced. The duffers would thus not be encouraged to persevere to the S.S.L.C., which they now sometimes reach only considerably after 20 years of age. The number of graduates should similarly be reduced (1) by fixing a maximum limit of age for admission to the colleges, e.g., at 18; and (2) by stiffening the examinations including the entrance examination. If these remedies were adopted, the number of S.S.L.C.'s and graduates would be reduced and their quality would be improved.

(3) Side by side with this, all feasible means should be taken to divert the average boy of the middle classes to agriculture. One reason for the disinclination of the educated classes to adopt agriculture as a profession is no doubt the extreme dullness of village life. If, however, a village contained several educated men, they would doubtless start amusements of their own. The school would naturally have a library, the village might in some cases support a tennis or badminton club and a dramatic club. Other means of brightening village life suitable to a not very advanced stage of intellectual development, such as lectures and cinemas, might supervene.

(4) *Agricultural schools.*—I am assuming that the medium of instruction in the agricultural schools would be English. Well advanced boys should be specially selected from those who had passed the third form by the age of 15. They would then be given three years' instruction in agriculture, with practical farm work, receiving at the same time a little instruction in English literature, geography, civics and general knowledge. To attract suitable candidates the education might at the start be free to the sons of

II. CAUSES.

The present results are due to several unavoidable causes operating during half a century. This list is by no means exhaustive, but is only indicative.

(a) English education became the test of culture and efficiency as it was linked to the ruling power.

(b) Its novelty and the prestige—real or imagined—attached to it strengthened its attraction.

(c) It helped people to earn a living who had lost their old resources of livelihood or dissipated them or had owned nothing but their brains. People rushed into it as a matter of course.

(d) Supply overtook and ran beyond the demand. That is the present condition.

(e) Sanskrit and the vernaculars were grossly neglected as they did not pay. Even petition writers had to learn English to get money and petitioners had to go to them to garb their vernacular prayers in English dress and interpret in the mother tongues, the orders passed in English. The foreign education was exotic and suppressed the indigenous language and culture. It was not assimilated with the indigenous culture. Its sole aim degenerated into money-making for a livelihood. Hence the reaction caused by one-sided top-heavy English education which finds no scope for employment.

(f) Decreasing patronage of indigenous arts and industries due to change of taste brought about by change of fashion. This evil is concomitant to (a) and (e).

(g) Neglect of agriculture as an undignifying profession.

(h) Transfer of landed property from the land-owning ryots to landless people who had made money and were anxious to acquire lands without any idea of soiling their hands by touching Mother Earth. Under indifferent absentee-landlordism, presentee-helpless ryotism, land was milched and treated as a hired milch-cow ever starved.

(j) Decreased productivity of land, increased neglect of its intensive cultivation, increased drain on the decreased production to provide for unproductive consumption by the growing number of literary and professional classes who did not contribute to the sum-total of wealth.

(k) Unproductive education has grown at the expense of productive education, literary education at the cost of education with applied science which alone can enrich the resources of land, labour and capital. That is the problem of the immediate future to go back to the village land from the showy writing table in the town room where the work to be done is limited and the services to be rendered are narrow-aimed and from the national view-point aimless as they do not contribute to the growth of the national wealth, or national self-sufficiency, still less of the country's efficiency.

(1) Yes. (a) The system was intended to manufacture as many English-knowing clerks and subordinates as possible. It has more than fulfilled those expectations. The supply has considerably outrun the demand. The professions of law and engineering have also been overstocked. As for the agricultural profession there is no scope for its practical application as the few trained are landless and those having lands who have been by custom or necessity bred to the profession dare not engage the theorists. The conservative instinct of the cultivator is against new-fangled experiments. Unless the results are proved he will not care to run the risk of experimenting at his cost. In the allopathic medical line the Ayurvedic and Unani will not die and have not died. Owing to ignorance on both sides each system has looked down on the other. Allopathy, Unani and Ayurvedic have not compared notes yet in the interests of humanity. The two latter are living on their past credit and present popular credulity. Allopathy has scientific pride. To try to learn and apply the merits of other methods is an unprofessional crime in the allopathist. Till people are made to see the merits and demerits in each system the followers of the new system have to struggle. That means their unemployment must continue. Popular belief is growing slowly in the superiority of the surgeon. It will be a long time before the allopathic physician gets his due. In law litigation has made lawyers and lawyers have made litigation. Both have made courts and courts have bred lawyers and litigation. The scope for friendly adjustment by arbitration has been gradually narrowed.

(b) In criticising the system of education I shall first content myself with literary education (non-technical and professional). This education was theoretically intended as a means of general culture. Owing to its practical value in the actual labour market people took to it with great avidity. Technical or professional education without a sound literary basis is of no use as a means of culture. It is this foundation alone that will link scientific discovery to practical life. Single-grooved carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers and cultivators will not serve the purpose of national improvement. The capacity to understand, the courage to apply, the zeal to cautiously experiment and the power to create improved tastes and enrich the amenities of life while adding to the resulting wealth cannot come out of a narrow-minded essentially vocational training. Till a certain stage—better School Final than a Lower Secondary—education should be literary and in the mother tongue. Suitable text-books based on the Indian past, and intelligently combined with western practical science should be written by Indian specialists who have faith in the ancient learning and feel the distinctness of Indian culture and presented to the Indian boys and girls. These should be essentially Indian in culture while ready to assimilate whatever is best from non-Indian culture, as the vital defect of the present system is the absence of the Indian touch and a genuine pride

in the known Indian past and the love of the Indian country. To know only about the Himalayan blunders without any idea of the Himalayan glories is the death of education in its true sense as a means of cultural growth. The elements of agriculture, the laws of health and sanitation, the structure and functions of the human body, the wonders of animal and plant life, the functions of hill and stream, wind and light in the economy of nature, etc., all these should be the *sine qua non* of the educational curriculum of the Indian boy and girl at the bottom and these should be happily interfused with a broad, tolerant and devout spirit ready to see the hand of God in all faiths and all peoples. This is the only means of cultivating that self-reliant mental outlook which while reverentially nourishing the healthy points handed down from the past will with equal courage cut away to the root all disease-producing growths in the social organism to prepare the path for the growth of a vigorous and virile Indian humanity. Looking at the present system of education—elementary or above—nobody can dare to say that this aim of Indian elevation has been or is being subserved even to the least extent by the existing arrangements. The original authors who with the best of intentions had honestly offered their best, had at the beginning no knowledge of anything good coming out of the Indian past. They had dreamed of making the Indian a new and greater person than his forebears by giving him the new wine without caring for the nature of the old skins. Science has discovered an evolutionary process going on in the growth of man and his institutions and it is now being found that the new seed can be well established only by its adapting itself to the old soil environment, and that efforts hitherto made have caused angular and ill-adjusted growths of an unnatural kind from the Indian point of view. While the working has all along gone on the principle that imitation by borrowing is the sincerest form of flattery to the lender, it has fully failed to realise the other side of the truth that imitation is at the same time mortal treason to the law of natural growth of the living imitator. The result is a painted plant with paper flowers and not a living beauty of green and gold. An army of ever-hungry and primary school teachers with little knowledge and less culture can hardly train the future men and women citizens of this Presidency. They have little to teach others, having learnt little themselves. The books to be used have all to be recast on the lines indicated above and then put into the hands of a better set of men better paid with better education, the minimum qualification of a teacher being that of a School Final to start with.

(c) Assuming that this change—whose financial aspect is irrelevant in this paper—is brought about at the foundation of education in general, the next question will be to what special vocations of a technical and industrial kind, have these candidates to be trained in future to create a diversion of the waters into

other channels and relieve the pressure on the employment reservoir. Before this question is answered one has to consider whether there is any scope at present for the exercise of such trained faculties. Only those who are already in the line may require training of an improved kind. Unless there is such a desire and consequent demand, it is useless to expect people to go in for such training. Vocational training is primarily for bread-earning. Unless there is a demand for such work such men cannot live. Boys cannot and should not be compelled to learn carpentry, iron-work and vessel-making, when they do not wish to live by doing that kind of work. It is waste of time and money and a shifting of the reformatory school methods to those outside its walls. Unless some students decide beforehand to live by these vocations later on and have the economic capacity to equip themselves with the comparatively costly labour-saving appliances in their respective arts they cannot compete with the self-trained cheaper country artisans who feel quite at home in the exercise of their hereditary professions, having inherited the knack of turning out certain kinds of work. Can one be certain that people will want more and more articles of furniture and be prepared to pay more and more for them merely because trained men have taken to manufacture them? Then why more carpenters? If machines can be got to make fine copper, brass and bronze vessels and if lighter and uglier and cheaper aluminium vessels can be turned out by machines in so large a number as to drive the other metalware out of the field, what will be the good of training young men as braziers, coppersmiths and bronzesmiths? Even Messrs. Orr & Sons have not destroyed the self-reliant indigenous silver and goldsmiths, who have been meeting the more modest demands of their innumerable rural and urban customers. The glory of that firm rests very much on the Indian workmen employed there. We hear so much of vocational training nowadays as if that were going to open up a new heaven on earth. Unless there is a demand for the products, there is no use of supplying the producers. That demand depends on the economic stability of the large body of consumers and their revived artistic tastes. It will take long, long a time for all the villagers to go in for chairs and tables, camp-cots and mosquito nets, bed tape and camp easy chairs, etc., even if that were the only consummation to be devoutly wished for as the only mark of progress. A great deal of forethought and prudence is necessary before vocations are selected which will help the votaries to work and live by practising them. I am unable to answer this question more definitely at present. Of one thing, a layman can be sure that only that kind of technical and industrial education is necessary which will help people to get more out of land or weaving or mining or metallurgy, etc., which will increase the resources of the country and thereby increase the demand for employment as a means to enlarge the production of wealth. To produce workers without providing for work will be a repetition of the present sad story. Otherwise, we will have many men who

having learnt how to make screws will not find the machines or wooden planks to take in their new screws. This change can be brought about by the State alone in the present state of things.

(d) The present system of education has to be recast at the bottom leaving it to the option of those willing to go higher up for greater culture to do so at their own pleasure and cost, without expecting to be employed and helped to earn their bread as a rule. I have to answer this question by stating *that the state of present unemployment is the result of several social and economic causes and cannot be fathered solely on the present system of education*, which has however survived its utility as a means of improved culture and needs thorough overhauling in its foundations.

(2) This question reminds me of the saying that beggars cannot be choosers. If a candidate has a reasonably high value of his merits and has something to fall back upon in case he does not get a suitable money-equivalent to his work he can have the option of withholding his services and maintaining his self-respect and waiting for a time till some employer accepts the candidate's own estimate. Then alone can his unemployment be said to be due to his solid economic backing from which he declines to be tempted by the small remuneration offered to him. Nobody can conscientiously say that this is now the case. As a matter of fact the prospective employees are even prepared under stress of hunger to accept anything which the employer will care to throw at them. Where there is no freedom of contract and where parties are ill-matched for such a purpose, the stronger party—the employer—will always win in forcing down the wage below the minimum living wage, the wage of comfort being entirely non-existent. Anyone who runs may see this fact writ large on the foreheads of the candidates applying for employment.

(3) No. The South Indian Tamils have gone to Burma, Bengal and other parts of India, so much so that those locals are getting alarmed at the invasion and are naturally threatening to keep these intruders out by force to save their own aids to sustenance. Even the village-ridden Telugus have begun to get over their timid parochialism. Increasing facilities of communication by sea or land have hastened this result. This remark applies to men with higher education—Intermediates in Arts and Graduates and professional people. The School Finals stick to their districts and move from taluk to taluk whenever an opening strikes their vision. In their case alone, as the local supply is everywhere more than the local demand there is little scope for “fluidity” in the Presidency. The Tamilians have invaded the Telugu districts. Even the enterprising Syrian Christians of Cochin and Travancore have appeared in Cuddapah. The local leading lawyers and engineers and overseers in the Telugu districts are not Telugus but are Tamilians. This is convincing proof of the fact that the solid feeling of local attachment has been fast wearing off under constant contact with the spirit of men who felt the powerful need to move wherever they could get their means of living.

(4) Yes. (a) The joint-family is based on undiluted altruism. The earning member is the privileged server of the other members. Under Western education the individualistic instinct is growing in strength. It is trying to break through the old limitations. The Civil Service Regulations characteristically define the family as the man, his wife and their children, whereas the Indian family embraces in its generous fold the parents, their helpless brothers and sisters, the earning member's helpless brothers and sisters and their children and even the helpless widowed maternal aunts and paternal uncles' wives. This burden has always been a strain on the generous bread winner. It has been growing heavier under modern economic conditions as the sleeping partners of the firm are not keen on actively working for the increase in the stock of earnings. Though individual rebellion has been slowly but steadily raising its head under the stress of the self-preserving instinct individual poverty has been growing too, owing to the incapacity to meet the demands. This phase of society has to be altered by the society itself. *The State can do nothing. The poverty makes the unemployment trouble keener.*

(b) The joint-family while laying obligations on the individual expends its resources in fitting the future burden-bearer to get a living. It overloads itself on the debit side in the hope of a future successful speculative sweep by staking its resources on its individual pawns in the chess of life. The speculation fails and leaves everybody bogged in depths of difficulty. *The State can do nothing in this sphere, when such voluntary experiments continue to destroy the substantial nexus of the original group and sweep all concerned into an eddy of increasing indebtedness.*

(c) The canker-worm that is eating into the vitals of Indian society is the early marriage system. Girls must be married before puberty in some communities or after it in others. Anyhow no girl ought to be left without a mate. The mate has to be purchased. His price depends on a hopeful estimate of his wealth (present or latent) and his present beggary is not a disqualification if he be studying for an examination. The urgency of the girl's marriage renders competition keen for her hand—or more accurately for her throat—and the demand goes up alarmingly. The fathers and mothers of sons are for the time being gods in the machine who by a happy chance in Nature's factory have drawn lots enabling them to exercise the privilege of dictating terms to and putting their blessed feet on the heads of the unfortunate producers of daughters. These latter have to pay ruinous prices known by a grim joke as presents to the sons-in-law. The interests of the other brothers and sisters of the bride have to be trampled down for the acquisition of the sons-in-law, leaving the only relieving hope in the down-trodden parents, that their turn will come to avenge their wrongs on some other parents of girls when their own sons have to be married. If parents have sons alone they are happy in the ruin of others. If they have daughters alone, they are unhappy in their own irredeemable

misery. If they have good luck and bad allotted in shares in the shape of sons and daughters the resulting mean may leave their neck above water. This vicious circle of the degraded black magician is as wide as society itself. There is no escape. *If girls can be made to wait boys can wait. The economic pressure of urgent marriage will considerably relax. There will be breathing time to wait till the boy earns his bread and is able to maintain a wife and the inevitable children who will come into the world.* Before the young man completes his student's life and before he fixes up his means of living he is saddled with a wife or wife and child or more than one child thus drawing on the family substance, if any, for unproductive consumption for a long or short term. This evil of increased expenditure from the family substance is accentuated by the marriage system of mutual plunder based on greed and false social prestige, enforced aids in kind and coin to the aimless training of young fledglings whose imagined potentialities are never likely to materialise into compensating realizations. The bird in the hand is killed in the hope that there will be two in the bush to be caught by everybody intending to go there later on. *These causes add to the trouble of unemployment by impoverishing those who aspire to become workers and reducing their reserve power to keep on till they get work to live by. The State can do nothing here.* It will be irrelevant to discuss the other evils, physical, mental and moral—which breed out of this disease in the social organism. It is a danger devitalising all middle class communities in Southern India—both men and women—and one may venture to add, even in unhappy India as a whole. The evil of "kanya shulka" or bride-sale is common to both post-puberty and pre-puberty marrying communities. Blessed indeed are the few who have not known this suffering. The ancient "Brahmacharya ashramam", when the student devoted himself to study or occupation till he was twenty-four and married a girl of sixteen fit to be a mother when both were fit to jointly work for the family has perished beyond memory. The ancient dead may be laughed at for being fools by learned moderns. In this respect at least the ancients have been avenged by the fearful sufferings of their descendants, who have broken the laws of Nature and have still been paying the penalties for their transgression. The modern prophets proclaim that we must go back to the old method for our social salvation. The Westerner's instinct and necessity have retained this glorious pearl of "Brahmacharya" while the indolent Eastern buried beyond recovery that inherited treasure of his in the mouldering graves of his forgotten progenitors. His present guide, philosopher and friend promises that the gates of Heaven will open only to girl-wives and boy-husbands and none other. "The sons of these shall be thy future fighters and defenders, Oh! Mother India" is the mocking laugh ringing out of the shadow land of her mighty dead.

(d) When castes were identical with professions each caste had its dignity and each profession its concomitant honour. Every

profession was intrinsically dignified as society was built on a mutual-aid co-operative foundation and each class continued to do its work in the spirit of team-work, to the total advantage of the body-politic. The cultivator was the bread-producer, the merchant and artisans, the distributing agents of food, and other amenities and activities of social and industrial life, the warrior was the organiser and administrator who shed his blood to defend all houses and hearths and the learned poor who held an honored place were considered deserving of being gratefully cared for by all, as they were more often rightly than wrongly believed to have earned it by their manifest solicitude for the other-worldly welfare of all classes who were their patrons and protectors. Birth and profession, sense of duty and claim of right, worked like loving twins in the interests of all castes as the ideal was recognised to be service contributed to the common weal. In course of time the duties were forgotten while the rights survived them. The professions were parted from the accident of birth. Mere enforcement of rights created oppression of the ignorant and the reaction has been slowly taking the shape first of resentment, next of envy and lastly of defiance and vindictive and other oppressive self-assertion. The society having given too little room for the individual's assertion, the individual had been trying to force his head up to win his freedom. This individual had already been cut off from his hereditary profession. He had been looking out for other methods of living. These social and economic changes had been going on for long around the individual. Western education came in time to give an impetus to this break-up of the ancient system and offered him a tempting short-cut to win his self-respect of a new variety by giving up all the old fashioned other-respects unconditionally. It offered to make a great thing out of him—great from its own individualistic point of view as against the old environment of which he had formed a natural though weakened part. It taught him how to acquire new qualifications for new professions. He glorified the new and damnified and treated the old professions with contempt. The agriculturist, the artisan, the toilers in industries, the men of the village began to race along to a glamourised goal of what they believed to be a way of living better and higher than those who had stayed behind in the village. The anxiety to rise in prestige, the eagerness to be treated as a superior person, the craving to make more money and the subconscious urge towards the attainment of what he believed to be the only culture worth having—all these gave an irresistible impetus to the restless youth to rush on and on. The non-English knowing parent or guardian fondly hoped for too much when he strained his nerves and tore his purse-strings open for his boy's education. He accepted his position as lower than the boy's. He did not contradict the boy's claim to be a superior person and smiled indulgently when the boy poured his contempt on the old-fashioned Indian ambitions and works. After fifty years or more the young man has found that though English education was a

commendable course of culture worth striving for, it was not a paying proposition from the economic point of view, that he is too big a man for going back to his ancestral land, or industry, or trade, that his artificial standard of civilized living is too costly to make him easily fit back into the old setting of social and economic life, that his literary qualifications have become so much common property as to deprive him of a specialist's monopoly and that there are so many strugglers like him ready to take up any work on any terms while there are so few of offers for their services, and that having spent so much either by begging or borrowing or stealing through wives, there is no chance of a proportionate or even less-than-proportionate pecuniary return for his outlay in labour and capital. Having speculated on prospective income he has lost his past credit and become insolvent to borrow an expression from the experience of the ruined merchant. The hereditary professions are gone. The acquired professions do not pay owing to an over-supply of and under-demand for labour skilled or unskilled, literary or non-literary. The State is not altogether responsible for this sweeping change.

(5) No. They never do this. The institutions send out the stamped articles. They never trouble themselves about the future of their human output. The old boy's day gives a chance for the successful old pupils to show themselves off to the admiration of their old professors or their successors in title and tradition and to the envy of enthusiastic young boys, every one of whom for a day at least can imagine himself to be an embryo of the big boys to come. This is all that happens. This aspect of the question of unemployment is of theoretical importance and not practical. Like ants discovering sugar the candidates now find out where openings exist and how prevailing recommendations can be obtained. Newspaper advertisements when paid for by employers occasionally carry far and wide the offer of bread to the hungry few who are waiting.

(6) *Minimum Estimate—*

Literary—Professional.

<i>In the Muzassal.</i>		<i>In Madras.</i>	
School	Final—Three years course—	Rs.	Rupees 210 extra for three years for meals and miscellaneous charges, or Rs 980.
	School fees	132	
	Examination fees ..	12	
	Books	28	
	Meals for 27 months ..	405	
Miscellaneous—			
	Room rent, lighting, washing and clothing, etc. ..	165	
Total		740	

(6) *Minimum Estimate—cont.*

Literary—Professional—*cont.*

<i>In the Muzassal.</i>		<i>In Madras.</i>		Rs.
Intermediates—		Rupees 1,025—		
Two years course ..	865	Fees	192	
		Examinations	24	
		Books	50	
		Hotel for 17 months ..	425	
		Miscellaneous	204	
		Cloths	80	
		Railway fare	50	
		Total	1,025	
Bachelor of Arts—		Rupees 1,120—		
Two years or three years if Honours Course.		Fees	250	
		Examination	38	
		Books	75	
		Hotel and Miscellaneous ..	622	
		Cloths	80	
		Railway fare	50	
		Total	1,120	
Bachelor of Laws—two years ..		Honours course	1,680	
		Fees	250	
		Examination (twice)	60	
		Books	180	
		Hotel, Miscellaneous, etc. ..	780	
		Total	1,270	
Bachelor of Civil Engineering—four years course.		Advance	120	
		College fees	648	
		Books	300	
		Boarding at 10 months a year for 4 years at Rs. 25 a month.	1,000	
		Camping expenses	200	
		Miscellaneous	100	
		Clothing	200	
		Total	2,568	
Bachelor of Medicine, M.B.B.S. or L.M.&S.—five years course.		Fees	1,025	
		Deposit	10	
		Books	300	
		Boarding	1,250	
		Miscellaneous	100	
		Clothing	250	
		Total	2,935	
Sub-Assistant Surgeons course, I.M.P.—four years course.		Fees	240	
		Books	100	
		Clothing	200	
		Boarding	1,000	
		Miscellaneous	100	
		Total	1,640	

I have no information about (c) commercial courses. They cannot be less costly than the Intermediate course at Madras.

Notes.—(1) Attention is invited to the Gazette notifications and Educational Code for accurate information on fees.

(2) The cost of clothing, feeding, room-rent, lighting, dhoby, barber, etc., has to be added.

(3) Cost of living has gone up limitlessly during the last generation. Madras is far more costly than the mufassal. The money-orders-remitting-fathers can bear eloquent testimony to the debit value of their children's education.

(4) The school-final boy spends as much, if not more than, the old F.A. on books, note-books and fees and so on in the rising scale of university education.

(5) 4th, 5th, 6th form boys pay the same fees unlike the graduated scale of the old days.

(6) The note-books themselves have risen in number and cost. Specialisation begins with the 4th form.

(7) By the way, it will be wrong of a layman to omit to seriously mention some conspicuous features of this compartmental system (S.S.L.C.) which gives us history boys knowing nothing of anything else including Indian History, Science boys knowing nothing of at least Indian Geography or History, Mathematics boys knowing nothing of anything else, Type-writing-lads knowing book-keeping and nothing of History or General Geography and all boys knowing nothing of their own wonderful physical organism or the nature around them. This is the wonderful school-final-group system which has superseded the old matriculation and the F.A. Vernaculars are nowhere in all grades and English text-books are a weight the lads groan under with detailed and non-detailed study. Their only blessing is that they have since escaped the procrustean bed of the marks-moderating machine whose uncommon function was to equalize inequalities. While giving a neglecting finality to several generally useful being fundamental things the system left the boys to specialize in some incongruous groups of study leading the lads into the Intermediate atmosphere. Far be it from me to say anything in levity on such an occasion.

(8) As a matter of logical argument increased cost of education must have affected the number going in for it and the supply of educated men in consequence. One need not try the impossible task of getting to prove a negative proposition. Experience has shown that in spite of the increased cost the supply has relatively outrun the demand for services. The very fact that this questionnaire has been issued to consider the question of unemployment indicates that in spite of the cost people have been going in for education under the unconscious urge of a desire for culture and a conscious ambition of qualifying for service to get bread. By service I do not mean Government service only. Without English an young man is an unsaleable commodity in the social or employment market. I fear there will at times be several people who would even if they can, make it more costly and thus apply a drastic remedy to the spread of the education fever.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

(1) (a) Figures taken from "Fort St. George Gazette" and statistics available in the reports on Public Instruction (Government publication) for the Presidency are given below:—

—	Number passed.	Number failed.	Remarks.
1920.			
B.A.—			
Males	1,012	913	
	52 per cent.	47 per cent	
		roughly.	
		8	
Females	31		
Intermediate—			
Males	1,366	3,964 Slaughter.	
	41	10	
Females			
S.S.L.C.—			
Males	5,300	9,300 Slaughter.	
Females			
1921.			
B.A.—			
Males	1,332	2,288 Slaughter.	
	43	16	
Females			
Intermediate—			
Males	1,911	5,291 Slaughter.	
	48	19	
Females			
S.S.L.C.—			
Males and Females	4,922	Not published.	
1922.			
B.A.—			
Males	1,232	1,207 Slaughter.	
	46	12	
Females			
Intermediate—			
Males	1,522	4,147 Slaughter.	
	71	75	
Females			
S.S.L.C.—			
Males and females	5,665	Not published.	
1923.			
B.A.—			
Males	1,421	2,200 Slaughter.	
	38	31	
Females			
Intermediate—			
Males	2,178	4,841 Slaughter.	
	117	146	
Females			
S.S.L.C.—			
Males and females	4,849	6,580 Slaughter.	
1924.			
B.A.—			
Males	1,264	1,439 Slaughter.	
	60	24	
Females			
Intermediate—			
Males	1,888	3,759 Slaughter.	
	82	123	
Females			
S.S.L.C.—			
Males and females	4,592	8,190 Slaughter.	

From the general point of view these results represent a lamentable waste of three years' trouble and money and time for all concerned—boys and their unhappy guardians—whether the results were due either to unfit candidates who were undeservedly pushed up or misfit examiners who with excessive rigour pushed them back into the limbo of unsuccess.

	Number passed.	Number failed.	Remarks.
1925.			
B.A.—			
Males	1,018	932	See remarks ante.
Intermediate—		1920 repeated.	
Males	1,677	3,683 Slaughter.	
Females	123	101	
S.S.L.C.—			

I learn it was not published in the Gazette. Information given to headmasters of schools.

(b) This is not easy to answer. Lists of subordinates from all districts in all departments including railways should be obtained and totalled up for each of these years. Only then can percentage of the employed be ascertained. A special establishment must be made to do this work to help us to get accurate figures. The difference between each year's figures under (a) and (b) will give the total number unemployed or could never have been employed in any year. For practical purposes we have to ignore people who failing to get employment in one year get it next year or year after during the period selected.

I give figures of Cuddapah district for the Revenue department under Collector's control showing the number of vacancies and how they were filled up as required in question III (1) (c). It is impossible to ascertain the number of B.A.'s and intermediates produced as these went to other districts to qualify for the examinations as S.S.L.C. is the highest standard in the district. Unless the candidates at Madras and other colleges are classified district-wise the number produced from each district cannot be ascertained.

Cuddapah district—Revenue department—Collector's control.

	Number of vacancies.	B. A.	Intermediate.	S.S.L.C.	Unpassed.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)

Permanent vacancies.

1920	17	Nil.	1	16	..
1921	17	1	1	5	10
1922	6	..	..	6	..
1923	13	5	..	8	..
1924	19	9	..	16	..
1925	13	..	..	13	..

Note.—Columns (3) to (6) were employed.

Acting vacancies.

1920	50	1	2	47	..
1921	55	..	2	49	4
1922	49	..	1	44	4
1923	54	1	2	47	6
1924	48	1	..	43	4
1925	29	2	..	24	3

Note.—Columns (3) to (6) were employed.

Remarks.—The least qualified had the highest luck. "Fidelity" did not bring higher qualified men as its bad name for unhealthiness daunts all but the desperate from getting into it.

(2) *Technical and professional.*—(a) See answer to (1) (a). There are no technical or professional schools in this district. Almost all districts send their young men to Madras.

(b) See answer to query (b) under (1) above.

(3) *Mercantile and banking.*—(a) No information is available.

(b) No information is available.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) *Vocational training and selection in schools.*—I have not much faith in this remedy. See my remarks against II (1), paragraphs (a) to (c). This remedy would, however, give the pupils the great advantage of learning the lesson of the dignity of manual labour and rub off the angularities of solely literary training.

(2) *Technical education.*—This needs investigation. Unless industrial development becomes more marked, there will be no demand for technically trained men. Till now there has been no cry for such qualified men. The future may hope to show better.

(3) *Employment or Information Bureau in Colleges and Government offices or private employment agencies.*—This will facilitate the coming into contact of employee-candidates with the employers, and strengthen the mechanism of the labour exchange. At present it cannot be said that the absence of such agencies has contributed appreciably to the acuteness of the unemployment problem.

(4) (a) I have great faith in this. Agricultural development can give more bread to those living on land. Educated men with agricultural training should attack the problem of land improvement. They have to be advanced capital after forming them into groups of co-operative farmers. The lands should be redeemable in the course of ten years. The subsidiary occupations of cattle-breeding, butter and ghee manufacture, supply of pure milk and curd, rearing of fowls and sheep, etc., have to be taken up. Herein comes the importance of educating women to co-operate with the men. How loans can be given without security is a problem by itself, when these men have no capital for seed grain or ploughing cattle. This question will arise only if the State is going to attempt to solve the problem of unemployment. As it cannot lend money without security, diversion to agriculture should be initiated by the unemployed themselves if they can. With the depressed classes in social rebellion insistently demanding expanding subsidies for their improvement, which Government will venture to help the middle classes who belong to the castes which are anathema to the depressed classes? The State can piously hope that the middle classes will somehow go back to land and live if they have lands. The landless people form the crux of the unemployment problem.

(b) *Mechanical occupations.*—None can deny that any such diversion would relieve the pressure of unemployment. The old "Shonberies" of Madras became "rickshaw wallahs" and jutka or bandy drivers till the motor bus and motor car cornered them

into insecurity of existence. Several good-for-nothings have become motor chauffeurs and been getting Rs. 30 or Rs. 35 a month and more—a salary which graduates would envy. If the middle class men can get into chauffeur line some relief would come. I believe this has begun in Madras, and big towns. There are a few cases of school final men driving motor buses after being trained as motor mechanics. There is a possibility of some more taking to this occupation as motor service progresses. The unprofitable vanity of literary-trained men would gradually disappear under stress of economic needs. Railway workshops would, if generously thrown open to the public, absorb some unemployed men. The proportion between skilled and unskilled labour required in the workshops would place a limitation on the number of educated men successfully competing with the uneducated unskilled men as the latter kind of labour is in larger demand than the former. Nor can the number of clock and watch repairers, cycle and motor repairers, ever increase indefinitely. To set up business needs some capital which is at a discount with the majority of these candidates who undergo training to earn a living. An increase in the number of candidates would bring down the wage unless they can learn to combine to keep the wage at the minimum of decent living. Unions may have a large part to play if people get specially trained and generally educated. The State can hardly do anything to divert people to mechanical occupations. The Electric Energy Supply Schemes will give an impetus to the increase in the number of mechanics specially suited to subsidiary duties under the supervision of highly-trained educated experts. That is a question of years to come.

(c) *Trade and Commerce*.—If landed men go back to land and the trading and commercial men go back to trade and commerce the pressure on the middle class labour market would naturally decrease. It is idle to talk of men without land or capital taking to the occupation of agriculture or trade or commerce. It has to be borne in mind that certain communities have been by heredity closely connected with trade and commerce for generations. It will generally be a difficult process for those not born to it to take to it when they have no stock to start with. The snuff-merchant, the vendor of cigarettes, betel leaves and nuts, the restaurant owner, the hotel-keeper, the coffee and pudding and cake seller, the sweets manufacturer, the pickles-maker, etc., these petty traders have shown the way for petty capitalists to force the various sections of the public to contribute to their maintenance in exchange of services rendered and conveniences or comforts or cheap luxuries provided by them. If the sense of fictitious dignity which has been the bane of middle class educated men can be pulverised into a proper sense of manliness based on honest and hard-earned living, small avenues of employment can be forced open by adventurous pioneers who will be schooled by their fresh experience into abandoning luxurious tastes in clothing and feeding and going back to simple and healthy standards of living. Efforts can be

started on co-operative lines and the caterers can succeed in exacting respect from their customers by the self-respect maintained by themselves in pursuing their chosen occupations. So long as the *dignity* aspect overshadows commonsense, misery should be the lot of men who will not learn that only the man by his conduct can give the dignity to his labour and that no honest labour can undignify man as man. This idea shall have to spread out from the philosopher's room, students' chamber and school room and become part and parcel of the mentality of the people, now wanting the work by which they can live.

(d) By the way, it may be remarked that the great curse of competitive existence is the prosperity of the unproductive class of consumers known as middle men or commission agents. These add to the evils of speculative plundering. The ignorance and timidity of the scattered "first" producers put them at the mercy of these agents on one side. On the other side, the consumers are equally scattered over wide areas and are incapable of getting into touch with the producers. It is inevitable that the consumer and producer should be brought into contact and that there should be a limited number of go-betweens. When these links become too many and their number outgrows the actual requirements, the agents become an evil-prey upon the producers and consumers and fatten on the land. The producer gets very little profit and the consumer pays too much for relatively less quantity, the difference being swallowed up by the commission agents. A majority of these consumers are unproductive consumers, who do not add to the totality of wealth. The only way to get free of this incubus is for different producers to combine in a body or groups and get into direct touch with the various consumers formed into other organizations, shorten the distance separating them from each other and determine the conditions which will enable the producers to get more profit for less goods and the consumers to pay less for more goods in respect of the commodities dealt with by both. Co-operative production and co-operative distribution will bring about co-operative consumption, revolutionize social and economic conditions, force every worker to do some thing more than merely be a consumer and thus appreciably reduce the large superfluity of exchange-makers who are a pleasure only to themselves but a damaging pest to others—be they producers or consumers. This slow but sure change can come about only by *proper education* being given to the people for a long time and by their being taught the true dignity of all kinds of services rendered by the different parts of the organism which in different ways—small and great—contribute to the healthy up-keep of the social body politic as a whole. Only then will trade and commerce be *genuine* benefits justifying their existence by useful services rendered to the society and this kind of healthy economic activity will add to the assets of the nation. Adulteration of foodstuffs, use of over-measures for purchasing and under-measures for selling articles or paying wages of labour in kinds (there is such a thing as the *coolij* kuncham proclaiming

the shame of the cheating ryot who swindles his farm servant or herd-watcher (therewith) and a hundred other frauds will cease to be practised by the merchants against the interests of the at-present-slumbering consumers, who from their side will begin to effectively exhibit their displeasure through healthy public opinion and keep the vendor's conscience always painfully awake. The agriculturist on his part will also then understand that raising industrial crops such as tobacco, turmeric and ground-nuts, etc., to make more money at the expense of the food crops for his cattle, his family and his village will leave him with more money no doubt but with less food, and that at a dearer price than before, that his village will be less stocked in reserve grain to meet seasonal disasters and that the general growth of such a practice of recklessly superseding food crops by industrial will make the country less self-reliant in the matter of its food supply for men and cattle and that this common greed will inevitably bring the deserved punishment in the shape of an abundance of circutable coin along with a poverty of the stock of exchangeable life-sustaining commodities. *The evils pointed out above contribute to the dearness of living which factor vitally accentuates the suffering of the unemployed and aggravates the numerical strength of that ever-existing class of humanity.* Trade and commerce have to run on co-operative lines and direct contact has to be established between consumers and producers if the standard of common living has to be raised by all working for each man and each working for all men in society. *The State cannot do much in applying this remedy.*

(5) *Provision of more capital for agricultural development and the best method of securing this.*—The laying out of capital is determined by the prospective return in any business, whether agriculture, trade or commerce or banking. A small rate on a large turn-over is a guarantee against the speculative risk involved in all attempts to realize large profits in quick time with the minimum trouble to the capitalist. Banking is open to the last-mentioned temptation, and the money-lender has been less of a blessing and more of a bane to his fellows. By virtue of his occupation and temperament he has always an eye primarily to his advantage, and the weak borrower is always liable to be cornered into helpless degradation in his struggle with the professional capitalist. The latter's power grows as the need of the former increases. Unless the capitalist also becomes an agriculturist or trader or manufacturer no industry can thrive. He has to place a limit on his margin of profit to enable the industries to become moderately remunerative. The individual capitalist can never forget his rate of interest and will always force it to be at the maximum standard. If capitalists combine primarily in their own interests they can surely create a slave market for their borrowers who cannot do without their assistance. A few lakh-owners at the top will hold the throats of thousands of workers below them in their vice-like grips. *By co-operation the capitalists can strengthen the non-capitalist workers financially and be content*

with a lowered rate of profit if their purpose be mainly to strengthen the general body of producers for the benefit of all consumers including themselves. As capitalists will not commit suicide by voluntarily giving room for the free play of generous instincts for common good, people already in their grips have to be redeemed from their burdensome obligations before the indebted classes can combine and think of dictating terms to their former oppressors. Unless the agriculturist is redeemed from his heavy-interest-rate-debt, it is idle to talk about agricultural development. It is only a cruel insult to laugh at his inertia. His emancipation is the *sine qua non* of his self-reliant freedom. The fact of his slavery should not be flung at his face as it is useless to try to rouse a depressed and consequently hopeless insolvent to any successful exertion. That does no good to him or to his country. His redemption can come only through co-operative efforts. The capitalist should be outwitted by some intervening agency which will help the debtors to throw off the old galling yoke and save their lands from exploitation and appropriation by the men of money. Rate of interest will then come down and the capitalist will be forced to compete with the new agency thereby flooding the borrower's market with his financial surplus. Co-operative agriculture will then spring up and bring on its development. The producer should always be the eventual enjoyer of what he produces—be it great or small—though he may accept aid from others on fair and strict business lines for the development of his productive activities. The new redeeming agent should at first be the State which is believed to be the *alter ego* of the people. Later on the people by gathered experience will become their own redeemers. Social extravagances due to social habits and customs must change under the co-operative system, which through healthy public opinion based on enlightened experience and genuine self-interest will effectively curb individual eccentricities for the protection of common collective interests. The curse of unlimited subdivision of land under the Hindu Joint-family Law has destroyed all inclination and scope to do anything beyond the customary extraction of any something that may be wrung out of the neglected land. If land, labour and capital be the three essentials of production, if land can be saved even by necessary legislation from being cut up into insignificant bits, if the labourers can become capitalists by combination and secure the freedom of their land from the absence non-agriculturist—be he merchant or trader or banker or professional worker—who has no interest in land as land but cares for it only as a safe instrument for his superfluous wealth, if by force of circumstances the capitalist be compelled to offer his money on equitable and easier terms than at present, thereby getting a chance of contributing to the common good in exchange for a modest return for his trouble, the anxiety to make land more productive will become a very strong impulse to drive the at-present pessimistic cultivator into making larger efforts

for his own direct advantage and the indirect benefit of other people who like him are in some aspects producers, while in several other aspects they are all consumers. The work of redemption of the agriculturist from debt through land-mortgage banks, and granting loans for agricultural improvements will devolve on the State. Co-operative banks have also to work in that direction to finance the efforts towards the land improvement. These two methods will conduce to increased provision of capital for agricultural development. The debt-ridden demoralised ryot will become more self-reliant. The prospect of reaping rewards for his own benefit will act as a strong incentive to his hopeful self-reliant efforts. Students of agricultural research should at the same time be in intimate contact with the cultivator and demonstration farms on State-owned or private-owned land taken on lease or lent for experiment should everywhere proclaim to the ryot how he can grow more, and what he can grow more on the long-suffering land. The fruits of successful experiments should be guaranteed to him. He should be taught to recognize what the soil is deficient in and how to remedy the defect through the better utilization of existing cattle manure or oil-seed or cotton-seed or groundnut seed manure or the raising of cheap green-manure crops or local manufacture of cheap bone manure or by any method suited to the seasonal and physical conditions of his locality. The practical education of the agriculturist should be correlated to his actual economic emancipation from chronic indebtedness—the latter starting first and dragging the former in its wake, the latter giving liberty and the former giving a chance of profiting by the newly-won freedom—if agricultural development should be a consummation genuinely hoped for in the interests of the country. One great difficulty in the way of the cultivator becoming enthused over the improvement of his lands is his instinctive fear that his betterment would inevitably lead to Government revenue coming in for a greater share of the produce at recurring settlements. This is a state of mentality difficult to cure by mere assurances of good will and benevolence. Such assurances should materialise in a perceptible form before his faith can be restored to healthy normality by affording him opportunities to decide for himself as to the matter and manner, the times and occasion, for taxing himself to his advantage and for the common benefit to meet the ever-growing wants—educational, medical, sanitary and other kinds. Human nature being what it is, a man will bear a heavy burden for his own benefit than for another's, if he feels that he cannot get a new advantage any otherwise. A village will tax itself for its water-supply and lighting and education though it will hate to do so for the benefit of some other village far or near. The temple repairs levy, the Bhagavatam or Harikatha performer's fee, the village God's or Goddess's utchavam quota, the general feeding celebration contribution—these are some existing proofs of the latent self-taxing voluntary efforts that are pleasantly made when the villager himself feels that the purpose is for his own

benefit or pleasure or glorification. As land has been bearing a very large share of the burden of taxation, it is necessary to recast the methods and open up fresh resources by shifting a part of the general burden on large landowners who have been contributing a comparatively small portion towards the carrying on of the complex administration of the country. Unless the totality of wealth is increased, allotment of funds for agricultural development or any development cannot be feasible. This indicates how this aspect of the problem of taxation is of vital importance to the common State-fund for encouraging any kind of development. There are at present large landed proprietors who cannot or will not do anything to set an example in the direction of agricultural development. They have no interest as it brings them no profit so long as the rent is assured by law. The zamindari ryots feel that they have an inestimable advantage over the ryotwari cultivators inasmuch as the zamindar's rent cannot rise if the tenant's lands should yield more, whereas there is an incurable fear amongst the ryotwari tenants that Government revenue would inevitably grow under similar conditions at their own cost in ryotwari tracts. This does not mean that they are not capable of appreciating benefits and offering to take on fresh burdens when advantages are brought home to their minds. Witness, for example, the readiness with which the ryots offer to pay more assessment or contribute to the repairs of the minor irrigation tank or excavation of a new irrigation channel. There is more scope apparently for enthusiasm in zamindaris than in Government tracts, *at least from this very narrow point of view*. At the bottom of all this, the agriculturist is in need of general education to help him to understand that the world has been changing since his grandfather's days. That other countries have discovered that sheep will grow more wool and land will yield more crop through electrification, reads like a tale to so-called educated men. Such a statement is simply beyond even the imagination of the non-English knowing Indian agriculturist who has even now little chance of knowing the results of learned researches embodied in the English reports of the Pusa or Coimbatore Research Institutes as they are not easily accessible to him in his present uneducated condition.

(6) *Village reconstruction as a means of employment—Sound moral basis wanting.*—This will include land improvement and co-operative agriculture, improved education and better sanitation in the villages, co-operative production and distribution, amongst other things. Agricultural colonies also come under this head. As these matters have been or will be considered in the appropriate order it is unnecessary to deal with "village reconstruction" as if it were an independent remedy for the problem of unemployment. I do not know if by it anything more is meant. Anyhow, to my mind, it inevitably suggests a few reflections over the present social conditions which are anything but propitious to any reconstruction except on paper. The old self-sufficient village

is known to have ceased to exist long ago. A village is as a matter of fact no longer a self-contained co-operative unit, whatever may be the causes that have led to this undeniable and undesirable result. The organization of village panchayats on the lines of the Village Panchayats Act of 1920 has been the only course suggested to bring about a change from the outside by giving a legal unity if a spirit of real unity has already prepared the way to justify the conferring of such a status. It is in itself a very very slow *poor and artificial process*. *There is no other mechanical alternative to adopt so far as the State is concerned to promote public weal. The people themselves if they are well advised and guided, must work and can work for co-operative success (in a general sense) from the inside.* A legally-made panchayat's success depends on a *vital* body-politic and this again on the subsidence of every kind of the disintegrating factious spirit. Bitter suffering on account of faction or any other harmful cause is the only source of wisdom, whether for individuals or groups of them—small or large. Till that wisdom which is the *only* source of relief begins to be active there can be no co-operation whatever, even for panchayat work, which needs the first recognition of the foremost necessity to work for common improvement of the village in all its aspects of social and economic life. *Faction exists even between people belonging to the same community.* Can it be attacked, say by seriously adopting the wise method of contracting relationships through marriage? Can the village Romeos and Juliets be bound down for future good behaviour by being brought under the legal bonds of marriage and can a new page in the history of the village be opened thereby and all its energy now wasted in ruthless mutual destruction—either financial or physical—be diverted into fruitful channels of activity for common good? Should not old feuds be deliberately buried in newly enforced sympathies so that new friendships may gradually grow into bloom over the graves of the dead hatreds? Can economic bonds be created to further strengthen this bond in the interests of all? These and allied solutions have first to be worked out for these problems from several viewpoints before any construction and still more reconstruction of village society is thought of? Societies cannot be built artificially by a royal fiat as easily as a new building can be built after clearing the site of an old one by an order of a capricious plutocrat? The inoculation of the virus of inter-communal ill-will—a new kind of plague—should be forced to find ever decreasing scope by a candid recognition of the inexpansive and inevitable limitations of direct public or quasi-public employment before the large majority of the disappointed aspirants of all communities are driven by the highest necessity to work together sensibly to ensure other means of healthy existence. The fog of prejudiced oratory, the heat of fighting politics kept alive by hysterical self-appreciation and other depreciation and ill-intentioned narrow-minded criticism of the inharmonious type will all have to clear and disappear

to make room for a cooler and clearer atmosphere and enable a clearer vision of the essentials of common life and through it a discovery of fresh avenues for the solid march of harmonious progress. Sincerity and conviction will find room in the regulation of public conduct only when the bitter experience of unprofitable fighting has burnt into the brains of thinking men the truth, that constructive work needs co-operation as the corner stone of its foundations and the binding cement of its composite structure. The graft of politics—which is but another name for the common good and the means to work out that end—will then grow on the tree of social progress and both will gather abundant natural sustenance from a regenerated human soil. Politics will cease to be a game of hide and seek or a struggle for division of spoils only after it has transformed itself into a working method based on definite and well-understood schemes to render various services to the people by rejecting all irritating shibboleths and catchwords now deluding as much their well-meaning or ill-meaning utterers as they have been misleading through flattery their narrow-minded and purblind masses of hearers. The hope that these blighting shadows of the Upas tree will pass away is not merely the dream of the pious optimist or the delirious rant of the diseased pessimist incapable of seeing good outside himself. It solidly rests on a sober appreciation of the age-long basic social features that are even now in existence, albeit they have, for the time, been lying dormant and unobserved, having been overshadowed by the painful throes of struggling communities seeking desperately to find short-cuts to progress, blaming every other country or community than its own and making furious efforts to smash up all superficial obstacles which are fondly believed to be the only barriers shutting them off from the windows through which the light of Heaven will shed itself on a new life on a transformed Earth. It is a fact within the knowledge of every thoughtful person who is willing to see, learn, and follow facts that in a very large part of the sphere of normal existence the *needs* of every day life of any set of people are too imperative to be easily baulked of their satisfaction merely because certain superficial prejudices have rightly or wrongly gathered round certain other kinds of people that may be by chance associated with the substantial resources which are available to relieve every body's needs. To take concrete examples from life, when water flows out of a large tank carrying onward through tiny channels its blessings to the thirsty land waiting for its life-giving touch to grow the bread of life, will the Hindu cultivator scorn to take it because it has come through the Muhammadan's land or will the non-Brahman shun it because it has been defiled by contact with the Brahman's ground? When money has to be borrowed to meet legitimate necessities will the borrowing Brahman or non-Brahman prefer to die in ruin rather than go respectively to the non-Brahman or Brahman money-lender, who alone has the means to lend the much needed aid? Will the patient prefer to die without medical aid because the man who

alone can give it is not of his community or caste? Will the doctor starve and withhold his service from the patient because the latter belongs to another disagreeable section of humanity? Will the litigant turn his back on the acute lawyer of another persuasion and lose his cause or the lawyer close his doors against other community clients and treat their money as dirt defiled? Will the Christian merchant cease to buy the Brahman's grain or the non-Brahman trader skun the Brahman's pulses and will each court ruin by confining himself to the use of articles produced by cultivators of his class alone? Has any depressed class member withheld his labour and rejected his bread because the fruit of his labour also feeds the men of the oppressor class or has any of the latter ring kept his land waste and untilled because the crop will have to be shared by the former? Has any of these members been at any time actually doing or done any of these foolish unnatural and unprofitable things? These are facts writ large and bold on the page of common social life which he who wills to see can hardly fail to read and profit by if he be a seeker after genuine, permanent public good. These human acts spring from impulses of a nobler sort laid deep down in the common depth of humanity. They cannot be destroyed or ignored by the scornful laugh of the superior so-called practical public workers. They have survived and will outlive generations of scoffers of that kind who substitute their own superficial patent remedies and succeed in discovering exactly the diseases suited to their favourite nostrums. The body cannot be whole if any limb be torn away from its setting and man cannot win by outraging nature of which all men spiritually form an inseparable living part. No house-construction will be a success if built on dividing lines which place in antagonism its several component parts. Still less, can the toilers at the reconstruction of a village unity adopt the latter plan without ensuring its end in disastrous destruction. The angle of the dog-in-the-manger vision should change in the people through their own combined and correlated efforts. They should learn that nothing good will come out so long as any community wishes to strengthen itself by putting down other communities or grow its life by taking the life out of the others. Fusion can never be the fruit of confounding confusion till the world's order changes so unexpectedly as to enable man to grow grapes from thorns and figs out of thistles. When all have to kneel and pray in sackcloth and ashes for the wrong unconsciously done to themselves through wrongs consciously or ignorantly inflicted on others in the past, it is a pitiable sight to find any one declaring that it is his neighbour and not he that has to tread the thorny way of repentance and flog himself in humiliation for his redemption from sin. Village reconstruction is not a patent medicine which can be manufactured by the State like quinine packets sold cheap to malaria patients through post offices. It means even to my poor mind the beginning of a change of spirit amongst the people themselves to be brought about in the course of generations of after-effort, not as one of the several

cures for the present disease of unemployment but as a cure for all diseases of the Indian social body springing from the leprosy of the Indian soul, irrespective of the self-righteous hall-marks borne by the many nominal aspirants of the different religions that are supposed to provide for the spiritual welfare of the people who are being born and who are dying in millions in India. In this view of the matter—with a respectful apology for my incapacity to understand what was exactly meant by the practical-minded author of the remedy and my probably getting confounded into an unexpectedly queer interpretation of it—I venture to conclude with the remark that this new spirit should grow before the idea of village reconstruction can ever materialize and that attention to this vital aspect of the matter is the crying need of the hour and most relevant to any effort to rouse the people of this country to set about renewing the several unhealthy limbs of their complex body. Surely, it follows that only to such honest efforts all good in strength will be added and that continued failure to make them by turning the blind eye to the disagreeable truth will find them ever running with ever-increasing thirst after a shimmering mirage which mocks while it leads them on to despair.

(7) *Co-operative agriculture*.—I have great faith in this remedy. Please see my remarks against 4 (a) and 5 above. It is an untrodden path which can be traversed only by men possessing enthusiasm and prepared to expend it with great patience and undaunted industry. If they have capital but not land, the State can assign land for cultivation. If they have land but no capital the State can also help by way of loans. Those who have neither land nor capital form a large proportion of the unemployed. Their existence is a hard practical problem to solve. The only advantage is that to the extent to which unemployed men with capital alone or land alone are helped to take to agriculture as a serious pursuit in life to that extent the State can add its contribution to relieving the pressure on the unemployed market. Obviously, there will be left on our hands men without land and capital who can supply labour alone towards agriculture—and that of an unskilled kind in respect of this industry though they might proudly class themselves with the educated from the literary point of view. Here the State can give them some land but it is very doubtful if it can give them capital. Their problem is as bad as the one affecting the depressed classes both being on a par of helplessness to start life in agriculture. The only method—safe as well as useful—open to these middle class men is *co-operative agriculture*, where some guarantee and zeal and running discretion can be created by State aid. The co-operative society is treated as a more solvent entity than the individual co-operator. It must have some share-capital at least to justify an advance of loan to help the society to get to practical work. The method of communal organizations which are the very negation of true co-operation should be sternly discouraged as far as possible. All for each and each for all should be the guiding

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principle of this movement in future though unfortunately even at present communal societies have been started in some places under the sanction of the Co-operative Societies Act to the great detriment of the country's future. Seed grain and cattle and ploughing implements will be held in common. Crops will be grown in common, distributed in common, and exchange of commodities with others will be done in common. The Reserve Fund will be held in common in kind, in coin, in live-stock and in the precious manure and the workers will learn how to adjust themselves to new conditions by their own experience. This idyllic picture cannot be drawn in a day. In the beginning partial disappointment must overtake the enthusiasts. Their comforts will be few. Their standard of living will be simple though healthy. Their social usages have to be altered and a spirit of service to one another giving the right to share in the resultant benefit should pervade the co-operators. In short, it will be a striving towards brotherhood through small agricultural colonies where sustained self-effort will flourish under the sunshine of State sympathy manifesting itself in timely aid in loans and help in practical advice. The scheme has to be very seriously worked out by sober experts on sound business lines to ensure great possibilities naturally growing in time out of small—though hard on account of their novelty—beginnings.

(8) *Farm colonies for middle classes.*—I have dealt with this already in reply to (5) and (7).

(9) *Development of banking in connection with the extension of agriculture.*—This is an inevitable and essential preliminary to effective State aid to increased co-operative activity of any kind as indicated in the suggestions made in the foregoing paragraphs. A Central Government Bank would at the outset be a dependable reservoir of financial aid. There are at present many money-lending indigenous firms based on private partnership. Their main and only purpose is to wring out as much as possible from the borrower and make him as helpless as possible till he in despair allows himself to be swallowed up for the fattening of the capitalist. These narrow-minded capitalists have no interest in or helpful prepossession to the growth of the self-reliant agriculturist or industrialist. They have been always found to be the bitterest foes of the co-operative movement. Experience has shown that it is not from them that deposits flow into the co-operative bank. To break their greediness and compel them to convert their greedy need into a vehicle of modestly avaricious generosity the State and other capital-owners who are not swayed by that sort of specific instinct of money-making have to enter the field with their funds. The rate of return will fall, the money market will become easier and larger, the co-operative or individual borrower will gradually throw off the crushing yoke of indebtedness and the general freedom thus secured by struggling labour from obsessing capital will be an incentive to a variety of fruitful

activities for common good. The *nidhis*, the banks of the Marwaris and Nattukottai Chettis will be compelled to change their age-long grabbing spirit into one of strengthening helpfulness thereby adding to the number of channels which will go to feed the springs of remunerative enterprise. The habit of saving "mickles" to form "muckles" will receive a powerful stimulus with the growth of the consciousness that the money saved by the people will circulate within the country and the increased number of small capital nuclei worked into several central funds will in the end enable even small capitalists indirectly to promote a number of modestly remunerative undertakings. No State law of usury can work successfully against the money-lender, when he is sure of getting colluding borrowers ready to be bled as they have nothing to help them to escape this unwelcome chloroform operation depriving them of their limbs. Law Courts only expedite the process of ruin. The paper-bonds or decrees cannot prevent actual payments by the debtors of higher rates of interest to the lenders when between the parties anything like freedom of contract is bound in the nature of things to be an unknown quantity. Nor can anything prevent the slow and steady process of absorption of the debtor's substance by the professional creditor. Land-mortgage banks so far as can be seen offer a sure solution and indicate untold possibilities for good. They have been so long overdue that one is inclined to lament that the cumulative evils of indebtedness have been silently and unobtrusively gathering unexpected vitality at the expense of the cultivating classes to whom no help had come from any quarter for their redemption from bondage. A change of spirit in the money-lender is the only way out into the light. Such a change will in time relieve the State to an appreciable extent of the burden of continuously helping the debt-burdened ryot into self-supporting solvency as other agencies begin and continue to make their appearance on the field with their saving financial resources. The State has urgently to set the strong example by creating banking facilities which will be at once easily intelligible and accessible to the suspicious ryot—suspicious on account of his bitter experience of wolves in sheep's clothing in the past—through the minimum number of red-tape sub-agents who are ever prone whenever there is a chance to play the part of the monkey in the fable to whom the two credulous cats are said to have taken their cheese for an equitable partition. *This development in banking will facilitate not only an extension of agriculture but will also advance an intensification of agriculture if I may use such an expression.* It will make an enriched sub-soil whence mother earth will in future throw out through sound trunks and healthy branches plenty of succulent fruit for her numerous impoverished progeny, who have been vainly tugging at her breasts, withered as they have become through oversuckling by generations of unthinking or ungrateful people, who have never cared to give her her much-needed natural nourishment. The grand lesson of earning a double to a quadruple blessing from

by rendering loving and unremitting service to mother earth has yet to be learnt through long suffering before she can recover from the curse of neglectful absenteeism and the blight of undignifying ignorance or pride which have misled men of no learning or false learning into giving her as little as possible while extracting from her as much as they can from a very long time. It is the same self-deluding spirit which ever thinks only of the land profit of the cultivating man while neglecting to grow the food of the hard-working patient cattle, which prefers an increasing industrial crop to the diminishing fodder crop, which while taking no thought of this process of slow starvation of the bull or cow goes into hysterics over the act of the hungry being, who with one stroke of the butcher's knife gives a quick quietus to the uncomplaining restlessness of the same animals and who sometimes goes a step further to sanctify butchery with the sanction of religion. That in an agricultural country cattle form the first equipment of the land-tiller, that they add to his wealth even through their droppings if properly conserved and that they need as much loving protection as, if not more than, his children—to fructify his efforts at cultivation—are doubtless theoretically known and partly acted on in an indifferent manner, but it cannot be denied that the knowledge has not gone deep enough to make it all a sacred practical duty to secure for them the far greater attention that they are entitled to from the point of view of even enlightened selfishness. Only enlightenment through proper education can create this essential saving spirit in agriculture on one side while the increased banking or any other kind of facilities which may be afforded will result in rousing a healthier attraction for agriculture by increasing its material advantages and thus shake the inertia of a people long inured to an outlook of inactive pessimism through a variety of causes—social, political and economic—which have undermined their spiritual strength. All these ideas support the truth of the proposition that superficial remedies applicable to long-standing complex maladies which have now become offensively obtrusive in social organizations cannot be cured by a few patent hypodermic injections manufactured by well-intentioned learned bodies anxious to heal them in double-quick time. The change must come from within the organism and is a tediously slow process even under the best medical treatment and the hidden sources of social or economic disease cannot be diagnosed by any known system of X-Ray photography. The complexity of trouble will impress any thoughtful person with the humiliating thought of the difficulty of suggesting remedies without making sure of the response from within the depths of the ailing constitution. The unemployment problem seems to me to be one acute sign of a chronic deep-laid complex malady, the more I think of the several remedies desperately sought to be laid under contribution to allay its consumptive tendencies. This much is certain that the major part of the work has to be done by the people while the very minor part—albeit a vital part—will fall to the

lot of the State and there should be no delusion about the stern fact that the adjustment will necessarily take a very long time to come about as the disease has naturally taken a very long time—at least fifty years—to thrust out its ugly mocking head into the light of to-day.

(10) *Industrial bank for promoting home industries and handicrafts especially.*—I take it that this remedy takes note of the small man and his family as an important economic unit. It presupposes what is absolutely true that agriculture by itself engages the land-owning cultivator or landless land labourer for only a few months in the year, that while Mother Earth is vigilantly preparing his food under the fierce rays of the sun and the thrilling touch of the cooling showers, her child is left to idle away his time sleepily waiting for months to gather in the harvest. The wet land cultivator has less work than the dry land man who sweats more for his bread. Both have time hanging heavily on their hands every year. The labourer or the poor landowner just above him—ever ready to slip down into the working for daily-hire class—is the first to suffer from seasonal failures and to swell the ranks of the famine-stricken. Proportionately to his income his debts are always heavier than he can bear. Any work which will keep him from idleness, help him to earn something along with his wife and grown-up children and thereby supplement his earnings will leave him with something to fall back upon when the hour of tribulation comes on. The lack of a reserve to meet unforeseen disaster—be it small or great—is the common heritage of the majority of the people at the bottom of the social scale. It is equally true of a very large number—larger than actually admitted owing to a sense of false prestige—of people priding themselves as being above the large class of toilers and moilers. The middle classes everywhere while being too proud to beg are really too poor to live in peace as the prospect is ever present of the Damocles' sword of a sudden change of circumstances dropping on them at any moment and sending their dignity crashing down to the depths below. Their respectability has no substantial backing of a reserve of food and often that backing is not even composed of a reserve of clothing. The middle-class man standing on irksome respectability is as bad in his resourcelessness of reserve as the labourer who is never ashamed of his being called by what he actually is. Both work for the day's bread and that bread is often less than half the needed quantity on an average during the year. Both want some work and must do it to lay by something for an ever-threatening rainy day which turns out to be generally stormy. Supplemental earnings are an absolute necessity. Supplementary home industries are equally necessary. Not only the man but the woman has to work and sometimes the grown-up children too to produce something during the period of idleness when unproductive consumption of the fruit of past labour is the only feature of their daily existence. So far, everybody is agreed on the soundness of the proposition based on commonsense and the inexorable laws of economic necessity. When we turn to

the practical aspect, everything becomes unsubstantial and hazy for want of past experience. The only way to clear one's ideas is to grip the present facts that the old order has changed into new, that the problem of living has taken a new phase and its solution must be equally unfamiliar, that having got into an irksome position either he should earn something by a new kind of work to form a supplemental reserve or perish for want of bread and he has only the Hobson's choice of working in a new way to earn the old old bread. From sheer need it may be taken that the unemployed middle-class man will register a vow to go any way or do any work for an honest living. He asks his guide to show him the way. In several cases it will be a seeking for *supplementary* earnings through subsidiary industries. In a larger number of cases, however, it will be a cry for home industries as the main source of living, there being no other way open to get bread. While reading the books on the Nations of the World published by an enterprising firm, I was struck by the fact that in many European and Asiatic countries home industries have continued to thrive despite the sweeping march of mechanical progress in manufacture. Women with their admirable conservatism have been making their beautiful multi-coloured clothing such as in Georgia, Norway, Sweden and Holland amongst others. (Note.—I write from memory.) Spinning and weaving have been keeping their hold despite the change in fashions. Their loyalty to the world-old duty of the woman of the house has defied the attacks of flaunting time. It gives them work to do, it gives them the serene pleasure of making their own clothes with an eye to beauty, durability and comfort and it saves the drain on their family purse by keeping fashion at its proper place thereby adding to the earnings of the family and strength of the reserve. The home-spun tweeds now worn in India by Indians carry with them the home-memories of the place of their origin in foreign lands. The khaddar campaign was unfortunate in its artificial association with political non-co-operation and therefore passed for an economic threat resulting in ill-will. That ferment having subsided in its artificial emotional aspect the making of khaddar as a home-industry can be dispassionately viewed as a desirable method of supplementing the slender resources of the people whose present association with agriculture leaves them plenty of idle time which can be fruitfully spent to help them to reap an economic reward. To adopt it as the *main* industry for earning a living is out of the question. Hereditary weavers cannot be ousted by these new khaddar-makers. These can make the thread ready for the professional weaver to weave them into cloths for the people. This will help them to make some money—even a few annas a day—being certainly not a trifle to be ignored in view of the poverty of the people needing some extra money to live beyond the margin of starvation. Women can take more kindly to this than men. The grown-up girls and children can also take an active part. Co-operative organizations to buy and distribute the cotton, to regather the thread and distribute it to the weaver will be necessary. The weaver should

be the seller of his own manufactured article. By co-operative association the weavers can get out of the clutches of the merchant who sweats them and keeps them in debt on a starvation wage and takes all the profit. The merchant is even now advancing the imported thread to the weavers and he advances some wage to the latter during working time. He takes back the cloth and sells it at a large profit leaving little beyond the low wage to the weaver. This will cease and the weaver will become self-reliant to his great advantage as well as that of the consumer. The result will be that home-made thread will have replaced the foreign machine-made thread, where competition is not possible in respect of the less fine counts. The home-spinning people will thus become the direct basis of the home-weaving-artisan and they will be a mutual blessing. This is clear as far as it goes. *The question remains if the middle-class non-weaving man or woman can take to spinning. If he has some land on which he works himself he will have sufficiently learnt the value of dignified manual labour and if his wife has co-operated with him on the field she will also have realized its intrinsic worth at the spinning wheel. It follows that the children will get this spirit from their mothers' breast and from the sanctifying touch of Mother Earth on whose bosom they will have learnt to play and work in the open air and sun. All these can fully appreciate the value of taking to spinning as a home-industry supplementing the professional weaver's life-work, because it will add substantially to the family budget by the end of a year through the weekly mites regularly gathered in. This view, however, presupposes that the temptation is successfully resisted to save all trouble by going in for ready-made machine-made cloth which is perhaps cheaper than the home-spun material. Human nature being what it is, will love of this kind of work grow from the need to do it to add a bit to the lean family purse? Will the attraction of the fine outside cloth and the thread of higher count brought to the professional weaver's door wane before the new need, which can produce only comparatively coarser stuff? Will people deliberately prefer to use the latter and thereby succeed in forcing the weaver to produce the same? Unless that fashion comes in, the home-spinning cannot thrive as a subsidiary to the home-weaving. A change of spirit is needed here, as the first condition of success. The consumers have to evince a strong desire to extend patronage to the producers before its practical utility based on economic necessity strengthens the genuine impulse to bring about a helpful change. There will always be men who prefer costly and nice-looking fashion to cheap and substantial utility though of an inattractive kind. There will be below them many who ape luxury to maintain a make-believe respectability being ever anxious to be ranked with the first-mentioned class. Below them will be many more who can easily reconcile themselves to a frank adoption of the principle of utility alone having the power to turn their backs on costly elegance. Below them again will be a*

larger number who have no choice at all and must go in for whatever is offered them at any price by the merchant who sells the things. The women-folk have been the great preservers of art and taste in dressing. But for them the weavers of nice-looking cloths would have been swept off the earth. It is death to human nature to destroy artistic tastes of any kind. Would it be desirable for everybody—man or woman—to wear on uniform white khaddar after throwing up the beautiful variety of colours that now grace the sarrees of the wives and the “Pavadais” worn by their young girls? The colours have to be retained, the laced borders have to be maintained, the silk borders have to be continued, lightness and comfort in wear have to be primarily attended to and all these features have to be subordinated to produce articles within easy reach of the large majority of poor consumers, if the weavers have to keep their profession alive by affording it ample scope to expand. Thick and rough towels and sheets—plain, coloured or checkered duppaties—or cloths of the heavy kind though longer will never be suitable for daily comfortable wear and they must be supplemented by cloths of longer lengths and lesser thickness to attract increasing patronage. If the change of spirit indicated above should come about, and the love of indigenous styles of clothing should be allowed to prevail, there is no doubt that the weavers would secure an increasing sphere of more and more profitable activity than at present. *How far in this altered environment the non-wearing consumer can himself take to spinning as a subsidiary art to supplement his earnings even if the patriotic instinct becomes an overmastering impulse is only a question of agreeable speculation at present and time has yet to show to what extent it will take a material and practical form.* Even if the home-weavers should take kindly to the coarser thread it will take a long time before the Indian mills affect it for their large operations. When the mill-owner enters the field he would destroy the home-artisan. In the very nature of things the latter's movements will have to be confined within certain standards, where wholesale-producing machinery cannot enter, with its ruthless and all-conquering strength to displace masses of industrial workmen. The hand-spinner's circle will indeed be very much smaller at any time.

So far as I can see the only other home industries that strike my mind are the following:—

(1) *Lace-making*.—Lace is a luxury depending on a patronage from the well-to-do minority. Requires special training. Cannot ever become an occupation of a number large enough to affect the unemployment problem—is negligible quantity—may better suit women-folk than men.

(2) *Tape for cots*.—(1) The sun-hemp twist is favoured on the East Coast—rough country wood cots with hemp tape are used by the village folk. The villagers manufacture the thread. It is possible for some people to make living out of this occupation

to meet local or neighbouring requirements. It will not help the middle class unemployed.

(2) *Cotton-tape for cots* is useful when single bed cots are made of superior country wood or teak wood. These find favour in middle class homes on the East Coast. Where Indian or foreign made canvas camp cots do not invade a tract, cotton-tape will have some demand. As machine-made tape is available in large quantities there is little scope for the home manufacture.

(3) *Knitting and embroidery*.—Assuming that economic necessity will drive the middle classes to go in for Swadeshi cloths, socks, stockings and boots will be replaced by country sandals or slippers. Knitting of the two former articles will not be in demand to such an extent as to become remunerative on an appreciable scale. Embroidery is suitable only for women-folk if luxury creates a demand for it. It is a negligible factor from the view-point of the present problem.

I cannot for the present think of other handicrafts or home industries independent of the agricultural. I shall leave it to experts to propose. As a layman, I can certainly say that a bank would be a sound basis for their development as the new votaries will be without any capital. Behind all these schemes there is the momentous question as to whether the standard of living—using the phrase in its broader sense—is to be raised by resorting to new luxuries copied from other countries or by working up to healthy and substantial methods of living without breaking away from the traditional Indian culture. What is to be the Indian's ideal? At present the Indian behaves “as if his whole vocation were endless imitation” whenever he thinks, if ever he thinks, of a change for the better. The practical aspect of the unemployment problem has to be determined by the nature of his—the unemployed man's—wants and this latter again by the supreme factor of his spiritual idea. Whether he knows it or not it will force him to count with it. Better far that he consciously adjusts his varied efforts to it and thus avoids further suffering for his egregious blundering.

(11) *Co-operative production and distribution*.—In my opinion this is the only method of bettering prospects for any undertaking—agricultural, industrial, trade or commercial. It is too obvious a truth to need any further argument to justify it. I have already submitted my ideas of this remedy in discussing certain other remedies. To my mind that is the golden thread which has to string all the pearls that may be discovered in the time to come.

(12) *Emigration*—(a) *Within British India*, (b) *Outside India*.—I have no faith in this remedy. To pull a stupid starving man or woman by his or her roots, to cut him off from his or her language, habits, environments and family traditions and transplant him or her in any soil—described as a happy land for those already there—

where all these conditions are new is not for his or her good. He or she is too foolish to know what he or she contracts for, too weak to enforce the agreement with his or her employer and too mild and timid to help himself or herself against powerful and well-organized aggression. He or she is ever an orphan bound to pretend to be ever grateful for small mercies by treating them as great favours and never hopeful of any real sympathy. The immigrant is a tool of labour essentially. The employer is an embodiment of capital primarily. The attention paid to the human tool is the minimum determined by the maximum benefit to the human capitalist. That is a phase of the competitive morality over which the earlier western political economists got enthused. The human element which later on secured forced recognition and which was stressed by the later economists has scarcely begun to strive to walk the uphill path to reach its destination and secure the bare right of living in the sun as a human entity even in the virile countries of the west. The capitalist may have pity regulated by his own selfish purposes but he cannot have sympathy till he is beaten by experience into realizing the common humanity between his workman and himself. There are several insuperable obstacles in the way due to defective human nature. It makes not the least difference whether the men concerned live in the torrid or temperate or frigid zone or in any degree of latitude and longitude in the habitable world. By suffering both sides have to learn to get nearer each other. The Indian mill-owner, the Indian capitalist, the Indian landowner as such is no whit better in dealing with the Indian labourer than his prototypes in other lands. That seems to be the law of nature regulating all problems, social, sociological or economical. It takes very long to apprehend in theory a law observed from life but it takes a far longer period and makes all the difference in the world to attempt in practice to live the law. This process of never-ending evolution takes its own time and works through tribulation—individual and communal—till it brings about a steady change of spirit of mutual service in co-workers endowed with a varying and unequal status in their respective mental, moral and material equipment before the weaker brethren get as their right what the stronger ones give as their duty, both feeling that the origin of each one's right to share the common fruit is a duty fulfilled by it to the other, whose labour is equally necessary to produce the fruit. This process has just begun in this ancient country. It must be gone through here by its varied people occupying varied levels and holding to apparently various faiths. They have to learn a thousand lessons in bitterness graduated by their varied blunderings of the past. The unemployment problem—whether of the middle or below the middle classes—is a temporary repercussion of the complexity of forces which have begun their mighty play in a devitalized social organism and by their own combined efforts in various directions the people themselves have to renew and evolve a healthy body working by a sound

fusion of its many limbs subserving the ends of one common national life typified to the world by the Indian name and devoutly laying their own great offering along with other peoples—whether great or small in the world's view—on the altar before the supreme Actor of the Universe from whom all things come and to whom all things return. Without this ideal neither an individual entity nor a community nor a collect of communities forming a nation, nor a group of nations forming the inhabited world's humanity can learn to work in unison with other bodies and without such co-operation it cannot live its life. The Indian, whether in the Madras Presidency or Bengal or Bombay or any other part of this great continent, must first realize this truth as the *fundamental* law of all progress and work that law from the foundations in every branch of life's "activity" to overcome all obstacles and thereby ensure its ultimate success.

(By the same witness.)

GENERAL NOTE ON THE PRINCIPLES OF RESPONSIBILITY INVOLVED IN
THE PROBLEM OF "UNEMPLOYMENT—MIDDLE CLASSES—
SOUTH INDIA".

Introduction (written before the questionnaire was attacked).—I understand this to refer particularly to the unemployment of the middle class young men who have gone in for English education—either high school or university. This has till now been very largely literary, and non-technical or non-industrial. Originally, English education was an irresistible attraction and a novelty coming as it did to people who did not know or believe that there was anything good in the old type Vernacular or Sanskrit Indian education and treated it with utter contempt. That English education was at first the qualification to men to earn their bread by employment in Government service. It gave the minority men a prestige in the eyes of the majority of non-English knowing people and every English-knowing jackal was looked upon by others and looked upon himself as a lion. The glamour of a knowledge of English and the need for bread earned through it, gave an impetus to the numerical increase of men learning English. The poor men, whose only worldly goods consisted of the brains that they had aspired to coin their brains into money. Those who lived on lands or by trade or by money-lending at first scorned an education which was not a commercially good proposition. In course of time the beggars of superior or inferior brains who had the Hobson's choice of qualifying themselves for a living increased in number. The glamour and prestige attached to this education continued to increase in popular imagination. The men who had lands or other hereditary professions—trade or handicraft or banking, etc.—took to English education in a sporting style. They began to compete with the brained beggars. Landless and trade-less and money-less brains, landed brains, trade brains, banking brains, etc., all

swelled to increase the supply of men still rushing like moths to the candle-flame of employment in public service of exercise of the learned professions, which alone gave any scope to the activities of English-educated men. Though the pecuniary return to the expense of education was gradually decreasing, the change was for a long time not perceptible. The lucky few at the top fired the imagination and roused the envy of the many aspirants at the bottom. There was no judgment cool enough to discover the disproportion between the cost of manufacture, sale value and the margin of profit. Wave after wave of this literary enthusiasm swept over the middle classes aiming at becoming plutocrats and the classes below them who were also aspiring to crowd with the middle classes. Ancestral property was sold to meet the cost of education. Hereditary professions were given up in exchange for this education. The cost of education grew enormously. The cost of living grew enormously. The educated products grew in fictitious value enormously. Even the schedule of rates in the marriage market for educated bridegrooms grew ruinously high, as a reaction of the costliness of their education. The aspiring heroes of a glowing future had to be financed in ever-increasing measure by those who were in social duty bound to, or believed they were bound to, endow their girls with the honoured title of married wives long before there was any chance revealed of the young husbands qualifying to earn their bread. While education grew costlier, the aspirants to education grew in number and the economic effects of their educational attempts reacted in greater and greater measure disastrously on the social structure, and the unhappy actors and their zealous guardians were fast racing along in a vicious circle, fondly believing all the while that they were going forward to the higher levels of profits and benefits, blindly hoping that somehow or other Heaven would certainly discharge His duty of feeding the many mouths which He had brought into the light of life, because they had made uncommon sacrifices to qualify for the privilege of English education. Over-production and glut in the market, too much of supply and too disproportionate an increase in the demand for services have now come to stare the people in the face. This cumulative evil due to a multiplicity of causes has now become perceptible in all its grimness. Enthusiasm has done its work for fifty years. The wave which for so long a time seemed to float the vessel nearer and nearer the goal of its voyage to a land flowing with milk and honey away from the sordid land-tiller, the illiterate crop-grower, the grabbing money-lender and all the rustic uncivilized brood of the villages has at last stranded the ship on arid sands leaving the deluded and conceited voyagers to discover only barren tracts where milk and honey had long ago ceased to flow without leaving behind even a memory of that happy state of things, happy because it had been always a figment of an indiscreet though joyous imagination. This result of this stern working of the complex law of supply and demand of a purely

competitive stage of activity is now called the problem of unemployment by those who have not the honest courage to call a spade a spade. They—the civilized men of the towns and cities—having too long looked down on the non-literary-educated producers and distributors of produce of the villages, having stepped over the shoulders of those villagers at the latter's cost on to what they believed a higher storey of a fine building of profit and progress which in their estimate they were supremely entitled to enter, having peeped over the eaves on to the airy roof, and having found no standing room for any more occupants (uninvited and self-invited) are now intensely annoyed with some body who has not cared to provide them with the reserved accommodation they had hoped for, worked for and rushed for, while overlooking the basic fact that it was their own folly to have failed at the outset to take note of the space available and regulate their various efforts to find other ways for the movement of their educative energies. All these facts have to be conspicuously kept in mind and their mention should not be taken as a proof of some specially decadent features characterising the middle classes of Southern India by way of reprehensible contrast to other people of similar status in other countries called progressive. A patient must be candid to himself before he can expect the medical adviser to satisfactorily diagnose and treat his disease and before he can hope to find his trouble at least arrested if it cannot be altogether cured. In this spirit an honest man's self-examination is always bound to clothe itself in strong language against himself when he is in his confessional mood before he can find his way out of the dark past or present into a brightened future.

2. To make discussion definite, the foregoing remarks may be briefly put in the form of the following economic problem:—

“The supply of educated young men is more than the demand for them. What has to be done to remedy the evil?”

In the case of any common commodity of commerce which is neither a monopoly nor a luxury, the law of supply and demand takes a visible shape in its market price. If demand increases and supply does not keep pace with it, the price goes up for a time. Then the supply overtakes the demand and goes ahead of it. The result is the fall in the price and an excess of supply over demand. The supply will cease when the margin of profit is wiped out by the sale price equalling or falling below the cost of production. If the cost of production can be reduced by labour-saving processes or cheaper supply of raw materials, the price will go down and tempt a demand for it to arise or some unexpected cause may increase the demand and thereby call out further supply, the cost of production being the same, by creating a margin of profit.

3. In applying this law of supply and demand to a factor like the educated man we are confronted with peculiar difficulties. Education is not taken to merely as a marketable commodity. The

desire to educate and thereby improve oneself is strong enough to operate even by ignoring the commercial aspect of education. Education as an end in itself has not been an unfamiliar idea to the Indians, whose traditions have always put the man of learning on the high seat of social honour. This bias for education as a means of self-progress and an end in itself will persist in raising its head in spite of all efforts to discourage such a mentality in man by reducing the pecuniary value attached to its fruit. When the State as representing the people makes frantic efforts to educate the masses, it does not think of providing them all with appointments in its service, nor do the masses ever believe that they are all going to be so employed. When the University sings its own praises and learned men in their Convocation addresses sweep their arms over their audiences in the Senate House, neither the lecturer nor his enthusiastic hearers believe that it is the duty of the former to provide and the right of all the latter to claim suitable remuneration or any remuneration for their receiving the hall-mark of a certain standard of cultural education. Though for a time an individual or a large group of individuals may be obsessed by the money-value of the education received and be tempted to depreciate or appreciate its worth by the lower or higher pecuniary equivalent realised, neither the single person ever forgets nor the groups ever fail to remember that education has its independent worth, that the knowledge of that worth has primarily driven them to seek its ennobling power and that the money-price of developed capacities should ever hold a lower place than their cultural value. So long as the rupee-value idea suppresses the innate-value idea, discontent due to unemployment or ill-paid employment will continue to exercise educated minds. When the cultural value gains the upper hand education will cease to value itself in the measure of money paid to its possessor. The fifty years of English education has, owing to peculiar circumstances and rather unexpectedly in several ways, strengthened this wrong view-point so much that it must be a question of years before the old Indian idea of culture now down cuts its way through and upwards to lighten the burden of the gloomy-minded miscalculating educated world. In this transition the throes of this upward change must be passed through and no power on earth can save the men from the suffering due to their being forced to learn this forgotten truth through stern experience. This unemployment cry will not come from the cultural supporters of education. If it does come at all it is not worth noticing, as it is a dying echo of half-a-century-old habit formed during a time when the pay-mark had wrongfully usurped the place of the genuine feeling and desire for learning by itself, which had been existing before the disturbing effects of English education as the sole means of bread-earning made themselves powerfully felt. So far as the factor of supply of educated men is concerned, all those who have taken to it as a cultural aim have no justification to demand employment to help them to make a living. If such men

have land they should ordinarily go back to their land and improve it. If they have trade let them ordinarily go back to trade. If they have been money-lenders let them ordinarily go back to money-lending. If they have been merchants let them generally stick to their business. The abandonment of hereditary professions has cut them loose from their natural roots in the social economy, has habituated them to a costly standard of artificial living, has degraded their fathers' professions in their eyes and deprived their own people in the villages of the full benefit of all the expensive culture of those for whom their people had laboured hard and long and at great sacrifice. These men have diverted into untrodden paths, glutted the labour market where even literary capacity of a certain kind can have but limited scope and rendered acute the problem of unemployment. Instead of starving by waiting at the places where they are not wanted, there is no other course open to them than to renew and refresh their lives in close association with their hereditary employments, galvanize them into channels of ennobled vigorous activity and redeem them from an unnatural degradation which had been imposed on such employments by the newly educated men themselves when they were abandoned as being beneath the notice of such superior educated individuals. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. To neglect and destroy the nexus is a suicidal way of living, and the educated man who does so cannot complain of unemployment when he discards the independent means already in his possession and runs after a glamorous something-better, when he knows that its main characteristic is its glamorous will-o'-the-wisp uncertainty.

4. Excluding the number of educated men who can fall back on an existing competence, successfully maintain a decent, modest and simple standard of living as described above and improve it, if they can or be willing to do it, there is a large number of educated men who have nothing to fall back upon and who are obliged to sell their brains for bread as man, at any rate, physically speaking, cannot live except by bread alone. There are primary smatterers, high-school middlings who have received literary training and full-fledged graduates who have received either literary or professional or technical training. There is little doubt that in their case the needs of existence smother out all considerations of the cultural value of education from their minds leaving them anxious to do something to keep their bodies and souls together. The elemental want of hunger presents them with a very hard problem every minute of their existence. They are ever on the look-out for something to make a living by. Their trouble is accentuated by the burden of marriage even before they know how to keep their own selves alive. In some communities they have even become parents, to add to the already existing load of their own parents who have staked their all or induced the unfortunate parents of the bride to stake their all, in hope of their young men drawing a lucky prize in life's lottery.

No committee—Government or philanthropic—can ever dream of solving the problem of “Social reform”. That expression is anathema to those who believe it means either remarriage of widows or promiscuous dining or post-puberty marriage, etc., if nothing worse. Whatever may have been the facilities of living in the recent or remote past which threw a thick veil over the several evils of early marriages of boys and girls, it cannot be denied that now at any rate those conditions do not exist. Life is far more costly. Education is far more expensive. Employment is far harder to get than in the days of the ‘grandfathers’. The adults have suffered and been suffering from all these troubles and are still groaning under the consequential burdens of impoverishment. They decline to be wiser in respect of their children. Marriages—so they hold—must as a matter of inevitable duty be performed. No young feminine should be unmated and in consequence no young masculine can or should be free to qualify to earn a living. They must be tied together in an unbreakable bond as early as possible. Let them sink or swim according to their fate. Married life should begin as early as possible and it must as a matter of course begin as soon as the examinations are passed at the latest. How to get bread or clothing can be thought of later on. So long as this state of reprehensible mentality persists amongst several communities irrespective of their being pre-puberty or post-puberty adherents and this defiance of common sense and prudence glories in its existence, masquerading sometimes as orthodoxy, the suffering and misery of unemployed subjects cannot but be more acute than if the latter were left single and unburdened till they ensured their means of living. This favoured method of living on nothing prolongs the pain of waiting to get something to live on. Who can save such people when Nemesis overtakes them in this guise to make them reap the fruit of what they have sown and have never ceased to sow to this day? This social evil due to unqualified imprudence is by the way a phase which cannot be ignored as its *economic reaction* has reduced the staying powers of the families so connected prematurely, added to their impoverishment, created an increased demand for maintenance on the family unit long before the supply can be met, made the period of waiting for employment a sharper agony—long or short—and made the cry of the unemployed louder and more insistent.

5. *Whether supply can be limited or controlled and if so to what extent and by whom.*—To relieve the pressure of a dump in the market either the supply has to be limited or the demand has to be increased in other than normal directions. The supply of English-knowing men cannot be artificially limited as the impulse to acquire this attractive qualification has been growing stronger and stronger every day and driving people on to possess it in spite of all obstacles. The standard of tests may be raised. Examiners may become more capricious or conscientious and heartlessly slaughter the aspirants down as inefficient. Schemes of education

may be revised and made more complicated and the courses made more expensive. Still the young men will persist in racing on towards the goal, clearing barrier after barrier fixed against their course. The natural and innate desire for cultural improvement has grown so overmastering that it scorns and laughs at the obstacles thrown in its way by dreamers and schemers and overleaps them with ever-increasing zest and ever-growing success. The folly of damming the natural current has to be realised and the problem of artificially restricting the supply for long has to be given up in despair as every treason against the law of natural growth is doomed to humiliating failure. It is the old old sight of the banyan or pipal seed cracking the wall or breaking the rock to grow in its natural grandeur in scorn of all consequences unless it is destroyed root and branch by a desperate human enemy to whom his instinct of self-preservation leaves no other alternative. It has to be frankly recognised that—demand or no demand in the narrow sense of wage-payment for services rendered—the supply of educated men will always be beyond the capacity to absorb it and this disparity will grow in ever increasing measure. From this point of view the unemployment problem will be coeval with that of human life, and cannot be fully solved. Despite this pessimistic element man who is always hopeful will ever endeavour to solve the problem by improving the quality of the supply to suit the demand, and expanding the demand to cover the increasing variety of supply. Meanwhile the supply insists on a minimum wage based on the standard of living, costliness of preparation to qualify and the comparative superiority of qualifications earned. Those who control the demand for labour do not care to look at this human aspect of the supply unit—which alone will justify the artificial keeping up of a minimum-standard-wage but insist on offering the competitive wage which is always below the minimum wage and succeed in forcing down the applicants to accept any insufficient thing which is thrown at them for inevitable acceptance as it is a Hobson's choice, owing to the fear that the over-supply of workers ever crushing one another in the struggle for employment will ensure the going down of the hesitators beyond redemption under the heels of other strugglers with less staying power who will greedily take their places under the impulse of at least warding off half the starvation. The employer's ancient argument will ever prevail that he is not bound to pay more when his strong position of holding the whip-hand and the helpless situation of the willing-to-be-whipped worker assures him of a supply even on a starvation-wage standard. From between the neither mill-stone of over-supply and the upper mill-stone of the callous upholder of unqualified competition, the cry of the unemployed crushed miseries rings out in vain. When an L.T. can be got for Rs. 60 why should he be given Rs. 75? When an Honours graduate can be had for Rs. 35 why should he be given more as a start? When School Finals are available for Rs. 35 why should the graduate be started higher without his taking his chance along with the men of inferior qualifications?

and so on and on the same kind of argument is trotted out in the blaze of light in an acutely exaggerated form in sphere after sphere of the employer's activity in his dealings with the men offering to work as they must work under any conditions.

6. *Natural limits of the double factor.*—Just as there is on the one side of supply an impassable natural limit below or beyond which there must always be an unabsorbable and unabsorbed group of workers owing to the inevitable numerical growth of qualifying workers under the cultural impetus so on the other side of demand there must always be another impassable economic boundary beyond or below which the employer of labour cannot go because he cannot pay more for services rendered and he does not require more men owing to his inability to give them any more work. Between comparatively too many men offering their services on one side and comparatively too few kinds of services being available for being thrown open, there must be an inevitable reaction which will continue to strengthen the tendency in the growth of the unemployed number. As a temporary palliative for there can never be a State-patented cure, the practical and sympathetic administrator who should necessarily be modest in estimating his powers has to enquire *within what limits* he can create a fresh demand for labour to relieve to some extent and for a time this choking blood-pressure in body politic.

(a) *Facts and fiction.*—The statesman has to take stock of the following facts to be reckoned with by every thoughtful man, whatever differences of opinion there may be regarding the causes of their evolution:—

(a) English education has actually increased the number of candidates beyond expectations, as things stand at present.

(b) This hankering after English education was first given a strong impetus on grounds of administrative necessity which drove the men on an onward rush by guaranteeing a means of subsistence and creating a glamour which was very attractive to the enthusiastic followers of the new creed. The streamlet grew into a stream, expanded into a well-banked river and has begun to overflow its banks, threatening breaches along the course and flooding of the neighbouring villages.

(c) This urge has turned and cut off the current from the old courses, parted the men from their old hereditary professions, artificially raised the standard of living, created a costlier standard of fictitious dignity which declines to accept the situation in its naked truth and is unable and perhaps equally unwilling to forge fresh links to connect it with the old social and economic chain. The cultural urge was all the while *imperceptibly* stirring the people to go on and on thereby adding to the swelling volume of the change while the obsession of the pecuniary advantages imagined to flow from education were actually dangling before their consciousness, strengthening during a period of half a century the market-believe that the goal of reaping such profits was the only justification of their educational activity and that whosoever had been distributing

the loaves and fishes of office was bound somehow to increasingly continue the patronage irrespective of all other relevant and reasonable public considerations.

(d) The qualifications of a majority of the aspirants were and have been to a large extent literary and general, to a small extent professional and a smaller extent technical. The distribution of energy has been taking the only few courses open to its onward march till it was discovered that there is no sea deep enough to absorb all these swollen streams but there is only a limited lake or reservoir at the most which though large is not unbounded in its storage capacity. The waters are now being thrown back on their courses with inevitable though for a time unforeseen disaster.

(e) The highest attempt of philanthropy—whether of Government or Local Funds or other private employers—can never undertake to provide employment for all when their labour-need and financial capacity do not justify such a procedure. Private employers will not take care to be so generous as to court their own ruin by extravagant distribution of largess, and thereby commit suicide. Government as the tax-payer's representative will not dream of committing such a folly and bearing the burden of maintaining a small expensive minority at the general cost merely to help them to live without care when there is no call for their services. It is the State and the State alone that will always be called upon to help in solving the unemployment problem. The State—in other words the people who pay taxes of any kind—are entitled to say through the State, that no such universal obligation rests on their shoulders. Brushing aside all cobwebs of sentimentalism the people of the villages are entitled to say that those who go in for education as a cultural aim have no right to be considered as entitled to employment as the goal of employment had never been the starting purpose and motor power of their continuous endeavour. Those who go in for expensive cultural education have to do so at their own risk and fall back on their own resources. They should not imprudently fritter away their economic resources and should stop short at the earliest stage beyond which such an attempt at education would drain off their landed or other wealth and fix them up in a permanently reduced condition of possessions. This is the only prudential check on people who let their zeal outrun their discretion by sacrificing their existing substance for the shadow equivalent of prospective public employment. If Government cannot employ *all* the medical students several of them are being driven to seek shelter in private practice. If Government and quasi-public bodies do not engage all the engineering students some of them will be driven to go into private service, or set up practice as engineering contractors or when they have no capital as advisers to large contractors of public works. If all the lawyers cannot enter the judicial service several should stick to the bar even if

they cannot successfully make both ends meet. In actual experience it is seen that the extreme limits of available public employment are obtaining forceful recognition, that beyond those limits several candidates are forcing themselves into unofficial private service or an independent exercise of a profession and that beyond and below this last section there is an appreciably large number of qualified people who ever live in lack and penury being scarcely distinguishable from the miserable starvers who though unable to earn enough to feed and clothe themselves and their families, have yet to parade an artificial and costly respectability to sustain their parts in the eyes of a show-exacting world. These results afford the best proof of the fact that the demand for employment by public bodies has been already stretched to its utmost capacity and that the supply has so far gone ahead as to leave the scope for employment helplessly far behind. In spite of this the people are rushing on behind those who are already being driven back by the stress of circumstances. It is indeed a tragic situation when high hopes are stripped naked of their tantalising glamour and men are made to feel beggared in prospect and beggared in retrospect—a condition of “Trishanku Swargam” of the Hindu fable in which the unhappy king of that name could not go back to his erstwhile home on earth as he had been forced up to Heaven by his sage-guide Viswamitra and could not either reach the Heavenly Hall of Heroes as the guardian Devas (angels) there would not let him into their Paradise as they considered him unfit for the place despite the certificate of merit awarded to him by his royal guru Viswamitra, whose opinion carried little weight in their angelic estimation. It is not the voice of a smug, self-satisfied and well-fed cynic but the cry of an honest well-wisher that will say to them in a voice of thunder “Halt; my people! take warning though late and do not any more waste your substance in education with the sole aim of pursuing the shadow of public or private service as there is no room for so many, the utmost limits of provision having been already crammed to overflowing. If you can afford to go in for education as a cultural aim you are at liberty to please yourself. If you are not capable of getting to the higher grades of study without drying up your existing resources be sensible to stop at a lower scale. If you are unequal to pave your way even to the school-final goal stop with the primary. The State will probably succeed stage by stage in course of time to give as many of you as possible free education at the bottom. It can never do so higher up without breaking the tax-burdened camel’s back and killing the goose for its golden eggs. Still less can the State afford to provide employment, if you persist in your folly of selling yourself out of house and home and expecting the State—the mouthpiece, however imperfect, of your own hard-working people—to compensate you by payment of wages for your unwanted labour, when even the unemployment problem of the suffering masses at the bottom of the scale remains a riddle yet untouched and unsolved and tantalising to the few statesmen who have courage enough not to turn their blind eye

towards it.” This warning announcement from the State or Committee *must* be made even if it rouses an angry outburst in response. Such a declaration is not a mere accidental theory or conjecture thrown out to bluff the disappointed men by throwing a thick veil over the impotence of an unfeeling State. It is only a sharp truth—though hideous in its unpleasantness—which can no longer be burked in the best interests of the people who, having with the best of intentions and the highest of hopes worked for long are now too unwilling and too afraid to see the blasting of their visions and have not the courage to see that their trouble is the natural consequence of their own misdirected enthusiasm and ill-regulated squandering of their substance in the past in pursuit of an educational ideal based not on a cultural aim but on an exclusively commercial basis, which—whether they had known it or not—was naturally bound to break down sooner or later with a crash involving all its blind narrow-minded votaries in suffering and disaster.

(f) While admitting all these facts the statesmen cannot merely rest content with such trenchant plain speaking. No doctor will be credited with doing his duty if he severely takes his patient to task for all his foolish breaches of the known laws of health. He is called in to do his best with the wreck before him after impressing on him the gravity of his past backslidings to create a clear understanding of the situation between his patient and himself. When famine stalks over the land the most foolish administrator will not begin or end with blaming the people for their past improvidence in exporting all their produce for large profit in the year before without keeping a sufficient reserve to meet a failure of harvest in the current year. It is his duty to arrange for temporary remedies to help the people to tide over their present distress leaving it to them to profit by experience and store a reserve to provide against a future calamity of the same kind. In the case of unemployment all the home-truths discussed in the foregoing paragraphs cannot be ignored as their educative value is incalculable. Such an introspection reveals the true proportion of responsibility for the present suffering between the State and the people and helps both sides to discover what remedies have to be applied and by whom, how far long-grown evils are incurable with lightning remedies and to what limited extent temporary remedies can be applied as palliatives, to what extent curatives can be applied and by whom to do their work during an interval which must naturally be a long one, how narrow indeed is the scope for a statesman, how poor a physician he is in dealing with social changes not of his own making which have been caused by the sweeping movements of the vital parts of the social organism, and how large a part must be played by the society itself to reverse or modify or divert its activity and restore itself to the normal of an evenly-distributed vitality by an increasing disuse of the organs which have been forced by unnatural exercise to grow into abnormal proportions. As in the case of any physician—who is not a quack extolling his

patent lightning remedies—the administrator is bound willy-nilly to depend very largely indeed for the success of his palliatives on the voluntary and deliberate exertions of the people who are ever prone to try and shift the consequences of their miscalculations on the shoulders of the State. If the soundness of these propositions be distinctly realised the duty of the statesman will become definite, the chances of his vicariously suffering odium will be minimised, the small extent to which alone the State can apply temporary remedies can be apprehended and the primary duty of effecting a permanent cure by working back to the normal from the abnormal can be distinctly brought home to the minds of those who have, during a period of fifty years, moulded the unemployment problem of their middle classes into its present chronic state of painfulness.

Written evidence of the Collector of Customs, Madras, dated the 24th August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(1) I have no doubt as to the existence of unemployment in the classes mentioned. There is a constant flow of applicants and applications for employment in this Custom House.

II. CAUSES.

(1) The present system of education is contributory to unemployment in so far as it overproduces candidates for employment proportionately to the number of careers acceptable to the individuals turned out by educational institutions. I am of opinion that a higher standard of educational qualification would restrict the number of qualified candidates and at the same time improve the quality of material from which the employer makes his selection. There remains admittedly the problem of the employment of the unqualified balance but it is no worse than the existing problem and at the same time there would be a real saving in time and money in the case of the individuals whose unfitness for qualification had restrained from undertaking an educational course into which easier conditions might have led them.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

(1) The following figures show for my own department the proportion of posts offering to candidates in the past two official years:—

	Applications.		Posts permanent.		Percentage of men employed.	
	1924-25.	1925-26.	1924-25.	1925-26.	1924-25.	1925-26.
Graduates	143	235	22	30	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Inter-mediate	62	77			$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$
S.S.L.C.'s	619	659			$2\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Unqualified	126	150			$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{6}$

The average pay of the posts referred to was Rs. 39.8 and 48.3 respectively.

Written evidence of the Collector of East Godavari, dated the 18th August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(1) Yes—vide details below:—

Qualified candidates.	Number available during the last five years.	Number employed in the Revenue Department in the period.
Graduates	153	5
S.S.L.C.'s	1,184	31
Intermediates	298	5

(2) The supply of teachers, vakils, medical subordinates, engineering subordinates and agricultural subordinates appears to be in excess of the demand.

II. CAUSES.

- (1) The present system is too literary in character.
- (2) Present remuneration is sufficient to attract swarms of applicants.
- (3) Indians show a distinct aversion to taking up employment far from their native place.
- (4) Social customs render migration difficult.
- (5) No. Applicants for employment are in excess of the demand.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

(1) (a) During the past five years the East Godavari district produced 153 Graduates, 298 Intermediates and 1,184 S.S.L.C.'s. The number of unqualified candidates produced is not definitely known.

(b) Graduates 3.33 per cent (roughly)
Intermediates 1.66 per cent (do.)
S.S.L.C.'s 3.00 per cent (do.)

(c) The total number of permanent posts available during the last five years in the Revenue Department was 56.

(d) Rs. 35—35—1½—50—1—60 Grade.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) Vocational training, in my opinion, serves no useful purpose.

(2) Specialisation in technical education is more promising.

(4) Middle classes can be diverted to more scientific methods of agriculture.

The demand for mechanically trained men and for trade and commerce is limited.

(7) Co-operative agriculture is certainly to be encouraged. In this district, for example:—Lankas are taken on lease by co-operative societies with good results.

(8) Farm colonies are not likely to be a success.

Written evidence of the Collector of Ganjam, dated the 12th August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(1) A graduate can always obtain employment judging from the fact that young graduates appointed to posts in Government service commonly resign soon on securing a better post elsewhere. Till the pay of Government clerks was raised recently it was difficult even to obtain S.S.L.C.'s for appointments in this district with the result that many unpassed men had to be appointed. This indicates that even S.S.L.C.'s were able to obtain better appointments than they could get in Government service.

(4) I have known one or two cases of unemployment among Indians educated in foreign countries. This was due to their not having obtained a degree abroad and yet having pretensions to start official life in higher appointments. One of these men obtained a job under the non-co-operation party.

II. CAUSES.

The causes of unemployment of educated men are obvious. A civilised country like France or England has 200,000 or 300,000 posts of schoolmasters against 20,000 in the Madras Presidency; 50,000 doctors against 1,000; and so on.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

I attach two tables of statistics for Government posts for the last five years. I have to obtain my supply of graduates from outside as there is no first-grade college in this district. I cannot recruit even my own office from graduates. The demand for graduates therefore outruns the supply. There is far greater unemployment of graduates in, e.g., Italy. Most graduates are unemployed in Italy. Of those who have taken their law degree probably 80 per cent are unemployed in Italy.

IV. REMEDIES.

The main remedy is in the hands of parents: let them educate and train their children. Schools and training colleges will arise to meet the demand and the existence of trained men will result in the extension of existing activities and the starting of new industries. Government and local bodies must assist by increasing taxation and so providing more funds for agricultural advance, schools, hospitals, roads and so on, which will result in more and more members of the middle class being employed. Government will do no good by trying to extend its activities except quantitatively on present lines. All bars to emigration should be removed.

STATEMENT No. I.

I. A. Results.

1921	...	...	11	In the second-grade colleges of Berhampur and Parlakimedi.
1922	...	...	34	
1923	...	...	24	
1924	...	...	33	
1925	...	...	30	

Total ... 132 during the 5 years.

II. S.S.L.C. Results.

1921	...	...	67	In the High Schools at (1) Russellkonda, (2) Parlakimedi, (3) Berhampur, (4) Chicacole, (5) Chatrapur, (6) Aska, (7) Tekkali, (8) Ichchhapur, and (9) Mandasa.
1922	...	...	93	
1923	...	...	80	
1924	...	...	124	
1925	...	...	127	

Total ... 491

(1) S.S.L.C. Passes	...	...	...	...	491
(2) I.A. Passes	...	...	...	...	132
(3) Permanent posts during the five years	...	...	...	...	45
(1) B.A.'s	...	...	...	...	10
(2) I.A.	...	...	...	...	1
(3) S.S.L.C. and Matriculates	...	...	...	...	32
(4) Unpassed	...	...	...	...	2
					45

(4) Pay of the posts Rs. 35 on the average.

STATEMENT No. II.

Statement showing the number of posts which fell vacant and which were filled up during the 5 years—1921–1925.

(a) Regular establishment.

	Total.	B.A.'s.	I.A.'s.	S.S.L.C.'s.	Unpassed candidates.
1. Collector's office, Correspondence section.	17	9	..	7	1
2. Treasury Deputy Collector ..	9	1	1	6	1
3. Revenue Divisional Officer, Berhampur.	4	..	..	4	..
4. Revenue Divisional Officer, Chicacole.	1	..	..	1	..
5. Revenue Divisional Officer, Ghumsur.	5	..	..	5	..
6. Revenue Divisional Officer, Chatrapur.	7	..	..	7	..
7. Revenue Divisional Officer, Balliguda.	2	..	..	2	..
	45	10	1	32	2

(b) *Typist's post.*

One with technical qualifications in the Chicacole Revenue Divisional Office.

(c) *Minor Irrigation establishment.*

One Minor Irrigation clerk-draftsman.
One Minor Irrigation overseer.

— — —
*Written evidence of the Collector of Guntur, dated the
26th August 1926.*

II. CAUSES.

(1) It is partly due to the present system of education, which has produced a plethora of half-educated youths, unfitted for rustic life but for whom there is no room in the narrower walks of professional employment. It is too literary and not sufficiently related to future careers and needs of the students.

(2) Remuneration as a whole is sufficient. (I presume the employments referred to are those in professional and clerical posts, broadly speaking.)

(3) This has now very little effect on unemployment.

(4) To some extent an educated high caste man will not care to take a low paid post, e.g., in mechanical or commercial employment, with the chance of rising higher.

(5) The commerce and industry of the country is not yet developed sufficiently to require these.

(6) Literary education is the cheapest, followed by commercial, professional and technical being the most costly. The difference in cost has probably not much appreciable effect on the supply of applicants.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

(1) The figures are given for the district—

	PER YEAR.				
(a) (1) Graduates	...	...	...	...	Nil.
(2) Intermediates	...	...	...	...	20
(3) S.S.L.C.'s	...	...	...	...	137
(4) Unqualified	...	...	...	...	363

(b) (For Government service in the Revenue Department only.)

	PER CENT.				
Intermediates	...	...	...	...	1.5
S.S.L.C.'s	...	...	...	...	8.0
Unqualified	...	...	...	...	0.1

(c) For three years, 171 in the Revenue Department of the district.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) & (2) The difficulty with these suggestions is that they tend to increase the number of possible workers without increasing the amount of work to be done. Some good may be done by starting institutions such as weaving schools.

(3) These are not needed yet.

(4) This is a valuable suggestion if it can be carried out. At present there is very little inclination for it.

(5) Capital is not usually wanting for agricultural development.

(6) This is a desirable object but Government cannot do much directly to assist it.

(7) Little demand for it.

(8) Not required.

(9) This is capable of considerable extension.

(10) This will be a benefit but more to labourers than the middle classes.

(11) No demand for it.

(12) Not required.

The present situation as it seems to me is, that there is a large number of young men semi-educated with a vague view to getting a living in a profession or as a clerk; the number of people who can make a living so is necessarily limited and hence a large amount of unemployment.

SPECIAL REMEDIES.

(1) Raising the standard of living of the masses, which will create a demand for manufactures.

(2) Some increase of technical education in schools. But the first must go along with or precede the second.

I believe Government might do more than it does in starting State industries. Some risk must no doubt be run, but it would give a lead to Indian capital, which is timid in exploring new paths.

— — —
*Written evidence of the Collector of Kurnool, dated the
15th August 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Unemployment exists among the middle classes.

(1) Yes, amongst all the three classes mentioned.

(2) (a) There is no unemployment among trained teachers.

(b) The bar is over-crowded and the new comers have to struggle hard for existence.

(c) At present only a few of the qualified men secure appointments; and a large number have to live by their own resources. The present scheme of opening rural dispensaries is likely to absorb a number of sub-assistant surgeons. There is however some difficulty at present in securing sub-assistant surgeons for rural dispensaries. It is partly due to the fact that they feel that the subsidy is not adequate and the Taluk Boards have often to supplement it from Provincial funds.

(d) Lower subordinates find it difficult to secure suitable jobs.

(e) & (f) With the new era of agriculture and industries dawning upon India, there is greater demand for professional experts in agriculture and handicrafts and it cannot be said that there is unemployment among this class of people.

(g) With the opening of new lines of railway there is no unemployment both among qualified and unqualified persons in this class.

(3) With the rapid strides the country is making in mercantile and banking businesses, the demand for trained hands must increase, and the unemployment of untrained hands must consequently also increase.

(4) Yes. A large number of Indians go to the English universities with the idea of getting a better start in Government services. Those who do not succeed in getting through competitive examinations have sometimes to spend long and anxious periods of unemployment till they find suitable jobs. Those who merely qualify for the Bar and return as Barristers-at-Law are often in no better position.

II. CAUSES.

(1) The present system of academical education imparted in the Indian universities is to some extent responsible for this. More admission into purely scientific departments of the university and facilities for researches which are likely to be of great commercial utility may be created.

(2) In these days of competition and unemployment, the remuneration offered to educated class is inadequate.

(3) Except in one or two provinces and some of the Indian States where there is a strong feeling against employment of outsiders, this cause hardly operates.

(4) Caste feeling was to some extent responsible in preventing some members of the higher castes from going far from their native place in search of employment. But this has practically disappeared in the present generation.

(5) Bureaux on the lines of the Employment Bureaux at Cambridge may be instituted at important centres like Madras to keep the educated classes in touch with the employment market.

(6) The professional and commercial courses are more costly than literary courses. Hence more candidates flock to literary courses and there is a larger output of B.A.'s and M.A.'s who after taking their degrees do not know what to do.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

(1) (d) In Government service the initial pay of clerks in the mufassal is only Rs. 35 in the Revenue department. Graduates are however started after certain period on Rs. 45. Once in two or three years, 2 Probationary Revenue Inspectors on Rs. 60—4—80 are appointed in each district. Occasionally there is the direct recruitment of Probationary Deputy Tahsildars in the Presidency on Rs. 125.

IV. REMEDIES.

Institution of Information Bureaux, imparting of technical education, diversion to mechanical occupations, trade and commerce and the development of banking are suggested as the most practical remedies. Emigration of restricted number of educated Indians to those colonies where, at present, only the cooly classes emigrate is likely not only to give employment to a number of Indians but also to raise the level of Indians who have already settled there.

*Written evidence of the Collector of Madras, dated the
28th August 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(1) Yes. In all these classes.

(2) In (a) and (b) yes; in (c) to some extent; in (d), (e) and (f) No. As to (g) I cannot say.

II. CAUSES.

(1) Yes. The system is defective generally because it is throughout too literary in character. Further, most of the degrees given by Indian educational institutions are far too easily obtained. One object of awarding degrees is to give the student a certificate that he possesses certain mental qualifications which should recommend him for a certain standard of employment. As a corollary a man who gets a degree will accept nothing lower. It is clear that if the pass in these degrees is made too easy the criteria are entirely vitiated. If the B.A. and other degrees were made worth having, there could not be a swarm of B.A.'s, etc., disappointed because they had not obtained what they conceived to be a suitable place. If these degrees meant what they are supposed to mean all B.A.'s, etc., would find employment.

(2) No. This is not a cause but an effect of overcrowding.

(3) Yes. I am afraid this is innate in the Indian character. It is hard, for example, for a graduate to get employment in Madras where graduates are innumerable and the Madras surplus might well be employed in more backward areas upcountry where the graduate applicant is a *rara avis*. But in most cases the graduate does not wish to travel far from his home and family and so loses these opportunities. This is a cause deep rooted in Indian family ideals and likely to persist in spite of our efforts.

(4) & (5) are, I think, secondary causes, if even as much.

IV. REMEDIES.

The obvious remedy of course would be to create more appointments; but this, I take it, is ruled out by financial considerations. It cannot be ruled out on other grounds, because, undoubtedly the great majority of the Indian districts are hopelessly understaffed in all branches of administration. To realize this, one has only to travel to Ceylon or Malaya and compare the establishments in those countries and the results obtained. One could see it, in the old days, no further away than Coorg. I take it, however, that it has been definitely established that curtailment of establishment must mean ultimate financial gain and there is no use arguing otherwise. Of the remedies suggested the most hopeful is No. (4) read with No. (8). If the middle classes are to be diverted to agricultural pursuits, it seems essential to group them together into communities and not leave them as lone islands in Boeotia. I know of one instance of a young and educated Indian who returned from England and settled down to agricultural improvement in the midst of illiterate rustics; but only one. Experience therefore suggests that it is unreasonable to expect the middle classes as a whole to do this. If colonies for middle class agriculturists are to be founded however, this involves the allotment of good contiguous lands in considerable quantity, and the history of land grants to the depressed classes throws an illuminating light on the feasibility of this programme.

As regards (4) (b)—mechanical occupations—it is obvious that there are here vast fields for development. For example, electrical engineering in this country must still be in its infancy and motor engineering is little further advanced. For both there is an enormous and must be an increasing demand. A fortune awaits the man who will build and sell in India a motor car suited to Indian conditions and there is no reason why that man should not be an Indian. These are two fields to which the attention of scholars might well be directed under (1) and (2). The other remedies suggested must depend on one or other of these main lines with the exception of (12)—emigration—in which I do not see much hope for the middle classes as a whole. The Indian is not by nature cut out for an emigrant and when he gets abroad very often becomes, owing to his principles and modes of life, an

economic problem thus rendering himself not too welcome in the country he proposes to adopt. I should say therefore that intensive agriculture and mechanical engineering, especially electrical and motor engineering (including, of course, aviation), are the two best hopes for the unemployed in this country.

Note of the Tahsildar, Madras, dated the 7th August 1926.

Though unemployment among the educated middle classes exists in the whole of India, it may be said that the proportion is much more in this presidency than in any other presidencies. The fact that university brings out every year hundreds of graduates and more intermediates in addition to thousands of S.S.L.C.'s, especially more on account of the university examinations being held twice a year, amply proves the above statement. The chief cause of unemployment appears to be the absence of a sound system of education suitable for the present needs of the country. The present system of education helps to develop only one side of the faculty at the risk of other faculties. It is also defective in many ways. It does not afford sufficient scope for the industrial and economic development of the people.

2. The heavy expenses incurred in prosecuting studies at the present time make the youth a bankrupt financially with the result that he has no other go to eke out a livelihood than to depend on service in Government or in firms which find it extremely difficult to provide all and thus the number of unemployed is increasing by leaps and bounds.

3. Among the various remedies suggested I confine myself to the one that the present system of education may be made more diversified, fluid and practical so that the woeful necessity of educated persons seeking clerical work alone can be avoided.

Written evidence of the Collector of Madura, dated the 3rd September 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

I Yes.

(1) Yes. It seems to be equally bad among all these classes but graduates naturally are able in the end to secure Government jobs in larger numbers than the others.

(2) Yes.

(3) The Indian mercantile classes seem to keep their businesses very much to themselves and while there is perhaps not much

unemployment among these classes themselves there are few or no openings for outsiders. I have not heard of any unemployment among trained insurance agents or accountants. There can be only very few of these trained.

(4) There is, chiefly among the lawyers, owing to overcrowding of this profession. In other professions I think it is only the incompetents who remain unemployed.

II. CAUSES.

(1) It is due not so much to the system as to the wrong idea among the people of education. They regard it purely as a means of securing Government appointments. No alteration in the system will prevent this so long as educational qualifications are required for Government service and so long as Government service is almost the only avenue of employment available.

(3) I don't think so. The more enterprising, e.g., Malayalis, succeed in finding employment everywhere.

(4) Not to any extent.

(5) No. The vacancies are not there and so no Employment Bureau would be of any avail.

IV. REMEDIES.

I fear that we are only beginning at the wrong end in trying to alter the system of education. It is not, it seems to me, the system that is so much at fault. The difficulty is that except in Government service the openings are so few. Hence the rush for Government service. Compared with conditions in England the difference is striking. There there are any number of openings available for a young man apart from the Civil Service. Here there are hardly any. The solution is to create more openings, but I confess I do not know how this is to be done.

(4) Diversion is useless without the necessary openings. Agriculture already supports all that it can. Trade and commerce are full.

The only remedy seems to lie in the natural development of the country which will in the course of time provide greater openings for educated young men. We have produced more educated men than the various professions can absorb at present and hence the present situation. Everything should be done that may be possible to hasten on the development of the country industrially and agriculturally, but it must necessarily be a slow process and I see no immediate hope of reducing unemployment.

(12) There is little scope for emigration within British India. There might perhaps be possibilities in New Australia which is a tropical country. I have always understood that the Japanese are anxious to colonise it; so why not the Indians?

Written evidence of the Collector of Malabar, dated the 24th August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

All those whom I have consulted are agreed that unemployment exists among the middle classes. The fact is undoubted. If by "literary" classes is meant those persons who have received an ordinary education and have undergone no special course, then my opinion is—and it is generally agreed—that unemployment is more prevalent in these classes than in any other. It is worst among S.S.L.C.'s; next come B.A.'s. "Intermediates" are relatively few. Unqualified persons recognize their limitations and have comparatively little difficulty in finding jobs commensurate with their ambitions.

The technical and professional classes suffer from unemployment but to a less degree. The teaching profession is overcrowded and so is the profession of law; employment of a sort is found by the underselling of their services. Medicine too has a large unemployed class. Engineering and agriculture are better off. Handicrafts are largely the monopolies of castes, many of which have a severe struggle for existence; trained persons outside the castes are few and hardly constitute an "unemployment problem".

II. CAUSES.

By all those whom I have consulted the present system of education is blamed for the existence of unemployment. In assigning this cause, they of course imply that the replacement of the present system by another would remove, or at least mitigate, unemployment; and most have suggested that the ordinary school course should be supplemented by what is called "vocational" and "industrial training". Raja Sir Vasudeva Raja goes so far as to suggest that many of the secondary schools should be closed and technical schools opened in their places. More modest (though perhaps no more practical) than either of these suggestions is Mr. Govindan's plea for an improvement of method in the present teaching. He says:

"The system is defective.

(a) The education now imparted is purely literary. The students are saddled with too many subjects, with the result that they do not assimilate what they are taught. Too much importance is attached to examinations in which some of the examiners attempt to show off their cleverness rather than test the general knowledge of the students in the subject. Naturally, the students attempt to mug up and disgorge what they have swallowed at the examinations. This over-examination also affects their physique, and by the time they complete their education, they are most of them physical wrecks. The next stage is the hunt for employment. If that fails, they become desperate and do not even think of taking themselves to some useful trade."

(b) The method of teaching is also defective. A boy who has spent years in learning chemistry does not know how to make a bottle of ink. The physics student knows not to handle a pair of pincers or to turn the nut of a screw in the right direction. The mathematician of the school does not know how much an acre is, and cannot make an estimate for a small house. The teaching should be made more practical. At present even the theory is not properly assimilated.

(c) There is no life in the school. More of outdoor work and farming and other occupations should be introduced into the school. The only life at present is that of swallowing pills of mathematics and of admiring the English boy's obedience to his parents.

(d) The boy that is sent to school becomes nearly moribund and out of this material is manufactured a creature of fashion and of many foolish notions regarding dignity, learning, etc."

There is no doubt that the enormous excess of young men fitted only for "black coat" employment over the number of "black coat" jobs is a direct result of the existing system of education. It is a generally expressed opinion that the present-day education produces a distaste for work other than clerical, and, generally, an inclination to "soft" occupations. It seems obvious therefore either that education should be restricted or changed or that some means should be found of increasing the field of employment for the products of our present educational system. Possibly remedies may be sought along both these lines.

IV. REMEDIES.

If the idea of "vocational training" in schools is to substitute for the ordinary processes which are designed to quicken the mind, a training which seeks to equip a boy to earn a living, e.g., by carpentry, weaving, agriculture, and so on, then I consider the idea both visionary and harmful. If, on the other hand, the intention is to open "continuation classes" in special subjects, there is much to be said for it. The main objective of such classes however should be not so much to equip boys for a trade or calling as to develop the use of the head and eye and to stimulate a sense of the dignity of manual labour. The practical difficulties however of such a scheme are great. Even if it is assumed that teachers can be supplied (and Government alone can produce them) there is the difficulty that in order to turn to account as a means of livelihood the training they have received, the ex-pupils will have to compete with existing guild, or caste, organisations, which, as already stated, are themselves none too prosperous. Capital shows no inclination to stimulate and develop the ordinary crafts, whether practised by guilds or by "outsiders", and in its absence no expansion is possible. Here, again, the only agency of development is the State. "Technical education", the panacea of many, is faced with somewhat similar difficulties. It is obviously no use to train

up men to be soap-makers, pin-makers and cabinet-makers, unless capital is forthcoming to provide the factories in which these experts can exercise their skill. There are strict limits to what the State can do in this direction. What about agriculture then? It is in this line, I believe, that the best hope of providing useful employment lies. The first essential is that capital shall be induced to interest itself in scientific farming and to excite this interest the multiplication of demonstration farms and centres of agricultural instruction is necessary. In Malabar it should be possible to train up younger members of tarwads as practical teachers of agriculture and to send out from among them persons who will find employment as expert managers of large estates. Improved agriculture, I recognize, may mean the elimination of labourers at the bottom of the scale; for their relief, freedom of emigration, e.g., to Ceylon and Malaya, should be ensured.

The men needed for this agricultural effort are such as have received a "literary" education. Their work as learners and teachers of agriculture will be an after-school course; the work should be practical and subject to strict discipline. It is desirable—though how shall it be attained?—that school education itself should be more practical, more related to the facts of life, than it is at present. In order to improve secondary education and to limit the number of its "victims", I would make it more expensive than at present; the number of examining syndicates, called universities, should be reduced to a minimum. I have no other "remedies" to suggest.

*Written evidence of the Collector of Nellore, dated
the 18th August 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(1) Yes.

(2) Yes.

(a) Yes.

(b) Yes.

(c) (i) Slightly.

(ii) No.

(d) No.

(e) No.

(f) (i) No.

(ii) Slightly.

(g) No.

(3) No.

(4) *Indians educated in foreign countries.*—The number of persons is negligible at present, and most of such people, so far as my knowledge goes, are employed.

II. CAUSES.

(1) The main causes of unemployment are—

(a) The cheapness of education and its low standard chiefly among S.S.L.C.'s.

(b) The increasing number of people who have undergone a literary course alone.

(c) The addition to the numbers of middle-class people proper, of people of the artizan and lower classes such as peons, who after undergoing a literary education of a low standard consider themselves "middle class" and therefore far above the classes into which they were born.

(d) The distastefulness of any occupation involving outdoor work.

(e) The prevalence of the false notion among those who have had some kind of literary education that manual labour of any kind is derogatory.

(f) The inability of students to continue their studies beyond a certain low standard, owing to lack of means, and the consequent increase in the number of half-educated people.

(2) Unemployment is not due to the small remuneration offered. Outside Government service, employment is available on a good salary even to men with a fair knowledge of the three R's, if such men are prepared to do outdoor work, e.g., as field writers on tea estates, where men receive Rs. 100 and allowances, or as tally clerks in shipping offices, as compared with Rs. 35 and 40 in sedentary occupations. Mercantile and tea estate employers have complained of the difficulty in securing people for such jobs, who do not shirk outdoor work. Brahmans of the graduate standard are content with the low starting salary offered by Government but non-Brahmans and Muhammadans sometimes, in my experience, are over-ambitious and would rather idle away their time, while waiting for something big to turn up, than accept acting posts to secure a footing.

(3) The want of fluidity was in the past a cause of unemployment. Men were reluctant to leave the district to which they belonged, but lately there has been a slight improvement, probably the result of economic pressure. Men also hesitate to go from one district to another even on higher pay.

(4) I do not think social causes operate much these days.

(5) I do not think Employment Bureaux or educational institutions being in touch with the labour market will improve matters. The demand for men desiring clerical occupation is less than the supply, and unemployed men with a literary education will not seek fresh occupations.

(6) A literary education is the cheapest, then comes commercial education and lastly professional education. A commercial education attracts few comparatively.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

(1) The information below relates to this district:—

(a) *Graduates*.—There are no first-grade colleges in Nellore, so the information required cannot be furnished.

Intermediates.—The only second-grade college started in 1922 has produced 62 intermediate candidates in four years.

S.S.L.C.'s.—Between 1919 and 1925 the high schools turned out 449 candidates.

Unqualified persons.—The number is not available.

(b) Between 1919 and 1st April 1926 the following numbers were confirmed in the Revenue department of this district:—

1. Graduates	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
2. Intermediates	..	..	..	..	..	..	None.
3. S.S.L.C.'s	..	..	..	..	..	..	51
4. Unqualified persons	..	..	..	..	..	..	9

(c) No information

(d) Clerks are started on Rs. 35 in the Rs. 35—35—1½—50—1—60 grade. A mica inspector was started on Rs. 80 in the grade Rs. 80—4—100.

IV. REMEDIES.

There is at the present time a disproportionate number of persons possessing a literary education, and this education is ill-adapted to incline students towards commercial and agricultural pursuits. To remedy this, the courses of study, in schools particularly, need revision so that more attention may be paid to industrial and practical work. From their earliest years, children should be taught in schools the dignity of labour and the school curriculum should concentrate more on industrial subjects. It should be instilled in the youthful mind that the market for those with a purely literary education is overstocked, and that to earn a livelihood a knowledge of an industry in addition to the ordinary literary education is imperative. They should be taught too that with a literary education they will prove more efficient workmen. At present it is not recognised generally that education makes people more intelligent and better fitted to undertake successfully industrial work. More attention to physical training may overcome the repugnance that Indians have for outdoor work.

The reduction in the number of sub-assistant surgeons in Government service has forced L.M.P.'s and others with better qualifications to leave towns and set up practice in the interior. Similarly if young men have an industrial training, economic pressure will force them to take to industrial work. At present with their purely literary occupation they have nothing to fall back on, and consequently seek sedentary work in offices, but as this field is limited, the unemployment problem is acute.

The problem is a complicated one undoubtedly and the root of the trouble lies in the system of education. This matter has to be taken up first therefore.

*Written evidence of the Collector of the Nilgiris,
dated the 6th August 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(1) Unemployment exists among the middle classes. It is prevalent and is particularly noticeable amongst the literary classes, the number being the least among graduates and the largest among S.S.L.C.'s and unqualified persons.

(2) (i) Unemployment does not exist to any noticeable extent amongst the technical and professional classes, being the least among vakils. As educational, medical, engineering, agricultural and industrial activities are growing in volume and extending in all directions, in all parts of the Presidency, those who have taken to these professions find some employment or other in course of time.

(ii) Unqualified persons amongst these classes suffer from unemployment to the same extent as unqualified persons referred to in I (1).

(3) Unemployment is not appreciable amongst the mercantile and banking businesses; the fate of untrained persons however is much the same as unqualified persons amongst other classes.

(4) Unemployment seems to be rare amongst this class.

II. CAUSES.

(1) It is partly due to the prevailing system of education which until recently did not include vocational training or technical education but was confined to literary and linguistic training. Even from the early stages of education pupils should receive instruction in regard to handicrafts and other useful industries so that those who have no aptitude for higher studies may turn to the practical side of life such as learning carpentry, rattan industry and the like.

(2) No.

(3) No.

(4) The days when social causes operated are either gone or fast going.

(5) This cause operates to a large extent. Individuals in search of employment, on account of their ignorance of the demand for employment and the qualifications expected of them, either apply to a department where they are not wanted or for a post for which they have not the requisite qualifications and this leads to unemployment. The establishment of Information and Employment Bureaux, which will take stock of all demands for employees and which will inform and guide applicants who now apply aimlessly to all and sundry and get confounded, is a great and urgent necessity.

(6) The cost of education varies with the particular courses taken. There are courses equally costly under all the heads and equally cheap. But the supply of applicants for these avocations is in no way affected by the cost of education.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

(1) (a) Figures are not available. There is only one high school in this district and the number of S.S.L.C.'s declared eligible during the past five years is as noted below:—

1922	..	..	..	7	1925	..	..	..	5
1923	..	..	..	7	1926	..	..	..	11
1924	..	..	..	7					

I am unable to give the number of unpassed candidates by this high school.

(b) The number of applications for appointment received in this office since 1923 is given below:—

Year.	Graduates.	Inter-mediates.	S.S.L.C.'s	Unpassed men.
1923	12	2	33	15
1924	8	3	38	16
1925	20	6	44	1
1926 (up to date)	11	8	17	3

The information for the previous years is not available.

(c) The number of appointments made since 1921 is given below:—

Year.	Graduates.	Inter-mediates.	S.S.L.C.'s	Unqualified.	Total.
1921	..	..	1	..	1
1922	..	..	3	1	5
1923	1	..	6	..	7
1924	..	..	1	..	1
1925	..	..	1	..	1
1926 (up to date)	..	..	..	..	..
Total	1	..	12	1	14

(d) The average pay of the posts is Rs. 47-8-0.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) & (2) The remedies suggested are likely to prove very fruitful.

(3) This remedy is an urgent necessity and likely to be very useful.

(4) (a), (b) & (c) This will relieve the situation to a considerable extent and will be a wholesome and profitable diversion for the middle classes from the craze for Government service.

(5), (6), (7), (8) & (9) The remedies appear worthy of experiment but time and experience alone can show the extent to which they will prove successful.

(10) The opening of banks for the purpose will give a great impetus to the improvements of home industries and handicrafts which will afford considerable scope for employment.

(11) The importance of developing co-operative production and distribution can hardly be overestimated as this would not only provide employment to a large number of middle-class men but would also benefit all classes.

(12) Emigration could be made more popular if agents for recruitment were drawn from the middle and literary classes who may be expected to deal more honestly and intelligently with intending emigrants than the present kanganis.

*Written evidence of the Collector of Salt Revenue, dated the
29th October 1926.*

That unemployment among the middle classes exists is indisputable. The number of applications for clerks and Sub-Inspectors' posts in the Salt department greatly exceed the number of possible vacancies. In the Salt department a number of temporary Sub-Inspectors have to be entertained for the manufacturing season, i.e., for about six months of the year, and it is noticeable that even graduates are now willing to take up these temporary posts in the hopes sooner or later of getting a permanent footing in the department, though for the first two or three years (if they are entertained temporarily each year) they will automatically be discharged at the end of each six months. If there were openings elsewhere, it is unlikely that graduates would "look at" such appointments. I suppose that the head of every office is worried by the number of apparently eligible applicants, for whom he has no room and whom, however good their qualifications, he must turn away; at any rate a large number of the applicants who come to this office seem to have wandered round all the offices of Madras seeking for "jobs" without success.

Obviously, if this unemployment exists, as it clearly does, it is because the supply of eligible candidates is greater than the demand for them to fill posts suitable to their educational qualifications. While the supply is every year increasing with the extension of education and the increase of population, the demand remains practically constant. The solution of the problem therefore must be one of adjustment between supply and demand. Clearly either the supply must be decreased or the demand increased. Government posts are strictly limited and efficiency is to be sought rather in improvement of quality than in increase of quantity, and though it is true that with an increase in the population more professional men have a chance of earning a living, this small increase is out of all proportion to the large

increase in supply. Nor in India, as in England, is there any outlet for educated Indians in other countries to relieve the surplus supply.

Thus the only possible method of adjustment is to reduce the supply. The above remarks on supply and demand are doubtless very obvious, but it is necessary to stress the inevitableness of the conclusion—that the supply must be reduced—if any real effort is to be made to get at the root of the trouble of middle class unemployment in order to justify the very unpopular corollary, discouragement of education. It is true that reduction of supply does involve a reduction in the numbers of students now educated up to a certain standard, but I would advocate a reduction of these numbers, not by discouraging them from being educated up to this standard, but by raising the standard so that fewer can reach it. I would in fact make the graduate course more difficult, so that only the best can pass it. I would also—a more unpopular suggestion—make it more expensive, so long as a proper scheme of scholarships is instituted, so that really promising students who genuinely cannot afford the course can be educated up to the highest standard. The suggestion is of course a very general one and the details of any such raising of the standard would be a matter for the educational authorities to work out. Merely to make the examination more difficult to pass would be useless. The object in view must be to devise and apply such a test as will discriminate among the present large number of graduates, between the ordinary and those of real ability. If in practice this could be done, the material for Government and professional posts would be ready to hand. It would not greatly exceed the demand and it would be the best available. There would at any rate then be no unemployment among the best brains.

I am aware however of the obvious criticism that I have merely shifted unemployment from among the best to the class just below the best, not removed it; it may even be said that I have increased it among this latter class by shutting them out from chances of employment in Government or professional posts. That I fear is inevitable, but I claim that it is better to ensure employment for the best than to offer an uncertain chance of employment to a large number composed of both the best and the second best. By the formation of a more "select" body of graduates, who alone would be considered eligible for posts, now so eagerly sought after, it is probable that fewer would attempt to educate themselves up to that standard. Thus the body of second bests would be reduced. For those that remained I would encourage by all possible means technical education and a turning to agriculture, trade and commerce. It seems probable that the middle classes would more readily take to trade, commerce and agriculture if the outside chance of a Government or professional post—and under present condition for each individual it is an outside chance—was not within their grasp.

I do not see how it is possible to eradicate the root of the trouble except by some reduction of supply but I think perhaps a rather better adjustment between supply and demand, even under present conditions where the supply obviously greatly exceeds the demand, could be made by means of properly worked Employment Bureaux. Such bureaux would have no powers of selection whatever; their function would be purely that of *liaison* between employers and the would-be employed. The latter would on payment of a fee register themselves at the bureau and in this way the bureaux would be largely, if not entirely, self-supporting. Again the details would require working out but in order that such bureaux should be a success, two conditions seem to be absolutely essential: (1) Such bureaux must be in close touch with colleges and schools. (2) They must have the active support not only of Government officials but of commercial and business employers.

Written evidence of the Collector of South Arcot, dated the 28th October 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

There is no denying the fact that unemployment now exists amongst the educated middle classes.

1. *Literary classes*.—There are at present quite a large number of unemployed and discontented amongst the literary classes in all grades, the percentage being very large among S.S.L.C.'s.

Some of the unqualified persons settle down as vakils' clerks, petty traders, railway servants, etc., while the rest are doomed to involuntary idleness.

(2) *Technical and professional classes*.—(a) *Teachers*.—Qualified men generally find no difficulty in securing employment. The opening of a large number of elementary schools in the Presidency has absorbed many S.S.L.C.'s and unqualified persons as village schoolmasters.

(b) *Profession of law*.—This profession is now very much overcrowded so much so that many pleaders are now unable to earn a living wage. As the law classes are open to all graduates this overcrowding is bound to be worse still in course of time and the struggle for existence amongst the lawyers to become keener. Many graduates, who can afford it, drift into the law colleges, without any special aptitude for the profession and without giving a thought to the future prospects, merely because they are unable to think of an alternative profession.

(c), (d) & (e) *Professions of Medicine, Engineering and Agriculture*.—I don't think the unemployment in these professions is appreciable. Medical men not in Government employ set up private practice now mostly in towns. Many of them will be

wanted for rural areas in course of time though they cannot have before them the prospect of the lucrative practice of a fortunate few in large towns. However they are likely to be drawn to rural areas, with the prospect of a modest but assured income. The members of the profession of engineering have unlike their medical brethren no scope, at any rate in this Presidency, for private practice. Many of them however find employment in the railways and local boards. The supply has not so far exceeded the demand. As regards agriculture those that go in for technical training in this profession are really few and practically all of them have employment in Government service as their aim. It is superfluous to say that scientific agriculture on modern lines and with proper organisation has unlimited possibilities before it, in this country. But at the same time, there are many obstacles in the way of this, in an ancient and conservative society, which are well known and need not be enumerated here. There is however no doubt that a change must come about by the application of brains and capital and this alone can give employment to the educated middle classes in this profession.

(f) *Handicrafts, such as weaving*.—The hereditary weaving classes are proverbially improvident and casual in their methods. They are at the mercy of the sowcars and are nearly always on the verge of starvation. This does not mean that there is lack of employment among them. There is always a large demand for hand-woven cloth in this country in spite of the competition of foreign cloth and local Indian mill industry. The introduction of the fly-shuttle loom and other improvements have enabled the hand-loom industry to compete with its rival the mill industry with greater prospect of success than before.

(3) & (4) *Mercantile businesses and 'Indians educated in foreign countries'*.—I do not think there is much of unemployment amongst these classes, at least in this district, where both the supply and demand for persons of this class is very limited. This refers only to persons who have had a technical training in English schools and not to the fairly large class of persons engaged in the ordinary trade of the country without special training. Among the latter also, there cannot be said to be any unemployment; but however it is difficult to gauge this accurately as such persons cannot be easily distinguished and classified separately.

II. CAUSES.

(1) *The present system of education*.—The educational system now prevailing, which can only turn out clerks, is no doubt one of the main causes contributing to unemployment. The education now imparted in the schools and colleges does not help the student in learning a trade or practising a handicraft. In fact the present system bears no relation whatever to the future life of the student. It has to a large extent to be reorganised on practical lines.

The bane of the present educational system is not merely its unpracticality but also the mentality it has produced among the middle classes of regarding Government service and the professions of law, medicine and engineering as the aim and goal of all educated persons. With the spread of English education to classes and castes, who previously kept severely aloof from it, a very unhealthy competition and consequently unemployment have resulted particularly in Government service and the profession of law. There are many cases of persons who have sold their patrimony in villages and migrated to towns, with the object of giving their children an English education, with no better prospect than of competing in these already overcrowded professions.

(2) *Small remuneration*.—The unemployment is due more to the want of a sufficient number of jobs than to the small remuneration offered, as even a graduate in arts or law is prepared to take up a petty clerkship.

(3) *Want of fluidity*.—This no longer acts as an impediment to any appreciable degree. The educated young men of the present day are to a large extent ready to migrate to all parts of India and even in Mesopotamia.

(4) *Social causes*.—Caste no longer acts as a deterrent and men of all castes are ready to take up clerical and similar appointments preferably under Government or public bodies anywhere. The only prejudice is against manual labour. This however is not confined to this country but is also found in the West. A young man who has gone through a collegiate or high school course cannot be expected to become a skilled artisan or labourer. The training itself is not intended for the purpose.

(5) *Want of organisation*.—I do not believe that unemployment is at present due to the want of employment exchanges.

(6) *Relative cost of education*.—That a very large number of men take to the medical, engineering and legal professions annually shows that the relative cost of education has no appreciable effect on the supply of applicants for these professions.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

For nearly a decade prior to the year 1922 there was practically a dearth of applications from graduates for posts in the Revenue department in this district. It was only from 1924 that there was a rush of applicants and the number of applications registered in this office is now 124. This figure will however be misleading as most of them would have ordinarily put in similar applications in other districts as well.

IV. REMEDIES.

The remedies suggested are all suitable in my opinion, except emigration. The development of agriculture and the diversion

of the middle classes to it however appears to deserve the foremost attention. In a preponderantly agricultural country like this, one would expect that the best brains and capital would be employed in this industry. Instead, what we observe is that the middle classes are deserting it more and more, due to the attraction of the amenities of urban life and the increase of facilities of communication and travel. There is practically no attempt to develop agriculture on scientific lines on the part of the land-owning middle and richer classes, as in other countries. Agriculture as a profession has no attraction at all to the educated young Indian and even those who undergo a course of training in agriculture in Government colleges are mostly after Government jobs. The consequences of this to the prosperity of the country are bound to be very serious, unless remedies are applied early.

To facilitate this the institution of co-operative agriculture and banking is highly necessary. The co-operative movement in this Presidency has made no great strides in the field of agriculture. It has mainly confined its activities to the opening of lending societies which are availed of by the villagers not for the purposes of agricultural development but by the more influential of them to clear off their debts and get hold of cheap capital for all sorts of unproductive expenditure. Genuine co-operative agriculture has yet to be started and agricultural banking should follow as a corollary to it.

Next in importance to agriculture is the weaving industry. Fly-shuttle and other improved methods of weaving should be largely introduced throughout the Presidency. It is perhaps the only industry next to agriculture which can absorb a large number of the middle and lower classes, enabling them to earn a decent living. There is considerable scope for expansion in this industry, if proper organisation, improved methods and sufficient capital are available for the purpose.

Generally it may be said that vocational training, technical education and diversion of the middle classes to mechanical occupations, trade and commerce are some of the remedies for unemployment that have necessarily to be thought of.

Village reconstruction will certainly give ample scope for employment of the educated middle classes. Village sanitation, education and medical service—all these largely need their services. To check the present tendency of the villagers to migrate to towns, the social amenities of village life should be considerably augmented and improved. The way in which the economic and social life of villages is deteriorating, at present, is really a grave danger to national prosperity.

The establishment of agricultural and industrial banks in the more populous areas for promoting agriculture, home industries and handicrafts is almost an imperative necessity if rural reconstruction on modern lines is to be undertaken.

Co-operative production and distribution.—If the agricultural and other allied industries are properly developed, then agricultural co-operative societies will have to come into existence for selling, buying and preparing agricultural produce for the market. They will be able to do their business on the wholesale scale and to adopt all the necessary modern improvements. This would not only increase rural prosperity to a considerable extent but also find employment for a large number of middle-class educated young men.

Emigration.—If the above remedies are effectively applied, there will be absolutely no need for emigration for educated middle-class young men. In fact whatever may be the advantages of emigration in the case of agricultural and unskilled labour, the country needs the brains and energy of all its middle-class youth urgently for its own development. Further, I should think that there is very little demand for the services of middle-class Indians, outside the country; and so emigration would be no remedy in this case.

Written evidence of the Collector of South Kanara, dated the 4th August 1926.

Unemployment does exist among the middle classes, amongst graduates, S.S.L.C.'s, intermediates and unqualified persons. In my opinion, it is due to the fact that far more people receive a purely literary education than can be supplied with the kind of post for which their education fits them. There may be some want of fluidity as many persons prefer to be employed in their own district and only accept service elsewhere with great reluctance. Language differences and social distinctions often are a cause of this. Employment Bureaux are required and could usefully be established at the colleges in connection with some central office.

REMEDIES.

It is necessary to devise means which will direct the middle classes to agriculture, mechanical occupations, trade and commerce. Boys whose education is to stop at the end of the high school course should receive a general all-round education, including elementary mathematics, elementary science, hygiene, etc., and some instruction in agriculture. The establishment of agricultural schools in district headquarters, scholarships for training therein, reservation of Government land for conditional grant in farm colonies and loans at concessions rates of interest to the grantees might attract people to agriculture and fit them for it.

*Written evidence of the Collector of Tanjore,
dated the 11th August 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

I should say that there is considerable difficulty experienced by the middle classes in obtaining employment, and that it is most prevalent among the literary classes because these are the most numerous. I arrive at this conclusion from the fact that persons with fairly high academical qualifications such as the M.A. (Honours) apply for clerical posts in the Revenue department. I enclose for your information the number of ordinary graduates (B.A.) (University men), Intermediates and eligible Secondary School Leaving Certificate holders (public school men) who obtained these academical qualifications during the last six years and the number of persons entertained in service in the Revenue department. I cannot say how far the remainder obtained employment of some sort or another and how far they did not.

II. CAUSES.

In my opinion the production of what one might call directing classes exceeds the demand for such in Madras Presidency. The principal occupation of the people is agriculture and that forms the principal field for labour. Further, agriculture is carried on in a fairly simple and primitive manner. Hence there is no scope for the large amount of presumably directing capacity turned out by the educational institutions. Departments of Government can naturally absorb a very small proportion of this directing capacity, the balance is left mostly without employment. The evil is mitigated by the low standard of the necessities of life in a tropical climate. A large amount of the more skilled educated class takes to the profession of law and it is, I believe, admitted that these do their best to provide work for themselves. It is a peculiar feature of India generally, and Madras in particular, that there is a fairly large class, the Brahmans, who form a non-productive, but otherwise extremely able community. Probably on religious grounds these were formerly supported by the people and the State without requiring any return for their support, while now it is assumed that this class should render some service to the community in exchange for the support afforded. But during the previous period which has extended practically since the dawn of History the class of Brahman has become far more numerous than the possible demands for its services and this is, I think, the principal problem that will perplex the committee.

IV. REMEDIES.

I am unable to suggest any remedies. There is no doubt that enterprising men are being absorbed in new spheres of activity, and in respect of the class (the Brahmans) that I referred to above I infer that they have displayed considerable ability in engineering

and also in medicine. The process of absorption can only be slow. I regret I am unable to make any suggestions to expedite it.

Statement showing the number of passed and unpassed men for various years from 1920 to 1926.

Year.	B.A.		Intermediate.		S.S.L.C. declared eligible	Remarks.
	Passed.	Failed.	Passed.	Failed.		
1920 ..	60	40	40	160	317	
1921 ..	50	95	37	206	343	
1922 ..	56	28	56	163	458	
1923 ..	55	45	51	102	430	
1924 ..	35	23	79	164	514	
1925 ..	48	35	48	160	511	
1926 ..	55	28	72	147	541	

List of persons who secured employment during the last six years.

Probationary Deputy Tahsildar Rs. 125—B.A.

(Hons.) 1

Rs. 60—4—80 grade—

M.A. 1

B.A. 3

Rs. 35 to 60 grade—

M.A. (Hons.) 1

B.A., B.L. 1

B.A. 7

Intermediate 2

S.S.L.C. 69

Written evidence of the Collector of Trichinopoly,
dated the 7th September 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Unemployment exists very largely among the middle classes. It is prevalent amongst (1) literate classes and amongst them in (a) Graduates, (b) S.S.L.C.'s and intermediates, (c) unqualified persons and (2) technical and professional classes such as

(a) Teachers—

(i) Qualified persons.

(ii) Unqualified persons.

(b) Profession of law among qualified persons.

There is not much unemployment as far as I know in—

(c) Profession of medicine.

(d) Profession of engineering.

(e) Profession of agriculture.

(f) Handicrafts, such as weaving, etc.

(g) Railways.

(3) Mercantile and banking businesses.

(4) There is not much unemployment amongst Indians educated in foreign countries. Many of these return with employment. But there is some amount of unemployment amongst those who had only literary or legal education in foreign countries.

II. CAUSES.

Of the causes mentioned in the questionnaire, unemployment is, in my opinion, mainly due to (1) the present system of education and (2) to social causes. The present system of education is mainly literary and even at that, it is not of a high order. After a boy is educated, he finds that he is fit for nothing except clerical appointment or law. A large number of boys are very poor and cannot afford to wait for employment after they finish their education, and others who are not at all fit for literary education and who never have an idea as to what they would do after they finish their education have been given literary education of a defective sort, which does not enable them to earn a livelihood except as a clerk or a lawyer. As regards social causes, the joint family system and early marriage have a good deal to answer for. In joint families the boys do not get that amount of attention, discipline and education as they would otherwise get in a family of which the head was the father. Education in such families is generally neglected and the boys are left adrift. The education they get is of poor quality and has very little marketable value. As regards early marriage, boys who are burdened with a wife and perhaps children early in life must seek employment somewhere and somehow and cannot wait to equip themselves properly for higher employment. They are obliged to take whatever employment they can get and cannot afford to wait. The point I want to stress on is that the many who are not fit for literary education are being given this education and this education being of poor quality fails to secure remunerative employment for our young men.

The small remuneration offered in employment is not itself a cause of unemployment and want of organization such as absence of Information and Employment Bureaux is not, in my opinion, a serious cause of unemployment. One potent cause has not been mentioned in the questionnaire and this is the restricted sphere of employment in the country. In all civilized countries, a large number of young men of the middle classes go to the Army, the Navy, the Mercantile Marine, the Clergy and Industries and Trade and Commerce. In this country, men coming from the middle classes cannot enter the Army, nor the Navy, nor the Mercantile Marine. Big industries are non-existent and the Clergy are men recruited from those who are not educated in modern ways and the calling is generally hereditary. Internal trade and commerce is generally in the hands of particular castes where also the calling is generally hereditary. Literary education

of the kind imparted does not fit young men for trade and commerce as it is conducted now in the country. Naturally enough, young men of the middle classes after a literary education when forced to compete in a very restricted sphere find it very hard to get employment.

IV. REMEDIES.

All the remedies suggested in the questionnaire will undoubtedly help to remove unemployment to some extent, some more than others; vocational training and selection in schools will fit the boys for employment and help them to get employment when they grow up. Technical education and establishment of large industries will also help to find employment for our young men. Employment or Information Bureaux in colleges and Government offices, or private employment agencies will help in finding employment, but will not create it. Unless, however, employment is found for young men in the Army, the Navy, the Mercantile Marine, in large industries and in trade and commerce, I do not expect that the present unemployment will disappear. Failing these, all that we can do now is to improve education and agriculture and induce young men to take to intensive cultivation of lands. After getting education, they are now deserting the villages for towns where they cannot get remunerative employment. What we should do is to find them employment in their villages. This can only be done by spread of agricultural education and by taking to intensive cultivation of land. The great problem now before the country is the reconstruction of the village. Establishment of co-operative agriculture, opening of banks for home industries and handicrafts in villages, co-operative production and distribution, farm colonies for middle classes will all help to find employment for young men in the villages. Our main industry being agriculture, we have got to develop this to find employment for young men. Some practical agricultural education imparted in the villages appears to me the chief remedy to be aimed at. Emigration, within or outside British India is not likely, in my opinion, to afford scope for much employment to our young men. Literary and professional education will undoubtedly be given to a large number of men who are fit for them. Some will undoubtedly take to trade and commerce, but the vast majority of boys who are now being given literary education should be given agricultural education in their villages, so that they may get decent living out of their lands.

*Written evidence of the Collector of Vizagapatam, dated
the 25th August 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

There is no doubt that so far as this district is concerned unemployment among the middle classes is prevalent. It exists among all sections of the middle classes and is not confined only to the literary classes or the technical and professional classes. Such

unemployment further is not confined only to unqualified persons. Such persons certainly find it more difficult to get employment than qualified persons, but so far as my observation has gone I have found that persons apparently highly qualified find it very difficult to get employment. Some time ago I had at least 16 B.A. applicants registered for posts under my control. I could find room for very few of them. Applications from the S.S.L.C. class are constantly coming in and there is the very greatest difficulty in providing posts for such persons. Technical and professional classes perhaps may manage to earn a living as there is some demand for their professional knowledge; but that they also find a great difficulty in getting employment is apparent from the fact that recently when I advertised for one minor irrigation sub-overseer I had half-a-dozen or more applications within a short time. Teachers perhaps fare worst of all. But lawyers also find it difficult to make both ends meet. There are too many of them for the work they have to do. So far as my information goes, an Indian educated in foreign countries rarely finds himself unemployed. If they are unemployed, the reason is in most cases that they set too high a value on their services. They are often not worth the pay which they demand.

II. CAUSES.

Unemployment is due more or less to all the causes mentioned in the questionnaire. It must never be forgotten that India is still predominantly an agricultural country. The system of education has little or no relation to agriculture. Consequently the products of our schools and colleges are eminently unfitted to return to their villages and follow the avocations of their forefathers. The main aim of a very large proportion of educated youths is to enter Government service in some form or another. The output of the schools and colleges is increasing year by year, whereas the number of posts available for such youths remains practically constant. The result is of course that year by year a large number of educated young men cannot find employment and their education utterly unfits them for service outside an office. There is certainly far more fluidity now than there used to be. Means of travelling have increased, but this increased fluidity has had little effect, in my opinion, on prospects of employment. Most districts can turn out all the men required for Government service and for other kindred services. Another cause which increases unemployment is the cost of professional and commercial education as compared with literary education. The consequence is that a large proportion of parents give their children literary education. The supply of such educated young men must necessarily far exceed the demand for their services.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

In my remarks above I have more or less traversed this subject. I have been unable in the time available to collect statistics, but it is a fact that far more applications for posts come to me than I can possibly comply with.

IV. REMEDIES.

The remedies suggested in the questionnaire have all some merit. The great difficulty however is to get educated people to take up employment which requires manual labour. Very few youths indeed who have passed through college are at all inclined to work hard for their living. Apart from this, most of the cultivable land in the Presidency is already under cultivation. In this district, for instance, outside the Agency tracts there is not enough land to go round the available population. The present system of education has little or no relation to the agricultural life of the country. If educated boys are to find employment in increasing numbers, they can do so only if the amount of trade and industry is far greater than it is. The real remedy would therefore seem to be to increase the industry of the country. It is hopeless, in my opinion, to expect educated youths ever to return to the land and do work there. Not only are they averse from such work but I very much doubt whether they could find work which was not purely manual. Under the joint family system holdings have become subdivided to such an extent that few of them would be capable of bearing the cost of a highly educated agricultural expert. The ryot himself does not want such a person. He is quite content with the methods handed down to him from his forefathers. A return to the land is therefore not likely to solve the problem of unemployment. There remains the possibility of finding work in commerce and industries. That the country is capable of very considerable industrial development is of course unquestionable. The real difficulty however is the great disinclination of the indigenous population to put up capital and while this is so there is a feeling abroad against the introduction of foreign capital. Here we have two tendencies which must paralyse the development of industry. This being the case, it is difficult to see what good vocational or technical training can do to the young men of the country. We should not decrease unemployment but merely change the nature of the unemployed from the literary to the technical class of persons. It might of course be possible for emigration to take place but here we are faced with two great difficulties. First that other countries do not as a rule want Indians and secondly that most other countries in the world to-day suffer from unemployment themselves.

The real solution of the difficulty of unemployment seems to me to lie in encouraging industry as much as possible and by means of propaganda or other persuasion to induce local capitalists to invest their money in industry and not in Government securities or petty money-lending. There is plenty of money in the country and if only it could be employed in advancing industry, a large portion of the unemployment which now exists would be done away with.

Written evidence of the Commissioner, Corporation of Madras, dated the 9th September 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

I. Yes.

- (1) (a) Yes, to a certain extent.
(b) Yes.
(c) Yes, to a large extent.
- (2) (a) To a small extent.
(b) Yes.
(c) Yes, but not to the extent of (b).
(d) No.
- (4) There is not much unemployment in Southern India.

II. CAUSES.

II. Overcrowding in some professions; aversion of the middle class to take the handicraft.

- (1) Due partly to the present system which is mostly literary.
- (2) Yes.
- (3) Yes. The people of the Presidency are, in general, not very enterprising.
- (4) Yes. As it is, a profession is now chosen for a man instead of his choosing it, as it ought to be. More often than not, he abandons the profession chosen for him.
- (5) Yes.
- (6) (a) Cheap.
(b) Dear.
(c) Moderate.

IV. REMEDIES.

- (1) Yes.
- (2) Yes.
- (3) Either.
- (4) (a) Yes.
(b) Yes.
(c) Yes.

- (5) Yes.
- (7) Yes.
- (8) Yes.
- (9) Yes.
- (10) Yes.
- (12) Yes.

*Written evidence of the Commonwealth Trust, Limited,
Calicut, dated the 15th July 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

In this district, unemployment amongst the middle classes is prevalent, particularly amongst the literary and mercantile classes, and equally amongst the Graduates, S.S.L.C.'s, intermediates and unqualified persons of that class.

Regarding the technical and professional classes, we have little first-hand experience, but we believe unemployment is prevalent amongst teachers and unqualified persons, and, also, to a lesser degree, amongst engineers.

To the best of our knowledge there is little, if any, unemployment amongst Indians, educated in foreign countries, who have returned to this country. The fact that they have been able to go abroad for their education indicates that they can afford to wait until a suitable opening presents itself, and also that they do not object to going afield for a livelihood.

II. CAUSES.

(1) We have not sufficient knowledge of the present system of education in this country to express an opinion of any value.

(2) Remunerations are, in the long run, regulated by supply and demand and not *vice versa*. If remunerations are now low, it is because the supply of suitable applicants considerably exceeds the demand.

(3) There is considerable want of fluidity, particularly amongst the lower middle classes, who are almost invariably loath to leave their native town, however promising a situation may be open to them in another district. Furthermore, social customs are such that the living expenses of an Indian of this class appear to increase enormously immediately he is away from his own district.

(4) This is partly answered in (3) above, but we are not sufficiently versed in social customs to be able to express an opinion as to how they operate. It may be mentioned, however, that even when an Indian is willing to take up a position away from his district, the average employer is loath to give him work well knowing the innumerable ceremonies it will be necessary for the employee to perform in his native place, and the constant applications for leave which he will receive ostensibly for that purpose.

(5) In our opinion the supply of qualified and unqualified men so largely exceeds the demand for their services that any extension of the activities of educational institutions and other organisations towards keeping in touch with the employment market would be of little avail.

IV. REMEDIES.

We consider the remedy lies more in the increasing of the demand than in the reorganisation of the supply.

We believe, however, that better results would be obtained if any one of the following subjects were made compulsory in elementary and secondary schools, viz., agriculture, commerce, technical subjects and handicrafts.

A student who showed no particular aptitude for any of these subjects could then proceed with his studies for the various Arts Degrees or the S.S.L.C., and the result would be that the supply of School finalists, B.A.'s, etc., would more nearly equal the demand, and that the remainder would be launched on to the market with technical qualifications, which would give them a higher earning capacity than they can attain at school under present conditions.

*Written evidence of C. R. T. Congreve, Esq., M.L.C., Valparai
P.O., dated the 28th July 1926.*

I should imagine that the fault lies very largely in the type of education of these classes, as once they acquire a smattering of education, my very small experience goes to show that young men are unwilling to do any work, except in an office, or some similar job, and naturally there are not enough of these jobs to go round.

I should however like to point out that I am in no way hostile to education, but consider some scheme, whereby lads are taught trades, would be of great advantage to them and the country in general.

*Written evidence of M.R.Ry. J. P. Cotelilingam Avargal,
Bellary, dated the 15th August 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(1) Yes, amongst (a) graduates, (b) S.S.L.C. holders, chiefly those not qualified for 'eligibility' to enter upon a university course of studies.

(2) (a) Trained teachers of all grades find work but sometimes they have to wait for suitable positions falling vacant and in localities and areas where they wish to serve.

Note.—It is the unqualified that do not easily or readily find work. They are chiefly those who have failed to secure completed certificates. Several of them find work but after a time they are thrown out of employment as trained or certificated men become available. Graduates that do not qualify themselves for a professional career swell the ranks of the unemployed for a time until they get settled down.

(4) Unemployment, there is amongst Indians educated in foreign countries but not to an appreciable extent. The trouble with them is they want fat jobs to start with. They attach far too much importance to their foreign degree and qualification and many of them consider it *infra dig.* to take up a rather subordinate position. With a cheap American degree they wish to

be placed over the heads of graduates of Indian universities who without the adapted European costume are their equals if not their superiors so far as attainments go. Some of them return to India with an European wife and that in the majority of cases adds to their trouble.

II. CAUSES.

(1) The causes of unemployment to-day cannot be directly traced to the present system of education for the latter in spite of improvements has, for nearly three-quarters of a century, continued to make the passing of university examinations the avenue to Government service. University education has been and is largely sought in order to secure a Government appointment. The number of those that qualify themselves year after year is far in excess of, I may say is out of all proportion to, appointments available whether in Government service or private service. Increase of appointments has not kept pace with the increase of the school-going population and the increase in the number of schools and colleges.

(2) No, for that should drive office-hunters to seek more lucrative sources of employment.

(3) No, for here in Bellary men have come from remote Tamil, Telugu and even Malayalam districts and have succeeded in getting employment.

(4) Yes, very largely. Human nature being really what it is, in spite of Government Orders and Legislative Council resolutions, patronage not unfrequently plays a large part. One seldom finds an appointment seeker without being armed with a number of letters of recommendation. Nepotism still lives and may not die out. If social causes are said to dominate even the admission of pupils in not a few schools and colleges the rest may well be inferred.

(5) There is a lamentable lack of organization in this respect. Barring a few educational institutions that I know of, Headmasters of schools and Principals of colleges are so engrossed in increasing their percentage of "passes" that they have no time "to keep in touch with the employment market". Moreover this is not part of their duty as it does not find a place in the Education Rules or in the University Regulations!

Note.—The present unemployment situation is largely the aftermath of the Great War. The Maelstrom drew large numbers of the "middle classes" of the country and members of the depressed classes, regardless of educational qualifications. They were paid liberally while on active service and several of them were provided for after the war, but the appointments then created could not be continued nor could similar jobs be found elsewhere and on such terms.

Agriculture, the largest industry of the country, is sadly neglected or delegated to hired servants, while the landlord in not a few cases is out job-hunting.

Written evidence of James H. Cousins, Esq., D.Lit., Principal, Brahmavidya Ashrama, Adyar, Madras, dated the 11th August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(1) I find unemployment poignantly prevalent among all the middle classes, especially the "educated".

II. CAUSES.

(1) The unemployment among the "educated" middle classes is, I believe, due to a system of education which unfits them for productive activity by giving them false ideas as to their place in the social system; that fits them for an artificial official service that is overcrowded; and that puts a false barrier between them and commercial and industrial employment by giving a false value to a degree that has no relationship to real commercial and industrial needs, yet is regarded as essential for such work.

IV. REMEDIES.

I heartily agree to the remedial measures from (1) to (11) especially co-operative agriculture, which, to my own knowledge, saved Ireland from economic ruin. If these are carried out to even 50 per cent of their possibilities, question (12) will have vanished.

Written evidence of the Director of Agriculture, Madras, dated the 12th August 1926.

The educated middle class do not, as a rule, take up agriculture as a profession, nor are they likely to do so, so that departmentally this question of unemployment does not affect me. The tendency during late years has been towards ample work and good wages for the agricultural labourer who if he emigrates to take up work in planting estates does so as a rule simply because he can command still better wages there, or because he wishes to get away from the local money-lender who is pressing his claims, or because he is in some trouble in his village.

Nevertheless, I should like to offer the following remarks on some of the questions asked by the Committee.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(2) As stated above, in my opinion, unemployment does not exist among the middle classes in the profession of agriculture for the simple reason that these classes do not, as a rule, adopt agriculture as a profession.

II. CAUSES.

(1) In my opinion, one of the main causes of unemployment among the middle classes is due to the present system of education. A literary education seems to create a distaste for agriculture and technical work. Unless elementary education is universal and compulsory, there is a tendency for lads who have been to school

to refuse to work in the field and to despise their uneducated relations. Sir F. Swettenham, in a paper read before the Royal Colonial Institute in 1895, said that when an Eastern boy has been taught to read and write very indifferently he seems to think from that moment that Government is responsible for his future employment, and in consequence the market for clerks, typists, etc., is overstocked. When a literary education has prevailed for a generation or two, there are not enough of such posts for the applicants and there is consequently unemployment.

Boys are now educated so as to make them unfit for any occupations their fathers followed and the system needs modification so as to train them to follow in their family occupations with the added benefit of an education. To this end, technical schools are necessary and some system which will induce boys to go to these schools at about the IV Form stage instead of the High schools and on to the University. At present, there is a universal desire to proceed to a university and get a degree, and it is this urge which is the cause of unemployment to a great extent. This desire must be checked in some way and it would appear that the provision of technical schools, in opposition so to speak to the high school and the University, is the only way in which to check it.

Another point which has some bearing on the question is this. An agricultural occupation is a family occupation, all the members of the family can take part in it. A man with a University education, however, seldom returns to agriculture, but takes up a professional occupation which is an individual occupation. A clerk, a doctor, or a vakil, can find no work for his brothers, or family, however successful he may be. If, on the other hand, he had turned his education to account by taking up farming as an occupation he could have found work for a number of his family. His sons also are brought up with no agricultural traditions and they expect to follow in their father's footsteps in a professional occupation and so the market is steadily overstocked and the result is unemployment.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

(2) (a) The figures asked for in the case of the Agricultural College at Coimbatore are as follows:—

	Number passed.	Number employed.		Number unemployed so far as information is available.	Total of columns (2) to (4).
		Under Government service.	In private service so far as information is available.		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Holders of Proficiency certificates.	165	102	10	40	152
Diplomates (L. Ag.'s)	140	110	2	20	132
B.Sc. Ag.'s	37	34	1	1	36

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IV. REMEDIES.

I have suggested above that the remedy, so far as agriculture is concerned, lies in the establishment of technical schools. I very much doubt whether the middle classes can be diverted to agriculture for the reason that their traditions make this occupation beneath their dignity and also they have no lands and no capital with which to purchase lands. Co-operative agriculture is a possibility, but the general mass of the people are not yet sufficiently educated up to co-operative principles to adopt such a method, and again the difficulty of finding land is a big one.

As far as agriculture is concerned, the question of unemployment does not arise and I doubt very much whether the unemployed can be diverted to agriculture.

*Written evidence of the Director of Fisheries, Madras,
dated the 8th September 1926.*

I forward the replies of subordinate officers to the various questions contained in the questionnaire. I refrain from replying to the individual questions as these have been more or less dealt with in the several replies furnished. I cannot help feeling that the root cause of unemployment is the peculiar baneful, social and religious customs which have led to the division of the people into sects and sub-sects mutually suspicious and exclusive of each other. The spread of education and social reform have already paved the way and further progress in liberal education alone could solve the difficulties that the educated Indian young men at present have in finding employment. The State cannot provide employment for all the educated men and women of the country. The development of industries and trade alone could provide suitable avenues and this latter is not feasible till the nation as a whole realises the advantages of mutual trust and co-operation.

*Written evidence of the Assistant Director of Fisheries (Coast),
Calicut, dated the 16th August 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(1) In my opinion unemployment exists among the middle classes, chiefly among unqualified persons. S.S.L.C.'s and intermediates are able to get some employment sooner or later. Graduates do get employment, but not such as satisfy their ambition.

II. CAUSES.

(1) The educated middle classes are keen on getting a working knowledge of English. For this purpose they have to leave their homes and live in a town. Prolonged residence in a town make them unfit to pursue the occupation of their ancestors. This

necessitates their continuing their studies. Those who can afford go up to the B.A. and having nothing to do after passing their B.A. proceed to the B.L. also. This accounts for the large number of B.A., B.L.'s, who crowd in the law courts. If, therefore, schools are established in rural areas which would give the middle classes a type of education that will satisfy their ambition, they will not be divorced from their ancestral occupation and there will be less of unemployment. There should be little of specialisation in these rural schools, but the standard of education should be up to the School Final. Reading and writing in the vernacular and in English and arithmetic need be the only compulsory subjects that are taught in these rural schools for middle classes. The number of hours devoted to school work should be sufficiently reduced to enable the children to devote part of their time for the pursuit of their ancestral occupation. It is only those children who have a special aptitude for other kinds of occupation or for higher studies that should be enabled to proceed to technical schools and the university. The university should hold an entrance examination that will make it impossible for children of mediocre abilities to proceed to the degree. After the entrance examination the children admitted to the university course should have a preliminary course in general subjects and at the end of the preliminary course there should be an examination which will not be a passport for any appointment in Government service. After this preliminary examination candidates should be allowed to specialise in such subjects as may interest them, whether it is arts, law, medicine or engineering. The present system of education does not afford facilities to the children of the middle classes to obtain a sufficiently high standard of education in rural areas and makes it obligatory on them to waste a good part of their time in specialising in subjects that do not interest them. The rural schools that I have proposed for the middle classes should not be confused with elementary schools which should be retained for the education of the poorer classes.

(2) The offer of small remuneration is to some extent responsible for unemployment. Remuneration offered is so low that a man who is competent for a post declines it and he goes about in search of other employment. Consequently people who are incompetent are appointed though they may possess the minimum educational qualifications prescribed by the Public Service Notification. In my opinion Government appointments may be divided into two classes—the first class consisting of such posts as require a high standard of ability and integrity and the second those posts which demand no initiative or the work is mechanical. As an illustration of the former I will mention the posts of a revenue inspector and police sub-inspector. As an illustration of the latter I will mention a clerk in a sub-registrar's office or taluk office or a vaccinator in the Public Health department. Which post should be included in the former and which in the latter is a matter of detail. Posts included in the former category need alone be pensionable.

Recruits should be required to have obtained a university degree. They will be governed by the Fundamental Rules, their posts will be permanent and they will be liable to transfer. Posts in the latter category need not be pensionable. The holders will not be governed by the Fundamental Rules. They will be liable to be discharged after notice if the head of the office or the head of the department finds that there is reasonable ground to suspect their honesty or if the work turned out by them is not up to the standard. They need not necessarily be retired on account of old age. Ability for the performance of the mechanical duties expected of them should be the only test. If necessary, a provident fund might be instituted for their benefit, but no hard-and-fast rule need be framed governing their appointments or punishments. If their services are dispensed with, that should not preclude their re-employment. Their offices will be sufficiently near to enable them to live in their houses and perform their official duties. They need not necessarily be whole-time Government servants and they should be permitted while employed to pursue their ancestral avocations. If their services are dispensed with, they will be at liberty to revert to their former occupation. Their employment in a Government office will not divorce them from their occupation.

(3) & (4) Want of fluidity is another cause. Members of the educated middle classes are generally burdened with a family at a very early age. The pay that they get is not sufficiently high to enable them to live a comfortable life and their wives are not sufficiently educated to serve as their helpmates. Consequently if they are transferred to a part which is not adjacent to their native place the family serves as a drag on them. If an officer is transferred from one place to another, he has first to go to the place to which he is transferred, make arrangements for his stay and the stay of his family, come back to his original place and then take his wife and children to the place to which he is transferred. This involves pecuniary expenses which he can hardly afford. This difficulty will be overcome if the suggestion I have made in the earlier paragraph that posts should be divided into two classes is carried into effect. The difficulty which middle classes will be put to will then be only in respect of the posts included in the first category and they will be paid sufficiently high to enable them to survive the difficulties.

(5) The absence of Information and the absence of Employment Bureaux and the failure on the part of educational institutions to keep in touch with the employment market also contribute to unemployment.

IV. REMEDIES.

I do not think vocational training will improve matters. It is best to permit children to pursue their ancestral vocation and therefore I have suggested that education should be such as would permit of children pursuing their ancestral calling. Under this scheme no special vocational training will be necessary. Provision

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of more capital for agricultural development should depend on the organization for co-operative agriculture and co-operative production and distribution. Farm colonies for middle classes may not work as that will presumably necessitate the members of middle classes leaving their homes and will involve the breaking of family ties.

*Written evidence of the Assistant Director of Fisheries (Inland),
Madras, dated the 4th August 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

In my opinion unemployment exists to a deplorable degree in the middle classes, more especially in the 'literary': I should attribute the present pitiable state to the system of education in vogue. Modern day schools, colleges and universities turn out every year thousands of young men who are fit for quill-driving work and as such as soon as they come out of educational institutions they hanker after clerical posts. It is impossible to expect either Government or the various commercial concerns to provide for all these men, who are manufactured annually far in excess of the demand. Hence the unemployment. Every boy should be taught some technical subject like carpentry, weaving, agriculture, etc., apart from the three R's in the schools, so that when he comes out he may be able to put his knowledge to practical use by turning his hands to some vocation and earn his livelihood. He need not then wait for any clerical job indefinitely, undergoing a lot of miseries. I do not think items (2), (3) and (4) under "Causes" operate to any appreciable degree, but item (5), I should think, is, to some extent, responsible for unemployment.

IV. REMEDIES.

The remedies suggested are good and if applied seriously will go a great way in solving the problem. India is an agricultural country and agriculture is its backbone. It is the neglect of agriculture by the middle classes that has brought about the present deplorable state. Before we begin to develop other industries which depend more or less on agriculture, particular attention should, in my opinion, be devoted to the development of agriculture. Remedies suggested under items (5) to (11) will to some extent conduce to the betterment of the agricultural population. To realize the benefit of these remedial measures, the present educational policy must be overhauled and compulsory free elementary education introduced throughout the Presidency. Agriculture must be made one of the compulsory subjects in the schools and when the boys come out of schools they must have a fairly practical knowledge of the subject. Improvement of agriculture alone will solve to a great extent the unemployment problem.

*Written evidence of the Personal Assistant to the Director of
Fisheries, Madras.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

I think unemployment exists among the middle classes.

- (1) (c) Among unqualified persons.
- (4) I don't think there is.

II. CAUSES.

- (1) To the present system of education. It is defective in not providing for all kinds of talents, chiefly mechanical and technical in the early part of education.

IV. REMEDIES.

The remedies suggested are, in my opinion, good, but I am not sure of No. (4) which is desirable but cannot be easily compassed. As regards No. (12), I cannot approve of turning out our unqualified surplus into foreign lands to fend for themselves. They will be better cared for in their own country.

*Written evidence of the Director of Industries and Commerce
in Mysore, dated the 18th August 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Unemployment generally means the state of being unemployed among the wage-earning classes, or involuntary idleness with reference to wage-work. It is chiefly associated with the loss of wages. In western countries unemployment is not used with reference to the middle classes. More than 85 per cent of the population in India are dependent on agriculture and live in rural areas. Demand for rural labour skilled as well as unskilled is steady, and the question of unemployment does not arise so far as rural labour is concerned. Coming next to the people in urban areas, there is a growing demand for wage-earning labourers, and it is only rarely that they suffer from any lack of employment.

The classes who suffer most for want of employment are the educated middle classes living in urban areas, the uneducated among them readily joining the wage-earning classes. The proportion of persons coming under the educated unemployed middle class is rather very small as compared with the total population. Though this may be a sufficient reason to ignore this subject, we cannot really afford to do so, as the distress caused by want of employment is really acute, and the situation is otherwise likely to grow worse and worse. The educated middle classes hold an important position in society. Any neglect to improve their lot in time may cause considerable harm to the society as a whole. It is often remarked that these persons are extremely vocal,

and voice their grievances rather too insistently; their social up-bringing debars them from undertaking jobs involving manual labour; they find that the market open to them is very small, and even that is considerably overstocked; the education they have received is costly, and they have fixed ideas as to their standards of income; they would rather wait expecting something better to turn up than undersell themselves in the already overstocked market, and so on and so on. The real truth is that persons of this class with fixed income, growing families, increasing expenditure to keep up their social prestige, are always hit hard whenever there is a disturbance in the prices level. They are not in a position to adjust themselves to the changing economic conditions of the times. It is only during the past decade or two, as education has spread amongst them by leaps and bounds, and as the market to absorb them has remained somewhat stationary due to several causes, that the problem of unemployment has begun to engage the attention of the thoughtful; and time is come to tackle the situation.

(1) It is found that there is more unemployment among those who have received a mere literary education as opposed to those who have been qualified to take up a profession. The proportion of the unemployed is greater among the B.A.'s than among the Intermediates and the S.S.L.C.'s. With regard to the unqualified persons there can be no question of unemployment. If they are really prepared to work they can become wage-earners. The fact that they are not qualified induces them to accept any jobs which are not derogatory to their class prestige.

(2) (a) If we take teachers in a comprehensive sense, meaning all those that have received a literary education, and are desirous of becoming teachers, we find there is unemployment amongst them. But if we take it in a restricted sense, meaning only those who have been trained and duly qualified, there is no unemployment amongst them. Generally the profession of teachers is resorted to when no other professions are open.

(b) Among lawyers, the question of unemployment does not arise at all. When a qualified person sets up in practice, it is true it takes some time before he gets cases with proper fees. There is a period of waiting to be passed over. Such a period cannot be taken as one of unemployment. He is in effect unemployed all the same. It is due to a variety of causes: as want of confidence in him, fall in the number of cases, seasonal conditions, luck, etc.

(c) There is always employment for men qualified in medicine. They have the option of seeking service or setting up private practice.

(d) There is some unemployment among the engineers as supply has just overtaken the demand, especially in the case of the mechanical and electrical engineers. The unemployed among these cannot find suitable posts, because of their special qualifications.

(f) There is no unemployment amongst those engaged in handicrafts as the men engaged in them are skilled artisans. But there is a certain amount of shifting from one handicraft to another, the largest number being found in those which are believed to be more lucrative for the time being.

(g) Here also there is no unemployment either among the qualified or the unqualified.

(3) The demand for qualified persons in these businesses is much greater than the supply. There is a good demand even for untrained persons, provided they have some literary qualifications, and show some spirit of enterprise. The charm of Government service, due to the security of the tenure and the grant of pensions, etc., is peculiarly fascinating all the world over, and the average Indian is no exception to the general rule. It is only in recent years, that when no footing in Government service is likely to be had, the attention of the middle classes is being diverted to the mercantile and banking houses.

(4) Unemployment among those educated in foreign countries is found only in cases where education has been obtained without end or aim, and such cases are only a few in number. There is no demand for their services because the education such persons have received cannot be made use of locally. When there is use for their services, the salary they demand is much more than is offered to them, and their sense of prestige does not allow them to accept anything lower than that offered to persons qualified similarly.

II. CAUSES.

(1) The unemployment of the urban middle classes is chiefly due to the nature of education they have received and their peculiar ideas of class prestige. To put it shortly the education they have received is dear, and has proved wasteful in the long run. It breeds the strange notions of the middle classes, e.g., their reluctance to engage in manual labour, insistence on getting a good starting salary, and a sense of dissatisfaction with their lot and absence of initiation. But I do not doubt for a moment the cultural value of general education. The middle classes take this education as an end by itself, and therein lies the mistake. Further, this kind of education is resorted to by those who cannot really afford to do so. The middle classes generally believe that, having received this education, they are entitled to posts in Government service, with a certain level of salaries as in the past, and if that is not forthcoming, as it is at present, they prefer to hold aloof waiting for better times. This is a great economic loss to the country, as the men best fitted to engage in production spend their time in idleness for want of employment.

(2) Yes. Partly. Undoubtedly the remuneration offered is determined by the law of supply and demand. The operation of this law is slow but certain. The middle classes have not yet

realised the full significance of this economic law. It is but right, that when supply is great and demand is low, remuneration offered should show a tendency to diminish. The middle classes look to the past, and insist on getting now, what was being paid some time ago, to others exactly in similar circumstances.

(3) No. I do not think so. Fluidity is generally spoken of with reference to labour. Want of fluidity of labour is generally due to ignorance, want of means to go far, and reluctance to live apart from one's relations. The educated middle classes do not labour under these difficulties.

(4) Yes. To a very great extent. Social causes are primarily responsible for this unemployment. The joint family system, early marriages, growing families, proneness to depend on other earning members of the family, consciousness of caste prestige, and ideas of false respectability have tended to add to the ranks of the unemployed. There is always a discrimination to be made as regards the jobs to be accepted or rejected. The recognition of social obligations arising out of the joint family system among the Hindus, and out of the family ties among the Muslims, in a way, renders the existence of the unemployed in society possible, without causing them serious distress.

(5) I do not think that unemployment is due to these causes.

(6) Undoubtedly the cost of high professional and commercial courses is much greater than that of literary education. The admission to the professional and commercial courses is restricted to those that have received literary education, and have the means to enable them to undergo these further costly courses. As has been stated above literary education is often resorted to by those that can ill-afford to bear the cost. Having exhausted all their small means in getting such literary education, they cannot take to professional courses, and add to the ranks of the unemployed.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

(1) It is difficult to collect correct statistics as required in this question. So far as Government service is concerned, the supply has considerably overrun the demand. The number of places in Government service is almost stationary whereas the number of men offering themselves for service has grown enormously and is ever on the increase.

About two decades ago the educated middle classes were easily securing places in Government service. It has unfortunately come to be considered that the end of liberal education is to secure places under Government. But the total number of places in Government service is very limited, and at present there is no likelihood of any increase therein.

(2) Here the supply has just overtaken the demand. Due to the increase in the number of technical institutions, and the depression in trade and industries, the supply is slightly ahead of the demand.

At the present moment, we find qualified men waiting to secure places, and it is only a question of time when they would be absorbed in professional services. A couple of years later the situation may grow worse.

(3) Here the demand is considerably greater than the supply. There are no institutions organised in the country to turn out such highly trained men as are required by the mercantile and banking houses. If advanced courses have to be taken, students have to go to foreign countries and put themselves to considerable time and expenses.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) I do not believe that vocational training and selection in schools will go a long way to ease the situation. Where general education is the main idea, and vocational training is only secondary, students and teachers are likely to attach greater prominence to general education, and the effect of imparting vocational education would be very little. I would on the other hand advocate special vocational schools, where technical education is the objective and the scope of the general education is restricted to the minimum extent. I have experience of such schools, where such subjects as weaving, wood-carving, toy-making, etc., are taught.

(2) *Technical education.*—Technical education will no doubt go a considerable way in solving the problem. But this answer is to be qualified in several ways. Technical education should have always a definite purpose in view. We should carefully consider the local resources, the amount of capital that is likely to be available for investment, and private enterprise for starting such new industries, and more than all, the possible markets. Any scheme of technical education we may draw up should take into account all these factors. The present practice of technical institutions simply turning out professional men, without regard to the local needs or foreign markets, or possibilities of employment, should not be allowed to continue any longer.

(3) *Employment or Information Bureau.*—I do not believe that much good will accrue from the existence of such Employment Bureaux. We have one or two such bureaux existing in Bombay and Delhi. I do not know how far they are useful in reducing unemployment. No employer of labour would seriously accept the candidates recommended by such bureaux. It is only in western countries that such Employment Bureaux have been found working successfully. Even then the success of such bureaux is due more or less to legislation, trade unions, etc. So far as India is concerned, I am doubtful if such bureaux will efficiently perform the function they do in the West because the conditions are quite different in the two countries. In India we have to deal with the educated middle classes, while the Employment Bureaux in the West are concerned with the wage-earners.

(4) (a) With regard to this remedy, I may say that the establishment of educational colonies will meet the situation to some extent. It is best to begin with boys in the primary schools, so that while learning they may be earning. The boys can take part in the production of such necessities of life as vegetables, fruits, flowers, and in dairy, poultry farming, sheep-breeding and bee keeping. To help them in such production, a number of adults, with the necessary experience, should be made to work with the boys. The advantages of such a scheme of education are manifold. The health of the boys is improved, and by such production they add to the earnings of the family. A love of manual labour is developed and in due course, ideas regarding the dignity of labour take firm root in them. They also begin, unconsciously, to practice the precepts of co-operation. It is worth trying to see if we cannot adopt this scheme with reference to the secondary schools and colleges. In some of the western countries "home-crofting" is advocated. This particularly deals with workers who are engaged in the industrial concerns, and have to live in the big centres of manufacture. But so far as India is concerned, the problem has altogether a different aspect, for here we have to deal with educated middle classes, who by their upbringing and education, are unnaturally averse to manual labour of any kind.

(b) With regard to mechanical occupations, I may state that the educated middle classes cannot avail themselves of all the existing opportunities, as they do not find sufficient facilities to undergo training in any workshop or in any industrial or engineering concern. Whenever they are in competition with the skilled or unskilled labour, the latter are invariably preferred to the educated middle class. It has often been remarked that the employers of labour in big concerns, somehow, show a spirit of hostility to the aspirations of this class of people. In fact, it seems, it would be a long time before Government or public opinion can influence such concerns or employers to change their present attitude in this respect. I am doubtful whether any mere persuasion of Government would be of much value. Undoubtedly there are great possibilities of employment to the educated classes in mechanical occupations such as Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Mines, Army and Navy. In this connection, particular stress may be laid on the immediate necessity of developing the Indian ship-building industry.

(c) So far as trade and commerce are concerned, it is better if it is left entirely to voluntary initiative.

(5) The problem of providing sufficient capital to meet the needs of Indian agriculture has yet to be satisfactorily solved. The agriculturist generally is in need of capital for three purposes: (1) to relieve him of prior indebtedness, (2) to help him to meet the current expenses of farming, and (3) to improve the state of his land and cattle, to sink wells and to procure improved

appliances, manure, etc. The difficulties in the way of helping the small farmer are many and various. His holding is below the economic unit, and scattered as it is all over, he cannot effect rapid improvements. Though experience has taught him, to carry on farming to the best possible advantage under the existing conditions, yet he feels seriously handicapped, for want of capital, and the rural co-operative societies which are meant to help such classes of people do not go very far in rendering them any effective assistance. So far as the big farmers are concerned, generally, they are absentee landlords living on rent. Though they are in a position to improve their lands, they have not evinced a serious desire to do so. It is easy to provide them with capital, as Government can introduce land mortgage banks, which would advance them large sums for long periods at low rates of interest. The recommendations of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture may be awaited with interest.

(6) I really cannot see how the reconstruction of villages will solve the problem of unemployment of the middle classes. The traditional self-sufficient organization of the villages has already been shattered. It seems impossible to bring about the same conditions as before, which facilitated the development of the old village life. Improvements which have since taken place in the means of rapid communication, and the introduction into the rural life of money economy, stand in the way of establishing such self-sufficient economic entities.

(7) The principles of co-operation if liberally interpreted and carried to the utmost extent would no doubt help the situation. But the chief difficulty is with regard to the provision of capital, the availability of suitable lands, and the absence of leadership.

(8) Experiments in this direction can be made only if suitable Government lands are available for cultivation. Government may in the first instance distribute such lands among a number of middle-class families, having a certain amount of capital and agricultural experience. Such lands should generally be given subject to the conditions of inalienability and impartibility. The schemes of home-crofting and educational colonies have already been referred to. The details relating to the farm colonies for middle classes can only be worked out with reference to local conditions and requirements.

(9) Vide Answer to (5).

(10) We had only one Industrial Bank,—The Tata Industrial Bank,—organised on a fairly large scale, that came into existence in recent years, but it was soon amalgamated with another, viz., the Central Bank of India.

Industrial banks in India have not got such good prospects as similar concerns in the West. No joint stock bank would ordinarily undertake to make advances to artisans engaged in handicrafts. What Government can do in this connection is

to enter into a definite agreement with joint stock banks, and induce them to pursue a more liberal policy, so far as advances to such artisans is concerned, with a view to further develop the small industries. In this case, Government would have to guarantee the payment of interest, and also to bear a portion of any loss due to debts being irrecoverable, the other portion falling on the banks, who should be prepared to take all reasonable risks in financing such schemes, for which facilities and resources exist in the locality.

(11) Co-operative distribution has helped the middle classes in urban areas. But it is difficult to make them believe and act up to the principles of co-operative production.

(12) Emigration within British India can take place among the educated middle classes, but social causes as early marriages, large families, dependence on the other earning members of the family, consciousness of caste prestige, prevent men from going from place to place in search of employment. The improvement in the means of communication, the facilities of travel, and the increasing knowledge of conditions prevailing in distant places, have all been tending to make the educated middle classes more mobile than before.

Coming to emigration outside India, I do not advocate the same at this juncture. Conditions of emigrants in many places outside India are rather becoming worse. As this problem cannot be discussed without reference to politics, I do not wish to go further into this subject.

Conclusion.

(1) In conclusion, I may say that the unemployment of the educated middle classes is the result of their (a) so-called liberal education, (b) mental outlook and (c) social institutions. Ever since the days of the East India Company, the system of education given to the middle classes has been calculated chiefly to turn out men fit to take up Government service, such as clerks, accountants and to fill up other administrative posts. The various improvements introduced from time to time in the sphere of higher education have only tended to perpetuate the system already existing, and to aggravate the evils resulting therefrom. The educated middle classes who are best fitted to engage in production hold themselves aloof seeking service under Government. Such a state of affairs has been causing serious economic loss to the society, as a whole, as the existing sum total of the wealth produced is capable of considerable augmentation.

(2) Without compulsory education, the masses of the population engaged in production cannot have the consciousness of their full economic existence, and there is no hope of improving their economic well-being. Though it is only the mass education which would improve the efficiency of the masses, and add to their earning capacity, yet mass education to be of any real value

should be remodelled on new lines. There should be technical schools of different grades, elementary, middle, and higher, to suit the needs of each different locality with general education in the back ground. Of the subjects taught in such schools, agriculture should receive more than its due attention, inasmuch as more than 85 per cent of our population depend on agriculture for their livelihood. To enable the agriculturists to tide over the difficulties arising from the uncertainty and fitful nature of the monsoons, and also to keep them engaged during the slack season and their leisure hours, I would strongly recommend the teaching of supplementary occupations in such schools, as hand-spinning and hand-weaving, bee keeping, dairy farming, etc., as already referred to.

(3) It is high time to think of restricting liberal education (Higher Collegiate education) only to those who can afford to get that education purely for its cultural value, and not for securing places in Government service. Any delay in imposing such restriction will accentuate the problem of unemployment causing great misery to the middle classes.

(4) With regard to the higher professional and technical education, there should always be a severe scrutiny with regard to the availability of local resources, the capital that is seeking investment, and the enterprise that is coming forward to engage in production.

(5) The establishment of educational colonies, as one of the solutions for the problem of un-employment, has already been advocated, and is worth the while of Government to start making some experiments in this connection.

(6) As public opinion goes on developing, I dare say there would be a wholesome change in the outlook of the middle classes, and manual labour would cease to be looked down upon. Until such time, any remedies adopted to solve the problem of unemployment would at best be mere palliatives.

*Written evidence of the Director of Public Health, dated
the 27th July 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(2) (c) Unemployment exists among L.M.P.'s. This is evident from the large number of applications received every day from them for health inspectors' posts. Unemployment exists among sanitary inspectors also to some extent, but this is due in part to the employment of unqualified men by local bodies.

II. CAUSES.

(6) (b) The fee for the complete course of training and examinations for sanitary inspectors is Rs. 60 and more than the required number of candidates are forthcoming for the class, e.g., there were over 300 applicants for 60 places this year.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

(2) (a) & (b) Please see statement appended below. There is no question of unemployment among qualified health officers as only a limited number of health officers are trained. The number of sanitary inspectors trained each year cannot be said to be in excess of the demand as the appointments open to them are not only provincial appointments as health inspectors noted in the statement but also temporary appointments under local bodies for epidemic work, etc., and appointments as first-class vaccinators.

Year.	Number of Health Officers qualified during the year among		Number of appointments available among		Number of qualified sanitary inspectors produced.	Number of qualified sanitary inspectors with first-class vaccinators' training.	Number of Health Inspectors' appointments available.
	First class.	Second class.	First class.	Second class.			
1922	13	1	..	..	66	22	..
1923	4	..	26	..	41	38	87
1924	6	5	9	2	46	32	..
1925	4	2	4	8	42	54	..
1926	5	7	2	4	47	60	32

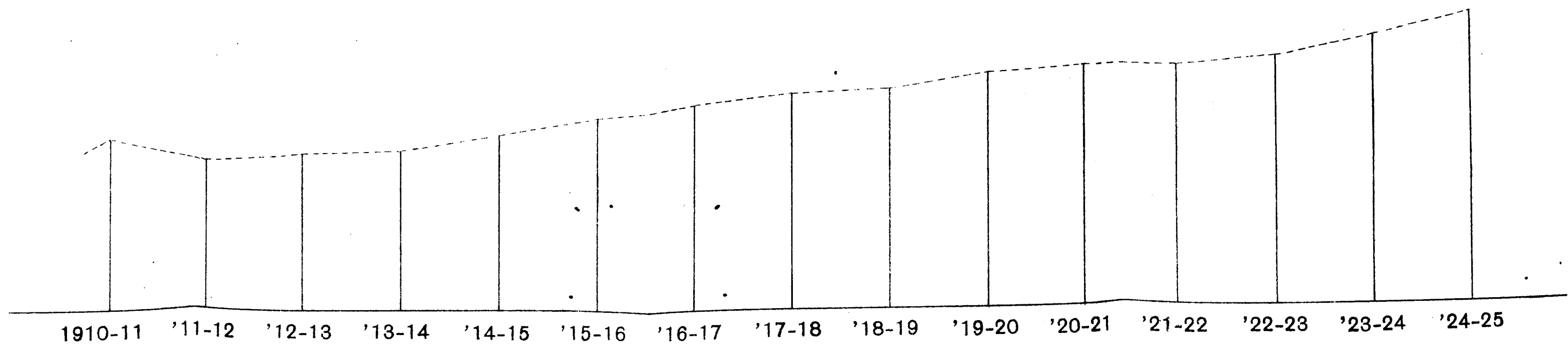
*Written evidence of the Director of Public Instruction,
Madras, dated the 12th July 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

- (1) (a), (b) & (c) Yes.
- (2) (a), (b) & (d) Yes but not widespread in the case of (a).
- (2) (ii) I regard unqualified persons as outside the terms of reference.
- (4) Yes. So far as this department is concerned the main cause is the unwillingness of returned Indians to accept low initial pay. They make extravagant demands.

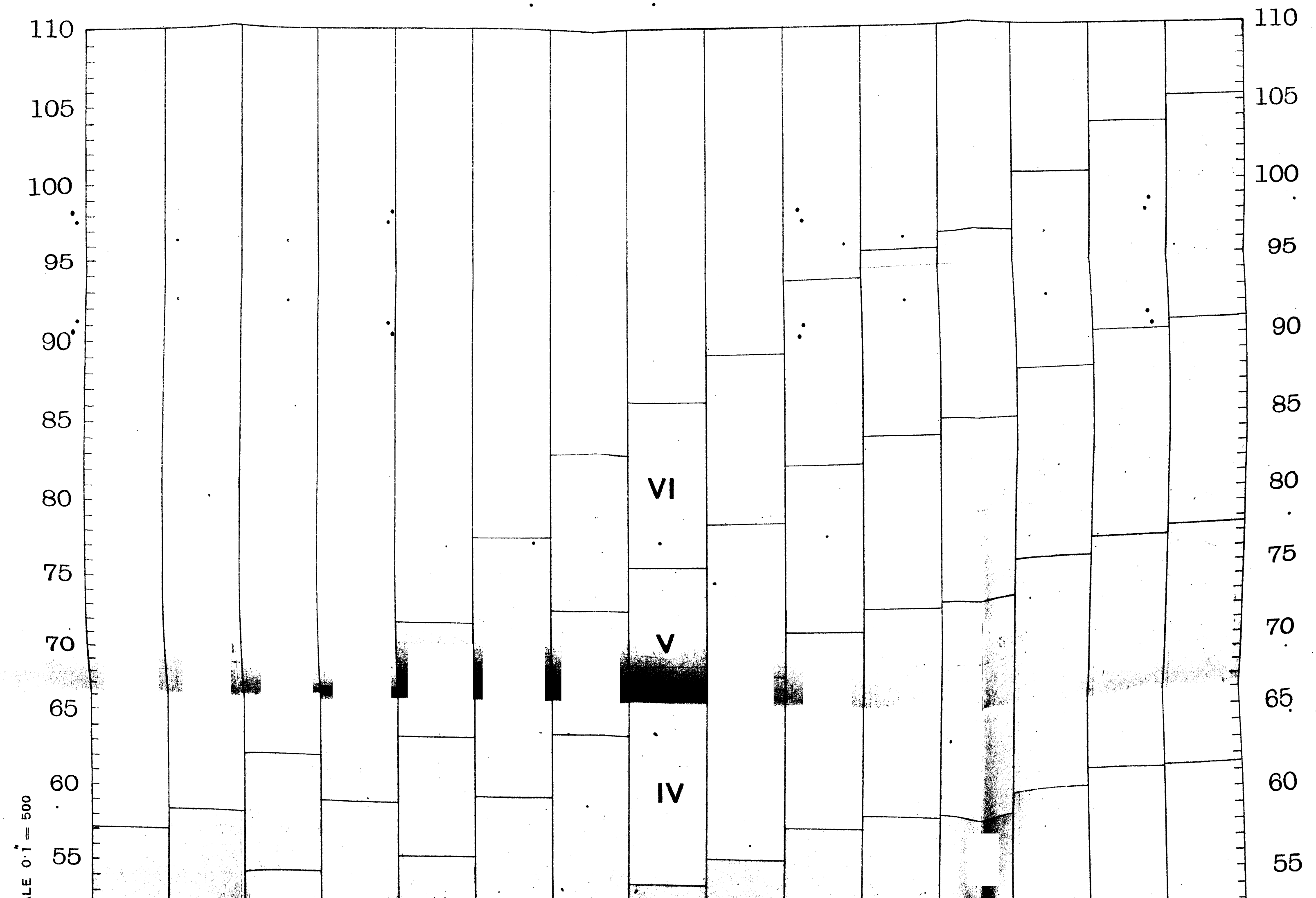
II. CAUSES.

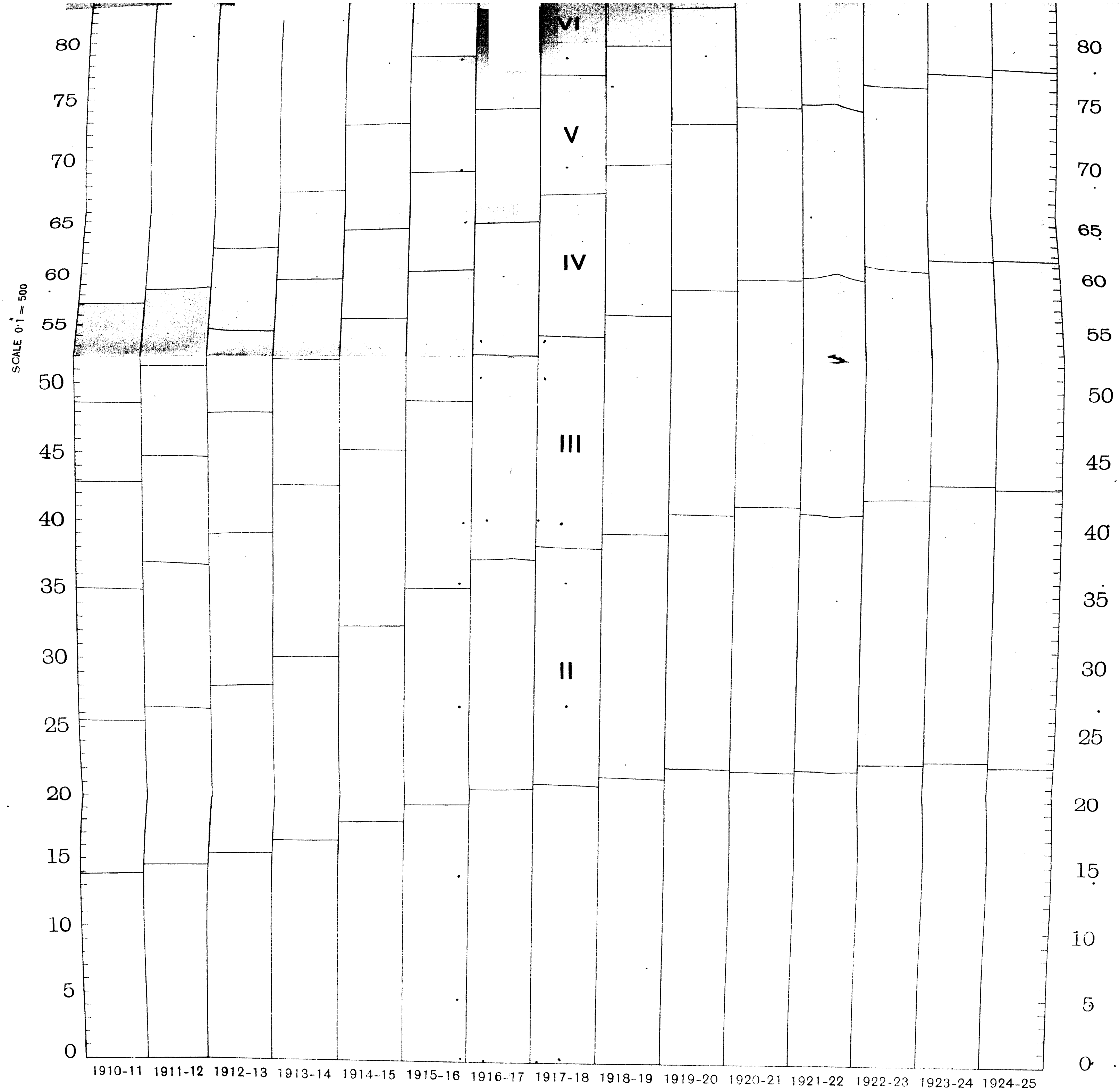
- (1) In some degree; from the point of view of unemployment supply greatly exceeds demand.
- (2) No.
- (3) No.
- (4) Yes partly; false values attaching to clerical as opposed to manual occupations.
- (5) No.
- (6) The difference in cost has no appreciable effect.



(SIXTH FORM ONLY)

THOUSANDS





Strength of forms in all secondary schools.

Year.	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
1910-11	13,833	11,592	9,603	7,755	5,877	8,421
1911-12	14,447	11,999	10,447	7,878	6,359	7,304
1912-13	15,337	12,848	11,024	8,466	6,607	7,737
1913-14	16,487	13,800	11,932	9,166	7,511	7,839
1914-15	17,958	14,579	12,837	10,209	8,042	8,567
1915-16	19,201	15,940	13,754	10,879	8,708	9,472
1916-17	20,283	16,979	14,831	11,731	9,241	10,155
1917-18	20,615	17,617	15,625	12,475	9,654	10,689
1918-19	21,347	18,079	16,199	12,893	10,323	10,805
1919-20	22,142	18,734	17,005	13,684	10,887	11,662
1920-21	22,000	19,509	17,423	14,192	11,071	11,729
1921-22	22,159	19,935	17,798	14,525	11,616	11,645
1922-23	22,830	19,296	18,105	15,513	12,502	12,198
1923-24	22,903	20,261	18,319	15,710	13,149	13,266
1924-25	22,653	20,303	18,618	16,093	13,414	14,335

Statement showing number of trained teachers.

Year.	Secondary.	Elementary.		Total.
		Higher.	Lower.	
1916-17	338	1,036	2,522	3,896
1917-18	539	1,268	2,432	4,179
1918-19	556	1,450	2,502	4,507
1919-20	663	1,879	3,222	5,764
1920-21	469	2,456	4,343	7,268
1921-22	623	2,154	3,686	6,463
1922-23	611	1,938	3,638	6,187
1923-24	904	2,497	4,351	7,752
1924-25	924	2,833	4,052	7,809
1925-26	1,016	3,165	4,938	9,179

Written evidence of the Director, Telegraph Engineering, Southern Circle, Madras, dated the 13th August 1926.

I have the honour to inform you that in this branch of the Posts and Telegraph department, experience is confined to applications received from both graduates and non-graduates for a few clerical posts. For these few posts, and there are only occasional vacancies, quite a large number of applications are received in spite of the fact that vacancies are not advertised. This seems to indicate that considerable unemployment exists in this class. The cause appears to be that the supply is greater than the demand as regards the class of work the educated young man is willing to do.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Yes.

(1) See the number of applications for (a)—6, as well as (b)—94, for past one year.

II. CAUSES.

- (3) Partly but not much now.
- (4) Yes—to an extent.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

- (1) (c) Only a small number of clerical posts averaging about one in seven years, so far as this office is concerned.

Written evidence of the District Co-operative Council, Mylapore, Madras, dated the 15th August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

- (1) (a), (b) & (c) Yes.
- (2) (a), (b), (c), (d) & (f) Yes.
- (c) & (g) Not known.
- (3) Yes, both trained and untrained.
- (4) Yes, majority of them unemployed.
- (i) for want of employer who could pay them higher wages so far as industrial technical education is concerned and
- (ii) supply being in excess of demand in other cases.

II. CAUSES.

- (1) Yes. The education sought for at present does not seem to aim at any other goal than seeking their livelihood under Government or commercial concerns in town.
- (2) to (4) No.
- (5) Yes.
- (6) The relative costs may be fixed to be 1: 2: 2. The difference in cost has no effect on the supply of applicants.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

The Council is not in a position to supply the Committee with actual figures.

IV. REMEDIES.

The Council is in favour of remedies Nos. (1) to (12) (a) and not in favour of (12) (b).

The Council wishes to add that a systematic inauguration of public works by the various authorities to be carried out along with remedies (4) to (8) and if necessary as is done in case of famine-relief works will be of immense benefit both to the educated and uneducated.

Written evidence of the District Educational Officer, Anantapur, dated the 8th August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

- Yes.
- (1) Yes.
- (2) No.
- (3) No.
- (4) No.

II. CAUSES.

- (1) Yes, being too exclusively literary.
- (2) Yes.
- (3) No.
- (4) No.
- (5) Yes.

IV. REMEDIES.

All the remedies suggested will prove effective.

Written evidence of M.R. Sd. T. K. Duraiswami Ayyar Avargal, M.A., L.T., Professor of Indian Economics, University of Madras, dated the 15th August 1926.

INTRODUCTION.

The problem of middle-class unemployment has been causing considerable anxiety to statesmen and leaders of public opinion in the country. We have been hearing of unemployment to a greater or smaller extent affecting different trades in various countries of the world. The situation in India is peculiar in that the kind of unemployment that occasions the greatest concern is that of the middle classes. Let us at the outset have an idea as to the composition of the middle classes in India. In Europe and America the middle classes, as is obvious from the terminology, are distinguished from the working classes on the one hand and the upper classes on the other. They do not depend much on the earnings from accumulated wealth. Their habits differ to a certain extent from those of the working classes. They give their sons the benefit of secondary and higher education according to the fitness of the persons concerned. They marry late and expect to enter the liberal professions or become foremen, superintendents, managers, clerks, teachers, etc. We do not hear particularly of middle-class unemployment in countries like England. What arrests our attention is unemployment in particular industries like iron and steel and textiles; and, while the working classes engaged in those trades are affected, the middle-class youths engaged in them and the shareholders also are affected. Thus middle-class unemployment does not emerge as a problem by itself as distinguished from general unemployment. Let us examine the conditions in this country. When we refer to middle-class unemployment I think we have in mind those who receive a certain kind of training. Those youths who have recourse to a secondary education and collegiate education constitute the class that suffer from unemployment at the present day. They are drawn from different religions, castes, and sections of the population. All those who have recourse to the education already referred to constitute the section of the population with reference to whom the problem of unemployment calls for solution. In the past, recruits to the secondary and higher education in the Madras Presidency were drawn

mainly from one caste, the Brahman caste. In recent years there has been a very welcome development by way of youths belonging to other castes increasingly resorting to secondary and higher education. Thus the basis of recruitment to the middle classes whose unemployment has been causing anxiety has considerably widened. All the greater need for bestowing urgent attention upon the problem.

Those who received education in Indian high schools and colleges were at first drawn mainly from classes who were not very well-to-do but who had been for centuries following a literary tradition. The prosperity of those who thus qualified themselves was bound up with the evolution of the system of administration in British India. Efficient and elaborate administration receiving its inspiration and direction from British officials gave scope for the employment of steadily increasing numbers of English-educated youths in the various departments of Government. The judicial system was improved considerably and the machinery of administration of civil and criminal justice called for increasing numbers of English-educated lawyers. The elaboration of administrative organisation, the improvement of the system of audit and accounts, the carrying on of foreign trade and inland transportation by means of railways gave employment to large numbers of English-educated men as clerks, stenographers, etc. Thus for years the increasing numbers of English-educated youths were absorbed in the system of administration on more or less decent salaries. Resort to college education was, except in very few cases, motivated by a desire to earn means of livelihood. It was an exception for the rich landlords and businessmen to have resort to higher education. The recipients of higher education could not afford to value their education merely for the culture associated with it, but had to utilize it for earning their livelihood. Thus was developed from the beginning an attitude which made higher education a passport to livelihood. The comparatively comfortable condition of English-educated youths who got employment acted as a spur to large numbers of families who made their sons take courses of instruction in schools and colleges. The result has been that year after year the numbers of youths who attend the colleges and schools are rapidly on the increase. They expect employment for their talents in the traditional fields which have been supporting their predecessors. The supply of qualified men has largely exceeded the demand. There is therefore urgent necessity of calling a halt to the development on lines described already. There should be a widespread recognition that those who have very small means, unless they give promise of more than ordinary capacity, are not well-advised in having resort to higher education. They tend to waste their slender substance on carrying themselves through the course of education and ultimately find it very hard to get remunerative jobs. There is much to be said for shaping educational policy

so that there might be a generous system of scholarships for poor but brainy youths combined with increased fees for the rest who resort to higher education. Unless such development takes place there is the danger of large numbers of youths of less than average intellectual quality wasting their means in the course of equipping themselves with higher education which does not enable them to earn their means of livelihood.

Technical education may be considered a remedy. It is true that instruction should be given in various trades and vocations and public opinion should be created in favour of such a move. While dealing with this subject we come to realise the close relation of middle-class employment to conditions of general prosperity. The very low standard of life of the bulk of the population of the country offers an obstacle to the employment of large numbers of middle-class youths in remunerative trades. The wants of the general population being very few there is not the same wide market that exists in other countries for the goods turned out in workshops. This is a consideration that has to be borne in mind while suggestions are made for developing technical education on a large scale. The absence of a general spirit of progress animating the richer men, an aversion to experimenting with new methods and an inclination to stick to rule of thumb and lack of general enterprise stand in the way of those trained in technical schools and colleges being absorbed readily in useful occupations. One cannot get away from the fact that unless the standard of life of the general population is advanced the hope of educated middle-class youths finding remunerative employment is very slender. The Royal Commission on Agriculture assumes a new significance when viewed from this angle. Mr. Curtis in his book on *Dyarchy* compares a village in the Kistna district with a village in South Italy. Whereas the production per head in the latter village is only one and one-fourth times that of the former, it employs a doctor on Rs. 100 a month, a male teacher on Rs. 55 a month and a school mistress on Rs. 40 a month, the population of both villages being 1,300 each. Rural reconstruction in India must take shape in such a manner that the villages will call for teachers and doctors on decent salaries thus giving employment to thousands of educated men. If the 750,000 villages of India improve their productive activity and witness an increase in the standard of life of their people there will be ample employment for large numbers of teachers, doctors, carpenters, musicians, artists, etc.

Industrial development is also a field which might absorb a very large number of suitably trained middle-class youths. But we have, as yet, touched only the fringe of our industrial development. Modern production is on a large scale and a class of enterprising employers of labour and businessmen with initiative are essential for success in modern industry. Such a development is not usually the result of college education but is an outcome of an atmosphere of confidence and hopefulness. Government and leaders

of public opinion should combine to promote an atmosphere of concord, hopefulness, and confidence so that enterprise and initiative may have free play.

A general spirit of progress will show itself in all classes trying to make the best of their opportunities. The bigger landlords by adopting an intensive development of their estates may give employment to numbers of middle-class youths who have had training in agricultural colleges. Businessmen and capitalists should employ youths trained in scientific courses in colleges. The State should organise bureaux of commercial information and technical knowledge and by the employment of suitable experts should help towards the development of industries. Young men should be prepared to begin from the very beginning and, by virtue of hard work, rise to posts of command in industrial concerns. A scheme of universal elementary education should open up the mind of the average villager and implant in him the desire for raising his standard of life. The tendency on the part of even fairly intelligent people to drift to towns will have to be arrested by making life in villages worth while. Census figures do not give any indication of any marked alteration in the distribution of the population between the villages and towns. Ninety per cent of the Indian population continue to live in the villages. What seems to be waning is the sense of solidarity of village life. Corporate effort seems to be on the decline. Schemes of village sanitation and education have to be carried out. Opportunities for healthy and full lives must be opened out in the villages to all but the most ambitious and enterprising.

Answers to Questionnaire.

Unemployment may be said to exist among some sections of the middle classes. Persons belonging to the middle classes and leading a life devoted to agriculture or traditional avocations are not suffering from unemployment.

Literary classes.—If by literary classes is meant persons who have had resort to English education the problem of unemployment has reference to them. But if among literary classes those who are devoted to traditional learning are included no problem of unemployment has arisen at present with reference to them.

(a) Graduates are beginning to feel the effects of unemployment. The pinch is being felt by the graduates not being in a position to secure suitable jobs without a fairly long period of waiting. The strain is being felt by the average graduate being inclined to accept jobs less remunerative than those his predecessors used to get. Graduates take up jobs which in the past used to be filled by non-graduates. The average salary of a graduate thus has been beaten down.

(b) *S.S.L.C.'s and intermediates.*—These also are suffering. Since graduates are available in large numbers there is a tendency for students not being content with passing the intermediate

examination but proceeding to the B.A. Degree examination. There is unemployment among the non-graduates referred to though it is not very conspicuous. S.S.L.C.'s now compete with unqualified persons for jobs which used in the past to be a monopoly of the latter, like attender's posts, head constables, etc. The strain shows itself in their having to accept lower real wages.

(c) *Unqualified persons.*—This is not a vocal class; their standard of wants is very low. We cannot say that they are particularly suffering from unemployment since their standard of life is not different from that of the working classes which enables them to turn to agriculture, retail selling, etc., for a livelihood.

(2) (a) *Teachers.*—Their salaries are subject to the full force of competition. Their real income has decreased. Whereas in 1910 a third-class B.A., L.T., used to get a job on Rs. 80—4 or 5—100 at present one with like qualifications gets a start of Rs. 60 or 65 only, though meanwhile prices have risen nearly 80 per cent. Since limited numbers only are trained in teachers' colleges hard cases among qualified teachers are not as many as among lawyers. In the lower ranks of the profession the hardship is not so great since the standard of life is very low corresponding to that of the uneducated man. Such persons failing to get teaching jobs share the fate of millions of agriculturists by cultivating their small plots of land.

(b) *Profession of law.*—The census of 1921 shows that qualified lawyers have increased in numbers nearly 34 per cent. There are many prizes for the profession which partly explains the resort of large numbers to the profession. There are many hard cases among the class. There are, however, certain mitigating circumstances. Men of some means take to the profession which smoothens the edge of suffering. Qualified persons, say B.L.'s, are resorting to practice in the munsif's courts which in the past they used to avoid. Unless a change comes over the attitude to resort to the Law College after graduating in B.A. unemployment among lawyers bids fair to assume menacing proportions. There is not much unemployment among unqualified persons.

(c) *Profession of medicine.*—It cannot be said that there is much unemployment among qualified persons. The number of students admitted to medical colleges is limited and till now those who were turned out of the colleges were absorbed by Government and local bodies or secured fairly decent private practice. One cannot say that there is much unemployment among unqualified persons since no great change has come over the traditional demand for their services nor have they increased in numbers in any striking manner.

(d) *Profession of engineering.*—Demand for engineers comes from Government, local bodies and the railways. Admission to Engineering College is restricted and consequently the numbers

that are turned out are not far too many. The recent retrenchment in expenditure due to financial stringency created hardship among the class which however is being remedied by a return to normal expenditure.

(c) *Agriculture in India* is not quite a business. Production of agricultural commodities is largely for use and not for profit. Unless monsoons fail when employment on a very large scale exists we cannot speak of any unemployment among those pursuing the profession of agriculture.

(f) *Handicrafts*.—There is suffering among middle-class weaver families, but that is a long story. They have a low standard of wants and bear their misfortune with patience.

(g) *Railways*.—They constitute an important field of employment. Since qualified persons can now be got on cheap terms there is likely to be a tendency for unqualified persons being replaced by qualified ones.

(4) *Those educated in foreign countries*.—Those who receive an education in foreign countries are usually men of means or scholarship-holders who happen to be not sufficiently well-to-do. The latter are, on the average, able men and being few in numbers have succeeded in getting suitable jobs. Others educated abroad command more or less substantial influence with the powers that be and succeed in getting more or less suitable jobs. If their numbers increase there is likely to be difficulty. Already they have to be content with smaller salaries than their predecessors succeeded in getting.

Causes of unemployment.—The supply of educated men has been increasing fast and the demand increases very slowly. The standard of life of the general population is very low and English-educated men born in poor families have been able at one bound to rise to positions of affluence. This acted as a great spur to many a family and led to huge numbers resorting to English education and especially higher education. During the period 1900-1915 various departments of Government underwent an expansion and the elaboration of administrative machinery absorbed increasing numbers of youths in suitable jobs. The momentum that was given to the supply of English-educated men continued in full force while the demand continued to slacken partly on account of the fact that the administrative machinery after a certain stage could not show the same rate of expansion and the financial stringency due to the Great War. Meanwhile increased taxation and the loss of purchasing power on the part of the agriculturist due to the price of agricultural commodities not increasing to the same extent as general prices affected litigation adversely and hit the lawyer class.

(1) *System of education*.—It may be remarked that greater attention should be devoted to the training of the hand and the eye in the schools than is being done at present. But the trouble is not due so much to defective education as to a primitive social

and economic organisation. Those who have the benefit of education feel that they have a right to a higher standard of living which does not necessarily follow. It is not adequately realised that one can take out of the national income only that which he contributes to it. There is no reason why because one puts oneself to expenditure on account of the education he receives, society must necessarily reimburse him. It is not so much that the system of education is defective as that much more is expected from education than one has a legitimate right to expect.

(2) Unemployment is not due to small remuneration offered in employments.

(3) I do not think that there is an absence of fluidity on the part of educated labour. The Tamil-educated man is prepared to go to any part of India if only there is scope for it.

(4) *Social causes*.—There is prestige attached to general education. But the fact that English education enabled many a poor family to rise in importance still acts on the imagination of people and leads to a resort to higher education. The educated man is not attracted to life in a village on account of the absence of amenities and of scope for the employment of his knowledge.

(5) I do not think the absence of Employment Bureau accounts for unemployment so much as the absence of demand for the increasing numbers of educated men.

(6) The cost of literary and legal education has not had appreciable effect on numbers since there are many prizes for those acquiring a literary and legal education. Those prizes and the wide nature of the demand account for the pressure of numbers. Those resorting to education in medicine and engineering have to meet considerable expenditure and their numbers are kept down by the restriction of admission and the arduous nature of the course. Entrance to the profession of teaching is not costly, but the modest salaries earned and the low esteem, unfortunately, in which the profession happens to be held restricts the numbers in the profession.

REMEDIES.

(1) *Vocational education*.—Students who flock to schools are obsessed with the importance of literary education and may not be prepared to undergo vocational education. Besides we are confronted with the low standard of life of the bulk of the population of the country which stands in the way of there being a large market for goods turned out in different trades. The staple manufactured goods required by the population are produced on a large scale and are either imported from abroad or produced in manufacturing establishments within the country. Besides, there are the workmen in the traditional occupations who produce goods suited to the tastes of the consumers. Those workmen must be taken on hand and must be taught improved methods side by side with a programme of rural reconstruction having for its object the raising of the standard of life of the villagers.

(2) *Technical education*.—Schools imparting technical education are required. But they must develop *pari passu* with industries. I have greater faith in the State helping to create an atmosphere of helpfulness so that capitalists may embark on industrial enterprises than in technical education on a large scale.

(3) Information Bureaux are useful though their influence is not far reaching.

(4) (a) *Agriculture*.—Life in villages for the educated man is so depressing on account of absence of amenities that many an educated man does not welcome the idea of living in a village. This attitude is unfortunate. Besides most of the educated middle classes suffering from unemployment have not many acres to boast of and thus a life of agriculture they cannot pursue. It is true that even those who have a respectable number of acres of land do not care to return to their villages. This attitude deserves to be condemned. It is true that it requires much idealism to stay in the village and yet not to lose touch with progressive forces. Road development is so backward, the sense of village solidarity so weakened, the bigger landlords so apathetic and ease-loving, the smaller peasantry so wedded to routine, and the Agricultural Department moving at such a snail's pace that there is not much incentive for an educated man with a few acres to embrace village life. The sooner a change in outlook develops which leads those who have landed property to resort to agriculture, the better it is for the country. It is only in this way that the villages could be redeemed from the stagnation which has come over them in general.

(b) *Mechanical occupations*.—It is true that educated men should become foremen and superintendents of workshops. The industries in the country are not many though they are growing in importance. Our Presidency, however, is not remarkable for many industries which could employ middle-class men. Spinning and weaving mills and railway workshops are the main openings in industry. They could give work to a few men. Mechanical operations, on the whole, do not offer a large field of employment.

(c) *Trade and commerce*.—Middle-class youths are entering trade and commerce in increasing numbers. Capital and connexion are so important in commerce that it will be difficult for youths without those advantages to command success.

(5) Agricultural development is related to middle-class unemployment in more ways than one. It will improve the main source of wealth in the country and thus the national dividend will grow. It will attract fairly ambitious educated young men who, on account of the rule of thumb character of the agricultural economy, are not at present attracted to village life. The best method of providing capital for agricultural development is by means of promoting the thrift of the agriculturist. The means for the provision of capital at present are inadequate and unsatisfactory. Co-operative banking agencies will have to be improved. If educated men, instead of knocking at the gates of

Government service which will not open, set themselves to improving village life by helping to work the co-operative societies satisfactorily, a great step forward will be taken in increasing agricultural production. As it is, the rate of interest on first-class Government securities in India is as low as that in advanced countries of the West. But the rate in villages on good security happens to be heavy. What is required is financial irrigation. Educated men must take their proper place in bringing about the improvement.

I beg leave to make the following additional suggestions:—

(i) The appointment of a Development Board for the Presidency consisting of the Directors of Public Instruction, Agriculture, Industries, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, the Commissioner of Labour and some representative economist. A due sense of perspective will be gained by the work of such a board. Money might otherwise be wasted in lines of development which do not fit in with each other. Schemes of social and economic development appeal to patriotic sentiment and might be rushed through. Such schemes being subjected to investigation by such a board as suggested will gain in consistency and significance.

(ii) An active and forward road policy linking villages to towns. Unless such a development takes place, a race of gentlemen farmers will not rise and life in village will not be made worth while.

(iii) The State should encourage private enterprise in every way so that the initiative of the people may be developed.

Written evidence of the Employers' Federation of Southern India, dated the 19th August 1926.

There would be less unemployment among the literate classes if those in search of work were more employable and both more willing and more fit to take advantage of openings that occur. In the opinion of my Committee it is not so much any intrinsic defect in the educational system as the mental attitude of the middle classes to the realities of life that is responsible for their present position. Their principal aim and object appears to be to obtain posts which will entail a minimum of effort during the period of employment and secure a pension at its close. Education thus comes to be regarded not as a means of improvement and increased efficiency but merely as an entree preferably to Government or Public Services. This applies to schools and colleges which are turning out men who are not attracted by commerce, industry or agriculture; and there is likely always to be unemployment until the people learn that they must work at what is available.

If this generalisation be a correct reading of the situation the remedy for the present unsatisfactory position seems to be to divert the attention of students to careers other than those consisting of merely clerical work. Agriculture is one such, the

more technical branches of industry another; and both could undoubtedly absorb large numbers if it were not that the classes under discussion appear to consider that the careers indicated involve a loss of social prestige.

*Written evidence of the Commissioner of Excise, Madras,
dated the 21st November 1926.*

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

Information is available in this department only about questions 1 (c) and 1 (d) of this part.

1 (c) The appointments in this department for which recruitment is made from outsiders are those of sub-inspectors and clerks. A statement is appended giving particulars of the number of appointments made from outsiders in the grades of sub-inspectors and clerks for a period of five years. It is not possible to supply figures for previous years.

1 (d) The minimum pay of a sub-inspector in this department is Rs. 60 and that of a clerk Rs. 35 in the mufassal and Rs. 40 in the city.

Number of vacancies in which outsiders were appointed as sub-inspectors or clerks.

					Sub Inspectors.	Clerks.
1921-22	...	...	...	...	19	34
1922-23	...	...	...	...	28	17
1923-24	...	...	...	...	33	14
1924-25	...	...	...	...	50	23
1925-26	...	...	...	...	28	31

*Written evidence of Dr. M. O. Forster, F.R.S., Director, Indian
Institute of Science, Bangalore, dated the 14th August
1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(2) The questionnaire does not appear to recognise chemistry as a profession, which may reveal a contributory factor in the unemployment which certainly prevails among graduates who have been trained for this pursuit. Dealing only with (i) qualified persons, it is our experience that there is considerable unemployment suffered by University graduates in chemistry as shown by (a) the excessively large number applying for an advertised post, and (b) the very great difficulty experienced by chemistry students

of this Institute in securing employment on leaving, in spite of the fact that only graduates are admitted to the Institute and that their training here is of a special kind which carries them to the M.Sc. standard and, in a few branches, also provides them with definite technical knowledge.

In illustration of (a), I may say that a very subordinate post in our department of bio-chemistry was recently advertised at Rs. 60—4—72 without prospects of advancement: nearly 200 applications were received, and the great majority were from university graduates. With reference to (b), Dr. Simonsen is constantly receiving requests from past students of chemistry to find them employment: five of our students applied for a recently advertised post at the Government Test House, Alipur: of two recent Madras Government scholarship-holders at the Institute, one has entered for the M.A. course in the University of Madras in the hope of improving his chance of employment, and the other remains unemployed, although he has applied for ten appointments during the past six months.

(4) Indians who return after having completed their training in foreign countries usually seem to find employment, probably because (a) they require to be very well trained before receiving a foreign scholarship, and (b) because they commonly retain a lien on some form of employment under the Government which sends them.

II. CAUSES.

I am inclined to the opinion that the principal cause of unemployment among graduates trained in chemistry is the one which underlies Section III of the questionnaire. In European countries, particularly Germany before the war and Great Britain during and after the war, chemistry graduates in very considerable numbers were absorbed by the chemical industries, but in India, unhappily, these are few, and those which do exist have not made many demands for graduates trained in research work. In my belief, a contributory cause of unemployment among chemistry graduates in India may well be the world-wide advertisement of chemistry displayed by the war, an advertisement which may have led a considerable number of cultivated young Indians—or their parents—to believe that chemistry is the profession of the future, and that in pursuing it they would reap fame and fortune. This has certainly happened in Germany, where the Verein Deutscher Chemiker issued an authoritative warning, about two years ago, to discourage matriculants from entering upon chemical courses at the universities, and so to prevent disappointment and unemployment of graduates.

Dealing now with the questions assembled in Section II, I may say—

(1) The present system of education in India, viewed from the standpoint of a practical man of science, appears to under-rate

the importance of craftsmanship. My impression of the Indian student is that he is overfond of listening to lectures and addresses, and correspondingly disinclined to use his hands. Success in chemical work is only attainable by men who are willing to undergo the physical hardship of mastering a technique. I go further, and say that only those who have mastered a technique are capable of imparting real knowledge by lectures or addresses. Such a man may even lack the power of arranging his subject, or the gift of agreeable delivery; but even then, if he has done things with his own hands he is able to describe materials and reactions with a magnetism quite alien to the man who has only read about them.

Still more strongly do these remarks apply to the branches of engineering. For some years past, we have been receiving each year approximately one hundred applications for admission to the department of electrical technology from young gentlemen who say they desire to become electrical engineers, but of whom a clear majority give no evidence whatsoever that they have acquired any practical experience in metal-working. By far the greater number are graduates in physics and mathematics. I am led to conclude that, either these gentlemen wish to "go in for engineering" because they have read newspaper descriptions of numerous hydro-electric developments, or, their teachers, of whom presumably they seek advice, are not aware of the qualifications which the prospective engineer must acquire before he can hope to begin to learn how to practise this profession.

In this respect, therefore, I am of opinion that the present system of education is defective, and is in this sense partly responsible for unemployment that it provides a rich harvest of unemployables. Every branch of science, excepting only psychology and mathematics, is, and will continue to be, as much a craft as an art, and the man who cannot use his hands with reasonable skill has no business to be telling other people how to use theirs, because he cannot tell them successfully unless, on occasion, he can show them. Experience with our own students confirms this. They come to us as graduates, clearly under-trained in craftsmanship and usually over-lectured. Here they receive comparatively few lectures and spend most of their time in the laboratories, working out practical problems with their hands, for three years, and are reasonably good chemists and engineers when they leave. The transformation is an interesting and important one. I do not say that it is complete in every case, but it is sufficiently general to justify the hope that there is nothing ineradicably unpractical in the young Indian student: only that he has been encouraged to be unpractical by training and environment.

Another aspect of this defect in the present system of education is the low standard of the pass degree which is really worthless as a vocational qualification, using the word 'vocation'

in the sense of (1) an academic career at a university or university college, and (2) life-work as an analyst, industrial chemist or executive engineer. Students, their parents and even official bodies do not appear to realise this, and it consequently happens that men of totally inadequate training either (1) pass into the class of unemployed graduates, or (2) in some cases by influence gain posts from which they exclude well-trained men and then, failing to give satisfaction, shatter the confidence of employers in all graduates. One remedy for this would be to recognise that the only avenue to appointments as an academic or industrial chemist is through the honours course, followed in every case by some experience of research work under professors recognized as capable of inspiring students in pursuit of such work. In spite of all that has been written about research, authorities even now do not appear to realise the value of such training which, briefly stated, shows the student how knowledge is made instead of making him a mere receptacle, more or less expandable, of existing knowledge. Even now the dead hand of classical training is allowed to stifle the prospective teacher. Such training, excellent as a factor in general education, lays too much stress on the contents of the literature, and gives no inkling of how the literature has been assembled. It tends to ignore the fact that knowledge is always changing, always growing, and a teacher who has not had some glimpse of how one little piece of knowledge is made, must remain a mere hack, and utterly fail to inspire his pupils. This glimpse is only to be gained by participation in research.

(2) I hardly think that small remuneration can be a cause of unemployment from the fact indicated in 1 (2) above, namely, the large number of applications for any post however badly paid. Even if higher rewards were offered, better trained men would be attracted by them and exclude the badly trained ones excepting those who secure posts by influence. Thus the answer to this question tends to emphasise the importance of the preceding one, namely, adequate and practical training.

(3) Fluidity (or rather, viscosity) operates as between one State and another, but can scarcely operate internally to any great extent. It is a great misfortune that appointing bodies, in many cases, display preference for an applicant from their own State regardless of qualifications. This principle is inimical to progress, but I cannot suggest a remedy, as it arises from a misplaced local patriotism which is apt to be fortified by political considerations.

(4) The family responsibilities which have been already incurred by quite young men must have a retarding effect on their studies, and must operate as an impulse to earn a living, however precarious, before they are properly trained. Such responsibilities inevitably distract a student from the concentration essential to success in technical affairs, but lapse of time alone can bring the obvious remedy.

(5) A genuinely constructive proposal suggests itself in this clause. An Employment Bureau organized by the Department of Education could, in my opinion, render valuable service as a centre to which applications by employers and seekers of employment might be addressed. Such a bureau could be organized more efficiently, and could operate more expeditiously than separate agencies in scattered colleges, which are inclined to fall out of action in the vacation periods.

(6) I am not able to give precise information on this clause, but speaking generally the cost of education in (b) professional courses greatly exceeds that of (a) literary and (c) commercial. I surmise that the result is to flood the market in (a) and (c).

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

I am not able to supply any definite information on clauses (1), (2) and (3), but the following Summary of the Students' Register, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, may perhaps be found interesting to the Committee:—

*Indian Institute of Science, Students' Register 1911
(July) to 1926 (August)*

There are 392 names in the register, and of these 287 are analysed below. The remainder are (1) still at the Institute, (2) temporary workers who entered for short periods only, or (3) students who have left too recently to secure posts.

<i>Analysis.</i>						
Occupation.						Number.
Industrial Chemistry under Governments	...	...	...	...	...	23
Industrial Chemistry in Commerce or Manufacture.	...	...	...	...	...	59
Teaching Chemistry: various grades from professor to demonstrator, including Government service.	...	...	...	...	...	68
Analytical Chemistry: including consultants and analysts in Government service.	...	...	...	...	...	19
Electrical Engineering	...	...	...	...	...	45
Teaching Engineering or Physics	...	...	...	...	...	11
Foreign study	...	...	...	...	...	24
Various (including Zamindars 3, Commerce 3, Government service 3, Secretaries 2, Controller of Patents 1, Civil Engineer 1, Mechanical Engineer 1).	...	...	...	...	...	14
No record	..	...	...	...	...	20
Deceased	...	...	...	...	...	4
Total						287

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) I do not favour vocational training in schools. My conception of a school is to teach children to read, write and cipher, carrying

them if possible to a stage where, by browsing on several other subjects in an elementary fashion, they may reveal some latent predilection for a particular occupation. It should be the business of a school-teacher to ascertain the latent possibilities of his pupils.

(2) Technical education, in the narrow sense of teaching the underlying principles of an art or manufacture, is an excellent form of instruction in a district comprising the relevant arts or manufactures. For instance, the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Matunga, Bombay, equips its students for posts in the spinning and weaving mills, dyeing and bleach-works which cluster in the neighbourhood of that city; the School of Science and Technology, Stoke-on-Trent, England, lies in the centre of the pottery district, and accomplishes valuable results in that connexion. It is useless and wasteful, however, to train men for industries which do not exist. Where a sporadic industry requiring technical assistants does exist, it is better to send some selected young men abroad for their technical training rather than establish a costly "technical school" in the slender hope that its alumni will find useful employment.

(3) This proposal is welcomed under II (5) above.

(4) (a) All graduates who, through family connections or by individual taste, are in any way attracted towards agricultural pursuits should be encouraged therein. Revolution in agriculture is not to be expected, or desired, but habits of industry, observation, concentration and executive action, which it should be the purpose of a university training to inculcate, if widely scattered through agricultural districts must effect steady improvement in this, the most important of India's industries. Incidentally, these pursuits, rightly viewed, should offer a healthier and happier life than some underpaid, 'black-coated' occupation in a city.

(b) Mechanical occupation require special tastes, which should have been revealed at school, and special training, which can be acquired only in the workshop. They also demand a willingness and facility in manual labour, and a freedom from shame in getting honestly dirty; these qualities are rarely recognisable in a pass graduate.

(c) Trade and commerce should be recognized by students and their parents as honourable and interesting occupations, capable of undergoing growth and expansion by the application of scientific principles and a bridled imagination. For many years it has been my practice to encourage those students of science who recognisably are destined to fail in a scientific occupation, to apply themselves to trade or commerce. If they have gained anything from their scientific training, and are presentable young men of agreeable manners, they might reasonably hope to succeed in this calling when once they have mastered the rudimentary principles of buying, selling and keeping accounts.

Summary.

From the foregoing observations it will be seen that our experience here shows:—

(1) Unemployment exists amongst graduates qualified to pursue a career in chemistry.

(2) This is due primarily to the minor position occupied by chemical industry in this country. In the absence of a demand for trained chemists, the high-grade teachers of chemistry required to produce them are fewer than those employed by an industrially progressive nation, and neither benefactors nor Governments have yet realized fully that an enlightened country should be willing to devote money to purely scientific inquiries.

(3) The secondary reason is the low standard of university pass degrees, which has the effect of (a) failing to qualify their possessors for a technical occupation, and (b) deluding such graduates into the belief that they are superior to the pursuit of trade, commerce and agriculture which, after all, must remain the basic activities of a vast community.

In this connection my colleague, Dr. Simonsen, makes a suggestion which appears to me deserving of close attention. It is that Governments should conduct their own examinations for clerkships, etc. There is no doubt that a large proportion of students enter a university course with the sole ambition of securing a post under Government. They are not actuated by a thirst for knowledge, but merely desire a hall-mark. The consequence is that the colleges are overcrowded and the standard of training is depressed. If once it came to be understood that a pass degree did not improve the candidate's chance of a Government clerkship, all these undesirables would be eliminated from the university courses, and the raising of the degree-standard would be facilitated. Closer scrutiny of the admissions could be made, and the promotion examinations could be rendered more searching. It is a mistaken kindness to allow mentally unqualified students to undergo the labour and expense of a university training and then throw them to the wolves of discontent and poverty.

Written evidence of the Rev. T. R. Foulger, B.A., Headmaster, Wesley College, Royapetla, Madras, dated the 16th August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

It is my opinion that unemployment exists among the middle classes and, as far as my experience goes, amongst—

(1) (a), (b) & (c).

(2) (a) & (b).

[N.B.—The only practical difference between sections (1) and (2) appears to be that persons in group 1 have not succeeded in entering a profession.]

II. CAUSES.

(1) Yes. The following points are urged:—

(a) The root cause appears to the writer to be the fact that the development of secondary and university education has far out-distanced the development of elementary education. Of the pathetically small section of the population of this country under instruction at the moment the proportion of students receiving secondary and university education is large compared, for instance, with England and Wales. The result is that *hundreds of students are being prepared for professional and semi-professional life in a society where there is no adequate demand for their services since the general level of the population is too little developed to require them.*

(b) A corollary of this is that the educated classes gravitate to the towns where they hope to get professional employment. There is little inducement for them to remain in the village and develop its life. Yet everything hinges on the development of village life.

(c) It is the writer's opinion that graduation is made too easy. Hence every parent desires his son to graduate. Yet many boys would do better if, as is generally the custom in England, they commenced business training immediately after taking their School Final certificate.

(d) Early specialisation in the high school course stultifies the faculties that would conduce to success in business. All boys ought to learn both history and physics (or chemistry) in Forms V and VI. "Human Geography" on the most modern lines should be taught in all classes. Much time is still spent on historical details which have little cultural value. By these means a broader outlook might be secured than is at present the case.

(2) Partly. Although residents in the city are prepared to accept appointments at almost any salary, and are partially maintained by their families, the remuneration offered in the mufassal seems often too small to permit men to set up a household for themselves in a strange place.

(3) See (2).

(4) In this country a commercial civilisation is being grafted on to an agricultural civilisation, but they have not yet grown together. The educated man usually considers himself to be of the former and has little concern for the development of the latter. But the latter is the parent stock and on its life the life of the former depends.

(5) (a) Without such bureaux educational institutions cannot possibly keep in touch.

(b) If such were instituted, grave hardships would be removed from the path of searchers after employment. At present men go from office to office seeking information about posts and are at the mercy of peons and minor officials.

(6) In the writer's opinion the question of cost is not vital. It is magnificent the way parents and brothers and guardians assist pupils to the completion of a desired course at great personal sacrifice.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) (a) If "vocational training" means teaching a boy a profession or trade, *no*. If it means modifying the curriculum so as to train the practical as well as the mental faculties, *yes*, though this field needs to be explored for India.

The liberal education which a middle-class boy should possess cannot be secured unless directly vocational training is postponed till the end of the school final course. (Naturally the same would not be true in quite the same sense for a member of the lower classes.)

(b) For the middle classes the only possible means of selection is a wise use by the parent at the advice of the teacher of the indications given by success or failure in the boy's progress. At present there is little of this.

(2) This seems to involve the same principles as (4) below.

(3) A Government Employment Bureau working in close co-operation with colleges and schools would be a boon to the candidate for employment and, better still, would introduce a healthier tone into commercial life. It would not help to a solution of the problem of unemployment but would mitigate the evils of it.

(4) to (11) All of these centre around *No. (6) which is the fundamental issue* in the writer's opinion (vide answer to II. 1). Develop your villages and the problem will solve itself. The first necessity is intensive and extensive progress in village education. Raise the social and economic conditions of the lower classes and there will be adequate scope for employment of the middle classes in professional and semi-professional life.

Oral evidence of Rev. T. R. Foulger, Headmaster, Wesley College, dated the 15th November 1926.

The PRESIDENT: *Q.*—You say that the root cause appears to be the development of secondary and university education in advance of elementary education. If we are to have compulsory free education, up to what point would you like it?

A.—I do not know whether I am concerned about that at present. The fact is that there are quite a large number of uneducated people.

Q.—Suppose you had every one in the villages educated up to 12 or to whatever age you like, and educated up to the primary grade, will there be an adequate demand for professional and semi-professional services?

A.—I think that with the increase of education, life would be considerably less simple than it is now.

Q.—You speak of the professional and the semi-professional service only. Whom else will they employ?

A.—It is a question of the difference between the highly organised society and the society that is very much more simple. When you have a highly organised society there are all kinds of openings for professional and semi-professional people. We have the learned professions; in business life and in industrial life there is necessity for supervisors. I take as the type of the middle-class man one who has had secondary education and who is not likely to undertake manual training himself but who will be a high grade employee, for instance, in a manufacturing firm in which he has some responsible position requiring brains rather than physique.

Q.—Take for example a village in England. Does the school-master absorb many professional men in this way?

A.—It will be done in course of time. The whole question is this. At present we are producing by our system of education a large number of people who are not prepared for anything else. In England the present system of education developed side by side with the Industrial Revolution. Before the Industrial Revolution there was no such complicated or extended system of education. My contention is that until there is development from the bottom, we cannot expect adequate appointments for this type of man at all.

Q.—It has been suggested to the Committee that one of the means of meeting the question of unemployment will be by village reconstruction. You also refer to the demand for the services in the villages. I now gather that you mean that the room for employment will be in places where business exists more than in the villages?

A.—One can easily prophesy that the villages instead of being such tiny and separate units as they happen to be to-day may grow somewhat more complex in their life. If that were granted, we should have, next to the professional and semi-professional class, lower down the scale, a class of skilled artisans and so on till we had a hierarchy of occupations. At present that hierarchy is missing. Our system of education seems to be training people to take places higher in the ladder of economic status but the rungs are missing from that point down below. They are not at all there.

Q.—Then you proceed to say that graduation is made too easy and that every parent likes the boy to be a graduate. How do you remedy that?

A.—I have had more time for thought since I put this down. I believe it to be arguable but I think that at present the case will be strengthened by stating *admission* to the university. It is not merely a question of admission to the university but it extends further. Our education at present seems to me to excite ambitions in youth (which is a very good quality in any system of education).

Nearly every boy who goes to school, whether poor or comparatively rich, hopes to be a graduate. That seems to me to be due to another factor which I have not mentioned in my report. We have our lower and higher elementary education; we have our secondary education. The difference between the higher elementary and the lower secondary is largely a difference in language. If boys have an opportunity of jumping off from the primary school to another type of school, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred I am sure they will go to the secondary school and learn English rather than take to a vernacular education, and the tendency will be for the boys to do only supervising work. Taking the boys at present receiving literary education, there are a large number of them who are not fitted for it especially in the high school classes where after many struggles and failures they reach form VI. There seems to be this difficulty as between the higher elementary where English is not a subject and the lower secondary where it is a subject. The necessity for choosing between the scholastic and the manual career should not arise at such an early stage. If that is provided for, we will not be stirring the ambitions of unfit people towards a scholastic career and the particular course of qualification which ends with the S.S.L.C. or graduation.

Q.—You say that human geography ought to be taught. What do you mean by that?

A.—It is a technical term. It is geography related to human life and connotes knowledge of data not merely as data but as having a living association with people who are human beings like ourselves.

Q.—You say in Section IV that if vocational training means modifying the curriculum, your answer will be 'yes'?

A.—I have also said that this thing has to be explored.

Q.—Has it been explored in the meantime?

A.—For one thing, much turns upon the question of caste—I may suggest as one instance that the boys should be given some training in practical physics as there would then be some means of training the practical faculties which hardly any boy gets nowadays. Then it is possible to relate the ordinary subjects of the school curriculum to practical life. That perhaps is not done much at present but curriculum generally is a matter of organisation. It can be done for instance this way. You can set the boys to measure a particular thing in such a subject as mathematics and arrive at their own data before they work a sum.

Q.—At the end you say that the problem will solve itself by an extensive and intensive progress in village education. How do you propose to develop the village? By giving it a small school?

A.—I find that the level of education in many villages is very low. Our problem is how to improve the elementary schools and increase their utility.

Q.—If the schools were improved and boys given a little more learning, the problem of the middle-class unemployment will solve itself. How do you maintain that?

A.—My idea was that that would serve as a good foundation on which we can build up.

Mr. G. G. ARMSTRONG: Q.—You say that many boys would be better off if, as is generally the custom in England, they commenced business training immediately after taking their School Final certificate. Is it your point that they should be trained in business instead of being sent to training colleges?

A.—The boy who wants to take to business should be given the training that he needs and I think it is quite possible to establish commercial training classes. I may say that I was much interested to see in my own school a tremendous increase on the part of the boys in their desire to take typewriting this year.

Q.—Do you know that there are jobs for these boys?

A.—I have not had any difficulty brought to my notice in the case of these boys.

Q.—You say regarding the Employment Bureau that at present men go from office to office seeking information about posts and are at the mercy of minor officials. I suppose the same difficulty would also be found to some extent in regard to the Government Employment Bureau.

A.—It might be; but I think that with experience that will improve. If we could get people concerned to use the Employment Bureau, I think the difficulty would be eliminated.

Mr. R. LEE: Q.—Many of the witnesses have suggested to us that the middle-class boy should go back to the land. You think that he would do mere supervising work. Is it so?

A.—Taking, for instance, the type of a boy who has had a secondary school education and who is already a finished product, yes. To organise such a system of education as would fill up the hierarchy would be a means of dealing with the situation.

Q.—Because there is a tendency on the part of boys to go up to collegiate education, those who receive the particular training cannot be made to sit at the particular business. That happens to be the difficulty?

A.—Of course it should be possible to start earlier and not to instil the idea that scholastic education would give a boy a better job than he will be fit for.

Q.—Will it not be good to give a plot of land for each boy who will actually work as a farmer?

A.—Yes.

Q.—You clearly say that it is not possible for an educated middle-class boy to go back to land?

A.—Once he has taken to the scholastic career I think that is so.

Rao Bahadur S. K. SUNDARACHARLU: Q.—Of all the remedies that you suggest which do you think is the best?

A.—In my opinion, development of the village from the bottom will prove the best remedy eventually. It seems to me almost that that is the only way.

Q.—And development of the village means provision of more rural schools?

A.—As an educationist, that is the point on which I am able to give some suggestions. I think it is granted that the organization of agriculture is far from being satisfactorily developed. I do not think I am competent to speak on that question. But it seems we cannot improve the methods except by turning away the minds of the people from the ancestral methods, and without having a wider area for cultivation.

Q.—Do you not think that we are really doing a disservice to the people by imposing upon them an education for which they have not got the need? Would it not be better to give them the means and leave it to them to start such schools as they may think fit?

A.—The two things have got to go together. As things stand at present, there is the risk of all the boys lapsing into illiteracy soon after they leave school because there is nothing in their future career which calls for any application of their intelligence. The thing has to be thoroughly done in a particular area and not by fits and starts.

Q.—Is it the boy of the poorer classes or of the rich middle class that is regular in attendance in a village school?

A.—The attendance of the poor class boy will be very much more irregular.

Q.—Does it not point to the fact that we have first of all to enable such boys to regularly attend the school before we actually start the school?

A.—There are two points in it. One is the poorer classes are frequently discouraged by the employers from any extension of education; the other is somehow or other the boys must earn their meal being too poor to attend school.

Q.—You refer here to the low remuneration in the mufassal as a partial cause for unemployment. Is it not a fact that in the mufassal the cost of living is cheaper than in the urban area?

A.—I am thinking of the man who is educated in the city and who takes an appointment in the mufassal. It may be that the cost of living for an ordinary person will be less in the mufassal. But the man from the town has got some idea of comforts necessary for city life. I think that is probably the difficulty.

Q.—You speak of the commercial civilization being grafted on to an agricultural civilization. What is your idea?

A.—My point is this. A great number of people in this country are still connected with the village and agriculture. But the persons who go through the secondary school do not like to live in their villages but want to go to the town where everything is organised and where they think a wider field is open to them for employment.

Q.—So commercial civilization according to you has nothing to do with commerce?

A.—Perhaps *industrial civilization* would bring out my idea better.

Mr. M. K. DANDEKAR: Q.—In answer to a question from the President you stated that much mischief was done by these higher elementary schools and lower secondary schools. I do not follow what kind of mischief is done by them?

A.—After class (5) there is a distinct division. In the lower secondary school English is taught to the boys; but in the higher elementary school English is not taught. The ambitious boy wants to go to that school where he is taught English. He wants to have English as a means to the middle-class type of career. Once he has started on that particular type, of course it is very very difficult to divert his mind to anything else.

Q.—Would not the mischief be averted if you have two more classes in the higher elementary schools and teach English in those classes?

A.—It might be averted; but the difficulty is that at a very early stage of their educational career the boys have a goal before them and they are not willing to depart from it. Therefore if we have a uniform course where English is not so prominent and is taken up at a slightly later stage it might help. Of course the question has many difficulties.

Q.—The difficulty would still remain. The boys start with some goal in their view and that is service. That goal cannot be changed. That is the difficulty.

A.—We may have one single educational ladder, consisting of the primary school, the lower secondary school and the upper secondary school and not divert one set of boys to the vernacular education and the other to the university education.

Q.—Will not that system be the same thing? It will naturally lead the boy from the elementary school to the secondary school and from there to the university.

A.—It all depends on how you organise your secondary education. It could be so organised as to meet the difficulties you have mentioned.

Q.—Suppose you formulate a specific scheme of education for boys who stop with the third form, would that not also be solving the difficulty?

A.—I do not propose to stop with the third form any boy who is qualified to go up.

Q.—Instead of stopping a boy at the fifth standard, suppose we keep him in school for two more years?

A.—It might help. But if we keep him in school he is more likely to take up a literary and less likely to take up a skilled occupation.

Q.—At what age should a boy be diverted to his occupation?

A.—I personally do not think that he should be diverted to his occupation before the eighth class or the third form.

[In answer to a question the witness said that "In the lower secondary classes, pre-vocational work must be taught."]

The PRESIDENT: Q.—What is pre-vocational work?

A.—We may explain it by saying that it is work which is not definitely intended to prepare the boy for a particular occupation, but is intended to develop the practical faculties of the boy.

Rao Sahib A. HANUMANTHA RAO: Q.—Would you tell us how a Government Employment Bureau would introduce a *healthier tone* in official life?

A.—I do not think that that phrase of mine was happily worded—the struggle for employment is a pathetic one. I remember a lad who for six months went round the offices of Madras trying to get a job. By the time he had finished his efforts he had spent a lot of money.

Q.—Was it in search of Government or private employment?

A.—Any employment an S.S.L.C. can get. He told me something of the difficulties he underwent. He enquires of a clerk in an office whether there is any possible vacancy. He says, "Yes, there is one, please wait for a minute". In this way he is kept waiting for a long time. Afterwards he is made to supply tiffin to his supposed benefactor. Then after waiting for some time more he returns home in the afternoon with disappointment. That is the kind of thing. It is a very disgraceful business indeed so far as this question of trying to get jobs is concerned. A great deal of that kind of worry and expense would be removed if posts were advertised freely through some such department. I do feel that it would remove much evil.

Q.—Is there a great demand for candidates in search of employment?

A.—Though such a bureau would not be of much benefit to the employer it would be of benefit to the employees.

Q.—But is it not a fact that in the present circumstances such a bureau would serve more as a means of finding Government employment than private employment?

A.—It would remove some of the difficulties. I hope that employers in general would make use of it.

Q.—Are you aware that at present there is a Government Employment Bureau called the Staff Selection Board which is functioning in connection with Government offices in the City of Madras and also for some other appointments in the mufassal?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Will that not do for the present? Of course it only meets the needs of the Government and not the needs of the private employers?

A.—I did not suggest the starting of such a bureau to meet the needs of the employers; I only said that such a bureau should relieve the distress of the unemployed in searching for employment.

Q.—Are you aware of any technically trained candidate who is in need of employment and finds it difficult to secure one owing to the absence of a business Employment Bureau?

A.—I do not know many technically trained candidates of the secondary grade. I do know of cases of boys of the elementary and higher elementary grade who have undergone industrial training but are not able to get posts.

Rao Bahadur CRUZ FERNANDEZ: Q.—You said that the problem of unemployment would solve itself if we develop villages and that by the development of villages you meant the expansion of elementary education in villages.

A.—I think that elementary education is a necessary part of the development of the village and it would conduce to the relief of unemployment.

Q.—In what way?

A.—I am not an agricultural expert; but I know there is plenty of room for agricultural development, and development is not possible unless the people have their minds sufficiently educated to be willing to carry out development schemes. As part and parcel of a scheme of development, education must necessarily play a very very important part indeed.

Q.—In what way will the development of the village relieve the unemployment in the country?

A.—When you have a very highly organised society, you want more skilled artisans and when you get more skilled artisans you require more village officials. The more complex any community grows the greater will be the necessity for persons with administrative capacity and so on.

Q.—The policy is to increase the demand in the country in every branch of employment and thereby solve the question of unemployment?

A.—Yes, the demand will then meet the supply.

Mr. C. GOPALA MENON: Q.—You state that one of the causes of unemployment is the fact that secondary and university education is developed at the expense of elementary education?

A.—I did not say “at the expense of elementary education.”

Q.—You have stated that secondary and university education has out-distanced the development of elementary education. In what way will a greater spread of elementary education afford greater scope for the employment of men of secondary education?

A.—Incidentally, in the spread of education you would be able to employ a number of middle-class men as teachers. But the whole question is this. You cannot support a large middle-class who desire to do a professional kind of work unless you have beneath it a hierarchy of people having a fairly complex industrial life. The town and the mufassal conditions are utterly different and we have not got the link between them.

Q.—At present there is no inducement for people to remain in villages. Will they do so if the conditions are improved and can they employ themselves profitably if they remain in villages?

A.—Yes.

Q.—You have stated that *graduation* is made too easy. Can you say, in what way it is made easy? Is it in the number of years or in the subjects offered?

A.—Already I have asked to be permitted to revise my statement to mean that *admission to the university* is made too easy.

Q.—Would you leave specialisation to the end of the high school course?

A.—Yes.

Q.—What would you do for boys who are unable to go to the high school course? Can they be equipped for any particular profession?

A.—I have known instances of boys who join the Perambur Workshops at the end of the fourth form course. If there is economic pressure, the boys will surely succeed in getting into some jobs.

Q.—Will it not then create a class of people who are unable to finish their high school course but at the same time are willing to take to some sort of special education? We have to meet the needs of those people also.

A.—The question is a very difficult one.

Q.—You state in your evidence that residents in the city are prepared to accept appointments on almost any salary. Do you attribute it to the fact that employees like to remain in their own native places?

A.—No.

Q.—Do you think that it would be very helpful to the employees if you attach Employment Bureau to arts colleges and technical institutions?

A.—It will be an advantage to the prospective employees if it is possible for them to go to a certain place and know what are the vacancies available at a certain time. It will be a boon to the candidates to have the information easily.

Q.—Are the employers handicapped for want of such a bureau?

A.—I have no knowledge of it.

Q.—Do you think it wise or feasible to establish vocational schools for the poor classes and literary schools for the rich?

A.—I do not think it feasible or wise.

Written evidence of M.R.Ry. T. S. Gangadhara Ayyar Avargal, B.A., B.L., Pleader and Publicist, Kumbakonam, dated the 15th August 1926.

Introduction.

That the problem of unemployment is one of the most acute and difficult problems that beset the path of national progress requires no parley. What with the economic consequences of unemployment and what with the struggle for very existence on the part of a large proportion of educated Indians, who are fully qualified but yet cannot, due to no fault of theirs, get their due, the condition of our country has become quite unhealthy and politically retrograde. There is dissatisfaction everywhere. There is a discontent for the existing state of affairs. There is a disaffection for the prevalent order of things. Everybody waits, but waits only Micawberlike, for a better state of affairs. Reasons for such a condition of things are not far to seek. Many there are, who are unable to get anything even for their bare maintenance. Some there are, who have got something—only something—to eke out their livelihood, and that, too, with the greatest difficulty. Few and only few there are, who are deservedly well settled in life. To put this painful phenomenon briefly and scientifically, many in our country are unemployed, some are under-employed and a few are well-employed.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

The existence of this great problem of unemployment is beyond any reasonable doubt and as such this query as to its existence does not arise at all. It is admitted on all sides that unemployment exists among all the classes, but it is the most keenly felt

among the middle classes. It is with these middle classes that we are now concerned in our enquiry. The connotation of the term "middle classes," according to the common vocabulary, is "that class of persons who are *neither* rich nor poor". The meaning of the term rests purely on a comparative basis, on their degrees of poverty on the one hand and small wealth on the other. The middle classes like every other class have their own component part like the educated, the uneducated, the literary, the professional, etc.

(1) *Literary classes*.—It is among the middle classes that literary and educated men are in the largest numbers for the simple reason that people who are very rich usually neglect their studies and the poor cannot afford to carry on their studies. Blissful ignorance is an invariable consequence of wealth and lack of education always follows in the train of poverty. Among the literary classes there are (a) graduates, (b) S.S.L.C.'s and Intermediates and (c) unqualified persons. In this, the first outbeats the second, and the second outbeats the third. In the competition for employment, it is only in the fitness of things the more educated graduates are preferred to the less educated S.S.L.C.'s and intermediates. And in the order of preference naturally enough the unqualified persons come last. Therefore, among the literary classes, unemployment is most keenly felt among the unqualified persons in comparison with the graduates and the intermediates. So long as the present system of education exists, this sort of variations among the literary classes are only the expected consequence.

(2) *The technical and professional classes*.—Though the condition of the technical and professional classes is somewhat better than the literary classes, yet it is as bad as one expects it to be. The whole trouble with regard to the professional classes arises out of the fact that every profession is overcrowded. The supply has outrun the demand and the consequence is the inevitable pressure. There are more men than are really wanted and every year the ranks of the unwanted are being strengthened by innumerable additions.

Let us take each profession one by one and examine its condition—

(a) Among the teachers I must say that unemployment does not exist to such a great extent as it is represented to be. The proportion of the unemployed teachers is nothing when compared to many other professions. The existing system of education is absorbing every year a large number of teachers and the L.T.'s that pass out of the Teachers' College can find some berth or other in any of the educational institutions. With the increase of the educated, demand for teachers has also proportionately increased. Such of the graduates who are teachers, I have advisedly considered them along with the literary classes.

(b) About the profession of law the less said the better. While the quantity of litigation has remained the same, the quantity of lawyers has disproportionately increased. Among the huge numbers only a few lawyers are employed in the best sense of the word and all others are pitifully unemployed. In the great competition in the profession naturally enough the profession has lost the dignity it once commanded, and in the struggle on the part of the many for mere living, methods by no means fair are resorted to in the craze to earn something. It is a well-established fact that of all the professions only in the profession of law does unemployment reveal itself in all its nakedness and misery.

(c) To say of the profession of medicine that in it there are more doctors than there are patients, it is only an exaggerated picture. While in the profession of law the quantity of litigation remains the same, in the profession of medicine the quantity and the complexity of diseases have increased and are increasing. While in the profession of medicine diseases increase and get themselves complicated, in the profession of law, in spite of the increase of lawyers, the quantity of litigation remains the same. Evidently it will take some years for the medical profession to be overcrowded like the legal profession.

(d) In the profession of engineering, unemployment was widely prevalent some years ago owing to the scheme of merciless retrenchment carried on by the Government. The dread of the engineering profession was so great that the Engineering College at Guindy was deserted. But now the gloomy sky has cleared. The great engineering schemes like the Mettur Project open out great scope for the employment of men qualified in engineering. In fact, many have been absorbed by the regular engineering staff and, luckily enough, those qualified in engineering have a brighter future still.

(e) The profession of agriculture is at present perhaps the most badly needed profession. Since the alumni of the Agricultural College at Coimbatore are only a few when compared to the large agricultural needs and requirements of the country, unemployment has no place in this blessed profession. The position of the profession will become brighter still, because of the appointment of His Excellency Lord Irwin, as our Viceroy and the appointment of the Agricultural Commission.

(f) As regards handicrafts like weaving, they are not now so bright as they were some years back. It is a matter of common knowledge that hand-made goods, including clothes, are dearer than machine-made ones. Now that the money market is very 'tight'—to use a commonplace expression—and poverty stares in the face of a great proportion of our countrymen, it is no wonder that people from the point of view of economy prefer the machine-made goods to the hand-made. Consequently, the products of handicraft do not find a ready sale and the inevitable result is unemployment among the members of this profession. While in

the profession of law and medicine there is no such thing as concrete "productivity", in the handicrafts there is a "production" which must find a demand, the absence of which will end in the collapse of the whole system.

(g) Coming to railways and the scope they afford to (1) qualified persons and (2) unqualified persons, it should be observed at the outset that the Indian Railway system is a bright star in the gloomy horizon of the Indian unemployed. The railways give employment to so many that but for them the misery of this great problem will be incalculable and indescribable. The railways give employment both to qualified and unqualified persons. Such of those who have special qualifications in the technicalities of railways are given very decent appointments though with regard to their pay there seems to be a lot of discontent. Many think that they are under-employed. But of them we are not at present concerned, for, our task is only about the unemployed. As regards the qualified, such of those who were qualified themselves in the technicalities of railway matters have duly been appointed and those who have not yet found employment are only a small percentage. As regards the unqualified persons, the exact connotation of the term "unqualified" here should be borne in mind. "Unqualified" here means not totally devoid of "qualifications" but it only means "persons who are not qualified in the technicalities of railway matters". Besides those who are qualified in railway matters, the railways also give employment to the members of the other professions as also to the "literary classes" enumerated in the questionnaire. Engineers, auditors and men carrying on handicrafts like carpentry, are also sought for by the railways. Further graduates and intermediates are every day applying to the railways for appointments and whenever they get any employment it mitigates the extent of unemployment among the literary classes. For "qualified persons" there are at present railway institutes attached to the various railways and those who are trained therein are able to get into the respective railways. If we interpret "unqualified persons" as those "who have absolutely no educational qualification", even then the railways take these in for the lower services, such as porters, peons, pointsmen, etc. Of course, I need not mention here that besides these uneducated who are in railway employment and those who are in agriculture, there is yet a large body of men who are unemployed.

(3) Among those trained in banking and accountancy, there is practically no unemployment. The course in this line is the G.D.A. degree and the B.Com. degree. To get the degree you must study in the Institute for two years and be an apprentice under a Chartered Accountant for three years. I am indebted to Mr. K. S. Ayyar of Bombay for the information that in the whole of India there are only 60 fully qualified G.D.A.'s and B.Com.'s who want to find employment, and they would get some job or other in the near future. Besides those who may enter

services, some certified accountants get on quite well in private practice and many thrive well as Insurance Agents. Whether trained or untrained, persons qualified in commerce, accountancy and banking need not fear the apprehension of unemployment.

(4) Fortunately or unfortunately, there seems to be a bias on the part of powers-that-be in favour of England-returned men, whatever may be the nature of this latter's qualifications acquired while in England. I may say without any fear of contradiction that there is no unemployment among the Indians educated in foreign countries. If they have acquired technical qualification, their success is assured. If they hold ordinary degrees like B.A. and M.A., they can easily enter the educational line. Even among those educated in foreign countries, the plight of the lawyer is pitiable. The Barristers-at-Law are in no way better than the Law graduates of the Madras University. In brief, among those educated in foreign countries, except among the lawyers, there is absolutely no unemployment.

II. CAUSES.

The causes of unemployment are so numerous and so complex that it would facilitate our enquiry only when we study and examine the causes in an analytical way. Broadly speaking, the causes may be studied under the following heads:—

A. Natural causes.

- (1) Cyclical fluctuations.
- (2) Seasonal fluctuations.
- (3) *Vis major*.
- (4) Slumps.
- (5) Human caprices.
- (6) Pressure of the population.

B. Social causes.

- (1) Mendicancy.
- (2) Caste system.

C. Political causes.

- (1) The dependence upon foreign power.
- (2) The craze for Government services.

D. Educational causes.

- (1) The defects of the present system of education.

E. Economic causes.

- (1) The decay of Swadeshi Industries.
- (2) Shifting of business to towns.
- (3) The advent of machinery.
- (4) Use of imported things.
- (5) Money monopolized by a few capitalists.
- (6) The growth of professional classes which depend upon money income.

F. Physical causes.

(1) Physical deformity, and lack of nourishment which make people unemployed.

G. Other causes.

(1) The want of fluidity.

(2) The want of organization and publicity work.

As the various causes enumerated in the questionnaire are included in my analysis of the causes, I shall deal with them according to my order.

A. Natural causes.

(1) *Cyclical fluctuations* in a country are the periods of depression or good trade recurring at fairly good intervals of a few years. In our country such periods occur in a fairly systematic way. Especially in the commercial world unemployment is influenced by these changes.

(2) *Seasonal fluctuations* occur regularly during the course of every year, in agriculture, industry, trade, profession, etc. In the period when the business is prosperous, the evil effects of unemployment will not be very keenly felt.

(3) *Vis major*.—The want of employment is very keenly felt when the whole social system and business transactions are paralysed by great events like floods or great havocs like plague and pestilence. In a proper enquiry into the unemployment problem we shall certainly take into account these causes, however trivial they may seem.

(4) *Slumps*.—Sudden falls or failures and sudden events like wars should not also be left out of account.

(5) *Human caprices*.—Human nature being what it is, it really counts and matters a great deal when human tastes and likings change and vary with the times. With these changes the needs of the people also change. And these changes directly affect the problem of employment. The standards of living frequently change and with them the amount of work and employment required also change.

(6) *The pressure of population*.—This item requires special mention and elucidation. In our province, while the population supported by agriculture has increased between 1911—1921 from 70 to 71 per cent, the total area cropped has remained the same. The following statistics will make it clear:—

Number supported by agriculture.

	1921.	1911.		1921.	1911.
The Agency	80.4	81.5	East Coast C.	70.4	69.8
East Coast N.	72.5	69.8	East Coast W.	69.5	65.8
Deccan	74.6	71.9	West Coast	64.4	63.3

All the time the produce has not increased. So what was earned previously by 70 per cent is now earned by 71 per cent, and hence the struggle becomes keener and the nature of the problem becomes more and more complex and acute.

B. Social causes.

Social causes are—(1) *Caste system*, (2) *disparity between moneyed and ordinary classes*, (3) *mendicancy*.

Caste system and abhorrence of particular classes do not permit all professions to become universal. Further, money is monopolized by a few, and these richer classes lead indecent lives, fleece them, and grow richer at their expense. These poor classes naturally find their lot very unhappy and unfortunate. Further, there is the widely prevalent and popular system of beggary and mendicancy in India. This is forced and voluntary unemployment. This custom should be put an end to, in the best interests of the happiness of society. Sadhus and criminal tribes belong to this class.

C. Political causes.

(1) *The dependence on foreign power*.—This leads to an unsympathetic industrial policy on the part of the Government. Our raw cotton goes out of our country and it comes back in the form of finished products. So all the labour is in the foreign countries. So native labour is not required.

(2) *The craze for Government services*.—This makes all the people to concentrate upon Government services. So much so, there is a great and unhealthy competition. In Government services, fat jobs are few and the people are allured by it. There are a great number of very small jobs wherein the people are not able to make both ends meet. So, in many cases they are under-employed.

D. Educational causes.

(1) *The defects of the present system of education*.—In an examination of the details of the problem of unemployment criticisms of the most drastic type are levelled against the present system of education. Though the critics at times draw out exaggerated pictures of the defects of the present system, still there is an element of truth in their criticisms. For all practical purposes most of the products of our University are examination-made fellows, unfit to adjust themselves in after-life. Year after year people are stamped by the University and despatched into the world at large, without the proper and required weapons for the battle of life. So more attention should be devoted to technical subjects.

E. Economic causes.

The decay of native industries.—With the advent of foreign goods, native industry has gradually gone down. This has naturally paralysed the whole society and many persons who can otherwise have found employment are now without work.

(2) *Shifting of business to towns.*—This is a very important item. When businesses were conducted in villages, every village was a self-relying unit and the acuteness of the unemployment problem was never felt. But now, since the centre of activity has been shifted to the town, this sort of social harmony and peace has vanished.

(3) *The advent of machinery.*—With the advent of machinery, manual labour is nowhere. Machinery only increased Western trade and native trade is now gone for ever. In Madras at one time four lakhs of men carried on manual labour on hand looms. But now power loom has come in and obviously mills do not give much work for manual labour. Even there, in the whole of the Madras Presidency, there are only 16 mills out of the 280 in the whole of India. Moreover, Madras is very backward from the point of view of industries. She is greatly handicapped by lack of minerals and fuels. But if her economic conditions get better, she can progress in spite of these handicaps, for, are not Japan and Italy progressing well in spite of the fact they do not possess iron and fuel respectively.

(5) *Money monopolized by capitalists.*—A few rich aristocrats have monopolized the money and they would lead lazy lives without in any way affording the money to be utilised in trade and commerce and thereby giving employment to many. Consequently, this only increases the problem. Further, even if the capitalists spend their money in trade and commerce, if they wish they can at once paralyze the social machinery of the poorer classes.

(6) *The growth of professional classes which depend upon money income* only adds to the gravity of the problem. This lot is uncertain and if they do not get the expected income, they would be miserable.

F. Physical causes.

Owing to old age and disabilities, some are forced to be unemployed. But this is only a small minority when compared to the strong and sturdy, hale and healthy unemployed. Further, some others are physically incapable of enjoyment because of lack of nourishment.

G. Other causes.

The want of fluidity.—There is absolutely no use in a person going to another Presidency. Unemployment is more a national than a provincial problem. Therefore, if a person leaves this and goes to another Presidency, he only aggravates the acuteness of the problem in that Presidency. Of course, by his going away, the province which he has left will be benefited for there is one unemployed less. Anyway, this won't serve the larger national interests.

The lack of organizing work.—It is obvious without mention that the absence of Information Bureaux and Employment Bureaux, which must bring together employer and employee, only

adds to the complexity of the problem. The existence of such organization will greatly facilitate and accelerate the proper solution of the problem.

IV. REMEDIES.

As for the remedies, as I totally approve of the suggestions enumerated in the questionnaire itself, I do not wish to dwell at any great length upon them. As for the working of the details of the suggestion, we should leave it to the circumstances and conditions.

Additional evidence given by M.R.Ry. T. S. Gangadhara Ayyar, B.A., B.L., Kumbakonam, dated the 15th November 1926.

IV. REMEDIES.

As for the remedies, I approve of all the suggestions enumerated in the questionnaire itself. As for their working out, much is to be left to the circumstances of the case. As a general proposition, I propose to draw up the following scheme for the kind consideration of the Committee.

India being purely an agricultural country, those who are unemployed must fall back upon agriculture for support. Taking the total population of India, only about 25 millions live in towns, while 222 millions live in villages. So village reconstruction is the first step towards the goal, in solving the problem of unemployment. Village reconstruction can take place successfully only with the help of the co-operative movement. Hence a drastic remedy of the unemployment problem is possible only on the basis of the co-operative system as applied to agriculture and industry. My scheme is further formulated in the light of the suggestions brought forward by Captain J. W. Petavel, Lecturer, "Poverty problem", Calcutta University.

In the scheme, the village is the unit. Let me take a village. Take a small plot of cultivable land, put a middle class unemployed person in charge of it. He works out the land heart and soul and maintains himself purely from out of its produce. The whole village is to be divided into many small holdings, for, cultivation by small holdings is more effective than cultivation by large holdings. Each holding in a village is to consist of two items. The first is a plot of cultivable wet land or 'Nanja' as it is called in the Tanjore district. The second is a small plot of dry cultivable land or 'Punja' as it is called in the Tanjore district. The second item is to be adjoining to a small house where the unemployed is to live and carry on the cultivation of the land.

Each village has many holdings like this and twelve villages (or any convenient number) join together and form an organization, on the basis of the co-operative system. It is compulsory that the residents of each village should form a co-operative

society, wherein all the residents must be members. They must pay a nominal subscription. The co-operative society so formed forms the basis of the social and economic activities of the several villagers. Under the auspices of the co-operative society an expert Agricultural Supervisor is appointed to superintend the cultivation of the various villages forming the co-operative society and to suggest means of intensive cultivation on scientific lines, with a view to get the utmost produce from the lands. This agricultural supervisor must be a product of our University, so that, the persons passing out of the Agricultural College may readily get an employment. If this scheme comes into vogue, there will be a very great demand for agricultural experts and naturally more agricultural schools and colleges will have to be opened.

The Indian Economic Enquiry Committee bitterly complained that the Indian agricultural holdings are not yielding their utmost. So, in this scheme of joint co-operative plan in agriculture, the modern advanced methods of agriculture must be introduced at the earliest possible moment. Such a type of co-operative community is, I understand, working successfully at Llanlo in Louisiana. Besides increasing the productive powers of land, they completely overhaul, mobilise and reconstruct our villages which have considerably deteriorated.

There is also in the scheme another aspect, which facilitates the development of industries. This community co-operation not only increases the productivity of the soil but it may be made to increase the power of the village in industrial production. There are under the auspices of the co-operative society twelve villages. Each village will take up a special industry, like weaving, mat-making, coir industry, carpentry, etc. So additional work also springs up in the spare hours when there is no cultivation. Elaborate enquiry into the conditions of the cultivator has shown that the cultivator has tight work only for about 150 days in a year. Especially in the winter season the cultivators have to sit at home. In these spare hours they can specialise themselves in cottage industries. So in course of time, side by side with the agricultural advancement, an efficient auxiliary of an organization of cottage industries will also come into vogue.

Besides the ordinary common foodstuff, namely, paddy, in some village where, there are double cultivation the cultivators can produce additional foodstuffs like gram, dholl, etc. These additional foodstuffs as also the industrial goods can be sold to the neighbouring villagers, who are also members of the co-operative organization. Thereby the villagers themselves earn the wages of both the producer and the distributor. The villagers can thus derive the maximum advantages of co-operative production and distribution. In the Swiss colony at Witzwill, Berne, there is the system of total exchange and barter. Each colony produces things for its own consumption and the surplus is exchanged for

some commodity from another colony. But this is a very extreme step, which would take us back to very ancient days. There is no good in extreme isolation for every agricultural colony must keep pace with the modern development. They must not be allowed to sink into antiquated oblivion. So the surplus goods in every co-operative organization should be sold and the money deposited in the society itself for the use of the members. No step, however seemingly beneficial it may be, which tends to do away with the money standard, should be encouraged.

This question of money brings us to the problem of the establishment of banks, for the encouragement of cottage industries. Under the auspices of the co-operative society itself, small banks should be established for advancing loans for cottage industries. The money so advanced can be recouped gradually as the goods are sold. These banks should be established without doubt on the co-operative basis.

As a second item in the holding, I suggested that there must be a small plot of dry land adjoining to the house. Therein there must be a small well, which not only irrigates that small plot but also affords drinking water to the inhabitants of the house. In that small plot vegetables and some additional foodstuffs can be cultivated. This considerably adds to the produce obtained from the wet lands. In this scheme children also can help their parents on the basis of co-operative service. A small child of ten can look up to the gardening and it may also help their parents in the matter of cottage industries. Thus even a child under this scheme earns something and adds to the family coffers. Let me cite an example. Unfortunately for us, due to early marriages our young men, before they are able to earn anything, become family men with at least two children. My enquiries of my district have shown that a person with a wife and two children can maintain himself, if he has a house and one veli or six and two-thirds acres of wet lands. With considerably a lesser landholding, I am sure that an unemployed person can eke out his livelihood, provided he works hard and leads a thrifty life.

At this stage a difficulty stares us in the face. How are lands to be acquired? Indeed a Herculean task. At the initial stages, it would be impossible to acquire wet lands. So we must pitch upon waste lands belonging to Government. The latter should take stock of all the waste lands, divide them into small holdings and assign them to the unemployed middle classes. This scheme of cultivating waste lands can work only when there are sufficient irrigation facilities. So such of the waste lands which can be cultivated by hard labour should be taken into account. So in some cases even a small capital will be required for each holding and the Government must come to the rescue of the unemployed and start land banks, on co-operative lines, which should advance money to cultivators and recoup it gradually when the lands begin to yield.

How are lands other than waste lands to be acquired? It is indeed a perplexing problem. There is no doubt that it is a very high agricultural ideal that those who toil on the lands should be the owners themselves. But it is very impracticable now for the landlords would be loathe to part with the lands they have so long enjoyed. The Irish Free State has been establishing peasant proprietorship, without injustice to the landlord. Mr. Patrick Hogan, T. D., the Minister of Lands and Agriculture, wanted to do away with the system of tenant and landlord. He proposed to supplement the price paid by the tenant with a grant from the Treasury, which brought it up to the amount which the landlord wanted. If possible, the Government should come to the rescue of the middle class unemployed, by opening agricultural banks to advance money to the unemployed.

The twelve villages forming part of the co-operative society should act in unison in all matters. The co-operative society should not only bring material benefit to the people but also look up to their moral and intellectual welfare. The co-operative society should also carry on the functions of the old village panchayat and teach people the principles of sanitation, hygiene and economy. The villagers as a whole should have, under the protecting wings of the co-operative system, joint action in everything—joint enterprise, joint sale and joint profits. The poverty of villages and the miseries of the unemployed can be rooted out by the co-operative system.

To sum up, my scheme drawn above consists of village reconstruction on the lines of co-operative agriculture whereby co-operative colonies comprising of at least twelve villages are to be formed. To afford funds for the same, banks should be established on strictly co-operative lines with a view to help agriculture and cottage industries. In all their activities the villagers must have before them the ideal of co-operation which alone can successfully solve the problem of unemployment.

Emigration.

A word here about emigration. Emigration within British India is no good, for, unemployment is a national problem. Emigration will only aggravate the problem in the province to which the unemployed emigrate. As for emigration outside British India, it is not in full swing now. The chief colonies which attract emigrants are, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, British Guiana, Trinidad, Fiji, Mauritius and Kenya. But at the present day, emigration has virtually ceased, since, many disabilities are inflicted upon the Indians in these territories. But if emigration works out successfully, it would go a great way in alleviating the sufferings of the unemployed.

Some additional remedies.

For the kind consideration of the Committee I wish to propose the following additional remedies:—

(1) The establishment of more institutions for the disabled like the deaf, the dumb, and the blind, and to afford them occupation by way of special forms of industries.

- (2) The Indianisation of the Military services.
- (3) The starting of an institution for the training of Indians for the naval service with a view to establish an Indian Navy.
- (4) To put an end to the general craze for Government appointments. All these appointments should be by competitive examination. This would limit the number of those whose sole aim is only Government appointment.
- (5) Labour legislation and regulation of labour conditions by restriction of hours of work, etc.
- (6) The encouragement of native industries by Government.
- (7) Protection to certain Indian industries which are in the infant stages, by the Government.
- (8) Without absolutely any risk to efficiency, very highly paid posts should be abolished and bifurcated. Suppose there is a secretary drawing Rs. 1,000; the same duties may be given to two joint secretaries drawing Rs. 500 each. By this way a larger number of people will take actual part in the administration of the Government.
- (9) The introduction of unemployment insurance in our province.
- (10) The establishment, with the help of the co-operative movement, of the cordial relationship between the employers and the employee in industry.

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Oral evidence of Mr. T. S. Gangadhara Ayyar, B.A., B.L., dated the 12th November 1926.

The PRESIDENT: Q.—I understand you belong to the Pleader's profession, and you are a Publicist. In addition, do you own any land?

A.—No.

Q.—What is your father now?

A.—My father is also a Vakil. He is a Government Pleader.

Q.—You say in your letter to us that you would like to suggest certain remedies. Will you give us your suggestions?

A.—Some remedies are suggested in the questionnaire itself in Section IV. I approve of those remedies suggested. I do not understand what is meant by 'selection in schools'.

Q.—It means a process by which you find out whether a boy is fit or unfit for secondary or higher education, what form of vocational training is to be given to the boy, whether it is to be carpentry, agriculture, or anything else. What standard of education you think should be reached before vocational training is given?

A.—Up to the III form in the school career, there should be general knowledge imparted to boys.

Q.—After that?

A.—Specialisation.

Q.—And then?

A.—Technical education. My suggestion as regards technical education would include specialisation in machinery. In spite of some opinions prevalent that, foreign machinery is prejudicial to the interests of the country, I believe that foreign machinery is a good instrument for the industrial advancement of the country. For example, for the past fifty years India was not prepared to receive with open arms foreign machinery, and we have not advanced much; while Japan has taken advantage of foreign machinery and has considerably advanced and is now a first-rate industrial power. Rightly or wrongly, our country has been called a spiritual country and people have got some aversion to machinery and Western materials. There should be specialisation in the branches of technical education such as, electricity, engineering, machinery, etc. Technical education should not be confined only to handicrafts such as carpentry, weaving, etc. Then, coming to information bureau, a word of caution is necessary in establishing such a bureau. An employment bureau should merely be a publicity office, and it should not take up the role of recommending persons for Government offices. The function of the bureau is to inform members where there are vacancies and the members should apply in their individual capacity. In England, there are schemes of Unemployment Insurance and Employment Exchanges which might be introduced in India. As for the diversion of middle classes to agriculture, I may draw attention to the fact that according to recent statistics 72 per cent of the population are already living on agriculture, while only 12 per cent by industry. Diverting middle classes to agriculture would however mean one advantage. What is wanted in agriculture is more intensive cultivation in the light of applied science. At present, the ryots being uneducated, they are not cultivating lands in the proper methods. If the educated middle classes take to agriculture, they can demonstrate to people scientific methods of cultivation. Recently, the Economic Enquiry Committee have stated: "It is feared that the progress of productive industries and agricultural methods has not kept pace with the increase in population or higher standards of living necessitated by world conditions". Thus, we see, that agricultural development is not going on side by side with industrial development. It is therefore necessary that the middle classes should apply scientific knowledge to agriculture. Agriculture being our primary industry, productivity of land should be improved. It may be done by giving to middle class people, lands divided into small economic holdings and asking them to cultivate them on scientific lines. That is my suggestion. As for remedies (5) and (11) I am going to formulate my own scheme and send it on to the Committee, if permitted.

Q.—Please do send it on to us. I suppose Tanjore is one of the best educated districts in the Presidency. Have you personal knowledge of unemployed S.S.L.C.'s and others there?

A.—Yes. There are very many.

Q.—What do they do?

A.—They have grown wiser and gone back to the villages.

Q.—What are they doing in the villages?

A.—Some have got small holdings and they are trying to cultivate them. There is some sentimental objection to the Brahman ploughing the field. I consulted some Sanskrit Pandits on the matter and they say that there is nothing in the religion to forbid a Brahman ploughing. It is time that people set aside their false notions about manual labour, etc., and take to agriculture.

Q.—I think everybody is improving in that respect?

A.—At present, there is still some prejudice.

Q.—As regards medical profession, you say there is a certain amount of unemployment. Are there private practitioners in your place?

A.—Yes. There are. But they are just waiting to be absorbed in Government service. Some have gone to villages to practise.

Q.—Do they find competition there from practitioners of indigenous systems of medicine?

A.—Their interests collide with the interest of the native doctors. Some doctors adopt both the systems. They get a good income in villages.

Mr. R. G. GRIEVE: Q.—You say you want vocational training introduced in schools. What form of training do you refer to?

A.—Handicrafts like carpentry, spinning, weaving, etc.

Q.—Do you mean that boys who learn these handicrafts in schools would be fit to take up those occupations afterwards?

A.—Some of them may take to those occupations when they are not able to proceed to higher education for want of funds. Some stop with the III form and these can take to gardening.

Q.—You advocate agriculture as a vocational training?

A.—By itself, agriculture, in the case of very small holdings would not fetch a good income. Because, the agriculturist in India has got work only for 150 days in the year, and for the rest of the days he has no employment. If the agriculturist has in addition, some sort of vocational training, he may augment his income.

Q.—If you turn out such people in numbers, will it not overstock the market rather than decrease unemployment?

A.—Vocational training should be as varied as possible. It does not mean all people should be taught carpentry alone. It depends upon a certain amount of regulation, so that one profession may not be overcrowded. At present, the field of commerce is not overcrowded.

Q.—You say that these people should not be trained to one particular occupation but to two or three alternative occupations after being given some general education?

A.—Yes.

Mr. R. M. STATHAM: Q.—I should like to know at what stage of general education you want to apply vocational training? For example if a boy has gone up to the IV, V or VI form, can you tell us if there is a chance of his taking up carpentry with a view to become a carpenter?

A.—I do not say that you should have general education up to VI form. Up to III form he should get general education and then specialise in some vocational training.

Q.—In the ordinary school or in a special technical school?

A.—It is a matter of detail. Even in the ordinary school vocational training may be given.

Q.—I do not think it is a matter of detail. My point is this: if a boy reads up to the VI form, what form of training you would give him?

A.—I will give an example. In the Kumbakonam Municipality they have an Arts School, teaching boys of the IV and V forms carpentry, weaving, spinning and other things. I find many boys have gone out with that training with profit to themselves.

Q.—That means they must be sent to a special school?

A.—Yes. You may send them after their general education.

Q.—You say there is not much unemployment among trained teachers. Is it from your personal knowledge of Tanjore?

A.—Yes. It is only a comparative statement, teaching as compared with other professions. I do not mean to say there is absolutely no unemployment among teachers.

Q.—Is it not a fact that there are a large number of trained teachers in Tanjore coming out every year, not finding employment in the Tanjore schools?

A.—There are. My statement was a comparative one.

Mr. A. J. SAUNDERS: Q.—Would you lend facilities for learning only the ordinary subjects in the schools or also facilities for technical subjects?

A.—The ordinary subjects as now taught in the schools should be limited at a certain stage and then there should be a certain

amount of specialisation. I consider that there should be general education up to III form, and after that either specialisation in technical subjects or higher literary education in some cases. For vocational training, there should be certain amount of literary education preceding.

Q.—How are you going to find employment for them after they have finished or specialised in their technical courses?

A.—In villages there is need for men trained in vocational subjects, and the villages may absorb them in course of time, though in towns the professions may be overcrowded.

Mr. S. ARPUDASWAMI UDAYAR: Q.—You said that they might be absorbed in villages. Do you think these men trained in carpentry in a technical school will find employment in villages while each village has got its own carpenter?

A.—In villages, there are not good carpenters, and there seems to be a feeling of preference for trained and educated carpenters to the uneducated village carpenter. So far as I know, as villages stand at present, carpenters are sent for from towns to build houses, etc., because village carpenters can do only very ordinary work and are not fit for efficient work such as building and furniture.

Q.—So you think that these men will succeed as carpenters in villages or rather as proprietors of some shops where furniture is sold?

A.—The proprietor may also be a worker. My point is, if the middle class people are trained vocationally and take to any trade or profession, they are sure to be preferred to the uneducated.

Q.—You speak of uneducated persons. Do you think that the village people are very well trained for their work?

A.—They are trained in a particular way, and they do not rise above that.

Q.—Is it not the case that trained carpenters will naturally prefer to go to towns and open shops?

A.—In case they do not find employment in towns, they can go to villages.

Q.—Am I to understand that they are sure to find employment in villages?

A.—I think so.

Q.—Do you say that after the III form, general culture should go on side by side with vocational training?

A.—We have got enough of general culture. It is of no use.

Q.—You think that a boy after the III form has sufficient general culture?

A.—Culture enough, to understand and learn some vocational subject. My personal opinion is, that where an uneducated boy takes one year for vocational training, a boy read up to the III form will take only six months.

Q.—You say vocational training will create a bias for such occupations?

A.—It should create a bias. If you create such a bias, the boys will naturally join some technical institute or industrial school, where good scientific training is given. My point is that there should be a certain amount of specialisation after the III form.

Q.—If you think that vocational training by itself is not sufficient and that students must join some technical institute, do you also think that we have facilities for such education at present?

A.—We have facilities in certain places even now, which are not availed of by large numbers.

Q.—Do you think that there is sufficient ground for believing that these institutions will become popular, considering the fact that there are not very many industrial centres or manufactories in this country, as in England or Belgium for example?

A.—Do you mean by manufactories places where machinery is employed?

Q.—Yes. Facilities creating demand for all kinds of skilled labour.

A.—If people are trained in vocational subjects and are prepared to work with machinery, a number of manufacturing centres will crop up.

Q.—You think that if there are more skilled workers more industrial centres will come into existence. Do you not think that the process is the other way about, i.e., first we must have industries?

A.—It is something like learning to swim without entering into water.

Q.—I want to get information from you! You say that the complaint is that education is purely literary. Now it is advocated that you must have vocational selection. Are you quite sure that all the technically qualified men we are having at present find employment? Unless there are more manufacturing centres, people will not come in for training. You admit it?

A.—Yes. I admit that. I say to prepare ourselves for such a condition, we should be trained.

Q.—You admit that in order to prepare ourselves we must know the goal to be reached and whether conditions favour such adaptation?

A.—Yes.

MR. C. GOPALAN MENON: Q.—You spoke of diversion of middle classes to agriculture and other pursuits. Would you suggest ways and means?

A.—I have promised to submit a typewritten copy of my scheme on the lines promulgated by Captain Petavel, Lecturer on Poverty Problems, for fighting out the problem of unemployment.

Q.—You say that England-returned men have no difficulty in finding employment in this country. Is that confined to your experience of the Tanjore district?

A.—Yes. I find in Tanjore there is nobody returned from England who has not got employment.

Q.—Here is the head of the Department of Industries. He sends some men to England giving Government scholarship, and when they return from England the Department finds work for those gentlemen. That is what you mean?

A.—I do not refer to them. They are automatically absorbed in service.

Q.—Do you think that other men returning from England find employment here independently?

A.—Almost everybody returning from England is easily engaged in some employment.

Q.—Even if larger numbers return from England you say they can find employment?

A.—I cannot say that.

Q.—You enumerate a number of causes. Do you think that the causes of unemployment, viz., natural, social and political, are peculiar to our country alone? Will you say that these causes abnormally affect this country alone or do they affect all countries alike?

A.—The natural causes are common to all countries alike. The other social causes, I think, are peculiar to our country, as also the political causes.

Q.—Does our dependence upon England seriously interfere with the industrial development of the country? Government have created ordinary small industries of their own?

A.—I do not say it completely paralyses the industrial growth of this country. My point is, that in the best interests of Internationalism, there should be a certain amount of relation between one country and another. My point is that certain industries of

our country should be protected. You should not go to the extent of boycotting foreign goods. The best thing that we should do is we should protect certain industries, preferably cotton industry. We should not go to the other extreme of boycotting the foreign goods.

Q.—As regards Government service, do you think that our young men are responsible for this ever-growing desire to enter Government service?

A.—They are responsible.

Q.—Do you not think that thirty or forty years ago Government held out hopes to these people that their prospects would be very bright if they entered Government service? Do you not think that Government themselves have encouraged this mania for Government service because they state that Honours men and men with certain academic qualifications are indispensable for certain kinds of work in Government? Are not the Government to be blamed for this state of affairs?

A.—The Government are not to be blamed. The best solution is that the system of education that is imparted now should be changed. If that is not changed and if any other system is not introduced, the Government will have this as the standard.

Q.—Therefore you say that Government are not to be blamed, and that only the students are to be blamed.

A.—I say that students are to be blamed because they study solely with the object of entering Government service.

Q.—What other occupation would you suggest to them?

A.—I want them to specialise in vocational subjects and they should afterwards be absorbed in industries.

Q.—Therefore you think that students ought to specialise in some vocational subjects and that such subjects ought to be introduced in our educational curriculum. If our educational curriculum has not been changed, are they to be blamed for that? All these conditions should exist before any blame is attached to these young students. Do you not think that many of these young men want to become Government servants simply because they are poor?

A.—The thing is that these people are allured by high appointments which some other people hold little knowing that it will take many years for these people to attain such positions.

Q.—Is that not a sufficient inducement for them to try for Government service?

A.—It is a matter of opinion.

Q.—I think people enter Government service even on very low salaries?

A.—Because they are not able to do anything as soon as they complete their high school or college course.

Q.—Therefore do you not think that this evil of unemployment is not to be attributed to students alone?

A.—The thing is this. A graduate of the University or an Honours man who passes his examination, if he is asked to do some business independently or to start an industry, he blinks. He would prefer to work on any salary, say Rs. 15 or 20, for fear of taking any risk in starting a business. He fights shy to do any business. One primary reason for Western countries and Japan coming forward is the spirit of enterprise and the confidence which they have amongst themselves. Whereas a graduate in this country as soon as he passes out of the college is only fit to drive the quill.

Q.—You think that certain graduates do not at all think of joining any technical college. Do you not know that many graduates go to the Tata Institute at Bangalore? If we had such institutes do you not think that many more students would flock to them? Therefore we must create all the conditions that are necessary for our boys to qualify themselves technically before we attach any blame to them?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Then you state that it would be possible for young men of average income to start joint stock companies?

A.—That is what I have enumerated in my scheme. There should be co-operation among these young men on a very large scale, and every co-operative enterprise ought to be encouraged. *Charka* is said to be the harbinger of our freedom. More than that I should consider Co-operation. I think Co-operation is the corner stone for our success. If this is done, it will not be very difficult to bring about happiness among the agricultural classes.

Rao Bahadur CRUZ FERNANDEZ: Q.—You say that graduates and Honours men are preferred in filling up vacancies. What do you say about unemployment among such people?

A.—I have stated in the former part what I mean. Suppose there is a vacancy and some candidates apply for it, and among them there are graduates, Honours men, and S.S.L.C.'s. Naturally enough, the Honours man gets it.

Q.—In the Police department and commercial firms they give preference to S.S.L.C.'s who can adapt themselves to anything.

A.—I do not think so. Even now in Tanjore in recruiting Sub-Inspectors of Police they have preferred only B.A., B.L.'s. It is not a question of adaptation. When a man is fully qualified according to their criterion and according to the present system of education, if there is a competition between a graduate and an S.S.L.C. naturally enough the graduate is preferred. I know in commercial firms they prefer S.S.L.C.'s because they stick to their jobs, whereas, if they are graduates they give up the appointments as soon as they are able to secure a footing in Government.

Mr. C. GOPALA MENON: Q.—With regard to unemployment among the literary classes you say that graduates are preferred, and that they are available. Do you think that such graduates accept these appointments as a make-shift?

A.—They do.

Q.—Do you think that there is discontent even among such nominally employed classes of people?

A.—There is. The distinction that I want to make is that some in our country are under-employed and a few are well employed.

Q.—Your assertion is that there is discontent even among these nominally employed people.

A.—Yes.

Q.—From your answer given to my question, am I to understand that the number of unemployed teachers is negligible?

A.—I never said 'negligible'. I said comparatively they are not many. There are not many at least in Tanjore district.

Q.—You also want that vocational training should be introduced after the III or the IV form? Do you not expect any difficulty in obtaining teachers who can give instructions if the new system of vocational training that you suggest, were to be introduced?

A.—They have to be trained.

Q.—You say that courts and litigation have remained the same and the lawyers have remained the same, whereas Government statistics show that courts and litigation have rapidly been increasing. How do you meet this?

A.—The increase would not be appreciable.

Q.—At least the Government statistics show that?

A.—In Tanjore district the work has remained the same. As a matter of fact litigation has gone down. The new courts that have been opened there are intended to remove congestion. The establishment of additional courts does not mean any increase of work.

Q.—You do not want any more lawyers to be turned out by the Law College?

A.—There is a suggestion to close the Law College.

Q.—Yes. There was a resolution in the Senate. Your opinion is that new recruits have no chance at all in the profession of law?

A.—In the profession of law, in a place which contains 100 lawyers, about 10 lawyers are going on earning all the money.

Q.—That is the point. There is a chance for bright men.

A.—Yes. If 25 men enter the law profession in a certain year, all the 25 men think that they can rise up the ladder.

Q.—Are you in favour of the suggestion that lawyers can carry on any other profession?

A.—They should not be allowed to do so. Even now they are prohibited from taking part in any other remunerative activities?

Q.—Are you for imposing any restriction upon that profession?

A.—They can be given full liberty of taking part in honorary activities.

Q.—Are you of opinion that a lawyer instead of looking to the law court can train himself in any other walk of life and take up jobs in any office such as the income-tax office or something like that?

A.—Yes. Any appointments for which they have been trained. They have creditably filled even high appointments like Ministers and Executive Councillors. But I think they can take up any appointments for which they have been trained.

Q.—So that you allow these B.A., B.L.'s to occupy places which should legitimately have gone to a B.A. or an S.S.L.C.

A.—There is again the standard of judgment. If there is competition between a B.A., B.L. and an S.S.L.C., naturally the former is preferred because he is more qualified. I fear even in our income-tax work where legal knowledge is required a B.A., B.L. would be certainly preferred.

Q.—You are not for putting any restrictions upon lawyers from taking up other professions? By lawyers you mean practising lawyers or what?

A.—Yes, practising lawyers.

Q.—Do you think that the profession will be able to absorb the production of doctors for the next ten years.

A.—Yes.

Q.—There are now two colleges and four schools. Do you think that these will supply the need for the supply of doctors?

A.—I think so, so far as the villages are concerned.

Q.—Do you think that the profession of medicine can take for the next ten years young men without their having to try for jobs under Government?

A.—There are four schools and two colleges. Now the number of unemployment in the medical profession compared to other professions is not very great.

Q.—There is anyhow room for these doctors for the next ten years and they can stand on their own legs?

A.—They can. I know that some doctors have gone to villages.

Q.—Are you for combining Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine with the Western method of medicine?

A.—I am for combining if such a thing is acceptable and by so doing, if its efficacy is greater and will become more popular.

Q.—Do you know of any agricultural graduates working in private farms instead of accepting Government service?

A.—I do not know.

Q.—Is it not a fact that some of the agricultural graduates and under-graduates are too poor to set up their own farms and work them independently on modern methods of cultivation?

A.—Rich landlords who are agricultural graduates and who own 50 velis or 100 velis of lands derive the greatest benefit from such agricultural education.

Q.—You replied to the President's question that some of these unemployed S.S.L.C.'s merely supervise estates but never do cooly work?

A.—I said there is no objection to their working. We want that these S.S.L.C.'s should actually work in the farms.

Q.—What is the method of inducing them to work?

A.—In extreme cases they should go and work in farms personally. The graduates in order to make capital out of agricultural methods, should go personally and supervise these farms and see that the maximum income is derived from our lands.

Q.—With regard to capital you say that money market is very tight. I differ from you. Four per cent bank rate is not a sign of the money market being tight. There may not be money with the poor people. Money is being monopolised by a few capitalists. That money market is tight or cheap is considered by the bank rate.

A.—But in villages among poor people money is not so freely flowing. The natural inference is that money market is tight. If money is available and if it is required it can be got only by co-operation between big money-lenders and these small ordinary men.

Q.—The question is how to find out the means of bringing out this money for industrial purposes or other activities. Can you suggest any means?

A.—I again rely upon co-operative banking system which would bring together employer and employee and thus bring about the desired result.

Q.—In describing the causes you blame Government for their indifference with regard to industrial enterprise. In (C) (1) you say "this leads to an unsympathetic industrial policy on the part of the Government". There is now the State Aid to Industries Act, there is the pioneering of industries by Government, there is discriminating protection for certain classes of industries, there is the takkavi and there are also agricultural and industrial schools and workshops. Therefore can you suggest any other means by which the Government can solve this problem of unemployment?

A.—Certain industries should be protected.

Q.—Thus you want protection for nascent industries?

A.—For cotton.

Q.—I am afraid your instance of raw cotton is unhappy. You say that our cotton comes in the form of finished cotton goods from foreign countries. What else can we do other than exporting our 50 per cent surplus cotton. We have got 200 mills and you know what the state is of these mills to-day. What are we to do without exporting the surplus raw cotton. Even if you start 200 mills more, I do not think you can easily solve the problem as to how to utilise this surplus cotton.

A.—Even in the export of raw cotton to Western countries there seems to be competition from Japan.

Q.—Lancashire does not want our raw cotton. It is only Japan and some continental countries that want our cotton, and England gets out cotton from Japan. If we restrict the export of cotton cotton-growers will suffer. You cannot stop export of cotton until our Indian mills can stand on their own legs.

A.—Exports have now increased to 283 crores. The imports have increased only to 222 crores.

Q.—Have you any other suggestion to make in regard to the industrial policy on the part of the Government? The State Aid to Industries Act has been before the public all these years. Is there any other means which you suggest for the industrial development of this Presidency?

A.—I have no belief in spending large sums of money in starting Indian industries and adopting completely Western methods. Therefore I say that protection of certain industries should go on side by side with the adaptation of the Western methods. The present inducements are not quite enough. Other improvements should also be brought about with reference to the circumstances that may arise from time to time.

Q.—You say you are for increasing technical institutions. Can you say on what lines? Is it some modification that you want with reference to the training that is given or what? You are for making education more popular and less literary?

A.—If possible to make it cheaper. The ideal of education is to make it as cheap as possible.

Q.—Can you suggest any means of reviving these home industries? Of course you know that Government have recently ordered a survey of our cottage industries.

A.—Spinning and weaving ought to be encouraged.

Q.—Do you find whether the weaving party, the peripatetic weaving party, that is going about the country has done any good?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Then do you think that if these cottage industries which are slowly dying are re-organised, there will be scope for employment for educated young men?

A.—I think so, provided they are trained.

Q.—You say that Indian capital is shy. Are you aware of any handicaps to industrialists in the way of banking, insurance facilities or organisation or market or want of skilled labour?

A.—I think the Indian industrialists are not as enterprising as they ought to be.

Q.—Can you attribute any reason for this shyness?

A.—In our own district people fight shy of investing their money in industrial enterprises, due to want of knowledge.

Q.—Then you say there is no fluidity in India. Do you not find many Madras men in the Government of India service at Delhi or even in other places?

A.—They are no longer wanted there. The market is overflowing there now.

Q.—There is fluidity. You can't say there is no fluidity?

A.—Lack of fluidity.

Q.—People go to Bombay and other parts of India where they get employment?

A.—Unemployment has now become a national problem. I do not think any province is exempt from it. If one leaves Madras to Bombay he only increases unemployment there.

Q.—If our young men go to those parts, they can get employment in industrial concerns. Can they not?

A.—There is not much scope in these days.

Q.—There are some of our young men employed in the Government of India service and in Bombay firms there are a number of Madras Brahmans and non-Brahmans I know.

A.—In the present state of things I do not think employment is easy to get in Bombay or elsewhere.

Q.—You say unemployment is due to the growth of professional classes depending upon money income. What do you mean by that?

A.—I mean there are more literary classes.

*Written evidence of M.R.Ry. Rao Sahib P. V. Gopalan
Avargal, M.L.C., Calicut, dated the 6th August 1926.*

I am of opinion that unemployment exists to a very considerable extent among the educated middle classes in the district. It is high time that early steps should be taken to solve this vexed problem. I am personally aware that very many graduates, innumerable intermediates and school finals roam about in search of employments. The number of such men whom the colleges and schools turn out every year is very great indeed. The only source for these young men to get an employment nowadays is to enter public service as a clerk or some other petty appointments. Those who have some commercial studies are entertained by companies as clerks and other similar petty officials. No doubt children of high officials and other influential gentlemen are able to secure decent jobs. Although Government take special interest to give preferential treatments to members of depressed classes, there are several graduates among those who have not yet been able to secure suitable appointments. I am personally aware of certain poor families who have educated young men in colleges with extreme pecuniary difficulties and with high hopes of bettering their conditions and are now sheerly disappointed.

I understand that there are many caste Hindu families also reduced to poverty as a result of education given to their young men.

With these preliminary remarks I would now answer the various questions contained in the questionnaire.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(1) Yes. (a), (b) & (c) Yes.

(2) (a) Yes, not to considerable extent.

(b) Yes. The bar is overcrowded. There are very many lawyers who are now unable to earn their livelihood. Only a very small percentage of these men have self-supporting practice in the bars.

(c) Yes. As a result of retrenchment in the Medical department. Only very few of these men thrive in private practice.

(d) Yes, to a very small extent.

(e) I am not aware.

(f) No. So far as I know.

(g) No.

The above remarks apply to qualified persons and more will be in the case of (ii) unqualified persons.

(3) No.

(4) No.

II. CAUSES.

(1) I think so. The present system of education only gives literary knowledge to the students. In my opinion they should be given vocational training while in schools and colleges.

(2) I do not think so.

(3) No.

(4) No.

(5) No ; but such a bureau will help young men of rural villages a good deal.

IV. REMEDIES.

With regard to the remedies suggested I am entirely in agreement with all of them. I would also suggest that Government should pay special attention to the development of industries in this Presidency. The attention now paid to this direction is very inadequate. Young men should also be given full admission in Armies and Navies in all deserving cases.

I am enclosing herein a copy of my note submitted on 18th January 1926 to the Commissioner of Labour on the lower middle class unemployment in Malabar.

ENCLOSURE.

A note on the lower middle class unemployment in Malabar.

As the Honorary District Labour Officer for Malabar, I feel I have to place the following facts about this important subject, with special reference to the conditions of this district.

Along with the rest of the countries Malabar suffers from the effects of unemployment, and in some ways to a larger extent, with the result that our people have been emigrating constantly to other and far distant parts of the country and even outside like Burma, Ceylon and Straits Settlements in search of the means of livelihood. So far this emigration has been successful, in that the people who have gone out have been doing well in the places they have settled themselves. But a limit has been reached and young men have begun to feel the effects of it already.

I may be permitted to begin with the educated class as perhaps, amongst them, the effect of unemployment is felt with keener disappointment and bitterness than among the other class. Owing to various causes the youths of Malabar, and women alike, have been taking eagerly and in large number to higher education (in all its departments) and doing exceedingly well in the same. For a long time successful candidates have been employed all over the country for suitable places. But the limit of such employment has been reached. The recent appointment of three graduates by the Director of Public Instruction of Cochin on Rs. 15 each per mensem is significant. It is not known what prospects are in view for the future for these posts. I suggest that Govern-

ment should hereafter employ in larger number these educated youths, no matter on lower salaries than those who have passed the special Government examinations. Quite a large number of the educated youths may find employment if the present system of spreading elementary education in rural areas is liberalized, and sufficient encouragement is given by monthly or quarterly payments of the grants. I shall again refer to the employment of the educated classes in the final paragraph.

I quite recognize that Government appointments and even the learned professions offer but the smallest scope for the employment of the youth in any country. It is rather in the ever expanding and multifarious duties of the proper methods of production and distribution of wealth for the community and the country that the happy solution of the problem should be sought.

Agriculture.—With all its vast area, and possibilities in resources, Malabar has to import its staple article of food, rice, from abroad. By a proper tenancy legislation which would ensure the cultivator the permanent enjoyment of the fruits of his labour by training in profitable methods of farming and above all in modern methods of organization, agriculture might be made a remunerative industry to a fairly large class of young men who are members of land-holding families.

Forestry.—Quite a large portion of Malabar is forest land, much of which is undeveloped and wherever worked it has been unmethodical and ruinous exploitation by joint stock companies. The forests are private owned to a large extent and so ought to provide a large scope of employment for the members of the family owning them. Provision must be made for training young men in forestry and small industries connecting with forest produce.

Cottage industries.—Malabar has been the home of important home industries like weaving, mat-making and coir-making. At one time these ought to have been very paying industries and weaving at least, from the remnants of the scattered *chaliya* villages, should have supported a prosperous middle class population. But at present the hereditary weavers of the district have declined into something far worse than daily labourers, and if the present condition of things should continue they will soon join the ranks of the unemployed. What they need is training in modern methods of production and business organization. The experiment which the Servants of India Society have started in the weavers' villages near Tanur is praiseworthy and deserves all help and encouragement by Government. Similarly do mat and coir making industries, which, at present, are merely maintaining a large class of poor people in precarious hand-to-mouth existence and if properly organised and financed, are bound to employ a large number of young men in the higher grades of production and business management.

Training in all these industries and in agriculture and forestry will no doubt need money by the State, but it is an investment which should be made at all costs. To minimise the expenditure the courses might be so arranged as the pupils may earn while they learn the crafts. Captain Petavel's scheme of self-supporting education needs to be given an earnest trial by the State.

Navigation.—Belonging as I do to the fishermen caste, I foresee with anxiety the evils of wider unemployment overtaking the large bulk of my community who are, even now, dragging on a precarious existence by catching fish at great peril to their lives, but thoroughly at the mercy of middlemen whose boats they have to employ for the disposal of the catch. The recent disaster of the cyclone has shown in all its painful hideousness the lot of the fishermen. I would urge *training* them in *navigation* which would not only afford them an additional field of occupation, but also provide suitable material for the naval defence of India. Along with the navigation there will be *instruction in ship-building*, etc., which will surely help the fisherfolk gradually to improve their lot and afford immense scope for the employment of the community by youth. The labour of Sir Frederick Nicholson for this community need to be pursued by Government in all earnestness.

In conclusion, I may be permitted to say that, to a large extent, the problem of unemployment will be automatically solved with the *wider extension of civic obligations in the country*. The benefits of our present administration are enjoyed now but by the district headquarters in the main, and by the three or four taluk towns. And these benefits need to be spread to every corner of the country, to every village in fact, so that the civic conscience of its people may thereby be quickened and larger and larger numbers of them may be employed for honourable discharge of civic duties on a modest competence. The village life has to be reorganised without any more delay. Education and recreation, protection and economic and industrial ministration of the villages—to name the departments broadly—will need such a large number of officers to man them efficiently that the spectre of unemployment which is now stalking the land may be successfully scared away for a fairly long time.

I also look forward with great hope to the results of the *Skeen Committee* which offer attractive military careers to our young men and thereby indirectly mitigate the evils of unemployment.

Written evidence of M.R.Ry. Rao Bahadur V. Govindan Avargal, B.A., F.Z.S., Calicut, dated the 13th August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Unemployment exists in literary, the technical and professional classes, but in the cases of agriculture, handicrafts such as weaving, and railways it is not much, provided people are willing to work on low wages.

(3) In mercantile and banking business the demand in the Presidency itself is decreasing, but employment may be found for those who go out.

(4) There is an increasing number of foreign-returned men who have taken law as their profession, who cannot find remunerative employment. The cause may be due to the fact that the bar is over-stocked.

II. CAUSES.

(1) The present system of education is defective as it is too literary. All classes including the hereditary (handicraft and skilled labourer) classes take to literary education disregarding their capacity for the same.

(2) Yes. In some parts of the Presidency, especially the Indian States, the starting pay of a graduate is only Rs. 20.

(3) Some years ago it was so, but now-a-days young men are ready to go to any part of India or even outside India.

(4) Social causes do not operate in these days but domestic considerations do.

(5) Information and Employment Bureaux will be a great help to those who are in search of employment, but educational institutions will not be of much use, as they are not in touch with their old boys, and owing to the constant change in the staff of schools and colleges, the boys become strangers to their schools. There should be specially organised Information and Employment Bureaux.

(6) There is hardly any difference in the cost of education till the school final stage, but those who continue for Law, Medicine, Engineering and other courses have to incur large expenditure, but even parents of limited resources send up their sons for these courses in the expectation of bettering their prospects.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

(1), (2) & (3) I have no statistics relating to these items.

The supply is much greater than the demand.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) & (2) Vocational and technical training should be imparted with due regard to the hereditary calling of the pupils, and this necessarily involves the careful selection of them in the middle of their high school course. Moreover satisfactory selection can be made only if the teachers are in touch with the parents and guardians of their pupils. As matters now stand, the value of such touch is lost sight of.

(3) Employment and Information Bureaux preferably under the control of the Government will be of very great use in the matter of getting our young men suitable situations.

(4) *Agriculture, Mechanical occupations, and Trade and Commerce.*—All these require capital which is beyond the means of the parents, and even those who could afford will be reluctant to entrust their sons with money till they acquire efficient practical knowledge of their trade or other profession. This difficulty can be overcome to some extent, if provision can be made for getting these men a practical training, apart from the training they have received from their schools or colleges, under some land-owner, mechanical workshop, or trader, etc. Provision will have to be made in this case to be made for their upkeep when undergoing this apprentice course.

(5) More capital is no doubt very necessary, and I believe it can be provided by means of State-aided co-operative banks. No tangible improvement in agriculture can be expected so long as the indebtedness of the agriculturists continues, at the present usurious rate of interest. Hence the first and foremost attention should be paid to free them from the clutches of the sowcar. The much-talked-of Land Mortgage Banks should be organised without any further delay.

(6) It is very doubtful whether any young man who has read up to the high school standard will care to go back to the village unless there is sufficient monetary attraction for doing so.

(7) It is not understood what co-operative agriculture means. If it is meant that people should cultivate their land together, and divide the profits, it would be a failure. Co-operation can be applied safely for the joint marketing of their produce, and also for the purchase of their requirements (such as seeds, implements, manure, etc.) for cultivating the land.

(8) *Farm colonies for the middle classes.*—This also means capital and it is not known how it will be provided.

(9) The only kind of banking that is urgently required in connexion with agriculture is the organization of the Land Mortgage Banks. Co-operative societies for joint sale of their produce and also for financing individuals on the security of their produce will be useful.

(10) Co-operative societies similar to those proposed for the development of agriculture should be organized for home industries and handicrafts. These industries at present suffer more for want of facilities for the economic marketing of their output than of finances. Hence the provision of such facilities seems to me of urgent necessity.

(11) This is included in the answer to item (10).

(12) I would strongly advocate emigration within and outside India but it should be State-aided, State-guided, and if need be State-controlled. India cannot grow richer without outside money flowing into it, and one of the ways to get such wealth is by her sons and daughters employing their skill and labour in other parts of the world.

Written evidence of Prof. D. Gurumurti, Theosophical College, Madanapalle, dated the 15th August 1926

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

- (1) Yes.
- (2) (a) Yes. (g) Yes.
- (4) Owing to unattractive emoluments several have not entered employment.

II. CAUSES.

- (1) Yes. Education as at present prevalent does not prepare for a livelihood.
- (2) Too many applicants for too few places; hence small pay.
- (3) No.
- (4) Several classes have a notion that learned professions alone are worth going in for, e.g., Brahmans in large numbers in law and teaching.
- (5) Yes.
- (6) Literary education cheapest comparatively. Professional education very costly.

Has the difference in cost any appreciable effect on the supply of applicants.—Yes.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

The figures have to be supplied by the Government departments.

IV. CAUSES.

- (1) Vocational training, so far as one can make out, is being trifled with in educational institutions, e.g., in one school, one hour a week per student is provided for learning weaving. In the thirty weeks of the school year learning at this magnificent rate leads to neither skill nor interest. A few pupils chosen for their aptitude should be trained for the major part of their school hours for an industry.

Written evidence of N. G. Haydon, Esq., Chairman, Municipal Council, Cochin, dated the 15th July 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

- I. Yes.
- (1) Cannot say.
- (2) (a) Yes.
- (b), (c), (d), (e) & (f) No.
- (3) Yes. Very considerable.
- (4) Not known.

II. CAUSES.

(1) Most decidedly yes. We now bring up a nation of peons and inferior clerks. Practically all education in India should be devoted to technical training in agriculture and handicrafts and the ennoblement of labour. At present an educated or partly educated man is ashamed to work with his hands. In this small town of Cochin I refuse several applications for posts daily. This breeds discontent.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) & (2) Most decidedly.

(4) (a) & (b) Very sound.

(c) They will fail in trade unless they have technical and commercial education.

(8) Good. Government has vast tracts of poramboke land lying fallow. This should be sold for strictly nominal figure to any who would work it and irrigation vastly extended. I believe population of India doubles every seventeen years. It is obvious therefore that in agriculture in an intensified form lies Indian salvation from unemployment, starvation and consequent unrest.

Written evidence of the Rev. H. Y. Necker, M.A., Headmaster, Bishop Corrie High School, Madras, dated the 16th August 1926.

INTRODUCTION.

My experience of unemployment is practically confined to the Anglo-Indian community, but some of the causes and remedies are, perhaps, common to all communities.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Unemployment exists among all classes; but, though the number of unemployed is now greater than it was ten years ago, it must be borne in mind that, owing to better economic conditions, each community was better able to support its unemployed in 1916 than it is to-day. Very few Anglo-Indians with definite qualifications and good records are out of work, but the man with a poor general education and no definite training cannot find work to-day.

II. CAUSES.

The causes are very difficult to tabulate, but I suggest the following for consideration:—

(a) In the Madras Presidency the introduction of the Secondary School-Leaving Certificate by the Department of Public Instruction has been an unintentional contribution; and, I

think, statistics will prove that the growth in popularity of this certificate, which employers other than Government attach no value to, corresponds very closely to the growth of unemployment.

(b) The great majority of young men at the high schools and colleges are being educated without any definite aim as to their future career. The few who proceed to professional colleges form a small minority.

(c) The want of a definite system for recruitment for Government service, and the right of patronage which is still enjoyed by the heads of some departments of Government are swelling the ranks of the unemployed. The present list of qualifications for the subordinate service of Government has too many exceptions.

(d) During the War, and just after, many men with very poor qualifications found temporary work on inflated salaries. Such men will not realise that War conditions no longer exist.

IV. REMEDIES.

I suggest the following remedies:—

(a) An overhauling of the system of secondary and collegiate education in order to bring it into line with present-day conditions: the literary curriculum should be gradually replaced by a curriculum bearing on the avenues of employment.

(b) Some system of recruitment for Government service on the following lines might be considered:—Full publicity should be given to all vacancies in the service of both Government and of railways controlled by Government, applications invited from candidates with *definite* educational qualifications, and the appointments made after a competitive written examination and a personal interview.

(c) High schools and colleges might admit only those pupils and students who have some definite idea as to the careers they wish to be prepared for, and whose qualifications are proportional to their ideas. This may reduce in course of time the number of square pegs who will try to fit into round holes.

Written evidence of the Headmaster, Government School of Commerce, Calicut, dated the 15th September 1926.

In an examination of the problem of unemployment it is necessary to clearly define the scope of the word 'unemployment' which in its wider sense may be taken to mean not only want of employment but also a few other modified aspects of it, such as uneconomic employment or employment not adequately remunerative.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(1) Yes; it does exist among the educated middle classes. The acuteness of the problem is such that any casual observer could meet a number of graduates and under-graduates in search of

employment in any of the towns or cities, and this fact goes to prove that unemployment exists to a great extent among the literary classes. In this respect, much difference is not noticeable among graduates, intermediates, S.S.L.C. men or others for the reason that each of these classes generally goes to cover a distinct field of its own. Further, in filling up a vacancy, employers generally aim at as high a qualification as could be available, and this perhaps goes a long way to increase the tension of unemployment among those of lower qualifications.

(2) It is not less prevalent among the technical and professional classes. In the *teaching* sphere as in others like law and medicine it is a question not much of unemployment but uneconomic employment.

In respect of law, there is a growing congestion felt on account of the indiscrimination that prevails in the choice of the profession. A graduate, unable to take to other branches of study, usually turns either to teaching or law. There is a large outturn of graduates in law every year and they crowd the bar. Though litigation is on the increase, congestion is felt on account of the regular and constant influx of persons into the profession.

In respect of medicine also there is unemployment, because the Western system is hardly able to compete successfully with the indigenous systems. Considerations of cheapness, simplicity of treatment and the inherent confidence of the masses in the latter have gone a long way to place the former slightly at a disadvantage. There is another noticeable feature in this profession, and that is, the members flock to a particular place for practice. This unequal distribution of their number gives rise to congestion and the consequent uneconomic employment.

In the direction of agriculture and industries this country occupies a peculiar position. The chief occupation of the people being agriculture, it might naturally be expected that agricultural unemployment cannot possibly exist. Here also the question presents a different aspect as in the professions of law and medicine. This age-long profession ought, by this time, to have been brought to perfection, but, much to our disappointment, the condition of the agriculturist is pitiable and his methods old-fashioned. He could not adopt the improved methods of agriculture owing, on the one hand, to want of capital, and, on the other, to the fear of getting into further trouble with the mahajan, to whom he is often indebted. Handicrafts, being directly dependent on agriculture, naturally share the same fate.

(3) It cannot be said that unemployment is absent from these professions, but, compared with the others, other things being equal, the specially trained man generally gets on well, which the untrained one cannot evidently do. Further, the attractiveness of the services leaves much to be desired. But, these being comparatively cheaper branches of education, many resort to them with the result that there comes to be much of unemployment or at least uneconomic employment.

(4) In the case of those educated in foreign countries, unemployment does not seem to be very serious and, as a rule, these men are able to command a more or less lucrative job soon after their return.

II. CAUSES.

The causes of unemployment in the several services are not such as can be brought under any general heads, but they seem mostly of a technical character in each of them. Of course, there are some general causes in each, which operate throughout, and these, combined with the special ones in each individual case, make the problem more acute.

A few of the causes may be given below:—

(1) The system of education now in vogue. The graduation of the instruction and the system of early specialization are defective. Ordinarily, a student who finishes his course is not considered thoroughly fit for any job. The system should be remodelled on a sounder basis so as to make the course in each subject more utilitarian in practical life.

(2) The craze for the university type of education is steadily on the increase with the result that there is an excessive supply of persons with university qualifications, while the demand for them remains practically the same.

(3) To a certain extent, it may be said that the caste system and the joint-family system contribute to the want of fluidity on the part of employees. Though there are now signs of their vanishing away, they are not completely inoperative.

(4) The conservative tendencies of the people add much to the acuteness of the problem of unemployment. The general dislike of manual labour and the utter ignorance of the dignity of labour contribute their own quota too.

(5) The ill-organised condition of the service market is also a potent factor. Want of information as to the availability of employment and the absence of employment or service bureaux cannot, as circumstances are now, be considered a serious cause of unemployment. Of course, they are real auxiliaries to employment if properly worked and efficiently managed.

(6) Though India is a comparatively poor country, the relative cost of education in the several branches seems to have very little effect on the availability or otherwise of qualified hands for any kind of work. Cases are not a few where, in spite of the cost involved, high or low, there are many qualified men unable to find a profitable job of some kind.

A literary course degree costs Rs. 5,000 (on the assumption that the student lives separately from the beginning of education from the lower secondary classes). But this is rarely so

in the case of Indian students, excepting the small percentage of sons of Government servants who are transferred very frequently.

	RS.	
B.A. course	4,000	under normal circumstances.
B.A. (Hons.)	4,500	
Law course	7,000	
Teaching (L.T.)	4,500	
Medicine	7,500	
Engineering	7,500	
G.D.A. course	6,000	
Commercial education—Secondary grade	2,250	

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

Under this head is wanted detailed statistical information as to the number of qualified hands available, the number actually employed and the average remuneration that the posts filled up carried. Though actual figures are not available, a few general remarks may be made.

There has been an excessive supply of graduates with a purely literary course. These types of men having been produced in constant streams ever since the establishment of English schools in this country and the later starting of the universities, the scope for the utilisation of their services has become very limited, and there is actually very little room for the profitable employment of such men. The glamour of Government service has been handed down from generation to generation and the apathy for and aversion to other services is evident. Further, there is very little attraction for the technical, professional, commercial and other branches of service as they have not been developed to an appreciably profitable extent, and any chance that a young man gets in these services can, therefore, be only of a limited pecuniary advantage.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) There is a growing cry for vocational education, but it does not seem to be based on any real need. In all countries of the world where the vocational system is at work, the necessity for such training was brought to existence first, and then steps were taken for a supply of trained men. In our country this has not been the case.

(2) The demand for technically qualified men will also be governed by the circumstances referred to in paragraph (1) supra.

If, under both the heads, steps are first taken to start such institutions as will really be in need of specially trained men, there will surely be a good scope for such men and so any improvement in these branches of education will only be attempted under these circumstances.

(3) There is not much of a remedy for unemployment in the creation of Information or Employment Bureaux, whether private or otherwise, because these institutions will be able to function in all their vigour and be productive of much good if only there is a regular system of demand and supply of all varieties of trained men for employment.

(4) The diversion of educated middle classes to agriculture, mechanical occupations, industry and commerce will have a salutary effect on the present condition of unemployment. But, as matters now stand, agriculture holds out prospects of the most encouraging type in India; next only comes, in the order of advantage, trade and commerce, and lastly mechanical occupations. Indian agriculture is in need of efficient improvement and could be stimulated and considerably improved by the diffusion of systematised scientific knowledge.

(5) The resources of the agriculturist in India should be improved. He must be given better facilities for commanding a temporary seasonal capital, and for this purpose the development of banking in all its aspects will be of great help.

(6) The Indian village is really in need of economic reconstruction, and this is possible only by making the land more productive by the application of the improved methods of agriculture. There is a tendency on the part of the people who live in villages to migrate to the towns either on account of the attractions they hold out or on account of the fact that the yield of the land is not commensurate with the amount that they have to spend on it. Experimental farms, co-operative production and distribution, and easy credit facilities by the creation of co-operative banks are some of the remedies to resuscitate the once self-sufficient Indian village.

(7) & (8) Both these are first-class aids to the solution of the problem of unemployment, but progress in these directions must, under the circumstances, be necessarily slow; but, if these could be developed in the various branches of human activity, the general economic condition of the masses would be greatly improved.

(9) The average middle class Indian requires to be taught the 'banking habit', as it is called. This will serve as a sure means of developing every other activity that will do immense good to the masses. Since money and its scientific use are connected with all our activities, it is hardly necessary to say anything more on this subject. Indian banking and banking methods leave considerable room for improvement. This being purely an agricultural country, the development of banking will also give an impetus to agriculture. The heavy burden of indebtedness under which the agriculturist now labours could considerably be lightened by giving him better credit facilities. This can be achieved by the creation of co-operative banks.

(10) Industrial banks are a long-felt want, but the organisation and management of such a bank must be in efficient hands and on lines suited to the real needs of the Indian industries.

(11) Something has already been said, as regards co-operation and its possibilities and progress in India. There is no royal road to agriculture save co-operative production and distribution. Our experience of the co-operative system has proved that the future, of course, holds out sufficient prospects in the matter of improving the material prosperity of the people.

(12) Emigration is a subject that has its advantages as well as disadvantages. Any surplus of men available might be advised to migrate to the other provinces or countries with advantage to themselves, which will go to make the question of unemployment here less serious, but it should be borne in mind that the best talents of the country do not flow out of it to its own consequent detriment. Immigration does not, it may incidentally be added, seem to be favourably viewed by the various countries of the world as recent events have shown.

A few other suggestions.

Over and above the remedies suggested above, a few may be added below which may have perhaps an all-India concern and hence can only be introduced, if at all, as Imperial measures; but they will have a decided effect on the solution of the unemployment problem in this as well as in other Presidencies, as they will open out new channels of employment to the many that are now struggling in the existing walks of life. Some of these are—

(1) Amendment of the rules governing the grant of superannuation pension.

(2) Non-employment of pensioned officers.

(3) Opening of naval schools.

(4) Establishment of a good mercantile marine.

(5) Opening of military schools in the various grades and training Indians with a view to be given responsible positions in the Army.

(6) Establishing an Indian Consular Service, a further extension of the system of employment of Trade Commissioners, etc., and making adequate provision for the training of men for these services.

*Written evidence of M.R.Ry. K. R. Krishnaswami Ayyangar
Avargal, B.A., L.T., Headmaster, Islamiyah College High
School, Vaniyambadi, dated the 15th August 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

In my opinion unemployment does exist among the educated middle classes. But it is not so much its present proportions as its potentialities for future mischief that call for immediate and

radical remedies. (1) It prevails among all the three literary classes: (a) graduates, (b) S.S.L.C.'s and intermediates and (c) unqualified persons. But the first class, more than the second (as the second more than the third, but to a lesser extent), owing to the influence of a comparatively higher education, have developed a better outlook of life, a more active ambition, and a higher standard of living. And consequently, a return to the humbler modes of life of their forefathers must certainly be a matter of great difficulty to them. Unemployment in such cases must necessarily be felt with such intensity, and expressed with such loudness as to make the extent of it appear to be considerably larger than it really is.

(2) Among the technical and professional classes, it does not seem to prevail in any serious proportions. Of late the market has been flooded with L.T.'s to such an extent that the position and prospects of the more experienced men in the profession have been seriously undermined, even to the extent of their agreeing to serve on a smaller salary, instead of losing their situations at an advanced age. Among the B.L.'s, there cannot be any unemployment proper, but there is plenty of under-employment, if I may so speak. A few engineering college products, mostly lower subordinates, are found here and there without employment.

(3) & (4) In the remaining professions, trades and crafts, the evil cannot be said to be of appreciable proportions.

II. CAUSES.

The most potent cause of unemployment is, I believe, the inability of the country to provide its own daily wants. Only agricultural and certain allied products happen to be the indigenous productions. Of late weaving has made some rapid strides. But even there, only a very small fraction of the requirements of the country is met by indigenous concerns. Further, almost all the machinery used in the country have to come from outside. Hardware, glassware, cotton, linen, and woollen goods, umbrellas, soaps, matches, the very pen, pencil, paper, and ink, come from foreign countries. Kerosene is a foreign product; the oil-cans are impossible to make without foreign tin sheets. It is this deplorable helplessness that is at the bottom of the whole trouble.

(1) Frequent complaints have been made against the present system of education. Truly, it is not an ideal one. It has not served even as a cultural agency to any enviable extent. Its literariness is but surface deep. But how can this defect be in any way connected with the problem on hand? No healthy community can expect its general education to serve as a means of bread-winning. Man, it is good to remember, does not live by bread alone. Elementary education up to a limit for all, and secondary and collegiate for a few, must be the blood and bone of every nation worth the name. Technical and bread-winning education can come in only after a career of education proper, be it short or long. But still the present system is open to a very grave objection. It has failed to develop the commonsense and resourcefulness of our

young men. It has made a machine of them. Their memory has been developed, to the detriment of other and more important faculties. And so on. And therefore it is true that the system requires early rectification.

(2) Smallness of remunerations can apply only to a few cases. The elementary schoolmasters and the artisans are perhaps the only instances in point in the mufassal. But in the case of cities and towns a few more employments may be added to the list.

(3) It is only such low-paid people that refuse to move from one part of the country to another.

(4) Social causes have been represented *ad nauseam* to be responsible to a very large extent for unemployment in the country. To-day, at any rate, society has ceased to stand in the way of a man's choosing any profession he likes. The higher castes are fast learning to adjust themselves to the present-day requirements. If a Brahman or a Vellala refuses to be a shoe-maker, it ought not to be thrown in his teeth as a cause of unemployment. Therefore, this does not deserve any considerable mention in this connection.

(5) The absence of Information and Employment Bureaux may be occasionally felt as an inconvenience, but it does not deserve any serious notice.

(6) The difference in cost between the literary and other educations need not be felt as such a potent factor in this question. If only people are prepared to choose their education and profession according to their means and tastes, there will be less noise of unemployment. Schoolmasters will be able to bear strong witness as to how persistently even unfit boys of extremely poor means pathetically cling to their schools and examinations. The glamour of Government service on the one hand, and the puzzle of the parents regarding the future of their boys when they leave school on the other, drive them to the regrettable necessity of keeping them on in schools without any definite aim. Therefore the difference in cost does not appear to bear any great share in the production of this problem.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

I regret my inability to deal with this section.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) So long as the existing craze for Government employment and learned professions is allowed to continue unabated, all attempts at vocational training in schools meant for general education must end in more or less futile dreams. Even at the present hour, according to the existing scheme of education, it is the only less competent pupils that adorn the commercial classes. This is not the only obstacle. The difficulty of selecting suitable subjects to satisfy the local needs, the impossibility of doing adequate justice to technical subjects in non-technical schools, the severe financial strain to which the managers are sure to be

subjected in their honest endeavours to make the scheme a respectable success—all these are not light objections to be easily brushed away. Assuming that means can be found to overcome these difficulties, there are grave doubts whether the country is at present in a position to be able to absorb a sufficiently large number of artisans to justify a launching of an expensive scheme of vocational training. It is likely to end in raising a crop of carpenters, signallers, weavers, tailors, and what not, with insufficient training and skill, with neither capital nor employment.

(2) The proposal to impart technical education in schools specially started for the purpose must certainly command a better reception. They can be confined to select centres. They are easier to finance in that case. They can be better organised and equipped. And, therefore, they must tend to greater efficiency and success. But care should be taken to see that only such subjects are taught that are likely to be in demand in the market. They will have to be solely determined by the requirements of the locality. It is not good to entrust such schools to highly paid raw men brought from overseas just to learn by experimenting how to improve the present-day methods and technique of the various trades. Able and experienced men with a full knowledge of the conditions in the country should be placed in charge of these institutions. Then there will be no fear of the failure of the scheme.

(3) Employment and Information Bureaux have, of course, their own ends to serve. But they are only an improvement over newspaper advertisements. In case the Government undertakes to finance this proposal, the seekers of employment are sure to be benefited to a certain extent. But this cannot be termed a remedy; for it presupposes the existence of work waiting to be done. That is exactly what we do not find. Work is limited, while mouths are many. The problem is how to widen the field of work. The said bureaux cannot be expected to do that.

(4) The proposal of diverting the middle classes to agricultural pursuits certainly deserves great consideration. Undoubtedly improved methods of cultivation are bound to result in increased returns. In fact, intensive cultivation is still a sealed book to India. People require to be convinced of its truth. This can be done by a net-work of demonstration farms spread over the whole country. Regular accounts should be maintained of all expenditure and income. They should be open to the inspection of the public. They should not be confined only to the most fertile parts of the country. They should include within their scope every kind of soil, good, bad and indifferent. That is the only way in which confidence can be created in the minds of men.

Then comes the more important question of capital for agricultural development, without which all the demonstration farms in the world will be of no avail. But this will be considered under headings (5) and (9) infra.

One word more under this division. This proposal of diverting middle classes back to land has another advantage to its credit. It will check the depopulation of villages; as a necessary result of it, towns will become less populated than they are, and the health sanitary problem must grow less complex than it is to-day.

(5) Capital for agricultural development will have to be provided either by the Government or by the wealthy citizens of the country. This problem has a partial solution in the development of banking facilities for agricultural purposes, a subject which will come in for discussion under heading (9) below. As regards the shyness of indigenous capital, one word must suffice to put down all talk about the close-fisted Indians. Let the people be really convinced of the certainty of the returns; then they will require nobody to teach them how to add more money to their capital. It is unnatural to expect them to unlock their safes in order to invest in what they happen to believe to be undertakings of doubtful utility.

Remedies suggested in (5), (6), (7) and (8) do not happen to interest me.

(9) Loans for agricultural purposes in the past have not met with that amount of success which they deserve. The same remark applies to co-operative banks as well. Though rich men have been able to reap great benefits from these banks, poor men remain where they were. At all events they have not been benefited to the extent expected. Again, the distribution of agricultural loans to ryots has been a fruitful source of income to village officers. Cases have been known where the distributing officers have been sadly duped, and the loans utilized for purposes other than agricultural. If due safeguards are provided against abuses of various kinds, these banks must be of great utility to the poorer class of ryots.

In this connection a useful suggestion may be made. In many cases money loans may be advantageously replaced by loans of implements, seeds and manure; and, above all, by sound advice in times of need. Such a proposal will be less costly and more safe. These loans must be distributed by officers of a fairly high rank, in order that abuses may be minimised.

(10) Many of the remarks made under (9) will hold good equally in the case of industrial banks for home crafts. Even greater danger is to be foreseen here; while poor ryots can show their own plots of land, poor craftsmen cannot offer even that as a security; therefore greater caution and vigilance are required to be exercised.

The following suggestion may perhaps be of some utility. During the first few borrowings, the work, for which loans are taken, may be conducted under the eyes of the officers of the bank; and then a certain part of the finished product may be kept as a guarantee for the return of the loan amount. One important condition for success in this undertaking is the low charge of interest asked for. The savings bank rate is suggested as the rate of interest for such loans.

(11) This item does not appeal to me as a safe concern. At any rate, the co-operating sense of the nation has not yet developed to that extent.

(12) (a) Emigration within British India does not appear to me as a useful remedy. I fear it may add to the existing bitterness of provincial and communal jealousies.

(b) Emigration outside of India is certainly an effective remedy. Colonization has solved the problem of unemployment in other countries than India. But in the case of European countries as well as Japan, the mother countries have protected their children in their new homes with all the resources at their command. But in the case of poor India, her children have been driven from corner to corner till at last they are coming to realize that unemployment and starvation at home are at any rate a more dignified evil than the treatment meted out to them in the countries to which they have emigrated. Emigration without colonization is perhaps suggested. But in what lands are we wanted? What are the conditions under which we are promised to be taken in? What percentage of the returned emigrants will be able to command at least a competence for old age? These are questions answers for which do not appear to be favourable. Further, why should the resources of our vast land be allowed to remain undeveloped and we ourselves go about begging for our livelihood?

Certain suggestions may be made in order to relieve the congestion among the educated higher classes. Admission may be restricted in certain professional colleges—training colleges for teachers for instance. At present students who wish to join the L.T. classes are required to get their applications countersigned by managers of schools to the effect that these students, at the close of their training, will be taken back by those managers. But the promise has ceased to be kept. In order to prevent further increase in the number of unemployed L.T.'s, the department must insist that the terms of employment must be settled beforehand, and the promise so made should be carried out by both the parties on pain of severe consequences. In addition to preventing undue flow into the training colleges, this arrangement will serve to secure stability of tenure for the L.T.'s and other teachers of lower grades.

In a similar manner, in the Law and Engineering Colleges as well, admissions may be regulated by the probable needs of the country, as determined by special agencies brought into being for that purpose.

Still another useful suggestion, in my view, is the weeding of the unfit and doubtfully fit from the Arts colleges. It means raising the standard of higher education, or at any rate a strict adherence to the present standard. This will of course restrict the higher education to the select few. But it is only the select few that could scale the heights of higher knowledge. Every man is

not fitted by nature for that high undertaking. The plight of the present day "Honours men" stands before us as an object-lesson. Therefore this course must be considered as a step in the right direction. It will also deflect the less fit into channels more suited to their modest merits. And unemployed graduates must also go down in number.

After all the most potent cause of unemployment lies buried deep down in the political and economical relations of India and England; and therefore the remedies that have been suggested can but touch the fringe of the problem. Until the policy of the Imperial Government veers round in favour of Indian uplift, without fearing the vested interests at home, the problem should remain unsolved for all practical purposes. A genuine change of outlook in that quarter is sure to result in a policy of liberal Indianisation of the various services of the land—civil, military, naval and railway. I feel most profoundly what a big draft this is. Yet no son of India can help mentioning this most devastating root cause and the only remedy available to him.

Written evidence of M.R.Ry. Kulapathi V. V. Parameswara Ayyar Avargal, Headmaster and Manager, Native High School, Palghat, dated the 20th July 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(1) I am of opinion that unemployment does exist among the educated middle classes and it is most prevalent amongst literary classes. There are several Graduates, Intermediates and S.S.L.C.'s in the list of unemployment and the unqualified persons in the list are not small in number.

(2) Among technical and professional classes such as teachers, etc., I should say that there are only very few who are qualified for the profession of teaching that are unemployed.

Profession of law does not present many as unemployed as they nominally practise in courts though a large number of them file a vakalat only very occasionally.

In the profession of medicine too there are many practitioners without practice. The system of appointing medical men in rural areas on a fixed allowance has somewhat reduced the number of unemployed men among them.

In the profession of engineering there is no scope for private practice and several were without employment until the great flood in 1924 since when some have found work to repair damages caused by the flood.

There are only very few at least as far as I know who are unemployed having qualified themselves for the profession of agriculture.

Weaving, etc.—Those belonging to this occupation hereditarily have entirely discarded their occupation as it is found not paying and have taken to beggary so much so several weaving centres that once flourished are without even a single weaver.

Qualified persons for railway appointment are seldom on the unemployed list while unqualified men are very many without appointment.

(3) Those who have had training in mercantile and banking business are not found unemployed.

(4) As far as I know, very few Indians there are who having returned from foreign countries are in the unemployed list.

II. CAUSES.

The causes of unemployment are not far to seek. Before English education was introduced the people after obtaining elementary education were following their hereditary profession whatever it was. They had no false pride and no hatred for any industry. English education has brought with it false notions, dignity and aversion to manual labour. In the beginning English education was as it were a technical education by itself and those that were equipped with English education were certain of appointments in the public service, railways, etc. But those services are already full and there is no scope for further employment. Nor do vacancies arise in the services in proportion to the number of educated men turned out every year by the schools, colleges and universities. The result is unemployment for educated classes. This has been the case for the last few years and it can now be said that India is suffering from too much of English literary education.

As the schoolmaster is abroad very many people who would have taken to agriculture and other industrial occupations have now blindly taken to English literary education which fits them to no occupation other than quill-driving. Instead of so many secondary schools started at every nook and corner, if there had been one industrial school in each district or educational centre many would have profitably joined those institutions and equipped themselves with knowledge that would stand them in good stead in the struggle for existence.

Modern schools and the curricula of studies therein are the worst bane of this country. For instance, physics and chemistry are taught in schools with an elaborate apparatus at a very high cost from the secondary school course up to the B.A. Degree Examination. Practical instruction is imparted by way of asking the students to find the specific gravity of alcohol and so on. I cannot find any earthly benefit in this practical course. A graduate in science has never been able to earn a pie with his knowledge of science except as a schoolmaster.

English education has increased our wants and consequently the remuneration appears small and inadequate. Those happy days when people were passing rich with forty pounds a year are gone.

A time there was when there was no fluidity but circumstances have altered and those days are no more. Indians, I mean, educated Indians, who were content and happy in their own land, are now prepared to go to distant lands and have gone to Rangoon, Penang, Singapore, etc., on the East and to Basra, Bagdad, Mombasa, etc., on the West.

When the wolf is at the door social stigma on foreign travels is set at naught, and educated people simply to avoid starvation jump at the chance if they get a job in any distant land.

It must be admitted that there is a want of organisation such as absence of Information and absence of Employment Bureau as also failure on the part of educational institutions to keep in touch with employment market. The cost of literary education is high indeed while that of professional education is higher still; still persons are not wanting to take to literary and professional education to swell the number of the unemployed. Commercial education of a high grade is very highly costly so much so there is no unemployment in the ranks of those who are turned out of commercial colleges. But commercial education of a lower grade is not very costly, still the unemployment has not touched the fringes of those ranks as a large number of persons of that grade find ready employment in Bombay and other mercantile centres at present.

IV. REMEDIES.

The remedies suggested are no doubt good and effective but I would go the length of suggesting abolition of all secondary schools except one or two for each district and the abolition of all second-grade colleges in the Presidency. There should also be only three or four first-grade colleges for the whole Presidency managed by ablest professors. The fad of having too many Universities in the Presidency and for that matter the whole India should be entirely condemned. In the place of these high schools, second-grade colleges and even first-grade colleges that should be abolished, there should be established industrial, technical, commercial and agricultural schools. Then very many people would flock into those schools and get some practical knowledge to earn their bread. While wealthy people and best talents would take to university course, poor boys if they are best talents in the secondary schools may be encouraged to enter university course by Government scholarships. But if on the other hand secondary and university education is to go on like this the unemployment and discontent would only increase daily which would culminate in a great political disaster.

In this connection I should like to point out that the present fad of compulsory elementary education will become another and a very powerful factor to increase unemployment in the near future. Children at the age of between 5 and 12 are to learn their hereditary trade from their parents and if they are taken away to schooling for about six or seven years in that period they would never benefit themselves by their elementary education but on the other hand they lose the chance of learning their hereditary profession or occupation. Thus all the younger generation of goldsmiths, carpenters, cobblers, barbers and all artisan classes would be fit for nothing except for swelling the ranks of unemployment and in course of time after compulsory education has spread all over the country the special classes of people above mentioned would become utterly extinct. May God forbid such a calamity for India.

Another remedy I would suggest is that Government should afford sufficient facilities and encouragement to all kinds of industries in India and make the products of the land popular by restricting importation of like articles into India by levying heavy countervailing duties and by other means.

More facilities should be accorded to emigrants to outside India by safeguarding their interests by getting restrictions and political disabilities removed in foreign lands at least of the British Empire.

Written evidence of M.R.Ry. A. V. K. Krishna Menon Avargal, M.A., B.L., L.T., Headmaster, High School, Ponnani, dated the 13th August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Generally speaking, the misery resulting from unemployment is now prevalent everywhere and among all classes in this country and is far more acute at the present day than it was a few years ago. It is, however, found to an alarming extent among the middle classes. Some of them fill up the lower departments of the public offices. A few enter the learned and other professions. But the large majority of them go about from place to place in search of work knocking at the gates of every office. They lead a very unenviable life in their families already impoverished by spending large sums of money on their education which has cut them away from their ancestral occupations, viz., agriculture and handicrafts, and has made them unfit for any useful work. Such persons are a curse to themselves, a curse to their family and a curse to the country.

(1) Among the literary classes, many are the graduates who are rotting in their homes without employment while the number

of S.S.L.C.'s and intermediates who are unemployed is legion. Many have approached me for jobs and recommendation letters and I have had to send them away, not being able to do anything for them except to wish them good luck and godspeed. Unqualified persons are also to be seen in large numbers without any employment.

(2) (a) Among teachers fully qualified, there are many who are unemployed. The posts are few while the qualified applicants are too many.

(b) A good many legal practitioners are without briefs and waste their precious time in idle luxury and ease. The courts are getting overcrowded and the number of B.L.'s turned out by an university is increasing year by year.

(c) In the profession of medicine, I do not think there is so much of acute suffering on account of unemployment as in the profession of law. Medical men are, in my opinion, better able to eke out a living than legal practitioners.

(d) In the profession of engineering, unemployment exists to a very large extent and qualified persons are finding it extremely difficult to get themselves employed. This is within my personal knowledge, as a cousin of mine who had a very brilliant career at the Guindy Engineering College and topped the list of successful candidates in mechanical engineering had to rot for a year before he could get a job even in the lower grades.

(e) In the profession of agriculture, the distress is not keenly felt as the rush into the agricultural colleges is not so great and the qualified persons are not many.

(f) In handicrafts such as weaving, etc., I am of opinion that those who live by them are able to earn their livelihood and the misery of unemployment is not much felt.

(g) In Railways, the rush is very great and even qualified persons have to wait long before they get a footing.

(3) The output of persons qualified to enter the mercantile and banking businesses is increasing year by year and many of them are unemployed. It is, therefore, needless to say that untrained persons find it more difficult to get into mercantile firms and banks.

(4) Regarding unemployment amongst Indians educated in foreign countries, I can say, with regard to Barristers-at-Law, that there are a good many who are practically starving at the bar and find it difficult to turn their hands to anything else. The distress among them is, so far as I know, very great. The reason for this, so far as I can gather, is that they are unable to compete with their brethren at the bar who have had their legal training here. I am not in a position to say anything regarding those other persons who have had their education in foreign countries and have returned to this country.

II. CAUSES.

Over-population and the want of outlets for the energies of this increased population may very probably be one of the principal causes of unemployment.

(1) It is partly due to the present system of education which makes the students a set of cramming machines, with their brains full of undigested matter, the major portion of which is not of any practical utility in their after-lives. The old matriculates, I find are far superior to the present-day S.S.L.C.'s in spite of all the changes introduced into the curricula of studies. The latter cannot write one sentence of correct English. This is due to the present 'direct' method of teaching English bereft of grammar. In point of general knowledge also, the present-day S.S.L.C. is far inferior to the old matriculate. Thus most of those who are declared 'eligible' for promotion to the University classes are of very inferior stuff.

(2) The small remuneration offered has nothing to do with unemployment. Many there are, even among graduates, who would gladly accept any job, whatever the remuneration may be. The distress is so acute that they are ready to accept any small remuneration. I have heard of an S.S.L.C. employed as 'anchal-runner' in the Travancore service. Recently when a vacant post conveying a monthly salary of Rs. 25 was advertised in Travancore, there was a rush of applicants, over a hundred in number, and among them were some M.A.'s, some B.L.'s, and many B.A.'s. It is the dearth of posts that is the source of all this trouble and not the small remuneration.

(3) There is no 'want of fluidity' anywhere. People are ready to go to distant places if they are given employment with remuneration just enough to enable them to make both ends meet. Indians are now seen in all nooks and corners of the world.

(4) Social causes have, in my opinion, nothing to do with unemployment. Even females are now ready to accompany their husbands to distant places.

(5) Want of proper information regarding vacant posts may now and then operate as a cause but, as a rule, advertisements in newspapers make up for this defect since the unemployed educated people will always be on the look out for such advertisements.

(6) I cannot say anything regarding the relative cost of education in literary, professional and commercial courses. But I can confidently assert that the difference in cost has no appreciable effect on the supply of applicants for these avocations.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

The questions herein are for statisticians—and I am not one—to answer.

IV. REMEDIES.

The remedies suggested are all good to a greater or less extent and one and all of them may be tried. In my opinion, the fourth remedy suggested, viz., the diversion of middle classes to agriculture, mechanical operations and trade and commerce, is the most effective method of relieving the distress due to unemployment. Higher academical courses must be restricted only to those who are willing to undertake research work or to enter the learned professions. The rest must be made to turn their attention to agriculture, industries, handicrafts, trade and commerce. It is the duty of our Government to take the initiative in encouraging trade and commerce, agriculture and industries, mechanical occupations and handicrafts. In this way alone will new avenues of employment be opened for the pent-up energies of our youth which are now being wasted. In this way alone will India be rid of the keen and acute distress due to unemployment.

Written evidence of W. C. S. Holland, Esq., Union Christian College, Alwaye, dated the 21st August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Yes; especially among the classes denoted in I (1) (a) and (b). We reckon in our college that we are educating two-thirds of our students for nothing but unemployment.

II. CAUSES.

I do not notice that unemployment is especially due to any of the causes named in (2), (3) or (6). It is in part, but in rapidly decreasing measure, due to social causes, viz., to the traditional taboo on manual labour and work behind a counter. But financial pressure is rapidly overcoming the social ban on manual and commercial employment. There is also a certain lack of enterprise and unwillingness to take risks. The student will prefer a Government post of Rs. 20 with security and a pension to an uncertain commercial Rs. 60 with no pension. This might be largely mitigated by the wider adoption of provident funds in commercial houses.

But undoubtedly the chief cause lies in the existing systems of education, particularly in those directions.

(a) An education which trains a man to *think* prepares him for almost any walk in life. But our students do not learn to think. They prepare by memory-work and cram to pass examinations. At best they have acquired a certain amount of information in the special subjects taken. A university curriculum is in no sense a general preparation in mind and character. This defect is due to methods of cram; and to the fact that the medium is a foreign language, which thus inhibits thought. Most of us can learn, but not think, in a foreign language.

(b) Few more students enter our colleges than can be accommodated in the professions for which alone the colleges in any real way prepare. The natural remedy is a raising of standards. But this would be resented as harsh if it were brought about by any arbitrary arrangements.

The cause of the eagerness of the less able class of student to enter college is associated with the fact that the avenue to a post is chiefly personal recommendation or favour. The poorer type of student may hope by *personal influence* to get a post. So long as personal influence counts for much in the securing of a post, our colleges will swarm with students of the inferior sort who are quite prepared to gamble on the sporting chance of an appointment through private recommendation.

Should appointments be in any way competitive, so that only the better sort could hope for posts, our colleges would at once be emptied of half their students. Standards would immediately rise; for one has to teach down to the bottom member of one's class. The desired reduction in the numbers of unemployed graduates and the raising of university standards would thus be simultaneously accomplished and in ways entirely natural.

Teachers are angered and disgusted by seeing their worse students obtain posts through personal favour, while their best go unemployed and employers are failing to get the services of the best type of graduate. Inefficiency is the result.

The trouble is that in many of the less 'learned' professions, intellectual qualifications are only a secondary desideratum. What is often chiefly wanted is a certain type of character, enterprise, push, resourcefulness, self-confidence, keenness. Of these, examinations are no index.

(c) What is needed as a preparation for other than the so-called learned professions is a more general type of education, including English (needed for modern business), geography, elementary economics and agriculture, arithmetic and some history with specialisation perhaps in some technical or commercial subject; shorthand, typewriting, accountancy, mechanics or chemistry. This should be up to the present "Intermediate" standard and should be the natural avenue to commercial or technical professions.

It is thus clear that I am inclined to lay great stress on the causes of unemployment indicated in II (5). I would wish to see Employment Bureaux in connection with the colleges. Employers should receive from the colleges each year lists, in order of merit, of their best students, the order being voted by a committee of the staff. One list should take account merely of intellectual ability and moral character; a second list would attach primary importance to those qualities of grit and resource and energy noted above.

Such lists in order of merit are needed in justice to employers. It is a common experience for a teacher to be engaged in writing a truthful testimonial for an applicant for a particular post, knowing all the time that there are in his college a score of students still better qualified of whom the employer in question will never hear.

IV. REMEDIES.

Remedies have been already largely covered in my answer to II. There is no need again to emphasise (1), (2) or (3) in this section.

I regard (4), (5) and (7) as of great importance. Agriculture must always remain the chief Indian industry. It should be a principal aim of all but the more specialised forms of education to train students to be intelligent and progressive agriculturists (of the type of the English country gentlemen). Many of our students profess themselves unable to make necessary improvements in the agricultural development of their family property. A wisely conceived form of loans would be of immense value.

I am a convinced believer in the great possibilities for the future of every co-operative form of enterprise, whether in agriculture, industry or banking.

*Written evidence of the Commissioner of Income-tax, Madras,
dated the 30th July 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

I. Yes.

(1) Yes. It exists amongst all the three classes.

(2) I know it is prevalent in (b), both among qualified and unqualified persons. I have no personal knowledge of the other professions.

(3) Yes. It exists even amongst trained persons.

(4) Yes. I have had several applications from Indians educated in England. I cannot say its extent.

II. CAUSES.

It is due partly to trade depression.

(1) Among graduates and B.L.'s the educational system is defective inasmuch as these degrees are obtained too easily. They now carry very little weight.

(2) I do not think so.

(3) Yes. It is partly due to ignorance of local vernaculars.

(4) Social causes certainly increase unemployment. The prevalence of early marriages, the joint-family system and a lack

of independence prevent Indian youths from taking posts distant from their homes, e.g., we find it difficult to get people to accept posts in the Ceded districts.

(5) No.

(6) A training in accountancy under a Chartered Accountant costs a premium of Rs. 1,500 and the upkeep of the youth for three years. It does restrict supply of applicants.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

(1) (c) The new Income-tax department was introduced throughout the Presidency by 1st April 1925. During the year 1925-26 the posts available for new entrants were—

(i) 2 Probationary Income-tax Officers.

(2) 2 Accountants.

(3) 5 personal clerks.

(4) 45 routine clerks and typists.

(1) (d) The pay of these posts is as under:—

(1) Probationary Income-tax Officers—Rs. 250 per mensem.

(2) Accountants—Rs. 100—10—250 in the mufassal and Rs. 110—10—260 in Madras City.

(3) Personal clerks—Rs. 60—4—80 in the mufassal and Rs. 65—4—85 in the Madras City.

(4) Routine clerks and typists—Rs. 35—35—1½—50—1—60 in the mufassal and Rs. 40—40—1½—55—1—65 in Madras City.

Graduates who are entertained in the lowest scale as routine clerks and typists with advanced qualifications are given Rs. 10 extra.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) It is undesirable.

(2) Should be encouraged.

(3) I do not think they would do much good.

(4) Such diversions should all be encouraged.

*Written evidence of the Income tax Officer, Coimbatore,
dated the 14th August 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(1) (a) Yes; (b) yes; (c) yes; more among qualified than among unqualified persons because the former naturally pitch their expectations high and are reluctant to seek appointments under private employers or under railway companies which have been filled in for a long time past only by unpassed men.

(2) Yes; but not to the same extent as in (1).

(3) Yes; more among untrained than trained persons.

(4) Yes. I have knowledge of some barristers who struggle on a poor income and who could get very little practice on the Civil side, but I must add they are of less than five years' standing.

II. CAUSES.

(1) Yes. The system is defective in so far as it is not sufficiently practical to enable educated men to know early enough their own capacities and aptitudes and to choose a career for which they are fitted in accordance with the country's needs.

(2) No. This does not appear to operate as a cause of unemployment to any appreciable extent.

(3) Yes, due to differences in language chiefly which narrow the area within which employment can be obtained. This difficulty is likely to increase with the starting of new Universities within the Presidency on territorial or linguistic basis.

(4) Yes; some castes dislike certain occupations as unsuitable though, fortunately, these prejudices are slowly disappearing.

(5) Yes. This is a chief cause. These bureaux are urgently needed.

(6) I have no figures. Professional and commercial courses are more costly than literary ones and are not also within as easy reach as the latter.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

(1) (a) I have no figures.

(b) I may say that it takes on an average three years in most Government offices for a qualified candidate to obtain permanent employment. I would submit for consideration in this connection the institution of a Staff Selection Board at each district headquarters as in the Presidency town so that a passed candidate may know as early as possible his chance of getting entrance into Government service.

(c) Within the last two years, there were three clerks' posts vacant in my office and the number of applicants was nearly twenty.

(d) From Rs. 35 to Rs. 60.

IV. REMEDIES.

All the twelve remedies suggested are excellent ones. I would particularly commend No. (4). In addition to the above, the possibilities of careers for educated men as missionaries and teachers in their respective religions, e.g., Hinduism and Muhammadanism, on lines as similar as possible to the ecclesiastical establishments in the Christian religion may also be explored perhaps. The initiative for this must, of course, come from the enlightened and influential followers of the respective religions, and Government, with their help, may be able to formulate courses of theological

study in schools and colleges and a scheme for their training and employment. I believe that in the Baroda State an attempt was made to open out such careers for Hindu graduates.

Under remedy No. (1), there is a large scope for the development of the talent in the country in music and other fine arts which, in course of time, would maintain a number of men as instructors and professors in their respective arts. This matter is already engaging the attention of the University authorities and the early establishment of special institutions for fine arts would be a welcome step for diverting talent and energy from the beaten tracks. Under the same head would come an increase in the number of well-educated instructors in drill and directors of games to intensely spread physical culture and sports in rural areas as well as in towns.

*Written evidence of the Inspector-General of Registration,
Madras, dated the 14th August 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(1) (a) Yes.

(b) Yes.

(c) Yes.

(2) (a) The question of unemployment in the case of Indian teachers is not so very pressing as in the case of other professions. It is extremely difficult to get Anglo-Indian teachers, as the outlook is so limited.

(b) There is unemployment to a large extent in this class and the profession is so much congested that men who are qualified for the bar or bench are driven by necessity to seek employment elsewhere in Government service.

(c) There is unemployment here too so far as Government service is concerned, but the saving aspect of this profession is that qualified medical practitioners can eke out their livelihood by private practice.

(d) This profession which suffered once for want of qualified hands is now overcrowded so much so that there are a number of qualified men without employment though not to the same extent as in the case of law and medicine.

(e) This profession is still in an infant stage.

(f) On account of recent fall in the price of piece-goods of foreign manufacture, there has been a set-back in the progress of indigenous industry resulting in the unemployment of a good number of hands in the weaving profession.

(g) The Railway department is now beginning to entertain a larger number of educated Indians in important and responsible posts.

(3) The question of unemployment is keen in this profession also, there being a large number of qualified hands without appointments.

(4) There are cases of Indians educated in foreign countries who are without employment on account of the paucity of suitable posts.

II. CAUSES.

(1) I believe that the cause of unemployment is the result not so much of the present system of education as of the intense desire of the people to take up appointments which require a minimum of manual labour.

(2) Nor is it due to the insufficient pay attached to such posts.

(3) No.

(4) No.

(5) No.

(6) Comparatively commercial education is the cheapest. Of literary and professional education, the latter is costlier than the former inasmuch as the professional education generally begins after a comparatively late stage in the literary course.

*Written evidence of the Inspector of Fisheries, dated the
17th August 1926.*

1. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(1) Unemployment does exist among the middle classes and that to a greater extent than among the lower classes.

Literary classes.—Greater proportion of the unemployed is in the literary classes than in others:

(a) *Graduates.*—In this class it is not so prevalent as in the other two literary classes (b) and (c). It is worst in the last class.

(2) *Technical and professional classes*—(a) *Teachers.*—There are some unemployed, some hardly earn enough for their bare necessities of life. Recently two cases came to my knowledge where their respective salaries were reduced by 20 per cent. Strangely enough their records of service, judging by the results in the public examination, had been positively creditable. This reduction is attributed to (1) the availability in large numbers of teachers even on low salary and (2) to the insufficient funds in the institutions for their maintenance which is the result of the general increase in expenditure.

(b) *Law.*—This profession also is overcrowded and many hardly earn enough to keep them going. It is true that some come to the forefront and make their fortunes. It is also true

that of all the professional classes the lawyers' class is the most coveted of the lot. It is this class that is well represented in the highly paid appointments of the State and in private practice it ranks as the most lucrative leaving mercantile class. But a large number still is briefless.

(c) *Medicine.*—As in (b); but a smaller number here earn a decent fortune: but most have to be content with an average earning. I believe generally these are not so badly off as the teachers or the lawyers.

The other classes (d) to (g) seem to be better than all the other classes in (2). Both the qualified and unqualified in the Railways are comparatively much better off than their brethren in the Government service.

(3) Unemployment does exist but only to a small extent in the banking business, but to a greater degree in mercantile class.

(4) There are a few cases of unemployment here also: the prime cause being that the candidates expect to be provided for by Government such as agriculture.

II. CAUSES.

All the five causes enumerated in the questionnaire account for the unemployment, the chief being No. (1), viz., the present system of education.

(1) This is defective inasmuch as the general culture imparted in the University does not equip the candidates to launch any independent enterprise through the lack of technical training. Besides they are, generally speaking, made to get just the sufficient proficiency in the English language as to become only useful as clerks in the Government and commercial offices; they are in other ways helpless. The system of education instead of developing the powers of invention and thought mostly brings into play the faculties of memory and cramming, and thus as a consequence when the student leaves the college he is practically exhausted in the mental faculties and breaks down at the slightest strain.

(2) Most of the professional posts carry poor remuneration. There are only very few getting high emoluments.

(3) The Indians by nature being conservatives often exhibit great reluctance to going away far from their native village; only very high salary ever tempts them.

(4) The Indians are besides accustomed to live in joint families and this has so strengthened the family affections that many a man foregoes even a promotion to a higher post involving a separation from the joint family and continues in a post carrying a lower salary in his own native place. There are also hundred and one religious rites and social functions which require the presence of at least one representative of all the relations of the family. As for example a marriage for one

member of a family should bring down to the function all the relations, however far they may be living: a failure to observe such rules will bring about the ostracism of the delinquent. Thus farther a man migrates the greater is his expenditure on such occasions.

The existence of the caste system often stands in the way; in the distant places there is the difficulty of getting caste servants for domestic work. For the marriage of their children they should go only to their native place to select the matches, alliance between different communities being supposed to have no sanction at all of the Vedas. So such a thing is never even thought of; any isolated instances of such transgressions are scarcely tolerated and the parties concerned become subject to all sorts of disabilities. Even the progressive outlook of the present generation after a good deal of pretensions, ephemeral attempt at idealism eventually settles down to the old conservative dictum.

(5) Yes. The absence of the Employment Bureaux and the failure of the educational institutes to be in touch with the centres of demand often prevent the qualified from the suitable places of employment. Advertisement in the newspapers sometimes supplies such wants to a little extent as all do not resort to this.

(6) Professional courses are costlier than the other two. Commercial courses are not so very popular. Perhaps these are being resorted to in greater numbers only recently. So except in the commercial line the proportion of the cost of the course to the supply is kept up.

IV. REMEDIES.

The remedies suggested should remove much of the root causes of unemployment. But emigration *outside* India should not be encouraged unless and until there is a guarantee of the individual citizen rights and liberties and unrestricted trade facilities in such lands. If the present woes of the emigrants of South Africa, America and Fiji, etc., are to be repeated, better not to attempt such a remedy at all for their fate will be "out of the frying pan into the fire".

Written evidence of the Inspector of Industrial Schools, Madras, dated the 13th August 1926.

The present unemployment amongst middle classes is no doubt largely due to a tendency on the part of these classes to avoid anything which involves manual labour, but that tendency is being rapidly broken down. Five or six years ago, it was a rare thing to find a well-educated youth taking to manual work, but youths

with high school education are now seeking in large numbers to be taken in as apprentices in the engineering trades. As the pressure extends to other trades, I fear that in a few years the artisan classes will begin to suffer from the competition of the industrially inclined middle classes. To preserve the artisan classes with their hereditary skill, and to give them an opportunity to become far more productive than they are at present, I consider it absolutely essential that the children of the artisans should receive a general education up to standard V and a supplementary education at least up to standard VII. The supplementary class curriculum should be drawn up to suit local conditions. For Madras City, the curriculum proposed for the new Preparatory Trades School would suit in some cases but would have to be modified for example for a supplementary (upper elementary) school in the mill area, and recast entirely for a school to cater for the children of the men employed at Chromepet leather works. I am against any specialisation in the classes of the primary school which should, I think, simply lay down a general educational foundation. From the primary school, lads who are going on to a high school course should take the regular lower secondary course leading to the upper secondary course and if necessary to the university, but lads who do not expect to complete the high school course should be drafted into supplementary or upper elementary classes. In those classes the instruction should aim at consolidating the work of the primary school in the three R's and the time-table should include at least 4 hours per week devoted to drawing and manual training in wood-work or metal-work for boys in industrial areas and nature knowledge applied to agriculture, along with weaving, rattan work, etc., in rural schools.

The Y.M.C.A. conduct some adult evening classes near Coimbatore. They have a course labelled 'Agriculture' (copy enclosed) which might with advantage be labelled 'Nature study' and taught in rural schools as an ordinary school subject. The Scotch Mission at Chingleput have a half-time agriculture school at Melrozapuram, 7 miles north of Chingleput, which might well be copied elsewhere, not as an agricultural school, but as a suitable school for rural areas. Given free and, if possible, compulsory elementary education of the type outlined above up to standard VII for children of the working classes, it should be possible to recruit an educationally better prepared type of young artisan, a man likely to take a more intelligent interest in his daily work, more likely to plan his work in advance and to discuss methods, with his fellows, and more receptive than the present artisan classes of new ideas, more adaptable to improved methods and processes, and in short, more likely to produce more work with less effort and less supervision than the present artisan is capable of. I believe that by thus raising the status of the manual workers, the gap between lower and middle classes can be bridged. With better educated lower classes engaged in agriculture and manual work generally, the middle classes will lose rapidly their distaste for

manual work and will more and more take to industrial pursuits starting at the bottom with the intention of working towards the top, instead of asking to be started near the top and given a handicap over the lower classes by reason of their superior literary education.

I believe that there is hope for a considerable development in agriculture, weaving and other industries in this Presidency with a corresponding raising generally of the standard of living and the power to purchase which comes with increased production, if or when the best brains of the middle classes take to these industries in all their stages.

I fear however that they are not likely to do so until compelled to some extent by economic pressure to abandon inherited prejudices, and encouraged by a more practical curriculum in our schools to regard the man who does things and makes things as being of equal status with the man who merely looks on and writes about them, by the development of athletics to regard an active or outdoor occupation as being more natural and healthy than sedentary work, and by the spectacle of numbers of the lower classes improving their status to the extent of becoming middle class by applying intelligence, common-sense and hard work to ordinary everyday industrial work. In short, I look for a development of industry to the extent of being able to hold its own through increased production and the more systematic employment of the brains and muscle of both the lower and middle classes, only when our educational system has been revised to provide a sound foundation of primary education in the three R's and general knowledge leading up to (a) a set of supplementary classes up to standard VII for those who will *not* go on to the high school, and (b) a lower secondary curriculum divided into separate commercial, science, and arts courses, laying down separate foundations for those who expect to leave school at Matriculation stage to enter commerce or industry direct or through special educational institutions or proceed to the university for further training.

With such an educational foundation the remedies suggested in items (4) to (12) of section IV of your questionnaire may prove effective but without such a foundation I fear they will be largely ineffective. As a temporary relief something might be done on the lines of IV (3)—Employment or Information Bureaux—to put employers in touch with the best men available. Many employers have a very hazy idea of what the letters S.S.L.C. mean, and some do not know the difference between form 4 and standard 4. A lad with History and a vernacular as optional subjects in his S.S.L.C. Examination is often selected for a post where a lad with Science and Mathematics would be more suitable, and many a well-educated lad would take a post in a manual occupation but cannot get into touch with the proper authorities. Any such bureaux would, however, be simply swamped with applications from people who had reached a certain standard of education and had no idea whatever

what they wanted to take up as a career, and were simply applying for every vacant post in sight, in a hit or miss sort of spirit, and the organization and control of such bureaux would require to be in very capable hands indeed if results commensurate with the cost were to be looked for.

ENCLOSURE.

Elementary course in agriculture.

(1) *The soil*.—Its formation—soil and sub-soil—classification of soils—sandy, clayey, loamy and alluvial soils.

(2) *Improvement of soil*.—Green manuring and draining—acts of tillage.

(3) *Agricultural implements*.—(1) Implements for working soils—the plough and ploughing-points of good ploughing-types of plough cultivators-harrows; (2) implements for sowing seed—the seed-drill and its advantages compared with local methods; (3) the chaff-cutter and sprayer.

(4) *Tillage*.—Preparation of tilth—ploughing—cultivating—harrowing—clearing of land—features of good tilth—after-cultivation and inter-tillage—objects of tillage.

(5) Manures and manuring.

(6) Seeds and their germination—factors of germination—selection of good seed and its importances.

(7) Structure and function of plants—roots, stem and leaves—flowers—fruits and seeds.

(8) Cultivated plants.

(9) Common weeds and methods of eradication.

(10) Common insect pests with particular reference to the pink boll worm and stem weevil.

Oral evidence of Mr. W. Fyfe, Inspector of Industrial Schools, Madras, dated the 15th November 1926.

The DIRECTOR OF INDUSTRIES: Q.—At what stage do you propose that boys should break off to industrial education?

A.—The answer to it will depend upon what age you are going to work up to in your compulsory education scheme. I think that that scheme should come first. If you have it up to 12, the breaking off to industrial education should be at that age.

Q.—Suppose the introduction of compulsory education will take a long time. In the present state of things, at what stage would you like industrial education to be started?

A.—At present we are trying to get primary candidates. That is the minimum grade we have fixed. In a few cases we have had to relax even that standard. I think it is too low but a half-education is better than no education.

Q.—What is your experience in regard to half-time industrial schools?

A.—I do not like them. But as things are at present I think they fill a need in certain trades, for example, weaving. A weaver will not as a rule allow his boy to remain long enough in school to get a good education. Till we have compulsory education, if we start a few half-time schools, we can manage to have the boys some years longer at school.

Q.—Have you inspected the school at Melrozapuram? Is it useful?

A.—I think it is really a school of general education with a heavy bias towards agriculture as at present conducted.

Q.—As well as industry, I suppose?

A.—The industries that are taught there are industries relating to agriculture, a little smithy, a little weaving and other industries subsidiary to agriculture.

Q.—What literary standard do they have there?

A.—Only up to middle school.

The PRESIDENT: Q.—I gather that you begin at 12 with your ideal. You cannot get boys with better education at present. Is it so? What of the Anjuman for example?

A.—Yes. But the Anjuman is a special case. It is hardly fair to quote it. You have there youngsters kept at ordinary general education until they are big enough to go to a workshop. Some are fairly old and some are quite young. That is also an institution which awaits the introduction of compulsory education.

Q.—You would take the boys at 12 to give them the training?

A.—Twelve is far too young. Most of the pupils we get are 14 and more. They have gone through the primary grade.

Q.—We are dealing with the educated middle classes?

A.—Quite so. Personally I think we have to start from the bottom. If it is shown that an artisan, a blacksmith, for instance, is worth more than a clerk, the middle classes will take to industries rather than to clerical jobs. Of course there will be a difficulty in the case of caste industries like carpentry. But in the case of an industry like motor engineering, you have a good many illiterate low caste people working alongside well educated high caste people.

Q.—But the number of people that such an industry like motor engineering wants will not be very large at present.

A.—Of course, but the country wants more transportation; and the sooner that comes the better.

Q.—Besides motor engineering, have you any other thing in mind?

A.—Yes; electrical engineering, for instance, which may again be subdivided into electrical wiring and electrical engineering. The former is really a trade for the lower classes. The Asari carpenter makes a good wireman with little training. Electrical engineering requires five years' training, three years of mechanical engineering and two years specialising.

Q.—Do you get middle-class pupils for mechanical engineering in your school (Madura Industrial Institute)?

A.—We get two or three. We may take fifth standard boys; we are now getting enough boys with III form qualification. The standard is rising considerably. The same is the case with the Madras Trades School. When we started the school in 1916, we had great difficulty in getting boys with any education worth speaking of. Now the standard has increased. There are also several classes run in the vernacular for artisans but they are separate classes. In the mechanical engineering, electrical engineering and plumbing, the standard of education is high. Quite a large number of S.S.L.C. candidates are there.

Q.—Is the Madras Trades School full in strength?

A.—With the branch at Perambur, there are about 700 pupils.

Q.—Do you think that there is room for such schools in other places as well?

A.—No, except at Trichonopoly and in course of time at Vizagapatam.

Q.—Do you think that there is room only for two institutions of the kind?

A.—Industries must be started first and more schools only after some time.

Q.—There seems to be an idea that if you educate boys industrially or commercially, industries will then arise?

A.—I do not agree with that statement. Industrial education can only help the development of industries. Businessmen will have to come forward with capital first. You may have to import labour in the first instance and then call the department to help to educate the local people industrially. At present we have, I think, eight scholarships tenable in the United Kingdom. It is too much to hope that these scholars will invest capital and start new industries immediately they return.

Q.—Several witnesses have told us that literary education should not be given but industrial education should be. What is your opinion?

A.—In many cases you are spoiling a good agriculturist if you make of him a poor carpenter. That is what it means if it is

pushed too far. If our industrial schools help to raise the standard of skill in any trade or industry, they are worth supporting. Otherwise not. The fact is we are concerned with individual and not with industries at all in our industrial schools. The schools were first established by missions but there are now several in the hands of Indian bodies. In almost every instance they are concerned purely with the individual who is being trained to earn his livelihood. In the old days the missionary trained his carpenter or weaver just enough to earn a bare livelihood and that was considered sufficient. The level of skill of the artisan in this country is miserably low very often.

Q.—Would you have two types of schools, one for students who have read up to third form and the other for the students who have read up to the sixth form?

A.—Except in the case of special institutions such as the orphanages and special schools like borstal schools, the best type of education is that given in the Madras Trades School, i.e., education of the boys after they have started work in a business concern.

Mr. R. G. GRIEVE: Q.—Does the Madras Trades School hold evening classes only?

A.—Oh, no. Some classes are held in the evening, but many classes are held during working hours. The employers give the lads time to go to the school. Most of the other schools are really doing the work which the works themselves should do. They should train the apprentices themselves but they find it difficult since many of the apprentices are illiterate. The Madura School does the work of training apprentices which the works themselves should do.

The PRESIDENT: Q.—Do the pupils of the Madura School come from the middle classes or the lower classes?

A.—They are very mixed. Seven years ago they were of a lower order; now they are much better.

Mr. R. G. GRIEVE: Q.—Did not the Industrial and Technical Education Committee make some recommendations regarding the opening of schools at Vizagapatam and Trichinopoly?

A.—Yes. They recommended the opening of a school at Trichinopoly when the new works at the Golden Rock were started, and a scheme has been prepared and is now being considered. It is not advisable to open a school at Vizagapatam till the harbour works are started. Some lands also have been reserved for the Department of Industries in anticipation.

Mr. G. G. ARMSTRONG: Q.—Do the boys of these Trades Schools find any difficulty in getting jobs after they are trained?

A.—The boys of the Madras Trades School are already in employment while they are being trained. The Madura School

was reorganized only six years ago and the students there have to undergo a course for five years. Three or four students of that school have got into the Madura Mills.

Q.—Any one in the railway?

A.—I cannot say.

Q.—You said that there was no good training students in industry and that there must be business undertakings first for employing them. Is it not rather the other way round? If you had educated men trained in agriculture and industries and mechanical engineering and so on, would not businessmen come later on to utilise them by starting business?

A.—Agriculture is already an established industry and so also mechanical engineering.

Q.—You raised the difficulty about capital for new industries?

A.—So far as mechanical engineering is concerned we have got schools and many of them do the work which, I think, the works themselves ought to do, i.e., the training of apprentices.

Q.—Will industrial training give rise to unemployment?

A.—It will, if you turn out too many.

Q.—Will not these trained men create industries?

A.—No, they may, ten years afterwards.

Q.—You want to get capital before you get knowledge?

A.—It is not advisable to train men for jobs that do not exist in the hope that somebody will give them jobs.

The PRESIDENT: Q.—Supposing we recommended to Government that the pupils who take to general education should be diverted to industrial education, do you think that the present industries would be able to absorb them?

A.—It is a very wide question. A student of economics might answer that.

Mr. R. M. STATHAM: Q.—You said that if the level of the skilled artisan was raised and if his pay also was increased the middle-class men also would take up the artisan jobs. Would not then the artisans suffer from the competition of the middle-class men?

A.—In the motor industry, for example, in Madras all classes of men are employed.

Q.—You stated that the wage of the skilled artisan is not sufficiently attractive for the middle classes?

A.—It is not.

Q.—I suggest it is very much higher than what the clerks get in ordinary offices and what the teachers generally get?

A.—A very good carpenter of ten years' experience gets Rs. 1-8-0 a day whereas a clerk of ten years' experience gets considerably more.

Q.—At any rate it is double the pay of many teachers in schools. If the pay of a good artisan has not attracted the middle-class boy to that work I do not think that it is likely to do so in future. The pay of a good artisan is really more than that of an S.S.L.C. clerk?

A.—I do not think you can say that. Ordinarily, the artisan is very poorly paid.

Q.—What about motor-driving?

A.—It brings about Rs. 35 a month.

Q.—How do caste instincts operate?

A.—It operates in the case of caste industries such as wood-work and pottery which were considered to be inferior to clerical work. But in the case of imported industries like mechanical engineering and electrical engineering, it does not operate.

Q.—Do you get intermediates for your Madras Trades School?

A.—We have got some. We have also had, I think, two graduates. But I do not expect to get any appreciable number. One of them is doing well in sanitary or plumbing work.

Q.—You do not generally expect high caste men to take to such subjects?

A.—There are one or two studying such subjects.

Mr. R. LEE: Q.—Out of 10,000 men employed in the Buckingham and the Carnatic Mills, 9,000 are illiterate. Do you think that middle-class men will come to work there?

A.—Why should they not?

Q.—In large numbers?

A.—Why not? There is now need for too much supervision, because so many are illiterate.

Q.—Does it depend upon the health and efficiency of the workers? If you have now got one man to look after one machine you can then have one man to look after six machines. The number will be decreased?

A.—I do not think that increased production has ever decreased employment.

Q.—We have got maistris and others on Rs. 100 a month. Therefore the question of low wages does not prevent the middle classes from taking it up?

A.—If you give the middle classes a chance they will take it up.

Q.—We had a man trained in the Victoria Technical Institute, Bombay. Such men come and go away. We do not know where they go, but they will not take their coats off and work?

A.—I think such a tendency is dying out.

Q.—I hope it is.

Ráo Bahadur S. K. SUNDARACHARLU: Q.—Would you not be creating unemployment amongst the artisan classes by attracting the middle classes also to the artisan's trades?

A.—No, if you increase production.

Q.—By importation of machinery?

A.—By any means, increase of skill for example.

Mr. M. K. DANDEKAR: Q.—What line of study do the middle-class boys take up in the Trades Schools?

A.—Mechanical or Electrical Engineering.

Q.—Is the course here as good as that in the Bombay Institute?

A.—I have no opinion on that to give. There is this difference that here you train a man already in service somewhere.

Q.—In that case there will be only a few students who are in employment that can be trained. It will not open up life for other persons who are at present unemployed and want to study the subject?

A.—We have got about 700 students in Madras; they are all in employment.

Q.—Is there no room for those who are not in employment but who want to study such subjects and be fit for employment?

A.—I do not think there is.

Q.—Would the technically trained men be useful in creating new industries?

A.—Most new industries require engineers; and many new industries require chemists. Generally speaking, it is these two men that we want.

Q.—Is Industrial Chemistry taught in the Trades School?

A.—No. It is taught in the Bombay Institute.

Q.—Could you suggest any industries that can be usefully started here?

A.—I wish I could. I have been looking for some for the last ten years.

Mr. C. GOPALA MENON: Q.—You apprehended some danger to the artisan classes if the industrially educated middle-class men were to compete with them. Would that not be mitigated by adult education given in the evening classes?

A.—By compulsory education preferably.

Q.—If we have adult education for the artisan classes their lot might be improved?

A.—I am all in favour of it but it is rather difficult to practically work it out.

Q.—You said that the Y.M.C.A. and the Scotch Mission have started evening classes for adult education. Do they teach agriculture and other subjects?

A.—The Scotch Mission has a boys' agricultural and industrial school at Melrosapuram, a day-school.

Q.—If Government can give contributions and encourage other private and philanthropic bodies to start similar schools, would that help to solve the problem?

A.—I referred to the Y.M.C.A. more in connection with the syllabus which they teach. I do not know anything about the value of the scheme in general. I consider that the syllabus gives a fairly good foundation for nature study in ordinary elementary schools.

Q.—Do the students get employment anywhere?

A.—I cannot say anything about the boys of the Y.M.C.A. school; but most of the boys of the Scotch Mission go back to agriculture.

Q.—Can we develop such evening schools if Government help them?

A.—I do not see why we should not.

Q.—Are workshops attached to all the Government Industrial Schools?

A.—There are 56 aided schools; to some of them workshops are attached. In other cases the schools are attached to workshops.

Q.—You said that Indian students who have undergone industrial training in the United Kingdom were not able to erect machinery?

A.—I did not say that they were not able to erect machinery. I said I would not invest money in a business which is managed by one of these men newly returned.

Q.—They come here after a few years' theoretical training and also a few years' practical training in some workshops there. Are they not fit enough to manage the business?

A.—They have technical training; but they lack business training.

Q.—They would cultivate it gradually.

A.—That is why I said that it would take ten years.

Q.—You said you would not entrust them with any industry?

The PRESIDENT: He referred to the management.

Mr. C. GOPALA MENON: Q.—Anyhow you can absorb them in business here? Mr. A. K. Menon of Calicut started a soap factory here and is he not working it successfully?

A.—You must ask the Director of Industries (who is on the Committee).

Q.—I am only citing an example.

A.—I had rather that you did not cite personal examples.

Q.—Do not these people come here from the United Kingdom after doing substantial work?

A.—They must work as assistants to managers of big business for some time before they get business training. Most of the people that we send to the United Kingdom from this Presidency go out for jobs elsewhere. We have not been able to keep them here.

Q.—Is that not because our public men and rich men do not start industries and do not care to do so?

Mr. W. FYFE: Apart from the question of industrial education, Mr. President, I want to bring to the notice of the Committee one point about the lace industry. I have here to-day a letter from a lady in charge of one of my industrial schools. She exports lace. She bitterly complains of the import and export duties. Of course we cannot do anything regarding the British import duty. It is about 22 per cent. But most of the lace is prepared from imported lace thread. The very heavy import duty on this added to the very heavy import duty on manufactured lace sent abroad tends to kill the industry. The Industrial and Technical Education Committee recommended that the import duty should be removed. Government saw no reason to remove it as it was an Imperial matter. I merely wish to bring this to the notice of the Committee as it is one of the ways of relieving unemployment in an important cottage industry.

Rao Bahadur S. K. SUNDARACHARLU: Q.—Is it among the lower classes or the middle classes?

Mr. W. FYFE: Mostly lower classes but unemployment is unemployment wherever it is.

*Written evidence of Mrs. D. Jinarajadasa, Vice-President,
Women's Indian Association, Adyar.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Much unemployment exists among the middle classes—Graduates and educated persons as well as the unqualified—in all classes of professions and technical work.

II. CAUSES.

(1) The existing professions open to the middle classes are overcrowded.

(2) There not being enough vocations available for a young man to enter is a cause.

(3) The present system of education educates a child, if a boy, to be a fairly efficient sub or assistant or deputy or clerk. Turns crowds of boys out, educated into a groove, does not develop initiative or original thinking or aim to encourage any particular capacity the child possesses. Therefore he can only enter

Government service or become a vakil or a few other openings. So it follows that these limited possibilities of livelihood are enormously overcrowded. Many men not being able to obtain occupation and many others accepting small pay or an inferior position for lack of anything better.

IV. REMEDIES.

Development of vocational training.

Starting of many schools and colleges for technical education.

Agricultural colleges.

Development of industry.

One is painfully impressed in walking through the bazaars of India by the enormous amount of goods that are imported that should be made in the factories of India. The Government should concentrate on encouraging and if necessary helping the starting of industries. In the past the small attempts to start Indian manufactures has often failed, crushed out by foreign competition. All the utensils and implements of domestic and household use, all articles of clothing, should be made in the country instead of being imported from Japan, Germany and England (the first being usually of very inferior quality). This industrial development of the country would solve the problem of unemployment.

Scientific farming and agriculture also need special development.

More opportunities for training.

And help to farmers.

I would strongly urge that factories should be started away from big towns with the all-important industrial development of India—the department of Labour will have to guard against the creating of slum centres round the factories, as now exist. Factories should be erected in the country, near railways, and the housing of the workers carefully planned.

Regarding emigration—

Outside India—too often the conditions are degrading to the character of the man or woman, therefore not desirable.

Within India—from the towns to centres of industry in the country as I have mentioned in my last paragraph.

Written evidence of M.R.Ry. Rao Sahib C. Karunakara Menon Avargal, B.A., Perintalmanna (Malabar), dated the 29th July 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Yes.

(1) (a) Yes.

(b) Yes.

(c) Yes.

(2) (a) Many higher and lower grade trained teachers are unemployed. Not prevalent among L.T.'s.

(b) There are many briefless lawyers and many are driven to clerical posts on low salaries.

(c) Medical profession is getting overcrowded and unemployment is beginning to be felt.

(d) Yes.

(e) Not yet.

(f) No. But as a class the weaver finds it difficult to eke out a decent living.

(g) Do not know.

(3) Yes. Among both classes but more among untrained. Even G.D.A. (Government Diploma in Accountancy) holders find it difficult to get a living wage. Parents do not care to send boys to this course.

II. CAUSES.

(1) Due to present system of education.

For those who do not go to universities I would make education vocational.

(2) Yes.

(3) No. People are willing to go to any part of the world. Large emigration to Ceylon and Federated Malay States I cite as instances.

(4) No.

(5) No. An Information Bureau will be useful, but the absence of it is not an impediment.

(6) All Madras education cost on an average Rs. 60 to 70 per mensem, and in the towns in the districts Rs. 30 to 35 per month, but this high cost has not begun to affect the supply of applicants.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) Vocational training for those who do not go to universities.—I would suggest that in selected high and elementary schools arrangement may be made for training pupils in agriculture.

(2) I would recommend technical education, and as an instance I would point out the success of the School of Commerce, Calicut. Many young men were provided with decent means of livelihood who but for it would have been put down as failures in life.

(3) May be useful.

(4) (a), (b) & (c) I agree.

(5) Yes. A loan from the market or Government may be raised.

(6) I have not studied this point.

(7) Yes.

(8) Yes. Farm colonies on a co-operative basis laying special emphasis on the consolidation of holdings.

(9) I support this.

(10) Yes.

(11) Yes.

(12) I am not for emigration unless there are strong representatives of the Government of India in the countries where emigrants go to safeguard their interest.

Written evidence of M.R.Ry. N. R. Kedari Rao Avargal, M.A., L.T., Assistant Professor, Presidency College, Madras.

General.—There is absolutely no doubt that unemployment exists even among qualified persons and that the problem is assuming alarming proportions day by day. It is not only provincial in character but imperial in nature; it affects not only our Presidency but the whole of India; and so, the remedies suggested should be of application throughout the Indian Empire. Tinkering with the problem here and there will not be of much avail. We have to go to the root causes of the evil and find out adequate remedies.

Unemployment, an abnormal feature of society.—In every civilized society, under normal conditions, all the people must be in a position to earn their own livelihood. God has given man certain faculties through the exercise of which it must be possible for him to eke out an honest living both for himself and his family, unless, of course, he is a lunatic or a deformed individual. The existence of the problem of unemployment in India is itself a sign that there is something wrong in the social organism that has to be set right.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(1) & (2) Unemployment among literary classes is much greater than among professional or technical classes. Graduates, Intermediates and S.S.L.C.'s are the worst sufferers.

(4) Till very recently there was a great demand for Indians educated in foreign countries; and as soon as they returned to India, they were getting suitable appointments. But now they have to wait for a long while, and, even then, they are not sure of getting what they consider a 'good' post.

II. CAUSES.

I am afraid the causes of unemployment are much deeper than those outlined in the questionnaire. No doubt the problem is intensified on account of (1) the present system of education; (2)

the small remuneration offered in such employments as are available; (3) the want of fluidity preventing people from moving freely from one part of the Presidency to another; (4) the presence of social conventions hindering certain castes from undertaking, say, manual labour; (5) the absence of Information and Employment Bureaux which can keep the employers and the employed in close touch with one another; and (6) the relatively higher cost of technical or professional education. But, even granting that all these defects are remedied, the problem would not have been completely solved. For these are what may be called 'secondary' or 'contributory' causes.

The primary causes are as follow:—

(a) The defence of the country which must give occupation for several thousands of people is not entirely in Indian hands. In the Army, the Navy and the Air Force (such as India has) the proportion of Indians is not quite adequate.

(b) The Superior Civil Services show again a small proportion of Indians in their ranks. This is true, not only of the I.C.S., but also of the other Imperial Services like those of Agriculture, Forestry, Medicine, Engineering, Posts and Telegraphs, Police, Customs and Fisheries, besides the quasi-Government undertakings like the Railways and the Imperial Bank of India.

(c) Facilities for emigration outside India have not been provided.

(d) Primary education has not been made free and compulsory for India as a whole.

(e) Cottage industries have not been encouraged in the manner in which they ought to be fostered.

The extent to which these causes operate may now be reviewed in detail:—

I. *Primary causes.*—(a) After the brilliant way in which Indian troops acquitted themselves in the recent Great War, there is no excuse for Indians not being given the highest posts in the defence of the realm.

As the martial instinct in Indians has not been given a legitimate way of expressing itself, it breaks out in such unseemly ways as the free fight between the Hindus and the Muhammadans on any the slightest provocation. If the military and naval careers are opened out more largely than at present to Indian youths, we shall have indirectly solved the Hindu-Moslem problem also.

(b) The importance of increasing the proportion of Indians in the Superior Civil Services may be gathered from the following points:—

(i) The dignity of the Indians will be considerably raised.

(ii) The wealth of the country will be circulating within the country itself.

(iii) For every superior post that is Indianised, we are providing employment not only for one man but for, say, a dozen others who depend on him directly or indirectly.

(c) The example of Indians who have emigrated to Kenya and South Africa has not exactly been happy. Again, it is unfortunate that Australia has chosen to adopt the policy of excluding coloured races. Therefore, emigration outside India has been hampered.

(d) The population of British India is roughly 247 millions; and if 15 per cent of it is of the school-going age, we should have 37 millions of students roughly; and if all of them were at school, we want 15 lakhs of teachers nearly (at the rate of 25 pupils to a teacher). As free and compulsory primary education has not yet been introduced in India, this fertile source of employment has not yet been tapped.

(e) It is an irony of fate that the task of encouraging cottage industries like the spinning wheel—which is the simplest of them all—should have fallen on the shoulders of a private individual. For it is a matter of national concern and must be encouraged by the Government, so that the villagers who are idle for several months in the year in the off season may earn an honest, subsidiary income by working at it.

As for the 'subsidiary' or 'contributory' causes:—(1) & (2) The majority of students take entirely literary courses, training them only for administrative, clerical, teaching and legal careers. These have flooded the market and therefore receive very meagre salaries. At the same time, their expectations have been increased on account of education and thus we have "the disappointed B.A.'s" in the phrase of the late Mr. Gokhale, to which we may now add "the disappointed Intermediates and S.S.L.C.'s."

(3) Owing to the improved methods of communication by road, rail and motor, and the increasing pressure of economic necessity, there is more fluidity than ever before. Thus, several South Indians are now employed in all the great cities of Northern India. Provided wages are adequate, labour does not seem to be slow in moving from place to place.

(4) Thanks to clear thinking, and the 'atmosphere' of modern education, the old social barriers preventing one caste from undertaking the labour of another are fast disappearing. Though unchanging in essentials, Hinduism has shown a remarkable capacity for minor adaptations suitable to the changing environment; and therefore I don't think social causes operate to any appreciable extent here.

(5) The usefulness of Information and Employment Bureaux is strictly limited. They can, no doubt, put the employers and the employees in touch with one another but they can't create new posts or add fresh ones.

(6) The Report of the Director of Public Instruction, Madras, for 1923-24 gives the following figures as the average cost of educating a pupil in the literary as well as professional courses:—

Table I (showing the average cost per pupil)

Average cost per pupil in				Men.	Women
				RS.	RS.
Arts colleges	...	...	...	190.42	397.40
Professional colleges	...	...	...	328.19	1,026.91
High schools	...	...	...	44.69	78.16
Middle schools	...	...	...	38.01	60.02
Primary schools	...	...	...	6.61	11.95
Special schools	...	...	...	189.07	186.00

NOTE.—These figures are arrived at by dividing the total expenditure on these institutions by the number of pupils reading in them.

Thus it is clear that professional courses are very costly indeed as compared with a merely literary education. The remedy therefore lies in cheapening the professional courses; instead of it, just the opposite measure is adopted, as may be seen from the recent increase of tuition fees in the Madras Medical College.

That there is a paucity of professional colleges and special schools in the Madras Presidency may be seen from the following tables giving a comparative account of facilities for professional and technical training in the Madras Presidency and in some of the most advanced European countries:—

Table II. (Figures for the Madras Presidency.)

	For men.	For women.	Total.
Number of Professional colleges—			
Law	1	..	1
Medicine	2	..	2
Education	3	2	5
Engineering	1	..	1
Agriculture	1	..	1
Forestry	1	..	1
Veterinary science	1	..	1
Total	10	2	12
Number of Special schools—			
Art	1	..	1
Medicine	6	1	7
Normal and training	106	33	139
Engineering	3	..	3
Technical and industrial	35	16	51
Commerce	40	1	41
Agriculture	3	..	3
Reformatory	2	..	2
Schools for defectives	5	..	5
Other schools	99	10	109
Total	300	61	361

Table III. (Figures for the Madras Presidency.)

Number of scholars in	Men.	Women.	Total.
Professional colleges	2,279	34	2,313
Special schools	18,122	2,951	21,073
Total ..	20,401	2,985	23,386

Table IV. (Figures for Germany.)

Nature of institutions.	Number of institutions.	Number of scholars.
Professional schools ...	Over 500	70,000
Technical schools ...	Over 600	194,000
Professional and Technical colleges (conferring even the Doctorate Degree).	...	15,000
Commercial schools ...	365	31,000
Agricultural courses (provided in innumerable schools) ...	...	90,000
Total ...	Over 1,500 at the least.	400,000

Table V. (Figures for France.)

Nature of institutions.	Number of scholars.
Agricultural schools ...	3,225
Other professional and technical schools ...	31,775
Total ...	35,000

Thus we see that as against the 400,000 scholars in Germany and the 35,000 in France attending professional or technical courses—leading directly or indirectly to the production of wealth—the Presidency of Madras has only 373 institutions with 23,000 scholars in them.

It goes without saying then that our Presidency has very much to make up by way of providing facilities for professional and technical courses (both of the school and college grades).

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

The normal supply of arts and professional men (qualified) may be gathered from the following table showing the number of successful candidates for the year 1923:—

Table VI (showing the number of successful candidates in 1923).

Name of examinations.						Number passed.
Degree examinations—						
Arts—						
Ph.D. ...	...	...	...	...	...	1
D.Sc. ...	...	...	...	...	...	24
M.A. ...	...	...	...	...	...	121
B.A. (Honours) ...	...	...	...	...	...	1,203
B.A. (Pass) ...	...	...	...	...	...	
Law—						
M.L. ...	...	...	...	...	...	4
B.L. ...	...	...	...	...	...	224
Medicine—						
M.D. ...	...	...	...	...	...	1
M.B.B.S. ...	...	...	...	...	...	20
L.M.S. ...	...	...	...	...	...	17
B.S.Sc. ...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Engineering—						
Civil ...	...	...	...	...	...	15
Mechanical ...	...	...	...	...	...	12
Education—						
L.T. ...	...	...	...	...	...	207
Agriculture—						
B.Sc. ...	...	...	...	...	...	11
Other examinations—						
Arts—						
Intermediate in Arts ...	...	...	...	...	...	1,965
S.S.L.C. (completed) ...	...	...	...	...	...	12,744
European High School ...	...	...	...	...	...	81
Cambridge Senior ...	...	...	...	...	...	27
Cambridge Junior ...	...	...	...	...	...	47
European Middle School ...	...	...	...	...	...	118
Professional—						
Secondary Teachers' Certificate ...	...	...	...	...	...	662
Elementary Teachers { Higher ...	...	...	...	...	...	1,588
Lower ...	...	...	...	...	...	2,323
Medical Schools ...	...	...	...	...	...	336
Engineering Schools ...	...	...	...	...	...	566
Technical and Industrial Schools ...	...	...	...	...	...	2,704
Commercial Schools ...	...	...	...	...	...	4,557
Agricultural Schools ...	...	...	...	...	...	36
* Examinations conducted for—						
Civil Engineers ...	...	...	...	...	...	24
Mechanical Engineers ...	...	...	...	...	...	26
Upper Subordinates ...	...	...	...	...	...	63
Lower Subordinates ...	...	...	...	...	...	9
Proficiency in Agriculture ...	...	...	...	...	...	20

* These are not conducted by the University.

I don't think the supply is too much at all; on the other hand, I believe that if conditions were normal, not only should all these qualified men be absorbed in suitable posts, but there should be a cry for more and more trained hands.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) & (2) *Vocational training and technical education.*—If *primary education* is made both free and compulsory, then 15 per cent of the population of this Presidency will be attending some school or other; and to staff all these new schools, we require 260,525 teachers. At present there are only 85,061* teachers; and even if the same proportion of trained and untrained teachers is to continue, we shall have to provide for the training of 88,000 fresh teachers; in other words, we must establish at least 880 training schools, at the rate of 32 or 33 schools in every district. At first sight, it may appear a difficult task; but just as the Imperial Bank of India opened 100 fresh branches in the course of five years according to a fixed programme, so also the Education Department may be entrusted with the task of seeing them opened (welcoming private enterprise wherever it is forthcoming) in the course of, say, ten years at the most.

As for *medical education*, the following are my suggestions:—The Western system of medicine is too costly to permeate the villages, at least in the near future. It was therefore an act of foresight and statesmanship when the Government of Madras founded the Indian School of Medicine at Madras some two years back. This school should, as early as possible, be raised to the position of a college; and several Indian Schools of Medicine should be started, at least at the rate of one in a district, those districts which do not have even a medical school at present in them being given preference at first. And our ideal should be to complete this programme in the course of the next three or four years.

As regards *agricultural education*.—In our Presidency, about 80 per cent of the population have to depend on agriculture as *the main source of their income*. Agricultural education must therefore be given much more importance than hitherto. There is evidence that Government have recognized its importance as they have now appointed a Royal Commission on Agriculture to investigate the whole question.

Irrigation facilities must be increased in India. At present some fifty million acres are under cultivation because of the facilities afforded by irrigation (vide Map of India). The way in which the Punjab has been enriched in recent years must show to the Government that irrigation projects not only bring in enhanced revenues to their own coffers, but enrich the people also, and thus add to the wealth of the country as a whole. The Periyar project in our own Presidency is an instance in point. Therefore, irrigation facilities must be increased as much as possible.

* The details are worked out later.

If these suggestions are carried out, then the remote villages in the interior will become centres of light and culture. It is a well-known fact that English rural life owes much of its dignity and charm to the presence of the three indispensables in every village—the village preacher, the village teacher and the village doctor. Thanks to the immemorial tradition of India which is fairly kept intact even now, we need not just now worry ourselves about the 'village preacher.' The religious instincts of the people are strong enough to make them pious and god-fearing without him. The presence of a temple (or an apology for it) even in the smallest hamlet is sufficient to evoke the religious feelings of the unsophisticated villagers. Hence our attention has to be concentrated on 'the village teacher' and 'the village doctor'.* And the only way in which every village in our Presidency can be provided with a teacher and a doctor is the method I have indicated above.

(3) *Employment Bureaux.*—These may be started in colleges with the object of putting employers and employees in touch with one another; but, as I have already indicated, they cannot add to the number of posts available; and hence cannot be regarded as very much of a remedy.

(4) *The diversion of middle classes to agriculture* is indeed very desirable; for that will increase the wealth of the land. This, however, means that the middle classes must be living in villages; and they will do so only if village life is made rich and full, and the ordinary amenities of modern life provided in them. They must be given at least a post office, a dispensary and a school. Hence the importance of giving every village a doctor and a teacher at least (the teacher being made to act as postmaster also as conditions obtain at present).

The diversion of middle classes to trade, commerce and mechanical occupations stands on a different footing altogether. Unless it is meant that Indians belonging to the middle classes are to replace European agencies in these spheres, I fail to see how it will improve matters. For it will only be replacing the poorer classes by the middle classes—a temporary solution of the problem of middle-class unemployment no doubt, but leading to the greater evil of lower class unemployment.

(5) If it is meant that capital (at easy rates of interest) is to be placed at the disposal of landowners for the improvement of land, thus leading to more production, then it will indeed be a beneficial measure.

(6) The reconstruction of a village means the provision of the amenities of life. These are the post office (including a telegraph office in the case of villages with a population of 3,000 or 4,000), the dispensary, and the school to which a reading-room and library

* The scheme of starting rural dispensaries, initiated recently by the Madras Government is of real benefit to the people; in order that we may have the greatest value from it, I have suggested the suitable modifications.

may be attached. A Sub-Registrar's office and a Sub-Magistrate's Court will be necessary in places with a population of 5,000 people and more.

Under present conditions, villages enjoy these advantages over towns, i.e., that they have plenty of open space, that the problem of congestion has not arisen—nor is it likely to arise in the near future—and that life is comparatively cheap. If with these natural advantages we give them facilities for education, public health and happy living, the villages will become units of national regeneration.

(9) The development of banking is desirable in all directions; and if it is in connexion with agriculture, it is the more welcome; for it must enable the landlord to raise the required money (at reasonable rates of interest) for improving the land and thus increasing its produce.

(10) If it is the object of an *industrial bank* to place capital at easy rates of interest in the hands of those who require it for starting an industry afresh (or improving an existing industry in any way) certainly an Industrial Bank will be welcome to the people.

(12) *Emigration within British India* is a good remedy if it proceeds from the crowded and congested areas to those which are at present sparsely populated. That portion of the map of India which is shown in violet borders (see enclosure) has a population of only 100 to 200 per square mile. There do not seem to be any natural impediments why it should not support a higher population; and therefore people from South India may well migrate there.* If this experiment is to be a success, Government should provide all the facilities that they can possibly offer to the emigrants, such as land free of rent or at nominal rates of rent, advances of money for improving the land at cheap interest, etc.

There are also historical precedents for this procedure. For example, in the days of the Pandyas and Nayaks, colonies of Brahmans were specially brought down and made to settle in the Pandya country and granted lands and special privileges, with a view to their becoming centres of Aryan and Vedic culture in the land. This was the case not only in the Pandya Kingdom but also in the Karnataka country and in Malayalam. Again, it is well known that several Mahratta families migrated from their original

* *Note.*—My chief reasons for saying that Berar and portions of the Central Provinces and Behar and Orissa are the best places for emigration from South India are as follow:—

(1) In the Central Provinces the rainfall has never been known to fail; it averages about fifty inches per year. The Mahanadi valley grows much rice and wheat; the Berars are rich in cotton and the Nerbudda valley is capable of very good cultivation. Excepting the hill tracts (of the Vindhyas and the Satpuras) the rest can be brought under cultivation; as it is, only one-third is cultivated.

(2) For such a large territory the Railway lines are few indeed. With the advent of more Railways, the wealth of the land may be increased.

(3) It has the great advantage of the two important coal mines at Warora.

So, with better means of communication and the cultivation of more lands, these portions can be made to support a much higher population than now. And probably with more attention, the forests also can be made to yield a richer produce.

homes in the Bombay Presidency and settled at Tanjore, Pudukottai and other places, as they were patronised by Sivaji, the great Mahratta King, and his successors. In fact, many of the "Agra-harams" in South Indian towns owe their origin to this desire on the part of the reigning sovereigns to make their kingdoms seats of learning and wisdom. I do not mean to say that the same methods can be followed in this century; but, with suitable modifications, the scheme can easily be tried.

Emigration outside British India is also a good thing to be aimed at; but the experiences of emigrants from India to Canada, Kenya and South Africa have been unhappy; and the Government have not been able to do much by way of satisfying the legitimate demands of the Indians. The policy of Australia is to exclude the coloured races; while such is the case, unless conditions become better, there is not much of a chance for middle-class Indians to migrate to foreign countries.

Additional Remedies.

As I have already hinted, these remedies by themselves will not be very effective (except the provision of more facilities for vocational and technical education); and they will be far from an adequate solution of the great question of middle-class unemployment. The real solution lies elsewhere; and the most potent remedies are—

(1) The defence of the realm must be in Indian hands. This being the goal in view, a Military College should be started in India—let us hope as a result of the labours of the Sandhurst Committee—and immediate steps should be taken for having an Indian Navy and an Indian Air Force. This will provide employment for several thousands of Indians.

(2) The proportion of Indians in the I.C.S. and the other Imperial services should be steadily increased. This is also to be applied in the case of the quasi-Government services like the Railways and the Imperial Bank of India.

(3) Cottage industries (like the spinning wheel) should be zealously encouraged, especially as they do not require much capital.

(4) It is said that the number of Indians in the Secretariat of the League of Nations is very small, especially in comparison with the contribution made by India towards its maintenance. All efforts should be made by the Government to increase the number of Indians in it. This will not only provide employment for a few Indians, but, what is far more important than that, it will raise India in the estimation of the other nations of the world who are members of the League.

(5) The national debt of India is a pretty large amount; and, as it is at present, a fair proportion of it is money borrowed outside India; with the result that interest charges, amounting to

several millions—the Madras Government alone have budgeted in 1926-27 for Rs. 55,25,000 on this account—are distributed outside India.

The people here have such confidence in the Government that they are prepared to subscribe for any loan floated by Government—witness the fact that the recent 4 per cent loan of the Government of India was got in less than four hours. Therefore, the policy of the Government should be to borrow as far as possible in India, so that the interest charges may be circulating within the country itself.

(6) Government must, as far as possible, encourage Indian industries.

Some time back it was rumoured in the papers that the slogan 'Encourage Indian industries' was to be used to efface postal stamps. It is a capital idea; but as yet it does not seem to have come into force. If Government have not already accorded their sanction to this proposal, they should do so at least now. At any rate, there can be no objection towards its use, so far as inland letters are concerned.

It was a red-letter day in the history of the industrial regeneration of India when the Legislative Assembly passed 'the Steel Protection Bill', recognising for the first time that Indian industries are entitled to protection at the hands of Government against unfair competition. The question of giving protection to the cotton industry is now being investigated by the second Tariff Board.

The starting of 'the Security Press, India' off Nasik, for the manufacture of stamps, postal cards, covers, etc., is a step in the right direction.

But much yet remains to be done. For example, the operations of the Indian Stores Purchase Department extended to 266.67 lakhs only during the last year for which complete figures are available. While this is an improvement on the past, the report goes on to say that many spending departments of Government and the big consuming agencies like the Railways did not make much use of this medium for purchasing their requirements. The activities of the Indian Stores Purchase Department must be encouraged; and definite instructions should be issued to the various spending departments of Government and the Railways to make fuller use of this agency in future.*

* Note—The Corporation of Bombay have recently notified that Indian made cement alone should be used on their works. Similarly the Government of Madras may notify that Indian-made cement must be used on all their undertakings. For it has been proved by various tests that it is not inferior to foreign cement. (Vide also the report of the Industrial Commission on the same topic.) This will be one of the best (and most direct) way of encouraging Indian industries.

(7) *The introduction of free and compulsory primary education in the Presidency.*—This is a subject of very great importance; and its connexion with the unemployment problem is very intimate. Hence, I mean to dwell on it in some detail.

The area of the Madras Presidency is ... *142,260 sq. miles
Its population is ... 20,870,749 or 20.9 million males,
and ... 21,448,236 or 21.4 million females.

thus forming a total of 42,318,985 or 42.3 millions.

The number of pupils attending public schools is ... 1,973,647
and those attending private schools is ... 93,941
thus forming a total of ... 2,070,588

or roughly 2.1 millions.

The number of pupils attending schools is 7.9 per cent boys,
and 2.0 per cent girls,
or for the whole population 4.9 per cent.

The total number of public institutions is ... 41,541
and the total number of private institutions is ... 3,323
or on the whole ... 44,864

The total number of primary and elementary schools is ... 40,590
and their total strength is ... 1,771,692

The total expenditure on primary schools is ... 127.40 lakhs,

the average cost of a primary school is Rs. 313-13-1
and the cost per pupil is less than Rs. 7.

Therefore the average strength of a school is ... 45 only.
The total number of teachers of all grades is ... 85,061
of whom the number of those employed in primary
schools is ... 75,421

This state of affairs may be compared with what obtains in the other countries of the world—

Table VII.

	Madras Presidency.	U.S.A.	The world.
Population ...	100	100	100
Pupils ...	4.9	19.8	11.3
Teachers ...	0.2	0.6	0.3

* All these figures are taken from the Director of Public Instruction's Report for 1923-24.

In other words, the United States of America has four times as many pupils and three times as many teachers (per hundred of the population) as our Presidency has. And the average of the world shows that the Madras Presidency has very much to make up.

When we know that boys and girls of the school-going age form at least 15 per cent of the population, we must provide for 6.34 millions of pupils in our Presidency; and that means we shall have to treble the number of teachers in the Presidency. So, if free and compulsory primary education is introduced, we can provide employment for 175,000 *additional teachers*, i.e., teachers of all grades.

The present condition may be viewed from another standpoint also. In 1922, 17 per cent of the villages with a population of more than 1,000 were unprovided with even one primary school. The following table shows fuller details:—

Table VIII showing the percentage of villages (or groups of hamlets in close proximity) that were unprovided with schools in 1922.

Population.	Percentage without schools.	
	In 1917.	In 1922.
Under 200	97	91
500—1,000	40	38
1,000—2,000	19	17

We may look at these figures from yet another standpoint and see how the Madras Presidency compares with some of the other countries of the world—

Table IX showing percentage of pupils in primary schools.

	PER CENT.
Madras	4.18
Japan	14.3
Great Britain	16.5
United States of America	22.7

Even granting that our immediate objective is to raise the strength of primary schools to 12 per cent of the population, we require three times the number of teachers we at present have. As I have mentioned already, 75,421 teachers are now employed in primary and elementary schools. So by the introduction of free and compulsory primary education, we can provide employment for at least 150,842 *teachers in the primary schools*.

It may be said that education among males alone can be made compulsory just now; and that as regards female education, we can only make it free but not compulsory. Granting that there is just an element of truth in it (for the Muhammadan community is not in support of compulsory education for females), we can at least provide for the doubling of strength in primary schools, which will mean employment for 75,421 *fresh teachers in elementary schools*.

Not only are so many fresh posts created, but we shall have at least 3 per cent of that number, or 2,263 *posts available every year in this head alone*.*

I shall now consider the remaining one or two objections for making primary education free and compulsory. It is said we cannot have trained teachers to man all the primary schools and that the quality of education would suffer thereby. There is a certain amount of truth in it; but I believe 'half a loaf is better than none', and that some kind of education is better than the gross ignorance and illiteracy in which our masses are steeped. Further, it has been the experience of all countries which have made primary education free and compulsory that in the first few years the quality suffers for want of trained teachers, but that it improves gradually afterwards. Therefore no one need be frightened by the plea of 'want of trained teachers.'

Again, it stands to reason that an era of consolidation follows an era of expansion in education. But this presumes an era of expansion first. In Madras we have not yet come to the era of expansion; and so my plea is for the introduction of this era, which will incidentally solve the problem of unemployment effectually.

The other question is one of finance. At present the amount spent on education by the Government may be seen from the following table:—

Table X showing the expenditure incurred by Government on Education.

Details.	Accounts for 1924-25.	Revised estimate, 1925-26.	Budget estimate, 1926-27.
Total expenditure of the Madras Government.	Rs. 16,57,06,847 (1,657 lakhs) roughly.	Rs. 16,41,95,600 (1,642 lakhs) roughly.	Rs. 17,10,66,100 (1,711 lakhs) roughly.
Expenditure on education.	1,71,25,057 (171 lakhs.)	1,89,92,800 (190 lakhs.)	2,08,54,400 (207 lakhs.)
Percentage spent on education.	10.3	11.6	12.0
Amount spent per head of the population.	6½ annas.	7 annas.	7½ annas.

* *Note.*—In making these suggestions, I should not be taken as criticising the activities of a department to which I myself have the honour to belong. Rather, I am studying the effect of the spread of free and compulsory primary education on the question of unemployment.

How this compares with the expenditure on education in other countries may be seen from the following table:—

Table XI.

	Rupees spent on education (in millions).	Population (in millions).	Per capita Rs.
The Madras Presi- dency, 1926-27.	20.7	42.3	less than 0.5
The United King- dom, 1918-19.	798	46	17.3
United States of America, 1919-20.	3,924	106	37.0

I have taken the most recent figures available for Madras and therefore the most advantageous; and yet how does Madras fare in the comparison? It spends 1/35 of the amount spent by the United Kingdom and about 1/75 of the amount spent by the United States of America per head of population.

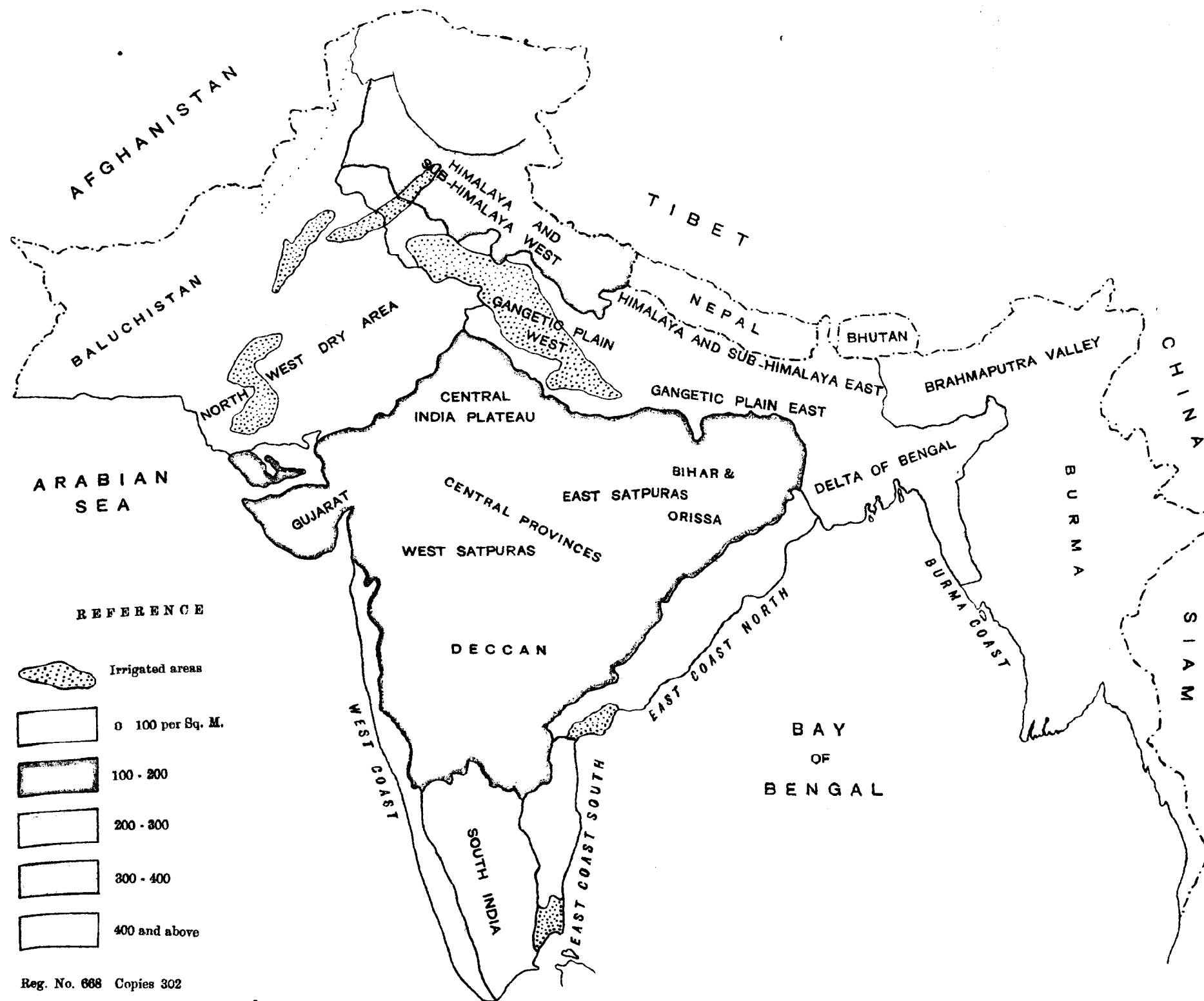
The inference then is quite clear. Madras should at least double or treble the expenditure on education *at once*. If this is considered ambitious, let us see what smaller countries have done in this direction. In 1918 the Philippine Islands set apart Rs. 4,50,00,000 for five years, which works up to Rs. 45 per capital in addition to the tenth of the national income that already goes to education. The programme called for doubling the elementary school facilities in five years, for training 12,000 more teachers, for increasing teachers' salaries and for obtaining several thousands of new buildings and sites for buildings purposes. I for one refuse to believe that Madras cannot do what the Philippine Islands have done. If it is said that such a large amount cannot be had from the current revenues of the Presidency, it is obvious that we shall have to borrow; but as it is borrowing for a productive purpose, for training the intelligence of the people who after all form the greatest wealth of the country, I think the borrowing is justifiable on all grounds.

If the Government shows a fraction of the zeal which they evidenced in pushing on the various 'War Funds' some years ago, the problem can be solved in no time. Or they may start a special 'Education Loan' as they started the 'War Loan', as I have suggested.

Concluding remarks.—Throughout my evidence I have borne in mind the following point, namely, that there should be a *permanent* solution of the problem of unemployment; and this could be had only in one or other of *three methods*—

(1) Increase of the wealth of the land;

(2) the migration of the surplus population to other countries or other parts of India where by means of industry a larger population can be maintained. In a certain sense, this even is a subdivision of (1); and



Vandyke, Survey Office, Madras. 1927.

(3) the creation of new posts for Indians (a) either by creating them for the first time or (b) by substituting Indians for others who are occupying such posts now.

Under (1) may be grouped the remedies that I suggest regarding technical and vocational education, diversion of middle classes towards agriculture, development of banking and borrowing of all the money required by Government in India itself.

Under (2) will come my suggestions regarding emigration of the surplus population to places outside India or to those parts of India which are now sparsely populated, but which can easily be made to support a larger population.

Under 3 (a) may be ranged my remarks on the introduction of free and compulsory primary education; while under 3 (b) may be grouped my ideas on the Indianisation of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, and the superior services (both under Government and the quasi-Government concerns).

It may be said regarding several of these remedies that they are outside the scope of this Committee, and that in fact even the Government of Madras cannot give effect to them. I do recognize this; and that is why I have devoted the greatest attention to the problem of elementary education being made both free and compulsory, which is entirely within the purview of the local Government (as it has already passed an Act to that effect). But I believe this Committee can represent its views on the other remedies for the consideration of the higher authorities, such as the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India in Council; and it is with this hope that I have touched on the other topics.

Written evidence of M.R.Ry. M. Koil Pillai Avargal, M.A., L.T., Bishop Heber College, Trichinopoly, dated the 15th July 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Unemployment exists among the middle classes.

(1) Literary—

(a) & (b) Yes. To a large extent among graduates and S.S.L.C.'s.

(c) Not to the same extent as among (a) and (b).

(2) Technical and professional—

(a) To some extent among trained teachers. The percentage is not large, because of the starting of many schools. The promise to employ men after training required of managers is merely formal and not insisted on.

(b) Profession of law is overcrowded.

(c) Doctors can employ themselves unless they are absolutely inefficient. There is yet room for more qualified medical men in the country.

(d) Unemployment, if it exists, is rare.

(e) & (f) Yes. They are too specialized to admit of their being employed in any other department of work.

(g) (i) No.

(ii) Yes to some extent. The new lines which are under construction and District Board Railways may give employment to such when they are completed.

(3) Unemployment is steadily growing.

(4) Not to any appreciable extent in this Presidency; where it exists, it is due to lack of opening adequate to the training.

II. CAUSES.

(1) Yes, to a large extent it is due to the present system of education. Its aim is not equipment for life but to qualify people for Government service. It is mainly theoretical while the practical side of education is largely neglected. Students also do not know or care to know what department they wish to enter till they graduate.

(2) Not generally. With rare exceptions, people are willing to accept anything offered.

(3) There is free mobility of mental labour within British territories. The policy for Burma for Burmans, etc., is a deterrent force preventing mobility to Mysore, etc.

(4) Though caste does not exert its influence as of old, it still operates to the extent of preventing people taking up any employment which is considered not worthy of the caste. This is one of the chief reasons for the unemployment of graduates, who are mostly of high castes. They all crowd into the learned professions and fight shy of other departments.

(5) Want of information is also a real cause of unemployment. Some connexion between the Employment Bureaux and colleges is a desideratum.

(6) The cost of education in literary, professional and commercial courses is in an ascending scale. Literary education is the cheapest because of Missionary and National Colleges started with other than economic motives. Supply therefore far exceeds the demand for it. Commercial education costs more than the other two because there are few institutions which cater to the demand. Probably equipment also costs more.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

The figures can easily be taken from University and Government statistics. Or if it is advertised in the papers that those who are unemployed are to send in their names to such and such

officer in the course of a month or two, a host of applications will be received at once. When there was a vacancy in the college for a tutor's place in 1924 when I was Acting Principal, I received more than twenty applications from old students alone (graduated between 1920—1923).

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) I approve of this: only, selection cannot begin very early. Natural aptitude is not manifested till a boy attains the age of 12 or 13.

(2) Elementary technical education for the lowest grade of labourers, intermediate technical education for foreman and maistri classes and advanced technical education for those likely to be managers.

(3) College, Collector's office, private agency in order of preference.

(4) Very necessary. Special efforts should be made in this direction in the beginning. Then it will follow as a matter of course.

(5) Finding capital to ensure regular supply of water is better than any other method of developing agriculture. If capital is provided for agricultural development, it must be spent only on that. This must be insisted on and must not be confused with the problem of the indebtedness of the ryot.

(6) This is an ideal scheme but it is doubtful whether in the 20th century it is workable. But a scheme for making villages connecting links between country supply and town demand in industrial concerns will prove of advantage to the country.

(7) If self-interest is eliminated from any scheme, in my opinion, it is bound to fail. If co-operative agriculture does not give full scope for self-interest as well as for collective interest, it is doubtful if it could succeed.

(8) If by middle classes it is meant agricultural middle classes and not literary middle classes, a few experiments at suitable sites can be attempted. Whether the trial is going to prove a success or not will be seen in the course of five to seven years.

(9) & (10) Yes with caution.

(11) A local solidarity and community of interest are essential before this proves of advantage where the disintegrating influence of individualism has not supplanted communal interest and there alone the scheme stands a chance of success.

(12) (a) Emigration within British India of middle classes is no good. Of manual labourers is good and can be tried.

(b) Outside India is not advisable when even in the British Empire the spirit of colour bar and of racial antagonism is so strong. So long as the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man are

catch phrases and cannot be translated into life which is practically not for generations to come, this will add to existing racial bitterness and dismemberment of the Empire internally, if not externally.

Written evidence of M.R.Ry. C. Krishnan Avargal, B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, and Editor, "Mitavadi," Calicut, dated the 3rd August 1926.

I. Unemployment undoubtedly exists among the middle classes.

(1) Yes.

(a) Yes.

(b) Yes.

(c) Largest amount of unemployment.

(2) (a) Yes. Now beginning. There are not enough schools, though they are as badly needed as the supply of teachers.

(b) Yes. Plenty.

(c) Yes. Overcrowding has begun in certain areas, though there are large areas lying neglected where there is scope for medical men.

(d) No.

(e) There is unemployment especially of persons educated in the agricultural schools and colleges.

(f) No.

(g) I have no inside knowledge of the conditions, but I think men qualified in railway do find employment.

(3) No unemployment as the number of men thus trained is still less than the demand.

(4) Just beginning. The reason is that local men can be had for lower pay. Specially trained men readily get employment, except in industrial subjects where they are unemployed, because there are no great factories to employ them. An enquiry may be made into the fate of the Government of India scholarship-holders who have gone abroad for special training or research.

II. CAUSES.

(1) To some extent education gives a literary bent to the child's mind and creates aversion to manual labour.

(2) This is no bar. Even graduate clerks are paid very low remuneration and are quite content with the same.

(3) No want of fluidity at all. There is not the smallest feeling of this kind at least at present.

(4) No again. Brahmans are to be found in Mesopotamia and East Africa, Penang and Singapore. They are to be found in Abkari and Veterinary departments though they are teetotalers

and vegetarians. There is some prejudice against manual labour and menial employment among literary classes like the Brahmans; none whatever so far as all other communities are concerned.

(5) This won't help much as the unemployment is due to want of sufficient number of jobs. The suggested arrangement may be a help to the deserving who are not now helped, but it will not create more appointments than now exists. The employment market is dull at present.

(6) Unemployment is equal, except in the commercial courses which are cheaper. But here also the employment market is now dull.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) A counsel of perfection too costly and elaborate for immediate adoption. Special schools may however be started in suitable areas.

(2) No use in the absence of factories and employees who need technical help. The same is strictly limited.

(3) Doesn't touch the question of employment as it still leaves a large number of men in unemployment.

(4) (a) A good suggestion but agricultural knowledge should be disseminated in them at schools. The prejudice against it must be removed. The present law of land tenure which makes agriculture precarious must be changed for one in which the labourer will be held worthy of his hire and the farmer of the produce of his land.

(b) & (c) Yes. But these cannot be done by a stroke of the pen but must develop in the natural course of things, at least, this is a slow cure for the disease of unemployment.

(5) Loans of money and implements to educated agriculturists on easy terms will secure a better, because more educated type of agriculturist. This profession should be boomed and propaganda work done.

(6) I do not understand what this means.

(7) This may be tried in small areas under Government supervision. If it succeeds, the experiment will have imitators.

(8) This has been tried by Captain Petavel in Calcutta and is still in the experimental stage. I would suggest waiting for results from the scheme now working.

(9) Good; it will create agricultural opportunities.

(10) Good; it will create industrial opportunities.

(11) See remarks on (7) above.

(12) (a) This will not be a solution as unemployment which is more or less universal and the difference between one part of the country and another is negligible.

(b) The existing unemployment is due to either unwillingness of the unemployed to go out of India or want of scope for

their employment outside India. So long as either reason continues to operate, emigration outside India will not be a solution of unemployment in India. Emigration outside British India for educated middle classes touches such large question as position of Indians in the Empire, etc. Educated Indians will not be willing to go out as coolies and the scope for other kind of employments is limited.

*Written evidence of M.R.Ry. K. Krishna Avargal, B.A., B.L.,
Chairman, Municipal Council, Tellicherry, dated the 10th
August 1926.*

As regards the first question, my answer is in the affirmative. Unemployment exists more among literate classes, and amongst them graduates and those below them in the scale are also included.

Teachers, lawyers and doctors are turned out in large numbers every year, but if there is a judicious distribution of work among them, persons who are technically qualified may be able to secure appointments.

Teachers.—This profession may be classed under two heads—(1) Higher service and (2) Lower service. Among the higher, I would include all teachers down to secondary grade. This profession has lost much of its charm among graduates on account of the fact that service under Government has become extremely limited. Graduates and under-graduates prefer service under Government on small salary than what are offered by local bodies, who are practically now in charge of secondary education in this Presidency. If a central organisation is established for supplying teachers to all local bodies making their service pensionable, the teaching profession would become more attractive. The teachers would then be in a position to aspire for higher appointments under a system of service, which would be more stable.

Law.—If the graduates who pass out of the Law College could be induced to settle down as practitioners in mufassal Munsifs' courts with better scale of fees allowed to them, the service would become more attractive. The first-grade Pleaders Examination should be abolished. On account of the existing system of selecting candidates for Munsif's appointment from among lawyers practising in the District Courts and High Courts all aspirants for such posts flock to such courts, whether they get cases or not. Such appointments should in future be thrown open for competitive examination from among the members of the legal profession, reserving a few seats for making up communal inequalities.

Profession of medicine.—I think that this profession is also getting overcrowded.

Engineering.—I am not able to give any opinion about this branch of the profession.

Agriculture.—People take to agricultural education more for Government service than for anything else.

Unemployment exists more among qualified persons than among the unqualified.

I am not able to give any information about mercantile and banking businesses.

I am not aware of unemployment amongst Indians educated in foreign countries.

II. CAUSES.

The present system of education is responsible for unemployment among middle-class men. It is however more the mentality of the people that is responsible for unemployment. Education is resorted to as a means for making one's livelihood by serving another. The present system of education does not enable a man to make a living on his own initiative without serving another master. A different system of education pointing out ways and means of making an independent living without serving another master must be devised. This can only be achieved by broadcasting industrial and agricultural education among persons who now seek education with a view to secure service under others.

Unemployment is certainly not due to the small remuneration that is offered. People with superior qualifications are prepared to accept petty appointments if only they could get a living out of such service.

Want of fluidity as you put it in your questionnaire is to a certain extent responsible for unemployment in certain districts. People in one district view with a certain amount of jealousy the importation of foreigners among them. To a certain extent social causes do contribute to unemployment among particular communities. A person in whom the gift of appointment lies prefers his relations and his caste men to others and thereby the chances of others are overlooked. Above all I attribute the present unemployment to the absence of information regarding employments and the failure on the part of educational institutions to keep in touch with the employment market.

IV. REMEDIES.

I entirely agree with the suggestions mentioned in your questionnaire; but I would add that the development of banking for promoting industries and agriculture must be taken up by Government itself. There will be hardly any use in giving technical education in agriculture and industry, unless capital is supplied for using such education for promoting the wealth of the country.

I would suggest that Government should start a big commercial concern with capital drawn from the people of the country and from outside sources if possible, with experts in different lines of industry as its directors. If research scholars are able to

discover new lines of industry, their commercial possibilities should be examined by such directors and, if successful, the central bank should initiate the starting of industries connected with it, and induce capital into it for its proper working, otherwise the money spent on such education is sure to be wasted.

Emigration.—This is the easiest method of alleviating the present unemployment. Each headquarters of the Presidency must maintain an Information Bureau as a separate department of Government with branches in each district. A register of the unemployed among the middle classes should be maintained in each district. The central office must keep itself in touch with employers throughout the British Dominion and the Crown Colonies, and must undertake to supply the demand from out of the lists maintained in each district. There are great possibilities of finding employment in the Crown Colonies and several young men from Malabar have secured comfortable billets in such places.

If one is assured of an appointment in any place within or outside British India, people will be ready to go. Difference in a few annas as wages has attracted thousands of labourers to the colonies, and middle-class men without employment would willingly go to such places, if they are assured of appointments. If Government would earnestly work to supply labour in and outside India, the present unemployment could easily be solved. The other remedies suggested would prevent unemployment in future.

Written evidence of M.R.Ry. Rao Sahib P. A. Krishna Menon Avargal, Zamorin Maharaja's Estate Pleader and first-grade Pleader, Calicut, dated the 11th August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(1) In my opinion the unemployment exists largely among the middle classes. It is prevalent among graduates, S.S.L.C.'s and intermediates and others.

(2) Among the technical and professional classes, there is more unemployment in the profession of law, but less in medicine. In the professions of agriculture and other handicrafts, there are few trained men and therefore the unemployment is less. This remark applies to mercantile and banking business also.

(4) At present there is no unemployment amongst Indians educated in foreign countries who have returned to this country, the reason being the number of such men is limited and they get every encouragement from various departments of Government.

II. CAUSES.

(1) It is chiefly due to the present system of education. All classes of people from prince to peasant and from aristocrat to cooly go through the same course of study from A.B. to B.A.

They are not fit for any business other than that of clerks. Surely, there can be no scope for employment in Government offices for all the educated men who are sent out every year by colleges and schools.

(2) The remuneration offered is no doubt small, but that is not the sole cause. In the absence of any opening, educated men are now prepared to accept any job offered to them.

(3) There is no cause which prevents an applicant in one part of the Presidency from taking up an appointment in another part which is not adjacent to his native place. Young educated men are prepared to go to any part of the Presidency or India or even overseas if there are decent offers with adequate remuneration.

(4) There are no social causes at present. If any such existed before, they have now disappeared.

(5) Want of organisation and help from educational institutions stand very much in the way of young men getting a start in life. They do not know in what department, in what part of the Presidency or in what part of India there is demand for their services and how and through whom the persons who have the patronage ought to be approached. Principals of colleges and headmasters of High schools can do a good deal in this direction.

(6) Every kind of education has now become very costly. It is all the more so in the case of professional and technical education. Most of the graduates go to the Law College, because it is very difficult to get admission in the Engineering College, Medical College and other institutions in which technical education is given.

III. SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

I am unable to answer the various questions under this head. Information has to be gathered from the University Calendar and from public offices. All that I can say is that graduates both in Arts and Law, Intermediates, S.S.L.C.'s and unqualified candidates are roaming about from place to place for want of employment. Whenever there is a vacancy in any public office, applications from qualified persons are pouring in and the applicants go home disappointed and dejected. Such men are not fit to follow the avocations of their ancestors and become a burden to themselves and their family. This state of affairs is soon to create serious troubles in various ways in the future.

IV. REMEDIES.

Vocational training and technical education are absolutely necessary. General education may be given up to S.S.L.C. standard. The students must then be given education in special subjects, especially in the professions followed by their family and according to their taste.

Information Bureaux in colleges and Government offices are necessary so that qualified persons may seek employment through that channel.

(4) Middle classes can easily be diverted to agriculture mechanical occupations, trade and commerce if they are properly trained and sufficient encouragement is offered to them. As matters now stand, even if they are trained, there is no scope for them. So far as the district of Malabar is concerned, absence of a fixity of tenure drives away people from villages to towns to seek some other employment. Arbitrary eviction by landlords discourages educated men from sticking to the land. When the Tenancy Bill now before the Legislative Council becomes law, there will be some change for the better.

There is no scope in mechanical occupations and commerce. The Government has done practically nothing to encourage young men. In the Railway department all appointments carrying a decent pay are given to Europeans and Anglo-Indians. Indians get only very minor jobs. Sea-borne trade and commerce is in the hands of big European firms. There also Indians are given only the places of clerks with few exceptions. State-aided industries are practically nil. The country is too poor to have an organised capital to start industries on a large scale. There is no technical skill also. In self-governing countries large industries are started in the first instance by the State. The subjects then imitate and when they succeed, the State gradually withdraws. The soap industry in Calicut is an instance. The Government started the work and I see now several small factories started by Indians. The Basel Mission started a tile factory. There are several factories owned by private individuals in the present day. In Malabar there is very good scope for manufacturing paper and matches. The Western Ghats contain inexhaustible supply of wood-pulp, bamboo and other materials for manufacturing paper. If young men are trained for such work and the business started by the Government, a very large number of men will find remunerative work. The money invested by the Government will get a good dividend also.

Best timber, such as teak, is available in large quantities in Malabar forests. There is ample scope for making furniture of superior type. This also requires capital and skill.

Crude agricultural implements are now made by local blacksmiths and they are necessarily costly. Preference is therefore given to imported tools and plants. Why not put up a machinery in the country and train people to manufacture them locally? This also must be done by the Government in the first instance. I have no doubt these industries will be taken up by the Indians in the long run if only the way is shown to them.

Bulk of the population, more particularly in Malabar, live upon agriculture which is at present in a very neglected condition. As

I said before, educated men run up to towns in search of some employment. The ryots are exceedingly poor. They have no good cattle for use. The cattle used are ill-fed and over-worked. The cattle mortality is great. They use any kind of seed. The idea of selecting and changing seeds is unknown to them. They have no means to purchase manure. Except in rare cases, no manure is used. Above all, there is the Damocles sword of unwarranted eviction hanging upon them. I am speaking of the special conditions of Malabar with which I am very familiar.

Co-operative societies can do a good deal to ameliorate their condition. Money must be lent on small interest. Grain bank and stores should be started. The ryots must be able to purchase cattle at reasonable price. They have now to pay prohibitive prices. They now borrow money and paddy at a very high interest to meet the cultivation expenses and to maintain their family in non-harvest season. During the harvest season, the whole produce goes to discharge the debt and leaves nothing behind for the next season. Borrowing is repeated. They are always in debt. They have hardly a good meal during the whole year. In such a condition self-respect and independence of thought and action can hardly be expected. The so-called civilization is only in towns. It has not penetrated into the village. Compulsory elementary education and propaganda work by agricultural debt and co-operative societies can do a great deal to improve their condition. I attach my great importance to grain banks and co-operative stores. The ryots do not get market value for what they produce. The produce is sold to their creditors, who fix their own value. Co-operative societies should be able to purchase the raw produce and enable the ryots to get a fair value for what they produce.

As regards the middle classes, the system of education must be changed and State-aided industries should be started. This is the only way to find work and livelihood for the now discontent class. In self-governing countries Army and Navy are open to the middle class. But in India, the Indians, with few exceptions, are taken in only as sepoys or coolies. The two departments are practically shut to Indian middle educated class. It is possible to take in a large number of educated men of the middle classes in those departments if the policy of the Government is a little altered.

Written evidence of Rao Sahib V. Krishna Menon, The Standard Furniture Company, Limited, Kollam, Malabar.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

- (1) Yes. Unemployment exists among classes (a), (b) and (c).
- (2) (a) I don't think efficient teachers have difficulty in securing employment.
- (b) Members of the legal profession are too many and many of them do not get work.

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(c) There are graduates of the Medical College who are not able to secure employment under Government or local bodies. But they can, I suppose, serve the general public by setting up private practice.

(d) & (e) I don't think there is unemployment in this class.

(f) Among the weaver classes, many are without employment, especially those who use pit looms.

(g) I don't think there is unemployment under this class.

(3) There is unemployment among students who have been trained in commercial schools in mercantile and banking business.

(4) Very few are unemployed.

II. CAUSES.

(1) One of the causes is that the present system of education is not suited to this country in some respects. India is an agricultural country. The major portion of the young men and women must find employment in agriculture, which includes the actual cultivation of the soil and the preparation of the agricultural produce for the market.

Greater attention should, therefore, be given for inducing young men and women and training them for agriculture and allied industries. The present educational system, instead of giving this training and creating an enthusiasm for agricultural calling, somehow makes them dislike rural life. The remedy lies in preparing the curriculum in schools with a view to produce a mentality in growing girls and boys that there is no dishonour in taking to agriculture and allied rural industries.

(2) Smallness of remuneration is not the trouble but want of other employments than agriculture is the real trouble.

IV. REMEDIES.

There is a general belief in young men that agriculture is not an honourable calling and it is not remunerative. Diversion of middle classes to agriculture, encouragement of mechanical operations, and trade and commerce will reduce the unemployment to a very great extent. For inducing middle classes to turn their attention to agriculture the system of education in schools and the curriculum have to be altered. More capital will have to be employed for agriculture. Village reconstruction through co-operative agency and larger utilization of co-operative funds for agricultural developments are practical methods which can be adopted without large expenditure of State funds. At present, co-operative funds exist for this purpose, and it is possible to increase them to a very large extent, provided greater attention is devoted by the Government to see that co-operative funds intended for agricultural development are properly used.

The Agricultural department has a duty to perform, which it has not yet done. It must be able to prove to the sceptics among

the middle classes that it is possible to make a living by agriculture. What the minimum scale of remunerative farming should be and how it has to be done have to be suggested and demonstrated by the Agricultural department. There is not a single farm in the Presidency which can be taken as a model for a young middle-class farmer. If the Agricultural department is not willing to accept this suggestion, steps may be taken to afford special attractions to young men for becoming farmers of land.

*Written evidence of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, M.A., Ph.D.,
Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, University of
Madras, dated the 3rd September 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Unemployment does exist, and is becoming more and more manifest among the middle classes.

(1) It is becoming acute in the middle-class populations of the towns, generally among the educated youth of the country. Among these it obtains in a larger measure (a) among graduates (a comparatively large number of these graduates enter the Law College, not because they wish to prosecute their studies for Law and enter the legal profession, but in a large number of cases, because they do not know what to do with themselves); (b) among S.S.L.C.'s and Intermediates also it does exist to some considerable extent, but is not so prominently visible as several of them find means to continue their studies, not with a view to any definite object in view, but with a view to weathering the present difficulty; (c) among unqualified persons, I am not prepared to say it does not exist, but it does not exist in any high degree as in the other cases, one reason being that these have the advantage of sticking to what they had as they began, and, however precarious the position, they hang on to it.

In the cases of the educated classes so called, the greater part of them come from the class of Brahmans, most of whom have no occupation of a specific character, education being in one way or another practically their only occupation. Whether this class happens to own landed or other property by means of which to earn their subsistence, they know of no profession to stick to. They are taking to certain professions now as yet in very small numbers and unless this develops to any considerable degree, the whole class will have to be regarded as an unprofessional class more or less. Classes other than Brahmans that take to modern education generally come from classes which may be described as professional. The profession may not be paying in very many cases, but the allurements of official preference has proved too strong a bait, even before the very recent political changes, so that if one could compare generally the Madras of about forty years ago to the Madras of to-day, taking

the town alone for illustration, it will be found that there is a far larger number of trading and other classes in English schools than there were previously. This change would have been anything but calamitous if the tendency had been for these to return to their vocations such as they were after their education, but that tendency is practically non-existent. The tendency is all the other way round, so much so that service of some kind or other under Government has become the one sole objective of education, and must, even under normal circumstances, result in considerable unemployment.

(2) (a) It was not so long ago that a graduate could find work as a schoolmaster if he failed to secure what he generally regarded as more attractive official positions. Now even teachers of experience with considerable credit for good work find it difficult to get a job if they get thrown out of employment, either by voluntary resignation or otherwise.

(b) In the profession of law in the great majority of cases, employment and unemployment have come to mean the same thing. If putting up a board with the designation High Court, or other, Vakil connotes employment, they are all employed. But that can hardly be taken to be the sense of the term 'employment'. Law graduates and persons otherwise qualified in law are far too many to find employment in the profession of law in the real sense of the term in the actual position of affairs at present. As has already been indicated, students take to the law course not with a view to studying for the profession, but, in a very large number of cases, enter law studies with no further aim than as a means to spend another couple of years at college. This is particularly true of those that have anything like means to do that.

(c) The profession of medicine is not quite as bad yet. Though anything like organised private practice has not come into existence, there is room for a certain amount of it in large towns. Though there is a certain number of qualified medical men who do not find entry into service, they cannot as yet be properly described as unemployed.

(d) As much cannot be said about the profession of engineering which in this country has not yet developed anything like openings for private employment. Contractors and private builders have not learnt to employ engineers for superintending their work; except perhaps in a few mills here and there, there is hardly any scope for private employment of engineers in the civil branch, or mechanical or electrical. There is a certain amount of unemployment among them, as had become clear when a certain number were thrown out of employment both in Madras and Mysore. It is only their slow reabsorption in service that has been the means of their salvation.

(e) Qualified men in agriculture are so few as yet that we have not reached the stage of overcrowding. Notwithstanding the fact that the greatest profession in the country is agriculture,

still it is none the less a fact that I know of no professional agriculturist being employed except in Government service. The biggest landholders, I may even include zamindars, who would stand to gain much by employing professional men have hardly begun to do so. It looks as though there were no room for the employment of agriculturists at all if the Government do not engage their services for various jobs, so that the unemployment of qualified agricultural people is not altogether a remote prospect.

Among those following the profession of agriculture without education qualifications in the subject, I do not believe there is much unemployment, but I should not like to dogmatise on it without much more intimate acquaintance with agricultural areas, than I have had the opportunity for within recent years.

(f) In the handicrafts, such as weaving, etc., there is some unemployment, as each of these trades has become somewhat precarious owing to competition. It will require much more careful enquiry than I have the chance of making to gauge the exact extent.

(g) *Railways*.—I am not aware of unemployment among people specially trained for railway work. I have come across a few stray instances, and that is all.

Note.—In all these cases unemployment prevails more in qualified persons than in unqualified, as in the latter case movement is possible and the want of employment is not so much seen.

(3) It may be said that there is a certain amount of unemployment both in mercantile and banking business. A few of those with qualifications for these have been able to obtain a footing only in Bombay, as far as I have had knowledge of. There again the question has relation to those that have secured some qualifications for work.

(4) Foreign-educated Indians are so few in these parts to say anything about their unemployment. One comes across a specimen of a foreign trained man seeking employment occasionally, but I do not believe the number is sufficient to justify postulating unemployment.

II. CAUSES.

The causes of this unemployment are not very far to seek. The largest number is among those who received the education that is available and do not find employment because there are too many educated people for the few channels of employment that there are for such educated people. General university education and education leading thereto both fit candidates only for work of a general character. This work must necessarily be limited; the more of them there are, the less chance there is of their being completely absorbed.

(1) It may be said to be due to the present system of education. But the system is not capable of alteration or adjustment, because there is nothing to which education can adjust itself. The whole question turns upon what it is that people should be educated

to. It is a question of variety of occupation, and if such variety exists, people that educate themselves would educate themselves to occupations according to taste or capacity or circumstances in life. No such variety exists, and people that educate themselves provide themselves with such education as is available without equipping themselves for any particular vocation or walk of life. The defect in the educational system can be removed only if there are specific openings offering employment to young people who could train themselves for particular occupations where they could usefully earn their existence. If resources are placed in plenty at the disposal of the university and other educational authorities, the educational system could be hauled up into any kind of shape and provide for education, even satisfactory education, for a large variety of vocations. How will that save unemployment unless there are vocations to absorb these? There really is no profession offering occupation to individual talent to train itself.

(2) Where there is a possibility of some occupation, the remuneration offered is that of the mere coolie. It may be of a somewhat higher character, but that is not remuneration for which one could afford to train himself particularly when it happens to be not merely when the initial remuneration is small but the prospects of a rise are not very much. I have heard it said by professional people that there are good openings in the printing trade for young men of talent. The trained printer may begin as a printing workman and may gradually advance to become a foreman. That seems the ultimate position to which a qualified printer can rise. Even where the printer is capable of much higher work, and could even pass tests that may be insisted upon he has no chance of rising beyond, and even the chance of a foremanship with anything like an attractive remuneration attached is not so generally available except perhaps in big printing presses, like the Government Press. To take another branch of it, proof-reading, and attention to the higher side of printing requires qualifications of a special character. People could train themselves to it both in an educational course and by practical training, but it is a common practice of printing presses in Madras to be content with the least minimum of qualifications for this kind of a business. As a matter of fact, anybody is considered competent to be a proof-reader or printing assistant, so that the printing that is done in Madras, with all the facilities available for turning out first-rate work, is content to be inferior. One often hears managers of printing presses speaking with gusto of having very good types, English types, American types, and the beautiful way in which they can print with these. But they have hardly any idea that good printing means a great deal more than good types. That is only in respect of one trade. I believe it is equally true of all trades generally.

(3) Except in lower occupations the remuneration for which happens to be very small, I do not believe there exists any

unwillingness for skilled labour to move considerable distances within the Presidency. I do not know if it can be said that there is a general want of fluidity though this operates where large distances are concerned and occupations with comparatively smaller remuneration are involved.

(4) Social causes and caste scruples do sometimes offer difficulties in the way of freedom of labour in respect of classes of occupations. It is not merely a question of unwillingness, it is more often a question of unfitness or unsuitability for particular kinds of work.

(5) Want of organisation there is in this, as in many other useful branches of life activity. Educational institutions are all of them general institutions, and the few technical ones, I dare say, do remain in touch with the employment market. But a great deal by way of organisation remains yet to be provided for efficient use to prevent unemployment.

(6) There is considerable difference in the cost of education according as it is literary, professional or even commercial. But in the great majority of cases, it is not the extra cost that deters except where the party cannot afford it altogether. What really troubles is the want of prospect of employment. If the chances of employment are good, I believe the demand for professional and commercial courses would be far greater than they are, although in some eligible cases, it may be that the cheaper literary courses are all that they can afford.

IV. REMEDIES.

In regard to the remedies suggested, I am making the following remarks seriatim:—

(1) Vocational training will do no good unless there are vocations and a clear demand for trained people for the vocations. There is so far no evidence of any demand for trained people in the few vocations that are open. Without a clearly defined demand in the several vocations, regulation of selection would be impossible.

(2) Much the same applies to technical education. The question again would be what are the technical departments of work, not Government departments, where there is demand for men and women with technical education. A close investigation perhaps may show the existence of some but ordinarily there seems to be no demand existing.

(3) Information agencies cannot create a demand. The only use of these agencies would be to supply information in regard to the few openings which can be taken advantage of by the comparatively small proportion of those seeking it. To that extent it may be of some advantage.

(4) Diversion of middle classes to agriculture would be of value, but the work that agriculture provides will not be of the character of a continuous occupation; nor of a kind which

the middle classes would regard as sufficiently remunerative. Agriculture as it obtains in this part of the country is hardly remunerative to other than the purely labouring classes. If land had not been minutely divided, there may be some scope for middle-class employment on land. The mechanical occupations ought to be those that should absorb a pretty large percentage of the middle classes, particularly in the skilled departments of it. But so far the opening does not appear to be very large, as the so-called mechanical occupations are confined to the few large towns, and even there somewhat too narrowly for absorbing any large percentage of the middle classes.

(a) Trade and commerce were indeed a source of occupation to the middle classes, but owing to causes beyond control there has been a very considerable slump within recent years so that such openings as there were, have become far too unpromising to give employment any more. A revival in this department may offer chances and absorb a pretty large percentage of the middle-class talent seeking outlet by employment.

(5) Agricultural development in any sense of the term, having regard to the position of agriculturists here, is possible only on the basis of co-operation in work, co-operation in the application of capital, co-operation in the application of improvements, even to some considerable extent, co-operation in agricultural labour. If ideas of co-operation develop to the extent of finding application in all these ways, the chances for the application of a larger capital seem good. If the possibility of these developments becomes clear, the provision of more capital made readily available would be of great value. With that degree of development of the co-operative spirit, the best means of providing this additional capital would again be through co-operative organisations. All these means sedulous effort at fostering co-operative organisations all round, large villages or small collection of villages. What is known in the Tamil country as vattams of karnams would be the most suitable units.

(6) Village reconstruction and the revitalising of the old village communal life would certainly be a remedy, and in the sum-total it may prove to be a very considerable remedy for unemployment. It is not merely physical reconstruction of the village, but much rather a reconstruction of the actual village life. However much Government may actively assist in the revivification of this village life, success would depend upon its freedom from Governmental interference and control. Conceived in the right spirit and carried out with a view to ultimate good, this is bound to prove of great value for the purpose.

(7) I have already referred to this co-operative agriculture. I need not add anything more here except to say that that is the only way of any large agricultural improvement, or of the modernising of the old-world industry.

(8) Farm colonies may be tried as an experiment for the middle classes. The experiment may prove successful to some

extent, perhaps even to a considerable extent if carried out with sufficient attention to prejudices and even communal considerations. Well-conceived experiments at suitable centres may prove of great advantage.

(9) Banking facilities will follow as a natural result of co-operative development, and may be made to precede to some extent large developments in agriculture along the lines indicated above.

(10) Industrial banking on the lines suggested can be worked to success on a co-operative basis again. In industries, such as weaving, people are accustomed to a certain kind of banking for advances, but not on anything like a co-operative basis, but much rather a badly accentuated capitalist basis. A transformation of the capitalist into a co-operative basis would be possible if in the agencies employed interest amounting to the actual self-interest of the capitalist concerned could be guaranteed.

This is the actual real difficulty of the position. But I conceive the difficulty, great as it is, is not insuperable.

(11) If the above effort should succeed in any measure, a necessary concomitant would be some kind of co-operative production and distribution. Not only co-operative production and distribution of profits, but even co-operative advances should be made, articles of material supplied, finished products collected, disposed of, and profit and loss account made, and a distribution on an equitable basis adopted. If all this is done under a system of industrial banking, home industries and small handicrafts will greatly benefit thereby.

(12) Emigration within British India, and wherever feasible, even to Native States under suitable conditions may be encouraged, and may ultimately prove to be in the best interest of all concerned. There is a possibility of large developments in this, with considerable irrigation schemes, like those on foot in Mysore and the Madras Presidency at present. But any arrangement between Native States and British India will have to be proceeded with with care.

(b) Emigration outside British India, unless it could be on terms of greater equality to share in the benefits and advantages of colonisation, would not be to the advantage of India, or Indian labour. I would sooner abolish it rather than encourage that which proves a source of disappointment and irritation among the people concerned.

Written evidence of M.R.Ry. P. T. Kumaraswami Chetti Garu, B.A., Tondiarpet, Madras, dated the 13th August 1926.

The most vital question that is confronting us is the unemployment problem. There is unemployment in all circles in literary classes, in technical and professional classes. We are

sending out from the colleges graduates, intermediate and S.S.L.C. men and lawyers and doctors, etc., in such numbers that everywhere we see hundreds of unemployed begging for jobs in offices. It is high time that everyone, who is interested in the welfare of India and its inhabitants, should attempt to solve this problem of unemployment. Party politics are now rampant in every circle, so much so, the most vital question of relieving the distress of the unemployed is completely thrown into the background. There are few Indians who have returned from England whom we need not think of owing to their numbers being negligible.

This unemployment is really due to the defect in the present system of academic education. This should be remedied forthwith. We are manufacturing S.S.L.C. men, under-graduates and graduates in large numbers who can be fit only to quill-drive. The unemployment is more marked in non-Brahmans than in Brahman classes because of the non-Brahman attitude towards lower salaried appointments. Unless the present system of education is so changed as to give the student a scope to start life with as soon as he or she leaves the school or college for good, I am afraid there will be chaos and confusion in our ranks for getting loaves and fishes of offices.

No doubt it is necessary that the Government should now think of establishing more number of technological and industrial schools. Vocational training that is introduced in our primary schools nowadays is another waste. The boy or girl gains nothing after the course nor is this continued so as to be useful in his or her after-life. I think some of the middle classes and artisan classes ought to be separated from those who want to study for higher academical qualifications after three R's are taught and to be coached up in technological and industrial subjects. This should be begun firstly in villages and remote parts from the town centres. This would be an impetus to the villagers who while away their time in empty gossip.

Lastly the Government should subsidise and encourage all industrial concerns, however trivial they may be. For the lack of support and encouragement by the Government many an industry is crumbling down. No doubt a good deal of support has been advanced in the direction of co-operative movement which is the only movement which gives some sort of help to the needy and to the depressed and such help should be also extended to all cottage industries and handicrafts whether run by an individual or by a group of individuals not on a co-operative basis. If such facility is afforded, I am quite sure that home industries and handicrafts may claim many an unemployed and relieve the distress of some of the artisan classes at least and in the long run the unemployment in literate public also will be solved by the elimination of some of the artisan classes from official circles. But I am not averse to individual cases from artisan classes studying for higher academic qualifications.

*Written evidence of the South Indian Railway Labour Union,
Negapatam, dated the 12th August 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

It is our opinion that unemployment exists among the middle classes in Railways amongst qualified persons as well as unqualified persons.

II. CAUSES.

We are of opinion that unemployment in Railways is due more—

(1) to retrenchment and the present system of education which does not provide for vocational training;

(2) to the small remuneration offered to trained and experienced workmen and to the preferential treatment given to Eurasians and Anglo-Indians irrespective of experience, skill, etc.;

(3) to the different customs and manners of the people, and the language difficulty which prevent workmen from taking up employment in another part of the Presidency which is not adjacent to their native place.

(4) As the higher class of appointments are in the hands of Brahmans who are very clannish, they prefer only Brahman clerks, apprentice fitters, superintendents and labourers, etc. Brahmans on account of the social system are averse to employing depressed classes and untouchables under them.

(5) To want of organization such as absence of Information and absence of Employment Bureaux and failure on the part of educational institutions to keep in touch with the employment market.

IV. REMEDIES.

We accept the remedies suggested, but we are strongly opposed to emigration.

*Written evidence of M.R.Ry. N. Lakshmana Mudaliyar Avargal,
Journalist and Social Worker, 30, Raja Street, Coimbatore,
dated the 14th August 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

It is my considered opinion that unemployment exists among educated middle classes. Of all the 'learned' professions, law is as overcrowded as it is unproductive. Whereas in the Bombay Presidency many a LL.B. is found to utilise his knowledge of law for the direct improvement of industry and commerce, the South Indian lawyer, as a rule, goes in for legal practice as a duck takes to water. Every Indian educated in foreign countries does not get employed on or after returning to this country. When an Indian pupil of an English Professor of world-wide repute, on the eve of his return to this country, went to seek his Professor's advice

regarding the problems and needs of India, he was told "No, no, my friend, we have no time to think for you. You must think out your own problems. No country's problems were solved by any other" (*Journal of the Indian Economic Society* for March 1918). My own impression is that this class of exotics do not, as a rule, act in the spirit of this sound and honest advice. A change for the better is, however, just visible. On a rough estimate, almost all those who returned during the pre-Reform days came to grief as they returned with a good deal of non-observation and mal-observation and as they tried to write, so to say, on a clean slate in India. But the men who returned during the Reform days are in a better position as they are alive to the fact that the experiences of other countries can help them only to a limited extent.

II. CAUSES.

In his paper on middle-class unemployment, Professor H. L. Kaji fixes the blame on our educational system, "formulated by urban brains" (*Bombay Labour Gazette* for June 1926). I am rather inclined to agree with the opinion expressed by the eminent Indian Social Reformer. "The educational system," says Mr. K. Natarajan, "is a natural growth in the peculiar conditions that prevailed in India until a very short time ago. With the expansion of the system its products can no longer be absorbed in Government service and the learned professions and hence the difficulty" (Mr. Manu Subedar's lecture at the Elphinstone Historical Society presided by Mr. K. Natarajan on 18th December 1924). The disruption of the Hindu joint family system and the system of early marriage are the social causes of unemployment.

IV. REMEDIES.

As Government—"the biggest land owner in India"—is no longer able to provide all the educated middle classes with jobs, the obvious course is to divert them to agriculture. Under proper guidance and encouragement, even criminal tribes prove to be excellent farmers (The Note on the Depressed classes of the Madras Presidency) and it stands to reason that educated middle classes will also become excellent farmers. Where there is a will there is a way. They should be given a fair trial, under favourable conditions, in what to them are fresh fields and pastures new. In this connexion I quite agree with the observations made by Messrs. M. G. Kidavu, U. K. Menon and C. B. Samuel in the papers read last month before the Agricultural Jubilee Conference at Coimbatore. The general complaint that only very few of our agricultural graduates were going back to work on their own lands is rather unfair and misleading. For an agricultural graduate in America, for instance, there is plenty of land and plenty of capital: and the system of agriculture is also such as to attract a university man. It is obvious that conditions in rural India are quite the reverse. I understand that the enlightened State of Travancore has decided to give each student of the Agricultural

School 10 acres of land and a sum of Rs. 200 to be spent upon the cultivation of the land given to them. State aid to agriculture is as necessary in British India as State aid to industries. Unless the State takes the bull by the horns and raises (just like the War Loan) a large loan for agricultural development, we shall not be able to solve the problem of unemployment.

Educated young men of the middle classes are now realising the truth that "patriotism need not run entirely into law and politics" and that "stitching a vocation to the hem of our thin literary garment will not give the durable fabric that the country is in need of" (Professor C. R. Reddi's Convocation Address, 10th November 1921). Village reconstruction is an excellent means of employment. Twenty-five years ago Rabindranath Tagore appealed to the young men of India to devote their time and talent towards village reconstruction: and to-day Sri Niketan, the Visva-Bharati Department of Rural Reconstruction, is the first research institute of its kind in India. Tagore wrote to me to say: "You have grasped very well the essential principles that guide our village reconstruction work"; and he has kindly republished my Note on Sri Niketan in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* for January 1926. The idea of an industrial bank for promoting home industries is an excellent one, and well worth a fair trial.

Written evidence of Diwan Bahadur Dr. Peter N. Lakshmanan,
Naranghibagh, Jubbulpore, dated the 11th August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

- (1) (a) Yes.
(b) Yes, to a greater extent than (a).
(c) Yes, to a still greater extent.
- (2) (c) (i) Yes, to a limited extent only, provided private practice is understood as employment.
(ii) Yes, to a pretty large extent.

II. CAUSES.

(1) I am of opinion that the defect lay both in the system and in the individual generally; in the latter case, because in the majority of instances, University education and degrees are sought after without any definite aim as to a particular career, and in the former case the system does not provide for the sorting out of youths at the high school course, according to each one's aptitude, and the nature and kind of education any youth is to have is not determined at that stage and thereafter carried out.

- (2) To a certain extent.
- (3) To some extent, partly due to attachment to home surroundings, to increased expenditure of money for housing, food, servants and other requirements it involves. It may partly be also

due to the fear he may not be welcome among the people of another part of the Presidency.

(4) Yes, to a certain extent, owing to the clannishness and selfishness of some people of certain castes who do not seek to encourage those whom they consider their inferiors.

(5) Yes.

IV. REMEDIES.

I have no suggestions or remarks to offer on the remedies mentioned in the list.

Written evidence of N. Macmichael, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S., First Member, Board of Revenue, Madras, dated the 2nd November 1926.

I.—My impression is that there is a considerable amount of unemployment among the educated middle classes.

II.—It would perhaps be more correct to use the word “unemployable” with reference to most of these unemployed. This unemployment is partly due to defective educational standards. A great many persons obtain the S.S.L. Certificate who are not fit to be classed amongst the educated classes, for there is no minimum standard laid down for the S.S.L.C.

“The small remuneration offered in such employments” is not one of the causes; it would be more correct to say that if the remuneration is small it is the result and not the cause of unemployment. It is not to any serious extent due to “want of fluidity”. It is partly due to social causes; there are practically no prudential restraints on the size of families and the population is at or near the saturation point. Birth control, if practicable amongst the parents of the educated middle classes, would go far to solve the problem.

III.—I cannot supply any figures.

IV.—I do not think the remedies proposed will have much effect. As I have suggested in my answer to II, there are two obvious ways of dealing with the problem. The first is to raise the educational standards sufficiently to prevent the supply exceeding the demand; this solution, it is true, merely transfers the unemployed from one category to another, but it transfers them to a class where there is far less unemployment. The second solution is by birth control, but before this is practicable, a social revolution must take place in the country.

Written evidence of M.R.Ry. T. Manavedan Tirumalpad Avargal, the Tirumalpad of Nilambur, dated the 22nd July 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Unemployment exists amongst—

(1) (a), (b) & (c).

(2) Not so much as in (1).

(3) I do not believe there are many.

(4) I have not heard of any instance.

II. CAUSES.

(1) Partly due to the present system of education. It is defective inasmuch as no vocational training is given.

(2) Not due to inadequacy of remunerations now offered for various grades.

(3) & (4) Not much in these days.

(5) Yes.

(6) Professional and commercial courses of study cost more, because, they can be pursued only after attaining general education. I think many people do not go to qualify in technical studies as the cost is prohibitive.

The difference in cost has an effect on the supply of applicants.

IV. REMEDIES.

The remedies suggested except (12)—Emigration which does not seem called for at present—will be effective.

Technical education must be made cheap.

Written evidence of Dr. A. G. Menon, Palghat, dated the 29th July 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(1) Yes.

(a) Yes.

(b) Yes.

(c) Yes.

(2) (a) Yes.

(b) Yes.

(c) Yes.

(d) Yes. Not much.

(g) (i) Yes.

(ii) Yes.

(3) (a) Yes.

(4) Yes.

II. CAUSES.

I think unemployment in India is due to the helpless condition of the Indians both politically and socially. Indian manufactures and industries and other similar enterprises have more limitations than scope for development. Want of sufficient capital among the enterprising classes, defective organisation owing to communal

and other causes, lack of buoyant spirit resulting from enforced mental depression for centuries, are some of the more radical causes of unemployment. It is submitted that the power behind India does not stand wholly for Indians. Indian benefits are often sacrificed for the protection of non-Indian interests. Want of sufficient support and encouragement for the Indian industries on the part of the Government is the more immediate cause. Socially, the intellectual classes (I speak for Malabar only) have not yet realised the dignity of labour. They have not yet stepped out of the grooves in which they were placed and have not yet shaken off the social prohibitions.

(a) The defect in the present system of education is another cause of unemployment. The instruction imparted to students in schools and colleges is in the main literary. Ninety per cent of their intellectual energy is spent in their attempt to gain proficiency in the English language. Of course, they are taught the elementary principles of some sciences. But this much of knowledge is of no avail to them to earn a livelihood. They have no idea of the practical applications of these principles. When they come out of schools and colleges their condition is not better from an economic standpoint. They are not fit for any work except as Government servants or teachers in private educational institutions. That field being limited, they have to remain without any employment. I venture to suggest that the majority of the Indian students are sent to schools with the object of equipping them for earning a livelihood. Therefore, both Government and private educational institutions should be so modified and improved as to give ample facilities for imparting practical instruction in agriculture, weaving, carpentry and other subjects. Moreover, instruction should be imparted in vernaculars so as to enable the students to digest, to assimilate, to consider, and to improve them. Instruction imparted in English remains barren; information picked up by the students remains with themselves and does not spread among the members of their household and other associates owing to the difficulty of expression. The educated classes are therefore often subjects of wonder and not of benefit to the uneducated. This defect can be remedied by encouraging and developing Sanskrit and vernacular studies and by emphasising instruction in vernaculars. By this, I do not of course minimise the necessity and importance of attaining proficiency in English for a wider and deeper study of modern science and literature.

(3) Yes, want of fluidity is one of the causes. The causes that lead to this condition are both social and economic. The first is merely sentimental. But the second is real. For instance, a Nayar in Malabar may feel it inconvenient to live with his family and children in a Tamil or Telugu district where they may not find congenial society. This feeling is sentimental and can be and is being overcome. But he may find it difficult to make both ends meet in an unfamiliar district if his salary is low.

If he is in his native place he can manage his properties, improve his resources, minimise his expenses and be of some help to the members of his family.

(4) Social causes also make their contribution and that in two ways. First, under the existing social customs certain castes are allotted certain functions and there is a social injunction against each of these castes from doing the work of other castes. Some castes have no work allotted to them and there is injunction against them also from doing the work of other castes. Unendurable social stigma attaches to a person who takes up a work not legitimate to his caste though legally he is protected. But slowly this cause is being removed. Secondly, the communal jealousy—even in Government institutions where the power of granting appointment is in a member of a certain caste, preference is given to a member of his caste, though the other applicants are superior by character and capacity. This has been one of the causes of the non-Brahman movement, and other communal movements in this Presidency.

(5) Organizations such as those suggested under this heading are of immense value for the distribution of employment though they cannot create employment for all the unemployed.

(6) So far as I know, the cost of literary education, though heavy, is much less than the cost of professional education. Certain courses of professional study such as forest and engineering have been rendered prohibitive by prescribing heavy fees and imposing difficult conditions. In spite of this there are enough number of seats for students in these institutions. It is, therefore, necessary that these restrictive prohibitions should be moderated and provision made for more seats in such institutions. In the case of agricultural and commercial courses of studies the applicants of course are not many as those vocations are not attractive enough for the simple reason that after completing these courses of studies their services are not required anywhere. The cost of qualifying for legal profession does not seem to be very heavy. We are in fact suffering from a plethora of lawyers; 60 per cent of them have practically no work. In the interest of the profession the number of seats in the Law Colleges or the number of vakils in a particular bar may be limited. To reduce unemployment among them at present they may be employed in the Magisterial, Income-tax, Police, Registration and other departments. Graduates in Medicine are certainly not too many. But they are not appreciated in the rural parts as physicians. The main cause of such a situation is the fact that they are not acquainted with the use of indigenous drugs. If they are given a practical course of study in the Hindu and Unani systems of treatment, there will not be so much unemployment amongst them.

IV. REMEDIES.

The remedies suggested under headings (1), (2) and (3) are of course good.

(4) & (8) The remedy suggested under these headings is no doubt most effective. Before the introduction of English education the middle classes were really the agriculturists at least in Malabar. They have both capital and labour at their disposal. In every Nayar tarwad some of the male members have been ardent agriculturists. It was the glamour of Government appointments that induced them to give up the profession for some post under the Government, however small or low the salary may be. The agriculture is now left in the hands of lower orders who for want of sufficient capital and information are hopeless failures. Middle classes can now be induced to go back to the plough if there is a fair prospect of thereby earning a livelihood, the scale of which has now risen far beyond that which was obtaining some years ago. Construction of irrigation systems wherever possible and their proper maintenance by the Government will give an assurance to the middle classes that their labour will not ultimately fail. A short course of studies in agriculture may also be made compulsory. Establishment of farm colonies and attractive terms for reclamation of lands will be sufficient inducement for the middle classes to take to agriculture.

(5) It is difficult to suggest how capital may be found for agricultural development. The Indian ryots are not in a position to save anything after paying the Government revenue and meeting their expenses. Every kind of income whether from land or otherwise is now assessed. It is difficult to find a source of income which is unassessed. But as agricultural development may lead to some prosperity in India, I submit some capital may be raised in course of time in the following ways:—

(a) By levying a small agricultural cess on lands under cultivation like irrigational cess, etc.

(b) By enacting that all leases of immovable properties whether for one year or not shall be written on stamp paper.

(c) By levying a small cess on annual forest produce such as honey, bamboos, fuel, timber, etc.

(d) By levying a licence-fee from private owners of irrigation systems.

(e) By Government contribution a sum equal to the sum collected as stated above. The capital so collected in a definite area must be made available for that area alone.

(6) Village reconstruction as a means of employment is to my mind not feasible. If such a reconstruction is possible without limiting a man's choice of a profession or a career, it cannot do any harm. But I think without any limitation the course suggested is not possible.

Co-operative agriculture is an excellent method of developing agriculture and exacting the greatest possible benefit from the land. But it is difficult to bring people to co-operate by uniting their holdings for this purpose, unless the Government insists that the holders of areas within defined limits should do so. I

think such insistence is not possible. The idea may be infused into the minds of the people by holding practical demonstrations in different localities.

(9) & (10) The remedies suggested under headings (9) and (10) will be of great help to poor agriculturists, artisans and other poor classes.

(11) My remarks about the subject under (7) will apply to this also.

(12) Emigration within or outside British India will of course open a large field for work. But I do not think that emigration outside India will help the growth of honest manhood in the emigrants so long as they are not in a position to secure humane if not equal treatment with the citizens of the foreign country. If the Government can assure such treatment to the emigrants, I am sure the course suggested would be an invaluable remedy for this unemployment problem.

*Oral evidence of Dr. A. G. Menon, Palghat, dated the
12th November 1926.*

The PRESIDENT: Q.—I understand you are in the medical profession?

A.—Yes. I am a private medical practitioner in Palghat.

Q.—Are there any other private practitioners in Malabar?

A.—There are very many. In Palghat there are five or six.

Q.—So that there is much opening for the medical profession in Malabar?

A.—Not in towns. There might be opening in villages.

Q.—I suppose that educated middle classes are much greater in Malabar than elsewhere. What is the extent of unemployment among them?

A.—I cannot exactly give the number. I know there is a large proportion of unemployed among the middle classes, i.e., educated classes.

Q.—What do you put it down as due to?

A.—There are several causes.

Q.—What do they actually do after education?

A.—Some are sitting quiet. Some are hunting for employment.

Q.—What sort of work?

A.—Clerical work mainly. Also as teachers.

Q.—I suppose most people of your community are engaged in agriculture?

A.—We were an agricultural class. Now the middle class people are not looking after agriculture. Cultivation is entrusted to poor tenants.

Q.—What is the reason?

A.—Now, English education has spread and Government service is attractive. That factor was not present in olden days and so rich and respectable people were then used to look after agriculture.

Q.—You have not made any definite suggestion as to how to get them back to land?

A.—In Malabar, we naturally depend upon rain. We have not got an irrigation system for agriculture. When we need rain we do not get it. But we get more rain when we do not want it. For the last few years, agriculture is a failure in our district. That is one reason. Another is, in certain respects there is no permanency of land tenure. I am a jenmi myself. But I may say that the tenants are impoverished by landowners, by jenmis as they are called in Malabar. The tenants are always haunted by the fear of being evicted from their holdings. That is another reason.

Q.—What about schoolmasters?

A.—In the elementary stage especially, persons who have read up to the III form and not even read up to S.S.L.C. are given some training and given work as teacher. That is how some people do not go even up to the S.S.L.C. stage.

Q.—Those persons who, you say, are sitting at home may be wanted as schoolmasters?

A.—There is no scope for them as they are too many there.

Q.—If an S.S.L.C. is trained, he will be preferred?

A.—The III form trained man will always be preferred even to an Intermediate untrained man. Once they appoint these young men of III form standard, there will be no tendency to disturb the arrangement, and they will go on for one generation.

Q.—Do S.S.L.C. men go as clerks under merchants and in commercial concerns?

A.—They do.

Q.—Are they preferred?

A.—That I cannot say. Generally in Palghat and other taluks in Malabar, the accounts are kept in vernacular, except in big firms. Ordinarily a man who knows how to read and write the vernacular is employed by merchants. Only big firms might take English-educated people.

Q.—What pay do the merchants give?

A.—Rs. 6, Rs. 8 and Rs. 10.

Rao Bahadur M. C. RAJA: Q.—You say want of sufficient support to Indian industries on the part of Government is the main cause of unemployment. What do you mean by that? What is the sort of support you want from Government?

A.—We want that Indian-made articles should not be taxed heavily. Foreign articles must be taxed till we come to the level of the foreign manufacturers.

Q.—Later on you say that Indian students are sent to school with the object of earning a livelihood and then lower down you say that the difficulty can be remedied by encouraging and developing Sanskrit and vernacular studies and by emphasising instruction in the vernacular. How do you reconcile the two statements?

A.—We want instruction in vernacular because though the boys pass certain examinations in English they are not able to digest what they have learnt. Though they pass examinations, their knowledge of English literature might be very poor. If boys are taught in the vernacular, they will imbibe and disseminate knowledge much better.

Q.—What are the subjects you require to be taught?

A.—Technical subjects. If possible in the elementary school stage.

Q.—Do you think there are enough text-books in the vernacular?

A.—I do not think we have them now, but we must get them.

Q.—You say 60 per cent of the lawyers are not getting a livelihood. What is it due to? Is it due to want of litigation?

A.—No. Litigation is certainly increasing. Even if it is increasing the work is in the hands of a few able men; and the rest get no work.

Q.—That will be the case in every profession. Only efficient men will get work. There is no use of blaming the profession.

A.—No. But there are large numbers who are not able to get their livelihood. That is what I mean.

Q.—There is no difficulty as regards graduates in medicine in your place?

A.—Especially in Malabar we have a strong contingent of Ayurvedic physicians. So we feel rather difficult to cope with them.

Q.—Do you think it will be good for Government to start more schools of the type of the Government School of Indian Medicine in Madras?

A.—I do not know anything of the school here. So I am unable to say anything about it.

Q.—As regards agriculture, you want Government to insist on landowners to take certain steps. Do you think it is possible for Government to so insist?

A.—The difficulty I shall explain. One portion of a land may belong to one jenni, another portion to another, and a third portion to another. For want of co-operation among them the man lower down is short of water, while in the lands belonging to the man higher up water may be stored if a reservoir is constructed. If Government were to interfere in such cases, all people will get water for cultivation.

Q.—How can you expect Government to interfere?

A.—In my opinion, unless Government interferes, there is no chance of land situated in the lower reaches getting its supply of water.

Q.—Under emigration you say that emigration out of India will not be conducive to the honest growth of manhood. Do you think that in your district of Malabar the depressed classes are treated as men better than people who have gone out of India?

A.—No. They are not treated better by the high castes; but they are entitled to all the political privileges with the high castes.

Q.—Do you not think they are paid better outside India than in Malabar?

A.—I think they are paid better outside, but their expenses are higher.

Q.—Do you hold the view that teachers also are suffering from want of employment?

A.—Yes.

Q.—In view of the fact that elementary education is being spread and is going to become compulsory, do you not think there will be need for teachers?

A.—B.A.'s will not become elementary teachers.

Q.—You just told the Chairman that after passing the III form persons get themselves trained and become teachers?

A.—Yes. With the increase of education their number may perhaps be reduced. But all the B.A.'s can't find employment as teachers.

Q.—Do you not think there is a dearth of teachers?

A.—In Malabar, we have a very large number of lower grade teachers.

Q.—My point is this: if elementary education is made compulsory, it will create openings for a large number of persons as teachers and lessen unemployment?

A.—I cannot say that now.

Mr. R. G. GRIEVE: Q.—You say that 90 per cent of the teachers who have undergone training are employed. The number of trained teachers in schools is still under 50 per cent.

A.—I have not taken any statistics. I say that from my experience of persons who have come to me and complained that a number of people read up to III form get some training and get themselves employed.

Mr. G. G. ARMSTRONG: Q.—Is it not the case in Malabar that not very many people seek Government employment but look to land?

A.—Not so.

Q.—Then you do not get enough people to look after lands?

A.—No.

Q.—If the educated classes are got to look after the land, what standard of education in agriculture should be given?

A.—From the very beginning of education in the school some education in agriculture should be given so that people might turn to agriculture as a profession.

Q.—Students should be trained in the vernacular and not in English?

A.—Yes. The teaching must be in vernacular.

Q.—They would not be required to be taught in English?

A.—In the higher grades they may be taught in English. But it should be in the vernacular for the greater part.

Mr. R. M. STATHAM: Q.—You say that in the interest of the profession of law, admission to the bar should be limited. Can you give us any idea as to how you would proceed?

A.—The B.L. standard may be made stiffer. In the present system, as a matter of course every one passing the B.A. goes to B.L. and thus the profession is overcrowded.

Q.—Is it by limiting the admission into the Law College or by raising the standard of the B.L.?

A.—By raising the standard of the B.L.

The PRESIDENT: Q.—How are you going to raise the standard of education in the Law College? Do you want to have an entrance examination for the B.L.?

A.—Not the B.A. standard. The standard of the B.L. may be made stiffer.

The PRESIDENT: Q.—So you would admit them into the Law College but would not let them out! (Laughter.)

Mr. R. M. STATHAM: Q.—Is there anything in Malabar to prevent graduates or non-graduates going back to land and taking to farming?

A.—I think they would have no hesitation to go back to land. But the chances in the departments are still luring them away.

Q.—Is it not your experience that people having no chance in the Government service have gone back to land?

A.—I know some are going back. Some are sitting quiet.

Q.—Do you know if lands cultivated by such educated persons have reached a high standard of cultivation?

A.—But there are no good irrigation facilities in Malabar. That is a handicap. If Government could create those facilities connected with agriculture, it will be profitable.

Mr. R. LEE: Q.—I am not quite sure whether you want education should be in vernacular or in English. You speak of instruction in carpentry, weaving, etc. Would you suggest that the middle classes should be employed in village industries?

A.—Yes. Both in agriculture and village industries.

Rao Bahadur S. K. SUNDARACHARLU: Q.—You suggest certain methods of assessing the people for the purpose of providing capital for agricultural development. Is it not a question of robbing Peter to pay Paul?

A.—There may be some heart-burning on account of it in some quarters. It can be tried. After a second consideration I have come to the conclusion I need not press that point.

Mr. M. K. DANDEKAR: Q.—You say that middle-class people were formerly tilling the ground and that now middle classes might be diverted to agriculture. Do you think they have got capital?

A.—I say want of capital is one of the causes why they do not go back to land.

Q.—In the remedies suggested by you, you say that before the introduction of English education the middle classes were really agriculturists at least in Malabar. They had both capital and labour at their disposal?

A.—They had capital then.

Q.—Not at present?

A.—No.

Q.—Supposing you want to take educated people to agriculture, do you think they are likely to do manual labour?

A.—They are not going to work in the field. They need not actually plough. As proprietors they can supervise others who actually work.

Q.—Is there any other reason why middle classes do not go back to land?

A.—As I said already, want of permanency of tenure and smallness of holdings.

Q.—Do you think land is producing the same produce as before?

A.—If intensive cultivation is practised, land can be made to produce more.

Q.—Do you think that the educated man will be satisfied with the income he derives from his present holding?

A.—He may not be satisfied. But it gives him some income which is better than getting nothing by sitting at home.

Q.—Would you like all educated young men to take to agriculture?

A.—Not all.

Q.—What is your idea then?

A.—Some might go to agriculture. Others might take to commerce and industries.

Q.—What will be the fate of those persons who are already cultivating, if educated persons are going to agriculture?

A.—The present people are poor tenants, merely cultivators of the soil without any capital. If educated men supervise agriculture, the lands would be manured properly, holdings would be increased and thus lands would be improved.

Q.—Do you know that in agriculture the law of diminishing returns is in operation, so that if you go on cultivating land more and more intensively it will not pay like manufactures?

A.—I have no idea of it.

Mr. A. J. SAUNDERS: Q.—You are a private practitioner. Do you find any competition from men who are employed in Government? Do they interfere with your private practice?

A.—Certainly. A man with a hospital is always placed at an advantage over a man with no hospital.

Q.—Would you be in favour of not allowing Government doctors to have private practice?

A.—It must be restricted, if possible, if other medical men are available in certain localities.

Q.—Do you think that would be an incentive for more men to take up the medical course and practise privately?

A.—Yes.

Q.—In connection with a statement as regards the causes of unemployment, you say that want of sufficient support and encouragement for the starting of industries on the part of Government is the more immediate cause. In Western countries, the matter of unemployment is not a question for Government solution. It is for the people themselves to organise methods to solve the problem. Can we not imitate them in this country by throwing the responsibility on the people and the educated young men as

well, so that they may use their initiative and their training to open up new avenues of employment for themselves and for the people generally and not expect Government to do it?

A.—A Western citizen has more freedom and liberty than the Eastern. We are not now in a position to organise and compete with the Western nations.

Q.—Would you not like to put emphasis upon educated young men trying to open up new avenues?

A.—Even with education, Indians are helpless to do such things.

Q.—Suppose the people and educated men co-operate with Government in finding new avenues?

A.—Certainly, Government aid is essential.

Q.—You will go so far as to co-operate with Government?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Your ideal is not to throw the responsibility on the Government?

A.—Certainly not.

Q.—One other point, Mr. Menon. You say in your written evidence that "both Government and private educational institutions should be so modified and improved as to give ample facilities for imparting practical instruction in agriculture, weaving, carpentry and other subjects". We come to that point very frequently. The question is how you are going to modify those educational institutions. After the students have received their training how are you going to provide all of them with appointments? That is our problem.

A.—For them also the Government should find employment.

Q.—You put the whole responsibility upon the Government?

A.—Government with the co-operation of the people must find out some work for these young men.

Q.—Have you any idea as to how that may be done? That is what we want. We want some suggestion in that direction.

A.—I have not gone through that subject. Therefore I am not in a position to suggest any ways and means.

Mr. S. ARPUDASWAMI UDAYAR: Q.—You speak of "lack of buoyant spirit resulting from enforced mental depression for centuries are some of the more radical causes of unemployment". May I know what you mean by that?

A.—The causes are political. The Indians are subjects and are treated as subjects, and therefore have lost their buoyant spirit. So, if Indians launch upon an enterprise and if it fails, then they are afraid of starting any further enterprise; whereas Western nations, although they fail in their first attempt, they go on continuing their attempts and in the end they succeed.

Q.—Do you not see that men who set up rice mills have succeeded?

A.—If someone were to fail in his enterprise that disheartens many.

Q.—It seems to me that many people come forward and start rice mills and they are in a position to run their business although one or two may fail. So do you not think that Indians given the required facilities will succeed as well as others?

A.—Of course Indians if given the proper facilities will certainly succeed. Now we are in a low ebb of spirit. We have not that spirit of initiation and the capacity for organisation and management.

Q.—Do you not see that success which has been achieved was only by those Indians who have started small enterprises and that there is not much mental depression even among those who might have failed in their undertakings?

A.—It is only very few that have succeeded.

Q.—You speak of lack of sufficient support and encouragement to Indian industries on the part of the Government. Do you not see that a great deal has been done by Government by starting small industries.

A.—That is only in name. Practically they are not working very well. In Calicut we have got a soap factory and there were applicants who applied to be enlisted as apprentices. But Government refused to admit them as apprentices. Only very lately they allowed some apprentices. The present Soap Expert is my sister's son. Another sister's son passed his examination in chemistry in Bombay and wanted six months' practical course in the Soap Factory at Calicut, but the Government refused to take him as an apprentice. It was only last year that Government relaxed that rule. Of course I do admit that Government have provided some facilities but we want more.

Q.—You say that the products of our University are not fit to do any other work except to become Government servants and teachers in private and Government educational institutions. If I understand you aright, do you think that there are not as many openings in this country as there are in England. For instance, in England young men can enter the Army, Navy or Air Service or become an agent for an English firm or any other firm. Are there many openings in this country like them?

A.—If Government want they may entertain our young men in Military, Navy or Air force, but there are very few openings in those directions at present.

Q.—But with the progress of Indianisation in the Railways or in the Army and the Navy this question of unemployment will be entirely solved, I suppose.

A.—That will partly solve the question.

Q.—Anyhow will the position improve?

A.—Yes. It will be an improving factor.

Q.—You say that “Government and private educational institutions should be so modified and improved as to give ample facilities and practical instruction in agriculture, weaving and carpentry.” Do you want that these subjects should be taught in classes or colleges or are you in favour of adoption of a course to prepare students for joining technical colleges?

A.—I am for adoption of this course in separate institutions other than the high school or the college.

Q.—That is, you are not in favour of these subjects being taught in colleges or schools.

A.—They must be taught something in their schools and from there you can judge the aptitude of the students to take up a particular course. Those who want to take literary subject may go to a college and those who want to take up subjects such as carpentry and so forth may go to these technical colleges.

Q.—You are in favour of a vocational course being introduced in every school just to test the taste of the students.

A.—Yes.

Q.—You say that “educated classes are therefore often subjects of wonder and not of benefit to the uneducated.” “This defect can be remedied by encouraging and developing Sanskrit and vernacular studies and by emphasising instruction in vernaculars.” Your idea is that the students must be taught the various sciences in vernacular languages so that after leaving the college or the middle school or the secondary institutions, they may impart their knowledge to their neighbours?

A.—Yes.

Q.—You do not deprecate giving instruction in foreign languages?

A.—No, no. I will be the last person to do it.

Q.—You speak of fluidity. Is it not a fact that very many Indians are found carrying on business in Federated Malay States and other distant countries and have succeeded?

A.—Some have succeeded and others not. Some are returning worse than what they were before they went.

Q.—As regards social customs among our young men do you think they act detrimentally to their material and intellectual progress?

A.—As far as Malabar is concerned I think they do.

Q.—Have you not heard of cases where even Brahmans have started businesses to which some people would have taken to as the last recourse? For instance, the gentleman who started

leather industry in Trichinopoly was a Brahman by name Tholkidangu Krishna Ayyar. I think very many Brahmans have taken to industries of all kinds, even the most orthodox and conservative amongst the Brahmans.

A.—They will be only proprietors and not actual workers.

Q.—Tholkidangu Krishna Ayyar did actually work. He had to make experiment himself.

Q.—You say that graduates in medicine are not appreciated in rural parts. Is that the case? Does the villager have recourse to quacks?

A.—In Malabar these native doctors who are called Ashtavaidyans are not quacks. They are real medical men possessing very good knowledge of medicine but not surgery. As far as medicine is concerned, in Malabar there are well-known physicians well read and well educated in their line. Competition is very keen among the Allopathic doctors and the Ayurvedic doctors and people will favour only those in whom they have got confidence. The Ayurvedic physicians are as good as the graduates in medicine and in some cases even better. In such cases there is no harm in people going to Ayurvedic doctors.

Q.—Your recommendation is that even graduates in medicine ought to have a knowledge in Ayurvedic pharmacopœia?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Coming to agriculture you say “construction of irrigation systems wherever possible and their proper maintenance by the Government will give an assurance to the middle classes that their labour will not ultimately fail.” Do I understand you to mean what acts as a handicap and what prevents the agriculturists from adopting modern methods of cultivation and introducing new manures, etc., on a large scale is the fear of less rainfall and less water-supply. If so, on what is that fear based?

A.—That fear is based on practical results.

Q.—Is it your experience that irrigation in Malabar requires improvement?

A.—Except in the borders of Cochin State where there is an extensive system of irrigation, we have no irrigation system at all in Malabar.

Q.—I thought there was a regular supply of rain in Malabar.

A.—‘Regular’ does not mean in time. The quantity of rain in each year may be more or less regular. But it does not mean that there are timely rains. As a substitute for this we want irrigation system to be introduced.

Q.—Is there scope for an irrigation system in Malabar?

A.—On that point opinion of experts must be taken.

Q.—In the fifth paragraph you speak of the condition of the Indian ryots. When you speak of the ryots had you in mind Malabar alone or the whole of the Presidency?

A.—I was referring to Malabar.

Q.—Therefore your statement applies only to lessees and not the jenmis. You think that the jenmis have got enough of capital to invest?

A.—We have big jenmis who can invest their money but they do not assist the ryots.

Q.—As regards co-operative agriculture you state that it is difficult to bring the people to co-operate together unless Government intervenes. How can Government interfere? It is left to you. Do you not say that we must encourage the spirit of co-operation not only through the Agriculture department but by improving the character and sense of duty and patriotism among the people. As my friend has just now pointed out we must not look to the Sirkar for everything. All this must come from the people themselves. We must show ourselves capable of this spirit of co-operation and enterprise.

A.—That, Sir, is very much lacking in Malabar.

MR. C. GOPALA MENON: Q.—You have in Malabar a number of industries, soap industry, fish-canning, tile industry and so on. There is also the Government commercial school for the last twenty years. Can you tell us whether any of the young men who have been trained in the modern method of commercial education has started any industry or tried to work up any factory?

A.—One or two, not many.

Q.—You say that Government have not done anything. But you have got the soap industry and the canning industry, and I ask whether any of the young men who have been trained in modern methods of commerce have actually endeavoured to raise a capital and start any industry?

A.—There are some Indians.

Q.—How many Indians have started such business?

A.—Of course there is the carpentry industry of Krishna Menon.

Q.—I want to know whether anybody has started soap factories?

A.—They have started.

Q.—Any fish-canning industry?

A.—No.

Q.—You say we want some aid from Government, we want foreign markets for industries. It is for ourselves to find out the market for the manufactures that we make. If you manufacture a particular thing, you have to find out the sale for such product.

A.—They are having soap factories in Malabar and they are selling their soaps.

Q.—So it is a good sign.

A.—Yes.

Q.—Is it your experience that the soaps manufactured by these private soap factories are competing successfully with the soaps that are imported into this country?

A.—Certainly not. I think it can be done only by heavy imposition of taxes.

Q.—There is the 11 per cent duty on imported soaps due to the failure of local-made soaps to compete successfully with imported soaps due to the primitive methods of manufacture in this country?

A.—Of course in Government soap factories they are selling their soaps at a cheaper rate than what these private soap factories are selling.

Q.—Do you suggest that if some of these unemployed persons give up their caste prejudices they will get employment readily?

A.—That prejudice is fastly dying out now. I do not know whether they have such prejudice now. That may be one of the causes for their not going to foreign parts. Another cause as to why they do not go to foreign parts for employment is on account of the poor salary that is offered to them in those parts.

Q.—There were caste scruples in olden days. Was there unemployment in those days?

A.—Living was very cheap and the work was distributed among all the members of a family. Now wages have not gone up in proportion to the cost of living.

Q.—Do you think that there is unemployment because of communal jealousies? Is there unemployment amongst all classes, not only among certain communities but among all communities?

A.—It is not communal jealousy alone that creates unemployment. But it goes to a certain extent.

Q.—You say that study of law should be restricted. Do you not recognise that study of law makes a man more law-abiding?

A.—In the legal profession there are so many men who are not law-abiding.

Q.—Do you seriously suggest that the limitations in the profession will not give the necessary check to a better life and so the Government should restrict the number of admissions in every college because the products are too many?

A.—I do not think so. I think the standard may be a little more stiffened. After passing B.A., now a student directly goes to B.L.—there must be some restriction.

Q.—After passing B.A., students may train themselves in some vocational subjects. You are for the adoption of this course not only in the Law College, but in every other institution where products are overflowing.

A.—Yes.

Q.—Do you suggest that the Unani system of medicine should be taught along with the Western system of medicine in the Medical College?

A.—I only suggest that facilities should be given for training Allopathic doctors in Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine also. Now there is only one-year course. I think it is not sufficient.

Q.—If you say that educated young men should begin to cultivate lands, there must be sufficient lands for them to cultivate before they make up their minds to take up that profession?

A.—Some permanent holdings must be created first and these educated men should be given these lands.

Mr. S. ARPUDASWAMI UDAYAR: Q.—Are there not disafforested areas in Malabar?

A.—No.

Mr. C. GOPALA MENON: Q.—You are for adopting a system of agricultural colonies for finding employment for our young men?

A.—I think agricultural colonies will work well.

Q.—You think that the revenue of Government will substantially increase in that way?

A.—Government also should get increased revenue thereby.

Q.—You are aware that agricultural lands is now over-taxed, and you suggest that a cess on agricultural land should be levied?

A.—I withdraw that statement.

Q.—Have you any suggestions to make for finding capital for agriculture. In Malabar is there not a co-operative system?

A.—Of course, the co-operative societies are helping people to a small extent in Malabar.

Q.—Do you know that a co-operative farming society was organised near Palghat and a number of people are working at it?

A.—It is too early to say anything about it.

Q.—Anyhow, if it proves successful, you would advocate co-operative farming for our young men?

A.—Yes, if it is a success.

Q.—You say we must find finance from current revenues for capital expenditure on agricultural purposes. Is it not bad finance?

A.—We may raise loans for capital expenditure.

Q.—So you think that given capital and land educated young men would make productive use of land?

A.—I am a believer in that direction.

Q.—Will it be helpful if adult education is organised by the Agricultural department?

A.—Certainly.

Q.—You want the Agricultural department to work more in the direction of agricultural education?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Are there any home industries in Malabar?

A.—Cair mat making, weaving, etc.

Q.—Cannot young men take to mat industry, which is an ancient industry of Malabar, instead of sitting quiet?

A.—There are some doing it now.

Q.—Are there a number of instances?

A.—I know a number of instances in Palghat. I myself sent some specimens of mats to the Wembley Exhibition with the names inscribed on them.

Q.—Were they made by middle-class people?

A.—They are proprietors of the concerns and they supervise the industry.

Rao Bahadur CRUZ FERNANDEZ: Q.—Do educated young men actually work in mat making?

A.—They do not make mats.

Mr. S. ARPUDASWAMI UDAYAR: Q.—They run the industry?

A.—Yes.

Mr. C. GOPALA MENON: Q.—Are Government weaving parties doing any work in Malabar?

A.—I do not know.

Q.—The Basel Mission has started a weaving factory at Calicut. Do you know that a Government peripatetic weaving party is touring round the Presidency?

A.—I do not think they are doing anything in Malabar.

Q.—Do you know any young men who have returned from Bombay after receiving education in technical institutes in weaving and allied subjects?

A.—I know some persons came out as chemists and electricians.

Q.—Are they doing anything?

A.—They are not here. Some have gone to Calcutta and Bombay and Straits Settlements for employment. I know some have gone to Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Q.—Is there not an instance where these young men remain in Malabar and start some industry?

A.—First of all, they have not got sufficient capital. Capital must come from the jennis. Secondly, the jennis have no confidence in the success of enterprises that may be started by these young men.

Q.—But they can extract work from them, finance the concerns and supervise them?

A.—There is a fear that the concerns will not succeed.

Q.—Even when these young men possess certificates?

A.—The certificates are not valued. That is the difficulty.

Q.—That is why I say that public men in the district should organise industries on a co-operative basis and employ these young men?

A.—No Malayali is able to do it. We will have to do that, I agree. But no one has done it till now.

Q.—There are a number of co-operative banks in Malabar, I suppose?

A.—Yes.

Q.—You must be able to find finance in that way and start industries to help the young men in the country?

A.—Somebody will have to take up the initiative.

Q.—It is for the leaders and public men in the country to do it and not look to Government?

A.—Yes.

Written evidence of A. K. Menon, Esq., B.A., F.U.S., Superintendent, Kerala Soap Institute, Calicut, dated the 13th August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Yes. Considerable unemployment exists among the middle classes.

(1) (a) Yes.

(b) Yes.

(c) Yes.

(2) (a) Not appreciably large.

(b) Though employed as lawyers, yet many of them eke out a meagre existence—very seldom capable of making both ends meet.

(c) Same as (b), but this class of people generally make by practice at least sufficient to keep them going; in fact most of them are better off than (b).

(d) Not worth mentioning, but still there exists some unemployment.

(e) Not worth mentioning.

(f) Yes. Amongst weavers, brass vessel makers and a certain class of blacksmiths and other hereditary artisans.

(g) (i) & (ii) Not worth mentioning.

(3) Not worth mentioning. Should say very little.

(4) Yes. About 25 per cent are not congenially employed. Most of the foreign educated young men are barristers. There are a few unemployed in the number of men trained in technical subjects.

The failure of many barristers to make a good living can be attributed to the causes given below. Several of the old type possessed only scanty university education before being called to the Bar in London. Failed matriculates and people of not much superior education in India wishing to get a profession and a status used to qualify for the Bar. This position was denied to them in India, owing to their inability to pass Indian Arts examinations which alone will entitle them to get admission to the law classes, e.g., Pleadership, LL.B., B.L., and such courses. The barrister's gown does not endow many men with any special knowledge of law; the litigant public do not have faith in their ability and capacity for taking care of their cases. Only in exceptional instances do Indian barristers compete successfully with lawyers in Madras.

In the case of technically trained men, that is, men who have specialised in some industries, such as textiles, leather trade, electrical technology, glass blowing, ceramics, paints, dyeing, etc., the opening in this country is very limited, owing to the small number of manufacturing industries which could readily absorb their talents. Indian firms are few and they sometimes patronise foreign trained Indians. Manufacturing concerns in India run by Europeans give to Indian experts only a minor place in their factory, if at all they countenance them. The Indian experts therefore lead a precarious existence in these factories, their position is never permanent and they can at any moment be thrown out of service. For want of suitable employment many Indians with European qualifications have to lead the life of the unemployed. Some of the Indians are now getting trained in accountancy, actuarial and such commercial subjects. They are able to get employment in various commercial concerns or else set up private practice as consultants and experts.

II. CAUSES.

(1) The present system of education has much to do with the unemployment problem amongst the middle classes. The boys are weaned away from agricultural pursuits into schools and colleges by the glamour of English education on the one hand

and on the other by the absence of remunerative employment which at one time agriculture offered to the sons of the soil. The increased cost of living and the diminished output of agricultural crops and the comparative increase of population in every middle class family without any appreciable increase of property have made many families dependent upon sources other than agricultural for their living and for that of the members of the family. The absence of suitable industries in the country which could give employment to many people is a serious drawback in India. Educated young men cannot get employment in factories, because these are very few and men available are very many. Hence the boys flock into schools, Arts and Engineering colleges and medical institutions and are turned out as B.A.'s, engineers and doctors without any regard being paid to the existing uneconomic employment prevailing among them. Quill-driving in Government offices is the refuge of many of those turned out from arts colleges and every time there is a vacancy in a Government office for a clerk or similar post, there is a rush of applications from a host of passed and unpassed candidates.

The education as at present followed should be regarded as faulty and far from satisfactory. A school final passed certificate does not make the holder of it any bit useful to himself or to others, if he is unable to secure a job in Government service or in private firms. His status (false) as an English-knowing boy prevents his doing any manual labour and his ways of life are more rigid and expensive than those of a labourer in the field, a mason or a carpenter. His basic rate of income is however considerably less than that of a coolie or a railway porter. The same holds true with men of higher educational qualifications—intermediates and unpassed and passed B.A.'s. If they cannot get employment in any office or firm, their education is practically of no use to them materially. English education in the lower standards should not be dispensed to all and sundry. Such of the boys as are fairly well off both financially and intellectually should only be allowed to get higher education. It is desirable to impart to others of mediocre attainments education in the vernacular of the country in those subjects which will enable them to turn into good account in their career. In other words, they should be given practical instruction in the various trades which will be of use to them in their daily work—that will make them skilled masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, fitters, etc. Such a training would enable them to make a good living and become useful citizens also. English education has the baneful effect generally of turning the heads of boys of the lower middle class and of making them ill-fitted for life. They get an exaggerated opinion of their own importance, which prevents them from doing any manual work. Boys from the agricultural and artisan classes such as carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, etc., who have acquired some knowledge of English consider it *infra dig* to take up the profession of their grandfathers. Even in cases where they follow their original

occupation, it is found that they are uneconomical in habits and inefficient and indifferent at work. The purpose therefore of the lower standard of education should be to turn out useful artisans. English should altogether be eliminated from the curriculum. The higher arts and professional colleges should limit the number of students in their roll. In lower classes only a limited number of students should be admitted for English education. Industrial institutes should be established in various parts of the country to give the sort of training which will suit the requirements of the ordinary trades. Agriculture should be pursued on more up-to-date and on a scientific basis which would produce more wealth not only to the agricultural class but to the country at large. Connected with agricultural improvements should be considered the question of starting agricultural industries such as the manufacture of sugar from sugarcane, of preparing cigarettes and cigars from tobacco, making soap, candles, varnish from oil-seeds, and of converting all possible raw materials into finished products. Manufacturing industries can only absorb raw materials of the country to any appreciable extent and manufactured products have a more monetary value than that of the raw materials. In India manufacturing industries bear no proportion to the large production of raw materials. If education can be so given as to make the young men fit for starting industrial concerns to utilise a good portion of raw materials, it will be a means of giving employment to many.

(2) Not entirely due to the small remuneration but to the want of suitable appointments to absorb all the available candidates, supply being larger than the demand.

(3) No. Unemployment is prevalent throughout the country. Conditions obtaining in one part of the Presidency are more or less the same in every other part.

(4) Social causes are somewhat responsible for preventing young men from going outside their districts in quest of employment. The boy may have an aged mother or an old uncle or some other family tie which keeps him to his own town or village. The intricacies of social life as a result of early marriage amongst many classes of people retard adventurous spirit amongst Indians. The condition of a young man in India is quite different to that of a young man in England or in America. The cost of living or at least of keeping the body and soul together is very little in India and as such there is no incentive for a young man to go out and rough it. Different is the natural, physical and social outlook of a lad in England. The climatic conditions, the social habits and tendencies coupled with the high cost of living require that he should get and do work in his own country or else go outside for it. It is a question of work or extinction.

(5) Partly—Information Bureaux are good in themselves but their utility is reduced by the absence of employment markets. As stated above, the supply is more than the demand. The market is glutted—as witness the large number of men who apply for any advertised post in Government or private offices.

(6) The cost of education, it may be said, has more than doubled since the last decade. The increased trend in the cost of living explains partly the high cost of education. For a student to get through a course of B.A. or M.A. would cost (on an average) any family as follows:—

	RS.
Till the School Final course Rs. 150 for ten years ..	1,500
Intermediate—two years	1,000
B.A.—two years	1,200
Honours—one year	750
Total ..	4,450

For qualifying for B.L. course and getting apprenticed, three years are required. The cost of this course may be put down at Rs. 800 per year, or say Rs. 2,400 for three years. Total about Rs. 7,000. The medical courses will also cost a similar amount owing to the larger number of years to study.

(c) *Commercial courses.*—Only very lately has there been a desire on the part of students to take up commercial subjects. Amongst the passed B.A.'s, the number who take up commercial courses at present is very limited. Only failed school finals and other unpassed candidates, who cannot get admission to Arts colleges, take up commercial subjects, such as type-writing, shorthand, book-keeping, etc. A failed candidate cannot be considered to be the best stuff for a commercial career as this also requires in the student an aptitude for study, perseverance and also a certain amount of intelligence. The commercial course may cost perhaps less than any other course, but it does not make any difference in the number of men applying for higher education. Candidates possessed of high educational attainments do not consult their educational costs when they apply for any advertised posts. Many of them are desperate owing to continued unemployment and will offer themselves to any post irrespective of its suitability or otherwise and without regard to its monetary aspect.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) *Vocational training and selection in schools.*—As mentioned already, this will have a very salutary effect in checking the increase of unemployment in the ordinary professions. Vocational training should be directed towards equipping the middle-class lad with a general knowledge of mechanical subjects similar to what is done to the boys in Europe. Special courses should be taught for making them skilled workmen in one or other of the common useful profession of carpenter, smith, fitter, electrician, chauffeur, etc. If such a system is followed, there will be a good outlet for trained hands and with their training and experience and economic employment they will earn their living and turn out to be peaceful and useful citizens. In schools, students should be divided into two classes—those who are to get a higher education and those

who are to get only an ordinary primary education. Only persons of the rich or high official class should be permitted to go up for higher studies, exception of course being shown where a lad of the lower or poor class shows remarkable intelligence and aptitude for higher studies. In such rare instances, Government may institute a scholarship to help a poor student to benefit by higher education. A compulsory percentage or rather minimum must be fixed so as to avoid an undue rush of students for higher education. By limiting the number, the temptation to give higher education to young men at great pecuniary loss to parents and guardians will be removed. Many families will be better off if such a restriction is imposed, as they need not borrow money or otherwise be put to difficulties for seeing a boy through the highest course of education, which is often not productive of any financial gain. The strength of the colleges and universities should be reduced at least for a certain number of years till the percentage of the unemployed is lowered to a satisfactory level.

(2) *Technical education.*—This is a great desideratum in India. The boys have no chance, even if technically inclined, to get proper instruction in technical subjects. There are a few existing technical institutes but they are limited both in number and utility. Technical education will be useful, if there are opportunities for trained hands to get suitable employment. If properly conceived, it will provide a means of reducing unemployment, but candidates trained in technical subjects are likely to flood the labour markets, unless there is sufficient opening for them. The open-sesame is that Government or private agencies should start more industries on cottage and factory scales. If private enterprise is not forthcoming, Government should start new and strengthen existing industries or aid or subsidise private concerns. The number of technical men should by no means be increased beyond the absorbing power of present or potential industries, lest the same discontent due to unemployment should crop up as in the case of superfluous men turned out from arts colleges.

(3) *Employment or Information Bureaux* are very good institutions in Europe, but in India they will have no practical value as the applicants are too many for any post. They would work satisfactorily in India if there is an equilibrium between the number of qualified hands and the number of posts available to be filled up.

(4) (a) *Agriculture.*—This will form a good opening for a number of trained young men. Here again the difficulty will arise on the question of remuneration. Several agricultural lands do not produce sufficient to admit of the employment of highly or moderately paid agricultural overseers or superintendents. Perhaps by following improved methods and by the application of manures the lands may be made to yield better, but the Indian ryots are hopelessly conservative and not much inclined to spend money towards improvement of their lands. More young men should be induced to take to planting fruit

trees, oil-bearing plants and trees, essential oil-yielding roots and herbs, which so far have not received the attention they deserve in India. There is much scope for organized work in this direction. One often sees advertisements of apples, pears, etc., grown in the Punjab for sale. Similarly in Southern India pine apples, mangoes and such fruits are now being cultivated for sale. In a similar way different other fruits could be grown not merely for home trade but also for export. The same applies to the large variety of perfume yielding plants, etc., which are not cultivated to the extent that is desirable or possible. There are some European planters engaged in this profitable work but they are only very few. Indians, especially middle-class educated men, may turn their attention to this sort of work, which gives healthy open-air occupation and also a good income. There are likewise several oil-yielding plants of great economic value which can be grown in regular plantations which will give employment to a large number of men. Planting offers a good prospect for many young men now without any employment.

(b) *Mechanical occupations.*—The openings for young men are limited in extent. It will certainly be useful to train up a sufficient number of men for mechanical work, but care should be taken that the market is not glutted by too many trained hands vainly seeking to get a living wage.

(c) *Trade and commerce.*—This certainly can and must absorb many young men. But difficulties connected with this are numerous. Already there is in every town, a large number of Indians engaged in petty trade. To make more men take up trade as a profession will be good, but many of the middle-class men have not much capital to start trading and they are also not fitted to trade as exporters or importers, although there are some strikingly successful Indian merchants doing large export and import business. Much experience is necessary and this can be obtained only after considerable training. At present there is a dearth of knowledge of commercial practice and many Indians have not the courage to strike out new lines. A beginning could however be made.

(5) If more capital could be provided, agricultural improvements can be effected and agricultural industries can also be started. The best method is to give loans carrying moderate rate of interest, either by Government or through co-operative banks. Of course the whole system will have to be worked out very carefully so as to avoid any serious difficulties in realising the amounts loaned. The indebtedness of the ryot to the notorious money-lender can be remedied and his profits increased if money is made available to him when required at a low rate of interest repayable in convenient instalments.

(6) The earning power of the people in villages is very limited; their occupation is mainly agriculture which, however, as at present pursued, is not very remunerative. So all the

educated young men of the villages and those belonging to the middle class cannot get employment in their own villages. It is not known in what way reconstruction of a village is possible. In Malabar the village is capable of vast improvement, if the tenancy regulation is brought into force. Many of the middle-class men have no fixity of tenure and as such they are unable to put forth their best efforts and to keep the men properly employed in the leased lands. They are obliged to take away the young men from agricultural pursuits and send them out to seek employment as clerks in Government or private offices, or to follow the profession of a lawyer or doctor.

By creating village panchayats and by extending to the villages general administrative powers, that is, giving them the privilege of formulating their own schemes regarding the establishment and maintenance of schools, hospitals, industrial institutes, etc., suited to the requirements of each village, a large number of young men can be usefully engaged in the villages and thus help to increase the material prosperity of the same. Here also the extent of the operations will be limited by the paucity of funds and Government cannot be expected to render too much pecuniary aid. Still the scheme of village reconstruction as a means of reducing unemployment is worth a trial.

(7) *Co-operative agriculture.*—This is likely to do considerable good if inaugurated on the right lines.

(8) *Farm colonies for middle classes.*—This will be a source of giving employment to several men. The idea should be to inculcate amongst the young men the habit of putting their shoulders to the wheel and to respect the dignity of labour. Well-organised farm colonies where agricultural pursuits suited to each locality could be followed can give employment to several young men and these colonies can be modelled on those now flourishing in Australia, New Zealand and some other countries. The difficulty in this country is the existence of an enormous population, which requires that these schemes should be introduced throughout the country, which means a lot of organisation and expenditure of initial capital.

(9) *Development of banking.*—See below.

(10) This will help considerably to reduce financial difficulties of the middle-class men. Low rate of interest will be a boon to many men engaged in small trades and industries who have now perhaps to borrow money at exorbitant rates of interest from banks, if at all they are able to secure loans.

(11) This will be a useful aid for promoting various industries both agricultural and chemical. If the producer of raw materials and the manufacturer of finished products could combine and work on a co-operative basis, the results will be very advantageous to both. Every manufacturer will be able to get good value for his products as buyers of such products cannot cut down prices by bargaining, as it would be possible if there were

a number of small individual suppliers of the same product. The small man without much financial backing is obliged to sell his goods to any one even at a loss to get the proceeds to enable him to ply his trade. If he forms part of a co-operative society his interests will be secured; his products can be sold to the society, or rather, the society will collect his products as well as of other producers and obtain the best values for them. These societies, if organised properly, will prove very beneficial. All the members of it will be both producers and consumers, what one member does not make another member may supply; there will thus be an interchange of products between the different members of the society. In fact, if the organisation on a co-operative basis is properly formed, it can supply almost all the main necessities of life to their members. The co-operative wholesale societies in England and, elsewhere in western countries, make in their factories almost all kinds of products, such as bread, butter, jam, soap, candles, sugar, tea, coffee, etc., which form a large bulk of the materials consumed by the members. The profits from such sources are shared by the members who number several thousands and there is also the great advantage that each member will buy only the society's products in preference to other makes, so as to enable the society to pay good dividends. Such an organisation will have a tremendous force behind it and it can safely export its products if there is more than what is required for home consumption. Foreign buyers will have more confidence and trust when they buy through a recognised society or business house and the trade in both raw materials and finished products will expand considerably to the advantage not only of the society but of the producers and of the country where it is produced.

(12) *Emigration.*—(a) Emigration within India is not likely to benefit the middle class as economic conditions are more or less identical in all parts of India. Further if people from the south emigrate to the north they will find themselves more or less strangers at destination as the language, customs and habits differ from theirs and they will feel as if they were in a foreign land.

(b) Emigration outside India may be of some help. The educated middle classes are now able to get better and more lucrative appointments in Burma, the Malay States, Africa and other countries overseas. Such emigration should be encouraged as men who emigrate will not add to the unemployed in those places but by reason of their knowledge or educational qualifications may serve properly the countries to which they emigrate. Such men are generally employed as doctors, foremen of estates, engineers, clerks, managers, mechanics, etc. If the existing social and political disabilities of Indians settled in foreign countries are removed and better facilities offered, more educated Indians will be encouraged to emigrate. They may become more adventurous and go out of their country to seek fresh fields and pastures new.

Written evidence of Joseph Muliyil, Esq., late of the Madras Christian College, Calicut, dated the 14th August 1926.

The problem of unemployment cannot be solved easily. It has had a growth of not less than four decades; and as the various causes which brought it into existence, however insignificant each of them might have been at the beginning, happened by degrees to get that strength, which an indissoluble combination of weak elements gives to the united whole. It has developed to its present dimensions, and if unchecked without further delay, will continue to grow steadily, bidding defiance to those who, one day or other, will have to address themselves to the task of arriving at a successful solution of it. The duty, therefore, of those who are now engaged in tackling this problem is to analyse and to separate, so to say, the members of this strong confederacy, as individually they are sure to be weak and conquerable. I venture to point out a few of what I believe to be the elements of this complex union.

I. *The abnormal growth of the so-called "middle classes".*—I understand that according to the official definition of the term "middle classes", all those who have an income ranging between Rs. 400 and Rs. 7,000 per annum come under this class. But the two extremes are so far from each other that one cannot understand how there can be any resemblance between the means and modes of life of those in the nearest neighbourhood of these two extremities. I know that sometimes a distinction is made, by a division of the whole into two parts, called the *upper* and the *lower* middle classes. But even this does not remove the difficulty of drawing the line of demarcation between the two classes. For,

(i) The social customs of this country have some peculiar features. The head of a family, however limited his income, has to support all the other members of it, be they *ten* or *twenty* in number, including even grown up young men, who without any attempt at augmenting the bread-winner's slender income, would lead the life of parasites without that sense of shame which attaches to such a life in other countries. The late Diwan Bahadur Srinivasaraghava Ayyangar, who once wrote that the average Indian's cost of living was Rs. 3-8-0 per mensem, was severely criticized for making that statement by almost all the Indian journalists of that day, but even simultaneously with those critics the "unemployed" used to flood the offices of the various departmental heads with petitions containing invariably one peculiar statement in almost all of them, viz., "My father, who is the only earning member of a family of (10 to 20) souls, gets a monthly salary of only (Rs. 30 to 40)". The fact is that in a large number of the so-called *middle-class* families the average income *per head* is not more than Rs. 3 or 4 per mensem, which is hardly above that of a *poor class* family, every one of which (man, woman, boy and girl) is an earning member.

(ii) The boundaries of the so-called "middle class" ever continue to enlarge. In olden days this class included only people of certain castes. But the days of birth-right are gone. Now any one related to a man earning Rs. 400 per annum is a middle-class man. More than this, a young man, whatever his father's caste or profession, who has had the privilege of passing through four or five years' course in an English school, with the sole object of making his education the means of his livelihood, is ashamed to take up his father's profession, even if that profession would save him from starvation or fetch a better income than what he can expect from an office. "Dignity of labour" is unknown in this country. A proletariat who earns his honest bread in the sweat of his brow is far inferior to a fat *pandaram* or a strong and healthy *mendicant*, whose profession—that of a veritable beggar—brings him without any labour means enough to pass his days in comfort. As such a stigma attaches to honest labour in this country, young lads (sons of poor pedlars and handicrafts men) who have passed through the classes of an elementary school are filled with such an over-weening pride that they abhor the very idea of taking to manual labour of any kind and prefer starving and waiting like Micawber "for something to turn up" for fear of being thrown out of the circle of the middle class.

(iii) There is another cause for the growth of this particular class, but it is so closely connected with the social customs of the country that it would not be easy to counteract its effects. Before the country settled in peace under the present Government the rates of birth and death were almost equal, and the country was never overpopulated. Internal quarrels, frequent famines and periodical epidemics checked the large increase in population caused by polygamy and compulsory marriage even at a tender age, but the forces which arrested the unnatural growth of the population are fortunately almost absent now, while unfortunately those undesirable agencies of overpopulation remain unrestrained in their pernicious operation. The "poor classes" solve the problem for themselves by freely migrating to settlements out of India, where they can work and earn their bread. The "middle classes" unable or unwilling to imitate them remain at home ever "waiting for something to turn up" and ever powerless to make that something to turn up despite their vaunted education. So, one of the first things, if not the first thing, to be done is to devise means whereby this abnormal growth of the so-called *educated middle classes* may be arrested.

A clear definition of the term may compel all unemployed young men, whose educational qualifications amount to a "mere superficial scratch," to turn to various kinds of manual labour as determined by their inherent aptitude.

II. *An erroneous system of education.*—(i) Literacy was once in this country the monopoly of a small minority and knowledge being power, the minority had a permanent

supremacy over the dumb millions, who with their superstitious dread of the learned, never ventured to pry into the secrets of knowledge. Perhaps it was under the Muhammadan rule that those who could afford to break through the trammels of custom managed to get themselves initiated into the mysteries of knowledge, but they were very few in number. With the advent of the British, the clouds of ignorance and superstition began to be dispelled and by the beginning of the last century vernacular education was spread widely among the privileged middle classes of those days. About the middle of the last century with the institution of the universities, schools meant for "Anglo-vernacular education" sprang up in all important towns; and as those educated in these schools even without proceeding to the University course succeeded in getting employments in the various departments of administration, education instead of being a means to an end, became an end in itself. As the salary paid even to a petty clerk happened to be more than what a hard-worked labourer in those days could get after working from daybreak to sunset, and as the office carried with it a status in society and an imaginary power with a peculiar influence, besides the sure prospects of a fair competence after retirement, the poorer classes began to be discontented with their "hard lot" and to hanker after the loaves and fishes distributed by a Government which ignored the birth-right and recognised only merit and efficiency.

(ii) The system of education in vogue in those early years was quite right and proper. As the avowed object was to get men qualified for working in Government offices, the curriculum of studies was naturally what suited the object in view. But even after the supply began to exceed the demand, the system continued unaltered. It is well known that those in authority attempted a change, providing facilities for imparting useful knowledge, calculated to enable the pupils to follow professions even more lucrative than ordinary places in a Government office, but all such attempts failed to secure the patronage of parents, whose only ambition was, as it is even now, that their children should enter only the learned professions. Industrial schools and technical institutions never won the popularity and support they deserved in those days; and if there is some leaning towards them in certain quarters now it is only the result of a belief that there may be chances of some situations equal to those of "honoured and highly paid officials". It was a source of serious disappointment that even in rural tracts manual training could not be introduced in the schools to which the children of coolies and artisans flocked in large numbers. The instruction imparted was purely of a literary character.

(iii) This state of things continues even now although every thinking man knows that our elementary education is of the most imperfect and useless type, as the work of teaching is unavoidably entrusted to men unqualified for their sacred task. Without

exaggeration, our educational system may be compared to the construction of a great edifice under the guidance of two different persons—the foundations and basement being entrusted to an inexperienced layman who is quite ignorant of the proportions of the proposed building and the grand superstructure being planned by an eminent architect who presumes that the other man's work would be up to the mark. Men who have only imperfect knowledge of the subject they have to teach, men who are supposed to be able to "teach young minds how to shoot," men who go through a drill of one or two years in a training school which professes to imbue them with the power of laying the foundation required for all higher studies, men who after such a training are paid an unenvied monthly salary of Rs. 10 or 15 which they are perhaps expected to eke out by the use of their talents in sundry ways,—to such men are the children of the people entrusted in elementary schools during the most important period of their scholastic career. Is it a wonder then that the materials they turn out proceed to high schools and colleges, with their intellect hopelessly dwarfed, thinking powers almost blunted, and their own inherent tastes and aptitudes undeveloped and therefore unknown to them? With due deference to the University authorities I venture to assert (i) that it was a mistake to abolish the old Matriculation Examination when the annual results gave rise to a clamour from parents, who attributed the failures to a wrong method of examination instead of laying the blame at the door of these primary and middle schools, (ii) that it was a mistake to lower the minimum for a pass in the Intermediate Examination, (iii) that it was a far greater mistake than these two to introduce a third class for the B.A. Degree Examination with 35 per cent of the maximum for a pass.

The system of education should be entirely overhauled. Only those who are found fit for a university course as decided by a testing entrance examination should find admission to colleges, a few years then will teach the people to send their children to schools where through *vernacular education* with manual training they can qualify themselves for those callings for which they have a natural aptitude.

III. *Insufficiency of food supply.*—"Unemployment problem" is in fact synonymous with the "food problem" which came to notice only with the high prices of foodstuffs. I think that a good many of our unemployed young men would be contented to engage themselves in serving the poor and suffering and in making themselves useful to the community in various ways, in case the income of the bread-winner of the family will procure the necessary quantity of food and clothing for its members, whatever their number may be. For some inexplicable reasons, articles of food and clothing began to rise steadily and rapidly in price, long before the War contributed its own share to accelerate the upward motion. This is not the place to detail what I believe to have been the causes of high prices in pre-war years. As I was for over twenty years working

a large hotel in Madras, I was during those times, in touch with both traders and producers. Suffice it to say that *the sufferers have always been the middle classes*. When the cultivators raised the prices of the produce of their fields, coolies raised their wages and all artisans and handicrafts men more than doubled the prices of their articles. The weight of the burden fell on the shoulders of men whose salaries remained stationary, while their expenses suddenly increased twofold and threefold.

The same state of things continues even now; if there has been any change it has been only for the worse as the epidemic of profiteering has spread all over, from the biggest firm in the city to the smallest farm in the village.

The only remedy is to devise means whereby the land may be made to yield more than at present so that the ryots while retaining their present "improved" standard of life, and ensuring their present rates of profits, may be induced to lower the prices of their articles. If this is possible, coolies and artisans will also moderate their demand.

IV. *Impossibility of joint efforts to fight the common foe.*—

(i) Co-operation for agriculture, manufacture, commerce, etc., seems to be quite impracticable in this country, as mutual trust is still at a discount. Banks, benefit funds, plantation companies, and all similar indigenous organisations are looked upon by men of limited income with distrust if not dread, as their experience does not warrant any confidence in those concerns which have no Government guarantee behind them.

(ii) Even if a movement is set on foot by men of wealth and rank whose character is unimpeachable, an annual dividend of even 6 or 7 per cent—the only possible rate that can be promised by honest men—will not attract shareholders in this land of avaricious money-lenders and licensed-usury.

(iii) The only investment considered safe even now by the *middle-class men* who can spare a few coins from their small income is that of converting them gradually into a *dead capital* in the shape of jewels. Their women—those walking banks—may take some more years to be persuaded to deposit their spare money in Post Office Savings Banks or to purchase Cash certificates. Until then they will continue to hoard their savings and to convert them into an unproductive capital.

Some trustworthy organisations ought to be encouraged and guaranteed by the Government to induce the middle-class people to invest their savings in them as they would be a source of some addition to their income. Such organisations may also provide work to the unemployed on a scale proportionate to the number, extent and operations of the various concerns. They may gradually be transferred to private management.

Written evidence of M.R.Ry. V. I. Muniswami Pillai Avargal, F.M.U., Member, Nilgiri District Board, Educational Council and Ootacamund Municipal Council, dated the 12th August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

- (1) Yes, in all classes.
- (2) Not to a great extent.
- (3) Very few.
- (4) No.

II. CAUSES.

- (1) It is partly due to present system of education. It is defective for want of technical education.
- (2) This also forms a cause.
- (3) Nowadays this does not stand in anybody's way.
- (4) Due to social causes. Depressed classes are not much favoured by heads of subordinate staff if they happen to be addicts to caste system.
- (5) Yes.
- (6) Commercial courses cost lesser than the first two courses. About one-third will be for commercial course of what it costs for literary and professional courses.

IV. REMEDIES.

- (1) to (4) Yes.
- (5) Yes, it is necessary if the object set in (4) is to be attained.
- (6) to (11) Yes.
- (12) Cannot suggest emigration outside India unless conditions improve there.

Written evidence of M.R.Ry. T. M. Murugesam Pillai Avargal, B.A., L.T., B.L., Vakil, Madura, dated the 13th November 1926.

You have probably a great deal of written and oral evidence and opinion in regard to unemployment from various persons in affluent circumstances according to their angle of vision. I belong to the middle class and as the father of a number of school-going children, I hope you will consider also the following note of mine on the subject.

It is found that the S.S.L.C. course as at present constituted and worked in the high schools does not give the pupils any useful education or start in life if they happen to stop with that course, either on account of pecuniary inability to prosecute further study for higher education, or owing to mental or other

incapacity to secure the minimum for admission to the university higher education. Statistics will make it clear that a majority of students who have studied up to the School Final class are set adrift in the world with a book showing the record of their high school course of three or more years. It is common knowledge that this record of school work is nowhere relied on for ascertaining the merits of a candidate for employment, except perhaps when the candidate aimlessly seeks work as a drudging copyist or a low-paid clerk in some office and the head of the office looks into the certificate book for registering or rejecting the application. It must be admitted on all hands that seeking employment in a Government office should not be the aim of education and a certificate does not deserve to exist, if it should be of use only for seeking low-paid Government service. If the candidate seeks employment anywhere else, the sight of the big certificate book is only provocative of good-humoured laughter and nothing else.

A student with his completed School Certificate (the higher education being impossible for him) despairs of any prospect in life. In regard to the knowledge that he has gained, it is very often the case, that he has acquired very little of scientific knowledge, that being a subject relegated to the B Group and therefore neglected throughout by the common consent of both the pupil and the teachers. What else has he learnt then? He has learnt a smattering of English and he has some vague ideas about English History, Botany, Chemistry, Geometry and Algebra which the teachers had been perforce dinning into his ears, being C Group subjects. The teaching in these subjects being always aimed towards the higher university education, the S.S.L.C. waif derives no benefit whatsoever—not even the cultural advantage.

The merchant does not want him as the S.S.L.C. student is not well-versed in commercial accounting, nor is he able to calculate interest quickly and accurately—what with his training in decimals and graphs he is not fit for an accountant's place. He is also considered unfit for the Indian mercantile house as he has acquired luxurious habits and the Indian merchants value thrift and submissiveness more than anything else.

The mill manager does not want him as he fears that the candidate will not stick on to the drudgery of ten hours' mill attendance for any length of time and is also too much educated to pull on with the uneducated coolies.

The workshop manager rejects him saying that he wants young men who know to start with some kind of work in the factory and says he has not opened an institute for taking in apprentices with no knowledge whatsoever of the factory work.

Thus, the S.S.L.C. holder is a wreck in society. His education is an impediment to his doing coolie work and he takes to document or petition-writing, some time vakil's clerk, then a tout, agent of anybody and everybody without any stake, a broker and so on and, in fact, takes to a disreputable parasitic avocation.

Now, if these young men's eyes had been opened to the industrial and commercial education simultaneously with their lessons in Botany, Algebraical identities and the Wars of the Roses, they can, if they find the university course impossible for them, improve their knowledge in the commercial and industrial side and earn a honest livelihood and they will be welcome everywhere.

It is true that courses of study in commercial and industrial subjects are existing and some more proposed to be added in the S.S.L.C. course, but the difficulty is that the student is required to make his choice very early in life when neither he nor his parent is able to judge what he is capable of. Every student thinks that he can somehow get into the university course and it is only when he is confronted with the actual wreckage of his past course that he sees he has wasted his scholastic career.

In these circumstances, it is suggested that such of the students who want to have their elementary education in the industrial and commercial subjects should have a scope for it so that they may have it simultaneously with the existing S.S.L.C. course.

To this end, I would suggest that every high school should be compelled to have either the commercial classes or the industrial classes attached to it and all students should be taught lessons in one or the other, unless the guardians specially send in a written request that their wards need not be pressed to take up these additional subjects in the special morning classes. Again, all industrial schools should have high school classes attached to them so that the students who take to industrial education may not be cut off for ever from advancing in general education by compelling them to make their choice too early in life. For instance, the Madura Industrial Institute is run more like a workshop than as a school. I desired that one of my sons who is in the high school classes should have training in the industrial course simultaneously. I was told there was no provision for it. An attached high school will attract many really intelligent pupils to the industrial side. The institute requires that the pupil should give up the high school course and join the industrial classes. Which parent can decide early in a boy's career to give up general education?

ENCLOSURE

List of subjects to be taught in the commercial classes (of course, elementary) in the High School Course in special classes.

- (1) Commercial Arithmetic,
- (2) English and Indian Banking,
- (3) Commercial Geography with special reference to local and foreign trade of articles in the Indian market,
- (4) Agriculture,
- (5) Book-keeping,
- (6) Commercial correspondence, and
- (7) Stenography (optional).

List of subjects to be taught in the Industrial special classes in the High School course.

- (1) Mensuration,
- (2) Freehand and machine-drawing,
- (3) Carpentry for one year for all,
- (4) Carpentry or blacksmithy and fitter's work for two years and more, and
- (5) the working principles of all types of engines.

Additional written evidence, dated the 22nd November 1926.

From what I was able to gather from the newspaper reports of the oral evidence, I see that many agree with me that vocational subjects should be introduced in the school course, but they do not appear to be quite hopeful that this will solve the problem.

I believe you are dealing now only with the unemployment of the educated. The illiterate labouring classes find employment somewhere and their wages are automatically adjusted in accordance with the purchasing power of money. The wages of the educated do not get adjusted similarly; firstly, because the quantity of the educated labour of the quality as is now turned out by the schools and colleges is not in proportion to the demand for labour of the kind; secondly, because educated labour of the quality required by the industrial and commercial concerns is not produced by the present education; and thirdly, because the present education is not such as to open the eyes of the future citizens to the possibilities of industrial and commercial enterprises on their own initiative.

It may be that the State should provide for industrial, agricultural or commercial development in the country, but so long as the citizens do not get sufficiently educated in the possibilities of such enterprises in their youth, so long as the people themselves do not think and move in the matter and so long as they are reluctant to launch into such concerns for want of knowledge in those lines, any amount of prompting by the State by way of starting industries with State capital will be of no use. The two have to work together.

It is to this end that I suggested that in all high schools the teaching of either commercial or industrial subjects should be made compulsory.

In the first place, the classification of some subjects as falling under B group in the S.S.L.C. course should at once be abolished and the public examination should be held in all the subjects taught in the schools.

I have mentioned already the additional subjects to be taught in the high schools. I am afraid that the list may terrify some

on account of the names of the subjects or on account of the apprehension that the curriculum will get overcrowded and the pupils will be burdened with too heavy a task.

The subjects are of course such that mastery in each may be a life study. Just as English History or Botany is a subject in the high school class, although each by itself is wide enough for study throughout a man's lifetime, the subjects I have mentioned are to be taught on very elementary lines with special reference to practical use excluding the complicated theory portion. The overcrowding of the curriculum can be avoided by grouping and correlating the subjects. For instance, Indian History having been learnt in Tamil in the lower secondary classes, this may be omitted in the high school and in its place may be introduced civics comprising Indian constitution and administration. Commercial arithmetic, English and Indian banking and book-keeping may be correlated with arithmetic and find place in a graduated syllabus of the three years' course. Commercial geography of India and the foreign markets dealing with India may be correlated with the geography taught at present.

Similarly, in high schools attached to industrial institutes, Mensuration with applied mechanics will be correlated with mathematics. In any event, the maintenance of industrial institutes without attached high schools is a waste of public money and they are not fit to be called educational institutions.

I am prepared to help further in drawing up a really workable syllabus for the two types of schools. Text-books will soon come into existence if the syllabus is made clear.

In a written communication, it is rather difficult to forestall all objections to my scheme, but, if anybody points out the difficulties in the way, I am ready to meet them. But I would like to point out in conclusion that we ought not to be carried away by the strenuous opposition of persons whose views are always unconsciously warped by a leaning towards *learned* education and the university career on account of their immemorial high social status. As I have already pointed out in my previous communication, the parents who intend their children solely for specialisation and the university course may be given the option to give up certain subjects in the course.

Written evidence of M.R. Ry. R. G. Nallakuttalam Pillai Avargal, Vakil and Municipal Chairman, Srivilliputtur, dated the 13th August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

General.—Unemployment among the middle classes is no doubt growing more and more serious; but it is no greater and more serious than the unemployment among the masses. The

exact extent of its existence among the several classes and masses and the consequent evil effect on society are such as can be ascertained only on an elaborate enquiry; but this much is certain that the unemployment question of the middle classes cannot be satisfactorily solved without finding effective and adequate remedies for the unemployment of the masses also. The danger lies more in uneconomic employment of people than even in unemployment.

II. CAUSES.

General.—The basic cause of unemployment is the growth of a mentality quite unsuited to environments and the lack of culture that helps the liberal application of science to the service of man in advanced countries. The growth of population in a far greater proportion than that of cultivable area, supersession of manual labour by machinery and the consequent reduction of scope for work by many workers and lack of facilities and inclination for adaptation to present-day conditions are the chief causes of unemployment; more so of uneconomic employment. There was no broad national policy till very recently encouraging the Indian industries and there are not even now broad policies guiding land and labour, and educational and sanitary problems.

(1) The present system of education has aggravated if not created the modern tendencies of individualism and easy going life. It has made caste ties stronger where it was close and looser still where it was loose, without substituting in the latter case no other tie; a change in either case for the worse. It has deadened the parochial feelings and created a void; it has not made them feel proud of their country and its heroes, study its problems and apply effective remedies as true sons of the soil. In short, its practical value is nothing. Great many changes have to be made in it to be of any use in life.

IV. REMEDIES.

General and (1), (2) & (7) to (12).—The system of education should be so changed as not only to make the pupils maintain themselves and their family with the help of practical education they get in schools but also to make them so utilise their time and energy as will allow them ample savings for their old age and sickness. Further, division of lands into uneconomic holdings should be early put an end to and the formation of economic holdings encouraged by provision of enabling sections in the revenue laws of the country. Every farmer should be taught better farming through agricultural associations and better business through co-operative societies by actual demonstration and propaganda through leaflets and magic lanterns. Scope for the introduction of new cottage industries and the improvement of the present ones must be studied in detail and the people encouraged to adopt them. The Government should spend more of its funds for adult education than it does now. The country can derive more benefit even with the funds that it spends now if it is judiciously spent. Most of the night schools are only

schools in name; they do not impart any instruction worth the name; and they exist for the teacher. A great many of them may be converted into seasonal schools to suit the convenience of either the farmers or the weavers of the locality. With nearly half the expense, if not only a third of it, and with the help of agricultural demonstrators in the case of farmers and of weaving experts in the case of weavers and of health and sanitary inspectors in both the cases, much good work can be done in such schools on the model of Folk High Schools of Denmark. It is the adult education and that alone that can pay the people and the country immediately. Nothing but it can better help the effective adoption of other remedies also. So no expenditure on it should be grudged. Platform and the press, cinemas and magic lanterns should be freely invoked to its aid.

Vocational training, technical education and several other remedies suggested may go a great way at the best to minimise the growth of unemployment or uneconomic employment some ten years hence; but not either will relieve the present distress or even check its undesirable growth. There cannot be of much use by future preventives if the present distress cannot be relieved and its growth checked. Emigration, if possible, is the only solvent that can offer immediate relief. If on a detailed study of the question it is found that a particular scheme would work successfully, there may not be any difficulty in inducing able-bodied men and women, educated and illiterate, skilled and unskilled, in desirable numbers to settle in other provinces and even outside India.

Vocational training and technical education are not as much needed as agricultural education is. An agricultural bias should be given to the education in all rural schools. There must be graded agricultural vernacular middle and high schools in convenient centres closely connected with the said schools. Carpentry and smithy may be taught with advantage in such schools to such extent as may be useful in after-life. Long association with costlier buildings and enjoyment of luxurious life far above their family lives in an impressionable age make the pupils a prey to false notions of life. Farm colonies to be successful must be more or less on the model of Illinois Co-operative Colony giving room for all sorts of workers; they cannot thrive for middle classes alone. Co-operative societies for purchase and sale and unions for the co-ordination of their work, industrial banks for promoting home industries and handicrafts and banking facilities for the development of agriculture can all work successfully, only if the adult education proposed above is able to make an impression on the people. The co-operative methods can be successfully applied by farmers, tenants and lessees of all grades when they are in a position to appreciate their advantages; and then and only then, co-operative marketing can avoid the dumping and the consequent low prices by so regulating the supply to demand as to always fetch a good price and at the same time not leave any area in want.

*Written evidence of M.R.By. N. S. Narasimha Ayyangar
Avargal, 10, Aramudu Gardens, Egmore, dated the
23rd August 1926.*

Introductory.—To confine the enquiry to its legitimate issues it is necessary to start with the definition of the terms 'middle class' and 'unemployment'. Their significance is none too clear for a brief explanation. By 'unemployment' is meant the condition of people who are eager and willing to work for the normal rate of wages in a trade or occupation for which they have the capacity and qualification, but are not able to get work, hard as they may try for it. It is necessary to distinguish this class of people from those who have no special equipment but are disinclined to take up an ordinary employment for which they are fit with its usual emoluments. These should be called the 'unemployable', rather than the 'unemployed'. An illustration will make this distinction clearer. Many of our School Final students would do well only as copyists, traders' clerks, salesmen, timekeepers, but unwilling to take up such jobs, join a second-grade college and leave it in a short time. They then aspire to decent positions in Government offices or banks or shops with little chance of success. They cannot be said to be suffering from 'unemployment'.

The expression 'middle classes' is more elusive. Different people have different ideas about it. The criterion may be either wealth or occupation or mental culture or a combination of them all. Generally these three things go together, but sometimes they do not. One of the social anomalies in India is these are not found together. As a caste the Brahmans are poor but they have a modicum of culture and almost always seek the soft-handed occupations. Are they all to be brought under the 'middle classes'? On the other hand, many of our artisans and traders have a greater amount of wealth but lack culture. In general, under this term we may bring all people 'who avoid rough and dirty work, aim at some sort of clerical or semi-intellectual occupation, have some education, and endeavour to save something out of their earnings'. The attribute 'educated' is therefore superfluous unless it is intended to confine the scope to those with a knowledge of English. It would no doubt be advantageous to confine our enquiry to those sections of the middle classes who have passed through some stage or other of the present educational system and it is to them that the following remarks are mainly confined.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(1) *Literary classes.*—There is no doubt there is unemployment among large numbers of boys of the middle class who have taken to the present system of education and have left it with a certificate or diploma as successful students or have given up their studies in the middle of their courses as 'failed' men. The cry is heard all round that young men with degrees are compelled to knock at the portals of every office and return home disappointed. When

their fate is like this, that of the S.S.L.C.'s and intermediates need evoke no surprise. One might however raise a doubt whether their condition is really one of unemployment and not of 'unemployableness'. The great majority of them are incapable of doing anything more than mere clerical work and the demand for such work is inelastic, as it is largely required by Government alone.

(2) *Technical and professional classes.*—It would be good to draw a distinction between the learned professions and the rest under this group, the first four in the question being brought under the former category and the other three under the latter. I take it that the distinction between qualified and unqualified persons in the question refers to people employed in railways rather than to people of all the groups.

Among the members of the learned professions, there is not much unemployment except perhaps in the profession of law. Even there, it is confined to particular areas rather than found all over the Presidency. If the qualified people would spread themselves more evenly and specialize in different branches of it, as is the practice in western countries, there may not be that crowded feeling that exists now. As regards the other professions the evil is rather the other way, there is not a sufficient number of qualified teachers, doctors and engineers. If at times such people are not able to get jobs, it is only for a short time or because they expect an initial salary which is more than the normal rate possible in the country or require employment under Government.

Turning our attention to the other class of professions, agriculture calls for some preliminary observations. Apart from those employed in the Department of Agriculture by the Government, it is doubtful whether agriculture is practised as a *profession* by any large number. It may be that nearly three-fourths of the people are dependent on agriculture for their living and more than a third are actual workers on the land, but we cannot say that they are all practising it as a *profession*, equipped with scientific knowledge and conducting it on business principles. Most agriculturists are cultivating the land on traditional lines and look to it for their maintenance rather than for profit. So it is that they have ample leisure during many parts of the year but they do not care to put it to any economic use. They might very well occupy themselves with some useful work during these periods of idleness but they would not. Perhaps for some among them, viz., middle class people, the idleness is enforced rather than voluntary. They do not know what to do with their time. They have not been taught to utilise it for some beneficial purpose. To that extent they may be said to be unemployed.

But if we confine the term profession of agriculture to those who have undergone training in agricultural institutions with a view to practising it, then we might find some amount of unemployment because they wish to practise it only as servants

of Government at a fixed salary rather than as independent workers. But this is only an ephemeral difficulty.

In regard to handicrafts there is a large amount of unemployment arising from the substitution of machinery for hand work both within and outside. This is inevitable in this age of machinery and large scale production.

In the matter of railway employees there was a certain amount of unemployment among unqualified persons on account of retrenchment due to the War but things are improving. As regards trained men the demand is greater than the supply.

(3) These last remarks apply also to people engaged in the mercantile and banking businesses.

(4) Most of those who might claim to be included in this group would also belong to one or other of the classes in (2) above. If there is any special feature about them, it is that they expect a higher scale of wages than employers are willing to give them, in consequence of which they are temporarily unemployed.

There are a few among those with special technical qualifications who do not find work because of the industrial backwardness of the country, or the narrow prejudices of employers.

II. CAUSES.

The two most important causes for the growth of unemployment among the educated middle classes are the present system of education and the condition of Indian society. Though they are closely related to each other they may be considered separately.

The educational system.—The prominent defect of the educational system now in vogue is its want of variety. Most of our educational institutions are of one uniform type imparting instruction of a purely literary character. It has enabled the youth to acquire a certain amount of knowledge and a little training of the mind. But it has woefully neglected their physical and moral condition. In consequence of this, there is a wide gap between their aspirations and their achievements. They know how to enjoy their leisure rather than to earn it. When they leave the school or college they expect remunerative employment though they have no *special* qualifications. They are generally fit only for clerical work under Government or private firms. But these cannot absorb all the output of our educational institutions numbering five to six thousand every year. Hence the amount of unemployment among them.

If there were rival technical and professional institutions to attract the youth at particular stages of their scholastic career, a large portion of them would divert their course from general to professional education. At present in many parts of the country the parents who wish to educate their children beyond the elementary stage have no alternative to the ordinary high school leading on to the Arts college. If, however, trade and apprenticeship schools were organised as in England and other

countries, there would not be the same blind rush to our high schools and colleges which do little good to the majority of their entrants or to the country. The following observations made regarding England twenty years ago are quite applicable to India now: "There is an increasing number of persons in all grades of life who feel from experience that in the education given in elementary and secondary schools much care has been given to the preparation of children to clerical occupations and too little attention has been paid to the requirements of children intending to enter various trades and industries. Our education has been too bookish, has unduly increased the taste for mere clerical work, has not impressed the children with ideas of the dignity of labour, and by some is thought to have helped in some way to increase the number of unemployed. The bright children have had opportunities of being pressed on to a secondary school if they wished to be prepared for offices, civil service, teaching and other professions, but if they desired trades or industries they were left, broadly speaking, without scholarship to assist them or proper schools to enter, in which they could continue their education on practical lines that would help them in their future work" (Mr. C. T. Millis in Sadler's "Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere," pages 401-402).

One incidental evil of our present educational system—the low standard of efficiency of our schools and colleges—would also be cured by the diminution of the numbers of the pupils. A smaller number could be better attended to and the resources of ill-equipped schools may go to strengthen those of the better type if they alone were maintained.

Indian social conditions.—Their bearing upon the problem of unemployment is many sided, but a few of the prominent aspects may be indicated.

The old structure of Indian society has been disturbed to its very foundations by a number of new forces for which British rule is directly or indirectly responsible. The present problem is partly the result of such a disturbance. In the traditional social organization the bulk of the middle class people followed certain hereditary occupations for which the youth of the class received training under the eye of their parents and guardians. This has all changed now. Some of these occupations have disappeared; in many the prospect of success has been diminished; in others the nature of the work has changed and the old system of apprenticeship has been rendered difficult or impossible. So the youth of these professional ranks are now adrift. Unable to get employment in their parent's occupation, they join the ordinary schools and at the end of their course swell the unemployed clerical class.

Again, under the new political system service under Government has come to persons, a much greater attraction for all classes of people and particularly for the middle ranks. In all countries

and at all times middle-class people have preferred occupations demanding little capital or enterprise, involving little uncomfortable physical exertion but at the same time ensuring security of tenure and certainty of wages. Government service in modern times is *par excellence* of that character. It is no wonder therefore that even young men of the industrial ranks have been attracted to our schools and colleges as gateways to Government offices.

A brief sketch of the history of this movement may not be out of place here. In the early days of British rule only those classes of the people who had been hereditarily connected with the governance of the country under Native Rulers transferred their services to the East India Company. At first the Company was not prepared to give them permanent employment under it but only casual posts such as those of dubashes, interpreters, agents, contractors, etc. But as the Company's rule extended in area and increased in scope, as it did after 1800, the need for a larger number of Indian servants came to be felt. A good knowledge of English was also required of them. Thus systematic education in English came to be introduced in different parts of the country mainly through the agency of Christian missions. Though originally intended only for Christians and Eurasians (now Anglo-Indian) other communities who had been formerly connected with the administration of the country such as Mudaliyars, Nayudus and Brahmans took to it eagerly, acquired proficiency in it and sought service under the Government. Even after the University was started this narrow purpose of education was not given up by its alumni, though the originators had expected them to be missionaries of culture in the land. Posts of a more responsible and remunerative character came in their way in course of time and this continued for about forty years. It is to be noted that during all this period only particular ranks of the middle classes belonging to a few castes like the Brahmans sacrificed all other things for the sake of this education and enjoyed its natural fruits—the jobs in Government service increasing in number decade by decade.

Meanwhile various causes had been slowly and surely undermining the old social and economic system. The industrial middle classes had been disturbed by the rush of foreign manufactures and many of them lost their footing. They could not continue in their hereditary callings. The agricultural middle class had also been given a deadly blow by the new land revenue system called the ryotwari system which the Company had perfected by the middle of last century. Its main object and result was to bring the Government into direct touch with the actual cultivator and elbow out all the intermediate ranks of agriculturists. Naturally, therefore, these people being disturbed from the rural parts and their hereditary occupations had to seek new avenues of employment in towns. The Brahman caste largely suffered this kind of evil and a larger number of them had to resort to Government service in the new regime than before.

Owing to all these causes, by the end of the 19th century the numbers of the middle class who had lost their hereditary occupations and were compelled to look out for new ones had become large and in the quarter of a century since then they have been multiplying both from within and without. They have all resorted to English education in the hope that they would fare as well as the first two generations of the educated youths, getting comfortable jobs in Government or quasi-Government service merely for their purely academic qualifications. Hence this problem of unemployment among the literary classes.

Unfortunately for them, they have come to look down upon all kinds of manual labour. Even the parents of this class are averse to their boys going into the technical professions though in the long run the prospects in them are much better. They dissuade them from getting some kind of technical training when they are young, but drive them through the Ass's bridge of the School Final to some college or other till they would or could go no further. Then they come out to swell the number of unemployed.

The glamour of University degree is also exerting its own baneful influence in attracting much indifferent material into the university classes. Only the mentality of the middle-class people would account for it. An Arts degree is regarded as the proper hall-mark for an educated person. People are not satisfied with anything short of it. The amount of education of a person is not tested by his real equipment but by the number of diplomas or degrees he has acquired.

One other social cause for unemployment is the breakdown of the joint family system and the growth of independence among the junior members of the middle class which are in part the result of the new education. Under the old family system there was a division of labour among the members of the family, one looking after its landed properties, another the household, a third adding to resources by employment outside, a fourth depending on the others for his maintenance, but they all lived together. Things have changed now. Even though brothers may live in the same place they are separate and the less enterprising have to suffer.

In these various ways the social conditions are responsible for a large amount of unemployment.

The other causes also exert some influence, but they do not require any lengthy explanation.

(2) The wages in some of the middle-class employments have not risen in proportion to the rise in prices and in the conventional standard of comfort of such class, e.g., the pay of teachers. So, would-be recruits to that profession are scared away and get to seek other avenues such as law, where the risks are perhaps greater but the scale of remuneration is higher.

This is also the case with regard to some other handicrafts such as weaving, dyeing, painting, etc.

(3) Want of fluidity is a minor cause and its influence is diminishing with the development of the means of communication. But difference of language, diet, social customs, do impede the movement of people from the crowded centres of unemployment to the more profitable areas.

(4) This is a deplorable fact. It was noticed even in England a generation ago (see Sadler's "Continuation Schools", Chapter XV). The evil is greater in India as parents themselves are even more ignorant than the young people about the conditions and prospects of employment outside their own line, because many of them are illiterate or narrow-minded. Unfortunately in India there is not even that touch between the educational institutions and the employment market that we find in England or America. There is also little contact between the teachers and their old boys.

(5) The professional and commercial courses are longer, stiffer, and costlier than the other, e.g., after the Intermediate Examination, an Arts degree course lasts two or three years and costs about Rs. 500 or Rs. 700, while an engineering, medical or commercial course runs to four or five years and costs not less than Rs. 2,500 or Rs. 3,000. Naturally, the young men or their parents choose the shorter, easier and cheaper course which lead to teaching or clerical work. In consequence, for every ten qualified Engineers, Medicos or Commercial graduates there are a hundred of the latter.

IV. REMEDIES.

Roughly, the remedies should correspond to the causes mentioned above.

(1) & (2) Vocational training and technical education—(a) Improvement in general education.—In the primary and lower secondary schools more attention should be paid to drawing and manual training "as a means of developing in the pupils a practical industrial bias" (Industrial Commission Report, page 110). Facilities for teaching these should be provided in every school.

The use of the vernacular as the medium of instruction up to the end of the high school course and increase of the contents of instruction especially on the scientific side are other important reforms urgently called for.

(b) Steps should be taken to induce a larger number of youths to leave off purely literary studies for vocational courses. This is possible only by organisation of separate Agricultural, Industrial and Trade schools. The attempt to combine vocational and general education which is being made in the Presidency is doomed to fail. The boys will in such a case get neither a good general education nor pick up the knowledge of any useful art. Vocational education to be effective should be organised on an independent basis.

(c) The most important form of vocational training which has so far attracted little attention is agricultural education. At

present the needs of the whole Presidency are met by only one institution—the Agricultural College at Coimbatore. Now insufficient it is will be clear if we note that only a small fraction of the applicants is chosen for admission. Further, it is intended only for the English-educated youth. What is urgently required is instruction in the vernacular to youths who have received only elementary education. This can be easily done by the starting of a number of agricultural schools with farms attached to them which will take up rural boys of 13 or 14 and teach them the elements of the theory of agriculture and give them some practical training. The course may run to two or three years. They should impart instructions in all forms of the agricultural industry; cattle breeding, sheep and poultry farming, horticulture, kitchen-gardening, apiculture, sericulture, etc., should be taught besides ordinary agriculture. Every student should be made to specialize in one or other of these subsidiary forms of agriculture besides getting a general knowledge of common agriculture.

more industrial schools should be organised. The College of Engi-

(d) *Technical and industrial education.*—In towns and cities neering in Guindy should be expanded into a Technological Institute and another of the same kind should be started in Vizagapatam. For further details on the head reference might be made to the recommendations of the Industrial Commission (vide Report, Chapter X).

As the Calcutta Unemployment Committee has recommended, a Board of Industrial and Technical Education should be established in the province with people representing the important industries of the Presidency, commerce and the general public, with a leaven of educationists.

(e) When instruction in schools is not practicable or insufficient, arrangements should be made for a system of apprenticeship in banks, firms and factories and for that purpose an association or a committee of a non-official kind should be started (*cf.* The Associations in England for the purpose—Sadler's "Continuation Schools", page 405). A preliminary enquiry into the whole question of apprenticeship should be made immediately.

A large portion of the work under these heads should be done by private bodies and the units of local Government, municipalities, taluk and district boards. Many of these are conducting schools for general education. They will do well to leave them into private hands and turn their attention to the starting of vocational schools.

(f) *Selection in schools.*—Side by side with the provision of different forms of practical education a stiffening of the standards of general education in the high school and college classes is necessary and a more careful selection of boys who seek entrance into them should be made. Parents would do well to consult the teacher in the choice of courses of study for their boys after the end of every stage of their education so that they may not be driven like dumb cattle through the purely literary courses and finally join the ranks of the unemployed S.S.L.C.'s or B.A.'s.

In the vocational institutions also there should be a careful selection of students so as to avoid waste.

(3) Employment Bureaux may go some way in alleviating the evil immediately but cannot prevent it.

(4) Such diversion is possible only if suitable preliminary training is afforded to the youth for entering other occupations. They demand the services of the educated class also. There is a general impression that even primary education spoils our boys and breeds in them a contempt for the hereditary occupation of the family. This may be true, but the corrective for it is not the denial of education altogether but the imparting of vocational instruction after some general education. The boys would then be able to continue in their hereditary business but earn more and thus maintain a higher standard of comfort which their education would have created a taste for.

(5) to (11) These seem to be remote remedies and they are not independent of the points mentioned above. Rather, they are based on them. They all require education, both general and vocational, as their basis.

(12) Emigration has already been playing some part in the alleviation of the evil. A number of educated young men have been going to other parts of British India like Bombay, Calcutta, Simla and Delhi to fill clerical employments but the demand for them seems to be diminishing.

It may be there are places outside India to which some of our educated youths could go with great profit, but the political disabilities which they would suffer thereby would probably outweigh the economic benefit they might derive. So this cannot be regarded as a welcome remedy.

*Written evidence of M.R.Ry. G. A. Narayan Ayyangar,
Saidapet, dated the 31st July 1926.*

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Yes. Unemployment exists among the middle classes.

(1) It is prevalent among all the classes—(a) Graduates, (b) S.S.L.C.'s and intermediates and (c) unqualified persons.

(2) (i) Yes. (ii) Yes.

II. CAUSES.

(1) Yes. The present education is defective in the curriculum which is not adequate either for culture or utility.

(2) Yes. In these days that small salaries are not sufficient even for one soul.

(3) No. This is exactly how a native of a certain district or province is forced to go to another district or province in search of employment. For instance, a number of natives of Malabar and

present the needs of the whole Presidency are met by only one institution—the Agricultural College at Coimbatore. How insufficient it is will be clear if we note that only a small fraction of the applicants is chosen for admission. Further, it is intended only for the English-educated youth. What is urgently required is instruction in the vernacular to youths who have received only elementary education. This can be easily done by the starting of a number of agricultural schools with farms attached to them which will take up rural boys of 13 or 14 and teach them the elements of the theory of agriculture and give them some practical training. The course may run to two or three years. They should impart instructions in all forms of the agricultural industry; cattle breeding, sheep and poultry farming, horticulture, kitchen-gardening, apiculture, sericulture, etc., should be taught besides ordinary agriculture. Every student should be made to specialize in one or other of these subsidiary forms of agriculture besides getting a general knowledge of common agriculture.

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(1) Yes. The present education is defective in the curriculum which is not adequate either for culture or utility.

(2) Yes. In these days that small salaries are not sufficient even for one soul.

(3) No. This is exactly how a native of a certain district or province is forced to go to another district or province in search of employment. For instance, a number of natives of Malabar and

other districts of south go to Madras with a view to securing some employment. Having come down all the way from their native places they have not the inclination to go back. They, therefore, accept employment at such a low salary as offered to a peon which is not absolutely sufficient for one person to keep up the body and soul together and which the natives would not accept. So much so that the employers, naturally, take in the cheap men, when the natives are more or less faced with starvation and are forced to migrate to other provinces such as Bombay or Calcutta.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) Vocational training is good, but there must not be selection in schools.

(2) For technical training for the educated young men, it would be necessary for the Government to afford such education and training in railways, engineering firms and other institutions run by the Government on the lines of the Teachers' College.

(3) Private employment agency is desirable. But there should be only one such agency in Madras recognised and patronised by the Government. All the mercantile firms, banks and railways must be forced to get employees through this agency. For instance, if there is a vacancy in a railway, the railway must apply to the agency, who would select the most suitable man and put him into touch with the people concerned. This agency must be the meeting place of the requirements of employees and employers.

(4) to (12) There is indeed a great demand for doctors, engineers, teachers, captains of industries and so forth. How to use the present unemployed men is the question which stares me in the face.

Even after 170 years of British Rule only (or about) 10 per cent of the people can read and write. There is plenty of work to be done in this connection.

Every village must have a school, where education must be imparted up to the IV standard.

It is only in the City of Madras and some other big towns one finds too many doctors. There is only one dispensary for about 40 or 50 villages in the Madras Presidency. It is officially stated that there are 700 dispensaries for 42 millions of people. In my opinion, this is not sufficient. The Intermediates and S.S.L.C.'s must be trained as Ayurvedic doctors, as there is plenty of scope and place for Ayurvedic physicians and hakims. The Government must carry medical relief to the doors of the people in the villages.

Next to industries. India imports more than three-fourths of the cloth she requires. India once produced all the cloth she needed. Now India may be made self-sufficient, at the same time relieving unemployment to a certain extent. Weaving and spinning must be encouraged on an unprecedented scale.

Banking should be developed. There must be one co-operative society in each village, one co-operative bank in each taluk and a parent bank, say, a branch of the Imperial Bank or the Central Urban Bank in every district. When these are done alone, credit facilities will develop trade and tend to increase the wealth of the country.

Scientific agriculture should be developed. The law of increasing returns is unknown to the Indian ryots who follow primitive methods. Absentee landlordism is another curse and the unemployed men may be put in charge of 15 or 20 acres to supervise cultivation and if possible take part in it.

Aloe fibre industry, I am told, is very paying, and much is not required. The Government should start factories to cultivate aloe on a large scale.

Several lakhs of rupees worth of umbrellas are imported in India from Germany and England. The Government may very well start workshops for making umbrellas.

Written evidence of Dr. A. L. Narayan, M.A., D.Sc., F.I.P. (Eng.), Professor of Physics and Director of Research Laboratories, Maharaja's College, Vizianagram, dated the 13th August 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Unemployment exists among all the members of the middle classes and that in an acute form though it is more acute among literary than among technical classes.

II. CAUSES.

(1) To a very great extent it is due to the present system of education. This system does not train people with the object of securing for them a decent livelihood. It only gives them a certain amount of knowledge in literary subjects. There is no place for the training of the hand or the eye and much less for vocational instruction. Except the few that receive degrees in Medicine, Engineering and Agriculture, the rest have to earn their livelihood by seeking service under Government the field for which is and must naturally be limited.

(2) Unemployment is not due to the small remuneration offered. In a country like India where the standard of life is low and where the people have a wonderful capacity to adjust themselves to any standard even those with high educational qualifications are prepared to take to any profession however low the emoluments.

(3) The same may be said regarding fluidity. Among the educated middle class the tendency is to go to any place in search of employment. Distance has ceased to be a factor. There is complete mobility from one corner of the Presidency to another.

(4) Social causes also have ceased to exercise influence. The highly orthodox men are only too willing to take to any employment even though it is not in their hereditary line if only they could secure a living from it.

(5) To some extent unemployment is due to want of organisation and the absence of Information and Employment Bureaux. The educational institutions do not think it their duty to keep in touch with the employment market.

(6) Of course, the cost of education in professional courses—medicine, engineering and commerce—is greater than it is in literary courses. But this has not had any effect on the supply of applicants for these avocations. There is much overcrowding in law and in teaching. Graduates in Engineering and Medicine find as much difficulty in securing employment as those who have taken to purely literary courses.

IV. REMEDIES.

(1) *Vocational training and selection in schools.*—Vocational training is to be given increasing importance, so that by the time a young man leaves the high school he will be in a position to take to some craft and work in it on scientific and up-to-date lines. Care should be taken in making a selection of the vocations for which the pupils have to be trained. Local conditions and possibilities have to be carefully studied and only such handicrafts as will give a living ought to be taught. In the high school one-half of the courses must be vocational. If the change is made, it will make the boys healthy also, besides equipping them with some practically useful knowledge to start life.

This is a very important remedy. For if this vocational bias is given to education the problem of unemployment will be solved to a great extent.

(2) *Technical education.*—If the wealth of the country is to be increased and if the country is to be economically independent, there should be more of scientific and technological education and the university is the right place for the highest education in technology. The ideal of the modern university should be the production of graduates who would add to the material wealth of the country by the practical application of their scientific knowledge to every-day problems—commercial, industrial and economic—and not to be consumers of other peoples' hard-earned money. This ideal can be realised only by the provision of courses of study in the various branches of science and technology that would make its graduates to be constructive and productive engineers.

A system of technical education ought to be built up on a proper training in some vocation. The idea that those who receive technical education will be able to secure employment under Government in the Department of Industries, Agriculture, etc.,

should be discouraged and it must be made clear that they have to depend on their own private enterprise.

(3) This is not an effective remedy.

(4) This is purely the best remedy to increase the wealth of the country and provide employment and will depend on a wholesome reform of the whole educational system of the country. This is therefore closely connected with (1) and (2).

(5), (7) & (9) The improvement of agriculture will solve the problem of unemployment to a great extent. Agricultural improvement requires large capital, for providing which we must have a large number of banks. To the small agriculturist co-operative banks and to the big agriculturist land banks must be instituted. The Co-operative department, in spite of its excellent work, has not yet touched the fringe of the problem. There is an imminent need for land banks.

(6) Village reconstruction is an urgent problem requiring the immediate attention of all well-wishers of the country and the one thing that retards work in that direction is the unwillingness of the educated classes to turn to it. If proper inducements can be offered and at least one educated man is prevailed upon to settle in each village, it will, while helping the unemployed middle class, encourage also the growth of a healthy economic life in the villages.

(8) *Farm colonies for middle classes.*—In connection with this, the difficulty will be to find sufficient land capable of being put to immediate use. This is possible only in a few of the districts—those which are backward now. Deltaic tracts are already occupied. We may have, after all, a sample or two in a successful manner and one or two will not solve the problem.

(10) This has to be taken as a part of the work of the village co-operative bank which must cater to the needs of agriculturists and small manufacturers.

(11) *Co-operative production.*—This requires a good deal of initiative, enterprise and careful management and will not be successful in big industries. Capitalistic management will be more profitable than co-operative control. Even in advanced western countries co-operative production has not spread and does not seem to be a success.

(12) *Emigration.*—Of the remedies suggested, emigration is the least effective. Within British India there is no scope for it as the problem of middle-class unemployment is not peculiar to Madras but is at present characteristic of every province. No province can therefore give relief to the unemployed of the Madras Presidency. As regards emigration outside India the present conditions are not favourable. No information is available as to the possible avenues there. Even then it will not touch the fringe of the question.

Written evidence of M.R.Ry. Diwan Bahadur T. C. Narayana Kurup Avargal, B.A., B.L., Government Pleader, North Malabar, dated the 26th July 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

It is my opinion that unemployment exists among the middle classes, and that it is prevalent amongst—

(1) Literary classes, and amongst them in (a) graduates, (b) S.S.L.C.'s and intermediates and (c) unqualified persons.

(2) The technical and professional classes, such as (a) teachers. This year for admission into the training school attached to the Tellicherry Government Brennen College there were more than hundred applicants, when not even one-third of the number could be provided for.

(b) *Profession of law.*—The profession is overcrowded and the conditions at the bar are indeed dreadful. The overcrowding is mainly due to the fact that the large number of graduates in Arts who pass out of the university every year find no suitable employment for them. They then take to the profession of law not out of love for the profession, but because they find nothing else to fall back upon. This has resulted in the complaint everywhere that the profession of law is overcrowded. And there not being enough work in courts for such a shoal of practitioners and the practice in courts being generally confined in the hands of a few persons quite a large number—specially the junior section—depend mainly upon the execution of commission orders. We also find that almost all practitioners who satisfy the conditions for appointment as District Munsif get their names registered for such appointment, but the High Court cannot find it possible to provide even for an appreciable number of the applicants. The Staff Selection Board at Madras will bear testimony also to the fact that for all sorts of appointments going about—appointments for which a course of law study is no qualification at all—Bachelors of Law are applicants. The well-to-do members of the bar cannot be expected to be of any use to the struggling section for many reasons. The clients do not like the work being passed on to them. Moreover cases—specially in mufassal courts—which admit of the necessity of a junior also being briefed along with the senior are so few and far between; and when such cases do come up the seniors generally have their own limited circle of relations to look to. The conditions at the bar at present are so bad that they call for speedy and careful attention.

(c) *Profession of medicine.*—Unemployment exists here too, and slowly this profession also is likely to be overcrowded. But the conditions at present are not so bad as in the profession of law.

(d), (e), (f) & (g) I think there is not much complaint of unemployment in these professions.

(3) In this branch, specially amongst trained persons, there is no unemployment.

(4) There is unemployment amongst Indians educated in foreign countries who have returned to this country. This exists largely amongst barristers-at-law, and to some extent amongst persons with academic degrees who are anxious to get into the Educational Department.

II. CAUSES.

(1) Unemployment is not entirely due to the present system of education, though the system is defective inasmuch as education by itself—when no job is found—does not in the majority of instances help in any way towards the earning of livelihood. The present system of education has also to a good extent ignored the commercial and industrial possibilities of the Presidency.

(2) *Remuneration.*—Unemployment is not so much due to the remuneration offered by various departments being inadequate. I consider that the subordinate educational service and the subordinate staff in the Railways alone have legitimate cause for complaint regarding remuneration offered.

(3) So far as I am aware there is none.

(4) Unemployment is not due to social causes.

(5) I don't think unemployment is due to want of such organisation.

(6) The relative cost of education in (a) literary, (b) professional and (c) commercial courses has nothing to do with the supply of applicants for these avocations. There is not any great difference—at least prohibitive difference—in the relative cost of education in the abovementioned courses.

IV. REMEDIES.

I have no special remarks to offer regarding the remedies suggested. They are all good in their own way, but how far some of them are practicable—especially emigration within British India and outside India—I have my own doubts.

Written evidence of M.R.Ry. Rao Bahadur T. V. Narayanan Nayar Avargal, Retired District Judge, Tellicherry, dated the 26th July 1926.

I. EXISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

(1) Unemployment is widely prevalent amongst middle classes and is acutely felt amongst literary classes including graduates. Many of the unqualified among the literary classes find employment as vakils' and merchants' clerks and as small traders or as landlords' agents, and this class who have spent less for their education and who are less ambitious and more accommodating than their qualified brothers more easily get suitable employments.

(2) A very large number of men following the profession of law find no adequate scope for their career. Next come the followers of the medical profession. Those that are trained as teachers, engineers and agriculturists fare better than the first two sets as their number is not very large. It seems that the number of those that are annually admitted for training in recognized

institutions for railway service is limited to the number of expected vacancies and they have therefore the best prospect of employment. Some unqualified persons even among the middle classes seek employment as porters, pointsmen and maistris; but they have to meet a very keen competition from persons more accustomed to manual labour. Persons who are skilled in handicrafts are able to make a decent living and young men of the middle classes are now taking to that line wherever they find the necessary facilities for training and the required scope for their employment.

(3) Persons trained in mercantile and banking business are comparatively very few and they are gradually replacing untrained men in these departments.

(4) As regards general literary education those educated in foreign countries are seldom better off (in the employment market) than those educated in India. But those who have had successful scientific or technical training in foreign countries are highly valued and well remunerated in great centres of industry such as Bombay or Ahmedabad.

II. CAUSES.

Besides the Government services and the learned professions, there are very few other avenues of employment open to the young men of the country. Military and Naval services are inaccessible to the generality of them. Schools for imparting technical and mechanical training on scientific basis are very few. There is a general tendency among the young men of the middle classes encouraged by their guardians to scorn their family calling and many families originally wedded to agriculture and handicrafts have on hand half-educated young men who are idling away their time. There is also a general ignorance or wrong impression about the value and dignity of skilled labour and large industrial institutions where such labour is employed are too few in this country to act as an incentive to such training. All classes of people are sending their boys to schools and colleges of literary and general education which are found all over the country and these institutions annually send out educated and half-educated young men too numerous to be absorbed in the Government services or in the learned professions. If markets of employment had been multiplied to keep pace with the increase of population and the system of education modified to meet the growing demand for skilled workmen, the present situation would not have arisen. The cost of professional education in India is heavier than that of literary or commercial education; but it is not so much the cost, nor any one of the various causes referred to in the questionnaire, that is prominently responsible for the present state of widespread unemployment as the scarcity of large industrial institutions serving as markets of employment.

IV. REMEDIES.

As remedies I would commend all those mentioned in the questionnaire under this head, but would also suggest the establishment of industrial institutions all over the country.