

CONTENTS

Meetings of the Sabha

Representations on Local Self Government in the Bombay
Presidency.

Independent Section :—

The Drain of Indian Manuscript Treasures.

Primary Education and Indigenous Schools.

Higher Education—Its Claims on State Support.

THE POONA SARVAJANIK SABE

Established for representing the wants and wishes of the inhabitants of the Deccan, being appointed on a popular elective system under rules framed for the purpose.

NAGARKAR'S WADA, NEAR VISU LAMBAG.

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SITARAM HARI CHIPLOKAR ESQR.,

Secretary.

SHIVARAM HARI SATHE ESQR.

REPRESENTATIONS ON LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

No. 82 of 1882.

Sarvajanik Sabha Rooms.
Nagarkar's Wada near Vishrambag.
Poona 28th April 1882.

To,

J. NUGENT Esqr.

Acting Secretary to Government,

General Department.

Mabableshtar.

Sir,

We are directed by the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha to submit the following representation on the subject of the extension of local self-government in the Bombay Presidency on the lines laid down in the recent Resolutions of the Government of India on the subject, and to request you to lay the same before H. E. the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council for his favourable consideration.

1. First, in regard to the extension of Municipal independence, Government is well aware that the Sabha has pressed this subject on the attention of Government on various occasions during the last eight years and more. It hails, therefore, with satisfaction the announcement that Government has at last been graciously pleased to make [dated the 25th ultimo] that, in the opinion of H. E. the Governor-in-Council, the time has arrived when the intelligent population of the ten leading cities in this Presidency [Poona, Sholapore, Ahmednagar, Ahmedabad, Surat, Broach, Kurrachee, Hyderabad, Shikarpoor, and Sukkar] may be safely entrusted with the privilege of electing one-half of the total number of their Municipal Commissioners, and that the franchise shall be a liberal one, including both property, educational and professional qualifications. This limit of the property or rate-paying qualification has not been yet fixed, but the Sabha feels assured from the liberal spirit of the Resolution that it will be of a sort to secure an adequate and full representation of the various elements of the population. In this connection the Sabha humbly request that the Government will duly consider the limit proposed in the memorial forwarded by the inhabitants of this city on the 25th ultimo,

as it combines all the conditions of a practically safe and progressive concession.

2. It is also announced in the same Resolution that Government contemplates passing a legislative enactment to amend the Bombay District Municipal Act, with a view to enable it to concede the elective franchise to the population of Town Municipalities also. The Sabha however, thinks that no immediate necessity exists for legislation on this head. Government can under the provisions of section 6 of Act No. VI. of 1873, raise the status of many of the existing Town Municipalities and convert them into City Municipalities; and this conversion will enable Government to extend at once a modified scheme of election to these Municipalities. According to the provisions of section 6, every town whose population is or exceeds 10,000, can claim to be a City Municipality, provided that, as stated in Government Resolution No. 1631, dated 11th June, 1874, there is clear evidence that the population in general and their representatives, the existing Municipal Commissioners, have by their intelligence and adoption of sanitary and other improvements established a claim to superior powers of self-government. The towns which, in the opinion of the Sabha, can fairly claim the concession of higher powers of self-government are those mentioned in the following tabular statement:—

No.	Name of the town.	Population according to the census of 1872.	Annual income exclusive of balance for 1879-80
1	Dholka	20,854	10,651
2	Viramgaum	19,661	28,633
3	Nadiad	24,551	22,122
4	Rander	10,280	17,647
5	Bulsar	11,315	13,118
6	Tanna	14,299	18,113
7	Kallyan	12,804	12,295
8	Bhivandi	15,607	11,189
9	Dhoolia	12,489	23,562
10	Nassik	22,436	41,335
11	Satara	23,903	36,135
12	Barsi	15,140	15,971
13	Pandherpur	16,275	47,290
14	Dharwar	27,136	20,511
15	Hubli	37,961	31,041
16	Karwar	13,263	10,103
17	Belgaum	26,947	28,481
18	Larkhana	10,643	22,476

The existing Municipal administration in all these 18 towns appears to have been satisfactory, and the Divisional reports on

Municipal administration bear official testimony to the same. Some of these towns, such as Tauna, Dhoolia, Nasik, Satara, Dharwar, Belgaum, and Karwar, are the head-quarters of their respective districts, and as such must, no doubt, contain a large intelligent population, while the others are the head-quarter towns of their respective talukas. It will be seen that the annual income of every one of these towns, excluding the balance, exceeds Rs. 10,000, while that of Pandharpur, Nasik, Satara, Hubli, Belgaum, Viramgaum, Dhoolia, and others exceeds Rs. 20,000 and in the case of Pandharpur is nearly half a lakh of Rupees. In November last H. E. the Governor, during the course of his tour in the Southern Maharashtra Country, visited Pandharpur, and the inhabitants of that city, represented by their Commissioners, concluded their address of welcome with the prayer that the inauguration of the present enlightened policy of the Imperial Government with respect to local administrations emboldened them to hope that their Municipality would soon be raised to the rank of a City Municipality. The Sabha has reasons to believe that a similar desire is entertained by the population of most of the towns mentioned in the foregoing statement. The Sabha, therefore, expresses a hope that H. E. the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will, without waiting for new legislation, see fit to avail himself of the powers conferred upon him by section 6 of the existing Act, and invest the Municipalities of the forementioned towns with higher powers of self-government by raising them to the rank of City Municipalities. In the interests of progressive advancement it is not merely the power of electing the Municipal Commissioners which the people desire, but that power together with increased administrative freedom and augmented power of financial control. Both these aims can be secured in the case of the above mentioned towns without fresh legislation being resorted to, if Government graciously carries out its avowed intentions by giving fuller effect to the power it already possesses under the existing law.

3. Turning next to the other side of the reform sketched out in the Government of India's Resolutions in regard to the constitution and working of District Boards, the Committee of the Sabha are anxious that Government should take early steps by fresh legislation to amend the constitution of these bodies. The present Local Funds Act (Act No. III. of 1869) is far from satisfactory in this respect. (1.) Unlike the Bombay District Municipal Act, the Local Funds Act has left such important questions as the constitution of the Committees to the discretion of the executive Government. Properly speaking, this question of organisation ought to have been dealt with by the Legislature itself. Under rules 29 and 31 framed under section 12 of the Act, the power of electing the Inamdar members in

these Committees is conceded to the Inamdars, though the Act itself contemplates nothing of the kind. (2.) Again neither in the Act itself nor in the rules made thereunder has any limit been fixed to the tenure of office of the non-official members of these Committees, whether nominated or elected. The Sabha need hardly remark that the right of election is scarcely worth having if those upon whom it has been conferred are not to exercise it afresh after the lapse of a reasonable interval. (3.) Again, the Taluka Local Fund Committees, established under rule 31, appear to the Sabha to be in their inception illegally constituted; for according to that rule, these Committees consist of seven members only, while section 2 of Act No. III. of 1869 says that the members of a Local Fund Committee "shall be not fewer in number than eight, inclusive of the President." (4.) Moreover whatever useful purpose these bodies may have served during the first ten years of their existence, when they possessed a kind of statutory control over the revenues of the talukas, they no longer serve such useful purpose, in as much as the former orders, requiring the Local Funds revenues of each taluka to be spent in that taluka only, have been cancelled by a Government Resolution, No. 499 A 1503, dated 5th November, 1877. Since that date the Taluka Committees have been completely merged in the District Committees, and they now fulfil no other function than that of being mere ministerial agencies with the right of representing their wants to the central body. The Committee of the Sabha submit that it is in accordance with all sound principles of legislation that such radical changes ought not to be left to the mere discretion of the Executive Government. The reasons above set forth will, it is hoped, satisfy Government that urgent necessity exists for fresh legislation in regard to the constitution of district boards.

4. In the event of such fresh legislation being undertaken, it will be necessary for Government to see in what direction further reform is urgently needed and can be safely carried out. When the Local Fund cess was first established in 1863, it was authoritatively declared that the Local Fund money was raised and administered as the property of those by whom it was contributed, and the Government Resolution 3115, dated 16th September, 1863, laid down as a cardinal principle that "the tax-payers should have an influential voice in the disposal of the funds." Now, leaving aside the Taluka Local Fund Committees altogether, the tax-payers are allowed in the District Committees only seven members against six ex-officio members. The District Local Fund Committees, as a rule, administer as large a revenue as, and in many cases much larger than, the revenue which the least important of existing ten City Municipalities has to administer. Of the ten City Municipalities, in this Presidency the City Muni-

cipality of Ahmednagar has the smallest income, which is about Rupees 51,000 per annum. Now the population of Ahmednagar, according to the census of 1872, was 32,841, with about twenty non-official representatives to take care of its Municipal interests as against nine official representatives. The Local Fund receipts of the Ahmednagar district amounted in 1879-80 to Rs. 86,504, exclusive of the balance for the previous year, and the rural population of the district, according to the census of 1872, excluding the Municipal population of the city of Ahmednagar and other Municipal towns in the district, was 727,203; and yet the local interests of so large a rural population are supposed to be duly taken care of by only seven non-official representatives as against six official ones. The Sabha begs to submit that it is a glaring injustice to those who pay the Local Fund cess, and who were promised an influential voice in the disposal of the said funds that they should not be treated with the same liberality with which Municipal tax-payers in the large cities have been treated. The consequences of this absence of an absolutely and relatively fair representation of the official and non-official elements in the District Committees have been that no interest is felt in their work by the non-official members, and that the Local Funds Revenues have not been as well taken care of as the Municipal revenues. In support of this statement we respectfully invite the attention of H. E. the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to the answer of Mr. E. P. Robertson, the Commissioner of the Central Division, in reply to chapter 1, question 26, of the circular questions issued by the Famine Commission (vide Information and Evidence collected in answer to the questions issued by the Famine Commission—1878, Bombay volume, page 105). In that statement Mr. Robertson greatly deploras the action of Government in throwing famine charges on Local Funds Revenue, though it was no way responsible for the same. This diversion of Local Funds to defray famine charges is only one among many other similar instances of mismanagement which might be quoted. These considerations will, we hope, satisfy Government that it is necessary that the non-official element should be stronger in numbers, both relatively and absolutely, to resist official pressure, and should possess a real power of control over these funds.

5. The case for the reconstitution of those bodies might be made much stronger, but as in paragraph 7 of the recent Government Resolution in the Financial Department the Government has expressed its opinion that the time has now arrived when it may properly be considered whether some change in the constitution of Local committees, whether Municipal or Local Fauda, may not with advantage be introduced, and whether extended powers in respect of the expenditure of public money derived from local taxation and provincial

subsidies may not, with benefit to all concerned, be conferred upon local governing bodies formed under a new system, the Committee of the Sabha deem it unnecessary to further strengthen the case in favour of reconstituting the Local Fund Committees. We are, therefore, directed to submit for the favourable consideration of Government the following scheme for the reconstitution of Local Fund Committees.

(1.) Every taluka should have in the District Local Fund Committee one member who should be elected by those who pay Rs. 50 in the shape of land assessment or any other tax on which the one-anna cess is levied.

(2.) The large Inamdars who are holders of alienated villages in the district should be entitled to elect two members out of their own body to represent them in the District Committee.

(3.) Two members should be allowed to the educated classes represented by the list of Jurors and Assessors of the district, the graduates of the University resident within the district, and pleaders practising in the district.

(4.) Government should then nominate half the number of the elected representatives to complete the number of non-official members.

(5.) The ex-officio members should be one-third of all the foregoing members, or a quarter of the entire body.

(6.) That the Collector and Magistrate of the district should be the ex-officio President of the District Fund Committee.

(7.) That the District Committee so constituted should remain in office for three years, after which period fresh election and nomination should take place.

(8.) That the executive work of the District Committee should be entrusted to a Managing Board which should be elected by the general body, and that the Managing Board so elected should continue in office for one year.

(9.) That the members of the Managing Board should be paid a fixed allowance in the shape of remuneration for attending the meetings of the Managing Board.

(10.) That the entire power and responsibility for administering the local revenues and for carrying out the purposes of the amended Act should be vested in the members of the District Committee collectively, and that the Government should not interfere in the details of administration, but should confine its interference to questions of principle only, and to general supervision.

We beg to submit a few observations on some of the clauses of the scheme set forth above. (Clause I.) As the Government Resolution dated 5 November 1877, has removed the only justification for the existence of Taluka Local Fund Committees as separate bodies, and as moreover they appear to the

Sabha to be illegal in their inception, it becomes all the more necessary to allow every taluka in the District one member at least in the central District Committee to take care of its local interests. The only question then is, whether these taluka members should be elected by the rate-payers themselves, or should be nominated by Government. The Sabha begs to submit respectfully that it sees no reason why District Local Fund Committees should not be treated with the same liberal spirit with which the City Municipalities in this Presidency have been treated; for the argument in favour of extending the elective system to the first-class Municipalities holds good in this case also. This contention is further supported by the recorded opinion of H. E. in Council that Government admits the necessity of so amending the present District Municipal Act as to enable Government to extend the elective system to Town Municipalities, whose population as a general rule does not much differ in character, capacity and intelligence from the rural or semi-rural population of the district at large. A taluka covers a large area and is not so manageable as a town. In order to obviate this objection we have fixed a high limit of rate qualification. There are not in a taluka more than a few hundred people who pay more than Rs. 50. as assessment. This number will certainly prove very manageable. The minimum test proposed will practically be found to give the voting power to those only among the occupancy holders who may be safely taken to represent the best element of their class, and who will be found intelligent enough to make a proper use of their privilege.

(Clause 2) As regards the Inamdar members of the District Committee the policy of Government has for a long time been in favour of election, and the Committee of the Sabha feel it unnecessary, therefore to emphasize the point by further argument. The present practice is to allow one member only to the Inamdars of the district, but the Sabha contends that it does not secure the adequate representation of the class. A reference to the 23, 29, 44, and 45, columns of the Revenue and Finance statement No. A, Imperial Revenue and Finance, published at pages 212-215 of the Administration Report of Bombay for 1880-81, will show what proportion the alienated revenue in each district bears to the Government land revenue proper; and the Sabha believes that two Inamdar representatives in the proposed District Central Committees are certainly not more than this proportion sufficiently justifies. These Inamdar members do not represent the class they belong to so much as their tenants, who to a great extent have eventually to pay the Local Fund cess. The Inamdars moreover as a class, and more especially the larger ones among them, are an intelligent body, and are the natural leaders of their respective local com-

munities. Having regard to all these circumstances, the Sabha thinks that it is justified in submitting the proposal made above.

With regard to the third proposal, the Sabha begs to add that having regard to the fact that a considerable portion of the charge for elementary education is even at present thrown on local revenues, and also to the declaration recently made by the Government of India that the Local Committees should be entrusted with the entire financial and administrative control of primary education within their respective jurisdiction, it becomes necessary to allow the educated classes an independent voice in the administration of the said fund. The Educational Inspector and his Deputies are even now allowed ex-officio seats in the Local Fund and Municipal bodies to guard the interests of their department, and the Sabha submits that the same reasons which dictate the appointment of the Educational Inspector and his Deputies as ex-officio members in these Local Fund Committees necessitate also the adequate representation of the educated classes therein. The ex-officio educational members are supposed to watch the official interests of the department, and they cannot always be expected to do justice to educational questions from the non-official point of view. These can be properly taken care of by non-official representatives only. Moreover, these classes represent the intelligence and public spirit of the district, and they have a special aptitude and possess an anxious desire to make a proper and intelligent use of the right of election and the responsibilities of power.

With regard to the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh clauses of our scheme, it is necessary to add that they are dictated by the necessity and desire of giving a working majority to Government. According to the scheme set forth above, the different interests in the district will be equally balanced; for including the ex-officio members and their nominees from amongst the non-official classes, Government will have half the Committee nominated by itself, the other half only being elected by the rate-payers. Government will moreover have the advantage of having its leading representative in the district as the President of the Committee, who, by his casting vote, will always secure a majority to Government on those few occasions when Government may reasonably feel that in the interests of the people themselves the unanimous opinion of their local representatives should be for a time over-ruled. Under the present circumstances of the country the Sabha holds that, whatever may be said against it on the ground of abstract theory, practically Government for a long time to come must possess the power alluded to above and on occasions exercise it in the interests of the people themselves and also in those of self-government.

With regard to the eighth proposal, we are directed to submit that the arrangement proposed above is necessary in the interests of

efficient self-government. As matters at present stand, the District Collector, as President of the Committee, is virtually the sole executive authority. This arrangement is far from satisfactory, and the Sabha sees no reason why the arrangements in the District Committees in this respect should so materially differ from those pursued in all the leading City Municipalities. The President as the local representative of the Central Government ought to be the supervising and not the executive officer, so far as the functions of the local bodies are concerned.

With regard to the ninth proposal, we are directed to add that if the members of the Town Council of Bombay are paid such an allowance as is contemplated therein, the Sabha sees no reason why the members of similar executive councils in the Mofussil should not be paid also. The small amount of money that will be paid in this way will, the Sabha believes, be more than compensated for by greater responsibility enforced and the keener interest that will be consequently evinced in the work of the Committee.

With regard to the tenth and the last proposal, we are directed to add that under the ill-defined provisions of the present Act Government possesses vast powers of interference, which circumstance is often prejudicial to the interests of self-government. The testimony of Mr. E. P. Robertson, Commissioner C. D., quoted in the earlier part of this representation, is a sufficient proof that the official view in this respect almost entirely coincides with the non-official opinion that Government under the ill-defined provisions of the present Act possesses vast powers of interference, and that on occasions it has used these vast powers in a way prejudicial to local interests and those of self-government generally. It is necessary, therefore, that the powers of Government should be clearly defined, in order that the Local Committees and their respective local communities may be trained to habits of self-reliance and of self-government, and to a due appreciation of administrative and financial freedom. The Sabha thinks that for the present the powers of interference by Government with District Committees should be of a similar nature to those enjoyed by it in connection with City Municipalities.

7. With regard to the de-provincialisation or transfer of funds to local and Municipal bodies the Sabha thinks that a reasonable and sound principle has been laid down by the Government of India in directing that every item of receipt and expenditure, which the people are likely to understand the use of and capable of administering efficiently, should be handed over to them for administration. Primary education, medical charity, sanitation, minor public works are the departments recommended by the Government of India for de-provincialisation, and the Sabha is glad to perceive that H. E.

the Governor-in-Council has announced his intention of partially de-provincialising primary education and medical charity. The selection of the three Municipalities of Bombay, Poona, and Ahmedabad for trying the experiment of transferring the administrative and financial control of primary education to local bodies is no doubt happy, but the Sabha sees no reason why the same policy may not be pursued in the case of District Committees, if they are strengthened by the infusion into them of a really competent and strong non-official element. In addition to the departments mentioned above as suited for de-provincialisation, there is one which, in the opinion of the Sabha, ought to be de-provincialised also. That department is the excise revenue. Government has repeatedly announced that it looks upon its connection with this revenue with the greatest disfavour, and it has often professed its readiness to sacrifice it altogether, could it thereby check the total consumption of spirituous drinks. Upon the plea of checking all illicit consumption of spirituous drinks the excise authorities have granted freely licenses for retail sale, and the number of liquor-shops is annually increasing, to the great astonishment of those who are aware of the openly declared intentions of Government, as contained in Government Resolutions G. R. No. 3459 of 17th September, 1832, G. R. No. 2065 of 22nd June, 1844, the Court Directors' letter No. 17, dated 14th June, 1843. Throughout the length and breadth of the country the increased consumption of spirituous drinks is a constantly growing evil, and this is admitted on all hands, save and except by the department which is interested in the growth of the Abkari revenue. In the latter half of 1880 the Poona Municipality, through its managing committee, passed a resolution deprecating the increased consumption of spirituous drinks in the city of Poona consequent upon the increasing number of liquor-shops in the city, and the District Collector and Magistrate was requested to avail himself of the earliest opportunity to reduce the number of liquor shops in the city, as the only means by which the increased consumption of spirituous drinks could be successfully checked. But the authorities concerned declined to act upon the recommendation of the Municipality, on the plea that the consumption of spirituous drinks in the city of Poona was not more than the legitimate wants of the city justified. The Sabha, therefore, begs to propose, with a view to remove this conflict of interests, that while the tax on trees and the import and still head duties should remain Imperial and be divided half and half between the Imperial and Local Governments, the revenue derived from license fees on the retail sale of spirituous

drinks and narcotic drugs be deprovincialised, and handed over to local bodies for administrative and financial control.

We have the honour to beg

Sir,

Your Most Obedient Servants,

SHIVARAM HABI SATHE.

S. H. CHEPLONKAR.

Secretaries, Poona Sarvajanic Sabha,

No. 86 of 1882.

Sarvajanic Sabha Rooms,

Poona 6th June 1882.

To,

J. NUGENT Esquire.

Secretary to Government,

General Department.

Mahableshwar.

Sir,

In further continuation of our letter No. 82 dated 28th April last and your reply to the same informing us that the Government would take it into its careful consideration, we are directed by the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha to forward to you the following representation on certain matters connected with the concession to the people of Poona of the elective franchise in respect of their Municipal administration, and to request you to place the same before His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor in Council for his favourable consideration.

1. In the Government Resolution issued from the Financial Department No. 1093 dated the 25th March 1882 it is stated in paragraph nine that "the qualification for a vote for the election of the representative Commissioners should be the payment of any direct tax, whether Government, Local Fund, or Municipal;" and that "all persons accordingly resident within the Municipal limits and paying Government land assessment, Licences Tax, Local Fund Cess, or any direct Municipal tax would be entitled to a vote." In paragraph ten of the same resolution it is further announced that Government do not intend to limit the franchise to those persons only who pay direct rates or taxes, Government or Municipal, but that it is intended to make the franchise not only pecuniary but also educational and professional. Now while fully approving and appreciating to the utmost the intentions of Government in making the franchise educational and professional also, the Committee of the Sabha feel unable to extend their support to the proposed extension of the franchise to those who pay no direct Municipal Taxation, but who,

on the other hand, pay direct taxation to Government in one shape or another. The Committee of the Sabha are fully aware that amongst the ten leading cities to whom it is now proposed to extend the Municipal franchise, there are some, notably those in Sind, where there is little, if any, direct Municipal taxation. If, therefore, as is likely, the provision made in paragraph 9 of the Resolution in the Financial Department, is specially intended for such cities as levy very little direct Municipal taxation, the Committee of the Sabha have nothing to urge against the proposed measure which, however, they think, should be distinctly announced to be provisional and temporary in its nature. If the proposed measure, however, is intended to operate in the case of the city of Poona and others similarly situated, where nearly 50 per cent of the Municipal revenue is derived from direct taxation, the Committee of the Sabha respectfully beg to record their humble protest against the proposed measure. It is an acknowledged principle in forming local representative bodies that as their principal duty consists in the imposition and expenditure of local taxation, the electoral franchise should vest in all who contribute to the local rates to the exclusion of all who do not. Under such circumstances it is highly impolitic to give the electoral franchise to those who, howsoever largely they may contribute to the Imperial or Provincial revenues, do none the less pay no direct Municipal taxation. The Committee of the Sabha, as stated above, are fully alive to the necessity, which from considerations of expediency has arisen, of giving the electoral franchise to those who pay no direct Municipal rates, and we are accordingly directed to repeat that the proposed measure should be limited by way of exception to those cities only where but for such a modification of the original cardinal principle a local representative Municipality would be an impossibility, unless the people of such cities were first asked to submit to direct Municipal taxation as a necessary condition of their getting a representative Municipal body.

2. The Committee of the Sabha have been able to collect some statistics of the number of voters to be found within the Municipal limits of the city of Poona if the franchise is pecuniary only. The Poona Municipality levies a house tax, a water rate, a wheel tax, and a Bhanga cess. These are the only four forms of direct Municipal taxation prevalent in Poona, and they represent together 40 per cent of the income of the local Municipality. And if, as has been suggested by the people of Poona in their memorial to Government on this subject dated the 25th March last, the minimum qualification test be placed at Rs 10, there will be found within the Municipal jurisdiction about 1,500 rate-payers who pay annually Rs. 10 and upwards to the Municipality. The following

ular statement shows how these 1,500 rate-payers are distributed for the different parts of the city of Poona.

No.	Name of the Sub-division.	Number of rate-payers paying 10 Rs. and upwards.
1	Aditwar. Peit	338
2	Shukrawar.	170
3	Shanwar.	165
4	Budhwar.	156
5	Kasaba.	145
6	Sadasiva.	97
7	Bhawani.	77
8	Nana's.	67
9	Vetal.	59
10	Rastyas.	55
11	Narayan.	46
12	Ganesh.	30
13	Somawar.	23
14	Gunj.	21
15	Mangalwar.	12
16	Nyahal.	9
17	Gadetal.	3
	Total...	1473

3. The Committee of the Sabha think that to begin with the forementioned constituency will suffice for the purposes aimed at, as far as the pecuniary qualification test is concerned. The Government of India in their recent resolution also approve of the principle of fixing the qualification at a high figure in the first instance. It has moreover this recommending feature about it that it will be perfectly manageable. As the proposed measure is declaredly tentative in its character, it is better that the electoral body should be as compact and manageable as circumstances will permit, and after a few years, when both the people and the District Authorities shall have gathered experience from the working of such a limited system, it will be time enough to extend the franchise in such a way as to include the lower strata of society. In Bombay the electoral body consists of about 30,000 voters and the highest number of those who availed themselves of their privilege was attained a few years ago when about 8,000 people had come to the poll; the average number of voters in ordinary years varying from 4 to 5 thousand people. This experience of Bombay teaches us that no practical purpose is served by giving the voting power to many who have not yet had the intelligence and public spirit necessary to enable them to appreciate the privilege properly and to exercise it discreetly. Under these circumstances the

Committee of the Sabha beg respectfully to submit that the minimum pecuniary qualification test should not be placed below Rs. 10 of Municipal taxation per annum.

4. The Committee of the Sabha have no data to show what additional number of voters will be secured if the pecuniary franchise is extended to those who instead of paying any direct Municipal taxation none the less pay direct Imperial or Provincial taxation. If the License Tax payment be accepted as a qualification test, the Committee of the Sabha understand that the number of those assessed at present in this city is 1124; but in as much as many of those falling under that category will have come under the Municipal rate qualification, the additional voters thus secured will represent a very small figure. Assuming such to be the case, it is not worth while to sacrifice the principle which lies at the bottom of local representative bodies, that none but those who contribute to the local rates should have the power of voting. Should the Government, however, think that an electoral body of 1500 voters paying Municipal rates is too small for a city like Poona with a population of nearly 1,00,000 souls, the Committee of the Sabha would beg to suggest that the minimum limit of pecuniary franchise be placed at Rs. 5 of Municipal taxation per annum. According to this arrangement the Committee of the Sabha have reasons to believe that the electoral body will consist of about 4000 voters.

5. With regard to the educational and professional franchise the Committee of the Sabha beg to submit that it should be much more liberal than what has been laid down in paragraph 10 of the recent Government Resolution in the Financial Department. In that paragraph it is contemplated to extend the educational and professional franchise to graduates of the Universities or Medical Colleges and to Vakeels and Pleaders only, resident within the Municipal jurisdiction. As suggested in our recent memorial to Government submitting the views of the inhabitants of Poona on this subject, which Government have been pleased in their reply to approve generally, the educational franchise especially should be extended to the list of Jurors and Assessors resident within the Municipal Jurisdiction. In the same paragraph the Government have given expression to their desire that "as far as possible all persons of respectability, character and means should possess a voice in the election of representative Commissioners"; and the Committee of the Sabha believe that the noble intentions of Government in desiring to give the voting power to "all persons of respectability and character" will be best fulfilled by extending the educational franchise in the way recommended above. If in important questions affecting the life and death of Her Majesty's subjects the gentlemen constituting the body

of Jurors for the Poona District are consulted, and if their opinion is generally allowed great weight by judicial officers presiding at the Sessions, the Committee of the Sabha fail to see any adequate reason for declining to give such gentlemen of respectability and character a proper voice in the election of representative Municipal Commissioners. If the educational franchise is limited in the way contemplated it will secure an electoral body of not more than 150 people, including of course the Pleaders of the District Court resident within the Municipal jurisdiction. If, however, the franchise is enlarged in the way recommended in the memorial to Government from the people of Poona, there will be secured an electoral body of over 400 people whose ability, intelligence and public spirit to appreciate the privilege properly and to exercise it discreetly is unimpeachable.

6. Following the precedent set in the case of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, $\frac{1}{2}$ of the total number of the Municipal Commissioners to be elected by the people should be exclusively elected by those who would be entitled to a vote according to the educational and professional qualification tests. Such an arrangement becomes essentially necessary in order to secure an adequate representation of the minority in the Municipal Council. In addition to that, however, there is another very important consideration which demands that the arrangement proposed above which is precisely similar to that proposed by the inhabitants of Poona in their memorial to Government of 25th March last, should be carried into effect. By a recent Government Resolution in the Educational Department No. 414 dated 23rd March last the Municipality of Poona along with those of Bombay and Ahmedabad has been selected by Government to try the experiment of handing over the administrative and financial control of Primary Education thereto. The selection made by Government is no doubt extremely happy, but in order to secure the success of the experiment, and ensure it against all risk of failure, it would be essentially necessary to give the educational and professional classes a few independent seats in the Municipal Council. If, however, the seats are not so reserved, and those who under the educational and professional franchise become entitled to a vote, are merged into those who under the pecuniary franchise become entitled to a vote, there is every likelihood of a repetition of the sad and sorry spectacle which the present Municipal Commissioners of Poona presented in October last when they withdrew altogether their potty contribution to Primary Education. In the present backward state of the country its educational interests cannot be too scrupulously and jealously guarded and to secure them against all risk the arrangement proposed above becomes a positive necessity. The Committee of the Sabha trust that the proposed arrangement will recommend itself to Government, the more so because

It will render unnecessary the formation of separate School Boards as contemplated by the Resolution in the Educational Department alluded to above. If the Municipal Council itself is made sufficiently strong by the infusion thereto of a strong educational element, then there would be no necessity whatever of having two Committees working within the same jurisdiction which cannot fail to bring on very undesirable conflicts or produce general indifference.

Before concluding we are directed to submit a tabular statement showing the different wards into which the city of Poona should be divided and the number of seats to each ward. On the principle of allowing one member to about 100 voters.

Rastias	Peit.	}1.
Nyahal	"		
Somwar	"		
Gadetal	"	}2.
Shanwar	Peit.		
Narayan	"	}1.
Nana's	Peit.		
Ganesh	"	}1.
Bhawani	Peit.		
Vetal	Peit.	}1.
Ganja	"		
Sadasiva	Peit.	}1.
Shukrawar	"		
Kusba	Peit.	}1.
Mungalwar	"		
Budhawar	Peit.	}1.
Aditwar	"		

Total 12

We have the honor to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient servants.

SHIVARAM HARI SATHE,

S. H. CHIPLONKAR,

Secretaries, Poona Sarvajanic Sabha,

THE DRAIN OF INDIAN MANUS- SCRIPT TREASURES.

A good deal has been said in various quarters, during the past decade or two, about the gradual exhaustion of the material resources of our country, which is resulting from the steady and ever-increasing drain upon our wealth through the channels of the Home Charges and so forth. And now, thanks particularly to that enthusiastic and energetic friend of India, Mr. Robert Knight, the very well-founded complaint of our country in this respect bids fair to attract the attentive and practical consideration of the Parliament and people of England at no very distant date. There is, however, another channel through which our resources of a very different description are also being, perhaps more slowly, but still very steadily, drained away out of the country. But the depletion going on in this direction has not yet attracted any very prominent or persistent notice even in this country, and there is scarcely even a whisper regarding it breathed in England. We allude to the process which has been going on for many years, but which has become much more rapid and comprehensive during the last few years than it ever was before, by which our very valuable literary treasures, our hordes of ancient Manuscripts in the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages, are being swept out of the country to grace the shelves of European Libraries. The mischief resulting from the process now alluded to has been casually admitted and has been even enlarged upon on sundry occasions. But it has not, we think, been pointed out in a manner calculated to draw any other than a temporary, and, so to speak, fugitive, notice. We purpose,

therefore, on the present occasion to throw together a few thoughts upon this question, to which we beg to invite the special attention of Government, and of the literary societies and also, we may add, of our own people.

We have said above that mischievous results flow from a process which deprives this country of its Manuscript treasures; and we hold to this opinion even though we are perfectly cognisant of the fact, that the Manuscripts which are removed from here to European Libraries become by such removal accessible to a larger body of actually working scholars than they are accessible to in India, and though we are also cognisant of the fact that the Manuscripts thus stand a better chance of being made accessible to the world at large through the medium of the printing press. The grounds of our opinion can be very briefly stated. In the first place, we all know that in spite of the exertions of individuals and corporate bodies in Europe—exertions for which the student of Sanskrit Literature can never be sufficiently thankful to them—in spite, we say, of these exertions, the number of printed works in Sanskrit is as yet very limited indeed, it is almost as nothing compared with the vast mass even of that part of our MSS. Literature which has gone to Europe. And it is obvious, that this must continue to be the normal condition of matters for a very considerable time to come. If this is so, then it follows, that many MSS. which go out of this country must for years remain accessible only to those who have the good fortune to be within easy reach of the Libraries to which the MSS. may be transferred, while they will become almost absolutely inaccessible to the Indian student. This is a state of things which, we consider, strongly calls for remedy. Even in the old days, when the study of the Sanskrit language and literature was cultivated in this country only by our old Pandits and Shastris, who were very chary of

communicating to the world at large any of the results of the learning they had acquired, even in those days, this draining away of our MSS. was objectionable enough. But now under the altered circumstances which at present exist,—when there is, we do not say a large, but still a pretty fair, number of Native scholars in the field, who are devoting themselves to the cultivation of their ancient language and literature, and who do not entertain any of the old fashioned antipathy to the publication of anything relating to that language and literature ;—when too, we may add, even our old Shastris have already broken the ice, and have made a beginning, however small, in the direction of a departure from their old traditional notions, as witness the works of the late lamented Yajnesvar Shastri and others; when, we say, the circumstances of our country are now so far altered, this drain of our MSS. treasures has become a source of real danger and mischief. Of course we are aware that it may be said, with some semblance of truth, that this class of native scholars is yet but a very small one, and that it has not shown much enterprise in the way of publication. But still we maintain, that if there is an appreciable number of scholars applying themselves to these studies, who may be expected, sooner or later, to turn these MSS. to good account, then the removal of those MSS. out of the country is a *very great evil*. Nor, we venture to think, is the evil at all mitigated, because the MSS. are by such removal rendered accessible to a larger circle of scholars in Europe. Under the influence of our Universities, our scholars are slowly perhaps, but still steadily, increasing in numbers. And if instead of reducing the few openings that are available to us, some reasonable encouragement is held out here in the shape of College Fellowships and University Professorships such as those which exist in Germany and elsewhere, the number will increase as a matter of course more rapidly. Moreover it is quite

plain, that while in Europe the number, though at present larger than here, is not capable of much further increase, the number of our Sanscrit scholars and authors must continue to increase, so that even without the encouragements we have referred to, it will soon outstrip the number of European Sanskritists. But further it appears to us, that a merely larger number in such a case is not of any real value to the republic of letters. The question is, are the scholars to whom the MSS. are rendered accessible by their removal to Europe likely to make a better use of them than those to whom they were accessible before the removal? That is the true question. And in spite of the respect which we cannot, but feel for scholars like Colebrooke, and Goldstücker, MaxMuller and Lassen; in spite of the respect which is plainly due to the perseverance, the energy, the industry, the patience, and the ability, which European Scholars have brought to bear on the study of our ancient language and literature; in spite of these, we emphatically declare it to be our belief, that native scholarship is, and for many years to come must remain, of very great, we would say, indispensable, service in all oriental investigations. By the very necessity of the case, the ablest foreigner is often at fault, where a native student of even mediocre attainments is perfectly at home. This is a truth very well recognised in its applications in other departments of study. And we are bound to state, that in our judgment it is imperfectly recognised in oriental investigations only because of our present political condition. It seems to be generally assumed by the governing, and hence influential classes in this country, that no European should be placed in a position of subordination to a Native; that a very ordinary European should be allowed privileges which a Native of much higher status should not even be heard to claim; that even

the European's religion must never be spoken of except as being in every respect superior to that of the Native; By parity of reason, or rather we ought to say as another consequence of the same bias of political caste feeling, it appears to be supposed that even in questions regarding our languages and literatures, the opinion of a European Missionary, or a so-called Professor of Oriental Languages, should be allowed greater weight than that of almost any Native scholar. This is all, as we have said, due to the abnormal political conditions of Anglo-Indian life. But apart from these conditions, which ought to have no effect on purely scientific questions, there can, we apprehend, be no doubt whatever, that the labours and opinions of Native scholars ought, as a rule, to command respect and attention in all oriental investigations. We have known Professors of Oriental Languages who could not talk the vernacular of the peons in their Colleges so as to be quite intelligible to those peons. And the vernacular which the Missionaries not only talk, but write habitually, is known pretty notoriously to have become almost a by-word of reproach among the people. We say, therefore, that any course of policy, which blocks up what we may call the native channels of information—whatever wider and more numerous foreign channels it may open up—must, in our judgment, be regarded as prejudicial, in a greater or less degree, to the real, as contrasted with the merely speculative, advance of oriental research.

There is another consideration germane to this subject to which attention may here be drawn. It is possible, we think, to attend to the wants of Indian savans without prejudicing the interests represented by the orientalist of Europe. In order to enable the scholars of Europe to become acquainted with our literary treasures, it is by no means necessary to remove MSS. out of this country. What prevents copies being made of these MSS. for the use of

European Libraries? If copies are secured, India loses nothing, and Europe gains as much, or very nearly as much, as she gains by the removal of the original MSS. Why has this compromise never been brought into operation? Comparing the conditions of the European countries which take a leading part in the cultivation of oriental learning; comparing the condition of England, or France, or Germany, with the condition of India; it seems obvious that the course we recommend is in every way preferable to that which has been hitherto adopted. The countries and individuals which can afford to buy original MSS. can equally well afford to have good copies made of them. And if that is done, you have a real addition made to the resources of the world of letters, not a merely nominal addition, which is more than over-balanced by a heavy deduction on the opposite side. We beg to commend this suggestion to the notice of our Government, and of those of all our countrymen, and others who are interested *bona fide* in the progress of oriental research, and do not care simply to provide materials to enable one European country to crow over its superiority to other European countries in the matter of Indian manuscripts.

Such being the abstract considerations applicable to this subject, let us now turn to its practical aspect. What has been the history of the past twenty years in so far as it relates to our MSS. wealth? We are not acquainted with the state of affairs in other parts of the country, and we therefore confine ourselves to our own Presidency. And we say, at once, at the very outset of this part of our remarks, that what has occurred here during the past twenty years deserves the very serious consideration of our Government and our countrymen. The history of those occurrences begins with the work in this Presidency of the late Dr. Martin Haug. *De mortibus nil nisi bonum*; and even apart from this maxim, we have no wish to say anything harsh of a man whose intellectual powers, and wide information,

though we know of them only from report, inspire us with feelings of genuine respect. But about the time of Dr. Haug's departure from this country in 1864, there was a somewhat acrimonious controversy regarding the use which the learned Doctor had made of his position as representative of the British Government, for the purpose of acquiring MSS. on his own personal account. We are writing from memory on the subject, and we believe, that Dr. Haug was then publicly accused of having purchased only a small number of MSS. for Government, and those not of much value, while he had purchased more valuable and more numerous MSS. for his own private Library. It was said, too, that his agents for the collection of MSS. had come into disagreeable conflict with the agents of the late Dr. Bhau Daji, who is well known to all as having been one of the most diligent and successful collectors of MSS. and antiquities in our part of the country. Well, Dr. Haug afterwards left the country, and after the lapse of some few years died. His collection of MSS. was then purchased from his widow for the Munich Library for a pretty high price. Last year another Professor of Oriental Languages left this country after a service of between fifteen and twenty years. He is reported to have carried away with him as his own private property three large boxes full of valuable and rare Sanskrit MSS. During the last eight years or thereabouts of his period of service, Dr. Bühler was employed by Government for the purpose of examining the MSS. collections known to exist in Guzerat, in Rajputana, and in Kashmir, and to purchase for Government such of the more valuable ones as could be obtained. Before that time Dr. Bühler had been for some years Professor of Oriental Languages in the first College in the Presidency. He was thence promoted to be Inspector of Schools in Guzerat and Kathaiwar—provinces which are very rich in old Manuscript collections. Now we are very far indeed from accusing Dr. Bühler of having consciously made use of his position as above described for the

purpose of securing Manuscripts for his own private collection. But we venture to ask, whether there can be any reasonable doubt, that when a European officer of Government, occupying a very high position in his Department, went about the country, as Dr. Bühler did, armed with recommendations to the great autocrats of the districts visited by him, the people would regard him as the representative of the great *Sarkar* which ruled them, and that they would agree to sell to Dr. Bühler Manuscripts, which, but for the power of Government supposed to be at his back, they would not have sold to him? We confess, that *a priori* we should have but little doubt that such is the true history of the matter. And what little positive information we possess on the subject tends to corroborate this view. We repeat, that in these cases, it is quite unnecessary for the Government officer employed on such duties as those in question to actively exercise the influence of his position. He may even, as far as he himself is concerned, sedulously avoid obtruding his official position, and endeavour to sink it, so to say, in his own private personality. All the same, we believe, the transactions effected under such conditions would be regulated more or less, according to circumstances, by the official position held by, one of the parties to it.

There is also another view of this matter, which seems to us well worthy of serious consideration, as it points out even more clearly what we believe to be the proper policy to follow in this matter. Those officers of the Educational Department who are deputed to make purchases for Government, if they are at the same time permitted to make purchases on their own account, or on account of any one else other than the Government, are obviously placed in a very false position. Their duty and their interests may, and very frequently it may be presumed will, come into irreconcilable conflict. It is, of course, impossible to say in what cases such

conflict has actually occurred. Unless one can secure a complete list of the MSS. purchased by any particular officer for Government, and those purchased by him either for himself or for some one other than the Government, it is not possible to say whether that officer has allowed his interests to interfere with his duty to any extent or not. We do not by any means wish to say that either Dr. Haug or Dr. Bühler did give the go-by to the duty which they owed to Government in pursuit of their own personal interests. There are not sufficient materials before us to justify us in making any such charge. What, however, we do say is, that the position of any officer, so situated as we have described, is a false one, that it invites suspicion, and that the Government ought to make it a rule that none of its officers shall purchase any MSS. on his own private account or on account of any one else other than the Government itself. We venture to think, that such a prohibition, if laid down by Government, would be perfectly justifiable. And not only that, but we would go further, and say, that such a prohibition is very urgently called for by the special circumstances of the case. As matters stand, the draining away of MSS. from the country is going on, not only with the passive non-interference of Government, but almost, and in a sense, with its active help. This is a state of things which the Government, we conceive, is bound to remedy.

As we have said, the proposal we have made above is one which, it seems to us, can be justified to the full extent we have stated. If, however, there should be any reluctance to accept what some people may consider a somewhat sweeping rule, we would invite the attention of objectors to the following considerations. Such rules have been made by Government in regard to other matters. Many of our readers are doubtless aware of the prohibition which Government have laid down against the practice

of Government officers, on their transfer to other districts, selling their furniture and other things to natives inhabiting the district they left. The aim and object of that rule, which we have stated only from memory, is a very proper one. It does not involve any reflection on the honesty of Government officers. But it is thought, and justly thought, that such transactions, if allowed, might occasionally involve real unfairness, and more frequently give rise to disagreeable suspicions of supposed unfairness. Hard cases, it is said, make bad law; and the Government have wisely thought, that it is better that hard cases should occur now and then, and remain unremedied, rather than that a generally wholesome rule should be set at nought or abrogated, with the probable result of much heart-burning and disagreeable criticism, which even if not "loud" is often "deep". We think the existence of this class of rules,—for we believe, there are other rules of like aims and objects now in force,—affords a sufficient justification for the promulgation of the rule we have above proposed. We think, indeed, that there is even greater justification for our proposed rule than for those which are already in actual existence. For we think that our ancient MSS. are a species of national wealth that deserves careful protection, at the hands of our Government, for the same reason which has justified it in taking steps for the kindred object of preserving those ancient remains of architectural or other interest which are spread over the length and breadth of the land. Our present Viceroy, indeed, has had the courage to state publicly his belief that the feeling of pride in a Native's breast regarding the achievements of his ancestors is a feeling to be nursed and cherished, and that it must be the basis of all future advancement. Lord Ripon is quite right. "Those" says that great philosophical statesman, Edmund Burke, "those who do not look backward to antiquity will not look forward to posterity." And we ask the Govern-

ment to see that while our architectural and other ancient possessions are preserved under its protection for us to look back to and derive inspiration from, it should not omit to take under its protection also those other precious possessions of our people, those monuments of the intellectual activities of our ancestors, which have been hitherto preserved with almost sacred care by successive generations of our countrymen, and from which, too, much useful inspiration and light will yet be obtained, by none better than by the natives of this country, for the world's benefit.

Further, if all these considerations are thought to be of little force, if it be still contended that the rule proposed by us is likely to be much too broad in actual operation, we would suggest that at all events there can be no reasonable objection to that rule with this modification, that no one deputed by Government to purchase MSS. on its account shall be allowed to purchase any MSS. on his own account, or on account of any one other than the Government. The rule in this form seems to us to be absolutely and entirely free from objection. It is hardly necessary indeed to point out that in this form the rule would only be an application of a very familiar rule of English Jurisprudence, that a trustee cannot be allowed to enter into any transactions connected with the subject matter of his trust for his own private benefit. This analogy fully justifies our proposal in the modified form which we have suggested. While we put forward these analogies, however, we contend also, that having regard to the interests involved in this matter, interests at once higher, more permanent, and more far-reaching than those to which the analogous rules alluded to apply, interests which are the interests of the country at large, and not merely of some individuals or some classes of individuals in it, the Government might be justified in even going a step further beyond what these analogies would strictly support.

It may be said by some critics that all this has been written in the same hidebound spirit which in old days characterised all our Shastris, and in these days still characterises many of them; that we wish in truly Eastern style to keep our ancient Indian lore to ourselves, to rot neglected in obscurity, rather than that it should be brought forth into the light, and made a living power for the benefit of all mankind. This view will, no doubt, occur to some Orientalists of Europe but we beg utterly to repudiate the suggestion. We entirely disown any such spirit. We are perfectly willing, as indeed we have already indicated, that copies of every single Manuscript existing in the country,—good, bad, indifferent,—should be carried to Europe and America, and multiplied broadcast over those continents. We are willing to welcome all the light that our brethren there can shed on our ancient language and literature, and we gladly acknowledge that they have already done us great service in this way in the past, and can do yet more in the future. But what we do object to, and strongly object to, is that we should be entirely left out in the cold in this business. And this is very nearly the inevitable result of the transport of original manuscripts out of the country. For as to our scholars getting copies made of MSS. in Europe or America, that is an operation of so much difficulty that it may be pronounced impossible to all intents and purposes,—not to mention that it is a somewhat round about process for an original Manuscript to be first sent out of the country, and a copy of the Manuscript afterwards brought back to it. On the other hand, scholars and institutions in Europe and America have every facility in getting copies made here of any Manuscript they may require.

Again it may perhaps be objected, that the matter is too small a one in itself for the interference of Government, or that the mischief and loss to the country of which we have been speaking has not really yet assumed any such proportions as to call for such

interference. We do not admit the correctness of either objection. As already indicated, the preservation of the monuments of our ancestors' achievements is a matter not merely of sentiment, but of great practical utility. Who shall say that it is not destined to prove the mighty lever that will raise within us a spirit of due pride in our past, and as a consequence a spirit of due hope and aspiration for the future? Again we deny that the loss has not yet assumed note-worthy proportions. Dr. Haug and Dr. Bühler certainly took away either for themselves or for their fatherland rare and valuable Manuscripts in very considerable numbers. Dr. Kielhorn, who has recently departed from amongst us, is also reported to have taken away a good many. If the time is not already come when this process of depletion should be stopped by the authorities, when, we should like to know, will the time ever come? We have been credibly informed, that within the last few years, the wealth of the German Libraries in regard to Sanscrit Manuscripts has been so much developed that the English Bodleian Library, which was the first in Europe in that respect only a few years ago, now occupies the fifth or sixth place. We have seen this fact roundly asserted in the *Bombay Gazette*. And though in a letter to the *Times of India*, F. G. S. doubted the assertion, he was not in a position to deny it categorically. Whether absolutely accurate or not, therefore, the assertion is one which plainly requires that steps should be taken to consider the real state of affairs. It is manifest that the mischief resulting from the transport of Manuscripts from India to England, is, owing to the political connexion of the two countries, likely to be very much less than the mischief involved in their being drained off to Vienna or Munich, Gottingen or Berlin.

And here, perhaps, it may not be out of place to examine the statements relevant to this subject contained in the letter of F. G. S. just now referred to.

F. G. S. says. "The Manuscripts (namely, those purchased for Government by Drs. Bühler and Kielhorn) are kept in the Deccan College where they can be obtained by any Sanscrit student in any part of the world. Any Manuscripts that Dr. Kielhorn or Dr. Bühler may possess they have bought for themselves. Surely a man is not to be blamed for buying the Manuscripts necessary for his work?" It appears to us that this is all irrelevant argument. And those who have followed us in the objections stated in this article to the course at present pursued cannot fail to see the irrelevancy. It has never been denied by anybody that some Manuscripts were bought by Drs. Bühler and Kielhorn for Government, and those no doubt are lodged in Deccan College. Nor was it ever asserted by any one that Dr. Bühler or Dr. Kielhorn purchased Manuscripts for themselves with monies belonging to Government. Lastly, when F. G. S. puts his triumphant question at the end of the passage above excerpted, one feels tempted to ask him in return—What is the "work" of Drs. Bühler and Kielhorn of which he speaks, and what are the "Manuscripts necessary for" it, and how does F. G. S. know that those were the only Manuscripts which Drs. Bühler and Kielhorn purchased? Are we asked to believe, that the only Manuscripts the two learned Doctors have bought are Manuscripts of the text books which they taught to their Students at College? Until we have some very good authority for that statement, we must decline to accept it as correct. F. G. S. can really know but little about the matter himself. F. G. S. next proceeds to refer to Professor Bhandarkar's continuing the work of collecting Manuscripts when he succeeded Dr. Kielhorn. But the reference to this fact is again irrelevant, unless it is shown that Professor Bhandarkar, when he was purchasing Manuscripts for Government, was also purchasing some for himself. We do not believe that he did so. But if he did, one of our objections above set forth would apply to his

case nearly as much as to the case of Dr. Bühler or Dr. Kielhorn. F. G. S. then goes on:—"I do hope that we shall hear no more of this unfounded theory, that German Professors use their position here to enrich Germany with Manuscripts from India." Unfounded theory indeed! we are tempted to ask, when did Mr. F. G. S. examine into the "foundations" of this "theory?" He was certainly borrowing for them in the wrong place, when he went in the direction indicated by the extracts from his letter quoted above. And if he failed to find the foundations there, it is not the fault of the "theory," or of those who hold it, but of their perfunctory critic, who allowed his friendship to lead him to undertake a task for which he is not fitted either by his information or his habitual pursuits. Mr. F. G. S. must be a very sanguine man to "hope" that his long *ignoratio elenchi* should give its quietus to the "theory" he opposes. And he must be also a very bold man to have rushed into this controversy, if he has not heard, that Government has been induced to allow its machinery to be used for the enrichment of German Libraries. Mr. F. G. S. continues:—"In all fairness, the same measure which is dealt out to Englishmen should be dealt out to their German colleagues." By all means, say we. And being neither a German nor an Englishman himself, the present writer hopes that he can hold the scales even between the two races. But the truth is, that the public is not aware of any Englishman of recent years having taken away any Manuscripts to Europe. As Sanscrit, according to Professor Max Müller, can be learnt "scientifically" only in Germany, and not in England, we have hitherto had with one exception only German Professors of Sanscrit—we beg pardon for the irreverence—Professors of Oriental Languages. And as those Professors only have made any collections of Manuscripts, we have referred above only to German Collectors of Manuscripts. When Mr. Peterson as-

pires and turns his official position to account to secure a collection for himself, it will be time enough to deal out to him the same measure that has been dealt out to Drs. Haug, Böhler, and Kielhorn; and we can assure Mr. F. G. S. that when that time comes, he shall not have any ground to complain of our partiality for his countrymen, although we must say, that we should much prefer to have to deal with an Englishman than a German—with F. G. S. himself, for instance, rather than his German-friend.

We have said before that native scholars have not shown much enterprise in the way of publication. This is true. But even on that point, there are one or two matters which are worthy of remark. And although this is in many respects a digression from the main subject of this article, still as the two are closely allied in at least one point, we trust we may be allowed to make a few remarks upon it. One point to be considered with regard to it, then, is the mode in which the literary patronage of our Government is distributed. Here, for instance, we have on the one hand the whole of Patanjali's Mahâbhâshya published at Banâras under the editorship of two of the most eminent Native Pandits of the day. We are not aware so far that this great work has received any patronage from any of the Indian Governments. If it did, we will undertake to say, that it was not munificent. Well, the same work was brought out in a costly edition—in the shape of a facsimile of a very modern Manuscript under the patronage of the Secretary of State for India in Council. This, however, we believe, had been sanctioned before the Banaras edition was published, or even, perhaps, contemplated. But after these two editions were published, and had become available to students, here is the Government of Bombay sanctioning another edition of the Mahâbhâshya under the editorship of Dr. Kielhorn. Has the Indian or Bombay Government more money than it knows what to do with? Or is there no meritorious

literary undertaking languishing for want of its patronage, that it should spend large sums of money on a fresh edition of a voluminous work already in print? Take another instance. Mr. Burgess, the editor of the *Indian Antiquary*, obtains from the Secretary of State a grant of some Rs. 300 per annum for the purpose of publishing facsimiles of old Copper-plates and other Inscriptions. And this, be it remembered, is an item of expense over and above the expenses of the Department of Archaeological Survey already existing. We hear, too, that that Department in Western India is going to have a still further addition made to it entailing further expenditure on the State. We do not wish to object to this expenditure, except in so far as it is an over-payment for the services received in exchange for it. But what we wish to ask is, whether in the estimation of our Government old Copper-plates and stone Inscriptions are intrinsically more valuable than Bakhars, and whether the histories of the Châlukyas and the Valabhis, the Guptas and the Silaras, are in any way necessarily more interesting or instructive than the history of the Peshwas, the Bhonsleys, the Scindias, or the Holkars? And if they are not, as we suppose every one but a prejudiced Drayasdust must admit they are not, why, we should like to know, has the *Kavyetihâsa-Sangraha* received so little encouragement from Government. For a long time it was left unnoticed, and the editor of that Magazine has had to work hard before he could move the Director of Public Instruction to extend some support. Neither the local Government, nor the Supreme Government, nor the Secretary of State, extends its or his benign protection to this little effort of native workers. And yet the *Kavyetihâsa-Sangraha* has now existed for upwards of three years, has been conducted in a manner very creditable to the editors, and contains matter of at least as much interest and importance, in a literary or historical point of view, as the *Indian An-*

quary does. The present writer is himself a student of Indian Archæology, and has in a humble way laboured in that interesting field. He is not, therefore, likely to be, and in fact is not, prejudiced in any way against the pursuits which the *Indian Antiquary* encourages and assists. What he is endeavouring to do here is not to object to the grant to the *Antiquary*, but to point out how that Journal, and the studies which it pursues, being much supported, and cultivated by Europeans, are able to secure the patronage of the authorities, while a Journal at least equally meritorious in its own way, and pursuing studies of equal, if not greater, interest and importance, is—as we may say—nowhere, not having attracted the attention of European workers. We have not, we believe, exhausted the points of contrast, but what we have said is enough for present purposes. We wish to state, however, that we are here merely recording facts, not making reflections on anybody. As a matter of fact, we do not believe, that either of the cases we have mentioned is a case of actual partiality. But we do believe, that they both illustrate the temperament of cold indifference which the authorities too often put on in dealing with native effort, as contrasted with the warm enthusiasm which greets similar, or even less meritorious, effort on the part of Europeans. Take again the case of Weber's Romanised edition of the Taitiriya Samhita of the Black Yajurveda. Why was that work patronised out of the so-called Encouragement fund in the hands of the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency? We find from the Report of our Educational Department for the year 1871-72 that a sum of about Rupees 275 was spent in patronising the work in question. The sum may look small to some, but it involves a principle, and it is not really small in the eyes of many an author within our Presidency. Besides we object to this exercise of patronage altogether. In the first place, the book is printed in the

Roman character, and few in this Presidency care, and fewer still are habituated, to read Sanscrit in that character. The Volumes purchased by the Director of Public Instruction are, therefore, probably so much waste paper. Secondly, the same work has been in course of publication in Devanagari character by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in its *Bibliotheca Indica*, and has been available to scholars for many years, so that another edition of the same work was not entitled to patronage. Lastly, the funds supplied to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for its *Bibliotheca* are also public monies and paid out of the revenues of the country. So that we have here an expenditure of public funds on an object almost worthless in this country, and rendered more so by the same object having been already met out of the same funds. All these cases, we think, render it plain that the whole of the funds allotted for the encouragement of literary work in India or in relation to India requires to be put under better and more organized management, so that a more fair distribution of the funds may be made in aid of the various claimants upon their help. If that is done, we think there is every likelihood of a good deal more being done in the future than has been done in the past, to rescue the literary achievements of our forefathers from the obscurity of perhaps rotten and crumbling manuscripts in which they have till now been involved. And then there will be still less excuse for suffering the depletion of our MSS. wealth to go on in the way it has done hitherto.

Upon the whole, we trust, we have now said enough to draw the prominent and serious attention of the authorities to what is going on in the country, or at all events in this Presidency, and to satisfy them that what is going on requires their anxious consideration and care at the earliest possible opportunity. We entreat first our own countrymen to do what they can to prevent the depletion of which we have been speaking. Those of us who have Manus-

cripts, and cannot keep them but must part with them, should first endeavour to find out whether they cannot part with them in such a way as to avoid their country's also parting with them. We know that there are natives both in Government employ and out of it, who would like to collect Manuscripts of value—and to such those who want to sell their Manuscripts should in the first instance apply. They ought to know that the Government are not at all anxious that they should sell their Manuscripts to the European officials in the country; and that, in truth the attitude of Government with regard to *that* point is one rather of indifference. Further the Government itself should no longer be indifferent in this matter; they are bound, we say, to take precautions, and those at once, to prevent its passive countenance or even its mere neutral indifference from being made instrumental, as it has been hitherto, in draining away from the country those literary treasures accumulated for us by successive generations of workers, which if they are second in importance to anything at all, are second in importance only to the possession of those moral qualities which gave them birth, and to those material treasures which must help us in our intellectual and moral, as well as material and political advancement.

Note—Since writing the above, our attention has been drawn to one remarkable fact. Dr. Bühler appears to have in his private collection a copy of Nanda Pandit's commentary on the Vishnu Smriti, whereas that is not among the MSS. purchased by him for our Government. We say this only from a reference to the published catalogues, and should be glad to be corrected by Mr. F. G. S. or better still, some responsible authority.

PRIMARY EDUCATION AND IN- DIGENOUS SCHOOLS.

Now that, within a month or so, Dr. Hunter, the President, and the other members of the Bombay Committee of the Education Commission will hold their sittings, and examine the local witnesses in regard to the present state of public instruction in this Presidency, it is time that we should pass in review the various systems of elementary education which have been in operation in different parts of British India during the last 25 years, and, by contrasting their results, furnish the ground-work of fact on which the authorities, more directly concerned with the practical working of this Department, may be expected to proceed in its future reorganization consequent on the labours of the Education Commission. In the words of the Government of India's Resolution appointing this Commission, the main object of this inquiry is to ascertain "the present state of elementary education throughout the Empire, and the means by which this can everywhere be extended and improved." The other heads of inquiry occupy only a subordinate place, and it were much to be wished that these distracting topics had not been pressed upon the attention of the Commission, and the scope of the present inquiry had been limited to the one subject about which there is no difference of opinion, and which in consequence is in a condition to be profited by the deliberations of those who have been selected by Government for this great responsibility. The Missionary societies, with whom this agitation commenced four years ago with the formation of the Edinburgh and London General Councils on Education in India, had their own objects to promote

in complicating the scope of the inquiry, and forcing the hands of Government to an abandonment of its advanced liberal attitude. It was at their suggestion that the cry against the higher secular, that is, not professedly religious, education was raised, and their spokesman, the Reverend James Johnstone, has been indefatigable in his efforts to secure the help of British public opinion to back up the missionary propaganda. The Government of India has, be it said to their credit, withstood these temptations placed in their way; yet the agitation in England has not wholly been without its reflex influence upon the policy of the Government as enunciated in this Resolution. For it has to some extent prejudged the results of the inquiry by laying down the position "that, owing to a variety of circumstances, more progress has been made upto the present time in high and middle class than in Primary Education." We shall show further on in the sequel that this assumption is not true, and should not have been made on the eve of an inquiry such as has been ordered by the present Resolution. This declaration of the Government of India, accompanied as it is with an expression of its wish that "the different branches of Public Instruction should move forward together, and with a more equal step than hitherto,"—and the announcement made further on of its inability "to find funds sufficient to meet the full requirements of the country in the matter of Primary Education,"—and the suggestion that every available private agency should be called into action to assist the public funds in connection especially with high and middle education," on the ground that "the resources of the state ought to be so applied as to assist those who cannot help themselves, and the richer classes of the people should gradually be induced to provide for their own education,"—this declaration of policy in fact begs the whole question at issue, and leaves to the Commission but little

scope for independent advice.

Lord Macaulay has in his essay on Warren Hastings satirized the action of the Court of Directors in England who, in their instructions to the Company's Servants in India, recommended them to govern the people "leniently" but ordered them at the same time to "send more money" to England. We are disappointed to see this inconsistency reproduced in this Resolution of the Government of India in regard to primary instruction. The Education grant has been raised from time to time during the last 70 years. The charter of 1813 required the East India Company to sanction a grant of £10,000 a year for the encouragement of education. This grant was increased seven or eight-fold in 1833, and at the next renewal of the charter in 1853, the grant was again raised seven or eight-fold, at which figure it has remained unchanged, except with slight alterations, to the present date, although during the last 30 years the revenue of British India has been doubled by conquest, annexations, and additional taxation. In strict justice, the Government should have made up its mind to follow the example of the old East India Company by increasing its grant in proportion to the increase of revenue. A Government which can afford to spend 20 crores on a useless frontier war, and deems it just to maintain a garrison at the cost of half the net revenue, and has to remit for Home Charges the other half, cannot fairly plead its inability to supplement the existing grant for education so as to raise it to its old proportion under the Company's rule. The whole question of the improvement and extension of Primary Education is one of ways and means rather than of policy, and we cannot but regret that, by its assumptions and limitations, Government has to a great extent given a wrong direction to the labours of the Commission, and forced upon it discussions of side issues which will only serve to thwart their delibera-

tions upon the main problem. The Missionary blast has provoked a counter-blast from the leaders of Native opinion, and already His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, Raja Sir T. Madhava Rava, Dewan C. Ranga Charlu, the Honorable Justice Mutuswamy Iyer, and the Honorable Kristodas Pal have entered the lists against the Reverend James Johnstone, Revd Mackichan, and the great English authorities Lord Halifax, the Duke of Argyll, and others who have been induced to countenance the Missionary cry. This conflict of views will, as a matter of course, infect the members of the Commission. Lord Ripon also has unconsciously played into the hands of the missionaries when, in his Convocation speech, he committed himself to an expression of his individual view that mere secular, that is, not professedly religious, education must fail in effecting any good. The Brahma Samaja people took up the cry and exaggerated it. The Roman Catholic bishops in Southern India have, with a wiser instinct, preferred the present neutral policy of Government to what they reasonably apprehend will be substituted in its place, if the Protestant Missionaries succeed in pulling down the state establishments, and setting up in their place their own dogmatic schools. This apple of discord has only embittered the strife, and it does not require a prophet to foretell that the deliberations will end in a Babel of views, where agnostic professors and Missionary fanatics, Natives and Europeans, Hindus and Mahomedans, the advocates of Primary and Secondary education, and of State Schools against Private Schools, will only agree to differ. It is this circumstance which heightens our regret that such a noble opportunity of useful and practical work should have been spoiled by this unnecessary intrusion of foreign matters, and the rousing of irreconcilable prejudices. This confusion would have been avoided if Government had, following former precedents, come forward with a determination to supplement the existing

grant with a proportionate increase, and called upon the Commissioners to report after inquiry what practical steps should be taken to utilise this grant to the best advantage of Primary Education.

In practical life, however, it is of no use to regret what is past and irrevocable. We must reconcile ourselves to the conditions of the situation, and accept under protest the limitations which the Government has been pleased to fix on its own resources in this respect. The practical question we have to face, and which includes all other questions, may be thus briefly stated;—“How, with the existing resources, public and private, we can so distribute the funds at our disposal as to secure the extension and improvement of Primary schools, without unduly prejudicing the interests of higher education.” It is necessary in this connection to give a brief outline of the leading facts connected with the working of the educational department. The funds, private and public, devoted to the actual work of instruction in the ten administrative divisions of British India, may be roughly stated to be one and a quarter crore of rupees. Of this sum, about 11 lacks are spent on University education i. e. the Arts Colleges, European and Oriental; 40 lacks are spent on high and middle class schools; and 73 lacks are spent on Primary education. These figures only represent the actual cost of instruction in the Institutions directly managed by Government or aided by its funds. The charges for direction and inspection, as also the cost of technical schools, and miscellaneous expenditure, do not enter into this total. The charges of management and inspection also vary from 10 to 15 per cent in the different provinces. The total sum disbursed for educational purposes thus exceeds a crore and a half of rupees. Of the sum of 1½ crore of Rupees spent on instruction nearly 60 Lacks of rupees, placed at the disposal of the Educational Department, represent the expenditure of Public funds on the three

classes of institutions, Arts Colleges, High and middle class institutions, and Primary Schools, and nearly 64 Lacks represent the contributions of Private funds to the same purpose; so that Government already secures for every rupee spent out of public funds more than a rupee's contribution from private funds. Of the net expenditure of 60 Lacks from public funds, $6\frac{2}{3}$ Lacks are spent upon the Arts Colleges, $16\frac{1}{2}$ Lacks are spent upon high and middle class schools, and $37\frac{1}{2}$ lacks upon Primary schools. Of private expenditure, $4\frac{1}{3}$ lacks are spent on the colleges, $23\frac{2}{3}$ lacks are spent on high and middle class schools, and $35\frac{2}{3}$ lacks on Primary schools. The expenditure on Primary Education is thus more than 150 per cent greater than on collegiate, high, and middle class institutions together, whether we take the gross expenditure collectively, or separate the public and private funds, and take their proportions distributively. In this connection we do not separate the expenditure on Government Institutions proper, as distinguished from aided private schools and colleges. The following statement will shew the separate expenditure on Government, aided, and unaided institutions throughout the ten administrative divisions of British India, as also the different sources from which the funds spent are provided.

The figures for thousands are omitted.

	Total.	Provincial revenue.	Local.	Municipal grant.	Endowments.	Subscription.	Fees.	Other sources.
Government Institutions.	5,635	2,213	1,709	258	152	29	10,34	204
Aided Institutions.	5,829	15,29	180	79	192	597	20,96	1,156
Unaided Institutions.	942	...	43	...	47	152	368	313
	12,406	7,423	1,931	337	390	748	34,98	1,729

It will be seen from this statement that, out of an actual expenditure of a quarter and a crore of rupees, the Provincial revenues, representing the Imperial grant, amount to less than 30 per cent of the total expenditure, while the remaining 70 per cent are made up of private voluntary contributions, and local taxation. The voluntary contributions, consisting of fees, endowments, subscriptions, and other sources, represent more than 50 per cent of the total expenditure, while the local and Municipal taxation comes to about 20 percent of the whole expenditure. Confining ourselves to the expenditure on Government Institutions of all grades, we find that out of a total expenditure, ranging from 56 to 60 lacs, 35 per cent, or 20 lacs, come from local taxation, 13 lacs or 23 per cent from voluntary contributions, chiefly fees and endowments, and about 43 percent represents the expenditure from provincial funds. In other words, whether we take the whole expenditure, or only that portion of it which represents the cost of Government Institutions, the contribution from provincial funds is a little more or less than $\frac{1}{3}$ of the entire expenditure. For every rupee paid out of Imperial funds, the Government thus succeeds in securing two rupees of private contributions.

As regards the distribution of the expenditure on the different classes of Institutions, we have already stated above that, as far as Government Institutions are concerned, about 11 per cent of the total expenditure of 60 lacs represents the charge of the collegiate Institutions, about 37 per cent is the charge for high and middle class schools, and 56 percent is the charge for Primary schools. Taking the whole expenditure upon Government, aided, and unaided schools to be one and a quarter crore, the percentages are 9 per cent for colleges, 32 percent for high and middle class schools, and 59 percent on primary schools. In either view it can not be said with any justice that the so

called higher education absorbs more than its fair proportion of public funds. Of the aided and unaided Institutions maintained at a cost of 64 lacks of rupees, the colleges absorb less than 5 lacks, the high and middle class schools about 23 lacs, and the Primary Schools about 40 lacs. The sum granted in aid of private institutions out of public funds comes to about 18 lacks of rupees, a considerable portion of which represents the charge of European and Eurasian education.

These figures, representing the expenditure on various classes of schools, must be studied along with the statistics of the number of schools and scholars in the different classes of Institutions. The following statement will furnish these figures for the latest year available.

	GOVERNMENT		AIDED.		UNAIDED.	
	Institu- tions.	Scholars	Institu- tions.	Scholars.	Institu- tions.	Scholars
Arts Colleges.	35	2,547	23	1,156	9	412
High & middle class Schools.	1,378	37,202	1,900	46,311	363	14,719
Primary Schools.	14,160	5,03,604	46,355	7,33,777	13,403	2,08,249
	15,573	5,43,353	48,278	7,81,244	13,775	2,23,380

The totals given above are much smaller than those mentioned by the Reverend James Johnstone in his address before the East India Association. According to his authority, there were 678,000 pupils attending Government Institutions, 8½ lacks attending aided Institutions, and about 3 lacks attending unaided Institutions, making a total of 18 lacks and more, and exceeding the figure given above by nearly 3 lacks. Whether we accept the smaller or the larger estimate, it is clear that the progress

made in the extension of Primary education since 1854 transcends beyond all measure the much slower growth of collegiate and secondary instruction. To quote from Mr. Howell's note, it appears that in 1854 there were in all the Government Institutions 40,000 pupils receiving instruction, and the total expenditure incurred by Government was something less than 10 lacs. At that time there were 14 colleges in existence, and of the remaining institutions a very large proportion of scholars was found in the English Schools; for primary education, as understood at present, was not then undertaken by Government except to a small extent in the North-Western Provinces and in Bombay. Lord Stanley, in his despatch of 1859, attempted a review of the educational changes inaugurated after the despatch of 1854. In para 31 of that despatch, it is stated that in those early years (1854-59) "the Government Colleges were attended by a total number of 2,873 students, the high Schools were attended by 9,000 students, and the Inferior or Primary Schools were attended by about 40,000 students". The corresponding numbers given for 1881 show that in the 35 Government Colleges there were only 2,547 students, while against 40,000 scholars in Primary schools there are now no less than 6½ lacs of pupils in Government Institutions. The numbers attending the zillah schools have increased from 9,000 to 37,000, so that while the expenditure on education by Government has been raised from 10 lacs to 75 lacs, that is nearly eight-fold, the numbers attending colleges show no increase, while the students attending the secondary schools have multiplied four-fold and those attending Primary schools have multiplied sixteen-fold. If we include the schools aided by public funds in the number, we have 4,000 college students, 83,000 students receiving secondary instruction, and 17 lacs receiving primary instruction. In other words, while

the students attending colleges have increased 50 percent only, those attending high and middle schools have increased 400 percent, while the Primary scholars have increased 4,000 percent. These figures, compiled from official returns, cannot but fail to show beyond all doubt that the higher departments of education have not, as stated in the Resolution, advanced disproportionately to the injury of primary education. The lion's share of the additional funds placed at the disposal of the Educational Departments has been appropriated strictly, and to some extent even beyond the requirements of the Despatch, to the spread and improvement of Primary education. If further progress in the same direction is contemplated, Government must do what it did thrice before, increase its grant from Imperial funds. Even on the grants-in-aid principle, it is clear that the sums raised by the people by compulsory and voluntary efforts exceed the sum contributed by Government out of Imperial funds. Taking Government and aided schools together, we find that while Government contributes only 37½ lacks from Provincial funds, the amount of fees, endowments, and subscriptions, representing voluntary contributions, comes to about 40 lacks, while in addition the people raise by compulsory taxation 22 lacks. This difference between the popular and Government contributions exceeds 25 lacks, which sum the Government is bound to make good if it is anxious to carry out the terms of the Despatch in the spirit as well as in the letter.

The summary furnished above of the principal statistics of education throughout British India will prepare the reader to follow us in the detail account which we shall now proceed to give of the development of public instruction in this Presidency. During the first twenty years after the conquest of the Deccan, very little help was extended directly by Government, except that it maintained

the Sanscrit college in Poona, from the Daxina endowment of the Peshwas, and the Elphinstone Institution with its branches in Bombay. It was in 1840 that, for the first time, the work of public instruction was deemed to be of sufficient importance to be placed under the charge of a Special Board. At that time there were two collegiate Institutions, the Elphinstone Institution and the Poona Sanscrit College, three English Schools corresponding to our present High and Middle Class Institutions, and 92 vernacular schools. The attendance in all these schools was less than 6,000 boys. When the Board of Education was organized, Government sanctioned an annual grant of 1½ lack of rupees for general education, and during the 15 years of the Boards' management the progress made in the spread of education will be seen from the fact that, in 1854-55 there were as before two colleges, the one in Poona and the other in Bombay, costing in all Rs. 90,000 a year, 11 English schools costing Rs. 24,000 a year, and 240 Vernacular Schools, attended by about 19,000 scholars, and representing a cost of 54,000 rupees a year. The proceeds of fees reached the sum of 28,500 rupees, of which sum nearly $\frac{2}{3}$ were contributed by the colleges and high schools, and 8,000 rupees by the vernacular schools. About the close of 1854, and in the early part of 1855, the Board of Education made way for the Director of Public Instruction, and in Mr. Howard's first report of his administration we find that the Departmental charges for general instruction reached a total of Rs. 175,000 of which Rs. 62,000 were appropriated to the two Arts Colleges, about 26,000 Rupees to the 15 English schools, and about 87,000 Rupees represented the cost of the 322 inferior, that is vernacular, schools, and the attendance in all these institutions slightly exceeded 25,000 scholars; so that between 1840 and 1856 the colleges did not increase in numbers, and their cost to Government

did not also increase. The English schools had increased from 3 to 15, and the Vernacular Schools from 92 to 322, and the scholars attending these schools had increased from 5,000 to about 25,000. This was the condition of the Department in the first year after the promulgation of the Despatch. The way in which the Department has grown on all sides since that time is familiar to every educationist in this Presidency, and it is needless to enter into details regarding them. The following statement, showing the condition of Primary, Secondary and Higher education, the number of schools and scholars, and the charges incurred from public and private funds in respect of these three grades of Institutions, will present at one view all the more salient features of this growth from 1840 to 1880.

YEARS.	GOVERNMENT PRIMARY.		HIGH AND MIDDLE CLASS.		ARTS COLLEGES.	
	Schools.	Scholars.	Schools.	Scholars	Colleges	Scholars
1840	92	5,000	3	206	2	650 *
1855-56	322	23,000	15	1,446	2	1,400 *
1870-71	2223	119,803	146	18,033	3	303
1880-81	4225	253,842	159	11,149	3	332

* This includes the school department in Elphinstone institution.

	CHARGES OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS.		CHARGES OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS.		CHARGES OF COLLEGES.	
	Public	Private	Public	Private	Imperial	Private.
1840-41						
1855-56	65,000	11,000	24,000	6,000	69,000	15,000
1870-71	186,956	487,105	153,345	232,250	89,353	37,150
1880-81	262,819	819,542	142,452	226,924	80,164	51,622

From this statement it will be seen that, so far from any undue increase having taken place in the institutions for higher education in this Presidency, the Government Arts Colleges have stood at their old numbers, and the expenditure incurred on account of them has doubled over what it was 25 years ago, when they were first properly organized, while the fees and endowments have been trebled. The high and middle class schools have increased considerably in numbers, but still there are not as many first class high Schools as there are districts in the Presidency, while in the number of Primary schools and scholars the increase has been tenfold, i. e. from 322 schools to 4225, and from 23,000 scholars to 253,842 scholars. As regards the relative cost of superior and inferior instruction, it has been ascertained that the total charge of collegiate institutions in this Presidency does not exceed Rs. 131,791, of which sum about Rupees 80,164 come from the Provincial Funds. As regards the secondary Middle class and high schools, the total charge is nearly $3\frac{3}{4}$ lacs of Rupees, of which nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ lacs only come from Provincial Funds. Taking both these institutions together, it appears that, out of nearly 5 lacs spent from all sources on higher education in this Presidency, over $2\frac{3}{4}$ lacs were derived from endowments, fees, and Municipal Funds while the Provincial Funds contributed nearly $2\frac{1}{4}$ lacs, and this contribution has been yearly decreasing. In regard to Primary schools, the Provincial Funds contribute a little over $2\frac{1}{2}$ lacs, out of a total expenditure of about 11 lacs, and this Provincial contribution and total expenditure show an yearly increase. If the contribution from Provincial funds towards Primary education appears relatively to be less than that made to higher education, it is to be remembered that nearly seven lacs of Rupees of the local cess are devoted to this purpose exclusively. Altogether the total sum spent on Primary education exceeds by

a considerable margin the Provincial and total expenditure on higher education. We have thus shown that what is true of the whole of British India is none the less true of this Presidency, namely that Primary education has received proportionately greater stimulus from the heads of the various departments than either the secondary or collegiate education, and that the position laid down in the Government of India's Resolution in this matter, as regards the unequal advance of higher and lower education, is not correct. We are free to admit that Government is justified in seeking to utilize its funds to the best public advantage, but there is really no reason to doubt, that its officers have faithfully carried out the instructions of the Despatch, and if Government will only provide an additional grant for Primary education in the way we have suggested above, nothing can be more in keeping with the lines hitherto followed than a further development of popular instruction in this Presidency as well as in other parts of India.

Though we have found it necessary thus far to vindicate the action of the Educational authorities in this Presidency from the implied censure passed upon them by the Government, yet we feel no doubt that Bombay has not kept pace with Bengal and other parts of India in promoting the cause of Primary education by taking advantage of the indigenous machinery available at its hands in the same way as has been successfully accomplished elsewhere. This subject of indigenous education may safely be said to be the weakest point in the policy adopted by the officers charged with the spread of education in this Presidency. While everywhere else in India the most strenuous efforts have been made to secure the cooperation of the people in this connection, the ruling principle with the Bombay officers has been to cry down the indigenous systems, and insist upon the claim of the Department to have an exclusive monopoly of Primary Education throughout

the Presidency. The result is that Bombay stands alone in having the largest number of Government Primary schools, and the smallest number of primary aided schools. This difference is not one of names, but represents a waste of energy and of money which, if it could be saved by anything that we can here urge, would be a most important departure from the previous traditions, and would further remove to a great extent the difficulty of funds, which is at present pleaded as a reason why Primary Education is comparatively at a stand-still. While in Bengal out of $12\frac{1}{2}$ lacks of rupees spent from Provincial Funds more than 8 lacks are devoted to the subsidizing and support of aided schools; in Bombay out of a total expenditure of nearly 6 lacks from the same source, less than a lack is devoted to aided institutions. In Madras the proportions are more nearly equal. In fact there is not another Province in British India where the disproportion between the expenditure on aided and Government institutions is so great as in this Presidency. As a consequence we find, that during the last 10 years, while the number of aided Primary schools in Bengal has increased from 3,839 to 39,665, and in Madras they have increased from nearly 3,000 to 4,000, here in Bombay the aided Primary schools, excluding a few Missionary institutions and a still smaller number of indigenous schools, are conspicuous by their absence. All our schools are Government Departmental schools as far as they are recognized by the Department. Corresponding with the growth of the schools has been the increase of the number of scholars. The scholars in this Presidency attending Primary schools have increased only 75 per cent in 10 years, while in Bengal they have increased 600 per cent, and in Madras 1600 per cent. The expenditure in Bengal is about twice that of Bombay, while the expenditure in the Madras Presidency is the same as that in Bombay. Compared by large results it follows from these figures that our expenditure has not

been equally fruitful as in the other Presidencies. This subject of indigenous schools must be approached in another spirit than that which has recommended itself hitherto to the Bombay authorities. A few statistics of indigenous institutions will illustrate our position better, and suggest the line of reform in which we wish the Department to move in the future.

The numbers of pupils attending the government and indigenous schools in nine Districts of this Presidency in 1841 and 1871 will be seen from the following table:

Name of the District.	Year		Total.	Number of pupils in Government Schools.	Number of pupils in Indigenous Schools.	Total.	Year.	Number of pupils in Government Schools.	Number of pupils in Indigenous Schools.	Total.
	1841	1871								
Ahmednagar and Nasik. Khandesh.	1,375	7,279	8,654	1,375	7,279	8,654	1871	42,863	4,583	47,446
Surat.....	630	3,002	3,632	630	3,002	3,632		9,474	1,525	10,999
Kheda.....	466	3,460	3,926	466	3,460	3,926		12,102	2,126	14,228
Ahmedabad.....	413	6,674	7,087	413	6,674	7,087		9,456	5,890	15,346
Ratanagiri.....	782	2,197	2,979	782	2,197	2,979		6,645	3,732	10,377
Tanna.....	661	3,821	4,482	661	3,821	4,482	Tanna & Colaba	10,334	2,104	12,438
Poona.....	2,460	3,195	5,655	2,460	3,195	5,655		8,595	3,273	11,869
Total.....	6,787	29,628	36,415	6,787	29,628	36,415		99,470	23,233	1,22,703

This statement makes it evident that, 40 years ago, there were more than four times as many pupils receiving instruction in indigenous schools as in government schools, and that after 30 years' Departmental work the Government schools contain nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ times more pupils than those in indigenous schools. The absolute number attending indigenous schools in the Poona and Ratnagiri collectorates shows a positive, though small, increase in 30 years, while the total fall off in the attendance of all indigenous schools is less than 20 percent. This is a very striking testimony to the great hold which the indigenous system has upon the popular mind. Entering more into details, we find from the appendices attached to Mr. Howard's first report, that in 1855-56, there were in the nine Districts of the Deccan Division, 1194 indigenous schools attended by 25,149 scholars, who paid in fees about Rs. 50,000 to their masters. In the Gujerath Division, there were in the same year 749 schools attended by 34,411 scholars in that year. The fees in these indigenous schools were, and still, as a rule continue to be, more than twice as heavy as those charged in Government schools; the average number of scholars in these schools was 20 in the Deccan, and 50 in the Gujerath Districts, and the masters earned about Rs. 40 a year in the Deccan and 80 to 90 Rs in Gujerath. In this same year, Dr. Peet reported that there were 428 schools in the Tanna and Ratnagiri collectorates. In the Belgaum District in a census taken about the same time, it was found by Captain Lester that, against 31 Government schools attended by 1893 boys, there were 227 indigenous schools attended by 4470 boys. The latest figures available for indigenous schools are those for 1875-76, from which we find that, in that year just preceding the famine, there were in all 2714 indigenous schools attended by 61,448 scholars. In the Ratnagiri District the number of indigenous schools and scholars actually exceeded the corresponding figure of Go-

vernment institutions, and in Dharwar and Belgaum Districts the indigenous schools were nearly equal in numbers with the Government schools, while in Sind, the indigenous schools still exceed those supported by Government. Later information collected from official sources warrants the supposition that the existing number of indigenous schools exceed considerably the figures given above for 1875-76, and is nearly 4000, which is the latest figure for Government schools, and that the scholars attending them are nearly a lack in all. These facts and figures are proof of a wonderful vitality in the indigenous system of education, for without some such natural adaptation to the wants and inclinations of the people it can not be lightly supposed that these schools, competing as they do with the comparatively free Government Schools, without any help from the State, and without any prestige or organization, could have maintained their ground so long, and so well. Even now the city of Poona is said to find work for about 100 schools of this sort, and Sholapoor supports 38, while the island of Bombay has more than 100. It is all very well for official Inspectors to cry down the instruction and discipline in these schools, but those who rate them so low have yet to explain the anomaly of their continued and popular existence against such odds. We believe, and we make this declaration after wading through an immense mass of official reports from the days of the Board to our own times; we believe that these schools have suffered from the same sort of prejudice which, in a certain class of minds, is begotten of official pride and prejudice against every indigenous effort. There are some minds which can not be made to believe that qualified efficiency is possible outside the sacred fringe of the official hierarchy. It is the good fortune of Bengal and Madras that this prejudice has taken no deep root there, and that under strong administrations, Inspectors and Directors of all grades have been obliged to accommodate them-

selves to the ascertained wishes of the people. In Bengal, the *Guru Mahashaya*, corresponding to our *Pantoji*, has secured a recognition for himself, and the Department there has found that, by seeking the cooperation of these almost hereditary teachers, they have been able to utilize their funds to the greatest practical advantage with the smallest expenditure. In Bengal, a grant of five lacs has been found sufficient to support, with their own independent receipts, 40,000 School Masters. The grant is spent partly by way of stipends or subsidies to the salaries paid to the masters, but chiefly by means of payments for results, tested at the great central examinations for scholarships. In Burma the Buddhist priests, and the monks with their monasteries, are utilized in the same manner for state purposes. In Madras, the *Pyal* schools come under the same category, and these are visited and encouraged by a class of officials who are there called inspecting school masters. We fail to see why some such beginning should not be made in our own Presidency. It needs no argument to show that a vernacular school master, paid wholly by the state, and prevented from taking any fees in money or in kind from his pupils or from his pupils' parents, must cost three times as much at the least as a man who is free to make his living on the appreciation of his work by those who send their children to learn under him. In the old native tradition a teacher is expected to teach for the love of the thing, and for the honor conferred by it, as much as a preacher or a Doctor or a Lawyer, and the payments made to them were honorariums given more from a sense of duty than by way of hire. A small subsidy paid to such a man to guarantee his position against ordinary risks would be of permanent benefit to him without destroying his independence. Now that the Government is so anxious without increasing its grant to increase the funds devoted to Primary education, we cannot conceive any more advantageous method of attaining

this end in this Presidency, than of adopting the Bengal plan of dealing with these indigenous schools. We know it has been said time out of mind, and will be said again, that these indigenous masters know and can teach nothing, they are lazy and careless and irregular, they enforce no discipline, and do not understand the right method of teaching. To all these objections we have only one answer to give, namely, that the grown-up men of this generation have all been taught in their young days by indigenous school masters, and every one of them cherishes or ought to cherish the wholesome discipline that he had to undergo. As regards the choice of subjects, we believe official authorities make too much point of the crammed book-knowledge of the elements of grammar, geography, and history which are taught in Government schools. These subjects are learnt to be forgotten by the vast majority of boys, while others which are of much more importance in practical life are little attended to. This reproach has been to some extent removed of late years by a change in the standards, but even now the difference is admitted to be considerably in favour of indigenous schools. No body can be better judges of the wants of the children put to school than their parents, and as long as parents persist in adhering to the indigenous system, it is useless to speak about a defect here and a defect there, which can be only remedied by actively interesting the official Inspectors in this too long neglected part of their duty.

Besides, it should be remembered that, as things at present stand, nearly 85 percent of the Brahmin and other high caste boys receive the rudiments of education in the existing schools. The class that has now to be reached is the agricultural community forming the back-bone of the population. They require first to be better fed and clothed and housed before they can be asked with advantage to educate themselves. A knowledge of the rudiments

of reading and writing sufficient for their daily life is all that can be expected at present, and this knowledge the indigenous system of schools provides satisfactorily and cheaply. A few picked boys might be helped by free scholarships to pass through the higher grades of instruction, but for the majority the simplest rudiments will suffice for many generations to come.

The financial argument, however, appears to us to be the strongest in this connection. There are about 26,652 towns and villages in this Presidency, and each zilla has about on an average 1100 villages. At present there are on an average about 130 schools in each zilla, that is to say, there is a school in one out of nine villages. The remaining eight villages are yet to be provided with schools. From the census returns for 1872, we find that, out of a total of 26,652 towns and villages in this Presidency, about 9,813 villages have a population of less than 200 inhabitants, about 8,913 villages have a population between 200 and 500 souls, and about 4,774 villages have a population between 500 and 1,000 souls, so that out of 26,652, 23,500 villages or nearly 85 percent have less than 1,000 inhabitants. The remaining 3,000 with a population exceeding 1,000 souls are under the present system provided with schools. The extension of popular education, therefore, means practically the establishment of vernacular schools in villages whose population is below 1,000. Of these villages for our present purposes we may safely exclude for the present nearly 10,000 with a population of less than 200 souls; for these villages cannot be expected to secure a sufficient number of children of school-going age to provide from fees adequate remuneration to a private school master. In a population of less than 200 souls, there will be hardly 15 boys of school-going age, and even if the parents of these boys paid fees at the usual rates which prevail in private schools, the amount

will be insufficient to encourage private adventure in this direction. Villages with a population ranging from 200 to 1,000, number about 14,000, and it is to this class of villages that the work of extending primary education must at present be confined. In other words we have to provide for about 14,000 more schools in this Presidency. The school-going boys in the Presidency being roughly $\frac{1}{7}$ of the male population, number about 11 lacs, out of whom the present Government and aided schools provide for $2\frac{1}{2}$ lacs. The indigenous schools provide for a little less than a lac. These deductions leave about 75 percent of the children of school-going age, numbering between 7 and 8 lacs, and inhabiting about 23,000 villages, as the numbers for which provision has yet to be made. On the system which at present prevails in Bombay, 14,000 additional schools will cost 14 lacs of rupees at the least, allowing $8\frac{1}{2}$ Rs. a month for each school. On the system we advocate, and the success of which has been so satisfactorily established by the experience of Bengal, we feel confident that with an expenditure of four lacs of rupees, every village, with a population exceeding 200 souls, can be provided with a school. We should first incorporate the existing indigenous schools by extending a small capitation grant for every boy in regular attendance, and an additional grant on the payment by results system for every boy whom these schools send up for the free scholarship examinations. We should in the next place encourage the establishment of more private schools, either by the class from whom indigenous school-masters come, or from certificated teachers who should be licensed to open schools on their own account, and make their own arrangements for receiving payments in kind or money from the villagers, the amount so derived being subsidized by a state gratuity, ranging from 2 to 5 rupees a month, according to the numbers attending the school, and its

results at the free scholarship examinations. Hundreds of trained and certificated young men who now complain of a want of occupation will volunteer to devote themselves to the work of instruction on these terms. These schools will, it must be allowed, not admit of inspection and examinations by the present establishment. It is our firm impression, however, that it would be labour wasted to apply to these schools the standard examination system at present followed. The time spent by the Deputy Inspectors in attaining an impossible accuracy in the fixing of marks for each subject, in the case of each individual boy examined, is needlessly wasted, and might be better utilized in examining the pick of the boys from these schools for scholarships to be held at the central Talooka or Town school. These scholarship examinations will furnish a self-acting check upon the efficiency of these schools and will stimulate the efforts of private teachers to excel each other in the same way that the entrance examination of the University stimulates the efforts of the high schools all over the country. If additional establishments were wanted to help the Deputy Inspectors, we should advocate the adoption of the Madras plan by which the services of inspecting school masters are utilized to visit and encourage the indigenous private schools within their circle. Even at present, we find that the proportion of so-called untrained to trained masters is as 1268 to 1912, the untrained being in the majority. In the Poona and Sholapoor Districts, for which we have obtained detailed figures, we find that out of a total of 634 masters, only 161 are trained. Of the whole number of 634 masters, 347 or more than 50 percent draw less salaries than 8 rupees per month, so that practically the present system does not depart as widely from the one we advocate as those, who are not conversant with its details, are prone to imagine. As the average income of indigenous school-masters varies from 40 to 80 Rupees per annum, and as the fees levied in these Schools

are generally twice as heavy as those in Government schools, we cannot be far wrong in estimating that, with an average expenditure of 30 Rs. all round for each school, a subsidy of four lacs will suffice to secure the foundation of 14,000 additional schools in this Presidency. In Bengal the sum of 5 lacs is found sufficient as a grant in aid for 40,000 schools. The same grant ought to be, therefore, able to suffice for the establishment of $\frac{1}{3}$ that number of schools in this Presidency. This is our solution of the main problem proposed by the Government of India for the deliberation of the Education Commission, and we commend it to the attention of its members, as its practical success is guaranteed by the experience of Bengal. It ensures a broad foundation for the healthy and systematic development of public instruction, it conserves and directs national energies and economises state expenditure without involving any sacrifice of the help at present extended to higher education.

The last point with which we shall conclude these observations relates to the question of the ways and means by which additional funds can be secured for extending Primary Education on the principles laid down above. We think we have made out a fair case to justify the Commission in urging upon the Government of India the necessity under present circumstances of increasing the Provincial grant by Rs. 2,500,000 at the least, so as to make it up to one crore on condition that this increase should be devoted to Primary Education exclusively. Such a concession would be in keeping with the spirit of the Despatch and the grant in aid rules; for, as we have already shown, the Government expenditure on the three grades of educational institutions comes to about 50 lacs, while the compulsory and voluntary payments from other sources exceed 60 lacs. In case, however, Government adheres to its declared inability to allot additional funds for this purpose, it becomes necessary to inquire how the four or five lacs required for the esta-

plishment of Primary Schools in every village of this Presidency with a population exceeding 200 souls can be raised. There are several ways by which these additional funds can be secured. The most eligible that occurs to us is the allotment of $\frac{1}{2}$ in place of the $\frac{1}{3}$ of the one anna local cess now made over to the Educational Department for Primary schools. The proceeds of the $\frac{1}{3}$ share amount to about $7\frac{1}{2}$ lacs, and if the payment was increased to 50 percent of the local cess, the yield would be 11 lacs, or nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ lacs more than the present amount. When the Local Funds were first started, the extension of education was, equally with public works of local utility, held out as an inducement to the people to contribute. As a matter of fact, the funds set apart for public works are to a considerable extent directed to other purposes, especially for the relief of many burdens which properly fall upon Imperial funds. The $3\frac{1}{2}$ lacs so obtained might be supplemented by increasing the Municipal grants in the large towns. The total expenditure on Education from Municipal funds at present comes to about Rs. 80,000, of which about Rs. 44,000 appear to be under the control of the Education Department. The Police contribution from Municipal funds exceeds one lack of rupees. As under the new Resolution of the Government of India, the Municipalities will be relieved of this Police burden, it will be fair to require these Municipal towns to raise their contribution by 50,000 rupees, so as to bring the Municipal grant for educational purposes to nearly one lack of Rupees. At present it cannot be denied that the town populations derive a larger advantage from the expenditure of the Educational Department than the rural villages; 179 towns with a population of 28 lacs have at present 756 schools attended by 81,000 scholars, while 26,473 villages, with a population of 135 lacs, have 2970 schools attended by 145,000 scholars. This disproportion ought in all fairness to be corrected to some extent under the new arrange-

ment. By thus increasing the proportion of local cess appropriations and the Municipal grants, we shall secure the necessary additional funds required for the extension of Primary education in the rural districts.

As some objection might be raised by the District officers to the larger appropriation proposed by us, it will be necessary to suggest other methods for attaining the same end. In this view it must be borne in mind that the Local Funds in the hands of the Department have a large balance to their credit as yet unappropriated. In March 1881, this balance was nearly $5\frac{1}{2}$ lacs. It was considerably larger in the years preceding the famine. Taking it at the figure shown in the accounts of 1880-81 we do not see any reason why this balance should be allowed to lie idle for years together. It might be as well invested in Government securities, either the whole of it, or a considerable portion of it. By this appropriation a permanent fund of Rs. 20,000 will be secured by way of interest from year to year without affecting the principal. Besides this local fund balance, we find from the accounts now before us that the Department actually effects a very large saving from the Budget allowance, which amounted in 1878-79 to Rs. 110,000. In 1879-80 the saving from Provincial Funds was Rs. 73,000, and in 1880-81 the amount again exceeded one lack of Rupees. We might safely estimate, therefore, that the annual savings from Provincial allotments exceed Rs. 75,000 a year. The local fund allotments show also considerable savings. The average for three years exceeds Rs. 50,000. These savings, together with the interest on the unexpended balance, will amount to Rs. 150,000 which are ready to hand for the spread of Primary education. The Provincial and local fund allotments are no doubt appropriated to definite purposes, and cannot be diverted to other ends, but this technical difficulty can be got over by inducing the Government to sanction a larger nomina-

allotment, which will permit these annual savings to be devoted to the establishment of Primary schools. Besides this Rs. 150,000, we think it is possible to raise the fees in all the high and middle class schools. We have satisfied ourselves on this point by a reference to the authorities in charge of colleges and high schools. The fees paid by the students in the Poona College for instance do not exceed Rs. 5 a month, while in the local high school they range from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 rupees, and in the Elphinstone high school, they are as high as 5 Rs. The yield of fees from colleges, high schools and middle class schools at present is Rs. 180,000 and this can safely be raised to Rs. 225,000. There can be no injustice in a moderate increase of these fees, especially as the interests of poor students will be provided for by increasing the percentage of free scholars from 5 to 15 per cent. This increase of fees, if judiciously managed, will secure half a lac of rupees. At present the Provincial funds pay Rs. 222,616 lacks out of a total expenditure of Rs. 501,167 on arts colleges and high schools, while on Primary schools an equal expenditure from Provincial funds is supplemented by $8\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of expenditure from other sources. By gradually raising the fees this disproportion will, to a certain extent, be remedied, and it will set free at least half a lack of rupees from higher instruction to be devoted to the extension of Primary schools. Another half a lack will be obtained from an increase of the municipal grants. We have thus sketched out a plan by which $2\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of Rupees can be secured to help the extension of Primary education. The Inspection and direction charges at present exceed 2 lacs of Rupees, which represents upon an expenditure of 24 lacs the high proportion of 10 percent. The expenditure on colleges also comes to about two lacs, most of which represents the salaries of Professors. By the substitution of native for European agency both in the

Professorial and the Inspection staff to a greater extent than has been contemplated hitherto, we may well hope to effect a saving of Rs. 25,000 at least per year, without affecting the quality of the work done at present. In the other Presidencies, native Inspectors and Principals of colleges have been found to give equal satisfaction with the European officers employed by the Department, and there is no reason why the same experiment should not succeed equally well in Bombay. We have thus suggested means by which a sum of nearly three lacks of Rupees of additional funds can be made available without touching any single institution at present in existence. This fund properly managed ought to suffice for the establishment of at least 8,000 schools in the rural districts on the plan suggested above, which will make it possible to have a school in every village which has a larger population than 500 souls. This will afford work to the Department for at least 20 years to come, by which time we might be well able to see our way to secure an additional grant from the Imperial funds, or obtain other resources by which the lower limit of villages with a population ranging from 200 to 500 might be reached. We must bring these observations to a close here, and we trust that the Members of the Education Commission will take into their serious consideration the several suggestions we have ventured to make, and give effect by their recommendation to the only economic plan that appears to us to be practicable under existing circumstances of carrying out the beneficent views of the Government of India, without adopting any reactionary measures, or dislocating the existing machinery of the Department, and jeopardizing the considerable success which has attended the efforts of Government in furnishing a complete system of national education for British India. As a matter of fact, the so called higher classes are but a small speck in the dead

level of poverty which is the normal condition of society in this country, and even the few rich families that do exist do not take any advantage of the existing system. It is the middle, or rather the hereditary literary and mercantile classes, about 10 per cent of the whole population, which appreciate the present system of instruction, and in the work of Indian regeneration the real leadership belongs to this class of society. Until they are permeated by the leaven of new ideas, it is useless to expect any general or lasting progress. They alone can furnish the teachers who will undertake the work of popular education. India's present circumstances, social and economical, require that these agencies should be allowed to operate freely in all directions, and it becomes as much the duty of Government to help the middle classes to obtain higher education, as to assist the lower to secure primary instruction. When the richer classes increase in numbers, and in their appreciation of the responsibilities of rank and position, and endow institutions in the way the richer classes in other countries have done, it will be time to consider the subject in the spirit which has found expression in the Resolution of the Government of India. The Educational Despatch recognized this double duty of Government in the most explicit terms, and it certainly never contemplated any withdrawal of state help from higher instruction, till this could be done without retarding the general progress of the people. Any precipitate action on the part of Government can only end in handing over the charge of higher education into the hands of the Protestant Missionary societies, whose chief end is the propagation of their

faith. This consummation is naturally unwelcome not only to the mass of the Native population, but also to a large majority of the Christian community as is evidenced by the protest of the Catholic Bishops. The political and religious effects of such a reactionary policy will be disastrous, and as we have already shown, the Government is really not placed on the horns of the imaginary dilemma which it has needlessly conjured up as a justification for the abandonment of its present neutral position.

HIGHER EDUCATION—ITS CLAIMS ON STATE SUPPORT.

There is unfortunately an impression abroad that the object of the Government of India in appointing an Education Commission, in deference to certain influential agitation at home got up by English Missionary bodies, is to transfer the moderate funds, at present devoted to High Education, to the further support of Primary Education, and to leave the former to take care of itself. The plea put forth by the Missionary societies in justification of such a proceeding is that it is the duty of Government "to extend the benefits of education to those classes of the community who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name, by their own unaided efforts," or, in the words of Sir Charles Wood, the author of the Educational Despatch of 1854, "that the resources of the State should be so applied as to assist those who can not be expected to help themselves, and that the richer classes of the people should gradually be induced to provide for their own education." H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore, representing the best native feeling on the point, has urged on the other hand that it is equally the duty of Government to take care of high, as well as of low, education in all countries, and especially in a country so circumstanced as India, where there is not such a marked difference in wealth between the upper and lower classes as in England, and where higher education is chiefly sought for by people whose means are extremely limited. This controversy appears to us to have originated in a comparative ignorance and fallacious misrepresentation of facts, which the inquiries of the Commission will not fail to enlighten and correct, and we need urge no apology, therefore, for proposing to contribute our quota to the discussion in this place.

The funds devoted to the education of nearly

200 millions of its subjects by the British Indian Government are so modest, that it is greatly to be regretted, the policy of robbing Peter to pay Paul should be thought of, instead of allotting something like an adequate proportion of the revenues raised to such an important purpose as national education. The British Indian Government raises from the people an yearly revenue of close upon $68\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ Rs per head, and spends on their education about $\frac{3}{4}$ million, or less than 8 pies per head per annum. This miserably small expenditure from the public revenues on national education is not very creditable to a civilized government. If the Indian Government is really anxious to carry out the scheme of a truly national education, as foreshadowed in the Despatch of 1854, it will best satisfy the world of its sincerity by allotting an increasing share of the public taxes to the support of education. This is its highest duty and its greatest safety. The absolute amount devoted by Government towards public education is in itself so small that the question of the relative claims of higher and lower education on state support really does not arise for practical consideration; for even if all higher institutions were closed, the saving would be only a fraction of what national education justly demands. As the question, however, has been raised, it is necessary to expose the fallacies underlying all analogies drawn from England in their application to India.

The Governor-General in Council, in para 12 of the Government Resolution appointing the Education Commission, says:—"It has been not unfrequently stated that the wealthier classes do not at present pay enough for the education of their children. The Governor-General in Council is disposed to think that a good deal of misapprehension exists as to the real truth in this matter; but it is one into which the Commission should make careful inquiry. It is, no doubt, right that persons in good circumstances should

pay the full cost of their children's education, or at any rate that no part of this should fall upon State Funds." In reply to this the Maharaja of Travancore has observed :—" The argument that the higher classes are able to look after themselves, but that the lower classes are not, is a false one, for the difference in wealth between the higher and lower classes is not greater than the difference of cost between higher and lower education." This is especially true of a country like India, where the High Schools and Colleges are chiefly filled by the children not of the upper ten, or ten thousand, but of the poor middle classes of society whose average income will be found to be between £ 3 and £ 4 per month. We have obtained returns from half a dozen high schools and one of the Colleges, showing the approximate incomes of the parents whose children are attending the higher classes in these institutions, and we find that more than 75 per cent of the students in the Mofussil High Schools belong to families whose monthly income does not exceed 50 Rs. a month. With the exception of Colleges and High Schools situated in the three great Presidency towns, (Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras) which are partly attended by sons of wealthy men, all the other Government High Schools and Colleges are chiefly attended by the children of persons of very limited means, (viz Government Servants, Vakils &c) whose average income will be found not to exceed the limits given above. The Government of India partly acknowledge this, for in their Resolution above referred to, they say in para 12:—" Hitherto those who have been most ready to take advantage of superior education have frequently belonged to families of comparatively limited means, and there should be, in the opinion of the Government of India, no such sudden and general raising of fees as to carry high education beyond the reach of those classes who at present *bona fide* seek for it, or to convert the Government Colleges into places to which only the higher classes can procure admission."

Speaking of the Bombay Presidency, with which we are fully acquainted, and the figures for which are available to us, we affirm that, notwithstanding the humble means of the classes availing themselves of high education, they have been paying a larger and larger portion of this cost of their education, (as will appear from the figures in the following Tables for 1870-71 and 1880-81, taken from the Bombay Government Reports on Public Instruction), and that on the whole, the Colleges pay at present 36 per cent, and the High Schools as much as, or nearly, 50 per cent of their entire cost to Government.

TABLE No. 1.
Cost of Government Colleges (Arts and Professional.)

Years.	No. of Institutions.	Charges.		
		Provincial Revenues.	Fees and Endowments.	Total.
1870—71	6	1,46,304	44,235	1,90,539
1880—81	6	1,59,708	84,020	2,43,728
Increase.....	0	13,404	39,785	53,18

TABLE No. 2.
Cost of Government High Schools.

Years.	No. of Institutions.	Charges.		
		Provincial Revenues.	Fees and Endowments.	Total.
1870—71	10	Rs. 76,574	Rs. 78,500	Rs. 1,55,074
1880—81	19	1,21,722	1,11,202	2,32,924
Increase.....	9	45,148	32,702	77,850

It will be seen from these tables that the fees and proceeds of endowments in Colleges have nearly doubled in the course of the last ten years, and in High Schools the proceeds from these sources have increased half as much again. There has been no increase in the number of Colleges, and the increase in the number of High Schools is merely nominal, as nine of the schools, which were called in 1870-71 English Schools, are now styled High Schools. The middle classes cannot, therefore, be charged with receiving their education free of cost, and the voluntary payments made by them represent a very high percentage on income, almost approaching the European, or rather the English, standard; for, on the Continent, education is actually much cheaper than in India. The rate of College fees levied in this Presidency ranges from Rs 10 to Rs. 5 a month, and of High School fees from Rs. 4 to 1½ a month. These rates are high enough, considering the means of the people who have to pay them, and will not appear low even when compared to the fees paid by the higher classes of such a rich country as England. In support of this position we quote the testimony of one of the highest authorities on the subject. Principal Wordsworth, in his report on the Elphinstone College for 1878-79, says "It is often said by ignorant and prejudiced persons that the State in India gives a nearly gratuitous education to pauper boys, who are thus raised into positions of life for which they are wholly unfitted. The fact is, that high education is much more nearly gratuitous in England than it is in India, owing to the liberality of royal and episcopal benefactors in ancient times, and the cost of such an education as our young men receive in Indian Colleges is higher than the cost of a similar, though probably much superior, education in France and Germany at the present time. I believe that an Indian parent who maintains a boy at College, and pays Rs. 120 annually in College fees, makes a greater proportionate sacrifice than a parent

in the same position in either of the two countries just mentioned. The cost of maintenance is probably higher, but the actual fees for instruction are less. It would be easy to apply the same test to Oxford and Cambridge expenses. I have called attention to these facts because an opinion appears to prevail that the education of the middle classes of India is assisted by the State to a degree which is unknown in other countries."

The munificence of royal and priestly donors commended by Principal Wordworth is the work of seven centuries. We cannot count as many decades in this country, and yet the leaders of our middle classes have made good use of their wealth. The wealthier portion of the merchants and other representatives of the middle classes of this Presidency have made large contributions to High Education in the shape of donations to the University, and to the funds of Colleges and High Schools.

Names of Government Institutions.	Annual proceeds of endowments	Capitalized value.
Arts Colleges	22,500	5½ lacks.
Law class	2,028	½ lack.
School of Art	5,000	1½ lacks.
High Schools	7,204	2 lacks.
Middle class schools	3,150	1 lack.
Scholarship and prizes	1,000	2½ lacks.
University	8,000	2 lacks.
Private donations to Educational Buildings		16 lacks.

These figures prove that not only are the middle classes paying their full share for the educational advantages they enjoy, but that they are making an ample return to posterity by their large contributions towards the establishment of permanent foundations.

It is to be noted, moreover, that for a population of close upon 20 millions, there are only 6 Government

Colleges (both Arts and Professional), and 19 High Schools. These numbers are certainly modest, and the state provision for High Education cannot be said to be over-liberal. There is not more than one Government High School in every Zilla, and some Zillas are still without a High School. These Government High Schools, one in each district, serve as model schools to Private Institutions—models in discipline, efficiency, and *morale*. The Bombay Government in their Resolution on the last Report on Public Instruction say, "Of a total of 4,398 so-called "Government Institutions" (as distinguished from aided and inspected Institutions,) only 99 with 9,698 scholars are entered in the Provincial Budget, Government paying all charges including pension and leave allowances of teachers, and crediting fees and other receipts as revenue. The remaining 4,299 Schools with 255,764 scholars are borne on Local Budgets." Again, "The 99 State Institutions include the six Government Colleges, or classes affiliated to the University, a few Special Schools of Medicine, Engineering, Forestry, Agriculture, and Art, the Government High Schools, of which approximately one is maintained in each district as a Model School, six Training Colleges for Teachers, and two exceptional Camp Schools. *This State Establishment is moderate in scale,* (the Italics are ours), and it must again be understood, that the gross cost does not fall on the State. The Budget receipts under Education are derived from this part of the system, and they represent a very considerable percentage of the total expenditure."

Suppose Government resolves to sever its connection tomorrow with these Colleges and High Schools, what savings does it expect to make by this step? Surely it will have to make grants to these institutions as to other private European and Missionary Schools, and, looking to their far greater efficiency, we are certain that the grants they will be entitled to, under the grants-in-aid Rules, will not much fall short

of the expenditure now incurred for them as Government Institutions. The total state expenditure in this Presidency on aided Institutions in 1880-81 was Rs. 1,16,447, against Rs. 3,79,529 expended from private sources, that is, the state contributed about $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the total cost of aided schools. If all Government Institutions were similarly subsidized, they will, by reason of their superior efficiency, earn 50 per cent of the total expenditure, which is the present contribution from private sources in High Schools. The great superiority of all Government Institutions of the higher class—Colleges and Schools, to private, and especially Missionary, Colleges and Schools will be seen from the following Tables extracted from the official reports for 1880-81. By the proposed withdrawal of direct Government support, that superiority will be either lost, or, if retained, it will entitle them to very large grants, and the saving effected by a change of system will be only nominal.

Results of Prescribed Examinations of the University 1880-81.

Nature of Examination.	Number Passed.		Percentage of passed scholars on total number on Rolls.	
	Government Institutions.	Aided Institutions.	Government Institutions.	Aided Institutions.
(1) Arts Colleges				
Master of Arts	3	1	33.33	16.16
B. A.	30	4	46.87	44.44
First B. Sc	2	0	100.00	0
F. A. and				
Previous Examinations	134	45	50.00	42.05
No Professional Private or Aided Colleges.				
(2) High Schools				
Matriculation	191	180	6.46	6.17

Results of Inspectorial Examination of Government and Private High Schools 1880-81.

Name of School	Percentage of passed on numbers presented.
[a] Government or under Government management	
1. Elphinstone High School	33
2. Poona	26
3. Satara	28
4. Ratnagiri	47
5. Sholapur	42
6. Thanna	38
7. Dhulia	20
8. Ahmednagar	24
9. Nasik	18
10. Surat.	27
11. Ahmedabad	28
12. Bhoynagar.	46
13. Brooch	40
14. Nariad	44
15. Rajkot	48
16. Junagad	58
17. Nawanagar	73
18. Belgaum	53
19. Dharwar	33
20. Karwar	21
21. Kolhapur	62
22. Karachi	75
23. Hyderabad	61
24. Shikarpur	36
[b] Private Missionary High Schools.	
1. Free Church High School Poona	9
2. General Assembly Do. Do. Bombay.	18
3. Free General Assembly Do. Do.	15
4. Robert Money Do. Do. Do.	8
5. St. Mary's Do. Do. Do.	22
6. Surat Irish Mission Do.	27
7. Ahmedabad Irish Mission Do.	25
8. Belgaum London Mission	29

We hope thus to have established the following positions, (1) The Government Institutions for high education are utilized not by the rich classes, but by the middle and poor classes. (2) These classes pay in fees and endowments as large a percentage on their

income as in England. (3) They are besides steadily laying the foundation of independent schools by large endowments. (4) The Government provision for higher instruction is at present on a very moderate scale. (5) The withdrawal by Government of this support will effect no financial saving. (6) The total provision for education is so small that no mere adjustments and appropriations can prove of any service. (7) The withdrawal of state support under these circumstances will only deteriorate the quality of education.

For the several reasons set forth above, it follows in the words of the Educational Despatch, that in this Presidency at least, the time has not arrived for Government to make over the charge of high education into the hands of local, private, or missionary agencies. Para 62 of the Educational Despatch 1854 runs thus.

Par: 62. "We would look forward to a time, when any general system of education, entirely provided by Government, may be discontinued with the gradual advance of the system of grants-in-aid, and when many of the existing Government Institutions, especially those of the higher order, may be safely closed, or transferred to the management of local bodies under the control of, and aided by, the state; but it is far from our wish to check the spread of education, in the slightest degree, by the abandonment of a single school to probable decay, and we therefore entirely confide in your discretion, and in that of the different local authorities, while keeping this object steadily in view, to act "with caution, and to be guided by special reference to the particular circumstances which affect the demand for education in different parts of India."

If the Colleges and High Schools in this Presidency were abandoned now, we do not doubt that many of the Colleges surely, and the High Schools probably, will cease to exist, as there are at present no organized and responsible local bodies which can take

care of them. No doubt, the Municipal corporations of the great towns are the proper authorities who should take charge of them. But Municipal corporations in this Presidency, and we believe the same is true of the country generally, are still in their infancy, and they are mostly the nominees of Government; they have not yet learnt to understand and administer efficiently Municipal affairs in other departments, and the elective franchise is yet to be tried as an experiment. When this experiment succeeds, when the Municipal Committees are no longer the nominees of Government, but become the responsible representatives of the people, when they come to understand and feel their responsibilities in these educational, as in all other Municipal, matters, it will be time for Government to make over the educational Institutions, high and low, of all the Municipal towns to their management; and we are certain, they will look after them, and tend them with much greater care than it is possible for Government to do. We believe that under Lord Ripon's rule this happy time is not far distant.

It may be urged in some quarters that, in this Presidency, there are many graduates of the University, and other educated persons, who would come forward to ensure the maintenance of High Schools, and even of Colleges, were these institutions transferred to their charge, and liberal state grants given to encourage them in their efforts. They have already in Bombay, Poona, and in some other towns, established private High Schools, and might safely be trusted to do the same everywhere, if Government withdrew its competition. But if we look to the past history of these private Schools, to the way in which they have been managed, to their extremely short lives, and to their inherent instability, we cannot but be convinced that it will be altogether unsafe, if not positively dangerous, to entrust the high education of the people solely to private adventure. In the first

place, all the private High Schools we have, or once had, were started by persons, who established them as a means of livelihood. They have been used solely as the stepping-stone to the ladder which led to fortune. As soon as the managers secured their entrance into some other more lucrative walk of life, the risky enterprise was neglected, and the school collapsed under the neglect. In addition to this inherent defect, private schools, established by individuals for commercial gain, can never as a rule compete with public schools established by the State or by Municipal Corporations, for this, if for no other reason, that their managers can never hope in this country, for a long time to come, to guarantee to their teachers the pay, the pension, and the permanency, that the State or Corporations at present can, and may be expected hereafter to do. Moreover, a government, especially a foreign government, incurs much risk in handing over high education solely to private and irresponsible agencies. If it be true that the educated classes are the brains, and the destined leaders of the people, it is the duty, and no less the interest, of the State to see that a sound and useful education is imparted to the *elite* of the rising generation, that its tone is unexceptionably moral and healthy, and that the instructors are men in whom it can place implicit confidence. Without these guarantees, the Government acts unwisely in its own interests in leaving the education of the youth of the country to the care of irresponsible teachers. The history of Ireland and of Russia, where educational agencies hostile to the State have long been at work, should be a warning to all governments.

For different, but equally cogent reasons, it will be impolitic in the highest degree to hand over the charge of instruction to the sole care of Missionary societies. Under no conceivable circumstances can the education of a great nation like the Hindus be solely or chiefly entrusted to persons, who have

come to this country to destroy the national faiths, and to convert the nation to Christianity, and whose work is supported by the charitable contributions of pious people from foreign countries. Such a dereliction of the state's chief duty is opposed to all modern conceptions, and to the solemn pledges of Parliament and Royal Proclamations, and the spirit of the Despatch of 1854. The proposal is in short so strange and so inappropriate in the case of a country, which yields to the State a yearly revenue of some 65 Millions sterling, that it cannot be seriously entertained. The Hindus are not like the savages of the Sandwich and Society Islands, without a religion of their own, and so easily liable to be converted *en masse* to a nominal Christianity. On the contrary, they have their own national faiths, numerous schools of philosophy, and an extensive and profound controversial literature on all the most abstruse and insoluble metaphysical problems, which have ever occupied the human mind, and which they have debated with an earnestness and a logical acumen, quite unsurpassed in any other country of the world. They have had among them religious teachers and reformers like Sakyamuni, Shankaracharya, Madhavacharya, Ramaunja, Kabir, Tukaram, Ramdas, Tulsidas &c., whose teachings have exercised a powerful and living influence in forming the national mind, and who for purity of life, nobility of thought and sentiment, and devotion to truth, stand in the very foremost rank of the religious teachers and moral preceptors of the human race. We are aware that, in the estimation of some persons, the mission schools find favour because they do not, like government schools, hold aloof from religious education, which too often means the teaching of Christian dogmas. But at the same time it should be borne in mind that a nation, with such a strong religious leaven of its own, and under the guidance of such noble teachers as those

named above, is not likely to neglect the cultivation of its religious and moral nature, and there is no danger of its becoming a nation of materialists. As the Maharaja of Travancore has well observed, "there is no dearth of religious teaching in India. It can be had for the asking, and often without the asking". The science of the West has no doubt exploded popular superstitions and physical errors, but the philosophy of religion, and the religious yearning, stand as untouched as ever, as truth always does through all revolutions of thought. It is a gross calumny on the part of missionary advocates to say that the government system of education in India has produced a race of unbelievers and atheists. The Brahma Samaj Church, the Prarthana Samaja Church, the Arya Samaja Church with their numerous branches, founded and supported wholly by natives educated at the Government Colleges, show how false the accusation is, and are plain evidence that the Christian Missionaries are not the only religious people on the face of the earth. Regular instruction in moral and religious precepts is necessary in all schools, but at present it can be safely left to the numerous *Hardasses*, *Puraniks*, *Samajists*, *Bhajanis*, and other professional religious teachers among the Hindus, as also among the Musalmans, and other sects. When the people themselves are able to take care of their own education, they will, no doubt, establish regular religious classes in their schools.

From what has been said above in defence of the existing system of Government education, we do not wish to be understood as any way opposing mass instruction in our advocacy of higher education. It is no doubt essential to the progress of the nation as a whole, that the education of the masses should go hand in hand with the education of the higher classes. In fact, no nation can be said to be civilized, where the mass of the people are sunk in

deep ignorance and superstition. We only wish to assert that Government would be committing a serious error in severing its connection with high education, and looking only after the education of the masses. Naturally the diversion of the funds, now devoted to higher education, to further primary instruction would create much misunderstanding with regard to the intentions of Government, which would be poorly compensated for by the small funds that could possibly be thus saved. Hitherto, without disregarding the claims of higher education, substantial progress in primary education has been achieved, at least in this Presidency, since the establishment of the Local Cess on land in 1863-64. The following table gives the comparative figures for 1863-64 and 1880-81.

Expenditure on Primary Education.

Years.	Description of Institutions.	No. of Institutions.	No. on the rolls.	Total Expenditure.	
				Imperial Funds.	Local Funds.
1863-64	Primary Schools.	764	42,843	Rs. 74,828	Rs. 97,619
1880-81	Do.	4,027	2,42,151	2,45,852	9,03,661
Increase...		3,263	1,99,308	1,71,024	8,06,042

The increase in the number of institutions and of scholars has been enormous, and the Provincial grant to primary education has been increased from $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a lack to $2\frac{1}{4}$ lacks, and the local funds, from all sources, have increased by 8 laka. Out of the total Government grant to Education in this Presidency, viz Rs 10,89,000, the following sums were devoted in 1880-81 to high, low, professional and technical education :

1.	Arts Colleges.....	Rs 92,039
2.	High and Middle Class Schools.....	130,888
3.	Primary Schools.....	245,852
4.	Professional Colleges.....	67,609
5.	Grants-in-aid to Private Institutions }	118,447

So that the Government grant to primary education was greater than the grants to the Arts Colleges and High and Middle Class Schools put together. The proceeds of the Local Cess in this Presidency are now (1880-81)-Rs. 22,38,000, of which only $\frac{1}{3}$ rd, viz Rs. 7,46,000, is devoted to education, the remaining $\frac{2}{3}$ rd are spent on local public works. We suggest that cess proceeds should be equally divided between education and public works, which would render additional funds to the extent of Rs. 3,73,000, available for primary education. All primary Schools within Municipal limits should be made over to Municipalities, and a clause should be introduced into the Municipal Act, making Municipal corporations liable for their maintenance, Government making them grants under the Grants-in-aid rules. There are 161 Municipalities in this Presidency, of which 11 are City Municipalities, and the remaining are what are called Town Municipalities. Of the former, seven have an annual income of over one lakh of Rupees, viz Bombay, Poona, Ahmedabad, Surat, Karachi, Hyderabad, and Sukkar. In their case, we think, in addition to primary education, high, technical, and industrial education of the people within their limits should have a claim on their purse, and they should be bound to set aside a certain fixed proportion of their income towards the maintenance of high, secondary, and industrial schools. We have not the least doubt that the representatives of the people, constituting Municipal Boards, would most willingly undertake the sole care and mainte-

nance of primary Schools, and contribute a share towards the cost of high and industrial Schools within their respective limits. Already the Municipal contributions to education are about Rs. 81,000 per annum in this Presidency. This contribution may in course of years be indefinitely increased, without giving rise to the slightest dissatisfaction. The Government of India in para 11 of their Resolution say: "it is especially the wish of Government that Municipal bodies should take a large and increasing share in the management of the public schools within the limits of their jurisdictions. The best way of securing this result should be considered by the Commission." We give it as our decided opinion that a clause in the Municipal Act, making the maintenance of primary schools, and in the case of the larger Municipalities, part maintenance of high and industrial schools in addition, a part of the duties of Municipalities, would be received with satisfaction by all people, and be productive of the greatest good to the cause of education. The following table shows what savings will be effected by making Municipalities pay for their own schools:—

Number of schools and scholars within Municipal limits supported from Local Funds.		Receipts from Fees and Municipal grants.	Yearly re-curring expenditure from Local Funds.	Net less to Local Funds after deducting receipts.
502 (Schools.)	55,783 (Scholars.)	Rs.—As. 70,170—1—5	Rs.—As. 2,85,224—9—8	Rs.—As. 2,13,3,99—9—0

The savings under this arrangement would amount to over two lacks on primary schools alone. The partial maintenance by the larger Municipalities of High and Industrial schools within their jurisdictions, would save at least half a lack more.

As the country progresses in civilization, the number of Municipal bodies is sure to increase, so that every considerable town in the country will have a Municipal Corporation of its own. The aid thus afforded to education by Municipal bodies will in time be very considerable, and will set free large funds, which may be applied

to the education of the rural population. Municipal income, being town income, is principally derived from trade, and house taxes, and is chiefly contributed to by the middle and richer classes, the very people, whom the Government desires to see contribute more largely than they do at present for purposes of education. Government would show more wisdom if it were to make the people contribute to primary education in the mode which would be most acceptable to them, than in making over to them Colleges and High Schools, for the sole and independent maintenance of which they possess as yet, neither the ability, nor the knowledge, neither the machinery, nor the necessary pecuniary means.

Considerable savings may also be effected by the abolition of the European Educational Inspectorships, and the substitution of native inspectors on smaller pay. There are five European Educational Inspectors in this Presidency on from Rs 750 to Rs 1500 a month, and the total cost of their salaries (exclusive of travelling allowances) was in 1880-81 Rs. 53,400. We affirm, without fear of contradiction, that natives, fully competent to carry on the duties of Educational Inspectors, can be found willing to take up these posts, on half the salary given to Europeans. Government would be only doing justice to the natives of the country by appointing competent persons to these places, and would save more than a quarter of a lack a year by such an act of justice, which saving will be available for expenditure on primary education.

It must also be borne in mind that there is a limit to the practical extension of primary education, and that unless education is made compulsory in this country, which no one advocates for the present, there will too often be no scholars for the additional schools that may be opened by Government. The great mass of the people do not care at present for education. The present Dewan of Mysore (Mr. Ranga

Charlu) truly says :—" the agricultural classes regard it (school education) as destructive to their industrial character, and any abortive attempts to force it on them would only make it more repulsive." Both high and primary education should be allowed to grow with their natural development, in accordance with the needs and demands of the people, and Government should not be in a hurry to abandon High Schools and Colleges, and establish additional primary schools for which there will be no demand, at least not in sufficient numbers to justify the additional expenditure. A great parade is made of the population figures by certain parties, showing that as the population of British India is 200 millions, the number of children of school-going age must be between 20 or 25 millions, while the number of children in Government, aided, and inspected schools is only 2 millions, so that more than 18 millions of children are supposed to be uneducated, and allowed to grow up in ignorance and darkness. No doubt this picture, if true, is very sad. But we must look at the question as practical men, and not as dreamy philosophers. Is it in human power, even by the expenditure of 18 millions sterling, to educate these 18 millions of children? We devoutly wish it were. People fancy that if they can only open Schools in every parish, in every hamlet, and in every lane, they will all be filled with children. But this is a mere delusion. The matter is not so easy of accomplishment. National prejudices, national customs, and national habits, cannot be swept away in a day or a year. Of the 18 millions of children without education, half are females, and the vast majority of the other half are children of the laboring classes. It will take many long years before the parents of these children will be in a condition to send them to school. The great mass of these people is extremely poor, and lives almost from hand to mouth. What it wants is not education, but work and employment. Almost

all the native industries and trades have been killed by British commerce and British manufactures, and it looks like mockery on the part of Government to offer to the laboring classes *education*, when what they sadly want is *food*. Until the material condition of these people is improved, there will be no great demand for education. Having disposed of the fallacious argument regarding the supposed 18 millions of children of school-going age who are without schools, we are free to confess that primary education is, in this Presidency at least, happily still capable of a limited extension, owing no doubt to the superior energy and intelligence of the Maratha and Gujarathi races. Looking to the great expansion primary education has already attained, (5343 schools, with 3 laks of scholars in a population of 23 millions,) an increase of 2000 or 2500 schools within the next 20 or 25 years, is all that can be looked for. The additional funds required to maintain these schools, can be easily obtained either by increasing the educational share of the cess, or by making the Municipalities support the schools within their limits.

Briefly to sum up the latter half of our article; we think a strong case has been made out to prove that the time has not yet come for a change of system, that the private agencies are not at present, and Missionary agencies will never be, competent substitutes for the Government organization in respect of high education; that Primary schools, within the limited sphere open to them, are more likely to benefit by the transfer, and that this extension of primary education can be secured without diverting funds at present devoted to the support of higher education. The state's highest interests and its very safety recommend the same policy, and we are sanguine enough to hope that the results of the inquiry now being carried on will set this question at rest for a long time to come on a satisfactory footing.

CONTENTS

Proceedings of the Sabha :—

- I. Representations on Local Self Government in the Bombay Presidency.

Independent Section :—

- I. Emancipation of serfs in Russia.
- II. Local self government in the Bombay Presidency.

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Members of the Managing Committee.

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Auditor.

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Honorary Secretaries.

RAO BAHADOOR SADASHIVA BALLAL GOWANDE.

SITARAM HARI CHIPLONKAR ESQR.,

Secretary.

SHIVARAM HARI SATHE ESQR.

REPRESENTATIONS ON LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

No. 168 of 1882.

Sarvajanik Sabha Rooms,
Nagarkar's Wada, near Vishrambag,
Poona 7th August 1882.

To,

J. NUGENT Esquire.

Secretary to Government,
General Department.

Poona,

Sir,

In continuation of our letter No. 62 dated the 28th April last, we have been directed by the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha to submit the following further suggestions on the subject of the extension and development of local self-government in the Bombay Presidency, and to request you to lay the same before His Excellency the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council for his favourable consideration.

1. Since our representation alluded to above was submitted to government, the Government of India has published an authoritative and exhaustive declaration of its policy in the matter of local self-government. The Government of India's Resolution in the Home Department No. ¹⁷₁₄₇₋₈₂ dated the 18th May last lays down the following cardinal principles for the guidance of the various local administrations:—

(a) That the area of jurisdiction of each local board should be sufficiently narrow to secure local knowledge and local interest (Para 10)

(b) That the non-official members in each local board, whether urban or rural, should at least be double of the official members (Para 12)

(c) That the principle of election in some shape or other should

be generally applied in the selection of the non-official members of local boards, whether urban or rural. (Para 13-15)

(d) That the Chairman of each local board should as a general rule be a non-official person, and that where there is allowed an official President, he should not be entitled to vote in the proceedings of local boards. (Paras 16-19)

Such are the four fundamental principles laid down in the Government of India's Resolution of May last, and any action that the Local Government will take in this matter must be guided in accordance with the Government of India's final and authoritative declaration of their views. Under these circumstances the Committee of the Sabha deem it to be their duty to modify and supplement some of the proposals which were submitted for the consideration of the Bombay Government in our letter of April last.

2. We are first directed to submit a few suggestions in regard to the constitution of City and Town Municipalities in accordance with the views above referred to. In our former letter we recommended that besides the ten large City Municipalities, in respect of which the Government had expressed its readiness to concede the elective franchise, eighteen out of the present 150 Town Municipalities with a population above 10,000 and an income above Rs. 10,000 should be elevated to the status of City Municipalities, which change, it was submitted, would enable Government without recourse to special legislation to extend gradually the elective franchise to them also. In that representation we also contemplated the continuance of the present arrangement of ex-officio Presidents in all Municipalities. As the Government of India have, however, in their subsequent letter to the Bombay Government recommended a larger extension of the elective franchise, to the subordinate Town Municipalities in the Mofussil we are directed to submit that these views can best be carried out by grading the existing Municipalities into three, instead of the present two, classes as shown under :—

(a) The first class to consist of the ten City Municipalities with a population above 25,000, and an income above Rs. 50,000.

(b) The second class to consist of 37 Town Municipalities with a population above 10,000 and an income above Rs. 5000.

(c) The third class to consist of all the remaining Town Municipalities.

The cases of Jalgaum in the Khandesh District, of Vengurla in the Ratnagiri District, and of Jacobabad in Sind, though their population is less than 10,000, deserve, by reason of their large total income and also by reason of the large proportion which direct bears to indirect taxation, to be admitted to the enjoyment of higher powers of local self-Government. Such a discretionary power the Governor

in Council ought to possess for the purpose of conferring the benefits of the superior powers of self-government upon thriving towns which otherwise would be denied those benefits.

3. With regard to the first class Municipalities the Government has already been pleased to concede the elective franchise to the extent of one-half, and the transfer to two of them only of the control of the Primary Education within their jurisdiction. The Committee of the Sabha beg to submit for the consideration of Government the following additional concessions:—(a) that this distinctive feature of independent school boards be extended to the remaining 8 Municipalities also; (b) that in regard to the office of the President he should in all cases be chosen from amongst the non-official Members by the Corporation, subject to the approval of Government; and (c) that the power of suspending in some cases the operation of any Resolution passed by $\frac{2}{3}$ majority, at present vested in the official President, pending a reference to Government (section 8 clause 2) should be abolished in favour of these Municipalities. With regard to the first proposal we are directed to add that it will recommend itself to Government when it is remembered that even a small town like Sukkur, situated as it is in the midst of a backward province and excluded though it is from the Resolution of Government in the Educational Department No. 414 dated 23rd March last, has had the control of its Primary Education for the last six years and more, and what is more to the purpose has discharged the trust reposed in it to the entire satisfaction of the Department. (b) In regard to the second proposal we are directed to add that as these ten cities are centres of population and trade, and as Municipalities have been established therein for the last twenty years and more, there will be no want of men of independent means who will be competent to discharge the onerous and responsible duties of President with credit alike to themselves and to Government. Many of the leading people in these ten cities have, by a long experience of, and intimate acquaintance with, the requirements of Municipal administration, qualified themselves to ably and successfully discharge the new trust. (c) With regard to the third proposal it is hardly necessary to give any reasons; for when the official President is removed, the argument in favour of retaining such a discretionary power, is also removed.

4. With regard to the second class Municipalities we are directed to propose (a) that one third of the total number of Commissioners in these Municipalities be elected; and (b) that the Government may have the power of nominating either an official or a non-official Member to be the President. We propose in the case of these Munici-

palities no change whatever in the control at present exercised by the President of the City Municipality.

(5). The method of election to be followed in the case of the first class Municipalities should be based on the simple vote in wards by duly qualified electors. In some of the second class Municipalities, the same method should be preferred, but in some of the backward towns Government should have the power of adopting the method suggested by the Government of India in their Resolution of May last (para 13) or of allowing the elections to be made by the different castes or guilds and Jamats of their own chief men.

6. The property qualification for a person entitled to a vote should be the payment of a direct tax, whether Imperial, Provincial, or Municipal, above Rs. 6 in the case of first class Municipalities and above Rs. 3 in the case of second class Municipalities. In the case of the second class Municipalities there is no necessity for an Educational franchise, as it is not proposed to transfer to them the control of Primary Education within their respective jurisdiction. The educational franchise should be confined to the first class Municipalities only and should be fixed on the lines of the suggestions contained in our letter No. 86 dated 6th June last. The Members of the School Boards in these ten cities, though nominated by the respective Municipalities, need not necessarily be Municipal Commissioners as some of the best men available may or may not be qualified to be Municipal Commissioners.

7. Some of the proposals mentioned above cannot be carried out unless some important changes in the existing Bombay District Municipal Act are effected by fresh legislation. Without such changes the Government would be absolutely powerless to carry into effect the behests of the Imperial Government in certain particulars, for instance, the appointment of a non-official President, the disqualification of the official President, if any, to vote in the proceedings of Municipalities, and the concession of the elective franchise to subordinate Municipal Towns. As regards the appointment of a non-official member to be President, the Committee of the Sabha think that the obligatory character of the present legislation in this particular may be safely altered with advantage and a permissive section be substituted in its stead empowering the Governor in Council to allow a non-official person to be elected as the President, wherever practicable, in the case of second class Municipalities; while in the case of first class Municipalities it should be laid down in the Act itself that none but a non-official Member can be elected as President.

8. As regards the elective system we are directed to observe that, though the Committee of the Sabha have deemed it advisable to

limit for the present the franchise to the first and second class Municipalities only, yet a general section should be inserted in the new Act on the model of the Bengal Municipalities Act, empowering the Governor in Council on the representation of $\frac{1}{3}$ the number of the ratepayers to extend the franchise to the subordinate Municipalities of the third class also. Such a provision will not fail to exercise the best educating influence upon the development of public spirit throughout the country.

9. In addition to the forementioned amendments the new Act should contain a section laying down the minimum limit upto which at least the Municipalities of the first and second class should be required to spend their revenues upon the extension of Primary Education within their respective jurisdictions. Such an obligatory section is necessary in the interests of Primary Education and in the interests of the rural population especially. As matters at present stand, City and Town Municipalities as a general rule do not contribute their fair proportion towards the expenses of Primary Schools situated within their limits, it being found that out of a total expenditure of Rs 285,224 on Primary Schools situated within Municipal jurisdiction in this Presidency, the Municipal contribution was only Rs. 27,743 and this together with the proceeds of the local cess in these towns and the fees paid by the pupils amount to Rs. 71,968. The remaining Rs. 213,399 were contributed by the cess proceeds of the Talukas generally. This disparity becomes all the more apparent in the Municipal towns of the regulation districts of the Presidency, when it is remembered that out of the total Municipal grant of Rs. 27,743 for Primary Education Rs. 14,763 are contributed by the Municipalities in Sind, while Rs. 12,980 only are contributed by the other Municipalities in the Presidency [excluding the Presidency Town of Bombay.] The Committee of the Sabha are aware that the Primary Schools situated within the Municipal jurisdictions are taken advantage of by the rural population in the surrounding Districts, but this consideration cannot be held to justify the existing disproportion. The Municipal towns should contribute at least as much as will, together with their cess proceeds and fees, bring up the amount to one-half of the gross expenditure on their own Primary Schools. This rectification can not be accomplished save by a resort to fresh legislation which should take the form recommended above. The Committee of the Sabha think that if the Municipalities of the first and second class were required to contribute 5 per cent of their gross revenue for the maintenance of Primary Schools within their jurisdiction no reasonable objection could be taken to such a legislation and any retrograde action in these matters would be effectually prevented.

10. Lastly the new Act should contain a section empowering the Municipalities of all the three classes to appoint their own execu-

tive Committees with their Chairman, the latter officer in the first and second class Municipalities invariably being a non-official member. Under the present Act this important matter is left for disposal to the Municipal bodies themselves, the consequence of which has been that in a few cases the power of appointing executive Committees has under official pressure, been entrusted to the official President. Under such procedure the little independent training in the direction of local self-government, which the independent members of some of these Municipalities, notably those of the Poona Municipality, had obtained prior to the coming into force of the present Municipal Act, has been rendered impossible and all progress has been checked. The Committee of the Sabha accordingly think that in order to loyally and faithfully carry out the noble intentions of the Government of India for giving independent political education to the people in the most efficacious, such an important provision as the one referred to above should be inserted in the body of the Act itself and not left to the discretion of subsidiary rules.

11. We now come to rural local boards or Local Fund Committees. In dealing with this part of the subject we recommended in our letter of April last [1] the entire repeal of the present Local Fund Act [Act No. III of 1869] because it is extremely loose and defective ; (2) the abolition of the Taluka Local Fund Committees, because they serve no useful purpose under the present arrangements, (3) the extension of the principle of election in the constitution of District Committees, and (4) the continuance of the official President in the person of the District Collector and Magistrate. As the Government of India have, however, in their Resolution of May last, definitively laid down that the area of jurisdiction of each rural local board should in no case exceed the area of a Taluka, the original conception, though not the present practice, of local funds administration favoured the Talooka arrangements, and the advantages of joint action for general purposes are secured by the proposal of recognizing delegates from Taluka boards to the District Council, the Committee of the Sabha respectfully beg to submit for the favourable consideration of Government the following suggestions regarding the constitution of the Taluka Committees and District Councils.

(a). The Taluka Committee should consist of four ex-officio members and eight non-official members.

(b). These eight non-official members should be directly elected by the rate-payers in the more advanced Talukas, or selected after consultation with the rate-payers, or a moiety selected and the rest

nominated by government in backward districts, just as the varying circumstances of each Taluka may render necessary.

(c). The Assistant and Deputy Collectors in permanent charge of the Taluka should for the present continue to be the Presidents of the Taluka Committees, but should have no vote in the proceedings of the board.

(d). The Head Master of the leading Anglo-Vernacular school or of the leading vernacular school in the Taluka should be one of the four ex-officio members of the Taluka Committee to advise the Committee on educational matters.

(e). The non-official members of the Taluka Committee should, wherever that may be possible, be elected by those who pay Ra. 50 and upwards as land assessment. And even where such a direct election may not be possible, this class of rate-payers should be previously consulted by the executive officer of the district or of the sub-district, and the nominations of members be made accordingly. It is only in extremely backward Talukas, that government should have the power of making nominations on its own responsibility. For these purposes the Talukas should be graded into three classes according to the varying circumstances of each, but a Taluka should be elevated from the lower class to the higher class on the representation of one half the number of those who pay Ra. 50 as land assessment.

(f). The present practice of fixing the local fund budgets for 5 or 7 years in anticipation is contrary to the original conception of local funds and virtually renders these bodies of little account. It also encourages the diversion of the funds from small works of ascertained usefulness to large and ambitious works undertaken by the Public Works Department, which are properly chargeable to the Imperial Revenues. The power assumed by Government from time to time of dictating these large allotments to the President of the Local Committee has been abused to a very prejudicial extent. It is necessary that this power should be curtailed effectually; and this can only be done by abolishing the anticipatory Budgets.

(g). One fourth of the proceeds of the local funds should be exclusively handed over to the Taluka Committees for disposal to enable them to meet their local wants in the shape of original works. Of the remainder after providing for repairs, contingencies, establishments, a varying sum according to circumstances should be held amenable to the control of District Committees for works of general utility.

(h). In educational matters the District Council and not the Taluka Committees, should have independent jurisdiction, the functions of the Taluka Committees being chiefly confined for the present to supervision. The time has not yet arrived for entrusting the interests

of Primary Education to the independent control of these Taluka Committees.

(4). The Committee of the Sabha think that the intentions of the Government of India in ruling that the area of jurisdiction of each rural local board should be as narrow as possible, will be best carried out by the acceptance of the foregoing proposals. The Committee of the Sabha also think that the District Committees can not be altogether dispensed with under the present circumstances of the country; for they firmly believe that only a really strong and independent board at the head quarter town of the district is well calculated to make its educating influence felt in the subordinate Talukas, which influence may in course of time be expected to elevate the tone of political education in rural tracts. The District Committees alone can under the present circumstances afford the best model for not only subordinate local boards but even Municipalities to look up to, and to derive inspiration from. Holding these opinions as they do, the Committee of the Sabha respectfully beg to submit that District Committees should be maintained intact and should be charged with definite funds and definite duties. Each Taluka Committee should send a delegate to the District Committee to represent the interests of the Taluka, while in other particulars the constitution of the District Committee should be strictly based on the lines of the suggestions made in our letter of April last.

12. Lastly with regard to the suggestions contained in the Government of India's Resolution of May last (Para 17) the Committee of the Sabha respectfully beg to submit that the reforms now sought to be introduced in the administration of local boards being of a novel character, and being also tentative in their nature, an independent central board, like the Local Government Board in England, be formed for the purpose of supervising, checking, and controlling the proceedings of the urban and rural boards, and that the Bombay Government should delegate all its powers in this respect to this central board. This central board should consist of the Secretaries to Government (excluding of course the Secretary in the Military Department,) the Municipal Commissioner of Bombay, the Collector of Bombay, and two of the non-official members of the local Legislative Council.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your Most obedient servants.

SHIVARAM HARI SATHE

S. H. CHIPLONKAR.

Secretaries of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha.

No. 197 of 1882.

Sarvajanik Sabha Rooms.
Nagarkar's Wada near Vishrambag.
Poona 28th August 1882.

To,

J. NUGENT Esquire.
Secretary to Government,
General Department.

Poona.

Sir,

In continuation of our letters on the subject of the extension and development of local self-government in the Bombay Presidency Letter No. 82 Dated the 28th April 1882 } marginally noted we are
" " 86 " 6 June 1882. } directed by the Managing
" " 168 " 7 August 1882. } Committee of the Poona
Sarvajanik Sabha to submit the following statement of additional reasons and arguments in support of some of the suggestions, previously made, as on consideration we find that they stand in need of further elucidation. We are accordingly directed to request you to place the following statement before His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor in Council for his favourable consideration.

1. The particular suggestions which require to be further supported appear to us to be:—

(a) That the educated classes represented by the list of Jurors and Assessors, graduates of the University, or of the Medical college, and professional men, such as Pleaders and Doctors should be allowed a direct and separate representation upon District Boards and in the town Boards of the first class Municipalities.

(b) That in the Municipalities of the first class the President should invariably be a non-official Member, and that in the Municipalities of the second class a non-official President should be allowed wherever practicable.

(c) That in the Municipalities of the first and second class the qualification for a voter under the pecuniary test should be the payment of direct taxation, whether Imperial or Municipal, above Rs. 6 and Rs. 3 respectively, and in the Taluka Local Fund Committees the qualification for a voter under the same test should be the payment of Rs. 50 and upwards of the land assessment or rather the payment of Rs. 3 annas 2 of local cess, so as to include Inamdars.

We shall now proceed to give our reasons seriatim on the forementioned three suggestions.

2. The Committee of the Sabha respectfully submit (1) that in the proposed transition from the old to the new order of things the continuity of growth should as far as possible be kept up. The class

of Jurors and Assessors, Pleaders, Doctors and graduates, and we will add of Sirdars, Honorary Magistrates, Conciliators, Village Munsiffs and Members of Dewasthan Committees &c. being chosen by Government for their intelligence, public spirit and general respectability, have acquired experience which must be utilized to the utmost extent in this transfer of local power and responsibility from the official and nominated, to the non-official and elected, members of local District and town Boards. They, if any, possess or are likely to possess general information and liberal public spirit, and a due sense of responsibility, and now that the official predominance is to be removed, the agency of liberal classes should be made available to supply the necessary leading and the organization and serve as a ballast against any unfortunate tendency towards extreme measures on the part of the untried constituencies. (2) The consideration suggested above influenced Government when 10 years ago, the elective franchise was conceded to the Municipality of Bombay, and it was thought necessary not only to allow separate votes to University Fellows, but the Justices of the Peace were formed into a separate electoral body with a power to elect $\frac{1}{4}$ of the entire corporation. This wise precaution has been attended with the happiest results, and along with the Government nominations, it has ensured a steady and continuous growth in the development of Municipal independence in Bombay. If such a precaution was deemed necessary in Bombay, it follows as a matter of course that in the mofussil it is equally necessary to secure the success of this liberal experiment. (3) In fact the Government of India is so fully aware of this necessity that it has emphasized its perception of this need by admitting that the proposed concession is made chiefly to afford an outlet to the legitimate aspirations of these classes. This view is borne out by the Government of India's Resolution No. $\frac{17}{747-59}$ dated the 18th May last, wherein it is stated (Para 6) that "but as education advances, there is rapidly growing up all over the country an intelligent class of public-spirited men, whom it is not only bad policy but sheer waste of power, to fail to utilize." Again it is stated later on (Para 15) that the "best men in many cases do not at present present themselves as candidates for Municipal office * * *. And yet there can be no doubt that among the more intelligent classes of the community there is a real and growing interest being taken in administrative matters * * *. If this is so, the remedy must lie in ascertaining by patient and practical experiment how best to call forth and render effective that desire and capacity for self-government which all intelligent and fairly educated men may safely be assumed to possess." The foregoing extracts are sufficient to show what it is that the Government of India have principally in view in putting forth their scheme for the extension and development of local self-govern-

ment. The principal object being thus avowedly "to call forth and render effective that desire and capacity for self-government which all intelligent and fairly educated men may safely be assumed to possess," we respectfully submit that the wishes of the Government of India can be best fulfilled by allowing the educated classes a direct and separate representation on Local and Municipal Boards.

(4.) We may also be permitted to add here that it is a misapprehension, that those whom we include in the term "Educated and respectable classes" have no stake in the country, for it ought to be remembered that in the separate constituency we have proposed, will be included the cream of those who will be entitled to vote under the pecuniary test. These men will form a considerable portion, if not actually the majority, of the proposed constituency.

(5.) Such a provision will, moreover, secure a fair representation of the views of the minority, which otherwise would be swamped off in the general mass of election. Any tendency towards selfish cliquism will be checked by reason of their comparatively small number, while they will act as leaven in steadying and sobering popular feeling in excited times, being thus powerful for good but powerless for mischief. (6.) Government Resolution in the Financial Department No. 1093 dated the 25th March last recognises the force of these considerations, for it makes the franchise educational and professional as well as pecuniary, and the Committee of the Sabha understand that their proposal to include Jurors and Assessors in the educational franchise (No. 86 Para 5) has been received with favour by the District authorities. The object of making the franchise educational cannot be any thing else than what led Government 10 years ago to separately recognize the Justices of the Peace as an electoral body to supplement the more popular elections; otherwise it will defeat the intentions of government. For the number of those who can be entitled to a vote under the educational franchise must necessarily be very limited indeed as compared with the number of those who can be entitled to a vote under the pecuniary franchise only, and if the former are merged into the latter, the substantial addition to the electoral body will be so infinitesimally small as to be literally a drop in the ocean. Our meaning will be made more plain, if we take a concrete instance, and we select the city of Poona as an instance in point.

Now supposing the pecuniary franchise test be placed at Rs. 5 of direct Municipal taxation to entitle a man to a vote at the Municipal elections, it has been ascertained that the number of voters will be about 4,000. Now further supposing that the educational franchise be so liberalized as to include all Jurors and Assessors, graduates of the University or of the Medical College, all Pleaders and doctors

(of course resident within the Municipal jurisdiction) the number of those qualified to vote according to this test will be about 400 ; but if these 400 people were merged into the former larger body for electoral purposes, the *real and substantial* addition to the electoral body will hardly come up even to 200, for the rest will have already become entitled to a vote under the pecuniary test. Now these 200 or 250 men at the most,—where will they be if merged into the larger constituency of 4,000 people ? They will be nowhere just in the same way as the Bombay Justices of the Peace would be nowhere if instead of having been allowed a separate and direct representation they had been merged into the larger constituency of 30,000 people. Many of the Bombay Justices of the Peace owing to the present arrangements are entitled to a double vote, and it is in that peculiar characteristic that the virtue of the arrangement lies. For the first class Mofussil Municipalities the same system should be extended ; for in the towns where such Municipalities are established is to be found a large and increasing class of intelligent and public spirited men who more than any other class have evinced a genuine desire for the boon of local self-government and who alone at the present time can be expected to make an unquestionably fair use of the new powers.

(7.) It will be contended, or probably has already been contended, that the mass of rate-payers will elect these very men to be their representatives, and that accordingly no special provision need be made for the return of such candidates. But such a contention begs the whole question at issue, and moreover actual experience of Municipal elections in Bombay is not wanting to show that this is not always the case. On a notable occasion the electors returned an overwhelming majority of natives rejecting some both Natives and Europeans who had the largest claim for such an honour, and the Justices of the Peace and Government had to set this balance right by supplying the deficiencies. Briefly then what has occurred elsewhere may be expected to occur and will occur in Poona and other Mofussil towns, and the contingency ought to be provided for at the outset by reserving a small proportion of seats to the minority represented by the educated classes as described above. Again if it be true, as has been or will be contended, that even if no special provision be made, the electoral body of rate-payers will return these very men who are wanted, the Committee of the Sabha respectfully submit that nothing will be lost by making the special provision they have been contending for in the interests of good and efficient administration, while if at any time the hypothesis assumed proves untrue, the arrangement proposed will have the merit of having forestalled all contingencies. (8) Moreover it

may be contended that if the educated classes are allowed a special and direct representation, it will give rise to undesirable jealousy or undeserved reflection on the intelligence of the other classes. But such a fear is, we submit, quite groundless, for no new distinction is sought to be recognized, but the reaffirmation of a distinction already recognized in practice by Government. To clear all misunderstanding it must be clearly stated that we are not advocating the claims of the so-called modern educated men, graduates and Pleaders, so much as those of the leisurely independent and intelligent classes generally which is a more comprehensive term. The lists of Jurors and Assessors are drawn up on a broad basis, and they practically include all or almost all the leading members of the different classes in the community, while the distinction thereby made has never to our knowledge given rise to any undesirable jealousy or undeserved reflection on the capacity of those excluded therefrom. (9) Again assuming as is not unlikely that the miscellaneous constituency will not always elect the best men available, these non-official members will require to be guided in the performance of their new and onerous duties, and a ballast so to speak will have to be provided to steady them in their onward march in the direction of progress and reform. It will be contended, however, that even if no such separate recognition of minorities be allowed to enlighten and moderate the working of the popular representatives, the ex-officio members and the other non-official nominees of Government will discharge that responsible duty. We reply that the nominees of Government and its officers can never possess the full confidence of the people in the same natural way that really representative non-officials will do. The official guidance is in the very nature of things prone to degenerate into official dictation, and the evils of such a system have been too clearly pointed out by the Government of India in their resolution of May last to require to be further elucidated. Nevertheless the evils of the system will be laid bare later on when we come to give our detailed reasons for the second suggestion.

(10) Lastly the Government of India have in their last resolution deservedly laid a great stress on the importance of having non-official Presidents at the head of Local Boards, whether urban or rural, and if the wishes of Government of India have to be carried out in practice, they can only be carried out by the acceptance of our suggestion, for it is by the adoption of our suggestion only that the return of really capable non-official gentlemen qualified to discharge efficiently and creditably the onerous and responsible duties of President will be guaranteed against all the known caprices of general popular elections. For the several reasons stated above, we feel that in the interests of well-ordered growth and steady success of the liberal

reform now proposed, it is necessary that government should proceed on the cautious lines of its past experience and provide a fair and separate representation for the liberal classes, who are in a minority, to serve as a ballast and leaven to create interest and dispel apathy and check hasty action on the part of the far larger majority of the popular nominees in the town boards of the 1st class municipality and in the district boards. The municipalities of the second class and the Taluka Boards stand on a separate footing and do not require any mixed constituencies.

3. We now come to the second point. The Government of India, as has been already observed above, attach, and deservedly so, the greatest importance to this reform. The mere presence of the chief executive officer of the district at the head of the Board is calculated to produce an influence quite reverse of beneficial to the growth of a spirit of self-reliance and independence among the non-official members of these Boards, though the Committee of the Sabha frankly admit that if the efficiency of administration be the sole and whole point to be looked at, their presence has been beneficial in many directions. The efficiency of administration, however, is neither the sole nor even the principal object to be aimed at, which, in the language of a recent Resolution of the Bombay Government, may be stated to be the training of the people to habits of self-government, self-reliance and to a right appreciation of the responsibilities of administrative freedom. The growth of these requisite qualities will not be fostered, if the non-official members are always to be kept in leading strings. The whole history of municipal and local fund administration for the past 15 years shews that the present system of invariably appointing the chief executive officer of the district to be the ex-officio President of every local Board has defeated the liberal intentions of government and led to highest abuses, and that it must be altered before non-official members can be expected to evince a real interest and feel a proper responsibility in the discharge of their work. It is with extreme reluctance that the Committee of the Sabha respectfully invite the prominent attention of His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor in Council to the following illustrative cases of the abuse of official control. It must, however, be clearly understood that the Committee of the Sabha in now citing these cases do not impute any unworthy motives to the individual officials concerned but only condemn the system which renders such abuse possible.

The Poona Municipality under the old Municipal Act (Act No. XXVI of 1850) had possessed the power of electing its own executive committee, which in its turn had the power of electing its own chairman. For several years the executive committee was elected by the General Committee and was entirely independent of ex-officio members,

and what is more to the purpose the administration used to be most efficient, as the reports of those years will amply testify. Towards the close of 1874, however, the new Municipal Act (Act No. VI of 1873) came into force, and new nominations were made, when most of the old and experienced members who had carried on the executive administration most efficiently were, as it were, studiously ostracized. Instead of formally adopting the old rules and thus preserving the continuity of administration the new committee at its first sitting proceeded to make new rules and bye-laws under section 14 of the new Act. These rules and bye-laws, if we are not mis-informed, were drafted by the then Collector-President, and by rule 3 which evoked a vigorous opposition from a small minority, the power of nominating the executive Committee was surrendered to the Collector-President. The Committee of the Sabha beg to submit that the rule in question was opposed to the spirit, if not the letter, of the Act; and yet the Divisional Commissioner without raising any question sanctioned the rule. The non-official Commissioners soon became aware of the false step they had taken, and accordingly some time after made an attempt to recover their lost power, and by an overwhelming majority passed a new rule repealing the old one. The repealing rule, however, could not have the effect of law, unless it was sanctioned by the Divisional Commissioner. And this sanction was refused. During the last seven years some more attempts were made in the same direction but to no purpose; for the Divisional Commissioner would not be persuaded to accord his sanction to any change. And so the old rule passed in 1875 still remains in force. The consequence has been that the executive Committee of the Municipality has never had an independent Chairman, which office has been invariably filled by an ex-officio member, generally the City Magistrate of Poona, and as a consequence the municipal administration has been virtually and for all practical purposes official. This single fact will illustrate the sad results which attend official presidency in Municipal Boards.

A few months after the unfortunate conflagration of 1879 the Committee of the Poona Native General Library presented an application to the Collector of the district for the free grant of a portion of the site of the old Bahawar Palace in which building the Library had been located for 30 years with the permission of government. The Collector in his capacity as president submitted that application for the opinion of the local municipality at one of its general meetings. The Municipality by a majority adopted a proposition to the effect that the application of the Library Committee should be refused, as it was desirable in the sanitary interests of the town to promote free ventilation that no building should be allowed to be raised over the

site, but that a garden should be laid out instead. Later on it so happened that those, who had only a fortnight or a month back voted in favour of the forementioned proposition, submitted a fresh requisition duly signed to the Collector President, requesting him to convene a special Meeting of the Municipality to reconsider their former proposition. This the Collector-President declined to do, on the plea that it was not open to the Municipality to review their proceedings. If man is not infallible his actions can not be, and in the same way if Judicial tribunals and even Revenue Courts often review their former proceedings and sometimes cancel them, it must certainly be competent to any Municipality to review its proceedings, which as a matter of fact every Municipality not unfrequently does. But the Collector-President in this particular case ruled otherwise. This ruling of the Collector-President was quietly acquiesced in by the requisitionists, though the Committee of the Sabha can not conceal from themselves their firm belief, amounting to a deep conviction, that if the requisitionists had chosen to do so, an injunction could have been easily obtained from the Civil Court compelling the Collector-President to convene the special meeting in question and to submit for its disposal the motion of which due notice had been given.

In the latter half of 1880 the Government of Bombay in the Public Works Department (Irrigation Branch) ruled that the Poona Municipality was not entitled to an annual calculation of its supply of water from the Khadakwasala Canal, but to a daily calculation only, which, however, would not be enforced, a weekly calculation being substituted in its stead. It was further ruled that the excess quantity of water which the Municipality would consume over and above the stipulated supply, would be charged for at the rate of three annas per thousand gallons instead of the contract rate of seven pies. The Municipality strongly protested against the ruling; and here it gives the Committee of the Sabha genuine satisfaction to frankly admit that in this particular instance both the Collector-President and the Divisional Commissioner strongly supported the vigorous protest of the Municipality. Government, however, declined to reconsider or modify their former orders on the subject. The Municipality having been thus grievously disappointed in its expectation to obtain justice at the hands of the Bombay Government, it was thought advisable to appeal to the Government of India against the decision of the local Government, and accordingly more than half of the non-official Commissioners in the Poona Municipality submitted to the Collector-President at a meeting of the General Committee a written requisition requesting him to convene a special meeting for the consideration of the motion of which due notice was given in the requisition itself. In this case

also the Collector-President refused to convene the meeting as requested, on the plea that the rules of official etiquette prevented him from complying with the requisition. The requisitionists too, mindful of the bold stand that he had made in their contest with the local Government and also sympathising with him in the awkward position which he occupied in his dual capacity as the leading executive officer of the local Government in the district and as the President of the Municipality, withdrew the requisition. In short the Municipality was virtually prevented from seeking in a constitutional manner at the hands of a superior authority the redress of a grievance, simply because its president happened to be the leading representative of Government in the district.

If such things happen in Poona, it is not to be wondered at if in the less advanced Municipalities the influence of the Ex-officio President stifles all independent exertions. In the Nasik Municipality the non-official Commissioners have protested in vain several times against the appointment of a highly paid European superintendent of Hálálkhora to do work which might as well be done by a native officer on quarter the pay. In many other cases such as Kalyan, Dhulia, Dholka, Surat, similar encroachments have taken place, and the non-official voice was silenced by official seal and dictation, or in the worst cases parties have gone to the Civil Courts and restrained the impetuosity of the officials.

The representative cases cited above, can be multiplied if needs be, but the Committee of the Sabha refrain from doing so, because those already cited are sufficient for the purpose aimed at. They will, the Committee of the Sabha humbly trust, convince Government of the great importance of the reform in this direction suggested by the Government of India in their resolution of May last (Paras 17-19), and of the paramount necessity in the interests of self-government of enforcing the same in practice wherever practicable. Even the framers of the existing Municipal law, though it is framed on a broad basis of official control, can not have dreamt that the official control therein legalized would be carried to such a repressive degree as is exemplified in the several representative cases cited above. It is simply a misnomer to style the local administration carried on under such official control a Municipal administration, for the difference between such a Municipal administration and the administration by a regular Government Department is too nice to be readily appreciated. Moreover the abuse of official control of the nature indicated above is tolerated, not only because "the people of India are remarkably tolerant of existing facts," but also because the present non-official members feel that they are at best official nominees, and that they hold office only during the good pleasure of the Collector-President. When that feeling, however, shall have been removed by the substitution of election for nomination, the attitude of the non-official members will necessarily undergo a great change. If under these altered conditions the chief executive officer in the district be allowed to remain President, then there will be every chance of "unseemly collision" now and then arising between him and the board. The Committee of the Sabha accordingly submit that in the Municipalities of the first class a non-official President should be invariably allowed, while in those of the second class a non-official President should be allowed, wherever practicable.

The considerations set-forth above, if carried to their legitimate conclusion, would also dictate the appointment of non-official members to be President of rural (District and Taluka) Boards. But the Committee of the Sabha have studiously refrained from submitting such a proposal, not because they would willingly support the continuance of an arrangement, calculated to bring into play influences prejudicial to the healthy growth of the spirit of independence among non-official members, but because they are satisfied that for some time at least the reform in question can not be thought of as coming within the region of the practical.

4 As regards the third suggestion the Committee of the Sabha desire to be understood that when they proposed particular minimum rates as qualification tests for voters in their former communications, nothing was farther from their mind than that they should be rigidly adhered to irrespective of the circumstances of each particular locality. In practice it will probably in some cases be found that a rigid adherence to the minimum tests proposed would give perhaps a very small or a very large constituency. In such cases, which ought in short to be individually dealt with, the minimum limit ought to be lowered or raised. As a general rule a municipality of the first class should have a constituency of not less than 1,000 voters and not more than 3,000 voters; a municipality of the 2nd class should have a constituency of not less than 500 and not more than 1000 voters; and a Taluka should not have a constituency of less than 400 and not more than 600 voters. The Committee of the Sabha believe that the tests proposed by them would in the generality of cases secure constituencies of the requisite strength, but if in any individual case the tests fail to secure constituencies of the requisite strength, they should be lowered or raised in those particular cases only. The Talukas should of course be divided into four circles, and each circle should be required to elect two representatives under the leading and on the initiation of the revenue authorities, and the members so elected should hold office, like the municipal representatives, for three years and in their turn elect the representatives for the district Board.

5 Finally we are directed to add that the statement of views put forth above must necessarily be incomplete, because the copies of official reports containing objections to our scheme as set forth in our first two representations were refused to us, and we can not accordingly be expected to anticipate all the objections that may have been taken to our proposals.

We have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your Most obedient servants,
SHIVARAM HARI SATHE.

S. H. CHIPLONKAR,
Secretaries of the Poona Sarvajnik Sabha,

EMANCIPATION OF SERFS IN RUSSIA.

Now that the Governments of England and India have seriously taken in hand the task of relieving the agricultural classes from their heavy depression, it cannot fail to be of use to note the progress of a similar emancipation undertaken in European Russia about twenty years ago, and which, so far as one can judge from average results, has been attended with great success. European Russia, including the kingdom of Poland, the Grand Duchy of Finland, the Baltic Provinces, and the trans-Caucasian regions, covers an area of nearly 20,00,000 square miles of territory, inhabited by a population of 72 millions, including the Cossacks and Kerghiz hordes. The extent of Russia proper is about 100,000 square miles, and its population is 60 millions. Of this number, nearly 80 per cent constitute the rural population, and about 10 per cent are urban, including the nobility and clergy. About 7 per cent represent the military element of the population, which gives to Russia its position as a first class European power. For administrative purposes, European Russia proper is divided into 45 districts. One third of the whole cultivable area is crown land, one fifth of the same area belongs to the great land-lords who number about 100,000 families, one fifth belongs to the peasantry who number about 48 millions in all, and the rest belongs to the church, mines, military colonists, and royal appanage lands &c. Of the total of 48 millions of peasants, nearly one half, or twenty five millions, were attached in 1861 to crown and appanage lands. The great Emancipation Act of 1861 was not directly intended to apply to this large number, but the scope of relief was extended from time to time, till now there is now

no serf left on Russian soil. They are at present like the survey occupants of this Presidency, peasant tenants at fixed rents called *obrok*, payable to government, and revisable every twenty years, and may alienate their holdings subject to this liability, at a fixed price, which represents the capitalized value of the rent at 5 per cent. As long as this *obrok* is paid, the state tenant's land cannot revert to the state.

The Emancipation Act of 1861 sought chiefly to elevate the condition of the peasants who cultivated the private lands of the nobility and gentry, and made up a total of nearly twenty two millions of serfs. Serfdom, like caste and slavery, was originally founded on the great fact of foreign conquest. Serfdom as a recognized institution was introduced in Russia about the end of the sixteenth century by a law of 1592, which prevented the peasants from migrating from one estate to another, without their lord's permission, and attached them to the soil in a way to secure their transfer with the land. Peter the Great introduced the poll-tax in Russia, and made the lords responsible for the tax due from the peasants on their lands. The abuse of power, so natural under these circumstances, soon degraded the land serfs to the still lower depth of landless bondsmen and life convicts working at the mines. The landed gentry owned in all in 1861 about 300 million acres, of which one third was in the occupation of the serfs, and of the two thirds in the occupation of the landlords, one half was mortgaged with the state or private creditors. In consideration of their free occupation of one hundred million acres, the serfs were compelled to serve a fixed number of days, which was generally three days in the week, on the two-thirds in the occupation of their landlords, or paid them rents or services instead. The serf could hold no property of his own, and although remedial measures were introduced from time to time since the commencement of this century, it was not till 1847 that the

serf could buy his personal freedom from his landlord, or buy even waste lands from his private savings, except in his landlord's name. The serf had no civil rights against his master, the latter could flog him at his pleasure, or banish him to distant plantations, or send him into the army. When the noble land-lord required a loan, he mortgaged his serfs with his land and cattle. The serfs on crown and appanage lands were in much the same condition as private serfs in respect of the incapacity of free locomotion and civil rights, only their rents were lower and less variable. Such was the condition of the unprivileged rural classes throughout Russia proper scarcely twenty years ago. Of the 48 millions of serf population, representing 10 million adult males, attached to crown, appanage, and private lands, seven millions of serfs were in pawn with mortgagees, 7,50,000 serfs were domestic servants or land-less bondsmen, and 5,00,000 were employed on the mines in 1861, while the rest were agricultural serfs, and cultivated one hundred millions of acres. Each adult male serf enjoyed thus the usufruct of ten acres of land, which agrees with the average holding of an Indian Ryot in this Presidency. It was in respect of this immense population that the late Emperor Alexander promulgated the great charter of Russian liberty, and completed their emancipation between 1861 and 1869.

It will be interesting to note the chief features of this reform, and to study the details of the method by which it was accomplished. The grant of civil and personal liberty, and the assurance of this independence by securing to the free peasant a minimum of welfare represented by the allotment of a parcel of land in tenancy or free-hold purchased with public funds, and a recognized voice in the management of local affairs, these were the threefold and principal features of this great reform. Domestic serfdom, the right of the master to the control of the person of the serf, was first abolished without any reservation or com-

compensation, except that the poll-tax, which the master used to pay for his serfs, was now transferred to the emancipated serf. Between 1861 and 1863, the emancipated domestic serf was required to pay to his master this poll-tax of £ 5 for each male, and £ 4 for each female. After 1863, the freed serf paid his own poll tax direct to the state.

In regard to the allotment of land held by the serfs on their master's estates, and the right of the latter to receive quit rents and services from them, the question was not so easy of solution. As a rule, the allotments were one third of the whole estate, and never exceeded one half. For allowing the serfs to enjoy the usufruct of this land, with the right of pasture in the commons, and of cutting timber and fuel for building and burning purposes, the masters either received rent on this allotment, or more generally required the serfs to cultivate three days in the week the unallotted or reserved portion. They seldom paid quit rent, the personal labour which the serfs gave on their master's land was the usual consideration received by the master from the serfs attached to his land. In the industrial provinces, money rents were more common. It has been estimated that about 25 per cent of the land serfs paid quit rent, varying from 2s 3d to 2s 9d per acre, the rest rendered services instead.

The Emancipation Committee had first to settle the maximum allotment of the land which was to be made over to the serf as his private holding discharged from all burdens, and they had next to determine the amount of compensation which the serfs, or on their behalf the state, should pay to their masters for the loss of their rents and services. The money rents which ranged from Rs. 4 to Rs. 50, according to the quality of the land, and the necessities of the master, could be easily ascertained and valued, but the valuation of personal services was not so easy, as these

services were of a most miscellaneous variety, and subordinated the serf to the most ordinary necessities of his master's every-day life. Another source of complication was due to the fact that many of the estates belonging to the privileged classes were mortgaged, together with the serf population on them, to the state, which had advanced about 50 millions sterling on their security. This condition of affairs furnished, however, the working lever for the action of the state. After much discussion, the final plan adopted by the late Emperor Alexander's Government was a compromise of several more extreme proposals. An average allotment of 10 acres was fixed as the size of a serf holding. This holding, together with the homestead, was ceded in perpetual tenancy by the master to the serf on terms settled by mutual arrangements, or, failing that, on conditions fixed by law, which, however, limited the compulsory occupation of the tenant to 9 years. Over and above this right of tenancy, the serf could compulsarily demand the sale of this allotment with the homestead on it at a price fixed by mutual agreement, or failing that by the state officials. The State undertook to provide the serf with funds to enable him to buy off his master's rights over the allotment. The rights of personal service on his master's lands were commuted into a money payment equivalent to the quit rent which would have been received, if no service had been rendered, and this quit rent was capitalized at a fixed valuation. The political rights of the master, and his profits derived from the drudgery of the domestic serfs, were abolished without compensation. While the serf's interests were thus advanced, the master was absolved from all liability on account of imperial and rural taxes due from the serfs, and he had not to pay his serf's fines, or defend his actions in Civil or Criminal Courts at his own cost as before. The State protected its own finances by establishing, or rather reviving among the serfs the institu-

tion of communal or cantonal responsibility, i. e., the joint liability of the *Mere* or village community. The allotment and the quit rent were all fixed in a lump sum for the communal units, and the individual serf was made responsible to the commune of which he formed part, and each local community of serfs became in their turn jointly responsible to the state. To borrow an illustration from Indian history, the settlement was made with the collective body of village Zamindars or Mirasdars as in the Panjab and N. W. Provinces, and not with the individual Ryot as in this Presidency. The Russian word for canton or commune is *Mere*, which has an ethnical and lingual affinity with our Indian Miras.

At first the change of condition in the serf's lot was a transfer from the yoke of a private alien master to that of the collective commune. The serf, though emancipated, was not allowed to leave his native village, or to detach himself from the land without the permission of the heads of the *Mere*, who received the redemption price from the serf as a condition of his release. In the old social polity of Russia, the father, or the head of the family, under whose protection all the subordinate members lived together, had very large powers, and as these village *Meres* or communities were most of them settled by the descendants of one family, next to the lord's power, the patriarch's authority was all potent for good or for evil. As may be easily imagined, this power was greatly abused, even to the extent of degrading the purity of family life. The financial interests of the state as the mortgagee of all the redeemed estates, and the receiver of the poll tax, compelled it to lend its countenance to the maintenance of this patriarchal and communal system. As a counterpoise to these draw-backs, the new organization set up by the Emancipation Committee greatly strengthened the hands of this peasant population by the constitution of elective communal and canton councils on the

broadest suffrage, and with very extensive powers of local self-government. The serf, once freed from his lord's control, and possessed of full civil and political rights, was not likely to submit long and patiently to this communal restraint, and the process of this second liberation may already be said to have commenced. The disintegration of the old patriarchial system and domestic oppression may be safely regarded as by no means the least of the beneficial changes inaugurated by the great emancipation. Between 1861 and 1869, the latest period for which information is available, it appears that about one third of the adult male serfs were converted into perpetual tenants of their ten acre allotments and homesteads. The rental these free tenant serfs pay for their land is fixed in the shape of a poll tax, which, when spread over the extent of their holdings, represents a charge of 2s. an acre. The state claims the right of reassessing the rentals after 20 years. As will have been seen from the summary given above, the scheme of emancipation presented two alternatives, compalsary perpetual tenancy, or compulsory purchase of free hold, as a qualification for elevating the serf to the condition of a freeman. A third alternative was also left open to the serf by which he might accept a quarter of the maximum allotment from his master as a settlement in compromise of all compulsory relationships. About 600,000 peasants have accepted this alternative, which enables them to dispense with the aid of government funds, and the necessity of submitting to the restraints of communal life upon free locomotion and residence. Out of a total of 10 million serf families, six millions have become purchasers of their allotments, thirty-one percent of this number became so by their own voluntary choice, and 69 percent were obliged to purchase by the choice of their old masters, who elected to accept the redemption with state funds. It appears from detailed statements that

the state has advanced 51 millions sterling for the compulsory redemption of 35 millions of acres, allotted to about $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions of freed serfs. The price paid for redemption by the state was about 20s per acre. In the case of voluntary settlements accorded to nearly two millions of serfs, the landlords obtained 20 percent more from the tenants than the state assignment. The money advanced by the state to redeem the serfs, together with six percent interest, is made recoverable in 49 years by an annual payment of 2s.6d per acre, which he pays to the officers of the redemption board. Peasants who have not elected the quarter allotment, or who have not been forced to redeem with state help, and have agreed to continue to be perpetual tenants, generally prefer service rents to money rents, and the metayer form of tenancy, which agrees best with the economical condition of the country, is coming extensively into vogue in respect of these properties.

The total extent of settled lands throughout Russia proper occupied by perpetual tenants or proprietary freeholders, is about 60 million acres, while the land-lords occupy on their own account 240 millions. The Crown peasants come under a different category, but their condition is being daily assimilated to that of the redeemed freeholders. The total sum advanced by the state, and secured on the lands of the peasants, up to the end of 1869 was 65 millions sterling out of which the state had foreclosed mortgages to the extent of 53 millions. The whole of this money has been provided in the first instance by the issue of state Banks Bills and Government Rents at $5\text{--}5\frac{1}{2}$ percent, and the receipts from the peasants, spread over 49 years at 6 percent per annum, are expected to clear off the whole of these heavy liabilities. The capitation tax, the imperial territorial tax, and the redemption payments, taken together average from 27s to 35s per head of the rural population, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ s to $3\frac{1}{4}$ s per acre.

We trust these details of the progress of the eman-

icipation of the peasantry in European Russia will prove of interest for more reasons than one. There can be no doubt that, as a consequence of this emancipation, the Russian people have thriven in material and commercial prosperity, notwithstanding the increase of taxation caused by foreign wars, and the responsibilities of an empire which covers nearly a quarter of the area of two great continents. The Russian exports of raw agricultural produce have vastly increased in value and amount during the last 20 years. The cotton spinning industry has become a power in western and central Russia. The resources, material and moral, of Russia were severely tried in the late Turko-Russian war, and she stood the test in a way to confirm her position as a first class military power, which could at any moment send ten lacs of soldiers to any portion of her vast territory for defensive and aggressive purposes. The Nihilist outrages and Siberian exiles should not in any way be allowed to come in the way of our appreciation of the great strides, which Russia has made both at home and abroad, in the arts of peace and war during the last 20 years, and although for the time absolutism has triumphed, we may almost with safety prophesy that a nation of peasant proprietors, with such democratic institutions as the communal and cantonal and district and territorial assemblies, will not rest content till it establishes its control over national affairs to the displacement of arbitrary or bureaucratic power.

A few words more before we bring to an end this brief review of the revolution effected in Russian agricultural economy twenty years ago. One of the worst effects of absolute power is that it warps men's perceptions in regard to the innate dignity of human nature, and its real sameness under all manner of extraneous disguises. The representatives of a ruling class soon learn to lisp the sibboleth of the natural and inherent superiority of European over Asiatic races. It is urged that heroic remedies like the eman-

icipation of serfs in Russia, and the creation of peasant properties in France and Germany, can safely be undertaken by the state with public credit or funds, but that out here in India, the state, while claiming a monopoly of landlord rights, must not incur any such responsibility, because the Indian Ryot is an improvident, spiritless, and ignorant peasant, whose condition has been wretched all along, and can never be improved. Our reply to this charge is that the French peasant was not always the abstemious and prudent citizen that he now is; there was a time when Arthur Young mourned over the condition of the agricultural classes of France. The magic of property and of free institutions have worked all this wonderful change. The chaos from which the Russian peasant has been freed by a national government can scarcely be said to be realized in the case of the Indian peasants. The Imperial Government there ventured in a spirit of statesmanship and philanthropy to redeem its serfs, and make them free men, regardless of cost. The power of the Sawkar and of the state landlord in this country cannot be compared in the continuity and intensity of its abuse for one moment with the tyranny of the nobility of Russia. The depression, however, such as it is, in this country is real, and becoming worse every day. Let the state interfere not merely with a minimum piece-meal dose of judicial reform, but by the wholesale dispensation of a large administrative relief. If it subsidizes or guarantees private banks against risk during the first few experimental years, and enables them to rid the peasantry of their ancestral debts, and if at the same time it allows the land revenue to be redeemed or permanently settled at a moderate figure once for all, it will provide an ample fund for agricultural relief improvement without the necessity of borrowing a single rupee of fresh loans. The Rayat once emancipated, and set on his feet, and inspired with a sense that the land is as absolutely his as his home

or clothes, there need never be any apprehension of his running into debt again and not practising thrift. The awakening of 200 millions of the earth's most gifted races will be a triumph of beneficent government by the side of which the abolition of slavery in 1833 in England, or the slave emancipation war in America of 1860, and the contemporaneous serf emancipation of Russia, will be but child's play. It only needs a statesman to grasp the full height of this argument, and to restore India to its proud position as the garden and granary of the world.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

Look upon this picture, and on this,
The counterfeit presentment of two brothers.

Hamlet.

This is a lecturer so skilled in policy
That (no disparagement to Satan's cunning)
He well might read a lesson to the devil
And teach the old seducer new temptations.

Old Play.

Go to—thou art made, if thou desirest to be so—If not, let me
see thee still the fellow of servants, and not fit to touch Fortune's
fingers.

Twelfth Night.

We are extremely obliged to our Anglo-Indian and Native contemporaries and their Native and European correspondents for the generally favourable notice they have taken of our humble contribution to the solution of the great and unprecedented experiment which the noble Marquis at the head of the Government of India has set his heart upon making, and of the official representation of the Poona Sarva-janik Sabha to the Bombay Government in April last, which expressed in the main our own views on the subject. And, although the Bombay Government has not yet published the official correspondence on the subject, still it is an open secret that our last contribution has been well received every-where in official circles. It will be very gratifying to our readers to learn that soon after the official representation of the Sabha was published *in extenso* in the Bombay dailies of the 1st May last, Mr. A. T. Crawford, Commissioner of the Southern Division, addressed a confidential circular to some of the officers in his Division, whose opinions he valued most, requesting them to give their earnest and careful consideration to the Sabha's representation with which he said he

was favourably impressed at first sight, and to favour him with their views thereon. Mr. Clarke-Jervoise, the Collector of Belgaum, generally approved of the Sabha's representation, while Mr. A. Cumine, the acting Collector of Ratnagiri, in his report to Government upon the Government of India's Resolution frankly admits in the concluding para that the scheme submitted by him has been borrowed from the Sabha's representation. Mr. Crawford's testimony, however, is much more flattering and encouraging; for in a report to Government in June last on the Government of India's Resolution of 18th May last, he wrote as follows regarding the Sabha's representation:—"Probably the ablest paper that has been written upon the whole subject is that of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha of the 1st, May."

Being thus encouraged by the official and non-official testimony regarding the general soundness and practical character of the proposals we ventured to put forth in our last contribution, we proceed this time to review the Resolution of the Government of Bombay dated the 19th September last in connection not only with the Government of India's Resolution of 18th May, but also with the scathing reply which the illiberal and scoffing tone of the local Resolution has provoked from the Supreme Government, and in the course of which Lord Ripon has further authoritatively laid down for the guidance of the subordinate local Government the principles which should guide it in adapting the general scheme to the varying circumstances of the different districts and towns of this Presidency. A state paper, more liberal, life-inspiring, and instructive with true statesmanship, than the Government of India's Resolution of 18th May, can hardly be conceived, and has certainly not been seen for many years in India. It has been repeatedly observed, both officially and otherwise, that England's sole mission in India is to bring about her political regeneration.

And one may well doubt if ever since the commencement of British rule in this country upto the date of the promulgation of the Resolution of 18th May, there was anything done by the British Indian Government, more directly calculated to prove practically the sincere character of those oft-repeated protestations. We have advisedly used the expression "more directly calculated," because we desire to exclude four acts of the British Indian Government from the scope of the general observation we have made above. We should be simply ungrateful if we did not fondly, warmly and with feelings of profound veneration cherish the memory of those acts and of their authors,—we mean the Permanent Settlement conceded to Bengal by Lord Cornwallis towards the close of the last century; the emancipation of the Press by Sir Charles Metcalfe, and the supreme place secured for Western Learning by Lord Macaulay in our schools and colleges. While these noble measures were free gifts from above, our Princes and people secured at the price of a grand Rebellion the reversal of the Annexation policy, and the opening up of the Legislative Councils to our representatives under Lord Canning in 1861. Now, though we have referred to the above four acts of the British Indian Government, we desire, in connection with the subject of this paper, to lay great and special stress only on two acts,—the emancipation of the Press by Sir Charles Metcalfe, and the supreme place secured for Western Learning by Lord Macaulay in our schools and colleges. The grave results with which these two important measures were fraught were probably not appreciated then, because not foreseen; but none the less we, who are now reaping the fruits of the seeds then so sedulously sown, can never forget the deep, very deep debt of gratitude to those two illustrious benefactors of the human race but for whose disinterested and energetic exertions the great reform now inaugurated could not have been brought within the measurable dis-

tance of practical politics. Then were the foundations laid of the present reform, nearly half a century ago. In the meantime during the interval the process of strengthening those foundations had not been altogether neglected. The Education Despatch of 1854 with the establishment of the Universities to which it directly led, the establishment about the same time of Municipal institutions in most of the leading cities and towns of this Presidency, and, last but not least, the memorable Financial Decentralization scheme of Lord Mayo with the almost concurrent establishment of District and Taluka Local Fund Committees in this Presidency;—these liberal measures developed and strengthened those foundations and prepared them for the superstructure which is about to be erected over them under Lord Ripon's rule. Subsequently an interesting and important trial was made, as it were, to test the strength of the initial dual foundation, and after a trial extending over nearly four years the initial dual foundation was formally declared to be well and durably laid. The reader must have guessed that we are here, referring to the infamous attempt in 1878 by the Government of Lord Lytton to gag the Native Press,—an attempt which raised a storm of indignation from one end of the country to the other, and which evoked such a strong opposition that the author of the attempt was, in spite of himself, compelled to considerably minimize the contemplated crushing power of his infamous testing machine,—and to the formal re-emanicipation of that Press at the commencement of the current year. The late John Stuart Mill in one of his celebrated works says:—

“ First, then, representative, like any other Government, must be unsuitable in any case in which it can not permanently subsist—i. e. in which it does not fulfil the three fundamental conditions enumerated in the first chapter. These were—1 That the people should be willing to receive it. 2 That they should

be willing and able to do what is necessary for its preservation. 3 That they should be willing and able to fulfil the duties and discharge the functions which it imposes upon them." The powerful constitutional effort which the people of India made in this particular instance for the recovery and preservation of a privilege once secured, proves their fitness for the continuance to them not only of that privilege but of such more as they may gradually show their appreciation and capacity for. If, however, a further proof were wanted of the people of India being both "willing and able to do what is necessary for its preservation" in the event of a deeply cherished privilege and right being threatened with real or even fancied extinction—we repeat, if such a proof were wanted, we have simply to refer to the grand Rebellion of 1857, and to the singular unanimity and persistence with which all the leaders of native opinion have rallied round the cause of High Education, and vindicated their position against Missionary aspersions before the Education Commission now drawing its investigation to a close.

It will be apparent from this brief historical sketch that the natives of India are not much behind the other civilized nations in being both able and willing to do everything needful for the preservation and continued enjoyment of their deeply cherished rights and privileges by all constitutional means. We have thus no doubt whatever that when they once get accustomed to the new order of things and feel that it is a reality and not a sham, as the one it supersedes has been, they will tenaciously cling to it. And there is no reason to wonder if they do, for this obvious reason that after all the new local self-government scheme is no new thing, being only the Europeanized form of the old system of village communities, which even now is not altogether out of gear but whose continuance, modified and modest though it be and not so powerful as before, can still be seen amidst

the rural population. As soon, then, as this consanguinity between the old and new systems is practically realized, and the early child is recognized in the blooming youth, we may be sure that the people of India as one man will exert themselves to the utmost to make it successful, and will not allow it to be snatched away from them. The old village Panchayats were and are nothing more or less than a kind, however crude and undeveloped, of local self-government; and we firmly believe that the only reason why that old respected institution still survives, and has a considerable vitality left, notwithstanding a long continued policy of disintegration and discountenance by official influences, is because it was not a mere sham, nor a mere form without the substance, but a reality, and because the substance or, in other words, the desire for that institution at the time of its creation, must have long preceded the form; had it been otherwise, the institution would never have retained at this time any of its vitality. The only step that requires to be taken to popularize the old institution in a metamorphosed condition is firstly, to make the people feel that the principal idea, upon which the whole scheme hinges, is by no means new, inasmuch as it was also the cardinal principle of the old one, namely, to secure local interest and local knowledge in the administration of local affairs; and secondly to give the people real and substantial power, thus impressing upon their minds the fact that they have real responsibilities to discharge.

Before proceeding to notice the Government of India's Resolution and the Resolution of the Bombay Government thereon, there is one point in respect of which we are afraid a large amount of misunderstanding prevails, not only in non-official, but even official circles, and which must be first of all removed. There are many persons—even amongst the official classes to our personal knowledge,—who think that the Government of India require local Governments and

Administrations to immediately introduce, and that too bodily, the scheme laid down in their Resolution, and to apply it in every case, and to the fullest extent. Nothing could be a greater mistake. The Government of India, so far as we can see, desire no such sudden and sweeping application of their scheme in every case. In their Resolution of 18th May, the Government of the Marquis of Ripon have done nothing more than what the authors of the memorable Education Despatch of 1854 did; the Government of India have, as it were, laid down a comprehensive outline, which they require local Governments and Administrations to constantly keep before their eyes, and fill it up as suitable opportunities of doing so present themselves. They have in short authoritatively put forth the *beau ideal*, which, though it may not be attainable just at present, has ultimately to be attained, and towards which every local Government and Administration must henceforth direct its honest and loyal efforts. We have all along viewed the Resolution of the Government of India in this light, and we accordingly fully approve of the tone and spirit of the Resolution. If a native statesman of the true patriotic type had set himself to work out a similar scheme, he could not have brought out a Letter one, nor could he have realized to himself all the difficulties of the situation more clearly, and in a more sympathetic manner, than has the Marquis of Ripon done.

The Government of India's Resolution lays down the following cardinal principles for the guidance of the local Governments and Administrations:—

1. The area of each local Board, whether urban or rural, shall be as narrow as possible, so that local knowledge and local interest may be secured in its *personnel*.

2. The principle of election should be, as generally as possible, applied in the selection of the non-official members of these local Boards; while the

number of these non-official members should be at least double that of the official members.

3. The President of every local Board should, as far as possible, be a non official member to be elected by the Boards themselves; but if an official President is allowed in any Board, he should not have a vote.

4. The local Government should not interfere with the Boards in their administration, except by way of general supervision, and the power of veto in respect of certain specified acts. The local Government shall not dictate, as it has hitherto been doing, but exercise its supervision from without, and not through the instrumentality of the official President from within.

Such are the four cardinal principles which the Government of India have laid down in their May Resolution. The practical soundness of the principles can not be questioned by any one except those few misguided souls, whose reason and judgment have been warped by their having tasted for a very long time the demoralizing sweets of a practically irresponsible power. One Bombay district officer, Mr. Probert of Khandeish, says in his report that if he and his brother officers had been asked to marshal an array of arguments against the Government of India's scheme, their task would have been much more easy. And we were accordingly in no way surprised to see that this same officer cracked a heavy joke at the expense of a society in Poona whose chief sin in his eyes was that they pestered official serenity with unwelcome advice on all public matters. With a few honourable exceptions, the majority of the official reports of the District and Divisional officers are so absurdly self-sufficient in tone and wanting in real sympathy with the people that encomium passed upon these officers without discrimination in the opening paragraph of the Bombay Resolution reads like a covered sarcasm, and very naturally failed to con-

since the Government of India. The majority of these Reports have been drawn in a most slovenly manner, and in places betray an inconceivable amount of ignorance, which, had it been displayed by a non-official body like the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, would have given cause to its official detractors to denounce it outright. The occupation of slaying the slant is by no means agreeable, and had the interests at stake been less important and paramount than they are, we should certainly not have been tempted to undertake it. As the case, however, stands at present, the majority of the Bombay officers have, with the sanction of the local government, converted themselves into oracles of unerring wisdom, and the self-constituted representatives of the people, without of course any warrant from them to speak in their behalf, and the official veil must be torn away, and the naked ungainly reality unmasked and exposed to the vulgar gaze. If these official Reports had been published, the public would have had an opportunity afforded to them of putting their own value on the wisdom that struts in official government, and of openly repudiating the right of many of the writers of these Reports to speak in their name, and on their behalf, as though they were the duly accredited agents, which we need hardly say they are not. The Government of Bombay too have, in an important matter, left unfulfilled to this day the explicit direction given to them along with others by the Government of India; they consulted no non-official gentlemen, though they were expressly directed to do so in the May Resolution of the Government of India; and, what is still more striking, they consulted no officer outside the Revenue Department, as though the Revenue Officers only, and none others, were capable of forming an opinion on so important a subject. In short the very officers, whose present autocratic and irresponsible power and consequent importance the Government of India's

scheme was intended to considerably impair and curtail were consulted to the exclusion of all others, and the persons indicted were packed into a Jury, and their leader became the Judge and in such a forum they acquitted themselves to their own intense satisfaction amidst general laughter. It is no wonder that the instinct of self-preservation got the upper hand of their reason and judgment, and in some cases even their conscience, and led them to view with distrust, suspicion, and misgivings as to its eventual success the proposed great reform. We were by no means unprepared for such an exhibition of official petulance, for the Bombay Revenue officers must have been more than human if they did not yield to such a temptation. If the Brahmin priesthood, or any other priesthood in the world, whether Christian or otherwise, were consulted tomorrow, whether or not a curtailment of their vested rights and traditional interests would greatly conduce to human happiness, what will be the stereotyped reply? Would not the reply invariably be that the world would soon come to a dead-lock if the contemplated reform were effected in right earnest? And what grounds are there to suppose that the Bombay Revenue hierarchy are any whit better than the Brahmin, Mahomedan, or any other priesthood? As has been already remarked above, there are of course a very few honourable exceptions, but such exceptions are to be found in every case, and they only serve to emphasize the general dullness and impatience of official pride.

The Bombay Government in the second paragraph of their Resolution entered a strong protest against the proposals contained in the Government of India's Resolution of May last, as being unsuited to the present condition of this Presidency. The statement of facts contained therein is the reverse of truth and what is more to the point is inconsistent; for neither the urban nor the rural population has had "a large share of local self-government," nor has the

constitution of local Boards, urban and rural, been "popular." We have said above that the statement of facts contained in para 2 of the Resolution is the reverse of truth, and we must thank the Bombay Government for furnishing us with ample evidence of a circumstantial character to substantiate our charge. We give below in close proximity para 2 and paras 25 and 31 of the Resolution, the latter two paras flatly contradicting every position laid down in the former para.

2. The population of this Presidency both urban and rural has for many years enjoyed a large share of local self-government secured to it by the provisions of the Bombay Local Funds Act, 1869, and the Bombay District Municipal Act. *The constitution of the Municipal and Local Funds Committees was popular; the non-official element predominated; and the large and influential class of Inamdars elected its own representatives on the Taluka and District Local Fund Committees. The District Municipal Act contained provisions authorising Government to grant the elective franchise to city Municipalities, and Government possessed the power of elevating town municipalities to the status of city municipalities whenever the inhabitants displayed sufficient intelligence and public spirit to justify such a measure. The improvements which have been effected, and the progress in all that constitutes civilisation are hardly credible to those who can remember the state of this Presidency even twenty years ago. Education has advanced, water-supply and sanitation have been provided for, and even the most remote and rugged districts have been opened up by excellent roads. It may well be feared that the newly constituted and less experienced Boards could ill spare the guiding influence of the Collector which has hitherto enabled the Committees to overcome caste enmities and the conflicting influence of local factions. Political education is a tender plant of very slow growth, and it cannot wisely be forced into a premature development. Before subverting a system which has been found in practice to work so well this Government would have preferred to proceed more cautiously, to create and educate a public spirit, and to ascertain the fitness of the Municipal and Local Fund Committees to exercise more extended powers. Such powers are often abused even in countries where the people have been accustomed to free institutions, the growth of centuries, and His Excellency the Governor in Council cannot but regard with uncertainty and anxiety, the bestowal by one step of unlimited powers on communities so new to their exercise. In its recent orders, how*

over, the Government of India insists on the introduction without delay of very radical measures of self-government, and having placed on record his opinion that measures so extensive are somewhat premature it will now be the duty of His Excellency the Governor in Council to carry out those measures to the utmost extent which he considers compatible with safety.

25. *To meet the popular wishes, to satisfy the requirements of the Government of India, and to render local self-government a reality and not merely a name, it is essential that the Boards should have full powers and be liable only to the general control and supervision of Government. In minor matters and questions of details there should be no interference from above. In like manner in the case of Local Fund Boards the allotment and expenditure of the moneys placed at the disposal of each Board should, subject to the provisions of a new law as to the purposes on which Local Funds must and may be expended, and to a general power of supervision to be reserved to Government, be left entirely in the hands of the Boards.*

31. *It is in limine desirable to decide what part or share of the Local Fund revenue should be at the exclusive disposal of the District Committee and what portion should be made over for control and expenditure to the Taluka Committees. The latter at present, it may be said, have hardly any power to spend money for they have virtually no money to spend. The District Committee is the chief spending body; the great bulk of the Local Fund income is expended by it; but it too in many respects possesses but a merely nominal authority and discretion. Its members may have and may express an opinion as to the way in which the funds available can be laid out most advantageously for the benefit of the district, but in practice the decision, more especially of late years, has rested with the Commissioner of the Division and Government, and it may be taken for granted that in many instances the orders passed and the works undertaken are not those which the native members would have sanctioned had the power of determining the question been vested in them.*

The principle that taking the taluka as the unit local contributions to the Fund should be locally expended has been of late years if not altogether lost sight of at least departed from to a great extent. Hence have arisen dissatisfaction on the part of many officers, such discontent on the part of committees and rate-payers, and the idea, for which there has only been too much ground, that the Taluka Committees were powerless and therefore useless. A return—partial at least if not entire—to the original scheme seems to the Governor in Council to be now desirable and

necessary. The amount of money annually at the disposal of Táluka Committees should be materially increased and the sums expended on minor works in each táluka should more nearly approximate to the amount of the proceeds of the cess and miscellaneous receipts in the táluka.

We invite the pointed attention of the reader to the italicised portions of the foregoing extracts, as thus the self-condemnatory character of the Resolution cannot but become obvious. If the circumstances under which such self-contradictory paragraphs found their way into the Resolution could be known, what a flood of light would be thrown on the way in which the Governor in Council disposes of important business! Again the second paragraph requires to be looked at from another point of view. Granting for the sake of argument that that paragraph contains nothing more or less than a statement of facts, is it not really very strange that a people, who have "for many years enjoyed a large share of local self-government," with whom the constitution of the existing Boards has been "popular" because of the alleged preponderance of the non-official element therein, who must consequently get the principal credit for the incredible improvements and progress effected in all that constitutes civilization,—is it not really very strange, we repeat, that such a people should be deemed unfit, after twenty-five years' pupilage, to have conferred upon them the superior powers of self-government even "by one step?" The Bombay Government is thus placed on the horns of a dilemma of its own creation; it must admit either that the description of the existing system and its results in the direction of the political education of the people is a pure myth, or that if otherwise, its conclusion from the premises is not sound. Whichever horn it chooses to rest upon, there it stands condemned on its own showing of untruthfulness, or incapacity to draw a legitimate conclusion from given premises. The Government of India in their

recent letter, reviewing the Bombay Resolution, have very justly taken the local government to task for the highly reprehensible tone of the second paragraph, but have failed to notice the self-condemnatory or contradictory character of the Resolution as a whole to which we have drawn attention. Probably in the feeling of indignation and resentment which the perusal of the second paragraph was too well calculated to excite, the Government of India forgot to notice this singular inconsistency. In the same way, while quoting the opinions of several individual officers to show that the existing Municipal and Local Funds administration in this Presidency was a sham and not a reality, the Government of India failed to notice the report of Mr. Clarke-Jervoise, the Collector of Belgaum, which in our opinion is the best in the whole lot, and wherein the weak points of the existing system are noticed with righteous indignation and have been most mercilessly exposed. The second half of para 31 of the Bombay Resolution reads in fact as though it were a free paraphrase of Mr. Clarke-Jervoise's scathing strictures against the existing system of Local Fund administration and furnishes the strongest refutation of the positions laid down in Para 2.

As regards the dangers of possible failure of which so much has been made in the Bombay Resolution under review, the anxiety of the local Government is altogether misplaced. The Government of India are fully alive to these dangers, and moreover it is to be remembered that the principal, if not the sole, object of the enlightened policy inaugurated by the Government of the Marquis of Ripon is not so much its capacity as a means of rendering local administration more efficient, but as "*an instrument of political and popular education.*" Moreover even as regards the alleged efficiency of the existing system of official administration, we have not the slightest doubt that in the long run local administration under the new order of things will be more

efficient than the existing one. Not to mince matters we must take this opportunity to state in the most unequivocal and emphatic terms that an administration under which such large misappropriations of the local revenues have been possible, as has been now generally admitted by official witnesses to be a fact in the case of Local Funds revenue, can be termed efficient by mock courtesy or official fiction only. The people of India, as the May Resolution justly observes, are "remarkably tolerant of existing facts;" otherwise a single suit in a Civil Court would have effectually put a stop to the long continued course of plunder. In forsooth, then, so far as the Local Funds are concerned, we have had during the last eight years and more *no local administration whatever, but a violation of public faith of the worst type has been regularly committed from year to year, and accordingly there is really no efficiency whatever to lose.* Before this scandalous period, however, a *bona fide* administration did exist, and we have the testimony of Mr. Clarke-Jervoise that native members of the Local Fund Committees used to display remarkable zeal in discussing annual budgets, and used to take an active part in the management of their local affairs. Some of the other leading District officers bear the same testimony, and yet the Bombay Government, in defiance of such a strong testimony to the contrary, entertains vain and vague fears about the eventual success of the new policy. The same may be said about Municipal administration with only slight modifications; for under the old Municipal law (Act XXVI of 1850) the Municipal corporations in this Presidency used to be less hampered by official control than under the existing law, which was framed on a broad basis of official control.

We shall now proceed to notice the other points in the Resolution, bearing, directly or indirectly, on the four cardinal principles laid down in the Go-

vernment of India's Resolution of May last. With reference to the first point, we are glad to note that the Bombay Government has declared itself in favour of resuscitating the Taluka Local Fund Committees, which since 1877 have been for all practical purposes defunct, and has announced its intention of charging them with the independent disbursement of a moderate portion of Local Funds, in a way to avoid the more serious defects, and combine the best advantages, of the two rival systems, we mean the Taluka unit system and the District unit system. A thorough return to the Taluka unit system would have been much more injurious than even the continuance of the District unit system for reasons which we need not go into at present. Suffice it to say that the compromise effected now between the rival claims of the two systems, each of which has its advocates, is happy enough so far as it goes; and with more experience of its practical working, improvements will suggest themselves. Taking, however, due note of the fact that the local self-government scheme has been put forth principally as "an instrument of political and popular education," we are willing to quietly await the result with confidence in its ultimate success.

We now come to the second point. The Government of India's Resolution of May last (para 13) says, that the members of local Boards "should be chosen by election wherever it may, in the opinion of the local governments, be practicable to adopt that system of choice;" and it is immediately after added that "the Governor General in Council does not require the adoption of the system of election in all cases, though that is the system which he hopes will ultimately prevail throughout the country, and which he wishes to establish now as widely as local circumstances will permit." The determination of the qualifications for voters and for members was left to the local governments to devise, the Governor General in Council simply expressing an opinion that these quali-

fications "might ordinarily at first be fairly high." In connection with this it should also be remembered that one of the principal objects aimed at by the new scheme was to utilize the energies of the "intelligent class of public spirited men," which is rapidly growing up all over the country, and to fail to utilize which was declared to be "not only bad policy, but sheer waste of power." In short the principal object was, to quote the words of the May Resolution, to ascertain "by patient and practical experiment how best to call forth and render effective that desire and capacity for self-government which all intelligent and fairly educated men may safely be assumed to possess." So much for the views of the Government of India upon the subject. Let us now see how far they have been carried out by the Bombay Government in their Resolution under review.

So far as the Taluka Committees are concerned, we cordially endorse the views of the Bombay Government, which are also in full accord with those of the Government of India, that in the more backward Talukas, of which there are several in this Presidency, the members shall be nominated by Government, and not elected. But as regards those Talukas where the system of election in some form or other can be safely tried, the proposed qualifications for voters and for members, but especially those for the latter, will in practice be found to be prohibitive and nugatory. Before laying down one set of tests for all Talukas alike, the Bombay Government, although they took three and half months to consider the whole subject and to hatch their scheme, do not appear to have taken any pains to ascertain what, under those tests, the numerical strength of a constituency would be, and how many candidates would be available, in each Taluka. This could have been easily done by the Government, and then it would have found the practical uselessness of laying down one hard and fast set of qualifications for all Talukas alike. This

slovenliness and negligence are simply unpardonable in such great questions, and afford a sufficient indication of the scanty care and little thought the local authorities have bestowed upon the subject. In this connection we can not resist the temptation of citing a still more glaring instance of negligence, and possibly even of ignorance. Mr. E. P. Robertson, the Commissioner of the Central Division, in his report on the May Resolution gravely and soberly recommended the payment of Rs. 10 and Rs. 20 of Local Fund Cess as a qualification for voters and members respectively. The payments of Rs. 10 and Rs. 20 of Local Fund Cess mean Rs. 160 and Rs. 320 of the land assessment!!! Mr. Robertson is an officer of long standing, and has been in his present office for the last seven years. He ought to have been aware, or if he were not, he could have easily ascertained from his office records, that in the Talukas of the Central Division very few persons, if any at all, would be found who would fulfil the conditions proposed by him. Mr. Moore, the Collector of Poona, proposed the same tests, and even went further to propose that a voter should in addition be above 25 years of age, and a candidate for membership above 35 years of age. Now what can be the value of such absurd and impossible recommendations of which the two we have named above are fair specimens. We could easily multiply the list by adding some other names of officers who have displayed similar ignorance in other directions. But we refrain from doing so, as the task is by no means congenial to our disposition. Our only object in citing the foregoing two illustrative cases is to expose the hollow character of the indiscriminate encomium passed upon all officers alike in the opening paragraph of the Bombay Resolution. The Bombay Government in the Resolution under notice administer a gentle rebuke to Mr. Robertson without, however, mentioning the latter half of his proposal, which is

if possible, more absurd than the former, for this simple reason that supposing there were found in a Taluka half a dozen people paying Rs. 320 as the land assessment, where lies the necessity and virtue of going through the process of election, when the number of seats reserved for election will be very often equal to, if not more than, the number of persons eligible as members? But while exposing the ignorance of Mr. Robertson, the Bombay Government also have laid themselves open to a similar charge by laying down a set of hard and fast tests for all Talukas alike, when they ought to have known well that all Talukas are not similarly circumstanced. Now take, for instance, the Deccan Districts,—we mean Poona, Satara, Sholapoor and Ahmednagar, the four Districts in which a special legislative protection has been extended to the landed class owing to their being involved, as a class, in great indebtedness. And under such circumstances how can it be possible to find a sufficient number of persons fit to be members of Taluka Committees if it be insisted that candidates for that office should possess “unencumbered real property in the Taluka of the value of not less than Rs. 1,000”? Is the Governor of Bombay in Council aware that, according to the opinion of the Deccan Riots Commissioners, the debt of the agricultural classes in these Deccan Districts is eighteen times the assessment, that is, in other words, the amount of that debt represents nearly the entire value of the whole land in occupation? And even in the other Talukas what an amount of unnecessary vexation would be caused to the subordinate officers charged with the preparation of lists, if they are required to undertake such inquisitorial proceedings? And lastly, one fails to see the reasons which could have actuated the Bombay Government to propose a different test for membership in the case of the Taluka Committees, when they did not think that a similar, sepa-

rate test for membership was required in the case of Municipalities. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, in their last memorial to the Bombay Government upon the subject, which is given in its usual place in this number, very properly recommended that it would not do to lay down one hard and fast test for all Talukas alike, and thoughtfully suggested the considerations which ought to guide the Government in determining the qualifications. We now find that Mr. Crawford also recommended a similar course, though he did not go into the details to any extent. And, notwithstanding this timely advice, the Bombay Government have fallen into the mistake noticed above.

In this connection we must pointedly ask one important question, and that is, what has the Government done, both as regards the Taluka and District Committees, in the direction of providing a legitimate outlet for the aspirations and energies of the rapidly growing "intelligent class of public spirited men," or in other words, in the direction of "calling forth and rendering effective that desire and capacity for self-government which all intelligent and fairly educated men may safely be assumed to possess"? It is true that the Inamdars, or holders of alienated villages, are in future to be allowed as before to elect one member each for both the Committees, and that the leading Municipalities are to elect one member each in the same way. This dual proposal is satisfactory so far as it goes, but would it not be better if in addition to it the "intelligent and fairly educated men," who admittedly possess the "desire and capacity for self-government," were allowed to form themselves into a separate constituency with the right of electing one or two representatives? The "intelligent class of public spirited men," to fail to utilize whom is, according to the declared views of the Government of India, "not only bad policy, but sheer waste of power," is not included, so far as rural tracts

are concerned, in those who can be expected to satisfy the two tests proposed by the Bombay Government for membership in the Taluka and District Committees, viz, the possession of unencumbered real property of the value of Rs. 1,000, or other property worth Rs. 15,000. The Bombay Government have declined to accept the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha's proposal for allowing these classes two representatives in the District Committee on the ground that, as they do not contribute to the Local Funds, and can possibly have no interest in its administration, they have no right to be represented, or even to be elected as members by duly qualified voters. Now may we retort by asking why a man, possessing Rs. 15,000 worth of other than real or landed property, should be eligible as a member, when he contributes nothing to the Local Funds, and can consequently have no interest in its administration? Does the mere possession of Rs. 15,000 worth of property carry any virtue with it? And if it does, does not the admitted possession of the "desire and capacity for self-government" carry a greater weight? So far as we are aware, Mr. T. H. Stewart, the Survey and Settlement Commissioner, is the only officer who has done justice to the considerations, which the Sabha has repeatedly urged on the attention of the Bombay Government, by frankly admitting that those who are now appointed members of these local Boards—and here we may remark that the two new qualifications will practically be found to throw the membership into the hands of that very class from whom the present members are recruited,—are not the persons who can be expected to do justice to their office, nor evince much interest in their work. And if our memory fails not, Mr. Stewart distinctly recommended the pleaders and other people of a similar class, who are both able and willing to make themselves useful, for such office. The Bombay Government and its District

officers as a class have a superstitious dread of these people, and regard them as having no stake whatever in the country. May we ask by way of retort what stake, beyond the fact that they are paid servants of government, the District officers have in the country? Though not in so many words, Mr. Stewart himself has suggested this question, and we can not too highly applaud his outspokenness. We request the reader to study carefully the history of the third incident cited by the Sabha in its fourth representation, and then to ask himself the question, if any person, having a *real* stake in the welfare of the people, would have returned the reply that Mr. Moore did to the Municipal Commissioners of Poona. We do not at all find fault with Mr. Moore individually, but we lay great stress upon the instance for this reason that it illustrates the truth of our remark that District officers, as stipendiary servants working for a pension, and living here as birds of passage, can feel really no or little interest in the welfare of the people, which, under the system of bureaucratic rule, not unfrequently clashes with the interests of government. As salaried servants of government, these District Officers deem it their paramount duty, and naturally enough, to guard the latter interests at the sacrifice of the former. Briefly then, the Bombay Resolution has failed to make a due provision in the proposed reconstitution of the rural local Boards for securing the cooperation of that self-same "intelligent class of public-spirited men," who above all others can hold their own, and who are both able and willing to guard the popular interests against official encroachments. The Honourable W. W. Hunter, the President of the Education Commission in his reply to the Municipal address at Allahabad, gave a sound advice to the members of local boards, urban and rural, all over the country, that they should lay a firm grip on their local revenues, and jealously guard them against official encroachments. And if the very class of people, who un-

derstand the business rightly, and who can inspire their colleagues with the intelligence and courage requisite to make a bold stand against official aggressions and encroachments, are studiously ostracised from the local Boards, we fail to understand how the object in view can be effectually attained, and how the *real* independence of these bodies can be secured against all risks.

Another point in connection with the election of the members of Taluka Committees, requires to be noticed. The mode of election by wards laid down in the Bombay Resolution, requiring every voter of a ward to go to the central polling station, would, we feel sure, be in practice found simply impracticable. We extremely doubt if, amongst all the Talukas of this Presidency, there will be found even a single Taluka so advanced in intelligence and civilization as to understand the proposed mode of election, which is one of those features that give the system a Europeanized form. Until the people become familiarized with the new system, it is indispensable that for some time at any rate the mode suggested by the Government of India in their May Resolution (Para 13) should be adopted. The sub-Divisional officers, such as Assistant Collectors, Deputy Collectors, and Mamlatdars, should, after preparing the lists of voters, request those entitled to vote to meet them, or any one of them, on a given day at a given place, when, after fully explaining to them the objects and aims of Government in inaugurating this new departure in their policy towards local Boards, they should be requested to elect their representatives from amongst those eligible as members. If such a procedure were duly followed on two or three occasions at the commencement, we have not the slightest doubt that there would be no necessity for repeating it afterwards. Lest our meaning may be misunderstood, we must here plainly state that we recommend the adoption of this course, not because the people of this Presidency are indifferent to local self-government, but because the people must be got to realize to them-

selves the new change in the policy. The evil consequences of the domineering policy pursued by Government, more specially during the last ten years, towards these local Boards, have been so disastrous and so far-reaching, that it will necessarily take some time for the people to realize to themselves the fact that the Government is really anxious to grant them freedom of action; and the best way to undo that evil impression, and to make the people aware that a *real* change has come over the almost traditional policy of Government, is for the District officers themselves to lead and pioneer the people into the new paths.

As regards the Municipalities, we do not approve of the proposal of the Bombay Government to extend the elective franchise promiscuously to all Municipalities. The Bombay Government are evidently playing a deep game, and desire with no benevolent purpose to give the rope to all Municipalities alike to hang themselves by. We can not but view with positive mistrust and suspicion this proposal, for the simple reason that it is vain to expect the Bombay Government and its District Officers to give to the new scheme the patient, fair, and indulgent trial that its character as a tentative measure of political and popular education necessarily demands. Were the attitude of the Bombay Government different, and had they loyally and cheerfully accepted the new policy, we should not have viewed the measure with such positive mistrust and suspicion, but would have on the contrary hailed it with gratitude and joy. But as the attitude of the local authorities is so pronounced against the whole scheme we can not accept this proposal without serious misgivings. Moreover, the Government of India too did not recommend the indiscriminate adoption of the principle of election in the selection of the members of every Municipality and of every Local Fund Committee; for in their May Resolution (para 13) they observe:—"Election in some form or other should be generally introduced in towns of any considerable size,

but may be extended more cautiously and gradually to the smaller Municipalities and to backward rural tracts." And then immediately later on it is added.—"Even as regards these last, however, the Governor General in Council is disposed to think that if the Government officers cordially accept the principle, and set themselves to make it successful, a great advance might be made with comparatively little difficulty." Now it is evident that the Bombay Government and their District officers have not "cordially accepted the principle," but have accepted it under a strong protest; nor are they, humanly speaking, likely to "set themselves to make it successful," and under such circumstances it is not possible for us to congratulate the people living within the jurisdiction of the smaller Municipalities on their having obtained a privilege, whose success, as has been admitted by the Government of India, depends upon circumstances over which they can have no control? But by far the most ridiculous feature of the reform announced in the Bombay Resolution yet remains to be noticed. The Bombay Government, while thus nominally extending the principle of election to almost all Municipalities, large and small, have practically pitched the qualification so high as to virtually deny the boon to the smaller towns; for when the lists of voters come to be prepared according to the qualification tests laid down in para 15 of the Resolution, it will appear that in the majority of cases no person whatever will be found to be qualified under any of the eight tests proposed, and that where such persons may be found, the number of voters will not probably be much larger than the number of members to be elected, while in some cases it will turn out that the number of members to be elected is actually larger than those entitled to vote!!! It should be remembered that the Government of Bombay have proposed one and the same qualification tests for voters and for candidates for membership. One of these tests is the

payment of Rs. 5 of direct Municipal taxation, and for the Municipalities in Sind an alternative test is proposed, namely, Rs 3 of House Tax. Now in the first place a superficial reference to the statistical tables appended to the annual Municipal Taxation Reports issued by the Bombay Government would have shown that, comparatively speaking, very little of direct taxation is levied by our Mofussil Municipalities, their income being principally, if not wholly, derived from octroi duties. In fact both the Government of Bombay and the Government of India have been complaining about this particular feature in our Mofussil Municipal administration. Excluding the Presidency Town of Bombay, the total Municipal revenue in the Bombay Presidency for 1880-81 amounted to Rs. 27,26,331-11-2 which is of course exclusive of the cash balances from the previous years, and of this sum the total revenue from direct Municipal taxation for the same year amounted to Rs. 7,03,751-1-1, that is, a little over 25 per cent of the total gross revenue for the year. But even this sum of Rs. 7,03,751-1-1 does not represent *bona fide* direct Municipal taxation; for in that sum are included the proceeds of the Pilgrim Tax like the one at Pandharpoor, Alandi, Dakor and such other places, and the proceeds of a Ferry Tax like the one at Ahmedabad and Surat, and such other items. These items are put down under the head of direct taxation by official fiction only, probably with a view to distinguish them from the octroi duties; whereas they ought to be classed along with the octroi as indirect taxation. If the proceeds of this mis-called direct taxation be deducted from the above sum, it will be seen that the revenue from *bona fide* direct Municipal taxation amounted for the same year to Rs. 4,20,542-5-9 only; that is, a little over 15 per cent of the gross revenue. And the average incidence of this *bona fide* direct taxation amounts to 3½ annas per head of the Municipal population in this Presidency. This

is the general view of the situation, and, under these circumstances, is there any possibility whatever, however remote, of the proposed qualification tests giving any constituency worth having, if the tests be adhered to? But the absurdity of the test will be further laid bare if we descend to particular instances, instead of confining ourselves to a general survey. And what do we find when we come to particular instances? Let the following tabular statement giving detailed information for the ten leading Municipalities in this Presidency be carefully examined and such an examination, will convince the reader of the truth of our foregoing observations:—

No.	Name of the Municipality.	Population.	Total Revenue.	Total revenue from direct taxation (proper.)	Average incidence of direct taxation per head.	Percentage of direct taxation to the total revenue.
1	Poona.	99,622	Rs. 190,284	Rs. 63,895	As. Pa. 10—3	83
2	Sholapur.	59,562	96,904	8,485	2—3	8
3	Ahmednagar.	82,841	50,326	6,273	3—11	12
4	Ahmedabad.	120,886	273,899	50,438	6—8	18
5	Surat.	107,149	271,084	46,751	6—11	17
6	Broach.	36,932	79,849	6,514	2—9	8
7	Karachi.	73,560	263,279	18,373	3—10	6
8	Hydrabad.	48,109	125,897	30
9	Shikarpur.	42,496	69,858	3,031	1—2	4
10	Sulker.	27,389	123,657	4,914	2—10	3

If such be the case in the largest of our Mofussil Municipalities, the reader can well judge for himself what it must be in the remaining 150 Municipalities; and under such circumstances how is it possible for one rigid test to suit the varying circumstances of the different Municipalities? It is evident, therefore, that the Bombay Government did not take due note of the real condition of our Mofussil Municipal finance, when they laid down one and the same rigid set of tests for all Municipalities alike. This inexcusable miscalculation, not to call it by harsher name, illustrates the indifference with which the whole scheme has been prepared and trifled with. Of a piece with this indifference is the reckless assertion that the Bombay Government firmly believe that the population of the various towns in this Presidency, nay, in the whole country, is very much alike, and differs only in numbers. His Excellency the Governor of Bombay in Council may be expected to know something of the towns in the Bombay Presidency,—this too, by the bye he knows little about, as we shall show presently,—but what does he know of the whole country? Absolutely nothing. The audacity of the statement is equalled by its ignorance only, and is surpassed only by the statement contained in several reports of the Bombay District officers, to the effect that the people of India are indifferent to local self-government, and do not desire more freedom. But to return to the subject. To say, as the Bombay Government have done, that the general educational status of the mass of population in the city of Poona does not much differ from that of any ordinary mofussil town, such as Bhusawal, Vengurla &c, is to ignore the fact which was prominently brought to the notice of the Education Commission during their Poona Session and upon which Mr. H. P. Jacob, one of the members of the Commission, and an experienced officer of the Bombay Educational Department, publicly complimented the citi-

zens of Poona during the course of his reply to the Municipal address to the Commission. Strange and incredible as it may seem to the local authorities, the fact is that nearly the whole male school-going population of the city of Poona is now under instruction, and this result has been obtained by adding together the scholars attending the lower division of the secondary schools, government, aided and unaided, and those attending the primary schools, government and indigenous, in the city of Poona. We have reasons to believe it to be the deliberate opinion of the Education Commission that there is hardly any other city in India which can show similar results. And yet His Excellency the Governor of Bombay in Council would have us believe that Poona, educationally speaking, is on the same level with Bhusawal, Vengurla &c. !!! Well may the people of Poona exclaim with the poet "Where ignorance is bliss, it is folly to be wise." And we have not the slightest doubt that other leading cities in this Presidency will show similar results differing only in degree. Every large city in this Presidency maintains a considerable number of indigenous primary schools, unrecognized by, and in some cases even unknown to, the Educational Department, and unless the people in the larger cities were more alive to the advantages of education than those in backward places, how is it possible for them to maintain as a private enterprise, pure and simple, the existing large number of indigenous schools at an estimated expenditure, which exceeds in many cases the money spent by the department on its primary schools within the same limits? Briefly then, it is not the fact that, educationally speaking, all Indian towns are on the same level; they differ from each other not only in numbers, but also in degrees of culture and intelligence. Apart from this circumstance, there are several others either of a physical or moral nature which distinguish the population of the different towns. For instance, the people of an

average town in the Konkan, (Tanna, Ratnagiri, and Kolaba) are admittedly more intelligent and public spirited, than say the people in Khandesh or Kaladgi. In the same way the population of a city like Poona, which has its name associated with an eventful historical past, differs widely in character, and in some cases for the better, from the population of even the Presidency Town of Bombay, which has no such historical associations to be proud of.

We have thus shown that, in as much as the towns in this Presidency differ from each other not only in numbers but in degrees of culture and intelligence, the elective franchise, if extended to all Municipal Towns alike, is not likely to be a success everywhere. It would be advisable, therefore, that, at the commencement, the franchise should be extended to those towns only where its success will be almost assured, and that it should be then extended gradually to the remaining towns under such conditions as the experience gathered in the larger towns may justify. Such a measure as we have suggested above has this recommending feature about it, that, while it will satisfy the just and legitimate aspirations of the people, it will secure also a larger outer circle of small Municipalities, which will be filled with emulation and zeal, enabling them after due effort to seek entrance into the inner or, so to speak, privileged circle. It will therefore, quite suffice if the proposed Act contains a provision on the model of the Bengal Municipalities Act, that the local Government shall not refuse the concession of the franchise to any town in which one third of the number of rate-payers shall have memorialized the Government on the subject. We have a strong faith in the tendency of almost every kind of education towards downward filtration, and accordingly we have not the slightest doubt that within a few years the adoption of our suggestion will be attended by the happiest of results.

It will not be impertinent to the subject under consideration if we notice here one important point in connection with the reconstitution of the Municipal and Local Committees. The Government of Bombay in their Resolution under notice (para 12) say that "the power of nominating members to both Municipal and Local Fund Boards thus given to government will prevent the undue exclusion of representatives of any particular class, creed, caste or interest, and will meet the objections to the scheme of election raised by some of the Collectors." The principle underlying this provision is admittedly very sound; but one question very naturally suggests itself to even a superficial critic, *quis custodiat ipsos custodes*, or "who will guard the guardians themselves"? The principle is, as we have already said above, very sound, but it is sound not only as regards the non-official members, but even as regards the official or, to speak more accurately, the ex-officio members. In the proposed reconstitution of these Boards, the Revenue officers, who alone were consulted in the matter, have taken good care to monopolize the ex-officio seats to themselves every where to the exclusion of the representatives of other services, as if they alone, and none of the latter, have a right to be specially represented in the Boards. The officers of the Educational, Public Works, and Medical Departments have as much right to be ex-officio members of local Boards as the Revenue and Magisterial officers; for they are by no means less competent than the latter to take an active part in the administration of local affairs. The Government of India in their May Resolution (Para 18) say that "it does not appear necessary, for the exercise of these powers, that the chief executive officers of towns, sub-divisions or districts should be Chairmen or even members of the local boards," and that "there is indeed much reason to believe that it would be more convenient that they should supervise and control the acts of those bodies, without tak-

ing actual part in their proceedings." The Government of Bombay have, in the proposed reconstitution of these bodies, gone exactly to the other extreme. Instead of associating with these executive officers the representatives of other services in the administration of the local boards, those very officers, who according to the Government of India's views were not desirable even as members of these bodies, have been given an exclusive preponderance in their constitution. This arrangement is cliquism, pure and simple, and is any thing but worthy of a Government that wants to pose as the champion of unrepresented minorities. The people of India are remarkable for their being apt pupils in imitating an example set to them by high authority, and if the result of the forthcoming elections should be the exclusion of the representatives of any particular class, the government will have to thank themselves for such a result. This cliquism is as much resented in official as in non-official circles; for we know it from personal knowledge that there are many officers outside the Revenue and Magisterial services, who regard their total exclusion from the new boards as worse than cliquism. It would seem that the attention of the Government of India was not attracted to this glaring and scandalous feature of the Bombay scheme. Let us hope that the Government of India will, while it is not yet too late, set matters right by directing the Bombay Government to make room for the representatives of the Educational, Public Works, and Medical Departments in the new boards. In the case of the City Municipalities, therefore, we would first of all increase the maximum number of members from 24 and 18, as now proposed, to 40 and 30, and then add the Deputy Educational Inspector, the Head Master of the local High School, and the Executive Engineer, to the proposed five ex-officio members. The proposed number would not be unmanageable, for even now the smallest City Municipality consists of over 25

members. The arrangement proposed by us would have this recommending feature about it, that while it will secure the fair and adequate representation of the different services in the new boards, it will also in the case of the larger towns ensure a useful career to a larger number of those who are anxious to take an active part in the management of their local affairs, while the arrangement proposed by the Bombay Government would unduly restrict the field to only a minority of them. In the same way we would, in the case of District Committees, give ex-officio seats to the following officers only:—1 the Collector of the District, 2 the Senior Assistant Collector, 3 the Executive Engineer, 4 the Civil Surgeon, 5 the Deputy Educational Inspector, 6 the Head Master of the District High School or English School. In the case of the Town Municipalities and Taluka Committees, we would similarly give ex-officio seats to the representatives of the Public Works and Educational Departments.

In the case of the urban boards, the Bombay Government have admitted the necessity of making the franchise educational and professional, but are dead opposed to giving a separate and direct representation to these classes. Notwithstanding the thorough and exhaustive character of the representations of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha upon the subject, the Bombay Government for reasons already alluded to above have refused to make this concession. As we have nothing new to say upon this subject, we content ourselves by simply requesting the reader's attention to the fourth representation of the Sabha to the Bombay Government upon the subject. In this connection we shall quote the following from the recent letter of the Government of India to the Bombay Government, reviewing the Bombay Resolution, as it materially strengthens our case.

The desire of the Government of India therefore is not to force upon all parts of the country a uniform system of its own devising,

but to secure the gradual training of the best, most intelligent, and most influential men in the community to take an interest and an active part in the management of their local affairs.

The uncertainty and anxiety felt by the Governor in Council as to the "safety" of the measures contemplated by the Government of India is doubtless due to this misconception: Those measures are, as has been shown, of strictly limited scope, and are only the natural development of the principles laid down by Lord Mayo's Government. Of their perfect safety when applied in the manner and with the restrictions contemplated by the Government of India, the Governor General in Council has no doubt whatever; but it may reasonably be questioned whether it would be much longer "compatible with safety" to continue to extend education, and especially that higher education to which the Government of India attaches so much importance and which the public so warmly desires, without affording to those whom the State has thus educated some more extended means than they have hitherto enjoyed, of taking a share in the conduct of their own affairs. It is one of the inevitable drawbacks of a widespread system of State education that it encourages to an unhealthy extent a desire for employment in the public service, not only as a mode of livelihood, but as a means of obtaining influence and distinction. No more effectual remedy for this evil can be provided than by affording to persons of education and talent fair opportunities for devoting their energies to the public service in a non-official capacity.

The Sabha's last two representations to the Bombay Government do not appear to have been sent on to the Government of India, for the "second collection" of official papers contains only the first two representations. If they had been, it is possible that the attention of the Government of India would have been prominently drawn to the necessity of giving a separate and special representation to the educated and professional minority. At the commencement it is not desirable in all cases to make all the elected members the exclusive representatives of the mass of rate-payers only, and we think that the only way "to secure the gradual training of the best, most intelligent and most influential men in the community" is to allow a special and direct representation to the minority represented by these classes,

so as to ensure the election of men with the requisite quality against all the well-known risks of popular general elections. The Bombay Government in their Resolution under notice say that the minority represented by these classes need not be granted a special and exceptional representation, for this reason that for such a step "no precedent exists in India or in England." May we ask if the special and direct representation of the Bombay Justices of the Peace in the Municipal Corporation of Bombay does not furnish the requisite precedent? If not, on what grounds is that special representation justified? Again, does not the special representation of the leading Universities of the United Kingdom in the British House of Commons furnish another precedent? If not, on what grounds is that special representation also justified? The most superficial student of representative institutions knows that a special and exceptional representation of the minorities is secured in every representative body, whether of Imperial or local importance. The author of the Essay on Representative Government in his chapter on "Local Representative Bodies," writes as follows upon the subject of the representation of minorities in local bodies:—

The representation of minorities should be provided for in the same manner as in the national Parliament, and there are the same strong reasons for plurality of votes. Only, there is not so decisive an objection, in the inferior as in the higher body, to making the plural voting depend (as in some of the local elections of our own country) on a mere money qualification: for the honest and frugal dispensation of money forms so much larger a part of the business of the local, than of the national body, that there is more justice as well as policy in allowing a greater proportional influence to those who have a larger money interest at stake.

In the most recently established of our local representative institutions, the Boards of Guardians, the justices of peace of the district sit *ex officio* along with the elected members, in number limited by law to a third of the whole. In the peculiar constitution of English society, I have no doubt of the beneficial effect of this provision. It

secures the presence, in these bodies, of a more educated class than it would perhaps be practicable to attract thither on any other terms; and while the limitation in number of the *ex officio* members precludes them from acquiring predominance by mere numerical strength they, as a virtual representation of another class, having sometimes a different interest from the rest, are a check upon the class interests of the farmers or petty shopkeepers who form the bulk of the elected Guardians.

The same author in another part of the same work writes as follows on the subject of the representation of minorities in the National Assembly:—

In a representative body actually deliberating, the minority must of course be overruled; and in an equal democracy (since the opinions of the constituents, when they insist on them, determine those of the representative body) the majority of the people, through their representatives, will outvote and prevail over the minority and their representatives. But does it follow that the minority should have no representatives at all? Because the majority ought to prevail over the minority, must the majority have all the votes, the minority none? Is it necessary that the minority should not even be heard? Nothing but habit and old association can reconcile any reasonable being to the needless injustice. In a really equal democracy, every or any section would be represented, not disproportionately, but proportionately. A majority of the electors would always have a majority of the representatives; but a minority of the electors would always have a minority of the representatives. Man for man, they would be as fully represented as the majority. Unless they are, there is not equal government but a government of inequality and privilege: one part of the people rule over the rest: there is a part whose fair and equal share of influence in the representation is withheld from them; contrary to all just government, but above all, contrary to the principle of democracy, which professes equality as its very root and foundation.

The injustice and violation of principle are not less flagrant because those who suffer by them are a minority; for there is not equal suffrage where every single individual does not count for as much as any other single individual in the community. But it is not only a minority who suffer. Democracy, thus constituted, does not even attain its ostensible object, that of giving the powers of government in all cases to the numerical majority. It does something very different: it gives them to a majority of the majority; who may be, and often are, but a minority of the whole.

Almost every person, therefore, who had made himself in any way honourably distinguished, though devoid of local influence, and having sworn allegiance to no political party, would have a fair chance of making up the quota; and with this encouragement such persons might be expected to offer themselves, in numbers hitherto undreamt of. Hundreds of able men of independent thought, who would have no chance whatever of being chosen by the majority of any existing constituency, have by their writings, or their exertions in some field of public usefulness, made themselves known and approved by a few persons in almost every district of the kingdom; and if every vote that would be given for them in every place could be counted for their election, they might be able to complete the number of the quota. In no other way which it seems possible to suggest, would Parliament be so certain of containing the very *élite* of the country.

And it is not solely through the votes of minorities that this system of election would raise the intellectual standard of the House of Commons. Majorities would be compelled to look out for members of a much higher calibre. When the individuals composing the majority would no longer be reduced to Hobson's choice, of either voting for the person brought forward by their local leaders, or not voting at all; when the nominee of the leaders would have to encounter the competition not solely of the candidate of the minority, but of all the men of established reputation in the country who were willing to serve; it would be impossible any longer to foist upon the electors the first person who presents himself with the catchwords of the party in his mouth, and three or four thousand pounds in his pocket. The majority would insist on having a candidate worthy of their choice, or they would carry their votes somewhere else, and the minority would prevail. The slavery of the majority to the least estimable portion of their number would be at an end; the very best and most capable of the local notabilities would be put forward by preference; if possible, such as were known in some advantageous way beyond the locality, that their local strength might have a chance of being fortified by stray votes from elsewhere. Constituencies would become competitors for the best candidates, and would vie with one another in selecting from among the men of local knowledge and connexions those who were most distinguished in every other respect.

It is only in this way that the general intellectual standard of representative bodies, whether Imperial or local, will be elevated, and the services of the ablest and most independent men secured. Canvassing for election is a thing unknown in India, and

canvassing votes is considered an occupation not worthy of able and influential men. Under such circumstances to disfranchise the minorities is to put a premium upon the demagogue's profession. In short to secure the candidature of really able men, a separate franchise in the way we have suggested above must be conceded. We strongly recommend this point to the earnest and careful consideration of the Marquis of Ripon and his Government.

We now come to the consideration of the third point, viz, the appointment of a non-official President. Before we proceed further we must here clearly state that we yield to none in most cordially accepting the great principle involved in that reform. We are fully aware of, and sensible to, the many considerations which dictate that reform, and also the many abuses which prevail under the existing system. But none the less we can not shut our eyes blindly to the many and important considerations which require that for a time at least we must submit to the present practice as a necessary evil. The sudden and sweeping introduction of extreme measures must always be deprecated in the interests of a healthy and natural growth of free institutions; for such extreme measures, if prematurely and suddenly introduced immediately after a very repressive policy, are calculated to demoralize a people instead of elevating them. As in love, so in politics an easy conquest is never dearly prized. It speaks, of course, very creditably of the Government of India that they are prepared to concede the reform, but the people must take care and see that no premature reform is forced upon them, for the recoil of an almost certain failure will cling to them as a curse of inability and stop their way to further progress. The President of a local Board, whether urban or rural, has no sinecure post; but if we are not much mistaken, that post devolves upon its incumbent an amount of duty and out-door work, which we think it is almost impossible to ex-

pect at the hands of a non-official in the case of a District or Taluka Committee. The non-official President must be a man with ample means of his own, with great leisure and intelligence, which will fit him to hold his own against the executive officers who will be his subordinates. Otherwise he may simply become a nobody before superior official influences. Under present conditions there are very few indeed whose names can be suggested for such a post, and till this number is increased, there is no loss of dignity in submitting to the force of circumstances and accepting the inevitable. As regards Municipalities, there would be no difficulty in finding really influential and competent non-official persons to be Presidents, because the area would be restricted and the qualifications not so prohibitively high. For the present at any rate the Local Fund Committees and smaller Municipalities must have an official President, a provision being introduced into the proposed Acts that a non-official President would be substituted in place of the official President on the representation of one third of the rate-payers. Ours is the last pen which would willingly support the continuance of a system of official control and dictation; but a calm reflection of the real state of things compels us to raise our voice against the sudden and sweeping introduction of an important reform, even though we do so at the risk of incurring the displeasure and taunts of a small minority of well-intentioned but none the less over-enthusiastic people. We have made repeated inquiries of, and discussed the subject with, several well-informed persons, who know and have seen the real state of things in the Meffusil, but they can not hold out to us any hope of much good coming out of the sudden application of the proposed reform. The large and important class of Inamdars or holders of alienated villages is the only class, which is capable of furnishing really influential and competent non-official Presidents of rural local Boards, but we greatly doubt if that important class can furnish any such men just

at present. The shabby and high-handed manner in which they have almost invariably been treated, and which has reduced them to the level of mere rent receivers without any real power over their tenantry, has killed all public spirit and independence out of that class, so much so in fact that a mere frown from the District Officer is sufficient to make them go down upon their knees, and lick his feet. We know this is strong language, but no language can in our opinion be too strong in describing adequately the disastrous consequences of a long continued policy of disintegration and alienation,—a policy which has had for its chief object the estrangement of one class from the other. These large Inamdars are the natural leaders of the people within the districts where their Inam villages are situated, and if the traditional policy of government in respect of this class be reversed, as it ought to be reversed, that class will in course of time furnish really influential and competent persons to be Presidents of rural Boards.

These and similar other considerations lead us to suggest that smaller Municipalities and rural Boards should for the present be presided over by the District and sub-divisional officers; for they alone are at present in a position to supervise the work of these rural Boards in such an efficient manner as its character demands. It must not be forgotten that though the primary object of the Government of India's scheme is to give "political and popular education" to the people, efficiency in local administration can not be altogether lost sight of. Efficiency and economy in local administration is in fact one of the elements of political education, which has to be taught as much as any thing else, for no education in the art of self-government can be of the slightest permanent value which does not provide at the same time for efficiency and economy in local administration. And, so long as competent persons, in sufficient number, possessing intelligence, leisure, independent income, and also the

strength of purpose necessary to enable them to personally supervise the administration of their respective local areas, can not be found, it is simply idle to talk of allowing a non-official gentleman to preside over either the District or the Taluka Committees. Strongly holding such views as we do, we fully and frankly approve of the provision in the Bombay Resolution under review, wherein the Bombay Government declare themselves to be willing to allow non-official Presidents to some of the leading Municipalities. We have not the slightest doubt that the experiment will fairly succeed in the case of the first and second class Municipalities, where competent people can be easily found. We object, however, to these non-official Presidents being nominated or appointed by the local Government. The Bombay Government have, we learn, instituted inquiries as to whether such capable non-official persons can be found; but it was next to useless to ask the local officers' views on this point. The Government should have called on these officers to convene meetings of the Taluka and district gentry, and ascertain their opinions after encouraging them to state their views freely and fearlessly. As the Government of India have directed in their May Resolution, the Municipalities of the first and second class should possess the power of electing their own non-official Presidents, subject to the confirmation of Government. And as regards the smaller Municipalities and rural Boards, both District and Taluka, we would wish to see the suggestion, made by Mr. Clarke-Jervoise, acted upon. That suggestion is, that the official President should not attend the meetings of the Boards except for good reasons, and that when he does, he should not displace the non-official Chairman of the General Committee of the Boards. The duty of the non-official Chairman of the General Committee consists according to our view in ensuring the free discussion of all subjects coming for decision before the Board, by every member thereof. The

non-official Chairman of the General Committee has no executive function to discharge, and his position is according to our view analogous to that of the Speaker of the House of Commons. If our view is correct, as we trust it is, then there should be no difficulty whatever in acting upto it even in the case of those Municipalities which would be allowed a non-official President. The President of a local Board, whether urban or rural, is after all the head of the executive of that Board, and whether the President be a Government officer or a non-official person, we do not think it to be advisable that he should preside at the meetings of the General Committees. To compare small things with great, the position of the President is analogous to that of the head of the Cabinet or Ministry. The Government of India in their May Resolution insist upon every Local Board, whether urban or rural, having a non-official Chairman as far as possible, for this chief reason that the presence of the chief executive officer of the district, subdivision, or town, at the head of the Board is calculated to stifle the free expression of opinion. We fully agree with the Government of India in this view, and we believe that if the suggestion made above by us, of allowing the non-official Chairman of the General Committee full and unrestricted control over the deliberations of the meetings of the General Committee, be adopted, the objects of the Government of India will be fully accomplished. We shall now sum up our proposals under this head in order to leave no ground for misunderstanding. We propose then that (a) in the first and second class Municipalities there shall be a non-official President, charged with the duty of supervising the executive work done by the Managing Committee with its non-official Chairman; (b) that the non-official Chairman of the General Committee shall not be displaced by the above mentioned non-official President, the former having the full and unrestricted control over, and direction of, the deliberations of the

General Committee; (c) that in third class or smaller Municipalities, and in District and Taluka Committees, the chief executive officer of the District or of the Taluka shall, for the present at any rate, continue to be the President, and shall supervise the executive administration by the Managing Board with its non-official Chairman; and (d) that even in these Boards the non-official Chairman of the General Committee shall not be displaced by the official President on the occasion of the meetings of the General Committee, the former having the full and unrestricted control over, and direction of, the deliberations of the general body. It would be also necessary to provide in the proposed Acts for a section, laying down authoritatively that a person shall not be eligible for more than one of these three offices at one and the same time; otherwise it would be quite possible to defeat the principal object in having a non-official Chairman of the General Committee of a Local Board. If the proposal contained in para 21 of the Bombay Resolution under review be carried out in the manner and spirit suggested above, it would answer remarkably well in practice.

We shall now proceed to the consideration of the fourth and last point, viz, the powers of control and supervision to be reserved to Government. It is this point to which we attach special importance, and to which the Poona Saryajanik Sabha also attached the greatest importance in its first representation upon the subject. A perusal of some of the best reports in the official compilations leaves also the same impression on the mind of the reader. It is an acknowledged fact that the power of presidential control over the local Boards of his district vested by law in the District officer has been hitherto grossly and scandalously abused. But who, it may be fitly asked, has been the prime cause of it? And to this question only one answer can be given, and that answer is that the local Government alone is responsible for this.

abuse. This is not, however, the whole truth; for it must be admitted in all fairness and justice to the District officers, that, so far at least as Local Funds administration is concerned, most of them have as strongly resented and smarted under the vexatious interference of Government as any body else, and that they now deplore the sad results of that policy as strongly as any rate-payer does. We ourselves feel convinced that if Government had never interfered in the administration of Local Funds further than what was lawful, just, and reasonable for it to do, no District officer would have willingly and of his own accord interfered to any injurious extent with the Committees in their administration. In many cases these District officers have been simply compelled to act against their conscience, and there are very few people who can be expected to stoutly resist such encroachments and pressure from above, unless they are prepared to be worried and forced to retire before their time is up. The case of Mr. Theodore Bosanquet, late of the Bombay Civil Service, who was degraded and ultimately compelled to resign simply because he would not, like some of his brother officers, support Sir Richard Temple's one pound ration theory before the Indian Famine Commission by withdrawing certain statements he had put in, must be fresh in the memory of our readers. Mr. Shaw Stewart and Mr. Hogg applied for pensions under similar discouragements. Give every local Board a non-official President if you will, and make the constitution in all other respects as perfect as you will or can, the real independence of these local Boards can not be secured unless the powers of control and supervision over the local Boards to be reserved to government are well defined and strictly circumscribed. The government has been in days gone by the *sons et origo* of all maladministration in local affairs, and the Bombay Government has pleaded guilty to

this charge in para 31 of its Resolution, wherein it is distinctly stated that such maladministration has caused not only "much discontent on the part of Committees and cess-payers," but also "dissatisfaction on the part of many officers." It is then this radical defect in the present system which must be effectually removed in order to ensure to the people of this Presidency a real and substantial self-government in local affairs. The local government should have no power beyond that laid down in para 17 of the Government of India's Resolution of May last. Its previous sanction should be required for the imposition of new taxes or the raising of loans, while it should have the power to set aside altogether or modify the orders of local Boards in the following cases only:— (a) if the order of the Board is calculated to cause a breach of the public peace; (b) if the order in question is calculated to seriously endanger public health; and (c) if the order in question is calculated to injuriously affect the Provincial or Imperial Revenues. Except in these three cases the Government should have no power of setting aside altogether or even modifying the orders of local Boards; but even this power should, as far as possible, be exercised after allowing the Local Board in question a full opportunity to show cause why its particular order should not be rescinded or modified. This three-fold power, together with the power of absolute supercession for a time in the event of a continued and persistent neglect of duty by any local Board, ought to be quite sufficient for all practical purposes, and ought to satisfy any local Government that is prepared *volens volens* to allow the people a real and substantial self-government in local affairs. The Bombay Government, however, in their Resolution under notice (Paras 55-56) have indulged in much special pleading for the retention in their own hands of many additional powers, which, if conceded to them, would render local self-government a sham, a delusion, and a snare.

The bestowal of "unlimited" powers is more objectionable in the case of Government than in the case of local Boards; the boards can be easily controlled, while no such control is possible when Government is inclined to exceed the limits of its legal authority; and the experience of the past twenty years and upwards is clearly against even a partial repetition of the experiment. It is because the Government possessed such "unlimited" powers, and could make and unmake rules at its sweet will and pleasure, often involving important departures from its own settled principles,—it is because of that circumstance alone, we repeat, that the present scandalous maladministration was possible. That mistake should on the present occasion be most studiously avoided, and the powers of governmental control and supervision most clearly defined. We have already proposed what powers should be vested in Government; it would not be improper to distinctly lay down what powers the Government should under no circumstances possess. For the success of the scheme it is essentially necessary that the Government should not possess the power *suo motu* of directing the imposition of any tax whatever, or of directing the expenditure from the revenues of local Boards upon any particular object. In these two respects at any rate the power of the local Boards must be absolute, subject of course to the provisions of the Act in which the objects upon which the local revenues can and ought to be spent should be in the clearest terms laid down.

With regard to the power of absolute supercession, howsoever temporary, of any local Board, the local Government ought not in our opinion to exercise it without the previous sanction of the Supreme Government, and the reasons are obvious. Even if the Bombay Government had cordially and loyally accepted the policy of local self-government as their own, it would not have been advisable to leave such a discretionary power to them, for this simple reason

that none but those who have initiated any particular policy can be the best judges of its successful working or otherwise, or can be expected to sympathetically devise all those intermediary measures which contribute to the eventual success of a policy. But the hostile attitude of the Bombay Government towards the policy, for which they think this Presidency is not yet ripe, affords the strongest argument against their being allowed the power they lay claim to. We are perfectly aware that there is not the slightest chance of the Bombay Government persuading the Government of the Marquis of Ripon by all their subtle and plausible arguments to yield the point. The noble Marquis and his Government have evidently, taken full measure of the real motives of the Bombay Government and have treated their contention with contemptuous and dignified silence. The sophistry was too transparent to impose upon any one by its speciousness. The Government of Bombay should have, however, clearly seen that the Government of India were not reserving to themselves a power for which no "precedent" existed. The Government of Lord Northbrook, when after Sir Richard Meade's Commission they granted the late ill-starred Malhar Rao of Baroda a probation of 18 months to set his house in order, had reserved to themselves the power of judging whether or not that Prince succeeded in doing the needful; and again the Government of Lord Lytton, after the enactment of the Vernacular Press Act on the memorable 14th of March 1878, had reserved to themselves the power of judging whether or not any particular native newspaper had so far violated the provisions of that infamous law as to deserve violent suppression. On both those occasions the Bombay Government did not, so far we are aware, protest against the rulings of both those administrations. Briefly then, the truth is that a central Imperial Government is better quali-

fied than a subordinate local Government to take a large and broad view of such acts of broad and magnanimous policy, for this simple reason that such a central Imperial Government is not open to the influence of those narrow impulses and weak prejudices and mean temptations, to which local governments are usually so prone. Questions involving large principles and momentous issues are better left for disposal to a central authority, which is removed far above local prejudices.

But by far the strongest argument against the Bombay Government being invested with any such power as they are claiming, has yet to be told. One of the most important principles, which underlies the new policy, and to which we attach the greatest importance, is the entire absence of all official dictation at the instance of the local governments and administrations. The local governments and administrations may, through their District and sub-divisional officers, supervise and revise the proceedings of the local Boards; but they are under no circumstances to dictate to them any line of action. Such is the foundation or rather the key-stone of the new policy, and how a Government which can so far misapprehend the real nature of that policy as to reserve to itself under cover of that policy a power which it did not possess even under the more autocratic system now about to be superseded, can be trusted to make a fair use of the power of absolute supercession, if conceded to it, is more than we can pretend to understand. We are here specially alluding to the power which the Bombay Government in the 55th paragraph of its resolution under review wants to reserve to itself, viz, the power of directing *suo motu* the imposition of a House Tax or any other similar taxes, knowing them to be most unpopular with the people. This is exactly "teaching the old seducer (i. e. Satan) new temptations," and we leave it to the reader to judge of the eminent appropriate-

ness of the second verse, which forms a portion of the motto at the commencement of this paper, as applicable to the Bombay Government. In case the Bombay Government were allowed the power they seek to have, a return, sooner or later, to the old state of things would be a foregone conclusion. We are glad, however, to note that there is not the slightest chance of the Bombay Government being allowed the two powers in question, viz, the power of absolute suspension without the previous sanction of the Government of India, and the power of directing *suo motu* the imposition of any tax whatever. To sum up, the Bombay Government must not be invested with any powers beyond those which we have described above, if the new local Boards are to have a fair trial, and when these guarantees which are of the utmost vital importance are vouchsafed, we believe that the rural local Boards will work very satisfactorily even under the presidency of the District and subdivisional officers.

There are several other points in the Bombay Resolution, whose weakness will be apparent to the most superficial reader. We do not propose to notice them here in this paper as we do not attach much importance to them. We must, however, notice here one point in connection with the Provincial Roads, which are henceforward to be handed over to the District Committees. The Government of India in their Resolution of the 30th September 1881, which first authoritatively laid down certain large principles for the guidance of the Provincial Governments and administrations in deprovincializing their revenue and expenditure, directed that for every item of expenditure that may be deprovincialized, its corresponding item of revenue ought also to be at the same time deprovincialized, and that if after such adjustments it was found that the deprovincialized expenditure was in excess of deprovincialized revenue, the balance between the two should be restored by a *pro tanto*

contribution in a lump sum from the Provincial revenues. This principle appears to have been lost sight of by the Bombay Government in connection with the Provincial Roads question. There is no mention made in it of the receipts from tolls on Provincial Roads, which amount to a very large sum, and nearly cover the expenditure of maintaining these roads in an efficient condition, while in some districts these roads are more than self-supporting. Under such circumstances, the receipts from tolls on Provincial Roads ought to be bodily transferred to the District Committees, and the Government in the Public Works Department should have no discretionary power to vary the grant to District Committees for the maintenance of these roads. The financial independence of the local Boards, whether urban or rural, can not be too scrupulously secured by legislative guarantees; otherwise it would be possible for any future Government by mere executive action to so starve the local resources as to cripple the usefulness of these bodies as an instrument of political and popular education. This financial independence is as important as the deliberative independence which we have already dealt with above, and when this dual independence is once secured, every thing will naturally follow as a matter of course.

Before concluding we wish to avail ourselves of the present opportunity to address a few words of exhortation to the leaders of the native community throughout the various divisions of this Presidency. Countrymen and friends, it is as much through our past exertions and agitation as through the far-sighted sagacity and prudent statesmanship of the noble Lord at the head of the Government of India, that a momentous departure is being inaugurated before our eyes in the domestic administration of India,—a departure fraught with many momentous issues to the future of our country. The time for discussion has already gone by, because the principles for which

we have been agitating for a considerable time past have triumphed, and the time for action is come. Whether or not those principles will soon receive a further recognition and a legitimate development, now rests with us entirely. If we fulfil a considerable portion of the expectations formed about us by the Government of India and spare no pains to secure at the forth-coming elections the return of the best men available as members of the new Boards, we shall thereby hasten the approach of that day when even the Legislative Councils will be thrown open to our duly elected representatives. Countrymen and friends, that consummation now altogether depends upon our own efforts on the present occasion. The hostile attitude of the Bombay Government towards the new policy, instead of in any way damping our spirit and energy, ought to impel us to redouble our activity to make the policy a complete success; for a success obtained under such circumstances will alone deserve that appellation. In one sense we ought to be thankful for the attitude of the Bombay Government, because in proportion to that opposition our triumph will be really prized by us. There is "no royal road" to greatness and distinction, as the illustrious ancient philosopher once told his royal master. The path is beset with great difficulties, and the real success lies in surmounting them. We may however, rest assured that the opposition of the Bombay Government and its District officers will never be allowed to take an active form; it will be only passive, and we ought not to complain of it. Remember, then, that if the new departure about to be taken is not attended by the happiest of results, the fault will be all our own; for the masses in this country, like their brethren in other countries, will faithfully and unerringly follow the lead of their natural leaders. The large-hearted Government of the noble Marquis of Ripon has done its part, and it now remains with us whether we shall vigorously supplement the efforts of Government, or, to use a very

familiar metaphor, drive away the heavenly milch-cow as the unfortunate and ill-starred man of the parable is said to have done. Let us take a lesson and warning from the history of Spain duringt the whole of the last century, and lay that lesson firmly to our heart,—a lesson which teaches that it is not within the power of any Government, howsoever benevolent and large minded, to civilize a nation, except perhaps by affording facilities to latent and inner powers and capacities of the nation to develop under favourable circumstances; in all other respects the civilization of a nation, to be durable, must be the work of the nation itself. If we only act steadily, soberly, and with the full sense of responsibility lying upon our shoulders, our antecedents are such that they fill all our well-wishers and sympathisers with sanguine hopes about our eventual success.

CONTENTS.

Proceedings of the Sabha :—

- I. * Representations on Local Self-Government in the Bombay Presidency.**

Independent Section :—

- I. Forest Conservancy in the Bombay Presidency.**
- II. A Vindication of the Khoti Settlement of 1880.**

THE POONA SARVAJANIK SABHA.

Established for representing the wants and wishes of the inhabitants of the Deccan, being appointed on a popular elective system under rules framed for the purpose.

NAGARKAR'S WADA, NEAR VISHRAMBAG.

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SHIVARAM HARI SATHE ESQR.

REPRESENTATIONS ON LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

No. 286 of 1882.

Sarvajanik Sabha Rooms.
Nagarkar's Wada near Vishrambag.
Poona 10th December 1882.

To,

A MACKENZIE Esqr.

Secretary to the Government of India.

Home Department.

Calcutta.

Sir,

We have been directed by the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha to submit the following observations on the Resolution of the Government of Bombay in the Financial Department No. 3583 dated the 19th September last, and to request you to lay the same before His Excellency the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council for his favourable consideration before the final orders are issued by the Government of India in reference to the question of the practical extension of local self-government in this Presidency.

1. In the first place the Committee of the Sabha desire to express their heart-felt satisfaction with the action of the Government of India in pointing out by their letter No. 1521 dated the 4th October last, the extent and direction in which the existing local and Municipal organizations admitted and called for reform, and the groundlessness of the fears entertained in regard to the alleged radical character of the changes proposed. The Government of India has already drawn the attention of the local authorities to the necessity of consulting independent public opinion and enlisting general sympathies and co-operation. It becomes, therefore, unnecessary for the Sabha to enlarge upon this omission on the part of the local government to which is in a great measure due the many imperfections of the local scheme. The Committee of the Sabha deem it, however, to be their duty to state for the information of the Government of India that notwithstanding all that has happened, the Government of India's Resolution of May last has not been as yet officially translated and published in the Vernaculars. This task has had to be undertaken by private efforts. A Committee of private

gentlemen in the Ahmednagar district published a translation and circulated it widely in that district. And the Committee of the Sabha did the same on its own account and distributed thousands of copies gratis through its agents in the Deccan districts. Again, though frequently urged by the Anglo-Indian and Native Press and once officially by the Committee of the Sabha, the Government of Bombay has not to this day responded to the request for publishing the official reports from the various districts, in order that the Press and the public may be enabled to assist Government in arriving at a sound and satisfactory solution of the problem of local self-government. The consequence of this absence of non-official consultation in any shape is fully apparent in the unsympathetic and suspicious narrow-mindedness of many of the chief features of the Resolution under consideration, as will be pointed out later on. Under these circumstances the Committee of the Sabha deemed it their duty to adopt special measures for acquainting the people in the Mofussil with the noble wishes and intentions of the Government of India, as contained in their Resolution of May last, and of creating an intelligent interest in the success of the reform proposed. Accordingly in the latter half of July Agents, specially selected on account of their fitness for the work required of them, were deputed to the districts forming the Central Division as a preliminary measure. These agents having already completed their work in that Division, have now proceeded to three districts in the Southern Division.

2. Being thus in possession of the public views, the Committee of the Sabha feel justified in affirming that whatever may be said in its favour on the ground of the considerable efficiency of administration it secures, because of the preponderance of official control, the existing system of local self-government in this Presidency, as typified in our Municipalities and Local Fund Committees, is any thing but calculated to train the people to habits of self-government of self-reliance, and to a due appreciation of the rights and responsibilities of administrative freedom. The forms have been there for a long time, but not the substance of local self-government. Our Municipalities and Local Fund Committees were from their very inception created on a broad basis of official control, and Municipal or Local Fund or rural administrations, carried on under such official auspices and control, efficient though they be, cannot without an utter misuse of terms be called *bona fide* Municipal and local. The Committee of the Sabha have no doubt whatever that among the able and experienced officers in this Presidency there will be found some who will amply bear out the views set forth above. Under such circumstances the Committee of the Sabha feel constrained to express their emphatic dissent from the views set forth in the second

paragraph of the Resolution under consideration. It appears to the Committee of the Sabha to be well worth the consideration of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council why, if this Presidency has been, as stated in the Bombay Resolution, ahead of all other parts of India in independent local organization for the past 20 years, and the progress achieved has been as surprising as to be incredible to all who have not watched it from the first, the educating effect of such activity should have been so barren of results on the capacity of the people to regulate their local affairs under a gradual relaxation of official control. This inconsistency of the premises with the conclusions to which they do not logically lead, is the strongest condemnation of the spirit in which the whole subject has been disposed of by the local authorities. This inconsistency becomes strikingly apparent in paras 25 and 31 of the Resolution under notice in which an unqualified confession has been made that local self-government in this Presidency has hitherto been scarcely anything more than a name. Political Education is no doubt a tender plant, but if after twenty years of official nursing, it cannot now admit of a greater independence of action, the time has indeed come when a new departure must be made from the old routine, and the swaddling clothes which threaten to smother it are made to give way to a life of freedom and responsibility. The anxiety expressed by the local Government to provide against possible failure appears to the Committee of the Sabha to be misplaced; for the Supreme Government is well aware of the dangers of which so much has been made in the second para of the Bombay Resolution, and moreover it never proposed to confer unlimited powers without providing safe and necessary guarantees; only the checks were strictly to operate from without instead of the present all absorbing initiative from within. The Local Government's protest and reluctant obedience to superior orders is a confession of its want of confidence in the real success of the present system, and the Committee of the Sabha regard it as a public misfortune that at such a time in one of the more advanced parts of India the local authorities should have gone so far out of their way to embarrass the action of the Supreme Government. As long as this feeling lasts, no cordial co-operation is possible, and the Committee of the Sabha respectfully suggest that in the final arrangements the Government of India will take steps not to leave excessive discretion and control to the choice of the local officials.

3 We do not propose to discuss at any length the detailed proposals of the local Government. We deem it necessary, however, to state briefly what appears to us to be its radical defects in matters of principle. These may be enumerated under the following twelve heads.

(a) The retention of an official, and that official the District Collector and Magistrate, in the office of President of all local and urban boards.

(b) The almost exclusive preponderance secured to the Revenue and Magisterial officials in all boards to the displacement of representatives from the Public Works, Medical and Educational Departments.

(c) The reduction in the total number of Municipal Commissioners which it proposes to introduce.

(d) The indiscriminate extension of the elective franchise to all grades of Municipal boards.

(e) The unsuitable character of the qualification proposed for voters in the boards of the smaller towns.

(f) The high and almost prohibitive standard of qualification proposed for the elected members of local boards.

(g) The adoption of the same rigid tests and rules for all the varying circumstances of different towns and Talukas.

(h) The refusal to allow separate and direct representation to the minority, represented by educated, professional and respectable citizens.

(i) The claim advanced by the local Government to be the sole and absolute judge of the success or otherwise of the new policy in this Presidency.

(j) The unlimited powers it proposes to retain or newly assume of ordering extra taxation and of dictating orders generally to rural and urban boards, and of overruling their action on the report of an official President.

(k) The choice of a very refined method of carrying out the elections in place of the more indigenous and practical plan sketched out by the Government of India. (May Resolution Para 13.)

(l) The imposition of illegitimate charges on local funds and the restricted transfer of control to these boards over departments paid out of funds raised by them.

On all these points, we have communicated our views from time to time to the Local Government, and copies of our letters to that Government accompany this statement for easy reference. We shall now proceed to notice each of these points mentioned above in their order.

4 On the first point we are directed to submit that the Committee of the Sabha are fully aware of the many and important considerations suggested by the local Government for retaining the Presidency into the hands of the Collector and Magistrate. These consi-

Derogations are, however, sufficiently provided for by the suggestions made by us in our communications to the local Government. The absence of properly qualified men from whom choice could be made, is the chief reason assigned by the local Government for the adoption of this course. The reason does not certainly apply to the large 1st and 2nd class Municipalities and the Government of Bombay have now admitted this position, for they have expressed their readiness to avail themselves ungrudgingly of non-official agency wherever practicable. The Government of India has, with a generous foresight, diagnosed the real evil of the present system. The District Magistrate's presence in the Board overawes all independent action, throws all the work on his shoulders, and brings him into unnecessary conflict with local bodies. The more experienced revenue officers are fully alive to the evils of this situation and have frankly admitted the extreme desirability of liberating the large towns from their present subordination. The compromise suggested by the Bombay Government of having two non-official elected chairmen in all the urban and rural boards will only multiply the wheel within wheel and provoke undesirable conflicts of authority. The sphere of action assigned to these Boards is small, and the interests at stake are not of such a character that they cannot be adequately guarded by outside check. No person, however conscientious, can be trusted with inconsistent functions, and the division of final responsibility between the official President and the two elected non-official chairmen will only fritter away responsibility or, as the Committee of the Sabha apprehend, will end in the higher authority absorbing the lower ones as its dependent agents. We accordingly request that in the final orders which the Government of India will issue in this matter, the independence of all first and second class urban Boards may be ensured by requiring that they shall be permitted to choose non-official Presidents on the lines and with the limitations sketched out in the Government of India's Resolution of 18th May 1882. In this connection we beg to respectfully invite the careful attention of His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council to para 3 of our letter to the Bombay Government No. 197 dated the 28th August last, in which we have given our reasons for claiming the benefits of a reform which the Government of India stand pledged to extend as largely as possible, and in which we have also cited a few striking instances of the gross abuse of the Presidential control. The Government of India will, the Committee of the Sabha trust, feel satisfied from a perusal of the cases cited that the reform in question is very urgently needed at least to the modified extent already proposed by the Committee of the Sabha in the letter referred to above. In respect of the third class Municipalities and the District and Talukha Local Fund Committees, in which the official President may for the

present be deemed necessary, the proposal contained in the report of Mr. Clarke-Jerroise, the Collector of Belgaum, that the official President should not attend the general meetings of local Boards, except on special occasions and for good reasons, and that even when he does attend such meetings he should not displace the Chairman of the General Committee is in the humble opinion of the Committee of the Sabha well worth the careful consideration of the Government of India. Moreover the plan adopted at Rangoon of appointing an official President at first to start the experiment, and leaving it to the members of the Board to continue the appointment or substitute a non-official President where a suitable gentleman is available may also be tried with success especially in regard to district Boards. The adoption of this plan or of Mr. Clarke-Jerroise's eminently practical suggestion, coupled with the provision that the official President shall have no casting vote, will go a great way to minimize the evils of allowing an official President, wherever such an arrangement is at present necessary.

5 The second and third points may be conveniently considered together. The Committee of the Sabha would first of all observe that the maximum of the total number of Commissioners in a City Municipality placed at 24 by the Bombay Resolution under review, will in practice be found very small in the case of some of the larger City Municipalities at any rate, whose Boards are at present composed of from between 25 to 36 members. The maximum number should be placed under the new arrangements at 40 and the minimum at 30. The adoption of this suggestion will necessitate an increase in the number of ex-officio Members, and that should be secured by giving ex-officio seats to the Executive Engineer of the District and the Deputy Educational Inspector and also the Head Master of the High School. In the discussion of subjects affecting their own Departments these ex-officio members should have no right to vote, but should simply act as professional advisers. If the Civil Surgeon is allowed to retain his ex-officio seat, the Committee of the Sabha are unable to understand the reasons for excluding the District Engineer and the Deputy Educational Inspector, thus exposing the proposed arrangement for the redistribution of ex-officio seats to the charge that the claims of the Revenue and Magisterial services alone have found undeserved favour in the Councils of the Government. If, as the Bombay Government justly observe in para 12 of the Resolution, the undue exclusion of representatives of any particular class or interest can never be conducive to the true interests of self-government, the Committee of the Sabha respectfully submit that the observation does not hold good in the case of the non-official element only, but holds equally good in the case of the official element also in lo-

cal boards. This almost exclusive preponderance of revenue and magisterial officials is the more objectionable, because it is bestowed upon those very officers who, according to the Government of India's Resolution of May last (para 18) should not have been even members if possible; and the Committee of the Sabha respectfully submit that even if the Government of India be disposed to limit the ex-officio members to five only in the case of City Municipalities, the Huzur Deputy Collector and the Mamlatdar should be removed in that case to make way for the District Engineer and the Deputy Educational Inspector. These two officers and the Head Master of the High School are as competent, as any Revenue or Magisterial officer, to take an active part in Municipal administration. As regards the Town Municipalities, the Committee of the Sabha would remove the Collector from the Committee, and put in his stead the Deputy Educational Inspector and an officer of the Public Works Department of a position not lower than that of Supervisor First Grade. The ex-officio members would thus be four, with the Assistant or Deputy Collector in charge of the Taluka as President, and the number of non-official members, elected and nominated, should vary from 12 to 16, as the circumstances of each case may justify. In the same way in regard to Taluka and District Local Boards the ex-officio members may remain at their present number, or if reduction be desired, the Collector and one of his Assistants ought to be sufficient for all purposes, and the representatives of the Engineering and Educational Departments ought to be retained in place of the subordinate Revenue and Magisterial officers. This variety of choice will secure a larger experience, and inspire a greater confidence in the capacity of the Boards to do effective work.

The Committee of the Sabha were taken by surprise when they found the Bombay Government prepared to extend the elective franchise to the extent of half and half to almost all Municipalities alike. And taking due note of the fact that the Bombay Government and the District officers have most unwillingly and under an emphatic protest accepted the new policy inaugurated by the Government of India, the Committee of the Sabha are not even now without considerable misgivings as to the eventual result of the proposed reform. The Committee of the Sabha firmly believe that the urban and rural populations of India, as in this Presidency also, differ not only in numbers but also in degrees of culture and intelligence. To maintain, for instance, that the general educational status of the mass of the citizens in Poona is not materially higher than that of any ordinary Mofussil town or village, is to ignore the fact which was prominently brought to the notice of the Education Commission and upon which one of the members of the Commission, Mr. H. P. Jacob, public-

ly complimented the citizens of Poona, that taking the attendance in the lower divisions of the secondary schools, Government, aided and unaided, and also in the primary schools, departmental and indigenous, within the Municipal limits of Poona, it has been actually ascertained that nearly the whole of the male school-going population of Poona was under instruction. The other larger towns in this Presidency will, the Committee of the Sabha have reasons to believe, show similar results, differing not in kind but in degree. Under such circumstances the Committee of the Sabha would have preferred the exclusion for some time at least of the majority of the smaller Municipalities from the operation of the present concession, for this obvious reason that in case there should be many failures, and of such a contingency one may be almost certain, considering the attitude of the Bombay Government and its District officers in respect of the whole question,—the entire system would be discredited. Under different circumstances and if the local Government and its District officers had cordially and loyally accepted the whole policy as their own, the Committee of the Sabha would not have viewed with mistrust and misgiving the wide application of the principle of election.

6. The Resolution under notice, while thus nominally extending election to all urban Boards, practically excludes the majority of the smaller Municipalities from the operation of the elective principle, in as much as when the lists of voters come to be prepared according to the tests laid down, it will be found in the great majority of cases, that very few persons, if any at all, would fall under any of the eight heads mentioned, and that where such people may be found, their number will probably be not much larger than the number of seats reserved for election. If then the Bombay Government seriously intend to extend the principle of election to almost all Municipalities, the tests shall have to be varied to suit the varying circumstances of each case. If the non-official opinion had been consulted, the local government would have at once found the practical uselessness of the tests proposed by it. Later on in the Resolution (Para 17) the Bombay Government administers a gentle rebuke to the Commissioner of the Central Division for having recommended the payment of Rs. 10 of Local Fund cess or Rs. 160 of the land assessment as the minimum pecuniary test to entitle a man to vote for the election of members of Taluka Local Fund Committees, because the adoption of that recommendation would effectually have rendered the concession nugatory. In laying down the high qualification tests for Municipal voters (para 15) we are afraid, the local government has laid itself open to the charge of a similar inadvertence of the existing condition of our smaller towns. A property qualification will have to be adopted if the views of the local government find acceptance with the Supreme Government.

7. If the Committee of the Sabha have interpreted aright the wishes and intentions of the Government of India as laid down in their Resolution of May last, they too did not require the sudden and sweeping application of the principle of election at the very commencement in all cases. The Government of India's Resolution of May last (para 13) is quite explicit on this point; for it lays down, that "election in some form or other should be generally introduced in towns of any considerable size but may be extended more cautiously and gradually to the smaller Municipalities and to backward rural tracts." Having clearly expressed the wishes of the Government of India on the subject, the Resolution immediately after proceeds to add:— "Even as regards these last, however, the Governor-General in Council is disposed to think that if the Government officers cordially accept the principle, and set themselves to make it successful, a great advance might be made with comparatively little difficulty." Both the conditions thus laid down as essentially necessary for the introduction and successful working of the system of election in smaller Municipalities and backward rural tracts are evidently wanting in this Presidency. In this connection we are directed to respectfully invite the prominent attention of His Excellency the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council to the concluding observations of the Bombay Government in para 23 of the Resolution under review. If the claim therein advanced by the Bombay Government to be the final judges of the success or otherwise of a policy, in the conception and initiation of which they have had no hand, and even in the introduction of which they are going to be the most unwilling agents, be allowed, the reversion to the old order of things in the majority of cases would be almost a foregone conclusion. Holding strong views on the subject as they do, the Bombay officers can not be expected to give the new experiment the fair, patient and indulgent trial which its importance, as a tentative measure of political education of a people long unaccustomed to it, would demand. The Committee of the Sabha fully believe that the principle of election and other superior forms of self-government will eventually succeed everywhere, if only the experiment is given a fair, patient and indulgent trial, and accordingly they submit that unless a Board composed of officers of well-known sympathies towards the scheme were appointed to supervise the introduction of the system, and were charged to spare no pains to make the whole thing a success, the wide application of that system should not be attempted at the commencement, but should be deferred for some time longer, by which time the result of the introduction of the system into towns of considerable size will fill smaller towns with commendable feelings of emulation. We are accordingly to submit that for the present the elective franchise be limited to the first and

second class Municipalities only, and in case Government are pleased to appoint a special Board to ensure the success of the scheme, the franchise may be extended to smaller towns also, with a small property and indirect taxation test of qualification for voters.

8. The inadvertent mistake referred to above, that has been committed in fixing the qualification for voters in smaller towns, is another illustration of the necessity that existed of consulting outside opinion which alone would have enabled the local Government to avoid it. This same inadvertence has led the local Government to fix a very high standard of qualification for the Members of Local Fund Boards and adopt one rigid system of tests for all Talukas. No reason has been assigned to explain why, if in Municipalities the same qualification is held to be sufficient both for voters and the members to be elected, the Government approves of a differential qualification in Local Boards. It will be found very difficult to secure a large number of unencumbered estates worth 1,000 Rs. and owners of moveable property exceeding 15,000, Rs. We humbly submit that as in Municipalities, the tests for voters and members should be the same though the standard of qualification might be made to vary according to the circumstances of each Taluka. A hard and fast rule in these matters can never secure the end in view.

9. With regard to para 14 of the Resolution under review, we are directed to respectfully invite the careful attention of His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council to para 2 of our letter to the Bombay Government No-197 dated the 28th August last. We submit with all deference to the authority of the local Government that many precedents exist for conceding special and direct representation in the way suggested by us. The adoption of the suggestions of the Sabha in this respect would no more give an invidious privilege to Jurors and Assessors, Conciliators, Vakeels and Graduates than the concession of a special and direct representation to the Justices of the Peace in the Municipal constitution of Bombay. The election of the members of Parliament by the Great Universities of Europe furnishes another similar precedent. If the Committee of the Sabha have rightly comprehended the spirit pervading the Government of India's Resolution of May last, one of its principal objects is to utilize the energies of the intelligent and public spirited classes whose numbers are rapidly increasing all over the country (Para 6). This object can be best attained by the adoption of the recommendation repeatedly urged by the Committee of the Sabha upon the attention of the Bombay Government. While the local Government is opposed to such a concession in Municipal Boards, it has with some inconsistency partially conceded the same privilege in Local Fund Boards by giving the leading Municipalities

the right to return a member each to the District and Taluka Boards. This concession cannot be defended on any other ground than that of securing a special representation of an intelligent and respectable minority; for it practically gives a double vote to the cess-payers within the limits of the leading Municipalities. As our whole contention has been clearly put in our letter to the Bombay Government referred to above, we need do no more than request you to draw the prominent attention of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council to it.

10 With reference to paras 7 and 8 of the Resolution under consideration the Committee of the Sabha beg to submit that the restraints placed upon the powers of the President in reference to the Resolutions of Municipal and Local Boards which he disapproves should be more enlarged and his discretion should be hemmed in with guarantees against abuse. We are directed to suggest that as a general rule the local Government or the officer to whom they might delegate that duty, before acting upon the report of the Collector of the District against the adoption of any resolution passed by any Municipality or Local Fund Committee, should give an opportunity to the Municipality or Local Fund Committee to state their case fully. It may not unfrequently occur that the Collector of the District may be proceeding upon a wrong or incomplete information, which, unless some provision of the nature described above, were made, there would be no means of correcting in time. Above all such a provision is essentially necessary in the case at any rate of those local Committees, Municipal and Rural, who will be allowed non-official Presidents. In the same way in the case of Town Municipalities it is proposed to invest the Collector President with the power to suspend the operation of a resolution passed by a three fifths majority, but it should, the Committee of the Sabha think, be further provided that this power should not be exercised except at the instance and on the special requisition of the $\frac{2}{5}$ minority. It is one thing for a member to give an adverse vote, and quite another and a graver thing for him to seek to reverse the vote of the majority. In this same connection the Sabha beg to submit its humble protest against the large powers now claimed for the first time of directing taxation and suspending the action of the local Boards. Such powers have been occasionally exercised by Government in the case of Town Municipalities, not directly but indirectly under cover of a power vested in the President of a Town Municipality to set aside the decision of the majority. The Bombay Government however, in the Resolution under review (para 8) propose in future to assume these powers without any reservation. In the case of City

Municipalities the Government has not hitherto possessed such a power, and the proposal to invest itself with such a power at the present time is positively a retrograde step, while in the case of Town Municipalities the proposal is, to say the least, inconsistent, for it is just like giving a thing by the right hand and snatching it away by the left. The Government of India in their Resolution in the Finance Department No. 3353 dated the 30th September 1881 (para 16) clearly lays down that forms of taxation "most in accordance with popular opinion or sentiment" are to be favoured in connection with local and Municipal taxation. The power which the Bombay Government now seeks to reserve to itself is clearly against the spirit of the orders of the Government of India on the subject. The Resolution under consideration (para 55) says that Government should have the power "to order the imposition of such a tax in any district or Municipality in which on the evidence adduced and after sufficient inquiry the Governor in Council is satisfied that the necessity for additional taxation to meet the local wants of the District or Municipality in respect of works of public utility has been established." Now, if the local self-government which is about to be conceded, is to be a reality and not a sham, the Committee of the Sabha humbly and respectfully ask, what "evidence" and what "inquiry" can be more powerful and influential than the deliberate refusal to levy any particular tax by a Local Fund Committee or a Municipality in which half the members will be directly elected by the people, and the other half nominated by Government? The "evidence" and the "inquiry" referred to must, therefore, be official and one-sided in its nature and bearings. And the Committee of the Sabha humbly trust that the Government of India will not countenance such an indirect attempt on the part of the Bombay Government to assume into their own hands powers far more autocratic than any they at present possess. Any taxes levied under such a system can never be regarded as "most in accordance with popular opinion or sentiment," and moreover the particular claim thus set up by the Bombay Government is in direct variance with the unequivocal direction contained in the Government of India's Resolution of May last (Para 17) wherein it has been authoritatively laid down that "the Government should revise and check the acts of the local bodies, but not dictate them." Briefly then the claim thus set up by the Bombay Government being opposed to the very principle of the new policy, the Committee of the Sabha humbly pray that it may be disallowed.

11. With reference to the eight conditions imposed in paragraph 56 of the Resolution under notice, the Committee of the Sabha are of opinion that the third fifth and sixth conditions are as unnecessary as

they are unusual, while the sixth condition is positively mischievous, for it will only tend to make the servants of Municipal and Local Boards contumacious, and tempt them, with the support of the officials behind them, to lord it over their real pay master.

12. As regards the mode of election laid down in the Resolution under notice (para 19) the Committee of the Sabha firmly believe that it will not answer well in practice in respect of Taluka Committees at the commencement at any rate. If the Bombay Government had consulted non-official opinion before issuing its final orders on the subject, it would have been easily demonstrated that the mode of election proposed by them would not answer well in practice, generally speaking, in any of the Talukas. For some years at the commencement at least the people must be carefully and skillfully trained to the exercise of their new rights and privileges. It is not reasonable to hope that many people of their own accord will go to the polling station several miles away from a group of villages. It is essentially necessary, therefore, that those who become entitled to vote should for some years be invited together by an officer, duly appointed for the purpose to meet him at a central station of the group, and should be asked to elect a member to represent them in the Taluka Committee, after the officer in question shall have fully explained to the voters assembled the objects and aims of the new departure in the policy regarding local boards (Government of India's Resolution Para 13). In recommending such a course the Committee of the Sabha desire it to be plainly understood that they recommend the adoption of the course mentioned above, not because the people in the rural districts are indifferent to local self-government, but because as has been ably and clearly pointed out by Mr. Erskine, the Commissioner of Sind, and by Mr. Clarke-Jarvoise, the Collector of Belgaum, in their reports, the existing policy has produced such a demoralizing effect that it must be some years before the people can realize to themselves the new departure inaugurated by the Government of India in the policy regarding local boards. The only way, therefore, to make the people feel that they hold real and substantial power and have important responsibilities to discharge, is to adopt for some years the course recommended above.

13. With regard to paragraphs 29 and 30 of the Resolution under notice the Committee of the Sabha beg to respectfully submit that Local Fund revenues should in all fairness be exempted from making any contributions towards the maintenance of Departments over which the Committees are to be allowed no control. This principle has been accepted by the Government of India, when in their circular dated the 10th October 1881 they directed the various Local Governments and administrations to relieve in future the Municipa-

lities of all Police contributions on the ground that in as much as Municipalities can not be allowed any control over the Police, they should not be made to contribute any thing to their maintenance. The Committee of the Sabha can not, however, subscribe to the doctrine, which recommends itself to the Bombay Government and its officers, that the real interests of the Departments mentioned in paras 29 and 30 of the Resolution will in any way suffer by their transference to local boards for administrative and financial control. On the contrary it may be fairly urged that, constituted as these local boards will be in future, they will be in a much better position to advance these popular and useful objects, than any mere departmental machinery. The position assumed by the Bombay Government on this point has been from the first very suspicious of the ultimate success of independent organizations. Its first Resolution distinctly intimated its view that neither Sanitation, Medical Charity nor Schools could be usefully transferred to local control. In its last Resolution, it has certainly gone a step further in the direction of liberality, but the official diffidence is still very strong. In the opinion of the Sabha the Vaccination Department, the Medical institutions and schools might with suitable help from public funds be safely made over to local control, provided these bodies are relieved of imperial burdens and charges, such as those of the Police and of the larger Public Works. Having thus noticed all the more important features of the scheme sketched out by the local Government, we shall before concluding make a few brief observations on some minor points disposed of and suggest what appear to us to be very desirable modifications to ensure the ultimate success of the new reform.

14. With regard to para 22 of the Resolution under notice, the Committee of the Sabha can not entirely concur with the Bombay Government in its overestimate of the value of the official honorary titles. As a modification, however, to the views of the Government of India on the subject, the Committee of the Sabha would respectfully suggest that membership in City Municipalities and District Committees should carry with it the title of Rao Bahadoor and Khan Bahadoor, and that membership in Town Municipalities and Taluka Committees should carry with it the titles of Rao Saheb and Khan Saheb. The Committee of the Sabha cannot endorse the opinion of the Bombay Government and its District officers that these honorary titles will in any way be lowered in public estimation by their being conferred in the way suggested above. It is not true that the social status, means, and general ability of the Members of these local boards are in any way inferior to, or lower than, those of an average Mamedar or Subordinate Judge. On the contrary it may be fairly urged and without any injustice to the real worth of the able men who man our subordi-

nate executive and judicial services, that in the great majority of cases their social status and means prior to their admission to the higher grades of their respective services cannot be compared for the better with the social status and means of an ordinary Mofussil Commissioner, or Local Fund Committee Member.

15. With reference to the educational portion of the Resolution under consideration (paras 36-51) the Committee of the Sabha approve of the principle underlying the proposed readjustment. The Committee of the Sabha would, however, observe, that so far as the smaller Municipalities and the Talukas are concerned, the District Committees should be invested with the unfettered administrative and financial control of primary education, to be exercised of course in consultation with the Town Municipalities and Taluka Committees. In short the District should be the educational unit. These local Committees should, in the humble opinion of the Committee of the Sabha, not be pinned down to any hard and fast standards recognized by the Department, which are not generally suited to the requirements of the masses in rural districts and even in large cities. The existence of indigenous schools on a large scale throughout the Presidency which follow their own standards, suiting them to the actual requirements of the masses and which are largely patronized by them, affords the strongest argument in favour of the contention urged above, that local Committees should not be hampered by their being required to stick to the departmental standards. In fact it is the stiffness and inelasticity of these standards that has hitherto prevented the absorption of the indigenous schools into the educational organization. The Department has not hitherto taken any cognizance of these schools, the consequence of which has been that the Presidency does not get that credit which its educational advance over other Presidencies fully entitles it to. If the attendance in the primary indigenous schools is duly taken note of,—and the Committee of the Sabha see no valid reason why that should not be done,—it will be found that in this Presidency nearly one third of the male school going population is under instruction,—a result which the Committee of the Sabha doubt whether any other Presidency or Province, even Bengal and British Burmah not excepted, can show. Local Committees, composed as they will be to a large extent of the duly elected representatives of the people, will undoubtedly utilize these agencies in a way undreamt of by the Department hitherto, and accordingly they should not, in the humble opinion of the Committee of the Sabha, be pinned down to the Departmental standards in a way that hamper their action. In fact they should be allowed full and free play, subordinating the Department to local Committees and requiring the Department to carry out their orders.

16. The Committee of the Sabha think that Female Education also, about which the Bombay Government have issued no orders as yet, ought to be handed over to City Municipalities and District Committees. Even now this Presidency stands conspicuously forward by its superiority over other Presidencies and Provinces of British India in the matter of Female Education. While fully acknowledging with feelings of deep gratitude the fostering care with which the Department has hitherto watched the progress of Female Education, the Committee of the Sabha are of opinion that the transference of the same to local Committees will, far from being prejudicial to its progressive advance, only serve to ensure a much more rapid advance than heretofore by enlisting the co-operation of the representative members in that interesting work.

17. The readjustment of Provincial grants to Primary Schools within Municipal limits and rural districts, though an important question in itself, is after all a matter of detail. The Committee of the Sabha would, however, take this opportunity to observe that the alleged disproportion, which the Government of Bombay point out in the Resolution (para 41) is not, in reality, so very striking, as the Resolution erroneously makes it out. The Municipalities have not been given credit, as they must in all fairness be given, for the entire educational portion of the Local Fund Cess that is actually levied within their limits. This error has been already represented to the Bombay Government in the Educational Department. The Committee of the Sabha, however, deemed it their duty to notice the error briefly for the information of the Government of India.

18. The Committee of the Sabha are glad to perceive that the Bombay Government have accepted their suggestion for paying travelling and attendance allowances to the non-official members of Local Fund Committees. We are directed to urge upon the attention of the Government of India the necessity of extending the same concession to the members of the Managing Committees in our Municipalities. If the members of the Town Council at Bombay are paid such allowances, the Committee of the Sabha are unable to perceive the justice of denying the same concession to the Mofussil Municipalities. Beyond saying that Municipal Commissioners in the Mofussil are not paid such allowances at present,—an argument which may have been equally advanced in the case of Local Fund Committees,—the Bombay Government have assigned no reason for refusing to the former what is conceded to the latter boards. The Members of the Managing Committees of Mofussil Municipalities, and the Members of the sub-Committees from time to time appointed for doing specific work often do as important a work as any mere stipendiary officer, and it would be sheer injustice to expect, that men of the class, from whom these members are generally recruited, can and will devote their time and attention continuously to the executive work they have to perform, unless they are recompensed to some extent at any rate. It must be remembered that the means and status of an ordinary Mofussil Municipal Commissioner are higher than those of an ordinary member of Local Fund Committees, and, therefore, *a fortiori* the arguments used by the Bombay Government tell very strongly in favour of extending the concession to Municipalities.

19. Nothing has been said in the Resolution under notice regarding the qualifications of the non-official members of Municipalities who will be nominated by Government. The Committee of the Sabha beg to suggest the inclusion, in the proposed legislative enactment, of a provision that Government nominees should be *bona fide* non-official persons, selected with special reference to their capacity for the management of affairs. Hitherto the nominations have not been always unimpeachable but under the altered state of things the temptation will prove too strong to be resisted for appointing men who will generally take their cue from the ex-officio members, or who in other words, though non-official members in name, will really be quasi ex-officio members. Should His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, however, deem it inexpedient to lay down any such hard and fast rule, disqualifying all salaried officers from being nominees of Government, the Committee of the Sabha would still respectfully submit that the Government employees, whether gazetted or otherwise, in the Revenue, Magisterial and Police Departments at any rate, should be declared ineligible as members of Local Boards and Municipalities, whether elected or nominated. The Committee of the Sabha have of course no objection to their having a vote, when entitled to do so under any of the qualification tests; but the reason why they object to their being eligible as members, is that whether nominated or elected they can not generally speaking be free agents, when they will be confronted by their immediate superiors. The reasons which must have actuated the Bombay Government to declare the Mamlatdar ineligible by the Taluka Local Fund Committee as their representative in the District Committee, hold equally good in this respect also. For instance if a sub Magistrate, a Police Inspector or a Chief Constable, any one of whom will be eligible as a member under the sixth test mentioned in para 15, enters the field as a candidate, the very fact of his so presenting himself as a candidate will be sufficient to drive even his more eligible rivals from the field; in fact no constituency to whom any one of the above mentioned officers will or can present himself as a candidate, will have the moral courage to refuse to accept him as its member. The experience of Bombay in a recent notorious case ought to be a sufficient warning in this respect.

20. The Committee of the Sabha feel some hesitation in respectfully inviting the prominent attention of His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council to the proposal contained in our letter to the Bombay Government No. 82 dated the 28th April last (para 7). We feel hesitation because the Bombay Government have not noticed it. It is a universal complaint all over the Bombay Presidency but more especially in the larger cities and towns, that the vice of drinking has of late years immensely increased. As the Government of India are probably aware, this feeling found vent during the course of the debate on the occasion of the second and third readings of the Bombay Abkari Act Amendment Bill in the Council of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay for making laws and regulations. The Honourable Rao Sahab Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik C. S. I. referred to it very prominently, and the Honourable Mr. Ashburner C. S. I., the Mover of the Bill, on behalf of Government admitted the justice of the complaint. Two years ago the Poona Municipality through their Managing Committee officially drew the attention of the local authorities to the increase of that vice in Poona owing to the greater facilities thrown in the way of the people by the increased number of

liquor shops. So far as the Committee of the Sabha have been able to ascertain, the complaint of the Poona Municipal Commissioners finds a re-echo in other cities and towns and in rural districts. Though opposed to the pledges and professions, authoritatively recorded from time to time, the interests of revenue have been generally allowed to over-ride all other considerations of public morality. Under the official plea of checking all illicit consumption, increased facilities are being thrown in the way of the people, who according to the testimony of Mountstuart Elphinstone have always had a wholesome religious dread of drinking spirituous drinks. The revenue-seeking policy of the Abkari Department for a long time past has already done much to greatly initiate the people into ways for which they have had no natural propensities. The opening observations of Mr. A. K. Nairne, late of the Bombay Civil Service in his "Revenue Handbook" (*Vide* Introductory Remarks to the Abkari chapter), affords sufficient testimony, in the humble opinion of the Committee of the Sabha, of the private, as opposed to official, opinions of many experienced and conscientious Revenue officers regarding the moral consequences of the policy of the Abkari laws. The only way to partially retrace the steps and to redeem to some extent at least the oft repeated official professions and pledges, is to allow Local Boards, urban and rural, some real power to control the action of the Abkari Department. The Boards should be allowed the License Fees for the retail sale of spirituous drinks and narcotic drugs, and the power to issue licenses to open these shops for the retail sale should be vested in the Boards. It is not possible that the Abkari Revenue will appreciably suffer by this proposed departure in the Abkari policy, but even if it does, a Government that does still abide by its recorded declarations regarding the aims and objects of its Abkari policy, should not grudge that loss, if it is to be true to its word, and if thereby the moral elevation of the people can be brought about. In the case of a people who, unlike the people of European countries, have a religious and instinctive horror of this particular vice,—a Western importation pure and simple,—their emancipation from the present moral degradation is by no means difficult of easy and early accomplishment if the Government is only prepared to lend its full countenance. Again in the Resolution of the Government of India in the Finance Department No. 3353 dated the 30th September 1881 (para 11) a kind of a test has been laid down for the guidance of local governments and administrations in judging as to what items of receipt and charge should be transferred to local Boards; that test is that such items must be "best understood and appreciated by the people." And in recommending the course they have urged above, the Committee of the Sabha have been led by that test only; for no mere Revenue Officer can pretend to be a better judge than the members of such local Boards as to what number of liquor shops will satisfy the legitimate requirements of the people of the area within their respective jurisdiction.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your Most Obedient Servants.

SHIVARAM HARI SATHE.

S. H. CHIPLONKAR.

Secretaries Poona Sarvajanik Sabha.

FOREST CONSERVANCY IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

THERE is perhaps no more ominous feature in the climatic and economic condition of this country than the increasing frequency with which scarcity has deepened into famine during the last twenty years. The terrible visitations of 1860, 1865, 1869, 1873, 1877, recurring with almost cyclic regularity, have shaken the *nonchalance* and emphasized the attention of the most easy-going rulers to the paramount duty of famine insurance, and have forced upon them the most serious consideration of preventive and remedial measures embracing within their sweep the whole length and breadth of the Peninsula. Among preventive measures the conservancy of our forest tracts and the reboisement of our denuded hills and plains, deservedly occupy the most prominent place, and the breathing time which a short interval of years of seasonable rainfall has providentially secured for us cannot be turned to better account than in elaborating with a scientific and careful forethought the great policy of raising barriers against the flood tide of destruction which was allowed too long to have its own way, silting up our rivers and lakes, drying up their tributaries, denuding our hills and topes, reducing the humidity of our atmosphere, exhausting our vegetable resources, and turning our fairest provinces into arid steppes of treeless and waterless expanse. It cannot be too often urged upon the attention of administrative authorities and the people generally that no lasting prosperity can be secured as long as we commit the fatal mistake of seeking present advantage by drawing upon the capital account of our credit with Nature's reserve forces. Sooner or later our imprudence will be overtaken with its fitting retributive punishment; nay, one can with considerable truth aver that such a retri-

butive punishment has already commenced as a necessary consequence of the imprudent extension of cultivation, under suicidal encouragement from the Survey Department, into the very sacred regions of our hills and mountains. There is nothing more definitely ascertained than the fact that forests react powerfully upon the well-being of a country by the influences which they bring to bear upon the condition of flowing and standing waters, upon atmospheric moisture, on the regularity and moderation of climatic variations, on the storage and distribution, if not the actual volume and frequency, of rainfall, and, owing to the joint action of these causes, upon the productive powers of the soil and the material prosperity of its inhabitants. Over and above the increasing frequency of famine visitations the gradual deterioration in the productive powers of cultivated land all over the country, and the diminution of our labouring live stock, are facts which cannot be gainsaid or laughed away as exploded myths. Notwithstanding the demerit of the Government of India the President of the Famine Commission has set his seal to this revelation of our weakness, so humiliating to the self-complacency of our optimist generation. It is not our present purpose to refer more at large to these almost scientific truths regarding the importance of forest conservancy; we have only alluded to them here to provoke more general attention to our review of the growth of the Forest Department and of the strong and weak points of its present arrangements. We wish particularly to guard ourselves from the absurd charge that we do not realize the full importance of forest conservancy as an element of national well-being.

It is only within the last 20 years that both the Local and Imperial Governments have accepted forest conservancy as an important state function of sufficient consequence to justify the creation of a separate department. It is true, timber depots had been esta-

blished in the Northern and Southern divisions so long ago as 1841 and pass fees were levied in all the Ghaut districts even before that date. As far as this Presidency is concerned, however, Surgeon Alexander Gibson was the first officer who organized forest conservancy on a solid foundation about the year 1855. Dr. Gibson had the charge of the botanical gardens, and as such had to supply Indian Medical herbs and drugs in large quantities on Government account to English druggists. While travelling over the wild forests of the country with this object in view, Dr. Gibson's attention was forcibly attracted towards the prodigal waste of vegetable treasures that had been going on for years together under the combined effects of a thriftless extension of agriculture, the demand of the fire wood contractor, and the depredations of the nomadic graziers and *gowlies* ever in search of new pasturage. For four years 1856-60 he travelled over the whole of the forest area, and for the first time mapped out all the more eligible sites and tracts which demanded careful conservancy. The thoroughness with which this work was done has never been surpassed, and the department which owed its origin to his ceaseless labours has hardly been yet able to occupy the whole ground sketched out for it by its first pioneer. These were days, however, of small beginnings. The whole revenue obtained in 1856-57 was represented by the small sum of Rs. 135,062, while the charge of establishments came up only to Rs. 14,218 leaving a balance of one and a quarter lac of rupees. The receipts were chiefly made up of pass fee proceeds of Rs. 80,000, and about Rs. 50,000 represented the yield from the sale of Government timber. The Presidency forests continued to be under the charge of a single Conservator with two or more assistants during the administration of Dr. Gibson and his successor Mr. Dalzell down to 1873, in which year the Northern and Southern charges were for the first time separated and placed under the control of

district officers, assisted by a strong staff of Assistant Conservators, one for almost each Zilla circle, with a middle grade of Deputy conservators, and a lower grade of sub-Assistant Native officers and rangers and inspectors. This increase of staff was chiefly employed in demarking reserved and protected forests all over the Presidency. This work grew upon their hands, for many private rights and easements existed chiefly for grazing and *rab* purposes, and conterminous Inamdars and native states had forests of their own which had to be determined and regulated, and before the work had advanced in any sensible degree it was found that express legislation was necessary to strengthen the hands of forest officers and settle the nature and extent of private rights or, when these had to be purchased out-right, to fix the compensation. With the increase of staff the establishment charges increased out of all proportion with the receipts. The work of new plantations also engaged the attention of the Department about this time; the combined effect of this extension of work on all sides was seen in the financial results of the Department. The receipts in 1873 excluding the Sind division were $9\frac{1}{4}$ lacs, while the expenditure was $5\frac{1}{4}$ lacs leaving a net profit of nearly 4 lacs of revenue. Since then the enactment of a general forest law in 1878 gave further stimulus to the growth of the establishment. The corresponding figures for 1880-81 were receipts 11 lacs and the expenditure $8\frac{1}{2}$ lacs leaving a net revenue of $2\frac{1}{2}$ lacs. Of the total $8\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of expenditure the permanent establishments cost $3\frac{1}{2}$ lacs in pay, the charges for conservancy consisting chiefly of felling timber and bringing it to the depots came up to $4\frac{1}{2}$ lacs, while new plantations had the modest sum of about Rs. 21,000 assigned to them. If these figures are studied more in detail, it will be found that excluding the Tanna Khandesh and Kanara districts, which are exceptionally situated, the receipts are barely sufficient to meet the charges, and that in this respect the Department

has gone from bad to worse during the last ten years. The following statement will make this position clear.

Name of District.	Receipts from all sources.		Establishment and conservancy charges.	
	1873.	1880.	1873.	1880.
Tanna.	70804	171934	44057	82521.
Kolaba.	41563	40762	25609	39828
Rutnagiri.	4992	6113	4456	14210
Khandesh.	34892	126157	19653	62910.
Nasik.	14117	77689	14283	52808
Nagar.	13281	19759	12213	31676
Poona.	48135	33973	40372	64865
Satara.	11851	45326	11166	49157
Sholapur.	2459	5166	2130	17397
Surat.	34848	51832	37944	39182
Kaira.	10007	32971	16730	24606
Ahmedabad.	196	1080	85	8
Direction.	420774	329663	20839	24019
Canaree.	58574	44400	236462	206182
Dharwar.	84284	95375	45218	37211
Belgaum.	770	13411	47595	36024
Direction.			646	9432
			18712	21776
Total	876529.	1099961	558614.	815930.

The total receipts in 1880, excluding the Tanna Kanara and Khandesh districts, were Rs. 467,714, while the establishment and conservancy charges over-

topped them by several thousand rupees being Rs. 498,024. In 1873 the corresponding figures were 3½ lacs of receipts against 2½ lacs of charges for the same fifteen districts. The apparent increase of gross receipts is more nominal than real, for the value of stock in hand in 1873 was Rs. 38,715 while the corresponding figure in 1881 was Rs. 267,279 or nearly a lac and quarter of rupees less. Making the necessary deductions it is thus clear that the department financially is scarcely more remunerative than it was ten years ago. As regards the extensive and unnecessary employment of European agency in this Department, which is principally responsible for the overgrown expenditure of the Department, it is not more open to that charge than other Departments of State. We also know it as a fact that this is acknowledged by several experienced and conscientious officers of the Forest Department. We have been unconsciously led to lay an emphatic stress on this feature of the departmental arrangements than we had at first intended to do, but we find from a closer study of the reports that this defect lies at the root of much of the barranness of results about which such outcry is raised at times against the existing arrangements for forest conservancy. There are several other shortcomings in the administration of the forest department which we may point to, but it is not our present purpose to refer to them in detail, because compared with the all-absorbing importance of the subject to which we propose to invite the particular attention both of the Government and the public, these shortcomings are in our opinion of less importance. It must not be understood that we do not sympathise with the agitation which the people of the Tanna and Colaba districts have commenced with unprecedented vigour and enviable persistency of character against the absurdly vexatious interference of the forest department with the private rights of individuals and with the *bona fide* requirements of the agricultural

community. We yield to none in wishing success to the public spirited leaders of the Tanna and Colaba agitation in their attempt to curb the insane zeal of some district forest officers, and to check the revenue-increasing instincts of the Department. It must also be clearly understood that we do not approve of the action of that department, responsible for the demarcation and settlement of the forest area, so far as it concerns the grant of adequate compensation to those Rayats whose lands may be required for forest conservancy ; for we are aware, that several complaints have been recently made in the Indapoor Taluka on the ground of the inadequacy of compensation. We are of opinion that, in as much as government has now opened its eyes to the suicidal consequences of its own insane policy of encouraging cultivation even in those sacred regions intended for forest conservancy, government must pay an adequate compensation to those who brought such lands under the plough under encouragement from the Survey Department. The Government must disgorge the money it made by its utter disregard of the cardinal principles of forest conservancy, which require that all mountain lands, top-lands, river basins and the banks of large streams should be strictly and sacredly conserved with of course due regard to the requirements of the agricultural population.

The forest officers needlessly swell the cost of establishments by arbitrarily attempting to establish forest ranges in the flat parts of the country which were never meant to be conserved, at the risk of neglecting the more favoured localities. The insane attempt to show good paper results must be abandoned. The Deccan plains may be replanted in parts, but the forest department agency is too costly and too sparsely distributed for this purpose. Large administrative measures dictated by a prudent foresight might encourage investors with suitable concessions to conserve the growth of trees in topes and

along river banks, but to take away the Rayat's land for forest purposes and then make belief of casting seeds broadcast in parched up soils never caring to see whether they grew up or rooted is simply a scandal which can never be too soon put a stop to. In England, France and other European countries large private forests exist in great numbers, and we do not see any reason why the same state of things can not be brought about here, especially because there are no people in the world who, like the Hindus, have almost a religious reverence for trees. The Government departmental agency is, moreover, as already stated above, too costly for such purposes, and we would, therefore, most strongly recommend the adoption of assigning forest areas for conservancy to large capitalists, who would do the work much better than the Department, if only duly encouraged by Government making liberal concessions to them. The Government of India who have recently recognized to the fullest extent the necessity of encouraging private enterprise in various directions, does scarcely require to be told of the importance of encouraging private enterprise in this direction also.

Having thus noticed briefly some of the most glaring defects in our forest administration, we deem it necessary in justice to the officers who have the charge of the department to state their case fairly in respect of the conservancy of our most valuable forest preserves. The cardinal principle of real conservancy in regard to forests appears to us to be to let the dry Deccan plains shift for themselves for a time but to have a firm gripe of all the Ghaut regions and the valleys and river basins. The forest department has been in this respect more sinned against than sinning. Considerations of paltry revenue, and to some extent false sentiment has come in the way of Government supporting the department in its representations on this point. The Survey Settlement Department has been chiefly to blame in this respect. Ex-

cept in Konkan, hill sides, ravines, and valleys which were intended by nature as our forest reserves were assessed and numbered and cut up in lots and made the private property of Rayats, and as the full assessment was invariably levied whether the area was brought up under cultivation or allowed to lie waste, direct encouragement was thus held out for wholesale denudation, with the results which we now all deplore. When population was sparse and waste lands in abundance, this evil did not manifest itself in all its potency. Year after year, however, the process has grown from bad to worse till now we have reached a point when the mismanagement threatens to inflict on us very grave evils. All our large rivers and their tributaries take their rise in these mountains and bifurcations eastwards, and the outlook of these denuded regions is any thing but welcome to those who can see into the future. Ancient tradition set apart these valleys and hill sides as sacred preserves. Most of these forests were attached to some hill fort, and the men who guarded the hill forts had Inam grants of land on the express condition of Military service in times of war, and preserving the forests in time of peace. These guardsmen of the hills were ousted from their hereditary charges or their Inams were confiscated and they were left to eke their living by cultivating the ground, which they could only do by extensive destruction. The Hill forts of Sinhagad, of Purandar, Rajmachi, Lohagad and many others might be mentioned as instances in points. These forests were jealously preserved by the old rulers as a means of protection in times of war. There were many other places which were dedicated to some shrine or mountain deity, and this religious dedication held back the hand of the marauder. The hills of Harischandragad, of Shivaner, the Pratapgad hills opposite Mahableshwar, the Karti hills, the Trimbak and Bhimashankar hills were preserved by this religious reverence. There was not a river which took its rise in these hilly regions whose source was not jea-

lously protected by this guarantee. The Revenue Settlement Department, however, rode rough-shod over these traditional restraints, and year after year its officers indulged in vain boasts of the extension of cultivation on mountain sides, and up steep valleys, oblivious of all more paramount and far-reaching considerations, having an intimate bearing on the well-being of the people on the plains. The protests of the forest department were pook-pooked and destruction went on. The inevitable consequences have overtaken us; our rivers and streams have been silted up; the fertility of the soil on the plains has decreased; the supply of fire-wood has diminished; the number of agricultural cattle is yearly decreasing; inundations have been more frequent and the loss of life and property great. At the first settlement a large extent of land was left unassessed as *gairdn* for grazing and *rab* purposes to the villagers. Even this reservation was held to be against the spirit of the survey department, and each fresh settlement absorbed all *gairan* lands attached to the villages, and accelerated the destruction.

So encouraged and forced upon this downward path, the Rayats made sad havoc with their scythe and their sickle terracing the hill tops with a very rude cultivation, ripping up the bowels of the earth, and exposing them to the inclemencies of sun and rain. The mountain tribes and the aborigines under the same pressure freely resorted to *Kumri* or *Dahli* cultivation which consists in lopping off branches of trees and burning them to ashes for planting the seeds for one year's crop. Next year they shifted to another plot with equally destructive results. The graziers and *gowlees* with their wandering herds completed this havoc. These imputations have not been cast on the Survey Department without full and sufficient grounds. The alleged extension of cultivation which is invariably the burden of these settlement reports

is our best evidence. The confiscation and assessment of Gairan lands has been protested against by the Rayats all over the country and by none more strongly than by the officers of the Forest Department. As an instance in point we refer to the Mulshi Peta in the Haveli Taluka. In the villages of Maleh, Wadvathal, Nanded, Wadusta, Mulshi Budruk, Shergaon, Waluch and Dongargaon as many as 9226 acres had been left unassessed in 1854 as gairan land to be occupied by the Rayats for grazing and rab purposes. During the last 30 years the whole of this area with a paltry exception of 160 acres in two villages has been assessed and given for cultivation, and only 530 acres in one village have been made over to the Forest Department. The same Department which seeks to confiscate for forest extensions thousands upon thousands of plain lands in the Indapoor and Man Talukas acts on a contrary principle in those parts of the country where preservation is most needed. No wonder that people deprived of free land for grazing and rab purposes, make the largest present use of their poor lots, tear up the trees by their roots, leaven the mountain soil, and turn smiling uplands into barren rocks. The Revenue officers take up the part of the *kasari* cultivators against what they are pleased to call the encroachment of the Forest Department. Mr. Lee-Warner wrote some months ago in the pages of an English Magazine a harrowing account of the pressure put upon these hill tribes by forest rangers. Of course it is a delicate question what to do with these hill tribes; Government must take thought of their needs and not punish them for their ignorance. While all this may be admitted to have much force, there are at the same time considerations which outweigh these humanitarian appeals. The well-being of the whole settled community of the plains depends to a great extent upon the preservation of luxurious vegetation on these uplands. We derive our supply of water and fuel and timber from

these sources, and we must take due forethought of the present and future needs and necessities of many millions of people. If indeed *kumri* cultivation was the only alternative open to save these aborigines from utter destruction, there would be some force in the appeals made on their behalf. But it has been demonstrated that the branches of trees cut down and burnt for ashes are really less helpful to serve as rab and soil to the seeds of Wari and Nachani than the dry leaves of trees which with profuse liberality Nature sheds annually for man's wants. *Kumri* cultivation is only possible in the most primeval conditions of nature when the excessive rainfall produces a luxuriant vegetation which has to be turned for immediate service, and vegetable matter burnt off hand produces humic acid. The same service is, however, more economically rendered by burning leaves, and the only difference is that the latter operation is more laborious, though less prodigal and wasteful. In the progress of civilization *kumri* cultivation must give way to Rab cultivation, and this last to a well selected system of vegetable and animal manures. It is self evident that even the tropical prodigality of our vegetable world cannot stand the destructive effects of the first two systems of cultivation when man destroys more by fire and axe than nature can slowly and spontaneously revivify and recuperate in the course of a single year. Fallen and dry leaves and dead branches and twigs of trees yield from 8 to 25 times more ashes than the wild husbandman secures by the unstinted destruction of living trees and roots and branches. The following comparative statement of the respective proportion of ashes has been prepared after a long course of experiments.

Ashes produced by burning fallen leaves and twigs &c.		Ashes produced by lopping and burning living trees.	
Teak	3-35		.35
Mango	10		.40
Jambul	8		.40
Nim	6-50		.30
Nandoshi	5-50		.35

Dry leaves constitute nature's own provision for manure when the destructive hand of man has not presumed to defile its virgin innocence, and civilized man must respect this ordinance in his own interest. A vigorous mango tree, when matured, throws down 140,000 leaves which contain about 700lb of inorganic matter. With 70 such trees for a 20 acres field 49,000lb of inorganic matter or 4900lb of ash containing salts of lime and potash might be secured with unfailing regularity or 245lbs per acre. Besides the dry leaves the mango tree produces a vast quantity of vegetable manure in its blossom season. The Kumri and even Rab cultivation destroys the tree which in 4 years sheds its own weight of dry leaves and blossom, and subserves man's other wants, gives him shade and fruit and timber and fuel and holds together the soil and shelters the stream at its source. These figures speak for themselves. They demonstrate clearly what is obvious in itself that Kumri and Rab cultivation when it interferes with vegetable growth and does not utilize dry and dead matter is suicidal. As the forests are thinned, the soil loses its excess of humic acid and its porous character. The temperature is not kept down as before to a point which attracts the rain clouds, and the rain water does not soak down gently into the bowels of the earth, replenishing its subterranean springs, but runs away with violence, tearing earth and roots and stones and sand from the uplands below into the plains. Every little shower causes inundations, and

after the waters flow over, they leave a thick sediment of silt which fills up the water courses and impoverishes the soil. The floods near Navsari and in the Khandedh rivers of which we heard only the other day, when the water rose to a destructive height with a rainfall of ten hours duration, have become the normal type of our present river system. In the Deccan especially our large and small rivers constitute and regulate the territorial divisions. Every small river system forms a Talooka with a hill and water-shed separating it from of other river systems. The lands in the valley depend upon the river stream, not indeed for any direct supply of water but for the subterranean supply. Protect and clothe the hills, where the rains fall and rivers and streams take their rise, fringe the river slopes on both sides, and if the Forest Department secures these vantage grounds, it may well reconcile itself to let the treeless and waterless plain lands in the Eastern Districts to the natural force of circumstances. Nature will take care of these distant regions if it is well stocked at its fountain sources. The streams that have disappeared will begin to flood again and the rivers and banks will not be silted. This is the sole and real key of the situation. As long as we do not master the situation in this light, no indiscriminate extensions can prove of the slightest consequence.

We have referred above to some of the mischievous consequences, destructive floods, the disappearance of streams and the silting of river beds, which our neglect of conservancy in the higher and mountainous regions where the rivers take their rise, inflicts upon us. On the western ghauts as much as 200 inches of rainfall pours down in four months. An inch of rainfall represents 100 tons of water per acre. Few persons realize to themselves what the terrific force must be of 20,000 tons of water poured on each acre of our uplands. All the immense supply of water which might be utilized to fructify the earth and replenish our

streams is allowed to be a violent scourge, tearing along our hill sides with unrestrained violence. The short sighted policy of the Survey Department and Revenue authorities first opened these regions to the destructive fire and axe of the Kumri and Rab cultivator and the wood contractor, and the hill sides denuded of their vegetable carpet have now been laid bare by years of violent floods which have silted up our rivers and lakes as though it were child's play.

Lake Fife, built at such cost, will be silted in the course of the next 50 years as surely as the Katraj lake has been during the last 40 years. In this collectorate the small river Bhama which flows below Chakan and Khed and joins the Bhima further south is a typical example. The river bed is well likened to a cask of sand which can never retain water, but must let it flow over its increasing shallow basin devastating the bank on both sides. The destruction caused by the Krishna, the Kovana, the Tapti, Nerbada, Girna and Panjara rivers has inflicted infinitely greater loss on private and public property in a single year than the whole revenue which Government may have derived from the miserable Nachni and Wari fields planted along the terraces of the assessed occupancies along the hill sides and on the tops of the hills. The contrast presented by the Ratnagiri district with its bare rocks and horrid ravines, and the well clothed Tanna and Kanara hills to the North and South teaches lessons which no body can well afford to ignore. Of course Government alone can accomplish little in this work of restoration. It is doing its best to atone for the errors of its past neglect. The time has in our opinion arrived when the matter must be taken up by the public in their own hands. It is our sense of the grave issues involved in a proper settlement of this question of forest conservancy that emboldens us to appeal to all thoughtful persons in this, as some might deem it, over wrought strain. We feel no misgivings on this head.

The Forest Department and the Government must give up all idea for the present of making forest extensions in the plain country. This work may well be postponed for another generation. All our present efforts must be directed for the next 20 years at least to the conservancy of our mountains, hills and uplands, and the river banks. The vested rights of present occupants must be bought over and adequately compensated and both the axe and the fire must be laid under bann. The Forest Department is not at present a revenue-paying department, and it can not reasonably be expected to be so for a long time to come. With a diminution in the cost of its supervising establishment Government might earn more, or at least be enabled to employ a larger staff. We build our hopes chiefly, however, upon the encouragement of private capitalists to help Government efforts in this work. Government should retain its public interest in this great undertaking, but the work of planting and reboisement can never succeed in the hands of a stipendiary agency. Large areas should be made over to rich capitalists on 20 or 30 years leases on condition that the lessee should arrange to have his hundred or a thousand large trees per acre during that interval, and his abstinence and trouble should be rewarded by a free and permanent grant of the use of the same under proper regulations as to felling of the property he creates. At present Government pays a miserable fraction to a few Khots and Rakhavaldars, but this make-shift can never lead to any permanent good. The work must be entrusted to more thoughtful and intelligent hands if it is ever to bear any fruit. And as we have already shown above, the natives of the country are better qualified, because of their instinctive and religious reverence for trees and vegetable kingdom, to take care of forest conservancy than any officer of the dominant race. The active co-operation of large private capitalists should be ensured

by securing to them adequate concessions. These and other questions discussed by us in this paper make out a strong case for inquiry. We wish the Government of India will appoint a competent Commission to deliberate on these points, and thus strengthen the hands of the forest officers. The points which call for such investigation may be briefly set forth as below.

(1) Is the present policy of indiscriminate extension of forest area by the absorption of treeless and waterless plains in the Eastern Districts likely to do any good sufficient to compensate the loss caused to the vested proprietors.

(2) What steps should be taken to buy all private rights to cut and burn and graze on hill side slopes and uplands, and cannot the agency of large capitalists be availed of to protect existing and replant extinct forests under proper regulations for their preservation.

(3) By what means can the disproportionate cost of the forest establishment in the higher grades be reduced, and its numbers strengthened so as to secure a better supervision.

(4) What practical steps should be taken to prevent the silting up of our river beds and lakes and replenish our subterranean streams.

These and other questions which might easily be multiplied call for the exercise of all our highest talent and most matured experience. Forests once destroyed can not be so easily restored and it requires centuries before the bare mountain side reassumes the pristine vesture of shaded woods. What has occurred in Greece, Asia Minor, Spain and France, and what is occurring before our very eyes in the more distant United States and Canada, ought to be a warning to the people of India. It is in no spirit of partizan advocacy that we have ventured to direct public attention to this subject. We have not spared to expose what appears to us to be the weak points

in the present arrangements, but there can be no doubt that we should be untrue to ourselves if we did not reiterate our conviction that far more than railways and irrigation works, far more even than our Schools and Police organizations, the weal or woe of this country depends under Providence upon the use we make of our present opportunity to regulate the conservancy of our forests. Nature has been defied and trifled with too long, and now it will not fail to lay its heavy hands of retribution and scourge us with plagues worse than those which afflicted Egypt and condemn our fairest regions to barrenness and decay.

A VINDICATION OF THE KHOTI SETTLEMENT OF 1880.

It appears to us that the same common sense considerations which have induced the present Liberal Government in England to consent to the adoption of *Cloture* in order to regulate obstruction and cut short interminable debates in Parliament, should be accepted by the Public here as justifying the imposition of an Indian *Cloture* with a view to prevent the revival of the dead ghosts of long settled controversies. The Khoti settlement question has occupied the attention of Government and the cultivating and land-owning classes in the Ratnagiri District for the last 60 years, and during that period all that could be said on both sides of the question has been urged by the highest authorities. The Government, under the advice of its Revenue and Survey officers, has alternated in its policy from one extreme to the other, now taking up the Rayat's cause, and pitting him against the Khot, and at other time allowing the latter full liberty of action. About 20 years ago, the Survey Officers were allowed full swing, and Colonel Francis and his subordinates carried out a most revolutionary change in the land tenures of the country in the supposed interest of the Rayats, without compensating adequately the claims of the Khots which were so summarily set aside. This policy created universal alarm, and neither the Khots nor the Rayats were satisfied with the settlement. The Government found itself involved in interminable contests with the land proprietors of the whole district, and the very Rayats whom it professed to benefit spurned the boon. In this extremity, Government made up its mind after full consideration to give up the hopeless contest, and appointed Mr. Nairne, Colonel Francis, and two Native gentlemen as a Commission to suggest a compro-

mise which would be acceptable to all classes. When this Commission submitted its report, Government resolved to turn over a new leaf, and authorized Mr. Crawford to carry out the settlement on the lines suggested by the Commission. Mr. Crawford discharged this duty to the entire satisfaction of the Government. All the many hundred suits which had been instituted against Government were withdrawn and compromised. The Rayats in the settled villages agreed to give up the nominal advantages of the settlement, and the Khots were restored to a large but regulated measure of their former power and privilege. While the Khoti Bill was under consideration, we contributed our quota to the discussion in an article which appeared in this Journal in one of the early numbers of 1880. The Bill was passed in that year, and the new law has been put into operation for the last two years, and has restored peace and harmony to a whole district. It is, therefore, not a little surprising that any attempt should be made at this time of day to re-open this controversy in the way that a writer in the *Bombay Gazette* has attempted to do under the cover of an affected regard for the interests of the Rayats in the Ratnagiri District. "Parvati's" letters are written apparently by a Survey Officer in the usual cant of misguided philanthropy, than which, in a matter of vested interests and customary rights, nothing can be more dangerous and destructive of public confidence. Misguided philanthropy at the expense of others is, however, one of the besetting sins of the Indian Bureaucracy. The members of the Indian Services belong chiefly to the landless classes in their own country, and nothing is so easy as to secure their adhesion to all manner of socialist experiments in India. Each of these petty executive functionaries lives in a fool's paradise of his own, and aspiring to be the monarch of all he surveys, hankers after a dream of lopping down the tall poppies of landlords and middlemen which come in the way between himself and a pauperized state tenantry.

Fortunately there is no chance at present of any hearing for such views. The Government of India, if not the local Government also, have lost their faith in the unquestioned wisdom of the Survey and Settlement Department. It is slowly awakening to the desirability of modifying the present Settlement in such a manner as to apportion the Rayat's burden to his varying means by providing a sliding scale of its present fixed payments in cash. The Ratnagiri Settlement is suited to the social and economical conditions of the country, and "Parvati" is crying in the wilderness when he raves against the Khots and denounces the Bramhin landlords' conspiracy as he calls it, forgetful of the fact that the Khots are not all Bramhins, and that the Khot's power is not founded on Government grant or religious predominance, but rests on the solid foundations of property, intelligence, and abstinence invested on public account for the reclamation and settlement of a district which, without such cohesive elements, would be but a barren waste. Though there is, therefore, little present occasion for exposing the fallacy of this latest expression by the Survey Department of its hostility against the Khots and their system of tenures, yet we have found by bitter experience that it never pays in the long run to pass over in silence any expression of Bureaucratic views in this country; for, sooner or later, the pendulum of authority swings the other way, and the public cause is prejudged, if not defended in time. This must be our excuse for returning to this subject, and noticing at some length "Parvati's" observations, and his lament that the whole country is going to the dogs because Government has ceased to pin its faith in the perfect wisdom of the Survey Department, and prefers to be guided by its Revenue officers who faithfully carry out the compromise accepted by Government.

The gravamen of "Parvati's" indictment against the Khoti settlement is that the Survey officers are not allowed full freedom of action, and that the settlement

has been one-sided. Every thing has been done for the Khots, and little or nothing in favour of the tenants. Any one, however, who is conversant with the state of things which prevailed in the Ratnagiri District under Colonel Francis' settlement or, as it might more properly be called, *unsettlement*, and who has taken the pains to inform himself correctly of what has occurred since Act No. 1 of 1880, with the Rules framed by Government to give effect to it, came into operation, cannot fail to discover that Government have done, and are doing, all in their power to protect the tenants from exactions and oppression at the hands of the Khots, without inflicting unjustifiable loss on the property in land which belongs to the Khots in accordance with long established and customary tenures. "Parvati's" first charge is based on what he calls the gross indifference of Government in omitting to define the word Khot in the Act, while legislating upon the Khoti tenure. This charge is on the face of it only a technical omission. No attempt is made by "Parvati" to point out any harm which has resulted from this omission. The Legislature knew well that any attempt to define the tenure would be fraught with the danger of unjustly enlarging or narrowing the scope of a local tenure which is quite individual in its peculiarity, and deemed it, therefore, best to leave the definition to Judicial officers when the question was raised before them in civil cases.

The next charge relates to the policy of allowing the Khots to levy grain payments from their tenants. This forms the leading feature of the compromise accepted by Government, and, being in consonance with old traditions and customs, it could not have been set aside without undoing the settlement. Even in the Deccan Districts, where no Khots exist, and cash payments are the rule, Mr. Fforde of the Survey Department has proposed the adoption of a similar proposal as a remedy against agricultural distress. Mr. Fforde's proposal is impracticable in the

Deccan Districts, but the mere fact that he suggests such an alternative is in our opinion the best defence of the Khoti settlement. Mr. Fforde proposes that Government should formally recognize the Sowkars as middlemen, enter in their names the lands mortgaged with them, receive its cash assessment from them, and allow them to recover from the encumbered tenants $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ share of the crops in kind in payment of the assessment and the debt. This is exactly what takes place under long established conditions in the Ratnagiri District every year. It is one of the features of the Khoti tenure that the Government demand is payable in cash by the Khots out of payments in kind levied by them from the non-*Dharekari* tenants. The system of commuting the grain demand in cash payments according to current prices suits the convenience primarily both of the state and the tenants more than the interests of the Khots. The change in this custom effected after the introduction of the Survey settlement proved fatal to the interests of both Khots and tenants, and compelled Government to revert to the old system. Government has taken good care that no additional burdens were imposed upon the Khots in consequence of this reversion to the customary method of levying the land tax in the Ratnagiri District. On the contrary, the tenants have been relieved from the payment of all extra cesses and personal services, which used to be levied before the passing of the present Act and the subsidiary rules framed to give effect to its provisions.

It should also be borne in mind that while the Khots are required to pay the one anna cess on each Rupee of Government demand, they are not allowed to recover additional rental from tenants equivalent to the cess. In a word, Government has gone as far as it could to protect the Rayats without summarily depriving the Khots of their ancient rights.

To place the Khots' tenants on an equal footing with the Rayats holding land direct from Govern-

ment in the up-country Districts could only be done by the redemption and purchase of the Khots' rights at an enormous cost to the State. Moreover it is questionable whether such a large measure would be productive of commensurate benefit to the tenants of such small holdings, as are found to exist in the Ratnagiri District. Even in the up-country districts, the condition of Rayats holding land direct from Government has been found to be so miserable as to necessitate the adoption of exceptional measures like the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act. With this and the above stated facts before them, it is for the public to judge whether it is proper to criticize the Settlement introduced under the Khoti Act in the spirit displayed in "Parvati's" observations under notice.

The levy of rents in kind which, for the reasons above stated, cannot be replaced by cash payment, unavoidably calls for annual crop appraisements, which have been co-eval with the custom of levying grain rental, and are not an innovation of the present Government. In this as in other matters, stringent rules have been provided, one of which lays down:—

"If the Khot fail to keep an Abhowni Patrak, or to make an entry, or to cause the same to be made therein in the manner herein before provided, or to give information to the tenant in the manner provided in Rule 3, he shall be entitled to recover from the tenant such rent only as may be due according to the yield of the crop admitted by the tenant."

The necessity of constant vigilance and strict supervision over the working of the Act and the Rules has been impressed on local officers; and if experience will show that the object of the Rules, viz the protection of the weaker (tenants) against the encroachments of the stronger (Khots) is not attained, additional measures will, it is hoped, be taken on behalf of the tenants. But so long as the ancient system legalized by the Act continues, or rather until a better substitute can be devised, it is scarcely reasonable to

expect the Khots to dispense with the annual appraisements which are essential to determine the grain rental payable each year by tenants in certain fixed proportions to the gross produce of the land.

A reference to Section 40 of the Act will show that the local Government is empowered to frame Rules "for the inspection and appraisal of crops when the rent payable to a Khot consists of a share of the produce of a privileged occupant's land," and it is under this provision that the Rule referred to above has been framed to determine the rent *annually* payable as fixed by Clause C Section 33; and when the rent represents a share of the produce, does it not necessarily follow that the inspection and appraisal of crops must be made annually? This being the case, it is a wanton mis-statement on the part of "Parvati," when in his letter to the *Bombay Gazette* dated 9th November 1881 he observes that "the peasantry have been subjected to an annual crop appraisal at the hand of the Khot" without any provision to that effect in the Act. He refers to Clause C Section 33 as giving no authority for annual appraisal, but any one reading this Section along with Section 40 Clause A will at once perceive that "Parvati" was clearly in error in making the above statement.

As above explained, payment in kind being the very essence of the Khoti system, which could not be subverted even with a show of justice even by the settlement of Colonel Francis, it is simply futile to contrast the results of the former with those of the latter. But even on this ground there is a sufficient reply to "Parvati's" carping criticism. The survey settlement introduced in Ratnagiri, it must be borne in mind, greatly differed from that carried out in the up-country Districts in that while in the latter Districts the Settlement imposed only the Government demand on land-holders, in the former it imposed *two* demands, viz: Government assessment *plus* Khoti

Phaida which varied from 40 to 75 per cent of the Government revenue. Thus it is evident that although the principle of the two Settlements was the same, their results as affecting the Rayat's interests materially differed; in other words, whereas a Rayat paid one Rupee of assessment for the occupancy right of his land in the up-country Districts, he paid from Rupee 1-5-0 to Rupee 1-12-0 in the Ratnagiri District. Col. Francis' Settlement did not, therefore, afford the same relief to the Rayats in Ratnagiri as it conferred in the adjoining Konkan Districts of Kolaba and Tanna or in the Deccan districts. Of course, it must be admitted that to make the Settlement equally beneficial to the Rayat everywhere would have involved immense sacrifice of Government Revenue in the Ratnagiri District. This, for reasons which the public can easily understand, Government did not deem it proper to forego, nor can it be satisfactorily established that such a measure would have gone a great deal to perceptibly ameliorate the condition of a District, the circumstances of which are admittedly exceptional. Lastly even if it be admitted that the reversion to grain payments is more, advantageous to the Khot and less so to the tenant, there are certain facts which deserve consideration before coming to the conclusion that the interests of the latter have been greatly sacrificed in favor of the former. Under the existing Settlement they are:—

(1). That the liability of the Khot for payment of Government demand is preemptory, whether or not he is able to recover grain rental from his tenants.

(2). The necessity of finding or maintaining persons to cultivate the land is imposed on the Khot by the condition of his tenure.

(3). The Khot has to supply the capital required to protect the lands from damages caused by various causes such as floods, washing off by sea waters and the like.

As regards the first point numerous instances can be found in almost every village in which the Khot is

unable to recover his rents. The process he has to undergo before he can obtain assistance from Government for the recovery is not only expensive but involves difficulties which are often found insurmountable. The nature of these difficulties is such that they baffle description. Suffice it to say that any one who wishes to correctly inform himself on this point, or who envies the position of a Khot, has only to go round from one end of the District to the other, and he will be soon convinced that the enormous profits said to be derived by the Khot as alleged by "Parvati" are more imaginary than real. In every Taluka where the old system has been reverted to, heaps of applications for recovery of rents are remaining undisposed of for years together, the revenue for which the Khot has had already to pay whether he could do so or not. Numerous complaints are also lodged against Khots by tenants in five out of ten villages on pretext of untimely or incorrect crop appraisements. Every such complaint means considerable delay in payment of rent in spite of strenuous efforts of local officers for their speedy disposal. By the time the complaint is enquired into and disposed of, the tenant easily makes away with his grain and leaves nothing to be taken from him by the Khot. The result is so much clear pecuniary loss to the Khot. Thus what in theory appears to be a profit is not all practically so. These are stern facts, which clearly indicate how they affect the Khot's position in his relation to Government.

In reference to the second point it is well-known that the Khot is generally, nay almost universally, the only Sowcar in the village, and as such his tenants naturally look to him for pecuniary aid both in their relation as tenants and as ordinary villagers. If the Khot, when he is able to do so, grudges to lend money or grain, he soon finds himself in hot waters. The fear of finding the land left uncultivated also compels the Khot to devote a portion of his grains

for the maintenance of his tenants.

Adverting to the third point it is apparent that in a District where the condition of the peasantry is known to be proverbially wretched and where there is no money-lending class other than the Khots, capital must come from the Khot for the proper protection of the lands so long as he stands responsible for the payment of Government demand.

If the profits were really so considerable as exhibited by the figures adduced by "Parvati" in his letter to the *Bombay Gazette* dated 24th December 1881, is it likely that Khots would ever give up the management of villages? The fact that they have done so in a number of villages is an additional proof that the management of such villages leaves them no profit whatever. In such cases when the management is taken up by Government, the grain rental of some villages is found to be not equivalent to the Government revenue after paying the expenses of collection.

"Parvati" also considers that the Settlement of the peasant's tenure by persons who are not Survey Officers is an anomaly, and he further states that it is "a mere snare" to have introduced the Survey Officer's name in para 2 of Clause C Section 33. In making this statement "Parvati" has either intentionally or unknowingly ignored the fact that one of the officers employed to determine the status of the peasant has all along been selected from among the Survey Officers, viz: Mr. E. Hearn, who was employed till the last year, and Mr. H. F. Hatch who has been employed since. The other two officers, though they belong to the Revenue Department proper, have been selected for this duty on account of their special aptitude with a view to assist the Survey Department, and to secure a speedy completion of the work. What is it, then, which "Parvati" objects to in the existing arrangements as an anomaly? Is it the mere employment on the Settlement work of officers who did not formerly belong to the Revenue Survey Department? The officers

employed on this duty, no matter to what particular Department they formerly belonged, are to be guided by the custom according to which the occupancy tenants of the village in which the land is situate have hitherto paid the rents. The settlement under the Act, being based entirely upon ancient custom and on the recognition of the vested rights and interests of both Khots and Tenants, gives discretion to the officers employed to carry it out and such a discretion must be left somewhere, and it cannot safely be left in the hands of Survey Officers who have been convicted of misleading Government in a policy of over-strained assessments.

In regard to "Parvati's" attack upon the local officers for having explained to the Rayats the circumstances under which the former settlement could not be considered to have been formally guaranteed, it must be stated in vindication of their proceedings that, as a matter of fact, in so doing those officers in no way transgressed their legitimate duties. Was it not judicious to explain to the peasants the weakness of their position instead of leaving them in ignorance to be eventually subjected to injurious consequences?

Adverting to "Parvati's" Statement that "the Khot, not residing in his own village but some fifteen miles away on the coast or in one of the chief towns, issues directions to the peasants that he requires to be paid up by a certain date at his own house," it may be mentioned here that by a rule recently passed the Khot is bound to provide a convenient place within the boundaries of the village itself, to which the Rayats are required to bring their payments whether in cash or kind, and that the Khot shall not be entitled on any pretence whatever to require a tenant to pay his rent in any other place except the village in the Survey papers of which the tenants' name is entered.

Equally stringent Rules have also been laid down in the matter of the Rayat's receipt book, as will be seen from the subjoined extract:—

"Whenever a payment is made by a rayat, a receipt is there and there to be entered by the Khot on the credit side of the rayats in receipt book and the book returned to its owner."

"If the rayats do not bring their books to be written up on the debit side within the proper time, the Khot shall immediately on the expiry of the period, make a report to the Mamletdar or Mahalkari to that effect, who will there issue the necessary instructions to the rayats."

"If a rayat brings grain or cash in payment of his revenue to the Khot without bringing his receipt book also, the Khot shall accept the payment but note the omission in the entry of payment in the rayat's Khata and give a separate dated receipt."

The following extract will show that ample provision has likewise been made to guard against undue advantages being taken by the Khots in other matters to the prejudice of the Rayats.

"(1) No forfeiture under Section 10 shall be certified in the case of an occupancy tenant unless he has failed to pay rent for two consecutive years, nor, if the tenant is a minor, shall any forfeiture be certified until 2 years after he has attained his majority and has failed to pay rent."

"(2) If the Khot is in actual possession when the minor attains his majority and refuses to vacate, the Collector shall on the minor's application, put him in possession."

"(3) If from any cause whatever, except the necessity of keeping fallows, an occupancy tenant fails to cultivate his land, the Khot may cultivate it for him during that season just as if it were Khot's land, but if he does so cultivate he shall be entitled to no assistance under Section 14."

The following Rules for determining what lands are held on Dhara tenure have also been prescribed after deliberate consideration:—

"(I) An entry in the Pahani Kharda of Dhara, if not rebutted, shall be conclusive proof of dhara. If the Pahani Kharda only shows that a certain area was held as dhara, but gives no *thikans*, the land to be entered as dhara shall be chosen at the discretion of the Settlement Officer from the Survey numbers in the rayat's possession; always provided that the area and the proportion of rice to Varkas land which may be given in the Pahani Kharda be not exceeded, and that if no information is available as to the said proportion, it shall be assumed to be 1 acre of rice to 4 acres of Varkas."

"(II) Where there is no Pahani Kharda but a Goshavara entry only, this entry, if not rebutted, shall be conclusive proof that the Khatedar holds some dhara. To ascertain the area of his dhara, it

will be necessary to discover at what rates the land assessment of the village was fixed. Evidence of this may be obtained from the Pahani Khardas of surrounding villages or otherwise. The Settlement Officer shall then proceed as in the last clause of Rule L. If the land assessment rates cannot be ascertained to the satisfaction of the Settlement Officer, the highest rate known to have existed at the date of the Goshvara must be taken as a basis and the same procedure followed."

"(III). The evidence of entry in Pahani Kharda or Goshvara may be rebutted by the Khot producing written proof from his accounts that he has taken "Thal" or Makta payments for three consecutive years within the twelve years preceding the introduction of the Survey. In "Thal" he must show for Varkas land payments in successive years from the same land of the three crops of Nachai, Wari, and Harik."

The suggestions offered by "Parvati" at the close of his last letter profess to be dictated by his sympathy for the peasantry. While they indicate a desire to ameliorate the condition of one portion of the community, "Parvati" evidently betrays the usual official indifference to recognize the vested rights and interests of the Khots which have been admitted by Government ever since the introduction of the British rule and which have been established before the highest tribunal of justice.

They therefore lose their value altogether as being simply reactionary and destructive. The gratuitous assumption that the Khots have no right in the land and that their chief function is simply to collect the Government dues in grain from the tenants and pay their commuted value in cash into the Government treasury is not calculated in these days to enlist any sympathy on the part of Government or the public, however alive they may be to the necessity of ameliorating the condition of the peasantry. Nothing is therefore to be gained by such empty declamations. On the contrary they will only tend to widen the gulf of hostility, where it exists, between the Khots and Tenants, the bridging of which has been the aim and object of the recent enactment and policy of Government.

CONTENTS.

Proceedings of the Sabha :—

- I. Evidence of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha before the Education Commission.

Independent Section :—

- I. Local Government in England and India.
- II. The agitation in regard to the Native Magistrates Jurisdiction Bill.

THE POONA SARVAJANIK SABHA.

Established for representing the wants and wishes of the inhabitants of the Deccan, being appointed on a popular elective system under rules framed for the purpose.

NAGARKAR'S, WADA, NEAR VISHRAMBAG

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| Madhavrao Ballal alias Rao Sahab Fadnavis Menaslikar. | H. H. Mudhojirao Zanrao alias Bapu Sahab Naik Nimbalkar, Chief of Phalton. |
| H. H. Raghoomathrao Vittal alias Anna Sahab Vinchoorkar, Chief of Vinchoor C. S. I. | H. H. Gumpatrao Haribar alias Bapu Sahab Patwardhan, younger Chief of Kurundwad. |

MANAGING COMMITTEE FOR 1881-82:

Chairman—RAO BAHADUR KRISHNAJI LAKSHMAN NULKAR.

Members of the Managing Committee.

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| Ramdikshit bin Gangadhardikshit Apte Esqr. | Madhavrao Yeshwant Raste Esqr. |
| Kashinath Parsharam Gadgil Esqr. Pleader. | Vinayakrao Ranganath Poorundhare Esqr. |
| A. Jeejee Dorabjee Ghaswala Esqr. | Narayanrao Chintaman Phadtare Esqr. |
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| Nawab Ali Mardakhan vallah Nawab Hoosen Allikhan Esqr. | Balmukund Hindunmujee Marwadi Esqr. |
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| Keshavrao Pandurang Godbole Esqr. | Govind Mahadeo Gadre Esqr. Pleader. |
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| Chintamanrao Vishwanath Natu Esqr. | Sitaram Hari Chiploorkar Esqr. |
| | Sitaram Hari Sathe Esqr. |

Treasurer.

CHINTAMANRAO VISHWANATH ALIAS BHAN SAHAB NATU ESQR.

Auditor.

GOVIND MAHADEO GADEE ESQR. PLEADER.

Honorary Secretaries.

RAO BAHADUR SADASHIVA BALLAL GOWANDE.

SITARAM HARI CHIPLOWKAR ESQR.,

Secretary.

SHIVARAM HARI SAHAB ESQR.

EVIDENCE OF THE POONA SARVA- JANIK SABHA BEFORE THE EDUCATION COMMISSION.

Mr. Sitaram Hari Chiplonkar, Honorary Secretary of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, appeared before the Education Commission at the Albert Edward Institute on Friday the 8th September 1882 to give his evidence, and having been introduced to the Commission by the President, the Hon'ble W. W. Hunter LL. D. C. I. E, read the following statement in reply to two questions from the Hon'ble President:—

Question 1.—You have read Questions 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 32, 40 of the printed questions. What is the opinion of your Society on the subject of Primary Education in reference to these Questions?

Answer 1.—(a) We are of opinion that the system of Primary Education in our province has not been placed on a sound basis, and that it is not capable of development upto the requirements of the community unless extensive improvements are adopted by the Department.

(b) The chief defect of the present system appears to us to be that it takes little or no account of the indigenous agency and does not seek to utilize it in the way shown in the Educational Reports of the Bengal Presidency. The Department favours too exclusively the agency of its cess schools which are so very costly in their working expenses that want of funds prevents the development of these schools upto the requirements of the country.

(c) The chief requirement of the country is the establishment of a school, teaching reading, writing and simple accounts to all children of school-going age in every village which has more than 200 inhabitants. There are 26,652 towns and villages in the Presidency, out of which about 16,839 fulfil this condition and of these only about one in six or 3,127 villages are provided with cess schools. Twelve lacs of male children of school-going age have to be provided with instruction, out of whom 2½ lacs only are found in the cess schools. On the present system at the minimum rate of Rs 100 per school the requisite number of schools cannot be opened unless 17 lacs of rupees are placed at the disposal of the Department in addition to its present resources. On the Bengal system with due modifications 5 lacs of additional Government expenditure will suffice to subsidize 17,000 additional schools at an average expenditure of 30 Rs per school.

(d) There are outside the Department over 3,000 indigenous schools attended by over 75,000 scholars. The indigenous school-masters

cannot be compared with trained school-masters in charge of cess schools, but as a provisional agency they are good enough for the present purposes, and with due encouragement the younger portion among them might be utilized with advantage. Besides there are large numbers of young men who have passed the tests of public service and possess certificates, and who with a proper subsidy might be induced to set up as school-masters on their own account.

(e) The second requirement of the country in respect of Primary Education relates to the training colleges; their existing number and resources are insufficient to turn out as many to take charge of the schools as the Department requires from year to year. More than half, that is, about 1900 of the existing staff of school-masters in the cess schools are admittedly untrained, and the teaching of even trained masters is much more circumscribed than it used to be 20 years ago.

(f) The existing training colleges should be turned into Vernacular colleges. The present course of studies should be raised all round, and the masters trained in them should be appointed to the Taluka schools, as also in towns with more than 2000 inhabitants. For all other schools, the masters should be trained for a shorter term by being attached to the Taluka school for a period of one year after they have passed the 6th standard examination. These certificated teachers so trained will then be turned out in sufficient numbers for the wants of the country, a result which cannot be attained under the present system.

(g) The third requirement consists in regard to the present paucity of the lower inspecting staff. The Deputy Inspectors and their assistants, who do this work, can hardly visit each school once a year. If the village schools were multiplied in the way suggested above, their numbers would baffle the utmost strength of the present agency. It would be necessary to adopt the Madras plan of appointing Taluka or Town school-masters as Inspectors of the schools within their circle. Their agency would be cheaper and the work done would be equally efficient for its intended purpose.

(h) If the plan of subsidizing independent indigenous and other schools were adopted, the work of inspection need not be carried on on its present lines. Even at best appraising the marks of each individual scholar in every subject in every school inspected, is time and labour thrown away. The Bengal plan of holding central scholarship Examination, where indigenous and independent schools would send their best candidates, might be adopted with positive advantage in addition to the general inspection by the central Master.

(i) The subjects of instruction at present adopted are also too rigid and to some extent beyond the felt necessities and desire of the people. For Taluka and Town schools the present subjects may

remain as they are, but for the larger outer circle of independent village schools, geography, grammar, and history might be made to give way for village accounts, traders' account, a little of agriculture and sanitation. There should thus be one set of subjects for the higher primary schools, and another for the lower and more numerous village schools.

(j) As regards the question of additional funds we are of opinion that the Government is bound to increase the amount of its Imperial allotment so as to set aside at least two per cent of its gross revenue towards educational purposes. If this cannot be done, we think that it should at least sanction an equal distribution of the local cess revenue in place of the $\frac{1}{2}$ allotment made at present.

(k) Apart from these resources which require special Government sanction, the Department can adjust its own funds in a way to be able to devote about 2½ lacs towards the extension of Primary Education. The last three years' Educational Reports show that large sums are allowed to lapse from year to year out of the Imperial grant and the local fund revenues. About Rs. 69,000 are unexpended from the Local cess and about Rs. 90,000 from the Imperial grant on the average of three years. Besides this 1½ lac the annual balances of Local Funds now amount to nearly 5½ lacs which, if invested, will yield Rs. 22,000 as annual interest. The Municipalities at present contribute about Rs. 30,000 towards the expenditure of schools within Municipal limits while the net loss to the Local Funds on their account is 75 per cent of the total expenditure. Under the new Local Self-Government arrangements this contribution might be increased so as to reduce the net loss by 50 per cent, and to remove to some extent the complaint that the Local Fund cess is diverted from village to Town schools in an undue proportion. The present staff of European Inspectors costs the State between Rs. 50,000, and Rs. 60,000, nearly the whole of which can be saved and devoted towards Primary Education. With the administrative and financial control of Primary Education transferred to local boards, urban and rural, very little work will be left for these officers except the inspection of the superior grades of secondary schools, which can be managed by the Director of Public Instruction and one European assistant. The necessity which at one time existed for engaging highly-paid European agency does exist no longer. In this way a sum between 2½ and 3 lacs can be at once turned to account by the Department for the subsidizing of independent and indigenous village schools, and it would suffice on an average of Rs. 30 per school to support 6,000 new schools.

(l) The fees in indigenous schools are generally higher than

those paid by non-cess payers in Government schools. With a class of 15 boys the yield from fees would be between 3 or 4 Rs. a month. The masters should be allowed as at present to take their fees in cash or kind at the harvest season or market days as they find convenient. These payments supplemented by Government grant would secure them an income of about 75 Rs. a year at the lowest calculation. About $\frac{1}{3}$ of the existing school masters in Government schools do not get more than this sum. In the larger villages the income would be about 100 Rs. or sometimes even more.

(m) Primary Education to be of any value must be, as far as possible, universal. The Brahmin and trading classes, though less than 10 per cent of the population, furnish nearly 30 per cent of the scholars. They require no special inducements as 75 per cent of their boys attend the schools. The cultivating classes forming about 75 per cent of the population are not averse to simple education if only the agency selected is elastic enough to adjust itself to their needs. These needs necessitate that the village schools should be partly closed for some portion of the year. The present system does not recognise this need. Under a more self-acting system this complaint will be removed. Night schools also will have to be attempted on a larger scale than at present. The experiment was tried some years ago but has nearly collapsed because the existing method is not suited to it. The indigent agency is likely to prove more successful in this direction so far at least as the cultivating classes are concerned.

(n) Indigenous Schools, and missionary and other philanthropic societies are the only private agencies which at present exist for promoting Primary Education.

(o) The funds assigned for Primary Education can be administered by local boards and Municipal Committees with proper guarantees and direction of the Department. Half the Local Funds receipts, and at least 5 per cent of the Municipal income in larger towns, might be so assigned. The expenditure of these sums might be made a statutory charge upon Municipal and Local bodies so as to ensure it against all risks.

(p) The system of payment by results taken by itself is not suited to furnish sufficient encouragement to independent school masters of primary schools. The Bengal plan of allowing a very small sum for every boy attending the school regularly for a minimum number of days, and a small payment for sending in returns regularly, must be joined along with payments for results. These results should not be ascertained by the present plan of appraising marks for each scholar. They should be governed by the results of the scholarship examinations and the percentage of candidates sent up to those passed.

The scholarships could provide free education at the Taluka and Middle class schools for the best of the village school boys. These boys might be trained if they so desire to be school-masters in their turn. These remarks are applicable to Primary Education only.

(g) Physical education is not at present attempted in Primary schools. A small gymnasium of the Native type and open play ground in the vicinity of the school should, however, be attached to each school. Village gymnasias and play grounds might be utilised for this purpose by enlisting the sympathy of the elders, and leading men of the village. Swimming, running, leaping, and playing the indigenous sports should have a special hour set apart for them, and might usefully be rewarded by special encouragements at the Inspector's visits along with the ordinary studies.

Question 2.—You have read Questions 16, 18, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 37, 38, 39, 40, 48, 50, 54, 60, 65, 69. What opinion does your Society entertain on the subject of Secondary and Higher Education in Bombay.

(a) In our opinion it is not true that Secondary and Higher Education absorbs an unduly larger proportion of State funds than Primary Education, or that the former has made greater progress than the latter. While 10 per cent of the total expenditure on education is spent on Colleges, and 22 per cent on High Schools, and Middle class Schools, nearly 50 per cent are expended on Primary Schools. The whole of the Local Funds receipts are devoted to Primary Education, and the higher institutions get no share of it. In 25 years the number of Primary Schools and Scholars have been multiplied tenfold, while the Colleges and High Schools have almost remained stationary in numbers. Both the State Colleges, moreover, owe their origin to large endowments, the Poona College being maintained out of the Peishwa's Dakshana Fund endowment, and the Elphinstone College has had a similar origin from memorial funds raised in honor of Mountstuart Elphinstone and other great Statesmen and Governors.

(b) Further it is not true that the Higher Institutions are attended by the wealthier classes and the nobility who are well able to pay the full expenses of their Education. These classes, as a rule, hold themselves aloof from all higher Instruction, and a very small percentage of the students in High Schools and Colleges belongs to them. The larger majority nearly 90 per cent of the whole number belongs to the middle classes or rather to the hereditary literary castes, who, though high in social and religious status, even now feel the present costliness of higher education, and they are certainly not wealthy

and able to support or establish by their own independent efforts higher institutions for imparting liberal education to their sons.

(c) The circumstances of India in this respect differ from those of England or America, and the analogies drawn from those countries can have no application here as long as this difference lasts. It is not a good policy to deny the means of education to those who cherish its advantages, and who have acquired hereditary facilities for it in order that abstract justice may be done by diverting the money to the establishment of lower schools for classes who have not evinced any interest in the same.

(d) Such diversion, however, is inexcusable, because it is not needed as we have shown in our answers to the first group of questions. Additional provision for Primary Schools can be secured by a careful adjustment of the present allotments without withdrawing the grant for Secondary and Higher Education. We have only three Arts Colleges and only one High School for each Zilla or District. These numbers cannot be regarded as more than barely sufficient, seeing that we have nearly 4000 Primary Schools with 2½ lacs of Scholars.

(e) The Arts Colleges cost about Rs. 92,000 from Provincial Funds, and about Rs. 53,000 are derived from fees and endowments. As regards the High Schools they cost about Rs. 120,000 from Provincial Funds and including Middle Class Schools they cost about Rs. 150,000 from the same funds. On the other hand the income from fees endowments grants &c. exceeds that figure by Rs. 27,000; in other words more than 50 per cent of the expenditure on High Schools, and Middle Class Schools, and about 33 per cent of the College expenditure is not a charge on Provincial Funds. Some of the High Schools, if worked on the grant-in-aid principle, would earn a larger grant, than the present allotment from Provincial Funds.

(f) The withdrawal of Government from the institutions of Higher Education is thus impolitic and unnecessary. It is impolitic and unnecessary, because (1) the provision is so small; (2) the provincial allotment on the whole, taking the Secondary Schools and Colleges together, is nearly counterbalanced by an equal contribution from endowments and fees and local grants; (3) in respect of the colleges the withdrawal would affect the credit of Government, because these institutions are royal gifts or memorial foundations, the responsibility of which was accepted by Government under circumstances of special obligation which can not be disowned; (4) because the help of these institutions is availed of not by the wealthier classes as in other countries, but by the sons of middle classes, whose means are very circumscribed; (5) the withdrawal will be further impolitic because there is little likelihood at present of their being taken over by any independent local organizations, and there is great danger of the quality

of education given being deteriorated by reason of such withdrawal; (6) it is impolitic because the only agencies which can step in to fill the vacant place are the Missionary societies which, being sectarian, cannot inspire confidence even among the majority of the Christian, and will create suspicion of the motives of Government among the vast majority of the non-Christian, community; (7) these Missionary Institutions being founded for proselytising purposes are not efficient for higher instruction, as has been proved by the experience of the last 25 years, during which period they have failed in the competition with Government schools, some of them even under sole native management, notwithstanding the advantages of the European teachers in many cases; (8) in the interests of Government also such withdrawal would be impolitic for Government would thereby part with all control over national education at a time when it is its interest to see that no wrong direction is given to national impulses; (9) the advantages it has derived in the improvement of the services and professions are so great that they should not be jeopardised, and an alien Government in a permanent minority cannot directly influence or understand the millions of its subject population except by taking special pains to liberalise the understanding of a select few of the governed classes, who will, thus informed, act as interpreters to their brethren of the intentions of their rulers; (10) the Despatch of 1854 recognised this necessity, and the experience of the Department during the last 25 years has confirmed the wisdom of this recognition. For all these reasons the withdrawal of Government from Higher Education for a long time to come cannot be thought of as a practicable and safe measure. By continuing to work on the present lines Government will best carry out its views.

(g) The best way of preparing for such a withdrawal when the time comes for it, appears to us to be the recognition of extra-mural teaching in respect of the higher examinations of the University. At present extra-mural teaching is not recognised except for the Matriculation Examination. We propose that it should be recognised for higher examinations also. Recognised Colleges will still retain their just advantages over private efforts, but they will cease to have the monopoly they at present enjoy. The local University is only an examining and not a teaching body, and there is no reason why it should not permit candidates to appear at its examinations who have not kept terms at any of the affiliated Colleges. These latter institutions will also derive a healthy stimulus by their competition with private agencies of which advantage they are at present deprived by their monopoly of teaching. If this monopoly were removed, small classes will be formed in Bombay, Poona, Ahmedabad and other places, which as a course of time might develop into efficient private colleges, and which

might step in the place of the existing Government institutions when the time for the withdrawal comes. At present the necessity for affiliation makes it almost impossible for any but Missionary Societies to secure recognition from the University for their higher institutions. At present the study of law both for profession and service is not monopolized by the University through its colleges, and it has been found that high school students by private tuition succeed as well as the law students of the Colleges both at the Bar and the Bench. If this is possible in respect of somewhat technical study, it must be equally, if not more, possible in respect of the less technical subjects.

(h) If the change suggested above be adopted, Government Institutions will cease to compete with private efforts. Already owing to the fact that the Matriculation rules permit private tuition students to appear at the examination, this competition has almost ceased to work any mischief in respect of non-collegiate institutions. In regard to the Colleges there is no check. If a bad choice of Professors be made, as is frequently the case, the students have no alternative opened to them, and the interests of education suffer in consequence. This unhealthy competition will give way for healthy emulation in the way suggested above. Another way of attaining the same object appears to us to be the gradual adoption of the Scotch plan of giving a minimum salary to Professors and permitting them to receive fees from the students. At present under the graded system of promotion the Professors have no inducement to improve in their studies, and a bad choice once made sticks to the Department as a fixture. By the reduction of the regular salaries a larger staff might be employed to teach more subjects than is at present attempted.

(i) Even in the High Schools the necessity of passing the Entrance Examination for all students has become a growing evil. The studies are all adopted to that end, and as 3/4 of the students do not go to the Colleges but stop short with their high school education, their fitness for practical occupation and independent professions or grades is not what it should be. We propose that after the 5th Standard is reached, there should be separate classes for those who wish to enter Colleges and those who do not aspire that way; for the latter the literary teaching should be subordinated to the practical and scientific teaching which would qualify them for their intended careers.

(j) In our opinion the High Schools and Colleges devote too exclusive attention to what may be called academical cultivation. The institution of a Science Degree, and the subordinate Medical institutions, and the forest, agricultural and drawing classes, and the schools

of arts and industry has, to some extent, corrected this preponderance, but there is yet room for much improvement. Industrial schools in the lower department and polytechnic schools in the higher are wanted by the requirements of the country. The establishment of such schools by independent agencies is not possible, because there is no appreciation and no demand for cultivated labour and refined accomplishments outside the Government Departments which are the only great employers of skilled labour and talent in this country. The opening of the scientific services both in the Civil and Military branches to the Natives of this country, and the withdrawal of Government from the direct management of Public Works, must go along with the establishment of industrial and technical schools so as to secure the balance between supply and demand.

(k) As regards moral and religious education the latter is out of the question by reason of the neutrality of Government in all such matters. Even as it is, this neutrality has been to a certain extent violated by the pecuniary grants made in the name of secular education imparted in proselytizing institutions. It is the neutral position of Government which has endeared its education policy to the people, and secured confidence among them, as is shown by the large number of endowments given to Government institutions, but which have been denied to proselytizing institutions. More than a half lac of Rupees represents the annual interest of these endowments contributed by the people, excluding those which belong to the University. The Missionary societies find by experience that they have to minimise their religious teachings in the schools managed by them, and beyond the Bible classes with which the studies commence in these schools, there is no difference between Government and Missionary Institutions. The converts are but few, and a very large majority of those not converted are repelled rather than attracted by this violence done to their feelings, and end in being atheists or hypocrites than which nothing can be more undesirable. These results are not seen in Government schools to the same extent. The theistic movements in different parts of India, and the organizations for social and religious reforms, owe their origin, as a general rule, to men trained in Government institutions. The vast majority are benefited by a gentle loosening of their old caste prejudices, without leaving any permanent evil impression on their character. As regards moral education we are of opinion that although morality cannot be taught in classes of schools, the discipline enforced and the example and advice of teachers joined with the excellent moral lessons contained in the books of study have had the happiest effect in improving the moral standard of life in the present generation, in purifying the services and elevating the professions,

and refining the public taste and manners. This improvement, has been acknowledged by Government officers in all Departments; and the increased capacity for combined social action, which characterises the present stage of cultivation, is also a proof of the same fact.

(l) As regards physical education the High Schools and Colleges are provided with gymnasia, and one College has a boat club of its own. Students, however, should be taught, or encouraged to practise, riding, swimming, shooting, and such other physical exercises, as will not only improve their health but will provide them with accomplishments which can not fail to be of utmost practical use in life.

(m) While thus advocating the maintenance of the existing colleges and schools on an improved footing we at the same time admit the full necessity of improving their financial status so as to make them as much as possible self supporting. One way of economising resources would be to require the Municipalities to make larger grants to some of these institutions. Lastly a considerable saving will be effected by reducing the salaries of the graded Professors and allowing them to make up their income by fees. The substitution, moreover, of Natives for European Professors and Inspectors of schools would also lead to some saving. Twenty years ago it was thought that the first class high schools must be under European management. Twenty years experiment has shown that it is only a waste of powers to employ Europeans in these posts, that Natives duly qualified are, if possible, more successful teachers than the certificated European Masters who were first brought out in considerable numbers. The same prejudice bars the way of Natives being employed as Professors. Wherever in rare cases they have been employed they have deserved the trust reposed in them. In our opinion except in the English and history chairs Natives, properly qualified, may be gradually substituted for European Professors. In this double way the present discrepancy between the provincial and popular contributions might be minimised in course of time.

KRISHNAJI LAKSHMAN NULKAR.

Chairman of the Managing Committee.

SHIVARAM HARI SATHE.

S. H. CHIPLONKAR.

Secretaries Poona Sarvajanic Sabha.

CROSS-EXAMINATED BY MR. JACOB.

Question 1.—In your first answer you state that there are in this Presidency more than 13,000 towns and villages with over 200 inhabitants which are unprovided with a cess school, and you estimate that 17 lakhs of rupees would be needed to provide these places with schools. I find from the latest official returns for British districts that there is on the average 1 village with a cess-school to every 13 square miles of cultivated area. Does not this show that a considerable number of villages without schools must be adjacent to villages that have schools, and that your estimate is unnecessarily high?

Answer 1.—The attendance in these schools must be scrutinized in order to show that the schools are attended by the scholars of the adjacent villages. My opinion is, that each of the large villages should be supplied with a school.

Question 2.—Assuming that the bulk of the population are concentrated on or near the cultivated area of the Presidency, should you consider that 1 school on the average to every 6 square miles of that area would fairly meet the requirements of the rural population for many years to come?

Answer 2.—Yes; it may for some time to come.

Question 3.—Are you aware that the latest official returns show that, including the indigenous schools, there is at present 1 primary school to every 6½ square miles of the cultivated area, and that nearly one child in every four of the male population of school-going age is now at school?

Answer 3.—Including the indigenous schools I am aware that such is the case.

Question 4.—Looking to the fact that the people of this Presidency at first voluntarily paid the educational cess, that they still willingly defray by direct contributions the greater part of the cost of the cess-schools, and that their applications for more schools of this class are every year increasing, would you maintain that the cess-school system contains in itself no elements of national growth?

Answer 4.—In the first place I doubt if the payment was at first voluntary. In a case in Sholapur the people first paid the cess, and then withdrew it, until it became compulsory by law. I do not think the system contains in itself sufficient elements of success. Mr. Jervoise's remarks in the report of Public Instruction for 1880-81, printed at page 112, should be referred to.

Question 5.—How do you account for the large increase of 90,000 pupils in these schools in the last 3 years?

Answer 5.—Looking at the increase which might have been expected, the increase is not so encouraging as it might have been.

Question 6.—Since 1870 the indigenous schools have been offered special lump grants, not exceeding Rs. 50 per annum, on condition that each school keeps an attendance roll and submits to an annual examination by the Department. Throughout the Presidency the Inspectors find that the first of these two simple conditions is so much objected to by the masters that they hold aloof. How would you meet this difficulty if your proposal to give the indigenous schools a capitation grant for every boy in regular attendance is to become acceptable to the indigenous school-masters?

Answer 6.—We were assured the other day at a conference of the Poona indigenous school-masters that they do not object to the condition laid down, provided some elasticity is allowed in the subjects taught.

Question 7.—Has the Department prescribed any standards of instruction for indigenous schools, or does the Department accept their teaching as it is?

Answer 7.—It does not insist on that: but the indigenous school-masters in Poona have the impression. I refer especially to the state of feeling in Poona.

Question 8.—Supposing that the towns which now absorb about 2 lakhs of the rural cess were to make up this sum by paying a non-agricultural rate, and that Provincial Funds contributed a much larger sum than at present towards primary education, would you continue the development of the cess-school system?

Answer 8.—I would certainly not extend the system as to numbers, but would rely on indigenous schools for that. But I would improve, where necessary, the existing system in efficiency.

Question 9.—With regard to training colleges, do you consider that the instruction now given in them goes deeper and is more concentrated on the immediate objects of the vernacular school-master's profession than it was 20 years ago, when English was taught in these colleges?

Answer 9.—It does. But their general culture 20 years ago was better than now. I believe the Deputy Educational Inspectors consider that the masters taught in the old training colleges were men of higher culture than those now supplied.

Question 10.—With regard to your suggestion that there should be a system of inspection by the head-masters of taluka schools, are you aware that this arrangement was in force before the famine, and is now being revived in some districts?

Answer 10.—I am aware that it existed before the famine. I do not know that it has been since revived.

Question 11.—At the “centre examinations” which you propose, how would you guard against the fraudulent presentation of children who had already passed the year before, or who were not pupils of the master presenting them?

Answer 11.—The certificates signed by the masters would be sufficient. The committees might watch them.

Question 12.—The inspecting officers’ hands being already full, how would you provide for the proper supervision of these examinations without increased expenditure?

Answer 12.—The present Deputy Inspectors would be relieved of part of their present duties by the taluka masters, who would visit the cess-schools as well as the indigenous schools.

Question 13.—Have you any facts to show that the local Public Works Funds are at present burdened with any charges that might fall upon Provincial Funds?

Answer 13.—The Amba Ghat road from Ratnagiri through Belgaum to Kolhapur is a road which should be entirely Provincial, but to which the Local Funds of Belgaum contribute heavily. The Ratnagiri telegraph line from Kolhapur via Chiplun to Ratnagiri is guaranteed and in part supported by the District Local Fund Committee and other Municipal Committees of Ratnagiri.

Question 14.—You recommend that the Provincial allotment for education should be at least 2 per cent. of the gross Provincial Revenues. Can you state what is the proportion of the gross revenues of the United States or of France or Germany, which is at present devoted to primary education?

Answer 14.—The following statement will answer this question:—

Name of State.	Total Revenue.	Total State Expenditure on Education.
	£	£
United States ...	66,000,000	12,000,000
France ...	128,500,000	2,800,000
Prussia ...	45,000,000	2,500,000
England ...	72,720,000	2,680,000*
		*on primary education only, viz., 3½ per cent. of the gross revenue.

Question 15.—Do you think that the larger municipalities in this Presidency, excepting that of the city of Bombay, at present bear their fair share of the cost of primary education? Take the Poona Municipality for instance.

Answer 15.—They do not. Poona does not bear its proper share. The municipal grant to education as a whole is, I think, sufficient, but the assignment of it to primary education is insufficient.

Question 16.—With reference to the diversion of rural cess to town schools, why would you reduce the loss by only 50 per cent. and not altogether? Should not towns bear their own burdens, and not lay any of it on the agricultural classes?

Answer 16.—As regards the largest municipalities, I find that nearly 20 per cent. of the total attendance in schools belongs to cess-payers. In smaller towns the percentage is higher. I refer to Government schools exclusively. I have taken the figures of Sholapur and Poona supplied to me by friends, and struck an average.

Question 17.—But you would still leave a partial inequality, because, while you reduce the loss to rural funds by one-half, you have only one-fifth of the children in town schools who are cess-payers' sons?

Answer 17.—So far as the Poona and Sholapur Municipalities are concerned, the Local Funds would have to be charged nearly 1/5th of the total expenditure of the schools within municipal limits, leaving the rest to be paid by the municipalities, where the adjustment of charge would proceed on the same principle.

Question 18.—You speak of an average saving from Educational Local Cess of Rs. 69,000. Are you prepared to state that the greater part of this sum is not arrears of cess-receipts that became due during famine years?

Answer 18.—The increasing balance is not confined to famine districts; and in the Gujarat Districts, for instance, there are no famine arrears to collect.

Question 19.—Are you prepared to show that the claims for new masters and school buildings, not met during the famine years, have not forestalled the whole of that balance of Rs. 69,000?

Answer 19.—So far as I understand, these unpaid debts can only be paid from the revenues of the district which owes them. Yet there is a balance in districts which were not afflicted by famine, and owed, therefore, no debt on this account.

Question 20.—Are you prepared to show that this balance of Rs. 69,000 had any relation to the districts in which there was no famine?

Answer 20.—I cannot answer that at once without calculation.

Question 21.—Can you show that the educational local balances are not the working capital of the District Committees, and that, therefore, that capital could be put out to interest?

Answer 21.—I understand that the Local Fund accounts of each district are the account of that district only. I find the balance varies

proportionately to the expenditure of each district from under 1/7th to more than the whole. Such a balance cannot be called a working balance. Sir A. Grant in 1868 proposed that the cash balances should be invested.

Question 22.—With regard to savings in the Provincial Grants, are you aware that a considerable portion of them was really forestalled by the pay of officers on furlough in England and by postponed payments on account of grants-in-aid, and that in 1881-82 the actual charges on the whole show a gross excess of Rs. 59,000 and a net excess of Rs. 46,000 over the Budget allotment?

Answer 22.—I have not got the figures. The report has not yet been published.

Question 23.—With reference to the general policy of the Department, are you aware that educational officers have frequently abstained from opening a school in a village in which there was already a fairly efficient indigenous or missionary school?

Answer 23.—It may have. But I am not aware that it aided the institution which it thought doing good work.

Question 24.—Are you aware that very much was done last year in the Northern Deccan and in Gujarat in the matter of gymnasia and indigenous school-games?

Answer 24.—I have no particular information.

Question 25.—If the Government scholarships in the Deccan College were no longer exclusively tenable in it, and were liable to be held in private or Government colleges not in the Deccan district, do you think that the people of the Deccan would have any just ground for complaint?

Answer 25.—They would have.

Question 26.—Am I right in inferring from your 2nd answer that you think that any reduction in the present scope of the teaching of the Deccan College would be viewed with general disfavour by the educated classes of the Deccan?

Answer 26.—Decidedly.

Question 27.—You have recommended that a little agriculture should be taught in the village-schools. Would you give this instruction from books only?

Answer 27.—It should be supplemented by a course of practical instruction in the fields.

Question 28.—Are you aware that the Royal Agricultural Society of England have lately come to the conclusion that instruction in agriculture cannot be usefully given unless it is combined with work on the land, and that, therefore, it is an unsuitable subject for young children attending an elementary school?

Answer 28.—I had not heard of it. England is a non-agricultural country.

Cross-examined by MR. LEE-WARNER.

Question 1.—Have the views of primary education now put forward by the Sarvajanic Sabha ever been represented to Government, or have they ever before found expression in the Society's publications? Do I understand you to advocate the recognition of indigenous schools as auxiliary to the cess-schools or in supersession of them?

Answer 1.—These views have not been previously expressed by the Sabha. I advocate the recognition of indigenous schools as auxiliary and not in supersession of the cess-schools.

Question 2.—What would you consider a sufficient grant-in-aid to an indigenous school presenting 40 boys for the scholarship examination, of whom 20 passed?

Answer 2.—A grant of 25 rupees per annum should be the minimum. The maximum should be 50 rupees.

Question 3.—You advocate the assignment of $\frac{1}{4}$ of the proceeds of the cess for education. How would you provide for maintaining the road and village buildings in repair which at present, in Satara for instance, require nearly the whole of the $\frac{2}{3}$ rd of the cess, leaving a very small fraction for new works?

Answer 3.—Education must be considered with the other wants of the district. Lord Elphinstone in a Resolution, dated February 21st 1857, evidently favoured the assignment of $\frac{1}{4}$.

Question 4.—How many pupils can one indigenous school-master teach efficiently?

Answer 4.—About 30.

Question 5.—Do you not consider that it is an argument in favour of economy of the cess-schools in Bombay that the average attendance in a cess school is 64, whereas in Bengal the average attendance in aided primary schools is below 20? Thus half the power of the master is wasted.

Answer 5.—That would occur in the smaller villages.

Question 6.—How do you account for the fact that, even where indigenous schools exist in the districts, the rural population constantly apply for a cess-school?

Answer 6.—Because I believe the indigenous school unaided by Government is held to be uncertain.

Question 7.—You have laid great stress on the Bengal system in contrast to the Bombay system, and I, therefore, ask the following detailed questions:—

On what grounds do you consider the present system of primary education costly, and incapable of development? What is the cost per head of a pupil in a primary cess school in Bombay? What is the cost of a similar pupil in an indigenous school in Bombay, and what is the

cost in Bengal? Lastly, has not the progress of primary education in regard to cost been proportionately more rapid in Bombay than in Bengal?

Answer 7.—I cannot state what is the cost per head of a pupil in a primary class-school in Bombay. In Ganesh Apaji Mirasdar's indigenous school there are 292 boys who cost 31 rupees 10 annas a month. There are 4 masters, besides the head-master, who receive 25 rupees. The cost of hiring the building and contingencies are 6 rupees 10 annas. The master's profit a month is 36 rupees 1 anna, including his profits and the grant-in-aid, which I believe is only 10 rupees per annum. I have not seen the figures for Bengal. I cannot answer the last question.

Cross-examined by the PRESIDENT.

Question 1.—With reference to your suggestion that the Universities should recognise extramural teaching, do you think that, if this were done, any considerable number of institutions for extramural teaching would arise?

Answer 1.—I think they would.

Question 2.—You say that the expenditure upon primary education might be made a statutory charge on municipal and local bodies. Do we understand that you recommend an Education Act which would compel local and municipal bodies to expend a certain amount of their income on primary education?

Answer 2.—Yes. Or a similar section might be introduced into the Municipal and Local Boards Acts.

Question 3.—With reference to your statement regarding the moral effect of education, are we to understand that that statement is your deliberate conviction framed from practical acquaintance, in your public and private capacity, with a large number of educated young natives?

Answer 3.—Yes.

Question 4.—Then may we take it that the general result of higher education in India, notwithstanding its disintegration of ancient beliefs is to produce a more moral and in the best sense of the word, a more religious generation of men. May we take your answer as the deliberate opinion of the great Native Association which has sent you as its delegate.

Answer 4.—Yes.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND AND INDIA.

Now that the subject of Local Self-Government has been raised from a mere speculative question to the position of the one great problem of the day which absorbs general attention, and taxes the highest statesmanship of the rulers, it cannot fail to be of interest to review the subject historically in its development in the free and self-governed communities of Europe, where these institutions have been long naturalized to the soil, and have influenced the political and economical arrangements in various forms and degrees, so as to serve at once as a warning and an example to this country. The Cobden Club has published a series of essays on the subject of Local Government and Taxation in England, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, France, Russia, Spain, and Germany, and in the English colonies of Australia and New Zealand, and we propose to summarize in the present and consecutive numbers the more important of these exhaustive reviews, and discuss the Indian bearings of the positions there laid down, and the analogies suggested by our own local institutions of customary and legislative origin.

England deservedly enjoys the foremost rank in respect of the great historical antiquity, and the unbroken continuity of its local institutions. Mr. Rathborn, in a recent number of the *Nineteenth Century*, has stated on the highest authority that in England alone local taxation had reached the magnificent total of 55 crores of Rupees a few years ago, a revenue almost as large as the whole of the revenue of British India. In this country our total Municipal and Local Funds expenditure does not represent $\frac{1}{10}$ of the Imperial expenditure, while in England the proportion is as high as two thirds of the grand total of the Imperial expenditure of Great Britain and Ireland, and if the English portion of this expenditure is alone taken

into account, it may be fairly estimated that the English people spend as much on their Local Government as they raise for the public or general expenditure of the Empire. This single fact will clearly bring home to every one the enormous development of the powers and functions of Local Boards in English boroughs and counties. None of the other countries of Europe can present more magnificent totals of receipts and a more varied expenditure, or afford a more instructive field for the study of local responsibility and power, and as the destinies of India are now indissolubly united with those of England and that country furnishes the fountain source of brain power and initial energy of the administrative body in India, we propose to select the institutions of England for our more immediate study in the following observations.

It may be noted at the outset that, as far as the lowest unit of local power is concerned, no country in Europe could present a more self-contained and self-sufficient organization than the village community of India. The Russian *mere*, the German *gau*, the French *commune*, the English *parish*, though kindred in origin to the Indian village, never possessed the full independence which the latter community enjoyed in times of old. The people of this country, however, did not proceed further in the development of civic and communal life. The old Greek and Roman communities developed their *civitas* and *demos* with a luxuriant fulness, which has been rarely equalled except in some of the towns of Italy, the free towns of Germany, the Netherlands, and Switzerland, in the best days of European history. The Greeks and Romans, however, broke down lamentably when they tried their hands at larger organizations, and it is in this direction of the organization of local Boards, and the incorporation of parishes into hundreds and cantons, and these latter into counties and Departments, and of the whole under one national state, that the countries of Europe have achieved their most remarkable suc-

cess. Moreover, the more important of these states, such as the British Isles, and the Colonies and Dependencies of Great Britain, the United States in America, and the German Empire, have successfully solved the great problem of a federation of states under a sovereign Congress or Diet or Parliament, which forms so to speak the coping stone of the edifice. It will be thus seen that there have been four distinct stages of growth in the history of these local institutions, and the different nations of Asia, the old Mediterranean republics, modern Europe, and the colonial empires of Europe and America, have each contributed in their own way to the symmetrical development of the little parish unit into the great confederacy of states, which appears to be evidently the destined form of the future political organization of the human family.

Guziot has well observed that in the primitive condition of society, when status, and not contract, governed the relations of private life, when law was personal and not local, when tribes and castes and nationalities formed distinct groups, when inter-communication was difficult, and the central authority was limited to purposes of foreign war, none but the local form of Government could have any practical existence. When these local groups are absorbed into a central organization, it may be regarded as a distinct advance in civilization. In the history of local Government in England, it is necessary to bear this point prominently in view. The Anglo-Saxon times present the old features of local Government in their purest form, attended however with their great drawback of a permanent tendency to disintegration. It was the strong pressure of the Norman conquest, which first, though not without many centuries of struggle, checked this tendency, and by an infusion of races sowed the seeds of the great English nationality. The old Saxon divisions of the country were based upon the parish (the Indian *Mouje*)

as the initial unit. A group of parishes made up the hundred (Tarf or Tahsil or Peta), and several of these hundreds made up the county, the equivalent of our Revenue Pargana or Prant or District. Rural Society recognized only two distinctions, the thane or land-owners, and the thralls or slaves. The large thanes were the chief men of their villages, with a body of free tenants, and a large number of slave dependents. The leading thanes met in "the town-moot," and elected the town *reeve*, or Patel. The Town reeve and the leading thanes governed their little village republic in all local matters, repaired their roads and bridges, judged petty offences, settled their petty civil disputes, assessed their holdings to pay judicial fines, and executed commissions of inquiry issued by the central authority. The leading thanes sent their representatives to "the hundred-moot" or local Boards, which consisted partly of such representatives, and partly of the parish priests and other functionaries, and this body had large fiscal, judicial, and executive powers. It levied assessments imposed by themselves or by the central power, it dispensed civil and criminal justice as Jurymen and Honorary Magistrates under the presidency of the Sheriff of the hundred, the Deshmukh or Desai of the old revenue Indian system. A group of these hundreds made up the county, which was the most influential corporate body so far as local authority was concerned. It consisted of the representatives of the hundreds associated with the bishop, and sheriff, and earl, who represented the central power. In its judicial character, the county Board, called "the folk-moot," heard appeals from the hundred courts. This same body was referred to by the Earl or Lord Lieutenant of the county to muster the land proprietors for war, by the royal Sheriff (the Indian Collector) to assess and collect state dues, and by the Bishop to regulate church matters. Water courses, roads, and bridges in the whole county were subject to its authority, and it had the sole cogni-

zance of the registration of land transfers. On rare occasions, these folk-moots sent representatives to the grand Councils of the nation called the Witenagemotes or meetings of the wise elders of the state. Taxes were but few in those days and not needed; men rendered and exacted personal services instead, both in war and the peace. There were large cities, and these were governed or rather they governed themselves, on the analogy of the hundred. The meeting of the free men in these cities combined the judicial and administrative functions of the parish town and the hundred-mote. They sent, however, no representatives to the county-mote. The King's sheriff for the county collected the assessed taxes in these cities, and the first step taken in the direction of civic liberty was in obtaining Royal charters by which a fixed composition in commutation of the sheriff's uncertain dues was secured to them. When this payment was made, the King's officer did not interfere with the local authority of the town guilds, which made their own bye-laws, and regulated their trades in accordance with the exigencies of long settled customs.

Such in brief were the main features of the distribution of local authority and power before the Norman conquest. The details given above present strange analogies and contrasts with the existing local bodies in India, which it is unnecessary to notice at length here, as they will easily be recognised by the most superficial reader. The Norman conquest substituted at first a foreign court and nobility for the old Saxon kings and *eorls*, but left the territorial and local arrangements for the most part undisturbed. The growth of the barons under the feudal system, however, soon eclipsed the splendour of old traditions, and encroached upon the continuity of the Saxon order of things. The Barons obtained fiefs and grants over-riding all local powers, and they soon took up the place of the old sheriffs and ealdormen, and discharged these duties by means of stewards or de-

puties. The towns gave up their independence to seek shelter under the protection of these powerful barons. The old Parish and hundred-motes became the baron's courts, and the old free-holders, now reduced to the status of the baron's tenants, discharged the functions of assessors. The long-continued struggle between the Crown and the Church in these early feudal times resulted in the enforced absence of the bishops and parish priests from these new courts. As these Barons and their deputies were too powerful subjects to be dealt with by the local authorities, the kings as they grew in power appointed commissions of peace and conservators to assist the Sheriffs, sent their Sheriffs on circuit to collect the fiscal burdens and administer criminal and civil justice, directed the nomination of high constables and parish constables for police regulation, and appointed coroners to hold inquests. The later Plantagenet Kings, with a view to check the power of the nobles, encouraged and legalized the growth of the Honorary Justices of the Peace, as the great centres of local authority in the counties and granted charters extending the liberties of the Municipal Burghs. The Justices of the Peace in course of time monopolized to themselves the functions of the old town and hundred and county motes, and the Baron's Courts and Sheriff's tourns. They were mostly large land-owners, they sat as a full Bench in the quarterly general sessions, and singly or in twos in petty sessions, and disposed of miscellaneous offences without the help of a jury. They were the guardians of peace, and discharged the higher duties of an organized Police by helping the high and petty constables and conservators. They levied taxes with the assent of local representatives for the repair of roads and bridges. They built their own gaols, and provided accommodation and discipline for vagrants and incarcerated prisoners, and appointed overseers to superintend the dispensing of charity to the poor. One of their body was appointed Lord

Lieutenant of the county, and had the charge of the militia, and this officer was also entrusted with the charge of the county records, and presided as chairman at quarter sessions. The old elective principle of Saxon times thus gave way in the administration of counties to that of nomination by the Crown.

While this change was taking place in the counties, the elective principle underwent a similar transformation in the larger Burghs or Municipal towns, which had proved so useful allies to the Kings in their disputes with the barons. The city of London took the lead in this new development. The larger cities purchased their freedom by paying heavy fines to the King or Bishop or Baron who overlorded them. They obtained charters securing to them the right of electing their own Mayor, and Justices or Magistrates. They further secured an immunity from the jurisdiction of Baronial, and even King's Courts for their citizens. They purchased by a lump or commuted payment freedom from all liability to the sheriff's jurisdiction in the matter of fiscal levies. They soon obtained the right of sending representatives to Parliament. These great powers, so secured, were monopolized however by the leading citizens in their guilds and town councils, and the free citizens of Saxon times gradually lost their right of citizenship in their own borough administration. Self-elective Boards acting in the counties as Justices of the Peace, and nominated by the King, and in the Towns as Town Councils, and nominated by the liberties and guilds, soon monopolized all local powers in England. These great changes were contemporaneous with the wars of the Roses which destroyed the powers of the factious nobles, and the Reformation which destroyed the powers of the Church, and paved the way for the Tudor line of English Kings who admittedly wielded more absolute powers than their old Saxon or even their great Plantagenet predecessors.

The next period witnessed under the Stuart sover-

eigns the decline of the sovereign's arbitrary powers, and the firm establishment of Parliamentary liberties. In respect of local Government, however, this period is less eventful. The Kings of England, having succeeded in their struggle with the nobility, soon found that the city burghers and the Protestant knights of shires, who had proved so useful to them, would not go any further length in exalting the prerogatives of the Crown, and in consequence of this discovery misunderstandings arose, and culminated in the attempts of the kings to rule without Parliament by the help of standing armies. The burghers and knights proved stubborn in their resistance, and after the Restoration, especially under James II, it was deemed best to rescind their old liberties, and issue new charters with more restricted powers. The Town Council Juntas were bribed into support, and new commissions were issued to whom many of the duties of town conservancy and improvement were entrusted. These attempts were of course facilitated by a decline of the public spirit and an increase of corruption in these close boroughs. While the liberties of the towns were being thus circumscribed the authority of the Justices of Peace in the counties was during the same period still further strengthened. They were allowed statutory powers to levy rates for bridges and tolls, to build highways and public roads, lunatic asylums, and gaols. Altogether by the time that the Reform Bill of 1832 was passed, local self-government had ceased to be popular in the old Saxon or early Plantagenet sense of the word, both in towns and counties. Power was centred in the hands of an oligarchy of rich land owners in the country, and of rich merchants or traders in towns, who exercised their functions not so much as the representatives of the tax-paying public, but as nominees of the State, or of their close guilds.

There was thus complete justification for the radical change which has been inaugurated in the

matter of local Government during the last 50 years in England. The old traditional organizations had lost their touch, and had become oligarchical monopolies, wholly incapable of securing public confidence or undertaking the discharge of new and varied duties which the necessities of a growing civilization rendered indispensable. Since 1832, local government has been extended by numerous Acts of Parliament in various directions; new bodies and boards have been created with vast powers, half representative and half oligarchical in their constitution. The divisions of parish, hundred, and county, have lost to a great extent, though not wholly, their distinctive features, and in their place have been substituted Poor Law Unions, High Way Boards, Boards of Health, School Boards, and a host of other bodies, with jurisdictions overlapping and conflicting with each other. The Parishes, however, continue still, for some ecclesiastical and school Board purposes, to be the lowest unit of organization. Each Parish has its own church, its own school and burial ground, assesses its own rates in vestry meetings, and collects them through its own overseers. The civil parishes in England number 15,416, and consist generally of single villages, but some large parishes represent the wards of cities, while others include several villages. The old powers of the parish vestry of maintaining its watch or Police constables, and of repairing its high ways and roads and bridges, and maintaining its poor, have been transferred to the superior unions and Boards which often include many parishes. Superior authority to the Parish comes, as stated above, from the union of poor law guardians, first organized by the statute for the relief of the poor, but subsequently enlarged by the addition of other responsibilities. There are 647 such unions in England, mostly congregated together round some market town, with its neighbouring hamlets or villages, 23 of which on an average are included in every union. Another su-

perior centre of power is represented by the petty sessional divisions of counties, which are about 700 in number exclusive of boroughs, and each of these divisions has a separate commission of the peace. This secondary division does not correspond with the poor law union. The counties still retain their old territorial limits, but the many of the old powers of county Magistrates have been transferred to a great extent to other bodies exercising a partial or total independence.

As the law stands at present, the local Government of each county as such is vested in a Lord Lieutenant (who is also a *custos rotularum*, or keeper of the records), a high Sheriff who is the representative of the superior civil power, a commission of justices nominated by the Sovereign, and a clerk of the peace appointed by the keeper of the county records. The Lord Lieutenant is supposed to be the head of the militia, while the high Sheriff is the representative of civil functions, and superintends the election of knights and coroners, and executes the writs and processes of Judicial Courts. The justices of the peace are mostly landowners, and discharge honorary functions without expecting any payment. These functions are of various sorts. In their judicial capacity, they hold quarter or general sessions to hear appeals from the decisions of Magistrates, and appoint Committees of their body for various purposes. As single Magistrates in petty sessions, they dispose of petty cases, and commit the graver sort to the quarter sessions, which dispose of them with the help of a Jury. Certain of the more heinous offences are tried at the Assizes by the Westminster court judges on circuit. As civil judges, the justices of the peace possess at present no power, as the duties of county courts in this class of cases have been entrusted to the stipendiary judges who dispose of small causes cases. The Magistrates are also the visitors and supervisors of the

Jails and lunatic asylums. They still retain the charge of the Police of the county, and appoint the chief constables and District Superintendents. They levy the county Police rate, and the Jail and Lunatic Asylum rates, through their finance committee. The Magistrates sitting together, and in some cases acting singly, have the power of renewing and suspending liquor licenses, and of fixing the places and regulating the hours where and when the shops might be opened. They have the power of prohibiting the movements of cattle in times of cattle plague. All these, and many other miscellaneous functions, have been entrusted to the justices by various statutes.

There are other duties in which the justices, as nominees of Government, are made to share the power and responsibility with representatives of the rate-payers. The most important of these functions is the regulation of high ways. The Honorary Magistrates are ex-officio Members of the High Way Boards, which contain besides a majority of the representatives of tax-payers. In a similar manner they are ex-officio Members of the Boards of Poor law guardians. The poor law Boards are in principle elected by the rate-payers, but the Justices of the Peace, residing within the limits of the union, are ex-officio Members of such unions or Boards. Appeals from the assessment of these unions or Boards lie to the Magistrates in petty and general sessions. These same poor law union Boards have been also constituted Boards of public health, and the Magistrates are ex-officio Members of the Boards, and act along with elected representatives. The School Boards on the other hand are entirely composed of members elected by the rate-payers. This multiplicity of Boards, whose jurisdictions overlap one another, is one of the most distinctive features of the existing local arrangements for the government of counties. Though they imply a considerable waste of power, and foster various other abuses, they are the outcome of a wise conservatism which seeks to

retain its hold on the past, while making concessions to the needs of the present, and they suit the patch-work instinct of practical Englishmen, who have no admiration for theoretical symmetry. In the poor law union boards, as also in the boards of health and improvement, the principle of proportioning votes to the value of rateable property is followed, while in school boards, the practise of cumulative voting is allowed to secure a fair representation of the minorities in large constituencies. All these various boards are kept under control by the Home Department, which possesses extensive powers of arranging and altering their limits from time to time, and in case of default the law allows the absolute interposition of the Home Secretary, even to the extent of a temporary suspension, with a view to enforce obedience.

In the larger towns and boroughs, of which there are 227 in England, the division of local power is vested in two different bodies. These are first the Commissions of the Peace, which exercise judicial powers on the analogy of the county Magistrates in general or petty sessions. Where the city has out-grown the limits of effective control by voluntary agency, a recorder, who is a paid Magistrate, is appointed by the Crown, and is paid by the borough and exercises large criminal powers like our own Presidency Town Magistrates. Besides their criminal work, these magistrates grant licenses for the sale of liquor, and they also supervise the borough Jail. The larger boroughs appoint and pay their own Police. The chief administrative body in these boroughs consists of the Town Council, and is made up of the Mayor and aldermen who are elected by the Town Council, and the Town Councillors who are elected by the resident burgesses, and hold office for three years. The Mayor and aldermen are *ex-officio* justices and Magistrates, and thus form the connecting link with the Town Justices and Magistrates. The Town Council has the power to levy rates and appropriate them to

the purposes of local Government. Every large town in England has to pay a variety of local rates a Police rate, a poor law rate, a school Board rate, a jail rate, a lighting rate, a water rate, a conservancy rate &c., and these rates are in some places, like Birmingham, consolidated into a general borough rate. The Town Council maintains its own Magistracy, its Police force, its Gaols, Asylums, schools, poor houses, baths, wash-houses, libraries, Museums, water works, hospitals, parks, cemeteries, builds and repairs, lights and waters, its streets, takes care of its sewers and drains, and slaughter houses, gas supply, offensive trades, and smells, markets &c. The multiplicity and the burden of these charges will easily be understood from Mr. Rathbone's account of the local finances of Liverpool, which Borough raised from rates nearly 50 lacks of Rupees in 1871, and supplemented these receipts with the income of its own corporate property to the extent of 30 lacks more. Excluding London, 223 Boroughs in England and Wales spent a sum of 33 crores of Rupees in 1872-73 derived from rates and the income of corporate property, and they had besides raised loans to the extent of 72 crores. The poor law unions alone represent an expenditure of more than 10 crores all over England. The number of paupers, supported both by outdoor and indoor relief, was one to 26 of the population, or in all 9 lacks. The school Board rate also represents an expenditure of several crores. The revenue and expenditure of the great metropolitan Borough of London dwarfs even these magnificent totals. The gross revenue of the London corporation alone in 1871 was 1½ crores of Rupees, of which sum 75 lacks were the proceeds of rates, rent, tolls, duties, and market fees.

This brief summary of the leading features of the arrangements for Local Government and taxation in the counties and boroughs of England will suggest to the thoughtful student many points of comparison,

but more of contrast, with our own system of Municipal and local fund organizations which cannot fail to prove very instructive. The great complexity of the arrangements in England is certainly not a point in its favour. In London alone, there is a multiplicity of governing bodies and a division of powers, which baffle enumeration. There is first the corporation of the city of London proper, whose jurisdiction extends over 640 acres within the city walls including a population of 75,000 souls, and divided into 26 wards and 105 parishes. This corporation consists of the Lord Mayor and 26 Aldermen and 206 common councillors, two sheriffs, a recorder, a common serjeant chamberlain, and town clerk. The Mayor is chosen by the Aldermen annually out of two names submitted to that body by the members of the city livery companies, the old trade guilds, whose constituency numbers 7000 free men. The Aldermen are elected for life, one for each ward, by a body of 20,000 free men. The Mayor and Aldermen are all justices of the peace, and as such the Aldermen preside each in his ward, and the Lord Mayor in the Common Council. The Mayor also presides as chief Magistrate in the Mansion House Police Court, and the Aldermen sit by turns in the Guild-Hall Police Court. The Recorder, and in his absence the common serjeant, presides in the chief Civil Court for the city. The sheriff is elected by the liveries, and the sheriff's Court is the London Court for small debts. The Mayor and Aldermen sit with the Recorder at the general sessions of London, held eight times in the year. These Civil and Criminal Courts have exclusive jurisdiction over the city, and are not subordinate to the Jurisdiction of the superior Courts at Westminster. The Police force for the City of London is separate from the metropolitan Police, and the City Commissioner of Police is appointed by the Common Council. There is also a separate commission of sewers which regulates drainage, public health, and the repairs of streets, and a Thames con-

servancy Board. Outside the city limits the London metropolitan district includes 75 parishes and 9 Boroughs, and has a population of nearly 40 lacks. This vast population is governed by 38 vestries or local Boards, which have the charge of drainage and improvement of streets, water supply, lighting. A central metropolitan Board of works, consisting of the nominees of the city and the suburban vestries, has charge of the general drainage. This Board through its various committees takes care of the building arrangements, fire brigade, parks, common sewers, tramways, infected food supply &c. The metropolitan Police is under the direct charge of the Home Secretary. For the administration of the poor law, London consists of 14 parishes and 16 unions. A metropolitan Asylum Board has the charge of infirmaries and work houses, the expenses of which are paid out of a common poor fund. In these poor law Boards, Government nominates $\frac{1}{3}$ of the number of members, while the remaining $\frac{2}{3}$ th are elected by the rate-payers. Lastly, there is the metropolitan school Board of 49 members, elected separately by the free men in London, and outside the city limits by the rate-payers generally, under the cumulative system of voting. This brief enumeration of the governing local bodies of London will furnish an accurate idea of the complexity of the arrangements. To a more or less extent, the same remark applies to all the other Boroughs and counties. The best thing that can be said in its defence is that this complexity has grown in course of time as every newly felt want had to be separately provided. The efforts of Parliament have been directed for years to simplify this complexity by a more thorough-going and systematic arrangement for the common subordination and cooperation of the various divisions under a central organization. Even now the Liberal Government has a Bill on hand for the incorporation of the whole metropolitan area under a common local Government. The division of

power and responsibility is a correct principle in executive arrangements, but it has certainly no application in the case of deliberative bodies. The waste of energy involved, and the great cost of maintaining separate Boards for separate duties, are certainly great evils, which must be guarded against, and we cannot but think that in this respect our Municipal and Local Funds Boards are a great improvement on the English arrangements.

The next feature which attracts attention is the large provision which Local Government bodies in England, and in this respect Scotland and Ireland may also be included with England, have to make for the compulsory relief of the poor. Nearly four percent of the population are thus relieved in England, while in Scotland the proportion is 5 per cent, and in Ireland it is $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The charge for the poor rate in England on the total rental of lands and houses, estimated to be 120 crores of Rupees is $16\frac{3}{4}$ per pound, or nearly 8 crores of Rupees. In Scotland, the charge is 1s. $1\frac{1}{4}$ per pound which on a rental of 14 crores represents nearly 85 lacks of expenditure on poor relief. In Ireland the charge is nearly 80 lacks. In the whole of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the total charge was thus 10 crores in 1873, which is the latest year for which we have the available figures. In England and Ireland, the able bodied poor, as well as the infirm, are provided for, while in Scotland no relief is afforded to the able-bodied. The whole of this relief is defrayed voluntarily by the people of this country, and in this respect also we think that India has little to borrow from English example. Not that we have no large class of persons who need relief at the hands of the well-to-do community. The census tables of 1872 show that out of a population of nearly 17 millions in the Bombay Presidency, about four lacks were returned as beggars and paupers. This represents an average proportion of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent which, it

should be borne in mind is smaller than the proportions which obtain in England and Scotland. No people on earth take better care of their beggar population than the people of this country. Charity with us is a sacred duty, an observance which symbolizes the essence of all religion. It is this active sense of the obligation of riches which the compulsory system of Poor Law relief, as administered in England, tends to destroy. Charity is a heavy burden to be shirked, not a loving duty to be rejoiced over. The effort of every parish and district poor union in England is directed to shift its own responsibility, and saddle the charge of its beggar population on to other parishes and districts, by proving that the poor man or woman had not obtained a settlement within its limits. Land-lords and house-owners resent every such settlement as a direct encroachment on their rights, and this leads to a misery and hard-heartedness of which we in India can with difficulty form any adequate idea. The charges of management absorb from 10 to 15 per cent of the receipts, but what is far worse, the dispensation of charity, enforced as it is by law, renders both the giver and the receiver callous to the misery and the humiliation. It has been observed that in Scotland, wherever the proportion of the poor-house inmates is the largest, and in some parishes it is as high as 15 per cent of the population, the proportion of illegitimate births is frightfully high. In some of the badly administered parishes, the proportion of illegitimate to legitimate births is as high as 1 to 2, and the average for the whole of Scotland was ten years ago one to ten. These evils are naturally aggravated in places where the outdoor system of relief is largely adopted in preference to indoor relief. In this respect also, England compares favourably with the state of things which obtains in Scotland. Poor Law relief may have prevented the spread of socialist and anarchist revolutions in Great Britain, but there can be no doubt that the voluntary dispensation of relief, as it prevails in

India, is in every way more healthy and humanizing than the compulsory system such as it is found in the United Kingdom.

While, in these two respects, the Local Government organizations in England have nothing to recommend their adoption here, at least for the present, there are other features in respect of which there can be no doubt that we have much to learn from the practical success of the experience of the English system of Local Government. We allude chiefly to the large powers which the leaders of the landed and well-to-do classes possess as Honorary Magistrates in the management of local affairs. Their functions, it will be noted, are not confined to merely municipal and conservancy duties. It is as Magistrates and guardians of peace that this voluntary agency proves most useful. The scheme of local self-government, propounded by His Excellency the Viceroy in Council, while it enlarges and elevates the sphere of public-spirited activity in various ways, has one essential weakness at its root which will surely result in rendering the reform nugatory as a means of political education. It does not confide to the men of light and leading those functions of Government in which people feel most interest. If possible, it tends to sever the small connection which was hitherto recognized in the contributions to the Police expenditure levied from Municipal bodies. This severance has been justified for reasons which certainly appear plausible under present circumstances, but there can be no doubt that Local Government, limited to conservancy and charitable functions, is more or less a misnomer, and is doomed to inevitable failure. For it will never secure the same enthusiastic support of the population which would have been enlisted if the local bodies had been organized on the English plan of appointing representatives of the local gentry conservators of peace, and guardians of the law, and associating with them representative rate-

payers in every local Board. It will be found that in no single self-governed country of Europe or America, has this power and responsibility of Magisterial and Police functions been denied to the local governing bodies. We have already described at length the English arrangements for the government of boroughs and counties. In Scotland, the institution of Justices of the Peace is not of a very ancient date, and yet even there these honorary officers are required to exert themselves to protect the peace, to issue warrants against criminals, to try petty offences and breaches of revenue laws, and decide small civil suits not exceeding five pounds in value. In this latter respect, the institution of village Munsiffs and of Conciliators in some of the Bombay districts is a tardy recognition of their duty on the part of Government. A few Honorary Magistrates have also of late been appointed in some of the large towns, but they are too few to acquire the status of a recognized local authority, and cannot make head against the officials. Commissioners of supply, as they are called in Scotland, correspond with our local fund members, and are elected by the suffrages of properly qualified land-owners. They assess for each county the local rates out of which are defrayed the charges of the Police kept up for apprehending and punishing criminals, the salaries of procurers fiscal, (who correspond with the Government solicitors of the Presidency Towns in India) the expenses of maintaining courts, jails, and the charges of lunatic asylums. These Commissioners have the chief control, not only of roads and improvements and public conservancy and health, but of the county Police and the county prisons. The connection of the central Government with these and other bodies is maintained by the nomination of the Sheriff, who is ex-officio member of this Board of Commissioners, and of the Police and Prison Committees, and by a subsidy granted from the Treas-

sure to the local funds. The Poor Law Boards, and the School Boards, and the Church synods, are separate local authorities with distinctive functions, and are constituted chiefly on the basis of election. In Ireland the Baronial presentment sessions and the grand Juries exercise similarly both judicial and fiscal functions. In the Netherlands and in France, as also in Norway and Switzerland, the communal authorities control, to a greater or less extent, their own Police arrangements, and the officers presiding over them, called burgo-masters and prefects, have petty criminal powers. In the colonies of England, these powers are more exclusively enjoyed by the local organizations. The necessity and importance of localizing Police and Magisterial functions cannot be exaggerated in a bureaucratic country like India. The old village community, with its Panchayat of elders, and its voluntary system of night watch by the citizens in turns, and its hereditary Police officers, fulfilled the same purpose. The petty tyranny of the French prefect and burgo masters in the Netherlands is aggravated with us by the difficulty of access to the district authorities, who in India are the only source of local power. A petty Police constable is thus more powerful for evil than the richest sowcar, or the largest land-lord in the country. It is this evil of centralized government which enervates and demoralizes all the local springs of action. It will no doubt be said that these local representatives are more likely to abuse their power than even the worst officials. We think Honorary Magistrates associated together, and sitting as a Bench once a month or more, may safely be trusted never to go wrong, and they will certainly relieve the hands of overburdened officials. Their functions may also be duly subordinated to the superior authority of the higher Civil and Criminal Courts. It is in this direction chiefly that we think our efforts must be directed in the future development of the great reform which is being introduced at the present day all over the country. The

people generally, and certainly those residing in the larger towns, may well be expected to accept gladly even increased burdens, if the lower Magisterial powers, and the control of the Police, were freely bestowed on them. The conservancy of public health, the charge of education and medical charity, and even the making and repair of roads and buildings, are not in any real sense of the word the distinctive duties of Government. They essentially belong to the sphere of private effort, and are only undertaken by civilized Governments because their organization affords a ready made agency for corporate usefulness. It is the Magisterial and Police functions which represent the distinctive feature of sovereign authority, and these must be localized if Local Government is not to be a misnomer, and a certain failure. We are perfectly aware that the condition of self-governed countries is very different from the order of things which has been established in India, but this is no reason why no effort should be made to find room for local authority in these directions, as far as the safety of foreign rule permits such a concession. The experiment may safely be tried in the larger towns, and gradually extended to the country at large. We have already exceeded the limits we had proposed to ourselves, and must reserve further observations for another number. The great principle underlying all these arrangements is, in the words of Mr. Mill, that power must be localized, while knowledge, especially technical, is most useful when subordinated to a central control. The principal business of the central authority should be to give instructions, and to lay down fixed principles, and it should leave

the local bodies to apply them in practice. Election by popular suffrage enlists public confidence in the acts of Government; and when a majority of elected representatives are duly mixed with a minority possessed of educational and property qualifications, and these at present must be the nominees of the central authorities, the organization so secured can alone afford full scope for the development of the political education of the people, and the growth of that self-reliant energy which is the best support and the highest justification of coercive rule.

THE AGITATION IN REGARD TO THE NATIVE MAGISTRATES JURISDICTION BILL.

Now that the storm of angry passion has blown over, and calm has again been restored, we may safely congratulate ourselves on the fact that the recent panic and wild uproar among the Anglo-Indian community has served as a rude but welcome disturbance of our national habit of torpid self-satisfaction. It has dispelled many a fondly cherished illusion about the final end and the basis of alien domination, and exposed in the words of Lord Salisbury the utter hollowness of the sentimental jargon with which, on ordinary occasions, political hypocrisy seeks to delude the credulous victims of its exactions. They that came to curse have however left us a legacy of involuntary blessings, which will not fail to draw closer the ties that bind together the great divisions of the Empire, and stimulate a healthier growth of the united Indian people in the ways of self-contained reliance and independence of character.

The leaders of the Anglo-Indian community have shrunk from no assertion in their work of self-exaltation, and the disparagement of the people of India. They have asserted that India does not belong to the native races, and that its foreign masters alone can put forth any just claim to the status of an Indian people. The alleged equality before the law, and the sacredness of national pledges, have been denounced as figments of soft-brained sentimentality. The distinctive superiority of race and caste has been laid down as an axiomatic and incontrovertible fact which cannot be safely ignored. The Gospel of force, and not the Gospel of Christ, has been preached as representing the wisdom of the law by the prophets of this new political creed.

The proud lordliness of caste has been hugged as a priceless inheritance and inalienable birth-right, which can, under no circumstances, be shared in common with the so-called elder branch of the Aryan brotherhood. The sin of colour has been branded as an incurable leprosy. The teeming multitudes of this country have been denounced as unfit to be treated on any higher footing than that of children and slaves, always kept under strict discipline. Their picked talent has been pronounced unfit to try the veriest loafer of white skin. The national character for veracity has been impeached, and the purity of the women of India has been questioned with rude impertinence amidst applauding cheers from a mixed audience of ladies and gentlemen in the metropolis of India. The submissive loyalty of the Indian races has been denounced as unnatural, and a degrading badge of their lower type of humanity. British power has been made ostentatiously to rest solely on the argument of the unsheathed sword, and not on the sword scabbarded in affection and loyalty. These vials of wrath have been poured on the devoted heads of many millions of Her Majesty's subjects in this country by a handful of foreign adventurers, upon whom Christ's mission has been utterly thrown away. In the midst of this lamentable excitement of passion, it is some consolation to notice that the so-called Christian virtues of humility, patience, law-abiding faith, and charity, have been exhibited by the leaders of our people, who have counselled moderation, and remained unmoved in their steady loyalty, and the quiet confidence of their ultimate triumph. The outraged nation magnanimously resolved not to follow the dastardly example set to them, and strong in the justice of their cause, their leaders have, in constitutional gatherings held in all our great towns, raised the voice of calm and determined protest, and appealed from Phillip drunk to Phillip sober. These protests sound as the death-knell of the past

iron age of slavish toady-ism, and ring in the new year of awakened independence, which will spurn to be patted on the back by mock patrons, whose breath is fouled with the seven devils of their own old scriptures. At such a time as this, it may not be without its use to tear the veil from off the face of this masked idol of race superiority and birth right of caste and colour, and direct general attention to the inner springs and real significance of this recent agitation.

The first great lesson of the political turmoil of the past few months which we wish our people to lay to heart, is that they should never cherish any more the fond day-dream that the Anglo-Indian community will ever make common cause with them in their struggle for higher power and privileges. A very large, we might well say, an over-whelming majority of their race will always occupy the position of conservatives in India, whatever may be their political partizanship in their own mother country. The official and non-official Europeans are as a body bound by the very reason of their privileged existence to resist all attempts to level up the native populations, and with them the time will never come when freedom and equality may be safely conceded. Any misunderstanding on this fundamental condition of our political life can never fail to be attended with disaster and disappointment. The educated minority of the native population, with their free Press, and their Associations unconsciously sympathized with by the mass of their countrymen, represent the soul of Indian Liberalism, and their strength lies in the justice of their claim. Arrayed against them are the mighty forces of the official hierarchy, supported by the non-official phalanx of their countrymen here, and the great reserve of power and prejudice stored in the large vested interests of their own mother country. These are the liberal and conservative forces at work in India, and between them there cannot be any

genuine and permanent alliance. They must stand apart as opposite camps, between whom in the struggle for political power there may be temporary truce, but no real community of thought and action. We can never hope or deserve success if we foolishly rely upon the personal magnanimity of those who rule India. There has not been a single measure of political emancipation which has been secured by the willing co-operation of the Indian bureaucracy, or oligarchy, official and non-official. Every such concession has been the outcome of national resistance, or of the higher imperial sense of the English people, as expressed in their own Press and Parliament, due chiefly to the growth of the Liberal and Radical sentiment among them. Of course it will not do to count too much upon the strength of the self-denying and Christian restraints of these sentiments, but it will be folly to ignore them altogether. In both countries, the liberal sentiment as regards India will always be in the minority, and arrayed against it are the strongest forces of the world, all that constitutes the strength of brute force, vested interests, national pride, and religious bigotry. The struggle must be long and laborious, but the discipline is necessary and invaluable, and the length of time over which it is spread will be the source of its strength.

Viewed in this light, we can never understand those of our people who desire anxiously to keep India out of the sphere of party strife in England. Englishmen have an obvious interest in preaching this Shibboleth, but it is clear that when the same cry is raised by the representatives of native thought, they grossly mis-understand the real bearings of the situation. No effective criticism of Indian affairs is possible unless the Parliamentary leaders and the conscript fathers throw their heart and soul in the discussion, and no question which is not taken up as a party cry can stir up and rivet public attention in a way to enforce a practical remedy. In the pre-

sent case, we see that the Government of India finds itself in a fix, from which only a vote one way or the other in the English House of Commons can set it free. As the final arbitrament rests with the English Parliament, it is plain we must avail ourselves of every element of strength accessible to our hands. Europeans out here will cry down their own philo-Indians like Mr. John Bright, Mr. O'donnell, Mr. Baxter and Mr. Fawcett. These men in their partizanship of India are certainly in a small minority, but they are our only allies in this disproportioned fight, and we must move them to put forth their strength, and raise every large Indian question to the status of a place on the party platform. The English community here, in their desire to bring home pressure to bear upon the Government of India, have not scrupled to exercise all their influence in stirring up the conservative leaders in both Houses of Parliament to denounce the present policy of the Government of India as a speculative, sentimental, and cosmopolitan departure from the genuine national and imperial traditions founded upon a recognized superiority of race. When the question has thus been taken up as a party cry in the Anglo-Indian interests by the Conservative leaders, it is plain that to talk of the urgent necessity of keeping India out of the whirlpool of party strife in England is but a snare and delusive mockery. It is true the Liberal Government has not always been liberal in its treatment of Indian questions, and we have at times obtained a fair hearing for our wants from the Conservative party, but these exceptional occurrences should not be allowed to blind us to the permanent conditions of our relations with England. For better or for worse, our fortunes are wedded to the alliance with the liberal and radical minority of Englishmen, who feel that the Empire is a trust, and not a free pasture ground of privilege and monopoly. The recent formation of an Indian party, or rather an Indian Committee in Parliament, and of an Indian re-

representative society in London, are signs of good augury, and if the present agitation cements the bond of this alliance, we may congratulate ourselves upon the fact that Providence shapes our present misfortunes to further our ultimate good in the immediate future.

Having thus cleared the decks so to speak, we may now proceed to face the approaches of the present controversy. It has been made plain enough to all that the real bone of contention is not the paltry measure of the proposed extension of jurisdiction. It has been seized as the catch-word of the agitation. It is simply the scape-goat upon which the pent-up indignation of the Anglo Indian Community has wreaked its vengeance. They have taken to heart the fact that this is only the thin end of the wedge, and their protest is against the general Indian policy of the Liberal government as represented by Lord Ripon. In Ireland as in India, the watchword of the dominant race is coercion, not concession, repression, not reform. It is vociferated that the Empire has been won by the sword, and that by the sword it must be retained. This prejudice and aversion is the natural and besetting sin of all conquering races. The Spartan had his helot, the early Roman patrician had his plebeian subjects, the later Roman had his Latins and Italian allies, the American and the West Indian Planter had his negro and his Chinese settler. In our own country, the regenerate castes had the mass of the aboriginal population under their foot, and put them down with a severity which has now reacted on themselves with terrible vengeance. The British population in India has arrogated to itself the distinctive position of a superior caste, and history but repeats itself in their cry for power and privilege, and their contempt for the conquered and subject population. The Aryan race in India has, however, lived through greater trials, and been benefitted on the whole by the pressure brought to bear

upon it. The Moslem conqueror came in his thousands and millions, and with iron hoof marched through the land, overwhelming all that was civilized and orderly in Hindu polity. The Portuguese did the same on a small scale during their brief tenure of power. The native races, however, rallied after the first surprise, and the conqueror in his turn had to yield up his spoils, and acknowledge that the Rajpoot, the Jat, the Maratha, and the Sikh powers were masters in their own country. The long succession of English statesmen, who by superior diplomacy and force laid the foundations of British power in India, had the wisdom to profit by these past experiences, and although they relied ultimately on the arbitrament of the sword, they knew full well that the sword was but a blunted instrument for ensuring permanent ascendancy. In the pride of continued success, there was a temporary forgetfulness of this piece of inherited wisdom, but the Dalhousie aberration was terribly atoned for in a baptism of blood and fire, and the old policy of depending on moral and not physical superiority asserted its supremacy in a gracious Proclamation, followed since then by many concessions of power and privilege in the interests of the native populations. The aegis of British protection is an acknowledged necessity, and none feel its need with greater emphasis than the leaders of native thought. But it is not as the representative of brute force, but of the order and genius of equal law, that we bow down to this supreme necessity. The argument of force, if it is resorted to as a justification for denying concessions in time, necessarily weakens itself for want of sanction. It cannot, therefore, be in the true interests of the Empire that the British rulers of the country should be allowed to isolate themselves in this fashion. The iron hand must be concealed under the soft glove, and the sword sheathed in the scabbard of wise policy. The questions at issue, the extension of native jurisdiction, the larger

employment of natives, the encouragement of native manufactures, the transfer of power to local boards elected by the native rate-payers, all these issues must be discussed and settled on the broad ground of practical expediency and administrative convenience, and the idle talk of appealing to the foundations of power must be set aside, and race ascendancy as a distinctive principle of administration must be abjured. There can be no question that a nation of 250 millions can never be permanently held down by sheer force, and sooner or later in God's Providence, and under the encouragement of British example and discipline, the people of this country must rise to the status of a self-governed community, and learn to control their own affairs in subordinate alliance with England. The transfer of power is inevitable, and the duty of statesmen is to graduate it in a way to make the transfer natural and easy, so as to keep up the continuance of national growth.

Considered purely as a question of practical expediency and administrative convenience, the policy of extending the jurisdiction of native Magistrates and Session Judges over European offenders is brought within the field of candour and calm discussion, and we are at once prepared to admit that it is a fair subject for a judicious compromise. The native population is interested in the recognition of the principle underlying this controversy, but their interest in it is not of such a rabid sort as not to listen to a reasonable solution. In the absence of better arguments, the agitators sought to take advantage of the sober moderation of the native leaders by telegraphing to the English public that the native population was utterly indifferent to the issue that had been raised. This calumny has been sufficiently answered now by the unanimous protests of the great centres of native enlightenment, in their assembled multitudes of sympathizing thousands, without distinction of race, creed, or colour. The Parsees have nobly refused to

follow the discreditable example of the Armenians, Jews, and non-descript hybrids on the other side of India, and it cannot be now truthfully said that the native populations hold no opinion on the subject. We are free to admit that the question of principle being once settled, the measure of the proposed extension is a question for fair argument and moderate compromise. The privileges of Europeans have been inherited by them for such a length of time, and have their roots so deeply fixed in the real necessities of the exceptional state of things which obtained in the last century, that nobody would advocate a revolutionary change. The change should be gradual, and in proportion to the altered circumstances of the times. The cry of absolute privilege and birth-right is, as every body knows by this time, a mis-leading cry, and can never afford a justification for distinct recognition beyond what practical expediency and administrative convenience suggest. The birth-right was not claimed when natives were chosen to preside as Police Magistrates in the Presidency Towns 25 years ago, and in Ceylon, no such privilege has ever been recognized or claimed. The arguments for and against the proposed extension will be gathered from the following summary, which presents at one view all that can be said on both sides of this much controverted subject.

Arguments against the proposed extension of jurisdiction.—

1. No-body has asked for the extension of powers, except a few Native Civilians, and the mass of the people are indifferent.

Arguments in favour of the proposed extension of jurisdiction.—

1. The people of India have asked and clamoured for this extension of power. The Hon Jotendra Mohan Tagore raised the point in the Council, and all the large cities have held demonstrations in favor of the extension, and supported the action of Government.

2. The exclusion of natives has not been due to caprice or race-feeling, but is the remnant of a much larger exemption enjoyed by Europeans in India, and past Legislation has never interfered with this right.

3. As a question of principle, a dominant race must be protected by exceptional privileges in India.

4. As a question of precedent, both Hindus and Mahomedans enjoy certain other privileges of personal laws, and Europeans are entitled to retain similar privileges.

5. As a question of authority, Sir Fitz-James Stephen and others who outvoted the proposed a-

2. The exclusion of Natives is opposed to the promises and pledges of Parliamentary statutes and Royal Proclamations. The Court of Directors laid down 50 years ago that **THERE SHALL BE NO GOVERNING CASTE IN INDIA**, and this declaration was affirmed by Parliament on several occasions. The past history of British Indian Legislation shows that it has been specially directed to the curtailment of the privileges of Europeans in Civil and Criminal matters.

3. As a question of principle, there should be no distinction between one class and another of Her Majesty's subjects in respect of official trusts. The test of fitness for the work, and not of race or caste-qualifications, can alone be laid down, as a matter of principle, for the guidance of Government. Every dominant race which seeks to retain exceptional privileges hastens the downfall of its power.

4. As a question of precedent, neither Hindus nor Mahomedans, nor any other Indian race, enjoy any privilege in criminal cases. The fact that the personal laws of succession are allowed to each race is not a precedent in point, because these laws affect individuals of the same community, and the general public is not concerned in them. The laws exempting native ladies and dignitaries from attendance in Civil Courts are for the same reason also not in point.

5. As a question of authority, Parliamentary statutes and Royal Proclamations are opposed to the

ment in 1872, and the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and the Madras members of Council, are entitled to great weight.

6. The question has been prematurely raised, as only two or three native Civilians will be benefited by the extension at present.

recognition of race and caste distinctions. The Indian Law Commissioners with Mr. Macaulay, Sir E. Colvill, Mr. Cameron, Sir John Romilly and others, were opposed to the recognition of any distinction. Later on, in Lord Dalhousie's time, a bill was drafted in 1849, which if it had been passed, would have left no distinction between Native and European Officials. Since then, Sir John Lawrence, Lord Mayo, and other Viceroys were in favor of the extension. The minority in 1872 was a respectable minority of 5 against 7, and included the Viceroy and the Commander-in Chief, the Hon'ble Mr. Ellis, Sir George Campbell, and others. The present Government of India and all the subordinate Governments are in favour of the extension. Against the authority of Sir Fitz James Stephen, Lord Salisbury, and Mr. Stanhope, may be cited the authority of Sir Arthur Hobhouse, the Honorable Justice Markby, Mr. John Bright, Mr. Potter and others. The preponderance of authority is in favor of extension.

6. The question cannot be said to have been prematurely raised when it has been before the Government of India for 30 years, and when several Native Covenanted Civilians have risen to the position of District Judges and Magistrates. Under Lord Lytton's rules of 1872, the Civil Service will largely consist of Native nominees. Although at present 2 or 3 Native Civilians will be invested with larger powers, their number will

7. The proposal is the thin end of the wedge, and would necessarily lead to larger extensions.

8. The case of native Presidency Magistrates is not in point, because there are special correctives against the abuse of power in Presidency Towns, which do not exist in the Mofussil.

9. As regards administrative inconvenience, Native District Magistrates and Sessions Judges might be posted to Districts where Europeans have not settled; or joint Magistrates and Assistant

increase every year, and it is an advantage that the concession should be made now when its effects can be better watched.

7. Lord Ripon's Government have pledged their word that the present extension is intended to be a final and a permanent one for a long time to come, and in the nature of things such a pledge is likely to be observed much longer than altered circumstances would justify.

8. The case of Native Presidency Magistrates is in point, because it shows that the question is not one of birth-right and privilege, but of practical expediency and administrative convenience. It is further in point as showing that there is no likelihood of the power being abused. Lastly, if the corrective agencies of public opinion are effective in Presidency Towns, they will be no less effective in the Mofussil as far as the Europeans are concerned, because the increased facilities of communications have brought the Mofussil within reach of the general public opinion at headquarters. If there is any defect on this head, it is more than made up by the controlling action of the Superior European Officers, who will be watchful against abuse, and the authority of the High Court may be appealed to in the last resort.

9. As regards administrative inconvenience, it is already considerable because Native District Magistrates and Judges will, if the present distinction be continued, have to be confined to

Judges who are Europeans may be posted to those districts for this special work.

10. No inconvenience is likely to result from such arrangements, because European cases are very rare and intricate, and will always have to be specially provided for.

11. Native Magistrates and Session Judges will be awayed by race prejudices, and false charges against Europeans, at present kept down within reasonable limits, will multiply.

backward and unhealthy Districts, which difficulty will increase as the number of Native Civilians increases in course of years. To depute Joint Magistrates and Assistant Judges to these Districts for the trial of European offenders would entail needless expense, and cast a slur and an indignity upon the native officers, which will interfere with their prestige and efficiency.

10. The inconvenience of sending parties and witnesses to a great distance for the sake of securing trial at the hands of European Officers is already so great as to amount to a virtual immunity to European offenders in a large number of cases. Although the number of European settlers is at present small, their numbers are likely to increase every year with the influx of European capital.

11. Native Magistrates and Session Judges are not likely to be awayed by race prejudices, because they have already to try men of all races, and caste prejudice has in no case influenced their action. The Presidency Magistrates have not shown any such partiality, and as a matter of fact, in Ceylon, where Native Civilians exercise equal authority over both Europeans and Natives, there has been no complaint on this head. False charges against Europeans are attended with such risks that there is no likelihood of their being multiplied by reason of the extended jurisdiction. Every Euro-

12. Native Magistrates and Judges, being ignorant of European manners and habits, will not be in a position to administer impartial and effective justice.

13. The administrative inconvenience being so small, it is not advisable to take any steps by which the confidence of Europeans will be shaken in the administration of justice.

pean, official or non-official, enjoys such prestige, and can rely on the support of Government to such an extent, that the danger is rather that natives will be deterred from prosecuting true charges.

12. Native Magistrates and Judges will be better qualified to try European offenders than European Judges are able to try native criminals, because few Europeans care to master the Vernacular languages, or mix with the people, while the qualified Native Officers will be men who command exceptionally good knowledge of the English language, and of the English habits and customs, by residence in England, and mixing with the English people here. Besides, in respect of the smaller class of offences, the knowledge of English habits and customs will be of no great consequence, because cases of assault, theft, and others do not turn upon any national habits of the offenders. The alleged inconvenience is not complained of in the Presidency Towns or in Ceylon.

13. The administrative inconvenience has been shown to be considerable, and as regards the opposition of Europeans, it is more factious than legitimate. On all previous occasions, notably in 1836 when Europeans were subjected to the Civil Jurisdiction of Native Judges, and later on when Lord Canning passed the Press Gagging Act, a similar uproar was made by the Europeans, which however subsided when the law was passed. The present opposi-

14. Native Judges will be cowed down by the presence of Europeans, and will be unduly lenient to European offenders.

15. There will be a perpetual friction between the two races which cannot promote the interests of both.

tion is due to a similar panic, and has been exaggerated by artful means which, sooner or later, will be found out to the utter discomfiture of those who have taken prominent part in getting up the agitation. The better sense of Europeans will soon assert itself, and there will be no loss of confidence in the administration of Justice. Even at present, there are many cases where Europeans voluntarily waive their privilege, and consent to be tried by Natives.

14. This objection is inconsistent with the other objections which have been considered above. Even if true to some extent, it is an argument in favor of extending Jurisdiction from which Europeans are likely to profit in the matter of securing greater leniency.

15. As regards the argument that there will be perpetual irritation kept up between the two races, the experience of the Presidency Towns and Ceylon tends rather to show that the establishment of the equality of rights between the two races will remove all friction, and promote cordiality between the relations of the two races towards one another, and strengthen the hands of the administration of justice. Peculiar privileges have always a demoralizing effect on those who enjoy them without any adequate justification for the same. In every case where a native is wronged by an European offender, the interests of justice require that every precaution should be taken, not only for the protection of the accused, but for

16. In consequence of such friction and want of confidence, European capital will be deterred from seeking investment in the Mofussil, which will inflict great injury on the Native population.

17. As the proposal leaves other distinctive privileges untouched, the relief will be nominal, and there are so many other anomalies in the existing arrangements that the continuance of this anomaly cannot be regarded as an evil.

the vindication of the wrong presumably done to an innocent party.

16. The alleged danger to the further investment of European capital is entirely fictitious. This cry was raised on all former occasions, and it has been falsified by the uniform experience of past history. European enterprise is of too robust a character to stand in need of any such flimsy protection. It seeks investment in Turkey, in Spain, in Zansi-bar, in China, Japan, and other countries where Europeans do not rule. There is therefore no danger of any such catastrophe in a British Dependency like India.

17. The question at present being one of principle and administrative convenience, even a small relief is to be welcomed. It is true other, and larger, anomalies exist, but that fact does not furnish any reason why an anomaly, which need not exist, should be continued. If it involves no practical inconvenience, the extension of Jurisdiction is justified on the highest grounds of policy and justice. British power in India, though it rests ultimately on superior force, has never been made consciously to rest on force, and if it is now sought to do so, it follows that it can claim no higher sanction. It has been the glorious distinction of British Sovereignty that its sword is sheathed in the soft scabbard of law and order, and this distinction should in the interests of both races be preserved.

18. Englishmen claim trial by their Peers as a privilege and birth-right, and this privilege is recognized in all foreign countries.

18. It has been shown above that the question is not of birth-right and privilege. Even if it were, that privilege would not be disturbed, because the Bill does not alter the law regarding jury-trial, and the restricted limits of punishment, and the right of appeal, and of applying for the writ of Habeas Corpus. These rights will remain intact, whether the trying Judge is a Native or European. As regards the practice in Turkey, Egypt and other places, the analogy is not to the point, because the Courts in those countries are foreign Courts, which is not the case in India. The Government here is in the hands of Englishmen. The police and the Magistracy are all controlled by Englishmen, and if the law as administered to the Natives is all that Europeans claim it to be, there is no reason why they should object to have it administered to a limited extent by Native officers. Their apprehensions, if true, go to show that they have no confidence in their own laws, or that they desire to have one law for the natives and another for the Europeans. Either way their position is untenable.

We have been studiously anxious to set forth all the arguments on both sides of the question in their full force, and we can now confidently challenge any impartial student to say that the case thus stated leaves any room for doubt as to the side on which the preponderance lies. Whether regarded as the legitimate outcome of past legislation, or the honest fulfilment of sacred pledges repeatedly vouchsafed and

confirmed, whether we look at the matter from the point of high policy or religious duty, whether the question is disposed of on the weight of authority, or precedent, or considerations of administrative convenience, or the safety of the state, all point to one single conclusion, namely, that the distinctions founded on race and caste must be removed from the statute book, and in their place the test of fitness, of moral and intellectual aptitude, be substituted as the only guiding principle of administrative action. We have no misgivings on the point of the ultimate success of our appeal to the good sense and Christian philanthropy of the great English nation. In the heat of the strife, neither party would have listened to moderate counsel. If the question of principle be once conceded unreservedly, we for our part would counsel our countrymen, now that the agitation has subsided, to consent to a compromise by which the alarm of panic-stricken and honestly misled Anglo-Indians would be sensibly abated. The extended Jurisdiction should belong to native Civil Servants who rise to the status of District Magistrates and Session Judges as a matter of unconditional right, equally with their European colleagues. In regard to the other functionaries, we would allow an option to the accused to object to the trial, if he so elects, and in that case a bench of Native and European Judges should hold the trial with a Jury, in which both communities should be equally represented, if one of the parties is a native. We feel sure that very few indeed would avail themselves of such an alternative, and when this fact is practically demonstrated, the further amendment of the law will be carried out without the slightest opposition from any quarter. Before we bring these observations to a close, we would draw the particular attention of the governing authorities to the fact that the system of Criminal Procedure, which has been elaborated with such effort by successive Law Members of Council, should be still so imperfect and absolute as to excite the worst ap

ensions of Anglo-Indians, whenever it is proposed to subject them to its provisions. In this respect the law has been altered decidedly for the worse by the Fitz-James Stephen's Act of 1872! The authority of the Police has been rendered absolute beyond former precedent, the Magistrate's good faith and discretion know no bounds, the security for personal freedom has been dangerously encroached upon, and the right of appeal needlessly clogged with the fear of enhancement of the penalties. It is these unusual provisions which justify to some extent the alarm of the English settlers, when any proposal is made to assimilate their condition with the status of the native populations. Of course the necessity of amending further the law of procedure will force itself upon the attention of the executive authorities one of these days, and if the recent agitation hastens that consummation, we may console ourselves that the troubles of the last few months have not been inflicted and endured in vain.
