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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

IN connexion with our comments on the Jallianwalla Bagh meeting in our last issue, Lala Harkishen Lal said in his presidential speech at the Punjab Provincial Conference: "The trap theory of the Jallianwalla tragedy is entirely overlooked (in the Congress Sub-Committee's report). I, amongst others, know that the trap theory could be established beyond doubt on the evidence of some contemporary documents which came to the knowledge of the Commissioners, but because those documents were not handed over by the holders thereof to be placed on the file of the Sub-Committee, the Commissioners would not enter upon the discussion." It is most unfortunate that the publication of the Hunter Committee's report is being delayed. The longer the delay the more difficult will it be for the public to suspend their judgment, and the graver will be the popular suspicion. We cannot commend the decision of the Secretary of State to defer the publication of the report till after action has been taken on its recommendations.

THE Primary Education Bill has been carried through in the Legislative Council of the Central Provinces, and the provision in it for making compulsion applicable to boys in the first instance and requiring a subsequent resolution of a local body at a special meeting for the extension of compulsion to girls has been retained. This need not be a very great handicap, but, as we said before, to superficial observers it lends colour to the plea that boy's education, having a superior claim on the nation's resources, must always precede girls' education. An attempt was made to weaken the

compulsory clauses of the Bill in so far as they related to girls' education. One hon'ble member pleaded: "Some people may not like to send their girls to a mixed school. It will therefore have to be provided that the fact that there is no school exclusively meant for girls and having lady teachers will be a reasonable excuse for non-attendance. Similarly, it will have, I think, to be provided as to what distance should be considered as reasonable. Similarly, the standard of efficiency of instruction required in the case of boys under sub-clause (c) of section 12 (excusing non-attendance) will have to be modified in the case of girls." Happily, this attempt to multiply reasonable excuses for non-attendance in the case of girls failed, and the stringency of the compulsory provisions has suffered no diminution.

IT was sought in council to incorporate in the Bill a clause casting upon the Government the obligation of keeping local bodies in funds to the tune of two-thirds of educational expenditure. All the local Governments have till now fought shy of a statutory provision for giving a proportionate grant, preferring to regulate the proportion by rules which could be changed at any time. The Director of Public Instruction remarked: "It seems obviously undesirable that the proportion of Government grant for compulsory education should at the present time be fixed by statute. What would happen, supposing Government finds at any time that it is absolutely impossible to carry out that obligation, is that it would involve legislation." What appeared obviously undesirable, however, to this official, appeared eminently desirable to the Madras Government, for they say in their statement of objects and reasons on the Education Bill that "it has become imperatively necessary to place the future organization of elementary education on a statutory basis and to set the financial provision therefor on a stable footing, secure from the conflicting claims of other administrative needs." To a limited extent this has been carried out by the Madras Government in so far as they undertake by statute to contribute a sum not less than the proceeds of the education tax that may be levied by the local body, in addition to the usual grants now being paid. It will make little difference, however, in practice if the proportion of expenditure to be borne by Government is fixed by rules instead of by a statute. What matters now is whether the Government will

give grant amounting to two-thirds of expenditure, as is done in the Punjab, but on that question the Director of Public Instruction held out no hope.

ON the question of employment of child-labour, the Director declared: "We insist that the total period (of compulsion) must be five years. It seems to me that those who are anxious on behalf of employers of children above the age of 11 or 12 need have no fears because it is not the intention of this Government to allow this Bill when it becomes law to be used in such a way as to prevent such employment of child-labour as may be allowed under the Factory or other laws. An endeavour will be made to guide local bodies in this matter and definitely to suggest that where you get children of 11, 12, 13 or 14, an effort should be made, so far as possible, where they are also to be employed for other purposes to have half-time schools. Such schools have already been established in various parts of India, and it may be stated here that mill and factory owners who have already started such half-time schools for their elder children employees say most emphatically as a general rule that such schools are not merely in the interest of the children alone, but also in the interest of employers. I had a letter from the Manager of the Buckingham Mills in Madras in which he stated most definitely and emphatically that as a result of experience the half-time schools, which have been working for some time in his mills, have been found to be beneficial to the mills owing to the quickened intelligence of the children who attended those schools." We hope this means that the half-time employment of children between 9 and 11 has been strictly prohibited.

AN endeavour was made in the C. P. Council to overcome the deadlock created in regard to the Village Panchayat Bill. Government have formulated their views in the light of the objections raised by non-official members and have indicated the lines on which an agreement is possible. Under the Bill as it was first framed, the panchayat is to be established by the Deputy Commissioner, as under the Bombay Bill it is to be established by the Commissioner on an application being received from the local board or the Collector. Government are now prepared to accept the proposal that there should be embodied in the Bill some statutory provision that, on the application of certain residents of the village, an enquiry shall be held as to whether it is desirable to establish a panchayat or not. The proposal is also accepted that the Deputy Commissioner's refusal to establish a panchayat should be subject to statutory powers of control. As to the composition of the panchayat, Government is prepared to accept election, subject to the proviso that the mukaddam or patel shall be a member *ex officio* and that the Deputy Commissioner would have power to veto the election of persons who are obviously undesirable or unfit to

sit on the panchayat, but will have no power to make any addition on his own authority. The election again must be by acclamation at a public meeting and not by the regular formal machinery of election by ballot. Government is prepared to consider an election by all adult male householders in the village.

AS regards control of panchayats, Government is prepared to agree that such control should be exercised by district councils and local boards so far as administrative work is concerned, the judicial work, both magisterial and civil, being under the control of the District Magistrate. It must not be supposed, however, that every elected panchayat as such will *ipso facto* be granted judicial functions. The Deputy Commissioner will decide whether the conditions in the village are such that judicial functions can reasonably be granted to the elected panchayats. Nor would the judicial work be performed necessarily by the members, but in some cases benches would be appointed from amongst them for the purpose. Government, however, gives the assurance that this would happen in exceptional cases only; as a general rule, where judicial functions will be conferred, they will be conferred on the panchayat as a whole.

THE Select Committee on Mr. Patel's Inter-Caste Marriage Bill considered it in a progressive spirit. The majority are strongly in favour of the main principles of the Bill and desire its enactment in an expanded form "at the earlier possible moment" but recommended its postponement in view of the establishment in the near future of legislative bodies which would represent public opinion more correctly than the present councils can claim to do. It is open to doubt whether such a bill affording relief to the progressive section of the community will have an equally sure chance of success, but we cannot reasonably quarrel with the decision of the Select Committee to have it considered by truly popular councils. The Select Committee have recommended the incorporation in the Bill of nearly all the amendments by the reformers: *e. g.* the marriage must be monogamous and both parties to it must have attained the age of majority, namely, eighteen years. With regard to the question of inheritance and co-parcenary rights in the joint Hindu family, most of the members are agreed that in the case of a marriage legalised under this Act there should be an unrestricted right of partition in every member of the joint family. The report adds: "Some of us are of opinion that the rights of all children by a wife of a lower caste should be left to be governed by the ancient provisions of Hindu law; but the majority of us feel that there should be no differentiation in this respect and that all children, whatever the caste of the mother may have been, should share equally both upon partition and upon intestate succession."

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

THE dominant note of the politics in the Deccan during the past several months has been the strenuous opposition offered to the extremists by the combined forces of Liberalism. It cannot be too often repeated that political extremism in this part of the country is the obverse of social reaction, and thus the extremist or nationalist party has ever found in the Moderates and the non-Brahmans strong opponents of their obscurantist policy in social matters. But, politically, the Moderates and the non-Brahmans until recently stood apart from one another, and the Nationalists never failed to take the utmost advantage of this division. Mr. Tilak's utterance, however, at Amritsar that the reforms must be so worked as to produce a deadlock in the administration and the whole extremist policy of which this pronouncement was only an indication helped the two wings of the progressive party to join their forces together and to save the Reform Act from being wrecked in effect. The leaders of the non-Brahmans in the Deccan, on their part, have always scrupulously abstained from adopting the intransigent attitude which distinguishes the activities of the leaders in the Madras Presidency, and this made a harmonious co-operation between them an easy matter. At the district conferences of the Poona, Belgaum and Satara districts the Liberals measured their strength against the Nationalists, and if only the Congress precedent of admitting peasant delegates free of charge had been loyally followed, they would have overwhelmed the Nationalists in numbers. But the ryots who formed the largest element in their following were refused free admission, and consequently the Liberals held counter-demonstrations several times bigger than the "district conferences" organised by the extremists.

At the Provincial Conference held at Sholapur during Easter, the Liberals decided to give battle to the Nationalists, despite the refusal by the latter to admit ryots free. They were not however given a fair chance to carry on the fight. The Nationalists, being in possession of the Congress organization, threw every conceivable obstacle in their way. To begin with, the organizers of the conference took care to see that all the peasant delegates who were admitted free voted extremist, only the extremist bodies being given the right to elect such delegates, and the Liberal bodies, though affiliated to the Congress, being arbitrarily deprived of the right. Thus the dice were loaded. But the injustice and partiality of the Nationalists grew apace. The printed forms which the delegates had to fill in—called the delegates' credentials—were supplied to the Liberals in but limited quantities. While the Deccan Sabha sent nearly a thousand delegates, the Reception Committee did not give more than some two or three hundred forms; the Sabha had printed a few forms itself, but when

these were exhausted, it became impossible for the Sabha to add to the number of its delegates. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, after fencing for a long while, at last pleaded his inability to give any more forms for use to the Liberals, though the Nationalists were freely given such forms to the last day. It thus became impossible for the Liberals to send in more delegates, although there were hundreds eager to go in to support the Liberal view.

The extremists in authority were again so very dilatory in registering the Liberal delegates that while the registration of the extremists was going on briskly, it took more than twenty-four hours for the organisers to register and issue tickets to some six hundred Liberals. The delay was so utterly unwarranted that it made the Liberals fear that some of them would not gain admission at all. And therefore they decided that none should go in till the whole body of them who had given in forms had been supplied with tickets. When the conference commenced proceedings, 350 delegates had yet to be registered, not to speak of the many more who were waiting for forms. There was thus naturally a rush at the entrance, and, to add to the difficulty, the organisers of the conference, instead of letting in the crowd, barricaded the entrance with benches one upon another and prevented their ingress. The large crowd of delegates thus got collected there, which was severely and wantonly caned by the volunteers and thus a scuffle ensued. Apparently, the Nationalists assembled in the conference were seized with panic; for volleys of stones were thrown upon the crowd of innocent and respectable delegates outside the pandal as they were making their way in and police help was invoked. The leaders of the Liberal party then assembled all the followers and exhorted them to be calm in spite of the grave provocation. The conduct of the Nationalists on this occasion was reprehensible.

The Nationalists, by the resolution passed at the Conference on the question of reforms, have converted the Congress (i. e. so far as lies in them) into a party organisation. For the resolution bids all the bodies affiliated to the Congress and the people at large to vote for such candidates as are loyal to the Congress, which has been interpreted by Mr. Tilak and others to mean the resolution of the Amritsar Congress on reforms. No matter what a man's past services may be in the cause of the Congress and the country in general, he is to be passed over if he does not approve, to a T, of a single revolution on a single matter at a single session of the Congress. Apart from the views which one may hold on the Congress resolution on reforms, one may well ask: is this resolution to be made the creed of the Congress and all the avenues of public work to be closed to those who quarrel with it? We have not the slightest objection to the extremist party making this resolution their war cry, and their party associations nailing their colours to the mast in this narrow sense if they

elect to do so; but we strongly object to the Congress doing it. The Congress is supposed to belong to all parties and is likened to a Parliament. Does the British Parliament issue election manifestoes to the country on behalf of any of the parties composing the legislature. By attaching to the Congress a function which belongs to the constituent parties in it, the Nationalists have reduced the Congress to an extremist body. We are sure this position will be repudiated even by those who are staunch supporters of the Congress resolution. The proceedings at the Conference have made it clear that if the Nationalists had not used the disreputable tactics they did they would have been outvoted by the Liberals; as it is, the Liberals numbered half, according to the computation of the President who is himself a Nationalist. The Liberal strength is but inadequately represented in this proportion; the extremists, as a matter of fact, find every day their hold over the country slackening appreciably, so far as the Deccan is concerned.

VICARIOUS PUNISHMENT.

DURING the disturbances that occurred in Bombay city, following upon the arrest of Mr. Gandhi on his way to Delhi in April last year, some damage was done by crowds of people to tram cars of the Bombay Electric Supply and Tramways Company in B, C and D wards of that city. The Company claimed compensation for the damage caused to its property under section 45 of the Bombay City Police Act of 1902, as modified by the amending Decentralization Act of 1915. The Presidency Magistrate fixed the compensation at Rs. 4552-8-0 and required the Municipal Commissioner to recover (1) Rs. 1630-14-0 from Mahomedan rate-payers or house-owners of B ward in equal shares, (2) Rs. 1465-7-0 from Bania ratepayers or house-owners of C ward in equal shares, and (3) Rs. 1436-3-0 from Bania rate-payers or house-owners of D ward in equal shares. These amounts are being recovered by the municipal assessment department along with ordinary taxes as an addition to the general tax, as provided for by the Police Act of 1902. As a result of this, hundreds of innocent persons, including members of the Legislative Council, like Messrs. G. K. Parekh, Munmohandas Ramji, C. V. Mehta and others and a number of honorary magistrates are being fined because an unlawful assembly wrecked the Tramway Company's cars in April 1919.

When the Act of 1902 was passed in the Bombay Legislative Council, almost all non-official members then sitting in the Council, including Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Messrs. G. K. Parekh and H. S. Dixit and Sir Bhalchandra Krishna questioned the justice of clause 45, at both the first and the second readings of the bill and three amendments were moved by Sir (then Mr.) Ibrahim Rahimtoola, Mr. P. M. Mehta and Mr. G. K. Parekh. The whole discussion centred round the point as to who

should be made legally liable for any loss or damage caused to any property or for death or grievous hurt caused to any person or persons by an unlawful assembly in a disturbance or riot. All the non-official members conceded that when anyone suffered from riots in which hundreds of people took part, it might be difficult to ascertain the real offenders, but the claim for compensation preferred by the person or persons, if valid, should be paid, not out of the pockets of ratepayers of any ward or sub-ward or section of the city, but from any general fund, such as either the municipal fund or the magisterial fine fund. We give below the pertinent parts of clause 45, as it now stands on the statute book:—

45. (1) The Chief Presidency Magistrate may, after such enquiry as he deems necessary,—

(a) determine the amount of compensation which, in his opinion, should be paid, to any person or persons in respect of any loss or damage caused to any property, or in respect of death or grievous hurt caused to any person or persons, by anything done in the prosecution of the common object of an unlawful assembly; and

(b) require the Municipal Commissioner to recover such amount by an addition to the general tax which shall be imposed and levied in all or such of the municipal wards, sub-wards or sections thereof, as the Presidency Magistrate may, subject to any general or special orders of the Governor in Council in this behalf, direct.

(2) It shall be lawful for the Chief Presidency Magistrate, by order, to exempt any persons from liability to pay any portion of such compensation.

The theory behind this law is that when a riot or serious disturbance occurs it is difficult, almost impossible, to find out misdemeanants who are responsible for deeds resulting in damage to property or life, and who should pay for it. It is assumed in such circumstances that the people residing in the locality where the disturbance took place should be held collectively responsible for the damage caused and compensation, as determined by the Magistrate, recovered legally from all the people of the locality. In other words, as the identity of a guilty person or persons cannot be ascertained, all the persons residing in the locality are compelled, as probable offenders, to pay for the damage caused. Sub-clause (2) quoted above gives the Magistrate power to exempt any persons from liability to pay towards compensation, probably on account of their undoubted and proved innocence or decided aversion from any unlawful act. But it does not empower the Magistrate to fix the responsibility on persons in the locality belonging to any faith or caste as such. If the disturbance can be proved to have been caused by persons wearing any particular costume, or growing their hair in a particular fashion, and by no others, it can be as easily proved that the offenders were, say, Faqira or Lalchand or Tukaram, and therefore they alone should be held responsible. The members of the Council who resisted the passage of the law in 1902 had such an inequity in their mind. The Hon. Mr. Parekh said:

"If the responsibility for the payment of the compensation fell on any ward or sub-ward, the large number of those that would be called upon to contribute would not be persons concerned in the wrongful acts for which compensation has to be paid, and if innocent people have to pay it would be juster that the whole city should contribute than that it should fall with heavy weight on the residents of a sub-ward or a ward."

In the case under reference it has fallen on a still smaller number, viz. on the houseowners of a particular faith and of a particular caste of the Hindu faith and residing in particular wards and not on all the houseowners of the wards, as is intended by the Act.

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola in opposing section 45, said:

"Why make a recognized peace-loving class (the house-owners of Bombay) responsible for the actions and deeds of budmashes? I am strongly opposed to such an unjust and unfair enactment."

He was not opposed to the payment of compensation, but he asked the question, from what source the money was to be obtained. He said:

"I have already said that it would be highly unfair to inflict this penalty on the house-owners, unless in each individual case participation in such unlawful assemblies is brought home to him at a judicial trial. I strongly feel that the house-owners as a class should not be held liable for such damages. As regards the source from which the money is to be obtained, I venture to suggest that the amount should come out of the accumulations of magisterial fines imposed in the city. . . . It is admittedly the misdemeanants who are responsible for deeds resulting in such damages, and it is they who should pay for them. Magisterial fines are obtained from this class of people, and the money so obtained should be utilized for the payment of damages sustained by peace-loving citizens."

Later on in the discussion he preferred the Hon. Mr. Parekh's amendment to the effect that such compensation be paid out of the municipal fund, from which the major part of the police charges of the city was (up to the year 1909) paid. Sir Charles Ollivant, the Government Member in charge of the bill, could put forward no more cogent argument in favour of the clause than that it was never likely to be put in force and that the members therefore need not bother. Said he:

"It is curious that a clause which is likely never to be resorted to should cause the greatest amount of discussion, and I must admit that the chief reason for insisting upon this clause is that we are simply doing in this bill what every other Police Bill in India has done. We follow exactly the same principle as is adopted in other Acts. I cannot understand the argument about inequity. It seems to me that if a Magistrate has to hold an inquiry, and if he can find out that a riot is occasioned by people living in a sub-ward, it is very much better that they should pay for it than that the innocent people in all the remaining sub-wards should pay."

In the present case the process of elimination of innocent people has been carried further than was contemplated by the Legislature, and on the evidence of Inspector Spiers and Mr. Lucas guilt has been brought home by the Magistrate to Mahomedans only of B ward and Gujarati Hindu Banias only of C and D wards. To describe all people wearing caps and clothes like Mr. Gandhi as Banias, i. e. Gujarati Hindu Banias (not Jain, though Hindu and Jain

Banias are quite indistinguishable from each other) is to betray complete ignorance of Hindu society and has resulted in miscarriage of justice.

Another point to be noted in connection with section 45 of the Act is that it contemplates punishment, with compulsory payment of compensation, of all the residents of a ward or a sub-ward, which is almost the same as all the ratepayers of the locality. But in the city of Bombay rates are not collected from the people directly, but through the owners of the houses and tenements occupied by them. The law therefore asks the Municipal Commissioner to collect the amount of compensation together with the general tax from the owners of houses and not from the real ratepayers, the owners acting merely as the sub-collectors of the rates. Now as the Magistrate in the present case held only Mussalman residents of B ward and only (Gujarati Hindu) Bania residents of C and D wards responsible for payment of damage caused, he ought to have "required the Municipal Commissioner to recover such amount in addition to the general tax which shall be imposed and levied" on all the house-owners in the ward or wards concerned, as per § 45 (1) (a) and not levied on persons of particular faith or caste in the wards. Besides it is iniquitous to do so. It cannot be said that Mussalmans residing in B ward occupy houses belonging to persons of that faith only and that persons of other faiths do not occupy buildings owned by Muslims; much less can it be said that all (Gujarati Hindu) Banias, of C and D wards who are believed to have made mischief, occupy houses owned by Banias and thus made to suffer for their misdeeds by being compelled to pay an additional tax.

In fact, there is a double miscarriage of justice in the present case. Not only is the law iniquitous in itself inasmuch as all the residents of a ward or wards are made to suffer for the evil-doing of a few, but it is made more so in operation by the locality theory about evil-doers being further modified by his religion or caste. At the same time Muslim tenants of a Hindu house-owner in B ward escape punishment, though guilty in law, merely because their landlord happens to be a Hindu, and similarly Bania residents of C and D wards escape punishment if they happen to be residing in houses owned non-Banias. On the other hand, Hindu tenants of Muslim landlords in B ward are punished unjustly and so also non-Bania tenants of Bania landlords in C and D wards. We request the Government to look into this whole question with a view to amend the law, if necessary, and to cancel this unjust and invidiously levied tax. We suggest that some rich landlord affected by this injustice will appeal to the High Court of Bombay and assist the public thereby.

A. V. THAKKAR.

FEMINISM AND POLITICS.

I PROPOSE to discuss here the interesting question of the bearing of the larger problem of Feminism on the question of woman's vote and her entry into politics, which has been brought into prominence by the new Reform Act. I presume that the reader is familiar with the general tenour of what has been dubbed the feminist movement and restrict myself to the question of woman's participation in politics with special reference to India.

There are three or four issues involved in this discussion which it would be better to clear at the outset. Shall a woman have a vote or not? shall a woman be allowed to take active interest in politics by becoming a member of a corporation or a legislative assembly, a judge or a senator, and so on? will she be merged in the family or be an independent entity? will her entry into politics necessarily mean economic independence?

With regard to the vote it is quite reasonable that a woman should claim the privilege of voting if she has the required qualification prescribed by law. The qualities required in a voter are intelligent interest in current affairs, sufficient mental capacity to decide which candidate is best fitted for the office or incumbency, &c., and moral rectitude to keep to the path of duty uninfluenced by extraneous considerations. There is nothing in the nature of a woman to preclude her from developing these qualities under favourable circumstances. If a woman can conduct a school, manage a post office, or supervise the work of dozens of subordinates, male as well as female, there is no reason why she cannot exercise discreetly the right to vote. Besides, the right of voting having to be exercised only occasionally, it does not involve the woman's neglect of her normal and essential functions and is therefore free from the objection brought against the proposal to make politics the sole preoccupation of a woman.

Some publicists have made much of the inability of the Purdah woman in Northern India to go to the polling booth and cast her vote. But we think the objection to be flimsy. A special tent can be provided for women voters, where the officials shall all be women. It is not difficult to secure the services of educated women to do the work. A cognate objection is that the municipal franchise given to women is sparingly exercised. But this involves an appeal to practice which does not affect the question on theoretical grounds. Let a woman have a right to vote; if she does not choose to exercise it, it is her look-out. If a male having a vote does not go to the poll, we do not penalize him; at the most we set him down as a bad citizen. The same should be the treatment we accord to the woman. We therefore disagree with the findings of the Southborough Committee on this head.

To disqualify women from voting would be like throwing a cold douche on the education of women. We should be blowing hot and cold in

the same breath if we ask the woman to educate herself and then deny to her the elementary rights of citizenship.

The moral value of the vote again has to be considered. If the vote gives the male the sense of being an integral part in the machinery of the government of his own country, it ought to do the same for the female. She feels then that she has a stake in the country and that she could influence, at least fractionally, the decisions in matters of state policy affecting the well-being of all the citizens.

When we come to the consideration of the next item, matters are not so easy. The question becomes complicated by the fact that a woman's *habitual* participation in political activities by becoming a municipal councillor or a member of the Legislative Assembly, &c., &c., involves an appeal to the ulterior authority of Nature in order to solve the question of the primary duties of women in society. In the early days of the movement for the emancipation of the woman, sociologists and reformers, in their anxiety to protest against medieval thought, regarded maternity for women as a degrading ideal. They talked as if culture and maternity were irreconcilable opposites or rather as varying inversely with each other. They regarded marriage and maternity as impediments to culture; and if a woman gave herself unreservedly to the tending and education of her children she was in their opinion a creature low in the scale of civilization; her mind was pitched to a lower key according to them; her ideal was deprecated and held to scorn by them. It is not my intention to give the history of this phase of thought; suffice it to say that the latter-day scientific study of sociology has discarded this erroneous view and come to a saner view of the sacredness of maternity and the nobility of the creed of 'educating the child.'

In India unfortunately only this early phase of feminism with its half-truths is studied, and the later phase which is more scientific is unknown to many a politician and reformer. This unscientific and early feminism has left its impress on the educational curriculum of our girls' schools. Girls are taught first as if they were boys; Nature's teaching is completely defied, and one hears too often the glib utterances of charlatans to the effect that the woman is to compete with the man in all the walks of life; to do exactly what he does and to organize her life on the pattern laid down for him. To such men woman's duties, instead of being complementary to those of man, are identical with his.

Without stopping to refute all these erroneous opinions, I would pass on with the remark that these views would be corrected by the study of the latter-day scientific sociology, broad-based on the foundation of biology and evolution. To name only one out of a host of writers, Ellen Key, in her thought-provoking book 'The Century of the Child,' has shown the error of allowing the mother to

have many preoccupations which would wear her away from her child. The neglected child is sent to the school to be herded with others in order to receive the monotonous education of modern schools which kills all the individuality that the child possesses. If the major part of the mothers of any nation is preoccupied with politics or any other business which will engross all their time, then the child is sure to be neglected.

It is not necessary to pursue the theme further. So far as it affects our second issue, it comes to this; if politics were to be the habitual pursuit of the major part of the women it would lead to a great dereliction of duty and to the weakening of the moral fibre of the future generation. The child, which is a sacred trust, will be left to the sweet mercies of the servants and the nurses in its early nurture and to the Procrustean bed of modern school education with its miserable cram and curricula to suit everybody, in its later career.

It might be objected at this stage that it is only a small percentage of women who would enter politics and make it the sole business of their lives and therefore our apprehensions are imaginary. There is truth in this objection; but then it simply changes the minor premiss; our major premiss stands unassailed. If only a few women were to enter politics we need not mind the result much. There would be no general preoccupation of the woman with duties other than her main duties.

Even in this case, however, the entry of a small number of women into politics would accelerate the speed of the movement for the economic independence of women which, as I shall show later on, is unsound in some of its aspects. Considering this collateral effect, it is doubtful if society will gain by admission of the women into the charmed circle of politics.

Readers of Ruskin would easily be put in mind of another objection against women's participation in politics. Politics by common consent is a rough game, and women will have to rough it out, as we say, and rub shoulders with all and sundry, stand indignities and rebuffs, fight antagonists by pen and word of mouth, consent to be heckled in the council room and will have to be prepared to get defeated and walk out. Is it good for her to do so? To quote from Ruskin: "Her intellect is not for invention or creation but for sweet ordering, arrangement and decision. . . . She enters into no contest, but infallibly adjudges the crown of contest. The man in his rough work in the open world must encounter all peril and trial, but he guards the woman from all this. . . . This is the true nature of home. In so far as it is not this, it is not home; so far as the anxieties of the outer life penetrate into it, it ceases to be home. And whenever a true wife comes this home is always round her." This peaceful home, so beautifully pictured by Ruskin, would disappear, if the woman enters the arena of politics.

It is true that woman in the west has entered the arena and has shown herself to be as strong and virile as man, instead of being the delicate and helpless being pictured by Ruskin. But even in the west thoughtful people are doubting the wisdom of this transformation. J. A. Hobson, one of the most thoughtful economic writers of our time, has already inveighed strongly against the employment of women in factories. But whatever may be the condition of things in the west, woman in India ought not to roughen herself; ought not to indulge in occupations which would interfere with her inner delicacy and refinement of feeling.

In those semi-political activities where there is no controversy, no jostling with the crowd, women can take part with advantage. Such, for example, are welfare exhibitions, medical relief associations, sanitary associations, especially those concerned with children's health, leagues for widow-remarriage propaganda, committees of district boards entrusted with primary education, &c. To generalize, women are indispensable associates in all activities which concern the welfare of women and children and those activities where the special 'healing function' (as Ruskin calls it) of a woman has ample scope.

V. N. GODBOLE.

INDIA IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES.

THE Indian Olympic Association has been established to secure proper representation for India at the next Olympic Games to be held in Belgium in the coming August and September, and to take steps to select, train, and send competitors from India for the same.

Here a brief history of the Olympic games since their revival in Europe will not be out of place. I take the following from the letter of Mr. S. R. Bhagwat, the General Secretary of the Indian Olympic Association, to the Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy. "An International Congress was organized in Paris in 1894 to 'discuss and disseminate the true principles of amateur sport,' and one of the subjects mentioned in the agenda paper referred to the possibility of reviving the Olympic games. On January 15, 1894, M. de Coubertain of France sent round a circular to all the athletic associations containing the following: 'And the last subject on the agenda paper is the request that you will sanction, if not the realisation, at any rate the preparation, of an international agreement that will revive the Olympic games under modern conditions, so that every four years the athletic representatives of the world may be brought together and that the spirit of international comity may be advanced by the celebration of their chivalrous and peaceful contests.'"

By the unanimous vote, the Congress decided upon the revival of the Olympic games and the institution of the International Olympic Commit-

tee. The first Olympiad was celebrated at Athens in 1896. The games of 1900 were held in Paris, of 1904 in St. Louis, of 1908 in London and of 1912 in Stockholm. . . . In 1916 the games were proposed to be held in Berlin, but owing to war they could not be celebrated. The next Olympiad is to be held at Antwerp in the coming August and September. All European and American nations and China and Japan from Asia have the right of representation on the International Olympic Committee and can participate in the games. Even the British Colonies can send their 'special' representatives. But till now India had no place on the Committee nor could it participate in the games.

Representation on the International Olympic Committee is considered as one of the greatest honours and the idea that Indian sportsmen ought to take part in the International Olympic games is not of recent origin. It was thought of as far back as the year 1910 when the constitution of the Deccan Gymkhana was being considered in detail. The increasing success of the Open Athletic and Wrestling Tournaments annually organised by the Gymkhana encouraged the officers of that Gymkhana to try to secure representation for India at the Olympic games, and early in 1914 the necessary information was called for from the German Consul about the games to be held in Berlin in 1916. But the war postponed the whole thing for a time. When after the end of the war it was announced that the next Olympic games would be held in Belgium in 1920, the authorities of the Deccan Gymkhana decided to take up the question in right earnest, and an association called the Indian Olympic Association was formed for this purpose. It has been fortunate in securings man like Sir Dorab J. Tata for its President.

A strong and influential committee is already organizing the work for Bengal and Assam from Calcutta. In several provinces the spade work has already advanced to a considerable extent and the building may soon rise to the sight. The number of members has already crossed the first thousand.

Still the time at the disposal of the Association is very short, and the Association is obliged to work simultaneously in all directions. Preliminary sports were held at Bombay during the Easter holidays last week with a view to select a representative body of athletes for Olympic games. The efforts of the Association to secure representation on the International Olympic Committee are crowned with success, and the happy news that India is allowed to enter the Olympic tournaments of the whole civilized world has been wired to us. The Government of India has done its best towards helping the Association in securing representation. One of the objects kept in view in starting the Association is thus an accomplished fact. The next, that of sending the representatives to Europe, now rests with the public. The public must now come forward to help the Association to enable it to take advantage of the

permission thus given by the International Olympic Committee. If we lose this opportunity, we shall be showing to the whole world that India is incapable of using the opportunities given to her. The success of our candidates in the Olympic games will go a great way in raising the status of our country in the eyes of all self-respecting nations. Even the presence of our representatives on the European soil ready to compete with European sportsmen will be of immense use to us. It will materially help us in our demand for self-determination, for by this the world will be able to see that India is a living nation. We earnestly appeal to our readers to try their best to further the cause of the Association, and we are confident that the appeal will meet with a hearty response from every true citizen of India.

H.

CORRESPONDENCE.

REVERSE COUNCILS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—In the two articles entitled 'Reverse Councils' and 'The Financial Statement' appearing in the SERVANT OF INDIA, 18 March, the effect of selling Reverse Councils on Indian gold reserve in England has been lucidly discussed. It is intended in this letter to point out the flaws in Mr. Hailey's—the Finance Member's—defence of the Government of India's policy, especially his statement to the effect that India ought to pay the price for the the advantages accruing to her from a high rate of exchange. The main objections urged against the Government's policy are, (1) unrestricted sale of Reverse Councils when the balance of trade is in India's favour and, therefore, when few commercial remittances have to be sent to England, and (2) the selling of these Council Bills at a rate higher than the prevailing market rate influenced by the dollar-sterling exchange. Personally, the writer has no fault to find with the latter policy if the rate remained fixed not only when the value of silver in relation to gold increases, but also when it decreases beyond the rate recommended by the Currency Committee, firstly, because fixity of rate of exchange is a prime necessity for safe economic or commercial transactions, and, secondly, because the higher rate of sale acts in favour of India generally and particularly of the poor Indian tax-payer who has contributed his mite towards the gold reserve at the expense only of the wealthy few who buy the Councils. The first objection cannot, however, be answered satisfactorily, and it is probably this consciousness that made Mr. Hailey put forth the lame defence that India must pay the price for the high exchange in her favour, as if it was India that purposely raised this rate to the detriment of England. The high rate is chiefly due to world causes such as the demand for silver being much greater than its supply and only partly to India's favourable trade balance; but even then India's economic prosperity and export trade, the result of her own industry and ability, is certainly not a crime against England; nor does she force her exports on the unwilling English importer. In fact, England stands to lose nothing by the high exchange for silver. The home charges are all directly or indirectly paid in sterling always exactly in the same amount as stipulated, whatever the value of silver, and thus India's saving of about 12¼ crores on them does not mean a corresponding loss to England. What are the other so-called benefits to India derived from the high rate of exchange? The Indian importer, no doubt, has to pay much less silver for his wares than formerly, but does that go against the English exporter? No; for again the prices are quoted in sterling and he gets his due in gold through Council remittances or some such means. On the other hand, it is India, if anybody, that stands to lose

because of her gold exchange standard and the inflated rate of exchange which so far as she herself is concerned is somewhat artificial and bitterly savours of politics. The Indian must be free to exchange his silver for gold or *vice versa* at the fixed rate as only then the intrinsic value of silver for him would tend to coincide with its exchange or world value through natural economic forces. For this there must be no restrictions on import and export of precious metals, no inconvertibility of any kind; there must be an open mint, and gold and silver be free to circulate side by side. As it is at present, the Indian exporter is naturally unwilling to receive less silver than formerly for the standard sterling figures in which he quotes his prices, partly owing to a force of habit, but chiefly because through several local causes silver has not appreciated for him as it has for the rest of the world, and what is needed, therefore, is to enable him to receive payment in gold if so desired. So long as this is not done the exports would tend to decline and the pecuniary loss sustained or imagined to be sustained by the exporter or capitalist producer would be made to fall on the poor Indian labourer; it will not fall on the British importer or consumer since India cannot afford to quote figures corresponding to the higher rate of exchange for her raw products for fear of being outdone by foreign competition in the English market. And what is the ultimate outcome of this all? Scantier wages in relation to prices, dissatisfaction of Indian labour and consequent strikes organised chiefly by starvation. The higher rate of rupee exchange, if it does anything, tends to increase imports from and decrease exports to England making the balance of trade less and less unfavorable to her at India's expense. And for all this Mr. Hailey wants India to be prepared to undergo an enormous loss on her gold reserve in England incurred by an unrestricted sale of Reverse Councils and, if the rumour is true, mostly to European merchants resident in India who are anxious to transfer their funds to England in these days, as they think, of political uncertainty; but whether the Councils are sold to Europeans or Indians, it is nevertheless true that it means a big loss to the average poor Indian tax-payer in thus being made to sell every Rs. 15 of his at the rate of Rs. 10 to a comparatively few wealthy privileged persons. Indian industry too suffers by the removal of private funds out of India, and since there is no justification whatever for the unwarranted sale of Reverse Councils, is it to be wondered at that the man in the street thinks that the Government has purposely resorted to it to make it impossible for India to get back her reserve in the form of gold once for all?—Yours, etc.

A. S. BHANDARKAR.

Indore, March 26.

SELECTION.

INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE BILL.

MR. SASTRI'S SPEECH IN COUNCIL.

THE Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri spoke as follows on the motion to refer the Hindu Inter-caste Marriage Bill to the Select Committee:—

The Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri:—"Sir, the Hon'ble Mr. Patel included me yesterday amongst the supporters of his Bill. He was quite right. I have great pleasure in supporting his Bill, and I also support the amendment by the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent to his motion. I support the Bill mostly because I believe in the promotion of freedom to the individual in matters vital to his welfare. I believe, Sir, that the institution of marriage is just the institution in which it is necessary within limits to accord the utmost liberty of action to the individual. The limits necessary are prescribed in every community and upheld sometimes by the customary law, sometimes by the statutory law of the land. In the case of India it is the customary law that the Courts enforce in respect of marriage. But it is well known that our ancient Shastras and Scriptures advise one course of action, but that custom in recent times, no doubt extending over several generations, has adopted a somewhat different course. I do not mean to say that every departure from the ancient rule has been wrong.

I believe that in every change there has been a conformity to the environment. Every change must have been necessary at the time it was made. But at the present moment there is no doubt that the restrictions imposed by custom far exceed those that the ancient law imposed on the institution of marriage, and that these customary restrictions have begun to enslave the community and restrict the freedom of the individual in a most unwholesome manner. I do not believe really, therefore, that there is any danger to the religion of the land. On the contrary, if I venture to make this statement, it will help to place the religion of the land on a higher and purer footing. Nor do I believe that there is any truth in the charge that has been brought against this Bill that it will disrupt the Hindu society or that it will uproot the institution of caste.

"I believe, Sir, like most proposals for reform, this is likely to be operative on a very small scale in the beginning. If a change comes over the society of this country, it will come over it in a very slow, gradual and natural and safe manner. If, however, there is a possibility of any revolution being effected, which I emphatically deny; it is because the conscience of the community has begun to revolt against the unwholesome restrictions imposed by custom. Those who foresee these dangers seem to have in their minds an impression that the community at large has begun to feel the stringency of the restriction and is ready, the moment the law of the land makes it possible, to overstep the barriers and reorganise the institution of marriage on reasonable and healthy lines. If that was the case, I should no doubt rejoice, but I have no reason to think that that is the case. The community is not going to take advantage on a very considerable scale of the provisions of this Bill. I therefore do not apprehend in the least any revolution in society, anything to justify the grave alarm that has found expression both in this Council and outside. One thing, however, may be said. The Hon'ble Mr. Patel and some of his supporters have claimed for the Bill, that it may have the effect of demolishing caste. I do not think it will have that effect at all. It may remove some of the acerbities of these caste distinctions; it points the better way to the community; it is a signpost in the march of the community towards a better order, but certainly it will not do much more than that. The Hon'ble Mr. Patel's Bill is brief attractively brief. He seems to have the idea that if the Bill were confined to a mere declaration of the validity of marriages between castes, it would disarm the opposition of the community; it would show them that the minimum departure from the established practice was contemplated, that it did not try to interfere in any way with the law of succession and inheritance, that it left the ages of the parties where they would otherwise have been, and it left the conditions surrounding a marriage just where they were. I confess, Sir, it seems to me that this is a wrong line to have taken altogether. The very brevity of the Bill is its danger. If the Hon'ble Mr. Patel had taken the advice that has been tendered to him from innumerable quarters and amplified his Bill so as to provide for the many cases of difficulty that arise out of this simple declaration, he would have, it seems to me, diminished considerably the opposition that now finds expression. In this case—more detail, less alarm. I said at the time he asked leave of this Council to introduce this Bill, that I felt the moment that we touch radical institutions like marriage in the light of modern reason, it was necessary to introduce other elements which the enlightened conscience of the modern day connects with the marriage institution. For instance, this particular Bill will cause a certain amount of unhappiness, a certain amount of social ostracism to the people who avail themselves of it. It will not do to permit parents to arrange the marriages of their children so that those children, when they grow up, may have to face difficulties which they would not themselves have courted. It is absolutely necessary therefore that this reform, which is likely to bring social trouble to those who avail themselves of it, should contain a condition that the parties to any marriage under this Bill should be adults, and should be people that had arrived at the age of discretion. It is necessary too, Sir, in my judgment, that it should provide that the

parties to the marriage should be otherwise monogamous, that it should also be clearly made out that while it may be open to people who avail themselves of this Bill to go through the customary rites of marriage before the sacred fire, it nevertheless should be ordained by law that the marriage should have a civil aspect as well, for it is quite likely that a great deal of opposition will be raised to the solemnization of the marriage by the ordinary sacred ritual, and it is possible to contend (I do not believe that it will be correct, but it is possible to contend) that the usual ritual had no application to cases of marriage between a higher and a lower caste. To avoid these difficulties, many of Mr. Patel's supporters have advised him to include a provision for registration of marriage. I think it would be well to introduce that element also. I make this recommendation at this moment to the Hon'ble Mr. Patel, because I would respectfully remind him that while he has numerous supporters on all sides, nearly every one of those supporters has qualified his support by the recommendation that various changes and additions should be made to the Bill, so that it may prove a workable machinery. I may mention Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, the Hon'ble Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, and Mr. Madgaonkar, District Judge. Then the local Governments have done the same. The Hon'ble Mr. Patel yesterday claimed Mr. Percival, District Judge of Poona, amongst his supporters. Sir, at the risk of seeming to disobey a certain rule of yours, I would read one sentence from Mr. Percival's opinion which I commend to the earnest attention of Mr. Patel:—

"In view of the strong opposition, especially among the Brahmin community of Poona and elsewhere, Government will no doubt decide to be conspicuously neutral in respect of the Bill."

This is for the Hon'ble Mr. Patel:—

"It would also seem desirable to suggest to the Hon'ble Mr. Patel that he would be well advised to travel along the lines of least resistance (as he did in the case of his Educational Bill;) that is to say, to confine his Bill to sub-castes, as suggested in paragraph 6 of the report of the Inspecting F. C. Sub-Judge, Poona."

"Now it does not seem to me to be an opinion which one should have claimed to be entirely in support of a Bill of much smaller scope than the one before us."

"I conceive then that the Select Committee to which this Bill might be committed in the course of this day's proceedings would have to expand it in various directions and make it a really workable plan, disarming opposition and criticism that has come from all quarters."

"Now, Sir, I want to consider a most important condition imposed by some people on the action of this legislature in respect of matters of social reform. I believe the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent on a former occasion referred briefly, although not on his own individual account, to this condition, that the majority of the community affected by the Bill must be more or less in support of the change indicated, before Government could give their sanction to any such measure. Now this condition is simply impossible, I conceive, to fulfil. I have no desire whatever to enter on any controversy, but I must point out that the Hon'ble Mr. Patel yesterday claimed too much when he claimed that the bulk of the community were in favour of the Bill. Nothing, Sir, is to be gained by exaggerating the support that comes to a measure of this character. The bulk of the Hindu community, both as I read the papers before us and as I know from personal knowledge of feeling all over the country, is decidedly against the Bill. The Hon'ble Mr. Patel pays too much attention to individual opinions, but individual opinions are confessedly individual. Large meetings of the community held up and down the country have protested against the measure, and have memorialised the local Governments. The local Governments have only made a selection of the papers which are printed here and communicated to us. The large bulk of opinion, most of it adverse, has not been communicated to this Council. The Maharaja of Darbhanga, who presided over a great many of these protest meetings, is referred to both by the

Bihar and Orissa Government and the Bengal Government. Now, what did those meetings consist of? They consisted of people of the Hindu community of all castes, Brahmans and non-Brahmans alike. Similarly, meetings, to which the Board of Revenue in Madras refer, consisted also of members of all castes. It seems to me, Sir, that when we set the adverse opinion side by side with the favourable opinion, there can be no doubt whatever that the adverse opinion is very much the stronger. That, however, does not seem to me to matter very much in the case of a permissive Bill of this kind. Confessedly, it is for the relief of minorities, and when minorities come and seek relief at the hands of the legislature, it appears to me that the legislature would impose a very heavy, almost prohibitive, obligation if it says, 'You go and get the consent of the majority.' The majority are avowedly against a thing of this kind. They do not like sometimes to give the necessary freedom to minorities and to individuals that may be affected. It is a plea on behalf of the minority, on behalf of the individual, that we make to this Council. To claim that the majority are in our favour is to make, it seems to me, a false claim, is to set up, it seems to me, an unnecessary claim. We are a minority; as a minority we come to this Council for relief. But this minority, Sir, is not altogether negligible. It is a considerable minority, and the Council need not consider its time and energy wasted if it contemplated a measure that sought to give relief to a considerable minority. I have here a pamphlet, which I daresay other members of this Council also possess copies of, by a certain gentleman named Daphtari, a member of the Bar in Bombay. It is a most instructive pamphlet full of facts and observations which a consideration of this Bill makes necessary. There it is asserted, and I believe it is true, Sir, that there are great numbers of people, numerous castes and sub-castes, in parts of the country, who have been obliged to transgress the limits of the caste distinctions, who have been obliged, in order to find brides and bridegrooms, to overstep the limits set down by custom. Such marriages are now in being, children have been born, and there is a feeling of uneasiness amongst members of these small communities that if ever a case should unfortunately come to a Court of law, a decision may be given against them. It is necessary, therefore, for the protection of people who have already taken bold action to pass a Bill of this kind. Now that, Sir, it seems to me, is a significant commentary on the way in which customs are created. The requirement that the custom must be ancient, must be continual and must be uniform is very hard. It militates against the growth of healthy and new customs. I know, as a matter of fact, that in the case of a requirement of the ancient law which is much more binding and goes to the very root of our religion than the one we are considering in this case, I mean, of the prohibition against marriages as between people of the same Gotra there are communities that have felt that they could not conform to this requirement. I know of a village in the Tinnevely District where a community accepted as orthodox people have, however, owing to the stringency of that condition, been obliged to transgress even this rule, and marriages there have been contracted during the last thirty years between people belonging to the same Gotra; and they are Brahmans and Brahmans of a very orthodox sect. I know of other cases where this law against sagotra marriages has been transgressed. It is necessary that cases of this sort should be protected by an enlightened legislature. We must move with the times, and as often as people find it necessary to transgress the limits imposed by custom, take that bold action and come to the legislature for relief. I think it will not be wise to withhold that relief merely because three-fourths or seven-eighths of the community have not yet come to ask for the relief.

"Now, Sir, a word as to the attitude of Government in this matter. Now, the attitude of Government it seems to me, is surrounded by a great deal of difficulty, and the local Governments have not spoken with one voice in the matter. The disparity between the views of Government is well brought out when we consider the contrast between the views of Sir Reginald Cradock in Burma and

the views of Sir Harcourt Butler in the United Provinces. They seem to me to mark the utmost limits of the divergence of views of the local Governments. Sir Reginald Craddock would advise the Government to prevent the passage of this Bill. Sir Harcourt Butler exhorts the Government to take the side of the reformers, to help the people to live up to a better ideal. He would persuade the Government of India to support the Bill and help it on. Between these two extremes there lie two views. One view is that this Bill had best be considered by the Reformed Council.

The Governments of Madras, the Punjab and Bombay hold to this view strongly, while the other view, that the Government must be strictly neutral and leave this matter to be settled by the Hindu members of this Council, being non-official, is held by the Central Provinces, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces, the last Government coming also under this, in case the other view which I mentioned a minute ago should not commend itself to the Government of India. I find it difficult, Sir, to blame the Government of India in the circumstances that I have stated if they refuse to give official support to this Bill. It seems to me that the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent's amendment, therefore, takes the only course that it is open to the Government of India to take. They must leave this matter to be settled by the non-official members of this Council, and that is why I believe that the amendment is cast on the right lines. I have great pleasure in supporting the Bill and the amendment of the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent."

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND. MR. KAMAT'S LECTURE.

THE Hon. Mr. B. S. Kamat, speaking recently at the John Small Memorial Hall at Poona, gave some account of elementary education in England, a subject which is at present engaging considerable attention in the Deccan. Tracing the history of enactments on education, he said, although the first Act introducing compulsion in England was passed in 1870, it was not till 1891 that fees were abolished in the majority of schools. The Act of 1902 established the local educational authorities in lieu of the School Boards. The Act of 1906 made provision for the supply of meals to necessitous children; the Act of 1907 provided for their medical treatment; the Act of 1914 provided for the epileptic and mentally defective children; and finally, the great Education Act of 1918 effected the following comprehensive changes: (1) The duty was placed on the local education authorities to provide not only elementary education, but even secondary and technical education; (2) it was made compulsory for boys as well as girls to attend day continuation schools between the ages of 14 and 16; (3) provision was made for the physical and social welfare of children and young persons through Children's Care Committees, who look after the feeding of needy children, their medical treatment by arrangement with hospitals, the cleansing of dirty children and their clothing, the supply of boots where necessary in winter, etc., and (4) the financial basis of education was re-modelled.

As regards finances, the expenditure of the education committees is met in several ways. Elementary schools are no doubt free, but the fees in secondary schools are rather high. But there are numerous grants—at any rate the grants-in-aid till recently were of a piecemeal but varied character, the number of grants being about fifty for various purposes under elaborate conditions. Thus there were grants-in-aid of fees, small population grants, nursery school grants, grants for medical inspection, for meals to poor children, for dairy work, for handicrafts, for cookery, laundry work, technical grants, and so on. Since April, 1919, however, these piecemeal grants are now amalgamated into one consolidated substantive grant by the Board of Education. Thus the London County Council is paid this grant calculated according to a formula which gives thirty-six shillings per unit of average attendance, plus three-fifths of the expenditure on the teachers' salaries plus one-fifth of the remaining expenditure incurred by the L. C. Council, subject how-

ever to the proviso that in no case shall the consolidated grant fall short of one-half of the total expenditure. The remaining expenditure for compulsory education falls on the local authorities and is raised in the form of educational rates. There are in England local bodies which have to raise locally from 10d. to 1s. 3d. and even more in the £ on the rental values of properties, for education. There are towns such as Carlisle, Chesterfield, Halifax, Norwich, which have to raise even more than 2s. in the £. Quoting from the latest annual estimates for the present year (1919-20) of the London County Council, Mr. Kamat pointed out that the County rate for general purposes, that is, for other than education, was 1s. 5d. (seventeen pence) in the £, and the rate for education levied was 1s. 9d. in the £ based on the rent value the rates bringing in £3,989,000, and the grant from the Board of Education for 1919-20 being £3,546,000. Of course, the capacity of the Londoner to bear taxation must be relatively high, but the ratio of the educational cess is significant. But the general condition of the masses there clearly proves that the outlay amply repays the Londoner the tax he bears.

Mr. Kamat, giving his experience of the schools he visited in London, said what impressed him most was the practical instruction imparted in what are called Central Schools, where girls and boys of 12 to 14 ply their little fingers in handicrafts like carpentry, tailoring, upholstering, laundry work, typing, etc., so that at the age of fifteen they are self-supporting to their parents. Instruction and tools are given free.

The Children's Care Committees attached to each School Board are another interesting feature of the London Schools. These Care Committees composed of men and women of the town look after the medical inspection of the poor and needy children, carry them to the cleansing stations if the children are verminous, supply them with garments or boots in winter or refer them for help to the Invalid Children's Aid Association.

The teaching staff in primary schools is mainly composed of women; in 1917-18, for instance, out of a total of 9118, persons under training in the training colleges no less than 8697 were women, and only 421 were men. Indeed this ought to be copied in India where middle class women ought to take to the dignified profession of teaching the children and men ought not to stoop to a pittance of Rs. 15 a month.

Mr. Kamat then made a few observations about the condition of primary education in India, basing his remarks on figures from official publications. In England more than 17 per cent. of the population are under instruction; in India it is 2.4. In Bombay 6.5 per cent. of the boys and only 1.8 of the girls out of the total population are under instruction, showing what a tremendous leeway the girls have to make, whereas in the case of secondary education as also University education the percentage of population in India is on a par with England, showing the need for concentrating our efforts and finances chiefly on primary education.

In England private schools if they are classed as 'efficient', are largely utilised for the spread of compulsory education. Thus in London the municipal schools are 590 as against 361 non-provided or private schools. Private schools are not liberally treated in the matter of grants, nor can they be really efficient. Thus, of the total provincial expenditure in Bombay for 1918-1919 the municipalities got 12.4 per cent., the local boards got 83.3 p. c. and private schools got only 3.6 p. c., whereas of the total pupils the municipalities had 1/7th, the Boards had 2/3rd, and private schools had 1/7th in their institutions.

Finally, Mr. Kamat urged that in view of the fact that only two municipalities had come forward during the last two years for compulsory education on a free basis, the whole question was well worth a study, namely the income of the municipalities, their incidence of taxation, their present expenditure on education, also, on the other hand, the question whether provincial funds are being distributed by Government equitably between the local ratepayers and the general taxpayers. Mr. Kamat asked local educationists to look into this question for all the municipalities in the Presidency, and promised to advert to it on some future occasion.

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