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A THESIS  
ON  
SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

SUBMITTED BY,

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## CHAPTER I.

## Population: Age, Sex, Marriage.

In the following pages I propose to give an idea about the social and economic conditions of the Bombay Presidency.

Every tenth year a Census is taken in India. The total for any year other than a census year is not known with the same degree of accuracy because it is a matter of estimation and not of enumeration. We get for the census year a picture of the population showing for instance the number employed in each industry and the number following each occupation. Besides it gives sufficient data to form an estimate of the social and economic conditions of the people.

The population of Bombay Presidency given by the most recent<sup>1</sup> censuses is as follows.

Year	Population in millions
1872	23·0
1881	23·4
1891	27·0
1901	25·5
1911	27·1
1921	26·8

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<sup>1</sup>Reports of Census, Bombay Presidency vols.  
1881, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921.

From the above figures we find that various changes have taken place in the population. <sup>1</sup>The course of changes, however, is directly attributable to obvious and known causes. Between the year, 1872 and 1881 came the famine of 1877, one of the worst ever known. As a result the population at the 1881 census fell sharply in the Karnatak districts, and the adjacent eastern districts, this fall counter-balancing a rise in other regions. Between 1881 and 1891 was a decade of marked prosperity with absence of famines or epidemics. Consequently at the 1891 census every district showed a marked rise. Between 1891 and 1901 came the first assaults of plague and the great famine of 1899-01. Consequently every district in Gujarat showed a marked fall due to famine and some of the Karnatak districts a fall due to plague. Between 1901-11 was a period of marked prosperity on the whole without any marked famines (moreover by this time famine had ceased to cause direct loss of life by starvation) but with a continuance of plague varying in its severity region by region. As a result there was a rise in most districts modified by local falls in others attributable

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<sup>1</sup>Report of Census 1921 (Bombay Presidency) page 7.

with certainty to plague.

It can be seen that the British territory as a whole recovered rapidly from the effects of 1899 famine. When we examine the figures for British districts in the north of Gujarat we notice that some districts have never recovered. Conspicuous amongst these is ' Kaira ' which apparently will never recover. Kaira had a population of 8 lakhs in 1881 and 8½ lakhs in 1891. The ' Chappanya ' famine sent its population down to 7 lakhs in 1901 and it has remained at that level ever since. The Talukas of Matar, Méhamdabad in the Kaira district were badly affected and the Census Report of 1921 refers to them as ' decadent areas.' The condition of Ahmedabad is really the same but is obscured by the deceptive rise of the city population. Ahmedabad(city) had a population of 137,041 in 1881. In 1901 it rose to 199,609 and stood at 274,007 for 1921.

The Panch Mahals, Reva Kantha, and West Khandesh stand in marked contrast. Famine came to these regions not as a permanent blow as in Kaira, but as a mere temporary set-back in a great era of advance. The two districts had recovered from the famine in 20 years, Reva Kantha in 30 years. In round thousands the populations of these tracts in 1872 and 1921 were 1107 and 1170 respectively. The cause may be two-fold (1) a greater recuperative power in the Bhils and other



hill and forest tribes(ii) a natural advance in population in the less settled tracts as the result of peace and prosperity. After the disturbed state of India in the 18th. and early 19th. century the plains would settle down and increase their population first and the hills and forests later.

Apart from <sup>the</sup> fleeting effects on the Bhil country are the effects of 1877 famine on the south-east Deccan. The havoc caused in Bijapur and Sholapur was as great or greater than the havoc caused by the 'chappanya' in North Gujarat while in Belgaum and Dharwar the damage was very serious. Yet Bijapur almost and the other three districts fully recovered in 20 years. Bijapur had recovered completely in 40 years.

Satara shows a continuous decline for which plague is responsible.

The course of changes is also attributable to influenza. The influenza epidemic of 1918 carried away a large number of persons. In the report of Sanitary department for 1918 Lt. Col. Murphy I, M. S. the sanitary commissioner deduced the net influenza mortality for that year in two ways -- first by ascertaining the net excess of deaths for each month from June to December over the mean of the same month in the preceding five years, and secondly by limiting the figures to deaths recorded from the two causes. The second

method gave a slightly higher figure. From June to December 1918 the excess in deaths from all causes was 1036753 and deaths from the two special causes 1041481.

Such being the case regarding the variations in the population we are tempted to agree with Dr. Mehta's remark in 'Rural Economy of Gujarat,' "The frequent plague epidemics and the economic dislocations caused by famine are nature's unconscious checks on the population which is pressing hard against the means of subsistence."

The table given in the beginning gives the total population. Let us make an analysis of it according to sex. The Reports of Census tell us that there were in Bombay Presidency 933 in 1911 and 919 in 1921 females per 1000 males.

The problem of the sex ratio is not simple. It is controversial. Though males predominate as a whole, more girls are born than boys. There are various reasons for the subsequent preponderance of males over females. Let us look at some of them. <sup>1</sup>The idea that omission of the females is the main cause of the deficiency of females was fully trounced by Sir Edward Gait in Census Report of 1911. This could be supportable only if it could be shown that among Mohamedans the deficiency is greater than among Hindus since the tendency to

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<sup>1</sup>Report of Census 1921(Bombay Presidency) p. 102.

conceal females would be stronger in case of the former. In this Presidency, however, it is remarkable to mark that the deficiency as a whole among Mohamedans is more strongly marked. But this as pointed out by Sir Edward Gait is entirely a question of territorial distribution, the Mohamedans being in marked excess in Sind, where the deficiency of females is greatest. The following figures for 1911 and 1921 by natural divisions are given for ready reference:-

Region	1911		1921	
	Hindus	Mohamedans	Hindus	Mohamedans
Whole Presi.	953	860	933	812
Gujarat	924	941	913	912
Konkan	1,038	1,111	1,063	1,144
Deccan	989	929	977	913

A glance at this will show that the matter is territorial rather than due to religion. In Konkan, of course, the Mohamedan population is small, only 168 thousand. But in Gujarat it amounts to 317 thousand a figure, large enough for differences of social custom to reveal themselves in figures were they a genuine factor.

Sir Edward Gait also pointed out that in the North-Western regions of India the deficiency of females was a well-known social fact resulting in actual traffic in brides. Magistrates

in Gujarat are constantly called upon to try cases of cheating where a girl has been brought and sold to a ' Kanbi ' but afterwards discovered Figures per 1000 males : to be of ' Koli ' in certain groups in : caste. The cause for Ahmedabad, Kaira, and : this is amply illus- Broach. : trated by the figures Leva Kanbi .. 772 : in the margin. If Kadana Kanbi .. 906 : the Leva Kanbis concealed their females and consequently the census figures were incorrect, there would be no reason for this constant traffic in Koli girls.

It is necessary to tabulate the proportion of females to males and discuss reasons for same. The following table gives the changes in the sex-proportions from 1872-1921 in the Bombay Presidency.

Years	Males	Females
1872	522.9	477.1
1881	515.9	484.1
1891	515.8	484.2
1901	513.8	486.1
1911	517.0	483.0
1921	521.2	478.8

There are some obvious reasons for the low average of women in India. Conspicuous amongst them are superstition and belief in orthodox principles,

and the effects of early marriages.

<sup>1</sup>A Hindu males must have sons to perform his funeral rites lest his spirit wander uneasily in the waste places of the earth. The very name ' Putra ' means one who saves his father's soul from the hell called ' Puta.' A Hindu maiden unmarried at puberty is a source of social obloquy and damnation to her ancestors. <sup>2</sup>Marriage is not only almost universal in India but in many cases the marriage tie is contracted at a very early age. It is hard for people in India to understand how a man can remain celibate as long as he has a chance to marry. Marriage before puberty is not uncommon in India. The statistics clearly show that this custom has not to any appreciable extent become less frequent. In 1921 there were 169 married girls between 0 and 1 year, 2699 married girls between 1 and 5 years and 9519 between 5 and 10 years in the Ahmedabad district. The conditions are nearly the same in other districts.

Again in India where old traditions die hard, especially among the illiterate classes, marriage is still looked upon as a convenient mode of combining companionship with the performance of

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<sup>1</sup>Population Problem in India by Wattal page 3.

<sup>2</sup>Rural Economy of Gujarat by Dr. Mehta.

household work, being thereby also an elimination of the servant problem. It is not uncommon therefore to find that the eligible bridegroom is well past the meridian of his life while the girl of his choice is a very young child still in her teens. The contrast is aggravated in many cases where the man is venturing into matrimony for the third or fourth time, the previous wives of a polygamous union being either alive or dead. Often agriculturists have been known to marry at the approach of the harvesting season because the strong young bride will be useful in the fields and will not have to be paid any wages, while in other cases, the man's mother may be getting on in years and so desirous of having a willing young daughter-in-law who will submit to her authority and serve as a maid of all work. So common is the practice of early marriages that very few girls remain single after the age of 18 years; whereas in Western countries very few girls marry before the age of 20. It could be seen from the number of unmarried girls in this Presidency in each of the four age periods from 1891 to 1921 which is as follows.

Age-group	1891	1901	1911	1921
0 - 5	976	983	971	977
5 - 10	821	878	836	860
10 - 15	403	486	440	486
15 - 20	89	147	111	125

The table clearly shows that in spite of propo-  
ganda about social reform, prevention of early  
marriages, the practice of early marriages has not  
been appreciably less common.

The results of these early marriages  
are simply disastrous and painful to be narrated,  
Many times they result in death. <sup>1</sup>The most important  
cause of excessive female mortality is the preva-  
lence of early marriages which subjects girls to  
the risk of motherhood when they have not yet rea-  
ched physical maturity. As the Census Superinten-  
dent, Baroda, 1901, observes, number of child-wives  
" March from nuptial bed to the funeral pile."  
Nervous debility, consumption, and uterine diseases  
create havoc among them. Miss Mayo in her book  
called <sup>2</sup>Mother India believes that early marriages  
and an untimely motherhood forced upon them are  
responsible for the low ratio of women.

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<sup>1</sup>Indian Economics by Jathar and Beri page 53.

<sup>2</sup>Thirty-six years ago, when the age of Consent Bill  
was being argued in the Indian Legislature, all the  
women doctors then working in India united to lay  
before the Viceroy a memorial and petition for the  
relief of those to whose help their own lives were  
dedicated. I am quoting some illustrations of the  
effects of the consummation of early marriages.

A. Aged 9, day after marriage. Left fever dislocated,  
pelvis crushed out of shape. Flesh hanging in shreds.

Another explanation for the low average of women is found from our knowledge of customs prevailing since olden days. An explanation is afforded by the existence of certain social practices as that of the 'Purdah' which is especially disastrous in its effects on the health of women residing in crowded towns and which is found among comparatively well-to-do Mohamedans and also amongst Hindus where Mohamedan influence has been strongly at work. Another cause is that in India female life is held cheaper than in the West, not only by men but by women themselves and this results in a deliberate neglect of health in case of females. Still another cause is the fact that women workers in field or factory are seldom in a position to enjoy the necessary period of rest before and after delivery and the strain of overwork inevitably impairs their physique. The unskillful midwifery of the village 'Dai' is another contributory cause.

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(CONTINUED from preceding page).

B. So completely ravished as to be almost beyond surgical repair. Her husband had two other wives and spoke fine English.

C. Aged about 7, living with husband. Died in great agony after three days.

( from Mother India. Chap. on Spades and Spades, page 61.)



Mr. Shirras, on the other hand, once in an article in the Times of India attributed female - infanticide for the shortage of women.

The article ran as follows:-

Infanticide is, as every one knows, a custom that has prevailed in all parts of the world, except those influenced by Christianity and Islam and it is not to be taken as a sign of low standard of culture as it was practised by the Egyptians, Jews, Greeks and Romans. It is one of those positive checks which Malthus in his essay on the Principle of Population described. " It was " said the Census Report of India 1921, " certainly common in recent times in Central India, Rajputana, Gujarat, Oudh and among certain primitive tribes such as the Khonds of Madras, the Nagas of Assam, and was specially practised in Northern India among the Sikhs, Jats, Khattris, Rajputs and Gujars. We have to remember (a) the fact that among these groups of people the custom is an ancient and recognised tradition and that the Indian is notoriously conservative of his traditions, (b) the ease with which, under the conditions of child-birth in an Indian family, the practice can be carried out without the possibility of any definite suspicion in any individual case such as would justify official interference, and (c) the fact that registers of birth are not kept by caste and that the suppression of female births is a well-known fact in parts of the Punjab."

The statistics of females per 1000 males have been examined for the 1901, 1911 and 1921 Censuses and case of those castes which have a tradition of female infanticide with those castes which have not, could be compared. In the former group are the Jat(Hindu), the Rajput(Hindu), and the Gujars and these could be compared with the other group in which the Jat(Musalman), the Rajput(Musalman) and the Brahman have been selected as examples. The results show a very remarkable difference and lead one to the conclusion that in some parts of India today, in the words of the Census Report 1921, there is the continued deliberate destruction of female infant life either by active or by passive means. Professor Willcox has recently shown that in the provinces from which returns of persons classified by sex were received in the 1910 Chinese Census neraly 56 % of the reported population were male,(The corresponding figure for India is 52%). He concludes that the only way in which the disproportion between the sexes indicated by these Chinese figures is the neglect of females, especially female children, or to female infanticide on a large scale, or more probably to a combination of two influences. He has recently made special investigations in regard to Shanghai with reference to the large burials of infants under one year of age and concludes the mortality is so great as to force the conclusion that many of the deaths are due to infanticide and he quotes Mr. Howard's 'China's

Population and the present Census(1929), the male population is in excess of the female throughout the country as a whole, this being fundamentally due, apparently to the widespread practice of female infanticide and to the neglect of girl children.

#### Legislation and <sup>the</sup> Result.

In Baluchistan today there is the well-known euphemistic statement that 'the lady's daughter died drinking milk.' Similarly in Gujarati there is the expression 'Dudhpiti Karvi,' which means the same thing — drawing of the newly born girl baby in milk. The Encyclopaedia Britanica(eleventh edition) refers to the Rajput's killing a proportion of his daughters thus. "A pill of tobacco and bhang might be given to the newly-born child; or it was drowned in milk; or the mother's breast was smeared with opium or the juice of the poisonous Datura. A common method was to cover the child's mouth with a plaster of cowdung before it drew breath." The efforts of Jonathan Duncan, afterwards Governor of Bombay, and Major Walker to put down infanticide in the 18th.century are well-known. In 1853 Lord Lawrence held a Durbar at Amritsar where the chiefs residing in the Punjab and the trans-Sutlej states signed an agreement to expel from caste everyone who committed infanticide and to adopt fixed and moderate rates of marriage expenses.

In Gujarat infanticide was practised by Rajputs, and Kanbis including Patidars, but that since legislation made this illegal the practice has decreased. Today in Borsad Taluka of the Kaira district, more than one village of Patidars is sometimes suspected of still following this practice. It is interesting to note that one of the endowment scholarships annually awarded at the Gujarat college is called the Kanbi anti-infanticide Fund Scholarship. It was in 1870 that the act to prevent <sup>the</sup> murder of females was passed. The preamble of the act reads, "Whereas the number of female infants is believed to be commonly committed in certain parts of British India etc." and this act — the Female Infanticide Prevention Act — applies to the Bombay Presidency, the United Provinces, the Punjab and to certain scheduled districts. It applies to certain classes of persons in the Ahmedabad and Kaira districts of the Bombay Presidency. The penalty for a breach of the rules under the act may be punished <sup>ment</sup> with imprisonment up to six months or with a fine which may extend to Rs.1000 or with both. Malthus writing on the checks to population in India quotes Manu and shows the preference for the male. "By a son a man obtains victory over all people, by a son's son he enjoys immortality and afterwards by a son of <sup>the</sup> that grandson he reaches solar abode."

Geographically it is put that a low damp

climate is favourable to females and that of dry uplands to males.

Let us now turn towards age-composition. The mean ratio of 919 women to 1000 men is the average for the whole of Bombay Presidency. We can see that it does not hold good for different age-groups. It can also be said that it does not hold good for different localities. It does not hold good for different castes. Thus in 1921 there were 933 Hindus and 812 Mohamedans females per 1000 males.

We have touched upon age-distribution in relation to sex. Age-distribution is important apart from sex. There is no such thing as a standard age-distribution. Different communities are markedly contrasted with one another in respect to the proportion with those of school-age, those of working age, and those who have retired from active life of the whole population. Many factors play a part in making the age-distribution of any community what it is. First in importance is the birth-rate. An increase in the birth-rate will increase and a diminution in the birth-rate will decrease the proportion of young persons. A few words need here be mentioned about the high birth-rate of our country. <sup>1</sup>Herbert Spencer says " Organism multiply in inverse ratio to the dignity and worth of individual life? In the humblest plants and

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<sup>1</sup>Population Problem of India by Wattal page 15.

animals there is an enormous number of seeds and eggs, while in the higher there are but few. It will perhaps be readily agreed that the dignity and worth of individual life is at its lowest among the aboriginal tribes which accounts for their prolificness. In applying the same formula to Mohamedans as against Hindus one naturally does so with great reluctance and extreme diffidence. The contribution which Mohamedans have done to intellectual progress is by no means negligible, but there is no disparagement of the community as a whole in the statement that intellectually they are not so advanced as the Hindus. (The figures for the educational department will prove this). Their cerebral development is so much less and as a consequence their fecundity so much greater. The Census Report of 1911 shows that number of Mohamedans rose during the decade 1901-11 by 6·7 as compared with only 5 p.c. in case of the Hindus.

Our high birth-rate is therefore an indication of the primitive state of our society, and an evidence of civilisation of an unsophisticated type. It is no sign of exuberance of vital force either. We know that the Animist population is the most fertile of all others in this country. Even among the Hindus it is noticed that the higher castes who are less prolific have a higher proportion of old males and a very larger proportion of old females than the lower castes, whose fecundity is so

much greater. This shows that 'fecundity must affect longevity.' Pandit Hari Kishan Kaul says 'the higher or affluent castes have a fairly large proportion of old people while labouring classes engaged in occupations noxious to health have a comparatively smaller number of persons over 40 years old. The castes with fewest old persons, the labouring classes for instance, have the largest proportion of children. On the other hand the castes with an abundance of old people have a comparatively smaller number of children.'

What holds good on a smaller scale within the various communities of a country holds good also on the much larger scale within the various countries of the world. As stated that in countries with a high birth-rate there must be a rapid succession of short-lived beings to keep up the numbers, one generation being pushed out of existence before its time to make room for the next. As such the mean age of this Presidency is low as 24·8(1921) as contrasted with the high average of other countries.

Again immigration and emigration affect the position. The former causes an influx of the young people, because it is the young rather than the old who move, while the latter has the opposite result. As far as Bombay Presidency is concerned on the whole there is a balance between immigration and emigration. Signs of emigration, however, are

not wanting. <sup>1</sup>In 1898, the settlement officer writing about the Jalalpur Taluka said " I may note that nothing has struck me more on my return to the district than the extent of emigration from this Taluka to South Africa, Rangoon, Manuritius, and other places outside India even including Klondyke. This emigration is not confined to any one class or caste. Anavalas, Kanbis, Kolis, Dheds and Musalmans from all parts of the Taluka, in fact all who cannot make both ends meet at home and who can raise expenses for the journey leave the homes in hope of rapidly attaining wealth. Although this emigration may be a favourable sign, it is, I submit a certain indication of the pressure of population? Emigration to other countries outside India is increasing day by day. The number of people who have left Bombay Presidency from Bombay and Karachi Ports may be quoted. There might be people who must have left from other ports but no definite information is available on the point. <sup>2</sup>In the year 1920-21, 55 people left Bombay Presidency (including Sind) from Bombay and Karachi ports. The year 1923-24 shows the number being raised to 67 and the number for the year 1927-28 stood at 623.

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<sup>1</sup>Rural Economy of Gujarat by Dr. Mehta page 35.

<sup>2</sup>Figures from Statistical Abstract for British India from 1920-21 to 1929-30. page 417.



The year 1929-30 showed it at 1,043. A continuous increase has taken place during all these years.

Notwithstanding all these the birth-rate is obviously a powerful factor. Not only are different communities strongly contrasted with one another in these respects, but the age distribution may change markedly within any country during a relatively short space of time as one or more of these factors change in intensity.

Now, according to the age-composition, the population of a country can be divided into three broad types. The population can be Progressive, Stationary and Regressive. Progressive is that where the proportion below 15 is high and the proportion above 50 low, Regressive where the proportions are the other way round, and Stationary where the proportions are between the two extremes.

( per 1000 of the total population)

Age Groups.	Males					Females				
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921
0 - 15	392	391	388	373	382	388	387	382	371	389
15- 50	508	508	516	524	513	504	500	511	518	498
50 and over	93	101	96	103	105	108	113	107	111	113

	Age Group	Percentage	
		Males	Females
For 1921 only	0 - 15	38.2	38.9
	15-50	51.3	49.8
	50 and over	10.5	11.3

From the tables it is found that about one-half the population is between the ages 15-50. This has an obvious practical bearing. Generally people between 15-50 constitute the working population. The greater the number of workers the better it is for a nation, for they are the wealth-producing people. If we regard those who are under 15 and those who are over 50 as the dependent section of the community, it is seen that this section is slightly more relatively important than it was. In other words a rather larger proportion of the population is unable to work as thus defined. However there are now a larger number of old people than was formerly the case. 'The workers labour increasingly to support the pensioners.' Among these those over 50 have relatively increased whereas those under 50 bear about the same proportion to the total as they did 35 years ago. In fact, and it is a matter of great <sup>importance</sup> that the unemployable section is increasing day by day. This accounts for the poverty of India.

In India, the duration of life is much shorter, and people get old sooner than in temperate countries. Generally persons over 50 are dependents and produce no economic wealth. The dependent population is therefore 49.5% in this Presidency compared with only 34% of England and Wales. Even from this working population deductions must be made as customs and traditions forbid women of higher classes to work and therefore the number

of wealth-producing people is much smaller than the figures show. It is upon this working population that the national-income depends. They are very important from the economic point of view. Again the question of age-distribution has an obvious bearing upon health and mortality because the hand of death falls heavily upon infants and elderly (reasons discussed). Also those of 50 and over are relatively more numerous in the country. This is partly due to the fact that country dwellers live longer, and partly to the fact that town dwellers, when they retire, often go to live in the country. Moreover proper amount of sleep, open air and perfect freedom from abuse of every sort make country dwellers live longer.

From the table it is also found that the number of children under 15 years of age in 1921 was much the same (especially females) as in 1891 though the total population had increased by three millions during these 30 years. In other words, children though about the same in number are relatively scarcer than they were 30 years ago. This has an obvious practical bearing. We need to build houses faster than we need to build schools, because population is growing faster than school-population.

Once the total population has been ascertained the sex ratio and age distribution suggest themselves as matter for immediate inquiry. But

the fullest information regarding these matters does not get us far in the direction of constructing any picture of the community. This is so because society is not composed of units thrown together by chance like so many grains of sand. It consists of groups of persons who, at least so far as the adult ~~numbers~~ members of the groups are concerned, have come together consciously and of set purpose. These groups are typically family groups, father, mother, and children with whom may be living other relations. The best term is perhaps 'Household.' The household is important, not only because it plays so large a part in emotional life, but because within it there is an element of communism, at least to the extent that what is important is family income and not individual income. It is therefore clear that information is required as to the number, size and other characteristics of household in this Presidency. At the same time it is obvious that to these questions no simple statistical answer can be returned. We cannot state the position as clearly as we could in discussing age-distribution and the sex ratio for the simple reason that it is not easy to define a household, not is it easy to ascertain how many households there are, whatever may be the definition selected.

In India, however, there is the prevalence of the Joint Family System amongst Hindus since olden

days. <sup>1</sup>The origin of the joint family is generally attributed by economists to the advance of civilisation from the pastoral to the agricultural and industrial stages of economic development. The joint family patriarchal organisation of India which became practically universal throughout the country after the Aryan occupation bears a close resemblance to that of the ancient Greeks and Romans, PATRIA POTESTAS having its counterpart in India in the supreme authority with which the eldest male member of the family is invested in the conduct of all the affairs of the family. He <sup>2</sup>is called the KARTA. In his capacity as manager, all his acts and disbursements to be of validity must be for the general good. Under such a system the family is, to quote the language of Sir Henry Maine, " a corporation and its head was its representative, or we might almost say its 'public officer' or we may add, its ' managing director'." A joint family is, therefore like a corporation; individual rights are all merged in the family or the corporate body. Then, again, the family groups are like, corporations, perpetual and inextinguishable.

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<sup>1</sup>Indian Economics by Jathar and Beri page 124.

<sup>2</sup>Principles of Comparative Economics by Radhakamal Mukerjee M. A. Ph. D. Vol. II page 22.

The family as a family never dies; its membership from time to time only changes and the death of individual members makes no difference to the collective existence of the aggregate body, nor does it affect in any way its legal incidence, its faculties or liabilities. There is perpetual succession and no inheritance in the family. Succession by survivorship is the rule with regard to joint families under the MITAKSHARA; here the property belongs to the family the members of which constantly change as successive births and deaths occur. Thus the joint Hindu family governed by the MITAKSHARA is, to use the very apt expression of Sir Henry Maine, " A corporation of blood relatives." The conception of family ownership which prevails in one part of lower Bengal, under which each member of the family is the owner of his share, is generally admitted to be a modification of the more prevalent form which is described above.

Modern conditions on the whole being unfavourable to the maintenance of the joint family system, its defects are being forced into prominence and the system is generally giving way to the various forces which are at present being brought to bear upon it. In the first place, the development of communications and transport have opened new opportunities for individual initiative and the more enterprising members of the family are impelled to leave the family fold and

carve out an independent career for themselves. In the second place, the loss or decline of old family occupations has made it impossible in many cases for the family to keep together and has forced dispersal on it. The intensification of the struggle for existence, coupled with the growth of the individualistic spirit is making the joint family more or less an anachronism. The family picture of domestic bliss and contentment generally associated with the joint family of old has ceased to represent the facts of the case.

Since the group is typically a family group the problem may be approached by asking how many married persons there are. The following table sets out what may be called the marital condition of the population.

	Males					Females				
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921
Unmarried	478	473	483	472	481	317	319	330	314	333
Married	470	480	458	473	451	504	515	486	509	484
Widowed	52	47	59	55	68	179	166	184	177	183

It is noteworthy that in our census divorced persons are to be entered as 'widowed.' In the above table

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<sup>1</sup>Report of Census 1921 Bombay Presidency Vol. p. 123.

each person whether infant, child or grown up is entered as either married, unmarried or widowed. A woman who has never been married must be shown as unmarried, even though she be a prostitute or concubine. This includes cases of women who have been married to a God, or to a sword, or to a tree. Such marriages are not reckoned for census purposes. On the other hand women who have been married to men and are recognised by custom and civil law as married are to be entered as married or widow as the case may be, even though they have not been through the full ceremony, for instance widows who have taken a second husband by the rites known as 'pat' 'Natra' 'Udki' etc. The test is civil law and not religious authority.

From the given table we find there always were more married women than men. The answer could be found by repeating that the married state is too common amongst Indian women. Perhaps the most remarkable fact revealed by the table is that there were and are almost three times as many widows as widowers. The fact that Orthodox Hinduism views with disfavour the remarriage of widows is well-known. Castes who petition to be treated as something higher than they really are frequently boast of the rigour with which they forbid such marriages. Castes like the following absolutely forbid the remarriage of widows:- Audich Brahman, Deshasth Brahman, Chitpavan Brahmans, Gaud Surasvant, Vani-Khadyata,



Vani-Modh, Vani-Shrimali, Kanbi Kedana, Kanbi Leva. Reform in this direction is badly needed. Now-a-days not caring for the castes some women unite with men of their own choice under the shelter of 'Purna Lagna.' Bold steps as these are taken but <sup>by</sup> a few. However increase of such would be very wel-come, for the conditions of widows is most pitiable. Again many girls find themselves widows before actually living with the husbands. This is attributed to child-marriages. Many a time it happens that the boy dies before reaching manhood leaving behind him a legacy in the person of his widow who cannot marry again. It is absolutely necessary to put a stop to child-marriages. Formerly, the evil was existing to a very large extent. Even now it has not entirely disappeared. It is only recently that we have ' Sharda ' Act prohibiting child-marriages. Still it has not produced the needed effect. Many parents choose to pay fines rather than postpone marriage. Strict actions are needed to be taken in this direction. That Government should interfere is very advisable. As such Government should declare all marriages below a particular age as invalid and illegal. Marriages as such should not be recognised as marriages at all. Definite legislation like this can alone bring about a change in this long existing practice. The view of a census report for this much needed reform is worthy to be quoted. It runs as follows:

In the Punjab Census Report of 1911 Rai Bahadur Pandit Hari Kishan Kaul C. I. E. says ' but in spite of all agitation for stopping early marriage, the Reform Societies do not appear to have had much practical effect so far, even within their circles much less upon the masses. The statistics of civil condition relating to the Arya, Brahma, Dev Dharm sects were specially collected for the sorting slips. The figures relating to the important castes in each sect will show that the proportion of boys and girls married before the age of 15 is generally larger for the members of each caste belonging to the societies than for the caste as a whole. This may be due to the return of certain Brahmans as Brahmans and Devi Dharmis as Dev Dharm and the comparative accuracy of the age statistics in the cities and towns to which the members of the Reform societies are mainly confined may also have magnified their figures compared with the total castes, but there seems to be little doubt that early marriage is still practised largely among the members of these sects. Varily a case of faith in social reform but not in reformers.' How little is the progress the country has made in this direction is shown by the fact that while in 1881 the number of married girls between the age 10-15 stood at 449, it rose to 483 for 1891 and 487 for 1901. (for Bombay Presidency).

There are other reasons for the high rate of widows. Men are on the average older than women when they marry and so tend to die earlier. Child-marriage results in death of young mothers which leave men as widowers, but men may marry again and as such widowers disappear to a great extent. So hasty does a man become for remarrying at the death of his wife that at times settlement regarding another marriage is made on the way to funeral and cemetery. And the last but not the least important reason is that of the girls' being sold for money to old men good enough to be their grandfathers. Magistrates in courts are frequently called to preside over cases when disturbances are created for stopping such marriages. The old, so married, soon leave behind them young widows who can never remarry.

If <sup>1</sup>figures which give the age-distribution are examined for single, married and widowed, it is found that while amongst men aged 10-15, 121 are married, 328 are married between 15-20, and almost  $\frac{2}{3}$  are married between 20 and 40; more than  $\frac{2}{3}$ (831) amongst women between the ages 15-20 are married. Of women upto 60 hardly 1%(8) remain single.

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<sup>1</sup>All figures are per 1000 for the year 1921.

For women therefore marriage is almost universal.

The marital condition of the population first attracted our attention because it throws some light upon the number of households. Let us now return to that problem. What is a 'household'? The Census defines <sup>1</sup>in villages and non-municipal towns it is identical with the Census 'house', and means the commensal family i.e. to say a number of persons living together and eating together with their dependents, resident servants and guests. In case of municipal towns in which the commensal family was not the unit for house-numbering, reliance had to be placed on the general rule that in <sup>2</sup>such cases the separate families within the structural or other unit adopted as the 'house' were to be separately included in the schedules. The following table gives the number of persons in a family, the number of such families and the percentage.

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<sup>1</sup>Figures borrowed from Census Report 1921  
(Bombay Presidency) page lxxxiii.

Number of persons in a family.	Families (all classes combined)	Percentage
1	755	5.6
2	1704	12.8
3	2203	16.6
4	2303	17.3
5	1988	15.0
6	1478	11.2
7	1038	7.9
8	711	5.4
9	387	2.9
10	233	1.7
11	157	
12	107	
13	54	11 to 15
14	31	
15	35	2.9
16	27	
17	16	
18	15	
19	9	
20	8	
21	7	
22	2	
23	3	16 & over
24	1	
25	1	0.7
26	1	
27	1	
28	1	
29	1	
30	2	
45	1	
Total	13280	100.0

" There is only one point in which I am not satisfied " says the Census Superintendent 1921 " that the result attained to the ideal laid down, and that is the matter of ' dwelling ' house. It will be seen that a very high proportion of families come out with only one person. The number is so high that I am inclined to believe that either one of two things must have happened. viz(i) that the abstractors did not obey the instruction in this particular, but took all census families independent of the census ' house,' or (ii) that the description dwelling-house in the house lists was loosely used to cover buildings or tenements which do not really contain a genuine family. Of-course there must be a fair number of adult males and females, who live totally alone, according to their domestic economy, and possessing no wife or husband as the case may be and no children. But I am really doubtful whether the number of these lonely dwellers is really so high as the tables indicate. It is therefore safer to assume that the present study is a study of ' census houses ' rather than true family<sup>ies</sup>, and that a certain number of isolated individuals got included, who are really possessed of a family though that family was not on the census day living with them."

The given table moreover shows that the ' private family ' of four is the most common type of family. Also that more persons belong to a

private family of five than any other types of private family. As the number of persons increase the number of families go on decreasing.

Before I close this chapter it will be interesting to discuss whether 'Bombay Presidency' is over-populated or not? we know that population would have been much higher than what it is, had it not gone through some of the positive checks. For birth-rate remains constant and is high as ever. In the year 1911 the birth-rate for our Presidency stood at 36.00 per mille. It was 37.10 for 1915 and 35.73 for 1917. It stood, however, at 30.28 for 1920. (This year, however, was not free from calamity. A year of calamity shows <sup>low</sup> ~~no~~ birth-rate). On the other hand, in other countries we find that birth-rate is clearly on a decreasing point. e.g. in England and Wales average births per 1000 living in 1901-5 were 28.2, the figure was reduced to 23.6 in 1911-15 and 17.8 in 1917. The case of France is still remarkable from the point of decrease. It was 31.8 per 1000 living in 1811-20, 23.9 for 1881-90 and was 22.2 for 1891-1900.

Contrasted with this stands our country where birth-rate is constant. Nature therefore puts some of the positive checks on the increase of population. Conspicuous amongst these stand plagues and epidemics. They have invaded the country every now and then, and the havoc caused by them, the consequent sufferings of the people are beyond

description. As a matter-of-fact, this is a toll demanded by nature as a positive check upon the increase of population. In other words the particular kind of check to population was increasing in its intensity indicating thereby the tendency of population to increase beyond the means of subsistence and the consequent tendency of nature to interfere to restore the balance.

That the havoc done by these calamities must have been terrible could be seen from the descriptions given of that time and the large number of deaths recorded at that time. It is impossible to examine each of these calamities in such a short space. However, looking e.g. at the pre-British rule the great famine of 1630-31 was very killing. The vivid description given by <sup>1</sup>Von Twist is very appealing. " So little rain fell that the seed sown was lost, and no grass grew. Cattle died. In towns and villages, in fields and on roads men lay dead in great numbers, causing such a st<sup>h</sup>anch that it was terrible to use the ways. For want of grass cattle fed on the corpses, men took to carcasses of beasts to eat; some in desperation went about searching for bones which had been

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<sup>1</sup>Population Problem of India by Randive. page 63.



gnawed by dogs. Yes, men lying in the streets not yet dead were cut up by others, and men fed on living men, so that even in the streets, and still on road-journies, men ran great danger of being murdered and eaten up. etc. etc." Another factor which might have considerably influenced the frequency of famines was the continuous state of warfare in these times.

Looking at the period of British rule we find that in the early days of British rule infanticide was practised to a very great extent in some states of Kathiawar. Apart from this two other checks which are generally found in primitive societies are also found in India. They are pre-puberty intercourse and prolonged lactation. There is one great preventive check in India namely that of enforced widowhood. The checks however which enormously control the growth of population are the positive checks of famines and diseases. The following figures will bear this out for whole India. Same is the case with Bombay Presidency.

#### Deaths from famine (India).

Period	1800-1850	1850-75	1875-1900
No. of deaths	50,09,001	44,85,000	2,37,40,000

No comment is needed on these figures. They clearly

show that the check given by famine to population in India has been increasing over the last hundred years. By the middle of the 19th. century it had already assumed large dimensions, but even these were dwarfed into insignificance by the death-rate which characterised the last thirty years of the century.

Plague worked havoc in Bombay Presidency. The <sup>1</sup>total registered mortality from plague upto 1st. March 1901, that is, during the first five years of the epidemic was three lakhs. The total registered mortality from plague in the decade 1901-11 reached the colossal figure 14,14,000. During some of the years the mortality exceeded 2,00,000. Plague continued its ravages even during the last decade (1911-20), though with less virulence, it accounted for a recorded mortality of 5,63,897 during the decade.

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<sup>1</sup>This was obviously below the truth, as the machinery of registration was thrown out of gear owing to the serious outbreak of the epidemic. The plague commissioners thought that the true death-rate was greater at least by 35% than the reported one. On this estimate the mortality from the disease during these five years can be safely placed somewhere between five and six lakhs.

What more severe commentary do we require on the disparity between the relative growth of population and the production in this country. And yet the reproof given by nature is allowed to pass unheeded and thousands of lives are brought into existence to live in a condition of wretched poverty and rank misery.

Still as it is, is Bombay Presidency ' over-populated ' ? Over-populated is a relative term. Under the present agricultural and industrial conditions Bombay Presidency is over-populated, but if Bombay Presidency is further industrialised it will cease to be over-populated. <sup>1</sup>The most important industry of India is agriculture, on which nearly three-fourths of the total population are dependent. One might suppose that with such a large proportion of the population engaged in agriculture, the industry must have already reached the point of maximum production. But both from the point of view of extensive and intensive cultivation there is still a vast scope for increased production. Excluding the forest area and the area not available for cultivation, we have 27% of the total area still available for extending cultivation without any difficulty. If this entire available acreage were brought under cultivation we should

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<sup>1</sup>Wealth of India by Joshi and Wadia page 47.

require approximately double the number of agricultural labourers. From the point of view of intensive cultivation there is unlimited scope for increased production. Intensive cultivation is still unknown in this country. The existence of small holdings and the sub-division and fragmentation of land make scientific farming very difficult. Manures are hardly used, and the farmers exploit the gifts of the soil. There are thus vast potentialities of growth in production with improved scientific methods, with the help of manures, improvement in seeds, and rotation of crops. With regard to genetic industries like forestry and fish culture we can safely assert that they are still in infancy and have vast potentialities before them. And much the same observation may be made with regard to the mining industries. The Industrial Commission speaks of the large supply of food which can be obtained from deep-sea fisheries by trawling, netting, or lime fishing. When we turn to secondary industries the same phenomenon strikes us. With regard to personal and professional services, whilst in the United States nearly 20% of the active population is engaged in these services, in India the proportion is only 5% of the total population. In view of the large scope for increased production in every direction, and in view of the increased demand for men in the personal and professional services, it is safe to assert that we have not

yet reached, may, that we are still far below the ideal magnitude of population that the country can support.

In face of these facts it is amusing to be told that Bombay Presidency is over-populated. We are informed by Harold Cox that 'it may reasonably be inferred that India is overfull of human beings.' The official view supports the idea, and even Indian economists share this view. The fiscal Commission of 1922 observes that in normal times there is a considerable export both of rice and wheat from the country. It is not asserted that people who have money to buy food are unable to procure it. It is not really the insufficiency of the total food supply so much as the fact that certain classes of the population are too poor to buy all the food they require which is urged by these critics. If the people have not money to buy food, the country cannot be said to be over-populated. Even with a considerably reduced population the same poverty may exist if causes like a continuous drain of wealth continue to exist.

To be brief the problem of population does not depend upon the relation between population and food as Malthus thought, but between population and total wealth of the country. As Seligman says, 'it is not a question of mere size, but of efficient production and equitable distribution. In India, we have neither efficient production nor equitable

distribution — what is worse, the wealth produced in the country is not all distributed within the country. In view of the untold natural resources of the country awaiting development, Bombay Presidency can maintain an enormously larger population than at present, and it is foolish to argue from the assumption of an over-populated Bombay Presidency as cause to the prevailing poverty and misery as effect.

## CHAPTER II

## Occupation.

The occupation which a man follows is of more immediate importance to him than the industry in which he is engaged. It does matter much to a man that he is a clerk; it matters less to him whether he is a clerk in a shipping firm or in a wholesale merchant's office. Our next task is therefore to classify the population by the occupations which they follow.

Who are the occupied persons ? They are those technically known as gainfully occupied or in short as the 'occupied.' Now it is possible to be unemployed yet occupied, and to be very fully employed yet unoccupied. This is so because the term 'occupied' is used by the Census authorities in a special sense. The occupied are in fact the gainfully occupied. Married women therefore, who are occupied but not gainfully occupied are excluded. A woman who simply looks after the house and cooks the food is not a worker for Census purposes but a dependent. But a man or a woman who is a paid cook in some one else's house is a worker. A woman who collects firewood or cowdung and sells it regularly is thereby adding to the family income, and should be shown as a worker. So also a woman who regularly assists her husband in his work (e.g. the wife of a potter who fetches the clay from which he makes his pots) but not one who merely renders a

little occasional help. Let us attempt to classify the occupied by their occupations leaving until later the question as to who the occupied from the unoccupied may be. Using the Census record a broad classification of occupations has been made in the following <sup>1</sup>table. It gives a summary of persons supported in different occupational sub-classes.

Sub-class				Perc- centage
I	Exploitation of animals & vegetation	12,408,489	64.3	
"	II " " Minerals	12,370	0.1	
"	III Industries	2,350,179	12.2	
"	IV Transport	428,355	2.2	
"	V Trade	1,418,633	7.5	
"	VI Public force	156,197	0.8	
"	VII Public administration	311,674	1.6	
"	VIII Profession and liberal arts	334,851	1.6	
"	IX Persons living on their income	66,053	0.3	
"	X Domestic service	301,591	1.6	
"	XI Insufficiently described	1, 211,584	6.3	
"	XII Unproductive	291,686	1.5	
	Occupations not returned		57	

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<sup>1</sup>Figures from Census Report 1921(Bombay Presidency)  
for British Districts only. page 211



The figures show that from the occupational point of view 'exploitation of minerals and vegetation' is predominant. It covers upto 64.3% of the occupied and as such is fairly high. Two out of every three occupied persons are occupied with Manufacture. Occupations connected with Industries take the second place. The figures for industry as such are very poor and accounts for the poverty and backwardness of our country. Industries and exploitation of animals and vegetation together cover about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the occupied population. We also find that one occupied person in every fourteen is engaged in Trade. These figures are equally disappointing when compared with the high percentage of England and Wales. That nation has been criticised as a 'nation of shop-keepers.' But from the business point of view this criticism can be turned into a compliment. Percentage engaged in Public administration is also remarkably low. This fact and the predominance of exploitation of animals and vegetation compared with industries constitute perhaps the most remarkable features of our economic structure.

Many other questions will readily suggest themselves, and to some of them an answer can either be found or deduced from the Census returns. It may be asked what percentage of workers are occupied in Agriculture ? India is primarily an agricultural country. It has been calculated that nearly

nine-tenths of the total population live directly or indirectly on the produce of the soil. An idea of the large number of people supported in agriculture can be had from the following.  
(for British Districts only.)

	1901	1911	1921
Income from rent of agricultural land	7,052,016	542,615	608,750
Ordinary cultivators	763,447	8,839,757	7,716,046
Total	7,815,463	9,382,372	8,324,796
Market gardeners	58,409	39,992	25,281
Agricultural labourers	3,141,017	3,222,255	2,287,220
Total	11,014,889	12,744,619	10,637,297

There is nothing in these figures to lead us to the idea, commonly held now-a-days that people are forsaking land for other things. The figures given above are for workers and dependents combined. The somewhat violent fluctuations between income from rent of agricultural land, and ordinary cultivators between the years 1901-11 was caused by a change of system in 1911. In 1901 cultivators who pay assessment were classified as Rent Receivers. The terms used at that Census were Rent-receivers and Rent-payers. Rent-receivers included holders of land who pay revenue to Government and cultivate

the fields themselves. The arrangement was obviously misleading. In 1911 the principle was changed, and the ordinary ryot was classified as a Rent-payer, the term 'rent' being held to include agricultural assessment, and these Rent-payers were afterwards described in the tables as 'ordinary cultivators.' The same principle held good this time(1921), with certain further sub-division mentioned below.

The group for Fruit, Species etc. growers (termed Market gardeners in the table above) is unsatisfactory in this Presidency where there is no separate and distinct type of grower of special products. The Sheikari grows grain-crops, or sugarcane or spices or anything else according to convenience. The distinction may hold good in some countries, but it does not hold good with us. And the figures in this group at any Bombay Census are a mere chance.

The figures appearing at any Census under 'agricultural labourers' are largely influenced by the numbers appearing under 'labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified.' This group shows wide fluctuations according to the efficiency or inefficiency of the enumerators, and the extent to which the officers in charge of the abstraction offices have been prepared to improve the figures by classifying on probabilities. It is not likely that, when dealing with such large numbers, the

variations from Census to Census in the schedules themselves will be so great. And the great reduction in the figures under this group in 1911 may with probability be assigned to the second of the above causes. However, even after adding say 50,000 from that group to the group agricultural labourers it is clear that the numbers supported by that occupation have much diminished in the decade. This is in accordance with known economic tendencies. Agricultural labourers are known to be scarce, and to be able to command higher wages than formerly. These wages still have much to be desired. The proportion of the sexes among the actual workers and the proportion of the dependents has varied much.

Distribution of every 1000 persons supported by  
Agricultural labour(Bri. Dist. only.)

	1901	1911	1921
Workers Males	352	303	294
"    Females	217	386	330
Dependents	431	311	376
(both sexes)			

" I do not think " says the Census superintendent 1921  
" there is any reason for these violent fluctuations,  
and the cause must lie in the methods of enumeration  
and abstraction. At the same time the figures for  
the last two Censuses, which are more reliable than

those of 1901, show that this is an occupation in which women predominate as workers. And this is in accordance with the known facts of moffusil life." Again prospects of labour in big industrial concerns such as railway workshops and textile mills have of late years diverted agricultural labourers from their original pursuits. The rise in wages throughout the rural areas and the possibilities of getting work in the industrial establishments of the cities have led them to abandon their old profession. Thus on the one hand there is a great pressure of population on land, but on the other hand there is a shortage of agricultural labour.

Let us now turn to other sub-classes of occupation. ' Industry ' needs best of attention. The following <sup>1</sup>table gives a broad classification of industry. ( Number per 10000 of the total population )

P. T. O.

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<sup>1</sup>Report of Census(Bombay Presidency vol.) 1921  
page 235.

	Persons supported	Actual workers
Textiles	414	229
Hides, skins, and hard metals from the animal kingdom	372	15
Wood	146	61
Metals	63	25
Caramics	65	32
Chemical products properly so called and analogous	23	9
Food industries	61	30
Industries of Dress and Toilet	202	87
Furniture industries	2	1
Building	102	46
Construction of means of transport	1	1
Production and transmission of physical forces(heat,light,electricity, etc.)	3	2
Other miscellaneous & unspecified	99	41

From the table it can be seen that Textile industry is most common for the number employed therein is the largest. This industry is advancing day by day. The country has begun supporting it due to creation of the feeling for ones home industry and the consequent backing of the same. Second in number comes the industry concerned with Hides, skins, and metals from the animal kingdom. That actual workers should be so few compared with the persons supported in that industry is remarkable. The industry of Dress

and Toilet captivate our attention. There is nothing much noting in seeing such a large number in that group, for in our country one generally comes across a tailor's shop at every street-end. It is pleasing to see a decent number in Building industries. India since olden days has been well-known for its fine work of architecture and some of the best buildings of the world are in India. The famous 'dream in marble' — the Taj is one of the wonders of the world. This industry is sufficiently developed for our country. In the end it is disappointing to see a poor figure in Furniture industries.

On the whole, however, the number engaged in industry can be said to be very poor compared with a huge number engaged in agriculture. This number is much more than land can support. It is high time now when land should be left for various industries. The problem of over-population is telling hard upon us. As such Industrialisation should be adopted as a solvent of the Agrarian problem. Therefore, <sup>1</sup>it is argued that the present chaotic condition of agriculture in India, as characterised by an extreme sub-division of holdings and a low yield per acre, can be easily remedied by transferring the surplus population from land to urban centres, by means of a rapid process of industrialisation. This lifting of the agricultural pressure, it is stated, will make for more efficient

<sup>1</sup>Population Problem of India by Randive page 171.

cultivation, and will easily solve the food-problem of India. It is further believed that such an industrial transition or revolution can be easily achieved, for, it is argued, did not Germany become industrialised within a short period of 40 years ? Was not the transformation achieved with amazing quickness in England ? What can then hinder India from following in the footsteps of Germany or England ? Besides, have we not got the treasures of raw materials at our door, which advantage neither Germany or England possessed ? Have we not got in abundance coal and iron, and other requisites of an industrial development, commensurate with our needs and desires ? Why allow the foreigner to use our raw materials instead of utilizing them ourselves ? In short, it is believed that like Midas, we have only to touch our resources actual as well as potential, and they will be immediately converted into gold.

Let us see, therefore, the scope for industrialisation. The Cotton industry is by far the most important industry not only because of its extent and output, but also because it is mainly carried on by indigenous capital, and indigenous organisation, and because it was the first Indian venture in modern methods of large scale production. If there is any industry which can typify the progress that industrialisation has made in India, and also testify to the ability of Indians for organisation, and to some extent of their resources, it



is the cotton industry. Though three-fourths of the total number of cotton mills in India are situated in the Bombay Presidency, and a majority of these in Bombay itself, the first cotton mill in India was started near Calcutta in 1838. The slow, though steady nature of the progress of this industry is appreciable. This industry, now-a-days due to the non-co-operation movement is patronised more and more. People have realised the importance of keeping Indian money in India. The industry however has not been able to capture the home market completely. Imports still form a considerable proportion of the total quantity consumed, but there has been a tendency for the imports to be displaced by home products. There is considerable scope for this industry to advance, and encouragement from the people is badly required.

There are many handicaps for this industry. Removal of them would promote the growth and welfare of same. Conspicuous amongst these are the Japanese competition and the abuse of Agency system. Let us examine them one by one.

The chief cause of the depression that is peculiar in India is the increased competition from Japan. And although the volume of competitive imports is relatively small, their price undoubtedly affects the price of Indian goods and has advanced depression. Japanese competition is the chief basis for the demand for protection. The reason is that

Japan has an advantage as regards cost of production owing to climatic, dietetic and other elements of superiority. Again Japan at present is 'dumping' cloth at a very low price. The textile industry at present as such stands in a very critical position. Only recently in the Council of State Mr. H.M.Mehta (the famous industrial magnate) referred to the plight experienced by Bombay's principal industry. He said "the textile industry which at one time was a very prosperous industry is now in a ruinous condition. It is a tale of woe and nothing else. There are no profits and no dividends for the shareholders. These Japanese are sending to this country millions and millions of rupees worth of cotton goods and at what price? At the price of cotton itself. I am a cotton man, but I cannot make out how they can do it, unless there is a magic wand which can turn cotton into cloth by taking it by the one hand and passing it on to the other etc.etc."

We now come to the faults of organisation and finance which have contributed to the depression of the industry. <sup>1</sup>Here it is difficult to distinguish between criticisms that refer to Bombay Presidency as a whole and criticisms aimed specially at Bombay mill-owners.(Bombay Mill-owners have been particularly blamed of mismanagement and want of discipline in their mills.) The Tariff Board has obviously tried

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<sup>1</sup>Economic Development of India by Vera Anstey page 273

to avoid giving offence to Bombay mill-owners, and has as far as possible whittled down its criticisms, which in many cases it puts forward with an unnecessarily apologetic air. These criticisms suggest not so much that the Indian cotton industry is badly organised and managed as a whole, as that a strong indictment could be brought against the practices of a considerable proportion of Bombay mill-owners.

The Managing agent system is open to a number of criticisms. Apart from the faults inherent in the system in general, many accusations of inefficiency and even corruption have been directed against the working of the system in Bombay. The system of "commission on production" which tends to stimulate output rather than to insist on quality, is still in force in some Bombay and Ahmedabad mills, and is quite common in up-country centres. In many cases, especially in Ahmedabad, the agency tends to be regarded as a 'family possession' and normally passes from father to son irrespective of efficiency.

One glaring fault is that the members of the Board of Directors of the mills, as a rule, fail to take any close interest in their mills, and very few have technical qualifications. Out of the 175 directors of mills in Bombay, only 11 had received practical training. The actual managing agents seldom have the requisite technical

qualifications and, indeed the directors of the Bombay mills are very largely composed of members of firms of managing agents. Possibly this tends to explain why the training of the technical and supervising staff also tends to be deficient.

Mal-practices and short-comings alleged to be prevalent include the following:

- (i) Speculative purchases of cotton by the managing agents are passed on to the mill if unsuccessful,
- (ii) secret commissions received by the managing agents on purchases and other transactions conducted on behalf of the mill,
- (iii) The surplus funds of the mills may be invested not with banks but with firms of Shroffs, who may be identical with the managing agents,
- (IV) the auditors are frequently relatives of the managing agents,
- (V) brokers are employed who operate on their own account or who are themselves in possession of cotton and the managing agents themselves sometimes act as guarantee brokers for the mills they control.

These faults in organisation account for many of the actual defects in production and management. Much greater attention should be paid to diversification of production, combined action should be taken to ensure that the quality of the products is maintained, and fuller records of all sorts should be kept.

Another common defect is that many mills

depend for working capital mainly on short term deposits, cash credits and loans, all of which are apt to be drastically curtailed in difficult times. If the use of trade bills could be extended in the internal market, trade would be greatly facilitated during a depression.

The recommendations of the Industrial Commission 1916-18 for industrialisation are worth being quoted. <sup>1</sup>Indian industries must be largely based on agricultural products and the agricultural services require strengthening to undertake the necessary research work. Attention is specially directed to the problems presented by cotton cultivation, by sugar cultivation and manufacture, and the necessity for scientific work on oil seeds is brought to notice.

The trade in Hides and Skins and the Tanning industry are of great importance. The solution of the existing problem lies in stimulating the production of leather and of lightly tanned hides and skins. The possession of an abundance and great variety of natural tan-stuffs lends special importance to this industry in India.

The Mineral resources of India offer opportunities for important developments.

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<sup>1</sup>Indian Industrial Commission Report 1916-18.

Special measures are required to bring Timbers of the less-known species to the notice of the consumers.

Plantations should be established to secure a concentrated and therefore cheap supply of suitable wood for special industries and for fuel.

Indian Fisheries(especially deep-sea fisheries) have been neglected, except in the case of Madras, and their possibilities should be developed by properly equipped Fisheries Departments. Scientific ichthyologists should be added to the zoological survey.

<sup>1</sup>There is no doubt that, owing to a long coast line, abundance of fish in the home waters, and a race of fishermen who have brought the fishing industry to a high level, large quantities of fish are daily consumed in the coastal regions of India. Until very recently, however, there were no means of going a-fishing into the high seas; but owing to the interest taken in deep-sea fishing by the Madras Department of Fisheries, and to some extent by the Bombay Department of Industries, a system of sending out steam trawlers was inaugurated some time back. The result has been a failure both in

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<sup>1</sup>Wealth and Taxable Capacity of India by Shah and Khambata page 158.

Madras and in Bombay, because although very large hauls have been obtained, many varieties were of an inferior quality and they wouldn't even pay the cost of transport. Indeed, after a six months' experiment in Bombay with a steam trawler "William Carrick", it was even said that "trawling was not yet a commercial proposition in the Bombay waters." In this particular case the experiment was conducted under bad conditions; the trawler itself was not a good one and cost very much by way of repairs and renewals at every one of its 36 voyages; the price of coal was then exceptionally high and very poor arrangements for cold storage existed. The experiment in Madras had better results.

But in both cases, success was limited by the fact that some kinds of fish, quite good and edible, like the Karel or the Skate, are not at all popular, and these constituted nearly 40 to 50 per cent of the catch. On several occasions, skate was not sold at all, and when sold brought only Re.1 for 100 lbs!

It is possible that with better conditions in the market and less cost on coal trawling in the Indian waters, with a small flotilla of trawlers or small fishing vessels driven by power, may be commercially profitable. This has been the experience of every other country; like England, Canada, Denmark, Norway etc.

The pearl and chank fisheries are

insignificant ; they are hardly worth a lakh of rupees. They are carried on in the extreme south of the Peninsula (and in the Margui Archipelago). There is hardly any extraction in mother of pearl or mussel shells in India.

From the above we find that need for industrialisation is a necessity. That there is ample scope for same is clear as daylight.

Let us now direct our attention towards other matters of importance. A question may be raised, how far occupied persons are Skilled and Unskilled. This question, however, has no application to certain occupations. It is not usual to think of those occupied in retail dealing as divided into skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled. In any case, if we do apply these adjectives, they bear no significance to that usually associated with them. It is, in fact, to those engaged in extractive and manufacturing occupation that these terms are usually applied. Opinions differ so much as to how agricultural occupations should be graded that it is best to avoid them from consideration.

Taking into account e.g. Mining and Quarrying among extractive occupations, we find that those included in the Census are divided into three chief groups. There is first the group of direction, supervision and clerical. Secondly there is the group of skilled workers, and lastly there is the group of unskilled labourers. These



unskilled labourers do not follow any skilled calling, and we may regard them as unskilled. The distinction between skilled and unskilled is a difficult distinction to be drawn. The Census recognises no semi-skilled class. But the distinction has been made with great care after consultation with trade union officials and other persons with expert knowledge. Therefore the figures have considerable weight, and it appears from the following table that about 27% are skilled and the remainder more or less unskilled. The proportion of unskilled is higher in quarrying than in mining occupations. Number of adult females employed per 1000 adult males is 455.2 in mining and 199.7 in quarrying occupations. The number of children employed per 1000 adults is 158.8 in mining and 94.2 in quarrying occupations.

The following table gives the number employed in each.

	Total		Direction Supervision and Clerical				Skilled Workmen		Unskilled Labourers			
	Males	Females	Europeans and Anglo-Indians		Indians		M.	F.	Adult		Children	
			M.	F.	M.	F.			M.	F.	M.	F.
Miner <sup>s</sup>	326	163	--	--	26	-	135	6	129	126	36	31.
Quarries	1316	275	1	--	146	-	246	2	849	240	74	33.

Now we may next inquire what proportion of those occupied work indoors and what proportion are outdoor workers. It is also of interest to ask how far male and female occupations differ in this respect. To this questions the Census provides no direct answers. But it can be possible to go through the occupational classes given in the Census and to attempt to allocate them in every case either to the indoor or outdoor groups. This procedure meets with difficulties. Some occupations such as painting and coal and shade mining are partly indoor and partly outdoor or indefinite. It is sure to prove very tedious and without much of material gain if actual figures for each are attempted. Taking it however for what it is worth, two facts stand out. First a smaller number work indoors comparing with the number of other advanced and civilised countries. In England and Wales e. g. about 3 out of every 4 occupied persons follow an indoor calling. To work mainly indoors is a distinctive mark of modern civilisation. It might be possible to advance the theory that the approach to modern conditions could be measured by the decreasing percentage which outdoor workers form on the whole. Secondly, the occupations followed by women are to a great extent indoor. It does not mean that women's occupations have generally been indoor. In this country women were formerly occupied in considerable numbers with

agriculture and are still so occupied. In this Presidency male occupations are not so preponderantly indoor, and so far they are indoor they are not necessarily light. The work of blast furnacemen is indoor and counts amongst the heaviest type of work. Whether the work is light or heavy the fact that factories are not so good from the point of sanitation shows the great importance of the attempts now being made to mitigate the accompanying loss of ventilation and sun-light.

There is another aspect of occupations upon which attention is needed to be paid. We now-a-days often hear of 'hordes of officials' engaged and extravagantly paid. Persons like Mahatma Gandhi in India raised a voice of protest against the maintenance of officials at such high salaries, and recommended the somewhat exaggerated reduction of fixing the Viceroy's pay at Rs.500 P.M. One thing is certain that the officers are most extravagantly paid when compared with other nations. And secondly for the higher posts in India foreigners are preferred. In our country what is badly required is the increasing association of Indians in all branches of administration. In Railway e.g. there are 122 officers that are Europeans or Anglo-Indians (including 1 Armenian) while there are only 52 Indians as officers. The position in the Telegraph department is much the same. The number of supervising officers consisting of Europeans

and Anglo-Indians is 56 while those of Indians is 22 only. The following table makes an analysis of Public force, Railways etc.

Number per 100000 of total populatio		
Public force	Persons supported	Actual workers
Army	23	18
Navy	..	..
Air force	..	..
Police	58	24
Public admi- nistration	162	66

	Total persons employed	
	Europeans and Anglo-Indians	Indians
Railways	2619	129958
Irrigation	31	44629
Post	16	16222
Telegraphs	309	2555

From the table it appears that nearly thrice as many persons are employed in Public administration as are employed in Public force. Nearly 0.7 of the total population is engaged in Railways,

Irrigation, Post and Telegraphs, that is engaged directly or indirectly in Government service.

Looking to the higher number of Europeans and Anglo-Indians compared with their small population there is no need to repeat that preference is given to the ' fair ' skin. From the given figures it is for others to decide about the number of officials whether it is an excessive number in comparison with the work that is to be done.

Again the salaries of officials are alarmingly high. Those of other countries are much below these. e. g. <sup>1</sup>In Canada the highest post to which a civil servant can rise is that of the deputy minister. All deputy Ministers except those for finance, railway and justice were in 1924 in receipt of a salary of \$6000 p. a. Only the three latter received a salary of \$10,000 p. a. Officials of the type of director of Forestry, controller of Currency, director of Fisheries etc. received salaries varying from \$4,500 to \$4,800. The senior Clerk's pay was from \$ 1,500 to \$ 2,000 etc. etc.

For Japan the same is the case. For Japan the figures supplied by the latest Year Book are as follows. The scale of the second grade

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<sup>1</sup>Salaries of Public Officials in India by  
D. R. Gadgil, page 27.

is from 40 to 160 <sup>1</sup>yens per month and of the first grade of the civil service from 1200 to 4500 yens per annum. Among the high officers Parliamentary councillors receive yens 5200 p.a.. <sup>2</sup>Perfectural governors, yens 5200 to 6000, heads of departments generally and Privy councillors, yens 6500 p.a. etc etc.

The case of India presents a striking contrast. The salaries of these countries pale into insignificance when compared with salaries in our country. The Governor is paid Rs.10,000 p.m., Commissioners of divisions are paid Rs.3000 to 3500, Secretaries of departments 3000, Collectors and Magistrates 1150 to 2500, Assistant Collectors and Magistrates 450 to 1600, Deputy Collectors and Magistrates 300 to 1200, head clerks 200 to 250 etc. etc. The above is for general administration. Same is the case in other departments. In the Police department, Inspector-general receives a salary of Rs.3000 p.m., Inspectors are paid 180 to 400, sub-inspectors 75 to 160 etc. etc. In the Education department the Director of Public Instruction is paid Rs.3000 p.m., Inspectors are paid Rs.1300 to 1500, Principals and Professors 1350 to 1750 etc. etc.

From the above it gets clear that the salaries of our country are higher than those

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<sup>1</sup>Yen is equal to Rs.1-6-0 aprox.

of other countries.

<sup>1</sup>The future of India is intimately bound up with the extension on a very large scale of national social services in every direction and a radical salary reform is a condition precedent to such an extension. It is, however, not only on fiscal grounds that a salary reform may be pressed for. It is believed that it will have highly beneficial and far-reaching effects on many aspects of our national life. It will remove very largely the existing false emphasis on Government employment, it will help to correct the many wrong notions regarding the standard of living current among our educated classes; it may induce in the mind of the official class a safer outlook towards the people at large; it will narrow considerably the gulf between the educated middle classes who are the natural leaders of our society and the large mass of agriculturists and labourers and last but not least, it will considerably reduce the volume of middle class unemployment.

Before passing on to ask who are the Unproductive, let us briefly show the number engaged in professions requiring intellectual

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<sup>1</sup>Salaries of Public Officials in India by  
D. R. Gadgil, page II.



qualifications. These are persons who possess what may be called second grade qualifications. There are certain factors in the world for which intellectual qualifications are required. Making an analysis of such persons we find that persons living on Medicine are 35,958, on Law 25,254 and on Instruction 84,366. These are persons who are judged to be following occupations demanding what might be called second grade intellectual attainments. A very small number comparatively follow it and the three combined form hardly 1% of the occupied. It will be also interesting to show that the number of persons having no such qualifications e.g. agricultural labourers is high as 2,287,220, and as such occupy about 15% of the occupied. The same mentioned for what it is worth points to the one fact that a very small percentage occupy the groups requiring intellectual qualifications. It is possible that persons mentioned as intellectually qualified may actually not have possessed these required attainments or they may have possessed greater attainments than required.

Who are now Unproductive ? In fact a large number is occupied in the technical sense. There are some persons who are idle and some rich. There can be little doubt that the number of idle rich is smaller than often supposed, though this is ofcourse no defence of their existence. There

is then the battalion of widows in our country, most of whom cannot marry again. If it is considered that married women should not be occupied then this group represents the largest reservoir of labour power. Among this group there are probably relatively few idle rich women, but we are further from giving any idea how many exactly they may be than we are in discussing the same question with regard to the males. Those women who may be most justly numbered among the idle rich, are married women with a retinue of servants and no children. There are however no data upon which even a guess to their number can be made.

Then next there are other persons who are totally unproductive. Total number of beggars in the Presidency is :-

	Workers		Dependents
	Males	Females	
Religious Mendicants	40,822	10,837	74,279
Beggars	111,577	54,405	145,218
Total number supported by religious Mendicancy	.....	.....	..125,938
" " " " Beggary	..	.....	..311,200
Grand total supported	.....	.....	437,138

It is most disappointing to see such a large number supported as religious Mendicants. This number is

is much higher than desirable. India since days immemorial has been notorious for its misguided charity. The religious mendicants are the Hindu Yogis and the Muslim Fakirs. We find hale, healthy and alert people maintaining themselves by begging. If the hand of charity is abstained from them these people would be compelled to work. Thereby they would create so much of economic wealth that is now being wasted. Thereby the national income would also be increased to a considerable extent (since the number is so very high). It is high time now when the people should know these people in their true colours and should abstain from giving and thereby encouraging these idlers. This sort of tax collected by these dullards under the name of charity should vanish absolutely.

<sup>1</sup>The number of Prostitutes and Procurers would have been interesting if we could have got at it. But a glance at the territorial distribution, which follows very closely that of 1901 ( the year when this occupation was separately tabulated ), will reveal that we have only got the true figures for certain regions where the occupation is not concealed. It is evident that in Gujarat prostitutes do not record themselves as such. Where they get to is uncertain. A glance at the number of female workers will show that they have

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<sup>1</sup>Report of Census 1921, page 233.

got into the tables as 'singers, actors and dancers.' It may therefore be assumed that they record themselves as dependents of some real or imaginary male connection. Certainly none could accept the statement shown by the figures that in the whole of the five British Districts of Gujarat there are only 75 working prostitutes, in Kathiawar only 85, in Palanpur Agency 92, and in Mahi Kantha none at all. The only regions where correct figures seem to be returned are the Karnatic and Kanara with the adjacent states.

It may cause some surprise to learn that 352 male workers, 98 female workers and 178 dependents returned themselves, or at any rate found their way into the tables, under the designation of Witches, Wizards and Cattle-poisoners. Who these are is uncertain; but they are almost all from Surat and West-Khandesh with a few from Sholapur, Broach and Belgaum. The territorial distribution seems at first sight to imply that they are by caste numbers of jungle tribes in the forest country but their entire absence from Surat agency and Reva Kantha upsets this. The corresponding group in 1901 was returned almost entirely from Mahi Kantha and Kathiawar, which makes the obscurity even greater.

'Inmates of refugee camps, settlements etc.' is a small subordinate group accommodating these Refugees, who are not beggars, yet have no

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livelihood at the mement. Territorially the figures came out as under :-

West Khandesh ..	529	Poona ..	72
Belgaum ..	128	Kolaba..	55

The Belgaum and Kolaba figures were War refugees. Who the West Khandesh and Poona persons are is uncertain.

## CHAPTER III.

## Occupational Associations.

## Introduction.

At one period in the history of England and Wales occupational Associations in the form of guilds or corporations were an important feature of social organisation. They ceased to play a part of any importance in the eighteenth century. During the last century they again emerged, though in a new shape, and are coming to assume a position of great significance. There can now hardly be any clearly defined occupation among the followers of which there is not some form of association, though it may include only a small minority of those eligible for membership. Wherever we look, whether among wage-earners, higher civil servants, journalists, factory welfare workers, or midwives, we find occupational associations.

In our country reverse in the case. The trade unions are of recent origin. The industrial unrest which commenced in 1917 brought into existence a number of labour organisations, chiefly formed by politicians, lawyers and persons unconnected with industry. All types of associations were started, e.g. "unions" of motor-car drivers, of oil workers, of gas workers etc; but they were, for the most part, "temporary organisations" which existed so long as the grievances of their members were not remedied. Upon the

achievement of their object, viz. the increase of wages and frequently, other demands, the interest of the members, and even promoters diminished, and in a short space of time the unions ceased to exist. The majority of these organisations had no constitution, no rules, no membership forms etc. and were little more than strike committees consisting of a few officers and perhaps a few paying members. However amongst those that are reviving the most identical are the G.I.P. Rly. workmen's union, the B.B. & C. I. Rly. workmen's union etc. The main objects of these are stated as follows:-

1. Promotion of friendly feeling and a spirit of brotherhood with a co-operation among the workmen.
2. Promotion of friendly and harmonious relations between the workmen and their superior officials.
3. Maintenance of funds for the relief of members when sick or in distress.
4. Or in general, amelioration of the social, educational and economic conditions of the workmen and their dependents.

Let us now turn towards the origin and developments of these and a study of the same.

(Early History)

Employer's Associations.

<sup>1</sup>Collective bargaining in India is a development of recent years. Associations of merchants in the form of Chambers of Commerce had been in existence to deal with matters of common interest in the field of trade and commerce. During the second half of the last century the introduction of organised industry led to the formation of associations to secure united action for the encouragement of different industries. With a view to the promotion and protection of the interest of members, these associations took an active part in the discussion of legislative proposals and other matters of common policy affecting industry. They were thus able to make representations and to take common action concerning the interests of members as a whole, including social and labour legislation, but they had no power to interfere in matters pertaining to the

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<sup>1</sup>For this chapter I mostly rely on Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India.(chap.on Trade Unions page 316.)



internal working of individual concerns. In this period the only exception to this general rule was in the Jute industry where for nearly 50 years, it has been the practice for the association to regulate working hours in the factories for its members with a view to meeting variations in the supply and demand of the product. With the introduction of new and the expansion of the existing industries, competition for trained labour increased. The efforts of individual employers to attract new workers took different forms, for example, higher wages, improved housing accommodation, provision of water supplies and similar amenities. These improvements, however, were almost wholly due to the initiative of individual employers, and it was not until the period of unrest created by war conditions that employers found it advisable to act together in labour matters. In 1920 the committee of the Bombay Millowners Association made a recommendation, which also was adopted by its members, for the introduction of a 10 hour working day before it was enacted by legislation. Since then associations of employers have been compelled to devote considerable attention to the demands of employees for improved working conditions. This period coincides with the beginnings of trade unions in India, and the growth of trade unionism may be said to have been one of the factors in bringing home to associations of

employers the need for common action, not only as regards working time and output, but also in respect of wages and other matters affecting the lives of their workers. Meanwhile the influence of employers' associations on the legislatures grew, as in course of time representatives were first nominated and then mainly elected to them. There are now 8 representatives of commercial and industrial chambers or associations in the central legislature and over 50 in the provincial councils. It would be well if every organisation set up a special committee for the purpose of giving continuous consideration to the improvement of the well-being and the efficiency of the workers in the establishments controlled by its members.

#### Bigginings of Labour Unions.

On the labour side, trade unions in India have a short history. Attempts were made as early as the 'eighties' to organise the mill-hands of Bombay in support of proposals for labour legislation, and a Mill-hands Association was formed. But this did not survive and prior, to the war, organisation scarcely extended beyond the better paid railway employees and some class of Government servants. The two or three years following the close of the war saw the formation of a large number of organisations, owing their origin mainly to the grave economic difficulties of industrial labour. The world-wide uprising

of labour consciousness extended to India where for the first time the mass of industrial workers awoke to their disabilities, particularly in the matter of wages and hours and to the possibilities of combination. The effect of this surge was enhanced by political turmoil which added to the prevailing feeling of unrest and assisted to provide willing leaders of a trade union movement. This, in its turn, tended to obscure the justice of many of the demands made and the fact that the movement was based on genuine and pressing needs.

#### Legal Position.

At an early stage, the movement was threatened with the penalties to which in the absence of a protecting statute, certain trade union activities are exposed under English common law. Following a suit against the leaders of the Madras Labour Union in 1920, the Legislative Assembly in 1921 adopted a resolution in favour of registration and protection of trade unions. Five years were to elapse before a law was passed.

#### Cohesion.

This period was one of growth and consolidation. With the passing of the economic stress and of the acute political turmoil of 1918-21, many ad hoc unions disappeared and some leaders lost interest; but there remained a number of genuine organisations, and these grew steadily in numbers and quality inspite of local checks and universal

handicaps. The strengthening of individual unions was accompanied by an increasing cohesion in the movement as a whole. The foundation in 1920 of the All India Trade Union Congress marked the first recognition of the common interests of labour throughout the country. It has held annual sessions in various centres, and has served as a meeting place for those most engaged in trade unionism, as a platform for the enunciation of labour policy and as a link between trade unionism in India and in Europe. The participation of trade union leaders in International Labour Conferences and other international meetings gave the movement encouragement, while the inclusion in the Assembly and Councils after the reforms of a few nominated labour representatives assisted by giving it further cohesion.

#### The Trade Unions Act.

An important stage was reached with the passing of the Indian Trade Unions Act in 1926. This act differs from British and Dominionian legislation on the subject mainly in the fact that the application of its provisions is confined to those unions which seek registration under it. Registered unions incur certain obligations; the most important of these are the requirements to furnish audited accounts and the necessity of including in the executive a majority of actual workers. At the same time registration confers on trade unions and their members a measure of

immunity from civil suits and criminal prosecutions. Registered unions in particular have gained in the eyes of the public and of employers, and even unregistered unions have benefited from the greater confidence given to the movement as a whole. Upto the end of 1929, 87 unions were registered, with 183,000 members; these are a minority of existing unions, but include a majority of the vigorous organisations.

#### Types of Unions.

A fair assessment of the strength of the movement at the present time is difficult, mainly because unions vary so greatly in form and character. This will be best realised from a brief review of the main types. At the bottom of the scale come those "unions" which represent little or nothing more than the one or two men (generally drawn from the professional classes who fill the leading offices). A few such unions can fairly be described as having their main evidence of reality in notepaper headings. The type of valueless growth, which is more characteristic of Bengal than of other provinces is becoming rare even there. On a high level come what may be described as the ad hoc unions i.e. organisations described to secure some definite and immediate object. These, though they may be organised by independent persons have their origin in the genuine need of the workers. The most common form is the strike committee, formed to carry on a strike.

and sometimes charged with the responsibility of formulating demands after the strike had begun. With the end of the dispute particularly if the workers are unsuccessful, the " union " either disappears or enters a state of suspended animation, from which it may be revived by a subsequent dispute. Unions of this type are frequently able to claim a very large membership for the time being, and they can be of distinct service to their members. But they do little in the way of educating their membership in trade unionism and may even create obstacles in the way of genuine trade unions.

Transport is perhaps the most <sup>organised</sup> original section of industry, and the railway workers and sea men support a number of live unions, and dock workers have -- generally some organisation. Combination is fairly general among government employees; the stronger unions here are mainly those constituted of persons out-side the ranks of labour, but there are unions of some strength within these ranks. Printers with their educational advantages and more settled conditions, find the formation of unions easy, but hitherto these have not proved very effective, being strongest in Government presses and weakest where the need is greatest. Upto 1926 there was no effective organisation of the cotton mill workers in Bombay. In Ahmedabad, the workers, excluding the Musalman weavers, are organised in a group of

craft unions which participating in a common central federation, have a strength and cohesion probably greater than those of any other labour unions. This may have some connection with the survival, until a comparatively late date, of a strong guild tradition in Ahmedabad. This lateral method of organisation is comparatively rare in India, where the tendency has been to organise vertically i.e. by industrial establishments. Even where more than one union is formed in the same industry and the same centre, the division is generally by factories and not by occupations. Mining workers are poorly organised in every field, and in the plantations genuine organisation on the labour side is quite unknown. Measured geographically, trade unionism is strongest in Bombay Presidency, ~~is~~<sup>and</sup> weakest (having regard to the potentialities) in Bengal.

#### Numerical Strength.

In Bombay the labour office recorded the existence of 93 unions claiming 12,000 members in September 1930, but this includes some unions which do not cater for industrial workers. 38 unions with 90,000 members were registered in Bombay Presidency at the end of 1929. Memberships is everywhere loosely defined, and many unions retain on their books members who have long ceased to pay subscriptions. At least one union has been formed which claimed no subscription from its members.

Let us now after this discussion, briefly put down the main points regarding the future policy and

development in this matter.

To a large extent the obstacles to development are Internal rather than External — they come from labour itself.

(i) In the first place the migratory character of the bulk of Indian labour presents a serious obstacle

(ii) Another serious handicap is the poverty of the average worker, to whom even a small subscription can be an appreciable burden, particularly when he is already encumbered by debt.

(iii) An additional obstacle arises from the divisions which run across the lines on which trade unionism must develop. Difference of language and race are separating factors, and to these is frequently added the active opposition of the Jobbers, or their equivalent, to anything resembling a horizontal organisation.

#### Fundamental Deficiencies.

Trade unionism to be fully effective, demands two things: a democratic spirit and education. The democratic ideal is still to be developed in the Indian worker, and the lack of education is the most serious of all. Where the lack of education makes itself most strongly felt is in the reluctance to take a long view. Even if he is better off than he is, the Indian workman would not be easily persuaded to spend money which promised no obvious <sup>a</sup> immediate return.

#### Necessity of Encouragement.

Government and a great majority of employers have shown indication towards encouragement of trade union



movement. Some employers are genuinely puzzled as<sup>ks</sup> the methods by which they can attain the view. But in many cases it is found difficult to ascertain what active steps had been taken to encourage the growth of trade unionism, whilst the attitude of some employers in their dealings with trade unions was singularly ill-calculated to secure that end. It could be urged that the repression of trade unions because of unhealthy tendencies is unlikely to produce healthy growth. A movement which is facing so many difficulties cannot be expected to begin at a stage achieved in other countries through long experience and after many vicissitudes. Progress in this direction could be made by successive stages only.

#### Recognition of Weak Unions.

The vigorous union with a genuine grievance can insist on being heard, and even recognition rules carefully framed by official secretaries may prove futile when a big railway strike is threatened. But it is desirable to see recognition based on reason and not on force, and the fact that a union consists of only a minority of employees is no adequate reason for withholding recognition. Similarly the existence of two or more rival unions is not in itself a sufficient ground for refusing to recognise any or all of them. The combination of all employees with common interest in a single union is eminently desirable in their own interests, but this is a matter for them and not the employer.

### Multiplication of Activities.

Most unions are at present hampered by having too limited a scope and too few activities. There is a disposition to regard a union as a mere agency for securing benefits from employers and to overlook the valuable work that can be done in the way of mutual help. A widening of the sphere of activity is most desirable both because much is left undone that trade unions can do and because it will strengthen the movement to find, and even create activities in which members can participate. A few suggestions to illustrate the meaning is as follows. The provision of co-operative credit and the maintenance of co-operative stores, if properly managed, would advance the economic position of the members. The need of education is universal, and the provision of adult education in small circles would be valuable in itself and would bring strength to the movement. Benefit funds are rare, and -- though recognised is the difficulty attendant on the raising of any appreciable sums from Indian workmen, it is felt that many could be persuaded to subscribe to a fund designed to furnish death benefits. The Ahmedabad Textile Association is reported to maintain two dispensaries and a hospital equipped for surgical work, with accomodation for thirty indoor patients. The expenditure on this work is nearly Rs. 1,00,000 annually.

### Present Leaders.

At present the unions depend for their leaders

mainly on social workers, lawyers and other professional men. They are handicapped by more than one way. They have seldom a complete knowledge of the technical details of industry to which their work is related, and cannot hope to meet the employer on equal terms in this respect. Their training make it difficult for them to feel that complete sympathy with labour which is the inspiration of those who have " gone through the mill ". Again no man can take an effective share in the organisation of half a dozen unions simultaneously; in existing conditions the fostering of one good union is a hard task and more than enough for a man who can generally devote only part of his day to such a work. Finally the fact that work is gratuitous tends to weaken its intensity, and in some cases to diminish the sense of responsibility.

#### Training of Officials.

The training should commence before the selected man leaves his employment; his readiness to undertake the necessary toil will afford a good test of his capacity for ultimate success. He should be assisted to improve his general education by directed reading particularly in economics and social questions, including labour legislation and trade union history. The universities in the leading industrial centres could strengthen their contact with the industrial life of the country by assisting in this work with evening classes, and the larger trade unions should endeavour to

assist. Simultaneously the prospective official should take as active a part in the work of the union as his ordinary work allows, his activity here will afford a good indication of his qualifications for a rapid appointment.

#### Outside Assistance.

It has been suggested that during his training the future official should be supported by his own industrial work. But his value in many cases could be greatly enhanced by a wider training, with freedom for a period from other work. This would involve the provision of ~~the~~ funds for the support of such men during ~~the~~ part of their training. In the case of state-servants ---- and particularly on the railways ---- period of leave and other assistance could be given. As a further possibility it is good to suggest the grant of studentship at universities or colleges which are ready to co-operate.

#### Annual Audit.

It is not possible for the smaller unions to meet the cost of properly qualified auditors, and, as a result, Government had had to permit their accounts to be audited by persons with no qualifications in accountancy. It is considerable that all unions should be able to secure free of charge the conduct of their audit by officials of Government. Government has already accepted responsibility for the audit of the accounts of co-operative societies in some provinces. The provision of auditors for trade unions should cost little to government, while it

will relieve registered trade unions of a considerable charge on their funds.

#### Other Amendments.

( i ) Section 22 requires that ordinarily not less than half the officers of a registered trade union shall be actually engaged or employed in an industry to which the union relates. ' Officers ' here includes the executive. In view of the desirability of securing that the members of an union take an active part in its work, it is considered that two-thirds would be a more suitable minimum.

(ii) It appears to be the case that registered trade unions are precluded from initiating and carrying on co-operative societies. It is recommended that the obstacles be removed.

#### Conclusion.

It is hoped that in legislation and administration, the state and its officers will recognise the essential importance of these organisations as an integral part of the industrial structure of the country. They can make a big contribution to industrial development, and the value of that contribution will be enhanced by a policy of trust in them and co-operation with them. At the same time, at the risk of repetition one is tempted to emphasise the fact that trade unionists must rely mainly on their own efforts. It is on them, rather than on employers or Government or public, that the future of trade unionism ultimately depends.

## C H A P T E R. IV.

### State Provision against Misfortune.

In chapter II we analysed the various occupations of our Presidency and discussed how the population lives. But it is clear we have not reached our goal. We have now to ask how workers in industry fare ?. This line of inquiry might lead us to discuss the whole subject of industrial relations. We set out however, to concentrate our attention upon the social rather than the industrial structure of Bombay Presidency, and, in consequence many topics which fall under the heading of industrial relations are outside our scope. Workers are menaced by ill-health and unemployment, and are faced by old-age and accidents. What provision we may ask, is made against these dangers.

It is well-known that in foreign countries like England and Wales schemes are in existence for the above mentioned items. In India till quite recently reverse was the case and to a great extent it is even now backward. There is no good relation between the workman and the employer. On the one hand in England and Wales State or Communal schemes exist and on the other hand Voluntary provision is made on a large scale in more ways than one. Public concern there in fact begins with the babe unborn. As such there are Maternity and Childwelfare schemes. Notwithstanding these there are other services like National Health Insurance scheme and

Old Age Pension scheme. It is useless to attempt narrating the latter as no such thing exists over here. Let the former occupy our attention first.

<sup>1</sup>In India, as elsewhere, attention began to be directed towards, the condition of industrial workers as soon as modern large-scale industries appeared, and resulted in factory legislation and latter in welfare work. In 1923 a great administrative improvement was effected by the co-ordination of the work under the various separate funds which have been founded from time to time to promote the physical welfare of Indian women. The All-India Maternity and Child Welfare League, founded in 1920, co-ordinates isolated attempts which were made in various centres during the war. Branches of this association carry on work in all the great centres of population and -- in the face of considerable opposition due to ignorance, superstition, prejudice, distrust, and 'dastur' -- are gradually beginning to earn the confidence of the women of India. Midwives and health visitors are trained, maternity homes have been founded, baby centres and creches (in connection with the factories) have been established. Mothers are instructed in the care of infants at these centres and in their homes, and a number of vernacular leaflets giving information as to the proper methods of feeding and caring for children, and as to where medical and nursing assistance and advice can be obtained, are

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<sup>1</sup>Economic Development of India by Vera Anstey p. 88.

issued and distributed broadcast. The movement was initiated by European, but Indian ladies (professional and unprofessional) have begun to play an increasing part in the movement. Their interest has undoubtedly been roused and directed towards matters of health by the various women's societies and organisations which have recently been formed for more general social purposes. At the International Labour Conference at Washington in 1919 it was suggested that the countries represented should carry out inquiries into the question of maternity benefits for women workers. Two such inquiries were held in India, one by Dr. Barnes in Bombay city and one by Dr. Curjel in Bengal. A maternity benefit Bill was subsequently introduced into the Legislative Assembly by Mr. N. M. Joshi, but has not yet been proceeded with. Dr. Barnes concluded that home conditions were worse than conditions in factories, and that the cessation of work for one month before and after delivery (on full pay) would normally suffice. Dr. Barnes suggested that creches under the care of trained nurses should be instituted at every factory, that hospitals with maternity wards under the charge of a woman doctor, should be built for the exclusive use of industrial workers, and that canteens should be provided at the factories and attempts be made to induce women workers to patronise them. Maternity benefits have been voluntarily introduced

Suggestions  
for Progress.



in two groups of Bombay cotton mills, employing in all nearly 4000 women, but the proportion of women claiming the benefit is not high in relation to the number of women at child-bearing age, and does not involve the mills in any very heavy expenditure.

There is another provision provided by Government and which though not very old is the Indian Workmen's Compensation Act. of 1923, and through this the workmen get provision against one thing only and that is 'accident.' The items of the act are in short the provisions afforded by Government to the individuals. Since there is nothing else provided against misfortune to workmen except provision against accident, this chapter is bound to be comparatively shorter.

1. Owing to the increase in the number of large-sized industrial establishments and the growing complexity of machinery the question of compensating workmen against industrial accidents has become an important item of labour legislation. The aim of compensation is to provide the workmen with a substitute for the personal care of the employer which has disappeared under the modern conditions, which to some extent are inevitable, by ensuring to the workers pecuniary compensation for the loss of actual wages and earning capacity. The humanitarian aspect of compensation is not its only basis. Economically, it is justified, because

the knowledge that they are insured makes the labourers better and the more contented workers. The right of the worker to be insured at the expense of the industry for all accidents in the course of the worker's regular employment has received legal recognition in most modern centres. Legislation in this connection has the ~~importance~~ effect of increasing the importance in the eyes of the employers of providing adequate safety devices and reducing the number of ~~of~~ accidents in a manner that cannot be achieved by official inspection. It also encourages the employers to provide adequate medical treatment for their workmen. The benefit so conferred on the workmen added to the increased sense of security which they feel, renders industrial life less unattractive and this increases the available supply of labour and its efficiency.

<sup>1</sup>"While the act follows the British model in its main principle and a number of its provisions are directly borrowed from British legislation, it possesses important distinctive features. The main difference lies in the extreme rigidity of the Indian law. The attempt to leave as few openings for disputes as possible has resulted in a code which is necessarily arbitrary in its operation in particular cases, but we are satisfied that, so far as working men are concerned the advantages gained greatly outweigh the disadvantages.

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India p. 295.

The inelastic character of the India Act is specially marked in respect of the scales of compensation, and while we consider that these scales should now be modified, we regard it as important that the existing precision of the scales should be conserved. Another feature of great importance is the reservation of the settlement disputes to specially appointed commissioners who are entrusted with wider powers than those granted to civil courts, and whose procedure is specially prescribed. From their decisions an appeal is possible only in particular cases, and to the High Court alone.\*

Let us briefly look over the main items of the act. The contents of the items are in short the provisions afforded by the state to the individual,

<sup>1</sup>If personal injury is caused to a workman by accident arising out of and in the course of his employment, his employer shall be liable to pay compensation in accordance with the provisions of this chapter;

- (a) Provided that the employer shall not be so liable in respect of any injury which does not result in the total or partial disablement of the work<sup>K</sup>man for a period exceeding ten days.
- (b) in respect of any injury to a workman resulting

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<sup>1</sup>The Indian Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923  
by A. G. Clow. page 139.

- from an accident which is directly attributable to
- (i) the workmen having been at the time under the influence of drink or drugs, or
  - (ii) the wilful disobedience of the workman to an order expressly given, or to a rule expressly framed, for the purpose of securing the safety of workmen or
  - (iii) the wilful removal or disregard by the workman of any safety guard or other device which he knew to have been provided for the purpose of securing the safety of workmen or
- (c) except in the case of death or permanent total <sup>or</sup>disagreement, in respect of any workman employed in the construction, repair or demolition of a building or bridge.

If a workman employed in any employment involving the handling of wool, hair, bristles, hides or skins contracts the disease of anthrax, or if a workman whilst in the service of an employer in whose service he has been employed for a continuous period of not less than six months in any employment (specified in Schedule III) contracts any disease specified therein as an occupational disease peculiar to that employment, the contracting of the disease shall be deemed to be an injury by accident within the meaning of this section and, unless the employer proves the contrary, the accidents shall be deemed to have arisen out of and in the course of his employment.

Explanation: For the purposes of this sub-section a period of service shall be deemed to be conti-

nuous which has not included a period of service under any other employer.

Nothing herein contained shall be deemed to confer any right to compensation on a workman in respect of any injury if he has instituted in a civil court a suit for damages in respect of the injury against the employer for any other person and no suit for damages shall be maintainable by a workman in any civil court of law in respect of any injury,

- (a) if he has instituted a claim to compensation in respect of the injury before a commissioner; or
- (b) if an agreement has been come to between the workman and his employer providing for the payment of compensation in respect of the injury in accordance with the provisions of this act.

Subject to the provisions of this act the amount of compensation shall be as follows, namely:

- (A) Where death results from the injury--
  - (i) in the case of an adult, a sum equal to thirty month's wages or two thousand five hundred rupees: whichever is less, and
  - (ii) in the case of a minor, two hundred rupees.
- (B) Where permanent total disablement results from the injury--
  - (i) in the case of an adult, a sum equal to forty-two months' wages or three thousand five hundred rupees, whichever is less and,
  - (ii) in the case of a minor, a sum equal to eighty-four months' wages or three thousand five hundred rupees

whichever is less;

(C) Where permanent partial disablement results from the injury--

(i) in the case of an injury specified in schedule I, such percentage of the compensation which would have been payable in the case of permanent total disablement as is specified therein as being the percentage of the loss of earning capacity caused by that injury and,

(ii) in the case of an injury not specified in schedule I, such percentage of the compensation payable in the case of permanent total disablement as is proportionate to the loss of earning capacity permanently caused by ~~that~~ injury.

Explanation: Where more injuries than one are caused by the same accident, the amount of compensation payable under this head shall be aggregated but not so in any case as to exceed the amount which would have been payable if permanent total disablement had resulted from the injuries.

(D) Where temporary disablement, whether total or partial results from the injury, a half monthly payment payable on the sixteenth day after the expiry of waiting period of ten days from the date of the disablement, and there-after half-monthly during the disablement or during a period of five years, whichever <sup>paid shorter</sup> is less--

(i) in the case of an adult of fifteen rupees or a sum equal to one fourth of his monthly wages whichever

is less, and

- (ii) in the case of a minor, of a sum equal to one-third or, after he has attained the age of fifteen years, to one-half of his monthly wages, but not exceeding in any case fifteen rupees:

Provided that there shall be deducted from any lump sum or half-monthly payments to which the workman is entitled the amount of any payment or allowance which the workman has received from the employer by way of compensation during the period of disablement prior to the receipt of such lump sum or of the first half-monthly payment as the case may be, and no half-monthly payment shall in any case exceed the amount if any by which half the amount of the monthly wages of the workman before the accident exceeds half the amount of such wages which he is earning after the accident.

On the ceasing of the disablement before the date on which any half-monthly payment falls due, these shall be payable in respect of that half month a sum proportionate to the duration of this disablement in that half-month."

<sup>1</sup>The most striking feature of these scales is the preference shown for lump sums as against recurring payments. Lump sums are invariably due from employers for death and permanent .....

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India  
page 302.

disablement, although in the case of sums due to women and persons under legal disability, the commissioner can invest the sums deposited with him or deal with them otherwise for the advantage of the recipients. Recurring payments are made only for temporary disablement; and these can be commuted at any time to a single payment by agreement between the parties, while either party has a right to commutation after payments have been made for six months. The continuance of this system is favoured by employers generally, and workmen who prefer lump sums payments. The opinion of the trade unions is divided and it is possible that some of those who advocate a greater use of recurring payments do so in the hope that larger amounts would thereby be payable. The opinion of those who are concerned with the administration of the act, is on the whole, strongly opposed to any substantial change of the present system, though some would give power to the commissioners to disburse compensation by instalments, without altering the character of the employer's liability.

Expenditure  
of lump sums.

The two main considerations are the use which is likely to be made of the money and the question of administration. Experience in other countries generally tends to the conclusion that recurring payments are more beneficial to workmen and their dependents, as a large sum disbursed to them is apt to be squandered. And some of the



witness(including some employers) thought that the lump sums now paid were generally squandered. But more evidence to the contrary effect has been received. That the sums are dissipated in a number of cases is probable, but the ordinary Indian work<sup>a</sup>men and his dependents in a village have a very acute realisation of the value of money, and are in most cases in a position to derive substantial advantage from a capital sum. Many are enabled to liquidate debts on which they are paying, as interest, charges far exceeding any recurring payments that could be regarded as equivalent to the capital sum involved. The purchase of a plot of land is a method commonly adopted in other cases, with beneficial results, and many have come across other sound methods of investment. And while substantial sums are doubtless spent on marriages, expenditure of this kind is usually undertaken out of no love of extravagance, but because, of the pressure of social customs; some such expenditure is obligatory even upon the man who has no capital, and the possession of readymoney saves ruinous charges on account of interest. While the evidence is hardly sufficient to justify an emphatic view, one is inclined to the conclusion that the benefit generally derived from the sums is greater than that which would accrue from recurring payments on an equivalent scale.

Next about the procedure of the claim and demand for compensation something is needed to be

said. No compensation is to be paid on account of the first ten days of disablement. The general administration of the act and the settlement of disputes thereunder are matters entrusted to special commissioners with wide powers. The procedure is very simple and opportunities for appeals restricted. For the success of the measure rapid inquiry made by medical men capable of forming estimates of the inquiries received, along with the enlistment by the state of impartial judges to see that the worker gets the benefit that is due to him are necessary. There are several factors which render the operation of a measure of this kind difficult in India. One is the migratory habits of the industrial labourer. Secondly, the ordinary workman is not in a position to enter into expensive litigation, nor is there any organisation to assist him in securing a protracted case through. Generally also, the workman is not aware of the financial relief to which he is entitled under the act. There is further a greater lack of qualified men to put up the workman's case properly for compensation.

The following is the <sup>1</sup>list of injuries deemed to result in permanent partial disablement.

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<sup>1</sup>Borrowed from the Indian Workman's Compensation Act of 1923 by A. G. Clow. Page 175.

Injury	Percentage of loss of earning capacity.
Loss of right arm above or at the elbow	70
Loss of left arm above or at the elbow	60
Loss of right arm below the elbow	60
Loss of leg at or above the knee	60
Loss of left arm below the elbow	50
Loss of leg below the knee	50
Permanent total loss of hearing	50
Loss of an eye	30
Loss of thumb	25
Loss of all toes of one foot	20
Loss of one phalanx of thumb	10
Loss of index finger	10
Loss of great toe	10
Loss of any finger other than index finger	5

Note: Complete and permanent loss of the use of any limb or member referred to in this schedule shall be deemed to be the equivalent of the loss of that limb or member.

The Governor-general in council may, by notification in the Gazette of India, direct that every person employing workmen, or that any specified class of such persons, shall send at such *time* and in such form and to such authority, as may be specified in the notification, a correct return specifying the number of injuries in *respect* spirit of which compensation has been paid by the employer during the previous year and the amount of such compensation together with other particulars as

<sup>1</sup>Indian Workman's Compensation Act of 1923.p.161.

to the compensation as the Governor-general in council may direct.

The following <sup>1</sup>table gives the number of cases filed before commissioners from the inception of the act to the end of 1929, and also shows the number of claims returned as paid by employers. The latter figures represent only the principal branches of industry affected by the act and they are probably incomplete in other minor respects; but they afford a sufficiently accurate indication of the rate at which claims have increased.

Year	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
Proceedings	629	874	1239	1299	1418
Applications for Registration	427	610	711	906	1067
Total	1056	1484	1950	2205	2485
No. of claims	11371	14096	15216	14827	18865
Rupees	644120	821476	1111254	1095370	1260164

It is evident from the figures that Indian workmen and their dependents are only gradually coming to a realisation of their rights under the Act, and this process is still far from complete. That there are large numbers of workmen who do not receive compensation when it is due to them would be clear, even

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India  
page 309

if other evidence were not available, from the low proportion of claims made on account of disablement. The ratio of claims paid for permanent and temporary disablement to claims on account of death is much smaller than the ratio of non-fatal to fatal accidents even when due allowance is made for the effect of <sup>the</sup> waiting period in excluding claims. It is possible that a number of claims are not pressed because the amounts are trifling, or because the workman has received other benefits, such as hospital care or medical treatment, or because of the difficulty in the way of securing payment; but there must be a considerable number of claims which are not put forward because of ignorance of the law.

Attention has been drawn to the fact that the provisions relating to the payment of funeral expenses of deceased workmen are unsatisfactory. Until 1929 the commissioner had discretion to deduct from the compensation payable to the dependents the actual funeral expenses of the workman upto a maximum of Rs.50/-. During the passage through the legislature of the amending bill of 1928, a change was introduced with the result that the employer can now make to any person by whom the funeral expenses are to be or have been incurred a payment of not more than Rs.50. for such expenses and deduct that payment from the compensation. It is understood that the object of the alteration was to encourage the employer to make allowances for

funeral expenses by giving him the certainty that such advances would be deducted from the compensation. But the commissioner cannot question the suitability of the amount paid, nor is he entitled to satisfy himself that the whole amount has been spent on the funeral. This is capable of abuse. The aim of the amendment should be attained by preventing the funeral expenses from being deducted from the compensation which has to be deposited and providing instead that, on the deposit of the compensation the commissioner shall deduct the actual cost of the workman's funeral expenses up to the prescribed limit and pay them to the person who has incurred them. For such expenses Rs.50. is too high a limit, and substitution of Rs.25. is recommended.

In the end it may be concluded that according to the annual report of the Government of India for 1926-27 it(the act) has been working smoothly, and there has been a marked increase in the number of claims made under the act and in the amount of compensation paid by the employers. Some labour organisers also, as in Bombay are assisting workmen to put forward their claims under the act, though matters are capable of much improvement in this and other respects.

## CHAPTER. V.

## Industrial Housing.

Our analysis of the population has led us to visualize groups of persons in the form of households rather than individuals as the true component units of the community. We are led to ask how these households live. This chapter attempts to answer this question. We are, therefore, here chiefly concerned with the housing problem of the industrial labourers.

The Englishman's ideal in this matter is 'Every household its own house'. He draws a sharp distinction between a house and a flat, and has shown, in any case until recently, a marked repugnance for living in a flat. In this he is not peculiar. The inhabitants of the Dominions, of the United States of America, and of some European countries, though not many, share his preference for houses. This horizontal rather than vertical distribution of the population involves the sprawling of towns over considerable areas. But the houses in English towns have until recently been built so close together and with so few open spaces that relatively speaking no vast areas are covered. The newer American cities, however, such as Detroit and Los Angeles, have not adopted this close packing system, because almost every household in the community is able to afford a car and garage and can thus disregard distances, with

the result that the sprawling tendency rapidly leads to the huge extension of the city area.

In every industrialised country the problems associated with the housing of the working classes have increased as industry has developed and India has been no exception to that rule. During the past 50 years, cities such as Bombay, Calcutta and Rangoon have doubled and trebled their population; other industrial centres such as Madras, Madura, Lahore, Jubbulpore, Nagpur and Cawnpore have increased with great rapidity, whilst new towns like Bhatpara and Jamshedpur have sprung up in hitherto undeveloped areas. In each of these places the housing of the workers presents a problem, sometimes showing distinct characteristics requiring its own solution, but for the most part arising from similar causes. Limitation of space and high land values are responsible for much of the congestion in the large cities but these factors have had less influence in the smaller towns and centres. Probably the most important common feature has been the lack of control over the selection of sites intended for industrial development and consequent additional over-crowding, caused by the presence of large numbers of immigrant workers seeking accommodation in the heart of towns already suffering from a shortage.

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India  
Page 270.



of houses. The combination of these circumstances has led to the unsatisfactory conditions existing in nearly every industrial area. Thus the establishment of an industry in the average Indian town has, in certain respects not always been an unmixed blessing. Whilst stimulating trade and increasing the rateable value, it has added to the population large numbers which are a constant menace to the health of the community and frequently necessitate heavy expenditure owing to outbreaks of epidemic disease.

Owing to the lack of necessary surveys, there is today an absence of information regarding either the relative or the actual shortage of houses in urban and industrial centres. Moreover, few statistics relating to density of population are available, although a certain amount of indirect information on these points can be obtained from other sources. From the Census Report 1921, it appears that 70% of the houses in Bombay city are one-roomed, and the Labour Office Family Budget investigation of 1921-22 showed that 97% of the working classes were accommodated in one-roomed tenements with as many as 6 to 9 persons living in a room, whilst in Ahmedabad 73% of the working classes live in one-roomed tenements.

\* Housing in Urban and Industrial Areas.\*  
The agricultural population of India live in huts, which in different parts of the country vary in

design and material. In the villages the houses may be dark and unventilated and their surroundings unhealthy, but most of them have some sort of enclosure or courtyard which provides light, air and a certain degree of privacy. There is plenty of sunshine and air and people are not living 'on top of one another'. In the urban and industrial areas on the other hand, cramped sites, the high value of land and the necessity for the worker to live in the vicinity of his work have all tended to intensify congestion and overcrowding. In the busiest centres the houses are built close together, eave touching eave, and frequently back to back in order to make use of all the available space. Indeed, space is so valuable that, in place of streets and roads, narrow winding lanes provide the only approach to the houses. Neglect of sanitation is often evidenced by heaps of rotting garbage and pools of sewage, whilst the absence of latrines enhances the general pollution of air and soil. Houses, many without plinths, windows and adequate ventilation usually consist of a single small room, the only opening being a doorway often too low to enter without stooping. In order to secure some privacy old kerosine tins and gunny bags are used to form screens which further restrict the entrance of light and air. In dwellings such as these, human beings are born, sleep and eat, live and die. The one bright feature in a number of centres is the effort made by the more advanced employers to provide housing. I will

come to this later on, first let the actual conditions of the industrial cities occupy our attention. The main centres where the problem of the housing of the industrial labourers is to be solved are Bombay in particular and Ahmedabad only so far as our Presidency is concerned. As such let Bombay occupy our attention first.

<sup>1</sup>The dwellings in which the wage-earning classes of Bombay are housed are of three main types: (a) 'Chawls' or buildings let in separate tenements; (b) 'Sheds' built of corrugated iron, empty kerosine tins, wood, etc; and (c) 'Zavli' sheds—huts constructed of dry leaves from the date or cocoa-nut palms.

The majority of the working classes are housed in chawls. The second class of dwelling is often tenanted by municipal employees or by tenants evicted from insanitary dwellings by the Improvement Trust. The corrugated iron sheds erected by the trust are of a semi-permanent character. Each line of sheds comprises about a dozen rooms of standard size, (10ft. by 10 ft.) with a 3 ft. verandah. The rooms become very hot during the day when the sun's rays strike the iron roof, but otherwise the sheds are comfortable and satisfactory as such buildings can be. The same cannot be said of many sheds built by private enterprise. Not a ray of light penetrates them and this at noon on a bright, sunny day. Persons of the 'depressed' and 'backward

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<sup>1</sup>Labour and Housing in Bombay by Burnett-Hurst p.19.

classes ( i.e. Mahars, Chambhars, and Dheds ) frequently find great difficulty in obtaining accommodation, as no other community will live near them. When they cannot find room in the chawls set apart for them, they live in sheds or huts, There are no windows; holes in the rusty tin walls and roof provide the interior with a sufficiency of light and air. The floor is about 3 inches from the ground.

The ' Zavli ' sheds are occupied chiefly by Chati carters, who not infrequently share them with their domestic animals, cows and calves. As sanitary conveniences are absent, the ground in the vicinity of these structures is generally defaecated.

The ' Chawls ' or tenements, consist usually of single rooms, sometimes of double rooms or ' gallas, but never of more than two rooms, These chawls, which differ considerably in appearance, construction and size, all have for their object the housing — one is almost tempted to use the expression " warehousing " — of large numbers of the labouring classes in as cheap a manner as possible.

The ' chawls ' may again be sub-divided into three main groups.

- (A) They are, first, the dwelling-houses which were originally built for one family, but which, owing to the increased demand for accommodation, have from time to time been extended and converted into tenements. They are chiefly to be found in the most densely populated sections of the city — the Kumbharwada, Kamatipura and second Nagpada — all

of which had in 1921 a density of over 700 persons per acre. The owners of the property have by frequent extensions occupied every available inch of space to the sites and rear of the houses, and have then competed with one another in erecting additional floors, until the buildings have reached a height of four or five stories — a policy of "sweating" building sites, as a result. What makes the condition of these buildings worse is that large numbers of them are fitted with basket privies. About the horrible condition of these buildings the personal experience of Mr. Burnett-Hurst may be quoted. "Frequently, on rounds of inspection, premises have been entered but the filth and smell have been so repulsive as to compel a hurried exit. On the occasion of a visit to a slum area in the company of the late chairman of the Improvement Trust, entrance was gained to a private dwelling-house which had been converted into a set of one-room tenements. Here was a room with a floor space of 6 ft. by 9 ft. part of the space being occupied by the 'chula' (fireplace). The sole window of the room overlooked a gully reeking with filth into which we had previously witnessed a basket of human excreta being emptied by a sweeper woman. The room was occupied by two adults, a boy of three years and an infant. The tenants had been paying Rs.2/- per month for the room, but in 1918 the landlord demanded double the amount, finally agreeing to Rs.3/8/- an increase of 75 per cent. It is these converted

dwelling houses that are among the most insanitary buildings in the city. \* Pestilential plague-spots,\* by no means too strong an expression for them. "

- (B) Little better are the tenement blocks built by private enterprise for commercial profit. The two storied <sup>chawl</sup> is the type most frequently found. Access to the rooms on the upper floors is gained by a central or side staircase leading to verand<sup>ah</sup>as or central corridors running the length of the building. Where there is a verandah, rooms are back-to-back and 'through ventilation' cannot be secured. These rooms, however, have more light and air than those which open on to a central corridor, which is almost always dark. Frequently the chawls are situated parallel to one another, and when they are in close proximity, as is generally the case, the rooms on the ground floor receive insufficient light and air. Rooms vary in size, but are usually 10 ft. by 10 ft. Many chawls are in a dilapidated condition and the floors in such a bad state of repair that they are a source of danger to the occupants. The chawls have common bathing places used by both sexes. Not only do the tenants bathe here, but they also wash their clothes and utensils and collect water for drinking and cooking purposes. Shortage of water and an insufficiency of taps is a constant source of complaint, as it leads to considerable inconvenience and occasional scuffles during 'rush' hours in the early morning. The municipal rules require one w.c. for every five tenements, but this

by-law is by no means universally observed.

- (C) The third type is the tenement building of modern structure erected by the Improvement Trust, Municipality, Port Trust, and other public bodies, for their employees or ~~for~~ the working classes generally. They have been constructed on sanitary lines and, as a rule, are well lighted and ventilated. They are mostly buildings of three, four and five stories. The ugly sun-shades of matting or iron have given place to ~~asbestos~~ asbestos ones (as in the Grant Road B.B.& Ci.I. Ry. chawls), which are neater and lighter and keep the verandahs and rooms cooler. The Mahar chawls are so constructed that they can be easily converted at small cost into tenements consisting of two rooms and two verandahs. On each floor also there are separate washing places for men and women. Some of the chawls are provided with terrace roofs with a staircase leading up to them; the occupants can use them as drying areas or for sleeping out on fine nights. It will be seen that the modern chawl built from public funds is a great advance upon the tenement buildings erected by private enterprise.

There is the other side to the problem of housing labour in sanitary dwellings viz; the extent to which the tenants of the chawls create their own environment. An inspection of an improved sanitary dwelling before and after occupation clearly shows that the customs and habits of the people are largely responsible for the insanitary surroundings. The

external appearance of the chawl may be neat and attractive, but an examination of the interior startles one. Spitting of pan and betelnut juice and other nuisances are committed everywhere, especially on the staircases, in the passages and corridors. Goat, fowls and other animals belonging to the tenants are to be found in the corridors. The interiors of the rooms are little better than the rest of the buildings. The verandahs are fitted with cooking places, but tenants prefer to cook in their living room, especially on a windy day. It is no exaggeration to say that the masses are utterly unacquainted with even elementary ideas of hygiene and sanitation, and little improvement can take place until they have been educated to a different standard of living.

#### Over-crowding.

It was found in 1917-18 that approximately 97 % of the working class households in Parel were living in single rooms — a figure confirmed by the Budget Inquiry conducted by the Bombay Labour Office in 1921 — and over 60% of the households were over-crowded according to the English official standard. Measured by the stricter test employed by Dr. Goring in " Livelihood and Poverty " the percentage rises to 94%. The average number of persons per room in Parel was 3.5. It should be noted that a single room is often occupied by several families. According to the Census of 1921, there were in Bombay no less than 135 instances in which a single room was occupied by six families or more. Housing . -



statistics were specially collected by the Census authorities in 1921 for Bombay, Ahmedabad and Karachi. They throw a certain amount of light on housing conditions generally, but, as the figures apply to the whole population and not to the working-classes alone they are indicative and not conclusive.

City	: Persons living in rooms each occupied by 6 persons and over.		: Occupants of single-room tenements.		: Average number of persons per room in single-roomed tenements.	: No. of single-roomed tenements containing.	
	: No. (000's)	: Percentage of total population.	: No. (000's)	: Percentage of total population.		: 2 to 5	: 6 families & over.
Bombay	: 384	: 36	: 706	: 66	: 4.0	: 2991	: 135
Ahmedabad	: 40	: 15	: 133	: 52	: 3.4	: Not available	
Karachi	: 87½	: 48	: 107	: 58	: 3.5	: 659	

From the table it is clear that out of the three cities Bombay contains the highest number of persons in single-room tenements. Bombay is much crowded is apparent from the table. It would be interesting at this point to show in brief the housing of Bombay by castes. The following table gives the figures for the main castes and their occupying the number of rooms in Bombay per hundred of the total population. (These

<sup>1</sup>figures again are for whole of Bombay and not for industrial labourers alone) and as such are indicative and not conclusive.

	1 room	2 rooms	4 rooms
Hindus	71	13	4
Mohamedans	67	12	5
Christians	41	20	10
Parsis	21	30	13

From the above table it is clear that Parsis are better housed than the rest. Christians take the second place. This is because they are fond of show and imitation of Europeans. Moreover they carry a sense of decency and as such are better housed than Hindus and Mohamedans.

Before closing discussion about Bombay I propose to give a short history of the origin and developments of these dwellings in Bombay.

<sup>2</sup>For decades, constant references have been made to the overcrowded and unhealthy conditions of parts of the city. It needed something more powerful than the warnings of medical men and others to stir the people and the administration. It was

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<sup>1</sup>Taken and translated from a Gujarati paper Jame-Jamshed dated 4-2-1933.

<sup>2</sup>Labour and Housing in Bombay by Burnett-Hurst p. 30.

provided by the terrible outbreak of bubonic plague in 1896. The Bombay city Improvement Trust was created in 1898 for the work of making new streets etc. The Trust soon became an unpopular body. The compulsory acquisition of property and the demolition of buildings were resented both by landlords and tenants. The trust had limited powers and limited funds. Consequently it was compelled to resort to "slum-patching," the development of a few building sites, the construction of a few chawls and the development of main thoroughfares. The policy of "slum-patching" generally proves unsuccessful and Bombay was no exception to the rule. Still the trust performed useful work. By 1920 it had provided 21,387 new tenements as against 24,428 demolished. By 1920, the Municipality had also provided 2,900 tenements for its staff and had sanctioned the construction of another 2,200. The work both of the Trust and Municipality failed to keep pace with the requirements of the city (the population of Bombay increased from 776,000 inhabitants in 1901 to 1,176,000 in 1921) and despite the appeal of Government and Press to millowners and other employers of labour to assist in providing better housing for their workpeople, little was done. It was left to H. E. Sir George Lloyd and his government to draw up a bold and comprehensive scheme for dealing with the problem. His Excellency in 1920 secured the support and

active co-operation of the Municipality, the Improvement Trust, the Port Trust and the public. Fifty six chawls or 2,720 tenements, were completed by March 31, 1923: 2300 of these tenements had been let by the end of the same year which varied from Rs.9/8 to Rs.11/8 per room (rents considerably lower than the economic rent), and about 85% of the rooms were tenanted by the working classes.

While the new chawls meet with the fairly general approval of the occupants, there has been much criticism of detail. The Director of Development, replying to his critics in a letter to the Times of India May 15, 1923, stated that it was decided to throw the room and verandah into one, so as to give as much floor-space as possible (viz. 10 ft. by 16 ft. 6 in.), rather than follow the practice of the ordinary chawl tenement in Bombay by providing a room about 10 ft. by 12 ft. with a verandah 10 ft. by 4 ft. 6 in. etc. etc.

The six years programme which the Improvement Trust laid down in 1920 provides for the filling up and laying out as building sites of about 1,500 acres of land in the northern part of the island, and the construction of 5,000 tenements.

It must not be expected that with the provision of these dwellings the evils associated with Bombay Housing and sanitation have entirely disappeared. Tenants had the benefit of sanitary structures and more light and air, but families are still housed

in one-room tenements. Moreover it is too much to hope that the habits of the people could be changed in their new surroundings. Nevertheless, the measures adopted by the government of Bombay are a step in the right direction and should lead to a reduction of disease and mortality.

After this much of discussion about Bombay let us examine the conditions of other important cities in brief. Ahmedabad captivates our attention first. It is a big industrial city and is called the 'Manchester of India.'

The condition of industrial labourers is simply pitiable. <sup>1</sup>The areas occupied by the working classes in Ahmedabad present pictures of terrible squalor. Nearly 92% of the houses are one-roomed, they are badly built, insanitary, ill-ventilated, and over-crowded, whilst water supplies are altogether inadequate and latrine accommodation is almost entirely wanting. Resulting evils are physical deterioration, high infant mortality and a high general death-rate. Thirty-five of the textile mills have provided chawls for about 16% of their employees, but only in one or two cases is the accommodation of a reasonable standard and sanitary arrangements are frequently inadequate. The quarters built by the Asoka and Calico mills

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India  
P. 277.

are perhaps the best. In the former case, a settlement adjacent to the mill provides accommodation in the form of chawls for about 1,100 out of 2,500 workers. Some years ago the latter company built a colony of 48 tenements, in which each house contains a room, a kitchen, a bath-room and a common verandah. In several cases the mill operatives will not use the accommodation provided for them and the houses of one mill are regularly occupied by operatives of other mill.

The same tale of squalor could be told of other industrial towns and industrial centres; but evidence of neglect and lack of supervision was nowhere more obvious than in Karachi. In Karachi the Port Trust has provided 816 houses of different types at Manora and Kaemari, but the majority of its employees live in the city where housing is both bad and expensive. Few of the industrial employers have provided any quarters, although some supply materials and leave the workers to build huts for themselves. The problem is urgent for congestion is very severe and sub-letting is a prevailing evil.

The picture of the industrial housing of our <sup>P</sup>residency cannot be called complete unless something is mentioned also about the comfort and relief provided by the employers. The responsibility of employers varies to some extent with conditions and localities. The foundation of an industry in a new and hitherto undeveloped area

gives rise to circumstances under which this responsibility must necessarily lie, in the first instance with the employers. This position has been largely accepted by such firms as the Tata Iron and Steel Company and the Tinsplate Company in Jamshedpur. The former has erected nearly 5,000 houses which are rented to its employees, and the latter has built 326 quarters which accommodate over 41% of the labouring force. As it will be some time before housing accommodation for all the workers can be supplied, other schemes have been introduced in order to encourage the workers to build their own houses. Many of the streets are lit with electric light and in a few years the company hopes to have a complete system of street and road lighting. The Tinsplate company also advances loans to its workers to enable them to build houses for themselves.

The policy of the Railway, on the other hand, differs in some respects from the rest. The Railway Board has laid down that its general policy is to provide quarters where, for special reasons, it is necessary to do so, and where conditions are such that private enterprise does not adequately meet housing demands. Railway administrations can acquire land for building schemes under the Land Acquisition Act. Expenditure upto 1 st. April 1929 was Rs.24.81 crores, while the expenditure during the four years ending

1 st. April 1929, was 4.85 crores. Rent is charged except in the case of the lowest grades who are normally given free quarters. On some railways, however, a proportion of the work-shop staff is provided with houses owned or leased by the railways. On the Bombay Baroda & Central India Ry. 92 quarters have been provided in Bombay for the lower paid work-shop staff. Provision also exists for housing a large percentage of the work-shop employees at Khargpur by the Bengal Nagpur Railway, and at Golden Rock, Trichinopoly, by the South Indian Railway. The Bengal and North Western Railway have a colony at Gorakhpur for men employed in the work-shops.

No sub-letting is allowed, but where there is a shortage of quarters, the tenant sometimes shares his quarters with another railway employee.



## CHAPTER VI.

## Poverty.

In the course of the preceding chapters we have incidently<sup>al</sup> touched upon certain defects in the social structure of this country (e. g. absence of Poor Relief, Old Age Pension funds etc. etc.).

It is now time to study some of the more obvious signs of failure. If we confine ourselves to two subjects, poverty and crime, it is not because we forget or underestimate the importance of aesthetic and other defects, but because poverty and crime alone of the major failures can be described and measured with some approach to accuracy.

In the last chapter we will discuss the National income. The analysis will show that even if all families shared equally in this income we should all be poor as judged by any absolute scale. But income is not equally distributed, some are rich while others are poor, and among the latter, as we are all aware there are many whose income does not permit them to attain a decent standard of life. The question arises whether we can distinguish this poorest section and estimate the number of those who fall within it. It is evident that any distinction must be more or less arbitrary, because incomes are graded continuously. Nevertheless, in drawing a poverty line across society we can find a more substantial basis than our own casual

impressions as to what constitutes poverty in the sense mentioned above. We can attempt to define a minimum standard of living and draw the line in such a fashion as to leave below it those whose income does not enable them to reach this standard. This was the method followed by the best known workers in this field in England e.g. men like Booth, Rowntree and Bowley.

It is superfluous to go into detail and narrate all the three of the above mentioned. Let us for our discussion take, say the first. The pioneer investigation was that of Charles Booth. The rich not only may, but do live alongside the poor and fail altogether to realise the implications of poverty unless their imaginative sympathy is aroused. Booth's work resulted in bringing the facts and implications of poverty into the social consciousness of the nation, and the further investigations of Rowntree and Bowley have kept them in full view. Booth's "Life and Labour of the people of London" is the most elaborate inquiry ever published by a private person. Beginning in 1886 in East London, he made, largely with the help of School Board visitors a classification of the people both by districts and by trades. These visitors, most of whom had been working in the same districts for years, were thoroughly acquainted with the people and the conditions under which they lived. From information gained in this way concerning families in which there were children of school age, he deduced the condition of the whole

population on the assumption that the untested portion would be at least no worse off, and would probably be better off, than the sample tested. In our country unluckily no man like Booth has come forward. We have to seek help at the Reports of Census. The route followed for the information on the point was a general one. Correspondents were invited to supply information on this point. <sup>1</sup>None of the honorary correspondents received a single pie either as remuneration or for expenses. Of the gentlemen who at first expressed their willingness to act as honorary correspondents for the census a good many withdrew when they saw the work they were asked to perform. <sup>2</sup>The correspondents were particularly warned not to select their families, since any kind of selection would vitiate the results. They were asked to take either a whole village or <sup>a</sup> definite quarter of a town, and then give particulars for every family in the area chosen. For the most part this direction seems to have been well followed. And no case has been noticed of obvious selection of such a kind as to clearly vitiate the results e. g. deliberate selection of

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<sup>1</sup>Report of Census, 1921, Bombay Presidency vol.p.xcvi

<sup>2</sup>Report " " " " " p. xcvi.

poor families, or specialised occupations."

Again the Census Report<sup>or</sup> (1921) says " one thing I should like to emphasise and that is that the picture presented in this study is likely to have erred in the direction of giving a gloomy view of economic conditions rather than a <sup>rosy</sup>rosy one. When any-one is asked for particulars of his financial position human nature will almost invariably induce him, sometimes unconsciously to make it out worse than it is." Booth divided the population into different classes which he defined as follows:-

- A The lowest class -- occasional labourers, loafers and semi-criminals.
- B The very poor -- casual labour, hand to mouth existence, chronic want.
- C and D The poor -- including alike those whose earnings are small because of irregularity of employment, and those whose work though regular is ill-paid.
- E and F The regularly employed and fairly paid working class of all grades.
- G and H Lower and upper <sup>middle</sup>~~labour~~ class and all above this level.

The classes C and D, E and F, G and H can only be separated with difficulty, and they are placed together here since a classification into five grades seems adequate

As given above, the definitions of the classes are <sup>3</sup>somewhat vague. Booth amplifies his definition of the important classes B and C-D in the following words. " By the word ' Poor ' I

mean to describe those who have a sufficiently regular though bear income such as 18s. to 21s. per week for a moderate family and by 'Very Poor' those who from any <sup>cause</sup> ~~course~~ fall much below this standard. The 'Poor' are those whose means may be sufficient but barely sufficient for decent independent life; the 'Very Poor' those whose means are insufficient for this according to the usual standard of life in this country. My 'Poor' may be described as living under a struggle to obtain necessities of life and make both ends meet, while the 'Very Poor' live in a state of chronic want. It may be their own fault that they do so; that is another question, my first business is simply with the numbers who, from whatever cause, do live under conditions of poverty or destitution. " This amplification does make the definition more precise. Later investigations have reached, as we shall see, greater degrees of precision. It is apparent at the same time that whether the line drawn is sharp or not, the separation into classes is arbitrary. Poverty is a matter of degree and not of kind.

Now, before we conclude and assign classes, it is necessary to assign value to them. We cannot afford to follow the English standard as there is neither any such currency in India, nor can we take an equivalent of same due to the much higher value of money in our country. The value of a shilling in England is much lower than that of a rupee or its equivalent in India, We therefore should take

by way of common sense in place of income of 18s. to 21s. per week Rs.50/- per month as its equivalent. This way we reduced our standard to almost one half. This done, if we divide the same by two we reach that which is known as 'Very Poor' and an income of Rs.25/- make them so indeed. The doubling of the original (Rs.50/-) will roughly lead us on to classes E and F. All incomes within Rs.125/- should fall under classes E and F. For the class A we have no other go but combine it with B as it cannot stand separate by itself with accuracy. The information again regarding it is not obtainable anywhere. The conclusions are given in the following <sup>1</sup>table. The line drawn across the table is the Poverty Line. All those who fall above that are at least Poor in Booth's sense of the word.

(The unit is the family and income means net per capita income of family. Net means after deducting business expenses. Per capita means total income divided by the number of persons in the family without distinction of age and sex).

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<sup>1</sup>Figures borrowed from Census Report of Bombay Presidency, 1921 chap. on 'Family Budgets.'

		Natural Divisions					
Class of per Capita income.		Guj- arat	Kon- kan	Dec- can	Karn- atac	Sind	per cent.
	Total families examined.	1387	728	1309	1320	1267	
Class	Rs.						
A							
B	0-25	12	99	32	40	8	
C and D	25-50	159	235	213	172	99	20.5 in poverty.
E and F	50-75	327	129	311	320	175	
	75-125	441	111	329	377	321	79.5 in comfort.
G and H	125-525	431	142	373	374	611	
	525-775 and over.	17	12	41	37	53	

<sup>1</sup>The Konkan figures are of quite a different character from others. Out of 728 no less than 99 are shown as having per capita incomes of less than Rs.25/- per annum. There were only 7 Konkan and of the 99 families in question 62 occur in one return from Sai in the Kolaba district and 29 in another return from villages near Chiplin. An analysis of the 62 in the first case gives the following by castes and by a more detailed classification.

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<sup>1</sup>Census Report 1921 ( Bombay Presidency) p. xcix.

## Per capita income per annum

Castes	Below Rs. 10	Rs.10-15	Rs.15-20	Rs.20-25
Agri	..	4	26	10
Maratha	..	..	1	2
Nhavi	..	..	1	..
Khambhar	..	1	1	1
Katri	2	6	2	1
Mahar	..	..	2	2

The " Katris " are of-course exceedingly poor and, they supplement their food supplies by wild fruits and roots, it is possible that the per capita income is really as low as this. Even so some of Mr. Raje's Katkari families are shown as living on income that is almost incredible e.g. 1 adult male, 2 adult females, 4 children total 7 persons, net income (total) per annum Rs.60 or Rs.5 per month, giving from 10 to 11 annas per month for each member. The village as a whole is mainly composed of Agris, and these are shown as receiving incomes varying from Rs.12½ to nearly Rs.200 per annum. Mr. Karandikar's return shows 29 families with per capita incomes below Rs.25. These are from villages in Chiplin Taluka, and the families are mainly Mahars, and poor Musalmans with a few Kabbis. Generally speaking the Konkan returns are more from Rural and less from Urban localities than the returns from other natural divisions. And this largely causes the



lower level of net income for the table. In all the natural divisions there is a tendency for the Rural families to show a lower level of income. Nevertheless, even after making allowances for this, there were no cases in which returns from the other three natural divisions showed such rudiments of poverty in one locality as those of Messrs. Raje and Karandikar. This is best showed by the following.

Division	Type of locality	Total number of		Number with capita Incomes below Rs.25	
		Returns	Families	Returns	Families
Gujarat	Rural	11	1,029	6	10
	Urban	4	358	1	2
Konkan	Urban	1	100	1	2
	Rural	5	601	5	99
	Mixed	1	27	1	1
Deccan	Urban	9	565	3	5
	Rural	6	544	4	23
	Mixed	2	200	2	4
Karnatac	Urban	8	645	3	8
	Rural	3	326	2	15
	Mixed	4	349	2	7

The condition of our country is pitiable. That it is poverty-stricken is beyond any doubt. What more

solid examples do we require about their helplessness than those of Katris who supplement their food supplies by wild fruits and roots. The condition in other villages is little better. Conspicuous amongst these are Deccan villages which are very poor. They are called 'Dry' villages. By a dry village is meant one where irrigation is very limited in amount and where the prosperity of the village depends almost entirely on the annual monsoon rain. The study of a village twenty-five miles from Poona called Jategaon Budruk will be interesting for our point. In words of the writer <sup>1</sup>"We have assumed that a landholder who rents his land to a cultivator receives Rs.2/12/0 per acre, and that a cultivator gets, on the other hand, Rs.3/- per acre. These are the average figures after many inquiries. The average wages of a labourer at the time of our inquiry in 1917 was six annas, and of a woman three annas. In the case of small cultivators who are not able to maintain themselves on their land alone, and who hence go out to labour, we have calculated the available time in the year for this labour at four months. Where carting is done, we have considered that four months per annum is available for this purpose for both bullocks and men, and that eight annas a day is then received by the man after providing for the bullocks. "

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<sup>1</sup>Land and Labour in a Deccan Village by Harold H. Mann D.Sc. Study No.2. page 115.

There are several items of income which have not been credited to individual household<sup>s</sup>, but have been counted for the village as a whole. These are returns from Babul trees, and from Mango and Tamarind trees. These sources, without going into details, would if it is calculated bring in Rs.615/- per annum. No cowdung cakes are provided for sale in this village

With these assumptions and with the figures got from house to house inquiry, it was found as follows:-

Total income for 147 families.....	Rs. 24,348
Income from Babul and fruit trees.....	Rs. 615
	-----
Total	Rs. 24,963

This works out at Rs.167-13-0 per family per annum; or an annual income per head of Rs.33-12-0. The proportion of the income of the 147 families derived from land and other sources is as follows:-

From land.....	Rs. 15,802
From other sources .....	Rs. 8,546
Proportion from land .....	64 9 per cent.

It is difficult to grasp from above how a human being can manage to live for a whole year with Rs.33-12-0. A city gentleman sometimes requires that sum per month for his smoking purposes only. The condition of the villages throws light upon the poverty of our country. Money(currency) is held in high esteem, for barter goes on too, and a silver coin as that of a rupee which cannot go very far in a city is looked upon with considerable importance in a

village. Bank-notes are seldom used and are at times unacceptable to the ignorant. And many unfortunates do not hold one in their hands during the whole course of their lives. As such, it often happens that they are not able to recognise paper-money of its true amount either by the colour of it or by a peep at the numerical figure. (reading full contents being out of question with the village labourer)

Before finishing this chapter let us turn to percentages of expenditure under the different heads and thereby try to bring out some general laws. The following seem to be normal limits for percentages of expenditure under the different heads taking town and country together.

		Poorest	Richest
1	Food	68.0	36.5
2	Clothing	15.0	12.0
3	Rental	4.0	4.0
4	Ceremonies charity etc.	4.0	11.5
5	Other compulsory	3.0	10.0
		-----	-----
		94.0	74.0
6	Education	0.7	3.0
7	Doctor's fees	0.3	2.0
8	Other voluntary	5.0	21.0
		-----	-----
		6.0	26.0

The general laws which emerge from the percentage distribution in the table seem to be as follows:-

- 1 The percentage of total expenditure under Food and clothing fall steadily from poorest to richest classes.
- 2 The percentage under all other heads rise steadily from poorest to richest, with the exception that the percentage under Education is often as high as or higher in the third combined class ( per capita income Rs.175-375) than in the fourth combined class (per capita income Rs.375 and over.)

## CHAPTER VII.

### Crime.

Criminal offences are infractions of the rules and regulations made by the state. As citizens we must therefore regard the existence of crime as evidence of failure in the functioning of our society. If the state cannot get its rules enforced, the basis of orderly life is threatened. But criminal offences are not necessarily offences against morals. The state may make bad rules, and it is nearly universally admitted that it may be meritorious to break such rules in extreme cases. More important is the fact that many of the rules concern matters so trivial that the breaking of them, however undesirable, cannot be regarded as immoral. It is undesirable that a bicyclist should ride after sunset without a light, and trivial offences of this kind are included among the less serious class of criminal offences known as non-indictable offences. When we come to the more serious class of indictable offences it is generally found that they are more than merely undesirable. Violence and fraud are cases in point. The question of morals or of responsibility does not, however, directly concern us. That crime is evidence of social failure is enough to make its prevalence relevant to our discussion.

Let us begin with a general survey of all offences tried in various courts in various

years. In the following <sup>1</sup>table is the statement showing the general results of trials of criminal cases in the tribunals of various classes in the Presidency of Bombay.

P. T. O.

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<sup>1</sup>Figures borrowed from Reports on the Administration of Civil and Criminal Justice in the Bombay Presidency, for the years 1927, 1928 and 1929.

Year	Number of offences reported	Number of persons under trial	Persons whose cases were disposed of			Remarks.		
			Discharged or acquitted	Committed	convicted or referred	Died	Escaped	Transferred
1927	2,13,350	2,68,827	83,880	1,70,306	1,186	58	607	39
1928	2,11,910	2,73,594	87,116	1,70,417	991	91	329	114
1929	2,13,350	275,322	89,914	1,66,642	1,428	175	636	46



Taking the offences as a whole and leaving for the moment any consideration for the type of offence committed, it is evident that the number of persons under trial is increasing. In 1929 the figures did not show as great a rise as did that of 1928, but rose it did. The number of offences reported show not any material change on the whole. It would be interesting to compare these figures with those of about ten years before. Let us take e.g. the <sup>1</sup>year 1920-21. The number of offences reported then was 168, 388. That crime should go on increasing day by day is a matter of regret. Again the increasing of the ' number of offences reported ' by 106934 between the years 1920 to 1929 is very surprising and regrettable. In the table the number is only lower<sup>ed</sup> a little for 1928, but again attains its former level(as that of 1927) in 1929, and for that we must not be too ready to congratulate ourselves.

This continuous increase in the number of offences reported with no sign of decrease at all even within last 3 years mentioned is a matter for great anxiety. It appears that criminal side of our nature with advancement of

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<sup>1</sup>Figure from Report on the Administration of Civil and Criminal Justice in Bombay Presidency 1920-21 page 31.

civilisation has not disappeared. Education seems to be doing little in this direction. It is an evidence of the social failure of our society.

The number of persons under trial is greater than the number of offences reported. As such it may first be noticed that the whole extent of the gap between the number of offences tried and the number reported is not due to failure to detect the crimes. For in many cases one crime is committed by more than one person.

The column of 'Acquitted' or 'Discharged' is not of great importance. The column shows throughout a continuous increase. Years do seem to be doing much with this column. In 1920 the figures stood at 81,443 while in 1929 it stood at 89,914. A continuous rise can be seen from the table between the years 1927-29.

It is surprising to see that a large number should have escaped from the prisons. In 1921, 223 prisoners escaped, 1927 shows its having risen to 607 and 1929 puts the figure at 639. It is somewhat difficult to conclude the real cause of this. The common suggestion is that it must be due to lack of good control, discipline and officering. With the adoption of latest methods in this department it is high time now when this column if it does not totally disappear should show considerable decrease.

Let us now turn to some particular

groups of offences. The following table gives the number of offences reported for Theft, Cheating, Robbery and Dacoity for the years 1921, 1927, 1928 and 1929.

Year	Offences Reported		
	Theft	Cheating	Robbery and Dacoity
1921	10,434	1,022	445
1927	7,514	1,680	430
1928	7,006	1,569	418
1929	7,195	1,556	414

The analysis of the table shows that crimes of Theft have very nicely decreased. The big gulf between the number in 1921 and in 1929 is worth being complimented. A well-organised police system can be at the root of this. Good times and the consequent less of difficulty in maintaining the standard of living can also be the cause of same. It shows advancement and progress in the direction, of not stooping to base and unlawful things— in not trying to obtain that which is not one's own but belongs to others. Progress in this direction is worthy to be noticed.

Contrasted with this stands the increase in the crimes of Cheating. It is very

deplorable that crimes of this nature should have increased from 1,022 in 1921 to 1,680 in 1927 i.e. by 658 and that too during the course of 7 years only, and remain constant after that. We now-a-days hear of educated servants of big firms committing fraud — frauds that are many times invented <sup>and</sup> ~~with~~ carried out with great skill and energy. Newspapers of our country are seldom free from cases of such types. These cheatings are carried on by qualified men on systematic basis. It is very regrettable to see education being misused. It is an instance of energy being consumed and wasted in an entirely wrong direction. It seems lust for gold is at the bottom of it. It is not satiated — nay it is increasing day by day.

Of the methods of obtaining money and goods by swindling, fraud, misrepresentation, India offers innumerable examples; and while many of the cases differ little in character from similar offences in Europe, a certain number depend for their success upon the ignorance and superstition of the peasantry, and are on that account less common among more educated and civilised peoples. During the prevalence of the rumours disseminated by agitators that Mr. Gandhi's government had superseded British rule, a man in Assam, who pretended to be an agent of the Mahatma, made a good profit by selling white pills to the coolies of a tea-garden as an antidote to the poison, which he declared the English manager of the garden

had mixed with the water of the garden wells.

The last column in the table is the only one that shows slow but sure decrease. Robbery and Dacoity are decreasing is universally known. Good government and well-organised police system can be given credit for these. India, since the beginning has been notorious for its highway robbery and existence of criminal tribes. In the former days roads were untrespassable. If the Britishers have rendered a solid service to India, it is almost the entire destruction of these.

<sup>1</sup>Dacoity is the legal term used in British India for a system of robbery by gangs, and is derived from daka parna, meaning 'to plunder'. The dacoits of former days were robbers by profession, and brought up their children to the same occupation. Whitworth(anglo-Indian Dictionary) describes them as banditti with strongholds to retire to, who committed raids on a large scale, their gangs often composed of several hundred men; and Balfour(Cyclopaedia of India) mentions among the former predatory races, who lived largely by dacoity, the Badak of the Nepal Terai, the Dasadh of Behar, the Nath, Ahir, Boria, Kurmi and Gujar. The Minas were

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<sup>1</sup>Crime in India by S. M. Edwardes, C.S.I., C.V.O.  
page 41.

concerned in most dacoities in Northern India, while in the south-west the Santal, with his club, long bamboo spear, and battle-axe, often swept down upon Birbhum, Hazaribagh and the adjacent districts. Nowadays the special significance of the term has become obsolete, and dacoity is used to mean any robbery carried out by a gang of not less than five persons, animated by a common intent. As a general rule, dacoity of the kind common in the districts of all provinces occurs but rarely in the large cities. The teeming population, the street-lighting, and the concentration of a police force in a comparatively limited area, militate against the success of the operation. A quite unusual series of daring dacoities was carried out in Bombay and its suburbs in 1921 by a gang of Baluchis, armed with fire-arms and other deadly weapons, who perpetrated two murders and injured several people with knives, and the police confiscated from the thirty-five persons composing it, four double-barrel guns, one smooth-bore, one revolver, three pistols, various other weapons, and much ammunition. The gang of dacoits appears suddenly without warning, locks up or disables the police, then loots the premises of a rich Bania, sometimes committing murder in the process.

Bombay suffers, from the presence of a large number of predatory jungle tribes, among the most troublesome and the most impervious to civilising influences being the Bedars(Berads)

of the Southern Maratha country. The Bedars, who are identical with the Boyars of the Madras Presidency and have affinities with the Ramosis of the Deccan, have a long history of fighting and lawlessness. Many of them were employed in the army of Tipu Sultan, and some of their leaders were petty chieftains and polygars in the period preceding the establishment of British rule. Attempts have been made of recent years to group them in settlements and wean them gradually from their criminal habits; but the bulk of the tribe still prefers to live by robbery under arms.

<sup>1</sup>Bombay is again visited by Chhoras and Baurias from Gujarat, by Mang Garudis, Phanse Pardhis and Kanjars from the Deccan, by Pathans and Waddars from Khandesh, by Uchlias, Bhamptas, Ramosis and Mangs from the Deccan, and by Wagriss, Phadgadis, and many others. <sup>2</sup>It is not possible to narrate the lives, habits, and customs of such

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<sup>1</sup>Crime in India by S. M. Edwardes. Page 99.

<sup>2</sup>For further particulars the following may be seen.

- (a) Criminal Tribes of India by Papa Rau Nayudu.
- (b) Criminal Tribes of Bombay by Major Gunthorpe.
- (c) Criminal Tribes of the Bombay Presidency by

M. Kennedy.

tribes in such a short space. In short there is little doubt that the future welfare of India and her claim to be regarded as a civilised country depend very largely upon her success in weaning these large bodies of nomads from their hereditary and traditional anti-social occupations.

In some of the settlements of the Bombay Presidency, including Sind, the troublesome Hur tribe is now under control. Attempts are now being made to settle other criminal tribes of Sind, such as the Jagiranis, Khushks, Jokhias, and Kirias, who have long been a source of trouble to the public and the police. In the Presidency proper, the Deccan and the Carnatac, or Southern Maratha country, are the home of a large proportion of the wild tribes of western India, and it is for them that settlements have been established in Sholapur, Hotgi, Barsi, and other places in the Southern districts.

Handicaps of  
Police in  
our country.

Instead of the slow progress that has been made in this direction which can be seen from the table, different would have been the tale told had the police not been handicaped in a variety of ways. Every province makes the same complaint, namely, that the police receive little or no assistance from the general body of citizens, while of recent years their apathy has been in many places exchanged for an attitude of uncompromising hostility. To this obstacle has now to be added non-co-operation, in its acute or sub-conscious form, which throws the police more than ever on their own



resources. Under the circumstances the wonder is not that the number of undetected cases is so high, but that it is not higher. The explanation lies in the fact that detective ability is inherent in a large number of the Indians serving in the police. The police are friends to none, and by many are actively disliked or opposed. They have to carry out their heavy task of preventing and detecting crime under difficulties which the police of western countries can hardly conceive.

Let us now turn towards offences of other type, as dacoity has engaged us enough. Crimes of violence have increased whereas those of theft have decreased. And this inspite of the fact that there is a much better of chance of bringing to trial a man who has committed a crime of violence than a burglar or a man who has committed theft. The former seldom takes elaborate pains to suppress evidence. Except in the case of murders the person to whom violence was done will be available to give evidence. The burglar on the other hand may be an expert at covering up traces. He may take precautions for marks being not left behind. His crime in any case is premeditated, and is as such likely to be performed in such a manner that the detection is of set purpose made difficult. Why crimes of violence should have increased, it is difficult to say. Prophecies were made that with the advancement of civilisation such things would be on a declining stage. In such a vast country where many are illiterat

and few are learned, no prophecy seemed on the face of it more unreasonable, but no prophecy has been more completely falsified by the even<sup>x</sup>. Prophecy in the realm of social science is indeed a difficult art. We may account for the facts as we will. We may say that lust for violence has not been satiated, or we may adopt other explanations. The facts are beyond doubt. 754 cases were brought to trial during the year 1927. In the year 1928 the cases affecting human life were 796 and in 1929 they were 805. Thus a continuous and regular increase has taken place during these years.

Of all crimes of violence murder is that which attracts most attention, and of all social phenomena murder is that which has shown a continuous increase. According to a popular saying in India, the three most potent causes of trouble and unhappiness in daily life are Zan, Zar and Zamin, or woman, gold, and land. This is particularly true of the crime of murder; for, if we exclude murders committed in the course of dacoity or rioting, the majority of the cases investigated by the police are directly traceable to relations between the sexes, disputes about land and village factions, and desire for gain. A more subtle form of revenge, which is not uncommon in India, is the commission of murder with the object of implicating and throwing the blame upon another. Superstition, and the fear bred thereby, offer a powerful incentive to take life among the lower and less civilised

castes or tribes. The Witch and the Wizard, with their potions, their spells, and their evil eye, are regarded with <sup>or</sup> quite as much dread and abhorrence as they were in England in earlier days. Another reason is the practice of human sacrifice that has prevailed wide in India in past centuries, and possibly was borrowed by the Hindus from the aboriginal tribes, whose primeval earth-Gods and jungle Goddesses could only renew their divine energy through the two-fold rites of the sacred marriage and blood sacrifice. Mr. Rajendra Lal Mitra has shown that the custom of human sacrifice prevailed among the early Aryans, and India cannot claim freedom in later epochs from the strain of a practice which has been widely diffused throughout the world. Every student of customs and folklore in India is acquainted with terrible Meriah sacrifices of the Khonds, which were suppressed by the British Officers between 1837 and 1854; and there is little doubt that the sheep, goats and fowls offered in these days to Kali, Durgavati, Chamunda, and other savage Goddesses of fertility, have taken the place of the human victims. But although the sacrifice of human beings on the terrible scale prevalent in old days has long ceased, the practice is by no means wholly extinct in India.

Another common reason for the cause of murder is 'Infanticide' discussed much in the first chapter and known more throughout. Enough

has been said and sufficient known on this matter and I have no mind to carry coal to Newcastle.

The following table gives the number of murders committed in various years and their causes.

	1921	1927	1928	1929
Murders from motives connected with women	50	72	83	54
Murders of children for the sake of ornaments	3	4	6	5
Other murders for the sake of gain	26	29	30	24
Murders arising out of other causes	106	132	150	121
Total	185	236	269	204

Of all kinds of violence murder is that which attracts most attention, and of all social phenomena murder is that which has shown a continuous increase for the years 1921, 1927, and 1928 which can be seen from the table. During the years 1926-29 murders have never been below 200 a year. The pity is that for 1921 they were below that margin. From an analysis of murders taking place in 1921, 1926, 1927, 1928, and 1929 we have the following particulars. There is a regular increase during all the years except the year 1929. There is a slight decrease, but when compared with the number of the year 1921 it is even greater than that number and for that we need not congratulate ourselves. Out of 617 cases affecting human life brought to trial

during the year 1921, 185 were murders. The corresponding figures for the previous year were 566 and 200 respectively. Out of 697 cases affecting human life brought to trial during the year 1926, 221 were murders of which 221 ended in conviction. The corresponding figures for 1927 were 754, 236 and 158 respectively, and for 1928 they were 796, 269 and 173 respectively. The figure for 1929 were 805, 204 and 127 respectively.

Let us now turn towards offences of a milder type. The following<sup>1</sup> table gives the number of offences of a petty type committed during the years 1921, 1927, 1928 and 1929.

Year	Motor Vehicles Act of 1914	Contempt of lawful authority of public servants. Chap.X.of Indian Penal Code.	Offences affecting th public health, safe- ty, convenience, de- cency and morals. Chap. XIV of Indian Penal Code.
1921	829	238	1,083
1927	5627	468	678
1928	7295	385	794
1929	8332	426	732

From the table it is apparent that there is a distinct increase in highway offences. Highway offences

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<sup>1</sup>Figures borrowed from Reports on the Administration of Civil and Criminal Justice in the Bombay Presidency for the years 1921, 1927, 1928, 1929.

are chiefly in connection with motor-cars, and such offences rose from 829 to 5627 in 8 years only. The cause is apparent. The increase in the number of motor-cars is tremendous. In Bombay e.g. the number of motor cars increased by 30,000 and that too during the course of a few years only. The number of accidents seem to travel in the same direction and in the same proportion. Motor-car accidents are too common now-a-days. Daily newspapers are seldom exempted from information regarding such cases. Magistrates in cities are sometimes called upon to try some of the leading members of society for such guilts. It has been estimated that, if all offences in connection with motor-cars were taken into account a part of minor offences occupying the attention of the police are committed by the motorists. If we abide strictly by the official definition of crime than motorists appear to be the most criminal section of the population.

There is nothing remarkable in the second column of the table. It shows fluctuations. That progress in this direction is needed is certain.

The last column relating to the offences affecting the public health, safety, convenience, decency and morals shows on the whole a good decrease. From 1093 in the year 1921 the figure was low as 732 in 1929. It shows that

principles of sanitation are better understood. Education seems to have done much in this direction. ' Cleanliness is next to Godliness ' but uptil now was not properly understood. The efforts of government are also worth being praised for progress in this line.

It will be interesting to discuss ' Sex ' in the section of criminals. Of those coming up for trials at courts the majority was of males. In large part the higher incidence of crime among males is clearly due to greater exposure of males to risk, if we may apply a phrase usually employed in connection with disease. Men are out and out more than women in most countries and are therefore more liable to come in conflict with the law. It may be, however, that this is not by any means the whole explanation of the difference between the sexes in this respect. It has been suggested that the inborn temperamental characteristics of the male are likely to lead him into trouble, whereas the temperament of the female may tend to keep her out of trouble. The male is more restless, pugnacious, adventurous and quick to action. These qualities have their value but they lead to conflicts with the police. In a public place of a town there is the following notice, ' Boys damaging shrubs or flowers will be prosecuted.' It is apparently supposed that girls will never commit such offences.

We find at this point approaching a problem that we cannot discuss namely the cause of crime; but we may perhaps explore a little further the suggestion contained in the preceding paragraphs that some persons are more innately disposed to crime than others. The criminal tribes of India e.g. are born for crime and it is taken by them as a profession which is centuries old with them. However, no one is born a criminal, just as no one is born diseased( if we accept those born syphilitic). But some persons are born with a predisposition to catch diseases more quickly than others when they come in contact with infection. May not some types be more predisposed than others to commit crime when temptation offers the chance ?. We find some reason to suspect all the poor are not poor merely because of ill-luck in their surroundings, but some of them are ill-equipped by nature to succeed in the struggle for a livelihood. May not something similar be the case in regard to the struggle against temptations?

Persons in Europe have tried their hands in solving this problem namely in finding out the characteristics of a criminal. It is interesting to know the methods and results of some of them. What are the peculiarities of a criminal ?.

<sup>1</sup>The most obvious method whereby an answer may be

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<sup>1</sup>Social Structure of England and Wales by Carr-Saunders and Jones page 203.



found to this question is to institute a comparison between offenders and the population in general, and to attempt to ascertain whether offenders differ in respect of their mental and physical endowment from the average member of society. Such comparisons are not easily made. Care must be taken that the offenders are compared with the average member of that section of society from which they are drawn. This precaution is necessary because different sections of society may not have the same endowments. The results of two careful investigations may be quoted. Professor Cyril Burt has made an exhaustive analysis of numerous cases of juvenile delinquency. He obtained full details about these young offenders and their families and at the same time obtained similar information for normal children of the same section of society. All instances of congenital or inborn mental or physical peculiarities were noted. He found that congenital factors were 'recorded among delinquents rather more than three times as often as among non-delinquents.'

When the major congenital factors alone were considered, they were found present among 36% of all the boy and among 41% of all the girl delinquents. It follows that in well over one-third of all the cases, but in rather less than one-half, some deep constitutional failing proves the primary source of misconduct.

Dr. Goring made an elaborate investigation into three thousand convicts, and among

other matters he investigated their physical characteristics. Let us consider his findings in relation to stature. He divided the convicts into eight groups according to the occupational class from which they were drawn, and then compared the criminals in each group with the average of the occupational class from which they came. He found that the stature of the criminals in each case was about two inches less than the average of their class. Turning, to his findings regarding the mental characteristics of criminals, we discover that here again criminals seem on the average to differ from the general population.

It would thus appear that offenders are on the average somewhat less well equipped mentally and physically than the rest of the population. It is important not to misunderstand this statement. It does not mean that all mental and physical defectives are criminals. That is obvious nonsense. Nor does it mean that all criminals are defectives of one kind or another. That is almost equally obviously untrue, and it is well brought out by a further analysis which Dr. Goring made of his figures concerning the physique of criminals. He found that 'offenders convicted of violence to the person are characterised by an average degree of strength and of constitutional soundness considerably above the average of other criminals and of the law-abiding community.' There is also reason to

think that persons convicted of certain kinds of fraud are not inferior in mental capacity to the rest of the community. The statement made above, merely means that those who are less well equipped mentally or physically than the average are more predisposed to catch the infection of crime than are normal persons. 'Heredity appears to operate,' says Professor Burt, 'not directly through the operation of a criminal disposition as such, but rather indirectly, through such constitutional conditions as a dull or defective intelligence, an excitable and unbalanced temperament, or an over-development of some single primitive instinct.' To physical defects he attributes considerably less importance than to mental peculiarities. Persons constituted as described by Professor Burt are more likely to become criminals. That is all; but it is enough to make the inborn equipment of our population a matter of interest and importance because of its bearing upon social structure.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### Education.

Upto this point we have been engaged in describing where the inhabitants of this country live, how they are occupied, and what incomes they receive. Nothing has yet been said as to how men ~~so~~ get sorted out into different occupations. It is in general clear that a man's walk in life is determined partly by opportunity and partly by natural gifts. It is difficult to say something about the natural gifts in this country. Can anything be said as to the distribution of "opportunities"?

The forms in which opportunity presents itself are exceedingly various. They vary according to the locality in which a boy is brought up. They vary even more with the social connections he is able to establish. It is obviously impossible to obtain any statistical measurement of such matters as these. There is, however, one form of opportunity that we can study statistically, and that is Education. The importance of education in determining a man's place in life is obvious. A boy who has not been to college must either possess very unusual gifts <sup>or</sup> meet with some very uncommon opening if he is to become a professional man.

It is difficult to summarise <sup>the</sup> the educational system in the country and not to be

misleading. But it may be said that for scholars and children of the wealthy there are foreign expensive universities. The cost of such an education, lasting for at least a couple of years is so high that it is out of reach of all but a small section of the population. It should however be remembered that a number of scholarships are awarded every year which cover the whole or part of the expenditure. For the rest of the population there are schools and colleges.

<sup>1</sup>The total number of institutions <sup>2</sup>increased by 80 to 17,212. Recognised institutions increased by 64 to 15,976 and unrecognised institutions increased by 16 to 1,236. Of the 15,976 recognised institutions, 16 were Arts Colleges, 654 Secondary schools, 14,877 Primary schools and 418 special schools. Of a total of

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<sup>1</sup>Report on Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency 1930-31.

<sup>2</sup>In the Reports of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency the terms 'increased by' or 'decreased by'; 'rose by' or 'fell by' accompanied by minor differences occur, which imply difference with the previous year only. However, whenever some other distant year is meant by me that particular year is duly quoted, which may please be noticed.

26,813 towns and villages, 10,852 possessed schools as against 10,831 in the preceding year, the area served by each town and village with a school being 11.4 square miles. The number of pupils under instruction in recognised institutions increased by 23,937 to 1,252,991 i.e. by 1.9 per cent, compared with the increase of 2.9 per cent in the preceding year. The number in unrecognised institutions also increased by 1,065 to 34,247. The total number of pupils under instruction showed an increase of 25,002 or 2.0 per cent, the number at the end of the year being 1,287,246. Of the number, 1,009,668 were boys and 277,818 were girls compared with 1,000,818 boys and 261,428 girls in the preceding year. The increase in the number of girls is particularly noticeable.

The total direct expenditure on Public instruction rose by Rs.5,94,432 to Rs.3,52,65,693 while the total indirect expenditure decreased by Rs.6,95,015 to Rs.49,36,862. The fall in the latter is due to the decrease in expenditure on buildings. Thus the total expenditure on Public Instruction was Rs.4,02,02,555. This was met from the following sources.

	Amount Rs.	Percentage
Government funds	2,03,81,802	50.7
Board funds	70,90,039	17.6
Fees	74,89,576	18.6
Other sources	52,41,138	13.1
	4,02,02,555	100.0

From the above only, we find that the number in every item is greater than that of the preceding year. It is, however, regretful to note that education is losing its former price and its value is melting away day by day. On the other hand progress in this direction is worthy to be admired for it shows the growing inclination towards literacy. To make this point more clear let us examine the figures of this branch, of a year say of about ten years' previous. As such let the <sup>1</sup>year be 1920-21. We will find a gulf of difference between these two years, and that will prove that advancement in education is astonishing to some extent.

In the year 1920-21 the total number of institutions was 15,214, and in the year 1930-31 it increased to 17,212 i.e. by 1998. The number of pupils for the former year was 9,49,827 and for the latter year was 1,287,246, and as such

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<sup>1</sup>The figures for this year throughout are borrowed from Report on Public Instruction in the B.P. 1920-21.

shows an increase of 3,37,419. It follows, therefore, that at an average of 168 students a new institution was demanded. However, of the above numbers 760,013 were male and 169,814 female pupils in the year 1920-21. The corresponding figures for the year 1930-31 were 1,009,668 and 277,578 respectively. The tendency of the females towards education is getting apparent. In the past years they have shown a good inclination and bent of mind towards education. Between the years 1920-21 and 1930-31 the number of females increased by 87,764, in no way a bad number when compared with the total number of females for the year 1920-21 which was low as 189,814. This is particularly noticeable.

As regards expenditure, considerable increase is bound to take place in that department too, as the number of pupils and institutions increase. Due to that the expenditure increased between the years 1920-21 and 1930-31 from 263½ lakhs to 4,02,02,555. As it stands it is considerable, but with the consequent increase in the number of pupils and institutions it can be tolerable. These two must go parallel and hand in hand.

Now before classifying the modern institutions it is necessary to show the number of male and female literates in the Bombay Presidency. They stand as follows:-



Literate <sup>per</sup> mille in the Bombay Presidency.

Year	Males	Females
1911	120	14
1921	138	23

Now classifying the modern institutions we find in the following <sup>1</sup>table the total number of scholars in various recognised and unrecognised institutions in the British districts of the Bombay Presidency(excluding Sind) on 31st March 1931.

#### Primary Schools

		Boys	Girls.
For boys	} Upper primary	79,482	904
	} Lower primary	669,287	76,662
For girls	} Upper primary	19	7,787
	} Lower primary	2,856	130,750
Total	} Upper primary	79,501	8,691
	} Lower primary	672,143	207,412
	Total	751,644	216,103

P.T.O.

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<sup>1</sup>Figures from Report on Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency 1930-31 page 137.

## Secondary Schools.

	Boys	Girls
High School for boys	65,395	1,966
High Schools for girls	1,169	11,659
Middle schools for boys	16,986	963
Middle schools for girls	729	2,447
Total	84,269	17,035

## Colleges for Men

	Boys	Girls
University Education	77	7
Arts and Science	5,793	425
Law	1,062	7
Medicine	647	73
Education	50	10
Engineering	170	..
Agriculture	256	..
Commerce	308	4
Total	8,363	566

## Special Education.

	Boys	Girls
Art schools for men	625	41
Medical schools for men	389	47
Normal and training } men	623	1
school for } women	..	739
Engineering school for boys	275	..

All these various institutions constitute the Educational ladder. We will consider each group separately. The primary step is that of the consideration of Primary schools and matters relating to it. Attempts have been made to make Primary schools free as far as possible. <sup>1</sup>Upto 31st March. 1930, 25 schemes of expansion on a compulsory basis were received from Local Authority, District Local Boards and Municipalities, the number received during the year under report (1929-30) being six. None of these could be sanctioned owing to lack of funds. During the year, however, government sanctioned three schemes which were received in the previous years at a cost of Rs.50,362 bringing the total number of schemes sanctioned up to the end of the year to eleven. It is clear that local Authorities are generally willing to embark on schemes of expansion and only the unfortunate financial situation has slowed progress down. Most of the schemes sanctioned and in operation are comparatively recent and it is not yet possible to compute their effect.

<sup>2</sup>In this Presidency, Primary education is defined as education given wholly through the vernacular in any of the prescribed vernacular standards. In other words, all purely vernacular

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<sup>1</sup>Report on Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency 1929-30 page 43

<sup>2</sup>Report on Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency 1930-31 page 40.

schools are classed as Primary. This classification does not agree with that in the government of India tables, in which education in upper Primary standards viz. vernacular standards V to VII is treated as secondary. In the Primary Education Act the term 'Elementary Education' is defined as education imparted in infant classes and vernacular standards I to IV inclusive. Thus elementary standards in this Presidency correspond with Primary standards in the government of India tables.

The total number of Primary schools for boys and girls for the year 1930-31 increased by 58(0.4 per cent) to 14,877 and the number of pupils in them by 26,734(2.4 per cent) to 1,105,628. The average number of pupils in a Primary school was 74. The average number in a Government, District Local Board, Municipal, Aided, and Unaided school was 125, 63, 174, 56 and 37 respectively. The total number of Primary schools for boys and girls for the year 1920-21 was 13,018 and the number of pupils in them 807,036. This clearly shows an increasing inclination towards literacy. During this period of about ten years the number of schools rose by 1859 and the number of pupils in them by 298,592. The increase in the number of pupils is considerable and as such corroborates the above statement.

The total expenditure on Primary schools for boys and girls increased by Rs.2,84,256 to Rs.2,04,36,563 and the Provincial expenditure by Rs.153,426 to Rs.1,27,64,836. This increase

was mainly due to the application of the revised scales of pay to teachers appointed by the Local Authorities. But this figure appears still more gigantic when the amount as a whole is compared with the expenditure of the year 1920-21. It was low as Rs.1,27,21,451 for that year. That the increase in the number of pupils and institutions has increased the amount of expenditure is clear as daylight.

The following table gives the percentages of children who enter Primary schools and pass the IV standard.

Year	Pupils in Infant class	Pupils passing std IV five years later	Percentage of pupils in std IV to pupils in infant class	Percentage of pupils passing std IV to pupils in infant class
1922-23	287,930	.....	.....	.....
1926-27	.....	48,596 48 per cent	34.2	16.8
1923-24	287,714	.....	.....	.....
1927-28	.....	56,871 57 per cent	34.6	19.8
1924-25	281,419	.....	.....	.....
1928-29	.....	56,368 52 per cent	36.5	20.0
1925-26	308,229	.....	.....	.....
1929-30	.....	55,519 53 per cent	33.8	18.0
1926-27	352,281	...	.....	.....
1930-31	.....	63,774 60 per cent	30.2	18.1

The passing of standard IV is generally accepted as the test of literacy. The above table reveals (i) that during the years 1926-29 there was not only an increase in the number of literates but also a yearly increase in the percentage of pupils in standard IV to pupils in infant class five years earlier,

(ii) That where as since 1929, the actual increase has been maintained, the proportionate increase has fallen. This drop may be partly due to the admission of a greater number of pupils from the backward communities who tend to stagnate in the

lower forms, and whom it is difficult to retain in school as they grow older. It is, however, necessary for the local authorities concerned to investigate the causes underlying the decrease. The causes underlying this 'wastage' have been stated repeatedly in reports on Public Instruction. They are largely economic. Parents often require their children to help in the fields and to do other manual work, and therefore remove them from school before they have passed standard IV. The introduction of compulsion and an increase in the number of trained teachers appear to be the chief remedies. For this, however, money is required, and the present situation renders further financial commitments out of the question.

With the object of adapting education to the needs of the agricultural classes, a special alternative course with an agricultural bias has been introduced in standards V to VII in some selected Primary schools in rural areas. The number of schools following the agricultural bias course rose from 78 to 80 during the year 1929-30. There was also an increase of 117 in the number of pupils attending these classes. The following table gives details of the classes and the number of pupils attending them.

Division	Number of classes	Number of pupils			Total
		Std.V	Std VI	Std. VII	
Bombay Division	10	151	89	39	279
Central "	26	493	355	279	1,127
Northern "	12	142	139	103	384
Southern "	23	291	183	132	606
Sind	7	69	43	26	138
Total	78	1,146	809	579	2,534

The object of these classes is to provide the child with a type of education which will equip him for an agricultural life. This point of view is however scarcely as yet appreciated by the majority of parents who are apt to regard all forms of higher education as an avenue of employment in Government service. It is hoped, however, that in course of time these prejudices will disappear and the practical value of the training will be more and more fully realised. During the year 1929-30 a rural Training school was started at Narayangaon (Dist. Poona).

Let us now go one step higher and we come across the 'Secondary schools.'

<sup>1</sup>The term secondary is applied in this Presidency to those schools in which English is taught, whereas in other provinces the figures for secondary education include pupils studying

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<sup>1</sup>Report on Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency 1930-31. page 24.



in vernacular middle schools. The number of Anglo-vernacular schools for boys increased from 482 to 513 and the number of pupils in them decreased by 2,460 to 89,040 or by 2.7 per cent. Whilst the number of schools in other divisions shows an increase, the number of schools in the Central division decreased by 3 to 60. The largest decrease in the number of pupils occurred in the Northern division. With regard to this the Educational Inspector N.D. states that the falling-off was not marked in the Ahmedabad and Surat districts. In the Ahmedabad district the decrease in numbers, which amounted to a total of 1,667, was principally accounted for by the withdrawal of recognition from the Proprietary High School, Ahmedabad, which had 1,095 pupils on its rolls. The civil disobedience movement was the chief factor responsible for the fall in numbers, which has been almost entirely confined to about a dozen schools, five of which are in the Ahmedabad district.

On the other hand the total expenditure on all Anglo-vernacular schools for boys stood at Rs.56,99,555. The average cost per pupil in Anglo-vernacular schools for boys was Rs.63 and the cost to government Rs.16.4.

Along with schools for boys there are secondary schools for girls also. The number of secondary schools for girls stood at 98 for 1930-31. For the year 1920-21 they were 84.

Looking to such a low increase during a period of 10 years we have no reason to congratulate ourselves. The number of girls increased from 10,821 to 18,806 or by 7,985 only during these years. There is a marked disparity between the number of boys and girls under secondary schools. The following table shows the distribution of girls in secondary schools by communities(1930-31).

	Europeans and Anglo-Indians	2,992
	Indian Christians	4,455
Hindus	} Advanced	6,205
	} Intermediate	508
	} Backward	20
	Mohamedans	466
	Parsis	3,461
	Others	699
	Total	----- 18,806

It is very regrettable to see the ratio of girls under instruction to total population so low as this. There are however various reasons for same especially in a place like in India. India has been notorious for its orthodox principles. Under the circumstances female education has been looked upon as violation of the custom of keeping girls illiterate. Amongst low castes a grown up girl continuing progress is often a source for ridicule by many. On account of this it many times happens

that parents choose to pay fines rather than sending their girls to schools. Again the general apathy of the lower classes towards education, child-marriage and domestic employment are some of the chief causes that obstruct the progress of the education of girls. However, now-a-days the necessity for girls' education is felt more or less by all classes, but, in some communities social customs, poverty etc. continue to retard progress in the education of girls.

Another thing, that we find from the given table is that education amongst Europeans is too common. The reasons need hardly be mentioned. This is because they are highly refined, they believe in literacy, and as a race they stand amongst some of the best of the world. The figure of Parsis also captivates our attention. Looking to their small population the number of literate girls is very remarkable. This is so because as a community they stand very high in point of literacy. Very poor are the figures, on the other hand, of the Mohamedan females. Religious and social prejudices, particularly the system of 'purdah' are the chief obstacles in the way of any progress. These prejudices are so strong that no local Authority has dared to suggest the introduction of compulsion in the case of girls. I take this opportunity and appeal to Muslim persons of position and influence to come to the rescue of Muslim ladies, concentrate their attention and activities

towards opening proper girls' schools in important localities and ultimately removing this age-long curse of purdah which has sapped the very vitality of the nation. They can be assured that under their lead thousands of other persons who are burning with passionate desire to do their bit in order to remove this stigma of humiliation will come forward offering their active assistance.

The first <sup>1</sup>session<sup>s</sup> of the Young Men's Muslim Educational Conference was held on December 31st 1932 at Ahmedabad under the presidency of Dr. Daud Pota. Dr. Daud Pota in his presidential address laid great stress on the education of Mohamedan females and strongly advocated the discarding of the purdah system which was most detrimental to the advancement of the Muslims. He cited the instances of Turkey and Egypt in support of his statement, and after citing several verses from the Koran and the <sup>1</sup>Had<sup>is</sup> of the Prophet, he stated that the purdah system was not supported by the Mohamad<sup>e</sup>n religion, and that it was a later creation of Muslim ignorance. Mr. Frindlay Shirras, the Principal of the Gujarat College, who was also invited to speak in the conference gave a very forcible address. Why was it, inquired Mr. Frindlay Shirras, that in a wealthy city like Ahmedabad with such a large number of Mohamad<sup>e</sup>ns, the community was so poor, and was existing on the tradition of the past ? (the same question can stand for the

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<sup>1</sup>The Times of India.

whole of Bombay Presidency too). Why is there such a contrast between the early glories of Islam and the impotence and stagnation today? Mr. Shirras emphasised that it was the lack of education among Mohammedan females. The traveler who studies the Mohammedan people of Turkey, Egypt and other countries, is struck with contrast in India where there is an utter want of education inside the home. He sees the position of the women, their utter ignorance which is so complete that they have no subject to converse or think about except the most elementary facts of physical and family life. He said that a nation or people cannot remain on a level above that of its women who were responsible for the fostering of ideas in the minds of the new generation. " Was it not strange that at this conference there was not a single Muslim lady to plead the cause of her sisters behind the purdah. If the Mohamedans of India today are to hold up the position which is their's they must no longer live on a tradition, but must see that their women are always on the highest level of the existing generation."

One thing remains to be mentioned regarding the secondary schools and that is about the ' medium of instruction', The medium of instruction is generally the local vernacular in standards I to IV and English in standards VI and VII which prepare candidates for the Matriculation

examination. At this examination candidates are given the option of answering question papers in History and Second Language in the vernacular. At the Matriculation examination 1931, 8705 out of 13,540 candidates, or 64.3% answered the History paper and 2,776 out of 4,831 candidates or 57.5% answered the Second Language paper in the vernacular. The corresponding percentages at the examination of 1930 were 61.4 and 56.1 respectively. The question of extending this option to all other subjects of the Matriculation is being considered by the University. It remains to be seen whether the more extended use of the vernacular medium of instruction will not have an adverse effect on the standard of English. It is feared that the remedy may prove worse than the disease itself.

Closing for good school education . let us go one step higher on the educational ladder and we come across what is called higher Collegiate education. A new chapter opens in the life of a student as he forwards his steps towards the gates of a college. The fundamental thing regarding the colleges is the high fee per term compared with the poverty of the country. It follows therefore that education is very costly and has almost wholly to be paid for. The fortunate position in which the sons of the richer parents find themselves in regard to ~~their~~<sup>the</sup> valuable opportunity accounts in large part for the fact that they obtain a share of the more eligible positions

in adult life quite out of proportion to their numbers.

However, turning to our point, the Arts colleges should be considered first. <sup>1</sup>The number of Arts colleges affiliated to the University rose from 18 to 19. Of these 15 are in British districts and 4 in Indian states. The number of colleges in British districts was 11 only for the year 1920-21. This very fact shows the high rate at which progress is made in this direction.

The number of students in all Arts colleges in the British districts excluding the University school of Economics and Socialogy was 7,112 for the year 1920-31. During the year the number of students decreased by 840 to 7,112 of whom 527 were women. The decrease was mainly due to the reduced number of admission in the first year Arts classes as a result of the unusually low percentage of passes at the Matriculation examination of 1930. This is best shown by the fact that the total number of students in the first year Arts classes in all colleges was 2,354 as against 3,355 in the preceding year. However when these figures are compared with those for the year 1920-21 they offer a contrast. For the total number of students in all the colleges then was 5,021 only. A rapid progress is admirably made is

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<sup>1</sup>Report on Public Instruction in the B'bay Presi.

clear.

The progress of the colleges according to the results of B. A. and B. Sc. examinations seems satisfactory on the whole. In the B. A. examination (1930-31), out of 825 students that appeared, 25 passed in the first class, 226 in the second class and 394 in the pass class. On the whole the average for the university was 64.99 as against 64.42 of the preceding year. Contrasted with these are the figures for the year 1920-21 which show 267 passes at the B. A. examination. Similarly in B. Sc. examination (1930-31) 361 students appeared out of which 17 passed in the first class, 100 passed in second class and 140 in pass class. The average for the university was 71.01 as against 65.15% of the preceding year. The number of passes for the year 1920-21 was 54 only. The above shows the high rate at which the university is as it were manufacturing graduates year by year — graduates that have lost their former value and whose worth is being evaporated day by day by their increasing numbers.

There is something to be said about the ladies in the colleges. In the report on Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency (1920-21) Mr. Rawlinson (Karnatak College) mentions; " year by year one notices that the women students display a greater freedom from undue shyness and



a greater readiness to converse on equal terms with tutors or students and to take part in public or semi-public functions." Again in the report of the year 1930-31 the Principal Deccan College, observes " the ladies take an active part in college life. We had a cricket match, ladies versus gentlemen, and the ladies put two-fours on the river for the r<sup>e</sup>gatta. They also entered for the tennis tournament and took a leading part in the dramatic and debating societies. This is a novel and interesting departure."

The total expenditure on Government Arts and Science colleges stood at Rs.9,11,129 and the Government contribution at 5,56,396(for the year 1930-31.)

We have now reached a point in our analysis when we can take up the question of the extent of the equalisation of opportunity. The rich can buy what education they please for their children, and they commonly send them to foreign expensive universities. Whether such an education is a good education in the truest meaning of the term is beside the point. Such an education carries prestige and facilities, the entry into many lucrative lives of work. The children of the rich thus not only inherit their parents' wealth but are also placed in positions <sup>where</sup> ~~where~~ they can earn comparatively big incomes. The system is such that it is not difficult for the rich to

maintain themselves generation after generation in comparative comfort. What of that other big portion of the student-population who pass through our colleges. They will lack the prestige attaching to the training just described, and so far as it has a commercial value they will be at a disadvantage.

The educational ladder has yet some more steps. We deal so now with the Professional colleges affiliated to the university. The following <sup>1</sup>table gives description and details of each.

Colleges	Students	Fell or rose from (i.e. previous year's figures)	Expenditure
Engineering (Poona)	182	170	2,19,894
N. E. D. (Karachi)	154	constant	94,449
Commerce	312	324	1,05,534
Agriculture	256	203	1,73,308
G. M. C. B'bay	442	392	3,46,497
Seth Gordhandas Sunderdas Medical College	278	243	2,29,501
Law	1,114	1,256	53,161
Secondary Training College	60	constant	

<sup>1</sup>Figures from Reports on Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency for 1929-30 and 1930-31.

Contrasted with the above figures are the figures for the year 1920-21. My idea in showing this is to make clear the high rate at which education is advancing. In the Law college for the recent year (1930-31) there were 1,114 students whereas in the year 1920-21 there were only 673 students. It shows an increase of 441 students during a course of about ten years. From the given table again, it is apparent that the number of students in the Law college is the highest. This is due to the fact that students after graduation generally automatically proceed for law. Not knowing what to do after graduation they follow the royal road leading to the degree of L.L.B. Again the enviable practice at Bar of some of the leading practitioners proves very tempting and as such students try their hands at this wheel of fortune. Moreover after graduation it is very convenient to attend law classes. However now-a-days, the idea of proceeding for law after B. A. is so common that if an undergraduate were to be asked about his doings after graduation he would generally most quickly reply " why, of-course I will proceed for law. " Such then is the atmosphere prevailing round about the would be graduates of the modern day.

In the table, the highest expenditure of the Medical colleges is worth being explained away. It must be due to the large standing expenses of the colleges for materials of practicals and the wastage involved therein.

Apart from 11 Professional colleges affiliated to the university there are several institutions in this Presidency which impart instruction in technical and other allied subjects. These institutions vary widely in character, as does the standard of admission, which depends mainly upon the nature and duration of the course. The following table compares the number of special schools and the pupils attending them.

	1930-31		1929-30	
	schools	pupils	schools	pupils
Arts schools	3	666	3	628
Medical schools	3	529	3	471
Engineering "	2	370	2	352
Technical and Industrial schools	42	2,535	41	2,475
Commercial schools	34	1,882	34	1,888
Agricultural schools	5	161	6	158
Other institutions	61	2,585	61	2,432

The three Medical schools at Poona, Ahmedabad etc. which are maintained by the Medical department prepare for the L.C.P.S. examination conducted by the college of physicians and surgeons, Bombay. The Veterinary college in Bombay, maintained by the Veterinary department, had 137 students on its rolls, as against 130 in the preceding year.

This institution prepares for the G. B. V. C. The five Agricultural schools maintained by the Agricultural department impart instruction in Agricultural<sup>2</sup> on modern lines.

The Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute Bombay, maintains the highest standard. It is an institution of almost university standing imparting instruction in the various branches of technology and is recognised as the central Technological Institute of this Presidency.

About Reformatory schools a little need be said. The old-fashioned attitude towards crime was that of ' an eye for an eye ' and ' a tooth for a tooth! Punishment was regarded as retributory. The criminal was one who had outraged the susceptibilities of the state, and the state in its turn took its revenge upon the individual. Modern psychological research has changed all this. We now realise that crime, in many cases is a disease, and what is more, a curable disease if the patient is taken in hand at an early stage in his complaint. Punishment under present-day methods, therefore is not retributory but reformatory. The main principle underlying the maintenance of Reformatory schools is that during the term of his detention the boy should be taught to earn his own living, so that on discharge he may grow up an honest and useful member of the community. In the year 1930-31, of the 637 boys in the Reformatory

schools, 327 were Hindus, 254 Mohamedans, 43 Indian Christians and 13 members of other communities. The corresponding numbers for the year 1920-21 were as follows. The Reformatory schools then had 508 boys of which 195 or 38% were Mohamedans. The youngsters seem to be taking keen interest in this branch of training as the increasing number shows ?.

Before closing this chapter mention must be made about the education of the Depressed classes. The question of the Depressed classes and the untouchables is of great importance today. Its importance is felt in all corners of India, and is engaging the best of attentions of a man like Mahatma Gandhi who is trying his level best to solve this problem. This as a racial curse ought to be removed, and it is high time now when active measures should be taken.

<sup>1</sup>The three main sections of the backward Hindu community viz. (i) the Depressed classes (ii) Aboriginal and Hill tribes and (iii) other Backward castes should be dealt with. The children belonging to these classes are admitted free into Government <sup>§</sup>secondary schools provided that they are certified to be poor, while special Government

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<sup>1</sup>Report on Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency 1930-31. page 114.

scholarships are also provided for them in Primary and Secondary schools, and in Arts and Professional colleges.

(i) Depressed classes.

The total number of pupils of the Depressed classes attending various institutions stood at 62,903.

The corresponding figure for the previous year was 1.2% less. 216 passed the vernacular final examination as against 193 in the preceding year.

The social disabilities attending the children of the Depressed classes make educational progress necessarily slow, and parents belonging to the higher castes are still reluctant in some places to allow their children to associate with them, but the persistent efforts of the Government to overcome these disabilities are bearing fruit.

(ii) Aboriginal and Hill tribes.

The total number of pupils of the Aboriginal and Hill tribes undergoing education stood at 3,061. It is encouraging to note that 3 students of this community reached the collegiate stage of instruction during the year 1930-31. The total number of pupils during the year 1920-21 was 2,859. It is apparent that no remarkable progress is made during these years. They(students) consist of Mahdeo Kolis, Katkaris, Thakars and Bhils who live in out of the way places in the hills and in the heart of the jungle and it is with great difficulty that parents are induced to send their children.

to school.

(iii) Other Backward classes.

The number of pupils attending various kinds of educational institutions stood at 39,454 showing a decrease of 1.3% with the previous year — the decrease being almost entirely confined to Primary schools. The number of students receiving secondary and collegiate education, on the other hand, shows a slight increase. The figure for the year 1920-21 for the number of pupils under instruction was 38,488. It follows therefore that no considerable progress is made during this period of 10 years, and as such is highly regrettable.

The committee appointed by Government to enquire into the educational economic and social conditions of the Depressed classes and of the Aboriginal tribes have in their report made various recommendations for the uplift of these communities. The main items may be quoted as under:-

- A. Re-affirmation of the Government policy that there should be equality of treatment for all classes of children in publicly managed institutions.
- B. Encouragement of common schools as opposed to separate schools for Depressed classes.
- C. Grant of social promotions to teachers taking special interest in the education of backward class children.
- D. Institution of additional scholarships in Primary schools and relaxation of age limits under certain localities.
- E. Increasing the number of teachers belonging to backward classes in Primary schools.



## CHAPTER IX.

### National Income.

The people of this country follow occupations, engage in industries which are concentrated in certain localities, and organise themselves according to their work in order to make a living.

It seems therefore appropriate that at this point we should discuss the National income, since the getting of an income is the chief object of the activities hitherto described. One method of procedure immediately suggests itself. We might attempt to add up all individual incomes to see if we can arrive at the amount of the National income.

While the idea of summing-up all individual incomes in order to arrive at the National income is simple enough, there are many aspects of the procedure which demand careful scrutiny. Let us begin with the broad definition of total income given by Professor Bowley and Sir Josiah Stamp as "the sum-total of the wages, salaries, rental values, profits and interest" received within a year. In other words, we ascertain and add up all sums received as wages, salaries, profits, interest, and rents of land and houses (whether in this last case received in cash as rent or enjoyed in kind by the owner-occupier). We thus get a total for the National income which represents 'the aggregate money expression of those goods produced, and those services performed ..... in a year which are, as a fact, generally exchanged for money. The

basis of the conception is a summation of money payments for goods produced and services rendered within a year.

<sup>1</sup>Income according to Dr. C. J. Bullock "is the chief test of the taxpayer's ability." For purposes of taxation " it is without doubt superior to either consumption or wealth. " The term ' income ' may be considered either from the point of view of individual income or national income, the term ' national ' being interpreted to apply to the country as a whole or to any defined administrative or geographical area. National income is defined as " the aggregate money expression of those goods produced, and services performed, by the inhabitants of the country in a year, which are as a fact, generally exchanged for money. "

It is almost impossible to sum up the total income for our Presidency correctly. There are various difficulties in our task. As has been said before among the tests of economic efficiency, income is the most important. The income-tax statistics of British India give useful information regarding the earnings of Government servants, trading classes, persons engaged in industries and

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Indian Economic Enquiry Committee

liberal professions etc. for incomes over a particular sum only. But, unlike the dominions the statistics of income in this country cover a very limited field. Here all agricultural incomes are excluded and this omission leaves out the most important source of income in an agricultural country. Again it has been urged that the returns of incomes made by the trading classes are far from correct. Moreover, the understatement of incomes is not a feature peculiar to India. The difficulty is experienced in other countries as well. There can be no doubt that the creation of a separate income-tax department in India has resulted in great improvement in ascertaining the true incomes of the higher grades. It could be suggested that in the income-tax returns greater details of the sources of income i.e. of the business, profession or occupation from which it is derived may be given in future.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Pillai has pointed out the difficulty of ascertaining the income of the agricultural population as measured solely in cash. The evaluation of payments in kind (e.g. grain) and in services, of free fuel (e.g. firewood and cowdung converted into fuel cakes), of free dwellings etc; is by

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Indian Economic Enquiry Committee, 1925 Page 115.

no means an easy task. Even when a figure of money is obtained, it must be remembered that actually the ryots do not possess such money income.

When one proceeds to collect information from persons higher up the social scale the difficulties of the task increase. The middle and upper classes in most countries resent inquiries regarding their income and in this respect India is no exception. Many petty shopkeepers and traders do not keep accounts and there are no means of verifying their statements of income. Most persons of the middle and upper classes will hesitate to disclose their income for fear of increased taxation. It is very doubtful whether it will be possible to ascertain the income of money lenders, money changers etc. in large villages and towns.

Even among the working classes, it will be extremely difficult to secure information from persons engaged in certain occupations e.g. grass cutters, road-menders, and persons engaged in repair work. Coolies, hawkers, garriwallas, for example have irregular work and their earnings fluctuate considerably. It is frequently the case that they cannot give a figure of their earnings. A considerable proportion of the workers in industries and mines are semi-agriculturists who work in the towns for part of the year, returning to their villages when their labour is required for agricultural operations etc. etc.

Notwithstanding these more than one well-

known person in India has attempted from time to time and found out the average income for India. We may present the same in a <sup>1</sup>tabular form.

Estimated by	Relating to year	Income per head Rs.
Dadabhoy Naoroji	1870	20-0-0
Baring-Barbour	1882	27-0-0
Digby	1898-1899	18-9-0
Lord Curzon	1900	30-0-0
Joshi and Wadia	1913-14	44-5-6
Shah and Khambatta	1921-22	67-0-0
Frindlay Shirass	1921	107-0-0
	1922	116-0-0

The figures clearly show considerable differences in estimates made from time to time by economic experts. Such figures have therefore very little value, except as the bare indication of the economic condition of the people.

Under such circumstances I have thought it prudent to refrain from making any such estimates which would be based on very insufficient and unreliable data.

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<sup>1</sup>Figures borrowed from 'Indian Economics' by Jathar and Beri vol. 2 page 186.