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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Select Committee's report on the Primary Education Bill in the Central Provinces has been published. The chief feature of this Bill is that compulsion is liable to be introduced from the age of 6 to 14, the minimum length of the period for which a child may be compelled to attend school being five years and the maximum seven years. The experience of all western countries has been that if lasting results are to be expected from primary education, it must also be continued in years of adolescence, and it is therefore well that the legislature of the C. P. should enable enterprising local bodies to make provision for compulsory continued education. This does not mean, however, that the employment of children between 9 and 14 for half time, allowed by the Factories Act, is to be abolished. It would appear that the Select Committee contemplate full-time education of children under 11 and half-time education of children between 11 and 14 under the provisions of this Bill, for they say: "We anticipate that where compulsion is extended beyond the age of 11 it will involve at the outset only such attendance at half-time schools as will not prevent employment for part of the day." Mr. S. B. Mehta, who is opposed to the extension of the age of compulsion beyond 11, suggests that wherever children are taken in employment, the Government or the municipality be required to provide schools (the employers having apparently no duty to perform to their employees), and the hours of instruction at these schools be confined to two every day! Till it becomes possible to abolish child labour, the obligation of providing suitable and efficient part-time

instruction to the children employed must be definitely cast upon the employers.

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THERE is one feature of the Bill to which strong exception must be taken. The local authority is empowered under it to enforce compulsory attendance in the case of boys in the first instance; if it is desired that the compulsory provisions should be applicable to girls, the local authority must issue a subsequent notification to that effect. This lends colour to the entirely erroneous notion in favour in certain quarters that the boys have a superior claim to education. The idea of compulsory education has become so popular now that, without strong reason, no discrimination must be allowed in the operation of the Primary Education Act to the disadvantage of girls. That the Act permits of such discrimination is itself considered a serious drawback by many men of progressive views. But that the Act should specifically provide that compulsion should first be made applicable in respect of boys and that all the preliminaries of a meeting and so forth should be required to be gone through again in order to its extension to girls is, at the best, to take undue precaution, and, at the worst, to countenance the radically false idea that boys' education is a more urgent need and conduces to greater national good. This provision, we hope, will be eliminated in the Council.

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THE provisions of the Village Panchayat Bills in Bombay and the Central Provinces are supplementary to each other. While the Bombay Bill provides for the constitution of the panchayat by election, pure and simple, on the basis of male adult suffrage, eliminating Government nomination altogether (except for the patel) and also provides for the control of the panchayat by local boards, it withholds from it the performance of a very useful function, viz., to assist in the administration of civil and criminal justice. The C. P. Bill, on the other hand, assigns to the panchayat judicial functions, but tempers election by a large dose of nomination, i. e. after the election takes place, the Deputy Commissioner is to have the power to omit the name of any of the elected persons and to add to the panchayat any person who may not have been elected, "in order to secure the representation of any important person or minority." The Bill, again, concentrates all control in the Deputy Commissioner, "who is alone in a position to regulate the activities of

those small outlying units of administration and is also, as head of the district, the proper person to organise such non-official workers as may be ready to offer their assistance." A deadlock has thus been reached between the official and non-official members of the C. P. Council, the Select Committee of which has been unable to come to any agreement on these two principles. Either of the local Governments may well take a leaf out of the book of the other.

WITH regard to the refusal by the authorities of the Poona District Conference to admit peasant delegates free of charge, it must be stated that the request for such admission was not sprung upon them at the last moment, but the proposal was duly made to them several days before the Conference actually met. But the Reception Committee, who were guided by the advice of the extremist leaders in Poona, could not give a definite reply. They could only give the assurance that they would raise no objection if the Poona leaders agreed. Accordingly, the proposal was brought before the Poona District Congress Committee where, although the extremists were in a majority, it was unanimously passed. When, however, the extremists found that the peasant delegates whose admission was sought were likely to take a different view of politics from theirs, the very members who, at the meeting of the District Congress Committee, voted for the free admission of peasants, voted against their admission in the Subjects Committee of the Conference.

IT is not, again, correct to say that the Congress had put any restriction upon the number of tenant delegates at Delhi or at Amritsar. In fact, when at Amritsar there was great pressure on the space in the pandal, admission was refused to all delegates, whether tenants or others. Still, the Liberal party were prepared at Junnar to submit to any reasonable limit if it was required by the exigencies of space. But the Chairman, primed no doubt by the Poona leaders, refused point-blank to admit any peasant delegates, and the Subjects Committee agreed to admit only five from each taluka. And yet more than half the pandal was empty throughout the proceedings. Again, it must be stated plainly, since the point is raised, that the peasants had with them delegates' credentials, the latter being duly signed by the secretaries of bodies affiliated to the Congress.

THE truth is that objection was raised to the admission of peasants, merely because, it was feared, that they would not voice views of the approved extremist pattern. This fear, it must be owned, was well founded, as a comparison of the resolutions passed at the so-called district conference and the protest meeting held outside (at which over three thousand people were present) clearly proves. The Liberal Conference passed a resolution in favour of the removal of untouchability, which is unthinkable in the case of the extremist

conference. It also welcomed the establishment of village panchayats; the extremist conference pleaded for the withdrawal of the measure now before the legislative council, and the mover explained that the panchayats were not at all desired by the people, that they were being foisted upon the country by Government and would result in the oppression of the public. The bill was recently described by a prominent Nationalist in Poona as of the serpent's brood, and this sentiment, which we were at first reluctant to regard as representative of the Nationalist opinion, found emphatic expression in the extremist conference. The Liberal Conference also advocated the extinction, by suitable means, of the hereditary watan of Kulkarnis, as they are seriously prejudicial to the interests of the ryots. The resolution of the extremist conference was in the contrary sense.

AGAIN, the contrast in the spirit actuating the two meetings is best seen in the respective resolutions passed by them in regard to compulsory education. The Liberal Conference exhorted all the municipalities to put the Act for compulsory education into operation without any avoidable delay and at all possible self-sacrifice, and to make no discrimination between boys and girls. The extremist conference, on the contrary, enjoined upon all municipalities to stoutly decline to enforce compulsion till the Government agreed to give a grant-in-aid amounting to three-fourths of the actual expenditure. But, perhaps because this policy of blank negation is not indicative of the comparatively low estimation in which they hold girls' education, the conference added that if the financial position of a municipality was exceptionally favourable, it might introduce compulsory education for boys even without a three-fourths grant from Government, but it must on no account make girls' education compulsory without such a grant. We will only point out that Mr. Kelkar who is leading the opposition to girls' education himself says that no more than the grant of one-half expenditure, which is already being received by municipalities, is needed in the case of boys' education, and he will be satisfied to receive a grant of two-thirds for girls' education. When extremist leaders publicly express such opinions, the Government can hardly be expected to give a grant of three-fourths. And to hold up compulsory education till such a grant is received is practically to postpone compulsory education till the Greek Kalends. Again, if, in the event of finances permitting it, it is not necessary to wait for a larger grant from Government in order to introduce compulsory education for boys, why is it imperatively necessary so to wait for girls' education alone? Is it merely to demonstrate the intensity of the extremist conviction that girls' education is not so great a good as boys' education?

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### THE KHILAFAT AGITATION.

WE give our Muslim brethren heartfelt sympathy in the anxiety and strain through which they are passing. To be pulled one way by spiritual allegiance and another way by temporal allegiance is a sore trial. Though it seems hard, we would ask our brethren not to lose patience. British statesmanship, which has solved many difficult problems, will know how to solve this one. A complicated matter, having many parties interested, cannot be resolved to the satisfaction of all. The governing factors of the situation must not be lost sight of. The pledges given by the Prime Minister on behalf of the British Cabinet to Indian Muhammadans are of primary importance. Let us not forget that the final decision rests with the Allied Powers, not with Great Britain acting singly. Also the Turkish Empire has for long been regarded in Europe as an oppressive and semi-civilised power to be got rid of at a convenient opportunity. We have no doubt the bias of Christian historians and politicians has greatly exaggerated the vices and weaknesses of the Turkish polity. The way western writers narrate the history of modern India, especially of the relations between the British and the indigenous powers, does not warrant our accepting them without qualification as safe guides to the truth. But what signifies in the present context is not the truth in itself, but the light in which the Ottoman rule has appeared to successive generations of the nations of Europe. Moreover, Turkey entered the great war on the wrong side, wrong whether we consider the cause or the final result. To demand that the Turkish empire should be left intact after the war as before it is to demand the impossible. The retention of the Sultan in Constantinople under safeguards complies with the requirement of the Islamic religion that the Supreme Caliphate should be combined with temporal authority. The clergy of England and the public at large appear to have paid no attention to Mr. Lloyd George's promise to the Moslems of India when he appealed to them to join the British army. They now gnash their teeth and tear their hair to discover that, though vanquished, the Turk cannot be expelled from Europe, as they had wished for generations. The violent agitation that they have started with the support of the *Times* has caused a perfectly justifiable outburst of indignation in India both among Moslems and among Hindus, which has been somewhat restrained by the knowledge that neither the Prime Minister nor the Secretary of State for India has weakened in his determination to stand by the spoken word. At the same time we cannot continue blind to the difficulties of the friends of Islam in England. They have probably touched the line beyond which it is not possible to show tenderness to the feelings of Indian Mussalmans. Still neither these nor their Hindu fellow-countrymen will relax their efforts to secure the holy places of Islam from passing under non-Mus-

lim control. Mr. Gandhi, whose loyalty to our Muhammadan fellow-citizens is of the liveliest, considers the integrity of such holy places the bare minimum to which they are entitled, and is prepared, one may be sure, to back his advocacy in the last resort by organised Satyagraha. To this, however, we demur. In the first place, there is grave cause to fear that under a sense of religious wrong it will be hard to restrain the more fanatical followers of Islam within the limits of passive resistance. In the second place, we doubt the propriety of asking Hindus and Christians to go the length of a movement, which may be promoted by dubious methods, in response to the dictates of a religion which is not theirs. Fellow-citizenship can scarcely be construed to carry such an obligation. It is possible to attach too much meaning to the participation of groups of Hindus in the strong demonstrations of Islamic feeling in Calcutta, Lucknow or Bombay. It means nothing more than a manifestation of genuine sympathy with one's fellow-citizens, though of a different faith, in the anguish of their hearts. But Muhammadans will be deceiving themselves if they fancy that the whole of India will follow them in all the actions that may be taken to be implied in the various resolutions to which they are committing themselves. These resolutions ought to be interpreted leniently in the light of the strong emotions naturally swaying those to whom religion and the dictates of religion have always had an appeal that would lead them to dare anything. Still it is the part of sincere friendship to venture a word of caution in moments of serious danger. We implore the saner and more responsible leaders of Islam to exercise their utmost influence on the counsels of the Khilafat Conference. They ought to call a pause when it is seriously declared in a resolution that the Muslims of India will find it impossible in certain conditions, under the dictates of their religious laws, to keep their secular loyalty intact, that the Muslims in the army must in those conditions sever all connections with the British Government or incur social ostracism, and that Hindus and Muslim rulers of Indian States and their subjects should give effect to these decisions.

### REORGANISATION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION.

#### II.—VOCATIONAL TRAINING.

THE problem of secondary education operates in a vicious circle, even in the most progressive countries. The majority of men all the world over are so poor that an extensive course of education, spreading over six or seven years, beyond the lower limit of the bread-winning age, is a great strain, almost an impossibility. This may be the result of the present system of economic distribution. But whatever it is, till a socialist millennium is attained the only possibility of combating this extreme poverty lies in a sound system of education. Thus we have what we may call the central

paradox of secondary education; to wit, most men are too poor to be able to afford a secondary education; and they are likely to remain in the same state of hopeless poverty unless they could educate themselves. Economic pressure *versus* economic equipment is the crux of our problem.

Unfortunately in India, while economic pressure is a greater factor than in any other country, the education that is provided does not in the least mean economic equipment. We have noticed in our previous article that the domination of the university in secondary education has resulted, first, in narrowing the scope of our curriculum, and, secondly, in giving undue importance to the study of English as a language. Without in any way trying to minimise the great advantage resulting from a study of English and its use in higher education, we may be permitted to emphasise here that the study of English in secondary schools is meant, not so much for its commercial use or cultural value, but merely to be able to understand the lectures and continue literary studies in the university. The over-emphasis on linguistic studies makes our secondary education absolutely useless from the point of view of economic equipment.

The main reform that is wanted in secondary education is, therefore, a reorganisation of the curriculum on a wider and more comprehensive basis, with due and necessary provision for vocational education. This would involve a change in the emphasis now given to the study of English in our high schools. It would give more and more prominence to those subjects directly bearing on the students' surroundings and would certainly mean the widest possible range of personal and local option without interfering with the efficiency of general education. After all we have got to recognise that the complex needs of the present state of society necessitate an early break in the course of general education in order to pay greater attention to special and optional training.

And this is in every way justifiable. A general education such as is now given in our secondary schools is of no use unless one is able to continue it in the college. And even when such university courses are pursued it is found that they almost invariably fail in the face of later demands of actual life. How many of the brilliant students who graduate with honours, say in chemistry, remember in later years what they studied. The case of general school training is much worse. The majority of those who leave the secondary school in India either in the matriculation class or somewhere below completely forget what they learnt at school. Even with those who continue higher studies in their special subjects, their high school training in general subjects is found to have been quite useless. The fact that these things do not persist in the face of more real interests is what makes a mere literary education in schools a waste of time and money.

This is also the justification of vocational training and individual option in schools. No defence

of vocational education is necessary at the present time. For the last fifty years its use has been generally acknowledged in Europe and America. The great demand for technical education in India is only another form of this movement. French and German experience, especially, has proved the great value of a change in secondary education. The trade schools for artisans in Germany and the great institution of Kerchensteiner in Munich have demonstrated the value of vocational training from the point of view of education as well as economic equipment. The *école pratique* of France—a species of higher primary schools with a course of two years for training the sons of small farmers—has contributed more than anything else to the great prosperity of the French *rentier*. Every normal school in France has now to provide agricultural instruction to the students.

The necessity in India is much greater. India is perhaps the poorest country from the point of view of individual incomes. She is also dependent almost entirely on agriculture. The present system of secondary education attracts the children of the poorer classes by pleasant promises of social status and Government appointments, and gives them a literary education of a very narrow and formal type. They are sent back to their professions economically unequipped. No wonder that the spread of education has not reacted with any great beneficial effect on our economic life. The explanation that this is due either to the incapacity or to the laziness of Indians is absurd and meaningless. The fault is with our educational system. Vocational training is the true remedy.

An early bifurcation of studies in the secondary school is required. The poorer children and those whose ambitions are commercial, agricultural or industrial rather than academic should have the option of a thorough and practical study in the subjects that will be useful to them. A fairly complete system of studies in artisan and agricultural subjects extending for not more than two or three years should be provided in every school, and children of farmers and artisans should be encouraged to break their general course early and receive special training. Modern Indian languages should also be included in these selective courses according to local requirements. As a proper study of English does not seem possible within so small a period of instruction, it should be confined to a minimum, with provision for extra classes for those who desire a more thorough study.

It is not proposed here that the importance of the general course of instruction should in any way be minimised. The early bifurcation that is proposed would leave in the general course only those who wish to have a university education. It would then be possible to introduce a wider and more cultural course of secondary education which would fit them not only for the arts colleges, but for the continuation of higher technical studies. English can be skilfully and carefully taught for

a longer period without, however, making it the medium of instruction.

For all this one reform is essential. Secondary education must first become independent. The influence of the university in settling the curriculum and the details of administration must be finally set aside. The secondary school should become the dominant educational institution in the country. At present the day seems quite far off when such a welcome change will come over Indian education.

### III.—A NEW POLICY.

THE transference of education to popular control gives us for the first time a great opportunity to do more than criticise the policy of the Government. The faults of the present system—its lack of clear objective, its lop-sided character as a mere course of intellectual training, its narrowness, and, more important than all these, its extreme wastefulness with regard to the majority of students—are generally admitted. Till now we have only been able to point out these things. Now, we are given the chance of reconstructing the whole system according to our own ideal and the needs of our society. Are we prepared to undertake this duty? Have we got any definite programme?

There are three possible courses for our ministers to follow. They may remain content and let the machine run smoothly. Official responsibility might cool their ardour for reform and they might succumb to the almost irresistible temptation of letting things alone while in office. Or they may try to introduce dramatic changes in matters about which the public is insistent. For example, they may reorganise existing universities, try to establish new ones at old centres of culture, give greater encouragement to Indian subjects. These reforms will be of great importance, without any doubt. But the motive will perhaps be that of getting immediate results and showing a credit balance at the end of their tenure of office. There is a third alternative for the ministers. They may apply themselves to fundamental questions of principle and policy. Their work won't be of a dramatic character and may not produce immediate and visible results. Still, if this is not attempted the power now handed over to Indians would not in the long run produce any great results and the accusation will lie against them that they were found wanting when faced with responsibility.

What would be a reasonable programme for our education ministers? It is quite evident, to start with, that if they confine their attention to the organisation of university education alone, their work would only be partial. The centre of the problem lies in secondary education. It is here that a definite policy has to be developed. The development of a complete system of secondary education, independent of the university, should be the first aim. The courses prescribed

should be comprehensive, affording sufficient training so as to allow students to proceed directly to higher technical institutions. Without interfering with the efficiency of the general courses, vocational training should be extensively introduced. The poorer children should have opportunities for an early change to lower technical schools, which would necessitate the establishment of a separate type of secondary school with vocational studies beginning early and extending over a longer period of years. Agricultural schools of the type of *l'école pratique* and schools for artisans should be encouraged. This extensive programme of reconstruction would mean the establishment of three different types of secondary schools. We shall have, first, the ordinary school of general secondary education where the studies would mainly be literary and intellectual. Besides this, we shall have secondary schools with increasing vocational training towards the end of the course. That is, in the first year of the secondary course a greater portion of the time will be arranged according to the present system, but the less useful subjects will be progressively eliminated so that, as the course spreads over four or five years, the emphasis will completely change from literary to vocational training. Thirdly, we shall have an inferior secondary school essentially vocational, to which the poorer students will go immediately after their course.

Secondary education has been considered to be of secondary importance in India. While commissions after commissions have been appointed to inquire into university conditions we have not had any public enquiry into the scope and character of our secondary school system. In European countries, on the other hand, this problem has been attracting a very great deal of attention. Mons. Rebot's Commission on secondary education in France and the great awakening in England which culminated in the great statute with which the name of Herbert Fisher is associated show that in European countries a veritable revolution has taken place in this field.

The problem of primary education is essentially one of extension, but we have the experience of all countries in which primary education is compulsory about its practical uselessness unless it is supplemented by continuation schools or by a system of compulsory secondary education. The great difficulty in any short course is the extreme facility with which its influence dies away. A cockney boy, for example, even after a course of efficient primary education goes back to his slang and his "penny dreadfuls." The mere knowledge of the three R's, unless it is put to some use, is quite valueless, and this is why it is suggested that a course of vocational education should be given to those for whom it would be impossible to go to the ordinary secondary school.

If the problem of primary education is primarily one of extension, the problem of university organisation is one of greater attention to scyp



and character. The question of secondary education is not either of these. Here we are faced with greater and more fundamental problems. First, we have to make full use of the diffusion of primary education which, left to itself, shows an inability to persist in the face of adverse circumstances in later life. Secondly, we have to solve the paradox of economic equipment *versus* economic pressure, and this can be done only by a system of vocational training. And, thirdly, we have to give an intellectual and literary training to those whose ambitions are academic. The course of general education in secondary schools has also to be reorganised on a sounder basis.

We have till now left out of consideration the question of special education for girls in secondary schools. Obviously, our social conditions require a special training for girls, as the period at their disposal is considerably shorter. While a fundamental differentiation in the matter of sex may not be desirable in education, yet we have to face the united force of religious orthodoxy and social custom. Marriage being a social and almost a religious duty with the Hindus, the period of secondary education for girls should be shorter and the subjects should be so selected as to give them good and efficient training in housekeeping, cooking and the upbringing of children. The cultural part of the education should also be kept in mind, and drawing, music and such other arts should be encouraged.

The great difficulty in carrying out this extensive but very necessary programme would lie in the lack of efficient and adequately trained teachers. This difficulty meets us at every turn of the Indian educational problem. In university organisation it is more urgent than elsewhere. We may, however, hope that, with the great reorganisation now undertaken in the university, we shall get better qualified men for teaching work in schools. But that is not sufficient. The preparation of teachers for vocational and industrial courses should be seriously undertaken, and this could be done only by the establishment of well-equipped training colleges all over India.

I hope I have made it clear that secondary education is one of the important subjects that await the attention of the reformed councils. We should remember that in matters national as well as individual, the only sound maxim to follow is maximum utilisation and minimum wastage. Our secondary education is at present so organised that not only does it not yield us maximum utilisation, but ensures a very high percentage of wastage. This India cannot afford. We are in the throes of a great industrial and social reorganisation when we shall have to mobilise all the sources of our strength. Our industries, our agriculture and our commerce require skilled labour and trained leadership. The present system fails to produce this. It depends upon those to whose hand educational authority will now pass to adjust the system

to our needs, and this can be done only by a reorganisation of the secondary school.

( *Concluded.* )

K. M. PANIKKAR.

## MATERNAL AND INFANT WELFARE.

( *Contributed.* )

CONSIDERABLE interest is felt in India at the present moment in schemes of child welfare; it would therefore serve a useful purpose to review in brief the highly valuable reports on Maternity and Child Welfare Work in Great Britain and Ireland issued by the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees. The scheme suggested for England is very comprehensive and includes measures to be taken at all the three stages, ante-natal, natal, and post-natal. Briefly, the measures recommended are: (1) to ensure that the prospective mother may receive guidance, and medical advice and treatment if necessary, at a conveniently situated centre during her pregnancy; (2) to ensure that she may be skilfully attended and suitably advised, during the lying-in period, by a doctor or a midwife, and that medical help is available in any emergency which may arise; (3) after the visits of the midwife cease, the help of the Health Visitor will be available; at suitable intervals she will visit the child, and the home conditions will also receive attention. When necessary, the infant may be taken from time to time to an Infant Welfare centre, where a doctor may be seen; this supervision as regards health may be continued until school age.

*Ante-Natal Supervision.*—A very large proportion of births in England—in many cities, over 75 per cent.—is attended by midwives; indeed, amongst the lower wage-earning classes nearly all are. The supply of trained, capable and efficient midwives, for each district, is, therefore, of great consequence. One of the most important considerations is the question of the nutrition of the expectant mother so that the capacity for breastfeeding may be maintained. Some provision of meals for poor and needy expectant and nursing mothers is frequently necessary. Observation and treatment at the ante-natal clinic will lead to the less frequent occurrence of still-births and miscarriages. The expectant mother is receptive to training and advice as regards preparation for her confinement, and takes interest in her own and the prospective baby's health. Rest Homes are exceedingly useful accessories to a Maternity Hospital. They consist of suitably-placed Homes in which expectant mothers who are in need of some relief from the pressure of domestic duties may go for a longer or a shorter period prior to confinement. During that period it will be quite easy to ascertain whether any abnormality is likely to arise in connection with the confinement; if so, the patient may in due course go to the lying-in wards of the Maternity Hospital; if not, she can go home for confinement under the care of the

doctor or midwife whom she has engaged. The difficulty arising from the scarcity of midwives might be met by the establishment of appropriate Maternity Homes or small hospitals to which women might go for their confinement and receive skilled treatment and attendance.

*Supervision during the Lying-in Period.*—By far the greater number of births in England are attended by midwives, and the welfare of mother and infant alike is therefore inseparable from the question of the provision of an adequate number of trained and competent midwives, as well as the facilities for affording them medical aid in emergency. In the United States of America, the midwife has not been of a highly trained and educated type, and, accordingly, endeavours have been made in that country to gradually eliminate her. On the contrary, in European countries, and especially in England, the possibilities of the midwife in preventive and educational work in connection with infant and maternal welfare, have been realised, and endeavours have been made under the Midwives Act and the rules of the Central Midwives Board to improve the status and education of midwives. For many years training in midwifery has been provided at Maternity Charities, Lying-in Hospitals and Poor Law institutions in various parts of the country, and the governors of these establishments have made arrangements to grant certificates to those pupils who, after examination, prove themselves fit to carry out the duties of a midwife. In the fulness of time the great importance of ensuring that only properly qualified persons should undertake the practice of midwifery impressed itself upon the Government, and in 1902 the Midwives Act was passed, which provided for the constitution of a Board, called the Central Midwives Board, to whom certain duties, together with the power to execute them, were given. The Act gave two years of grace to unqualified midwives and wholly terminated the practice of midwifery by uncertified midwives, after 1905. The Central Midwives Board regulates the training, examination, certification, and conduct of practice of midwives, as well as admission to the roll of midwives, and it has power to remove from the roll any midwife who has been proved to be guilty of certain offences or misdemeanours.

*Post-Natal Welfare.*—Early post-natal supervision enables a start to be made to secure a brief life history of each child. The home visitation should be carried out at suitable intervals until the child is of school age. The midwife will be in attendance until the 10th day following the birth; it is after the 10th day that the Health Visitor usually takes up the work of visitation. The home visitation is a most important branch of post-natal work. Its main objects are to keep the health of the mother and children under observation, to correct any tendency to carelessness in matters appertaining to health, to improve general domestic sanitation, to distribute leaflets regarding health matters, to improve the stand-

ard of living by suitable advice on foods, their value and preparation, and suitable storage, especially with reference to the feeding of babies, and mainly to interest the people themselves in sanitary living. The health visitors will put mothers in touch with various agencies, such as the Infant Welfare centres or Invalid Children's Associations from which they can obtain help or advice, or early medical treatment when necessary. The salaries of the district health visitors in the provinces average from £80 to £100 per annum with a rising scale, together with uniform and allowances for travelling expenses. At each infant welfare centre a doctor will be in attendance, under whose supervision the services of official or voluntary workers may be utilised. The annual cost of a welfare centre will necessarily vary with the extent and nature of the work carried on. A clinic in a populous centre capable of dealing with, say, 2,000 infants per annum, may be set down approximately at £600. In rural or small districts the cost will be much less. Institutions must be founded where children may be placed out to nurse. Probably the largest institution undertaking the care of infants is the great Foundling Hospital at Moscow. This Hospital contains 1,200 beds. The total admissions approximate 10,500 annually, of which about 98 per cent. are illegitimate; 75 per cent. of the admissions do not exceed one month in age. In addition to the mothers of the children admitted, there is a large supply of wet nurses (5,017 in 1914) maintained at the institution, their duty being to suckle the infants admitted without their mothers. In this connection a fact emerges as striking as it is important, viz. that the annual mortality rate among babies suckled by wet nurses is more than double that of infants left in the charge of their mothers within the institution. During 1914 the death rate of infants suckled by the mothers was 120 per 1,000 as against 305 per 1,000 of those suckled by wet nurses. The procedure in New York is different. Permits are issued allowing women to receive and board babies in individual homes; the resulting success has justified this course, and in 1916 4,279 women held permits. This boarding out of babies with suitable foster-mothers has had an important bearing upon the reduction of the infant death rate. It has been found in New York that the death rate is excessive in foundling institutions, even where the care and attention are excellent.

In large industrial centres day-nurseries have long been recognised as a necessity; for a few pence daily, whilst their mothers are obliged to go out to work, children can be fed, washed and tended, and left under the supervision of a qualified matron and staff. There must also be schools for infants from three to five years of age. When the mother does her duty by her children, when her employment does not keep her away from home, when the home itself is clean, well-lighted, well-ventilated, and not over-cramped, in such circumstances the home affords advantages for the

early stages of education which cannot be reproduced by any school or public institution. It is when some of these conditions are wanting, and because their absence results in neglect and suffering and injury to large numbers of infants, that suitable places should be provided for them in the day-time. The essentials of the Nursery School are ample play-grounds, good offices and sufficient bathing arrangements. The curriculum should encourage games and free play in the open air, cleanly habits, kindly discipline, short organised lessons, excluding formal lessons in reading, writing, etc. A child pension scheme has been instituted in a number of States in the United States of America, based upon needs arising out of the size of the family, the necessities of widowhood being also contemplated. In France also, since the outbreak of war, the necessities incidental to large families have been under consideration. A State allowance is made of 2½ francs per week per child, beginning with the second child in the case of a woman without male support; with the third child in the case of a man without a wife; and with the fourth child where both parents are living.

### THE EXTREMISTS UNMASKED.

#### THE POONA DISTRICT CONFERENCE.

THAT the extremist party—particularly in the Deccan—has long been able to maintain its hold on the masses of the people by pandering to their degrading prejudices and by posing as the natural leaders of the community is well known, and this claim, arrogated to itself by that party, could not be contested with success owing to a lack of enlightenment among the masses and of opportunities of self-assertion. But the situation is now radically altered. The agitation for self-government carried on by politicians, created in the minds of the real leaders and friends of the masses, a sense of the position and the rights of the bulk of the population, and several questions arose which were calculated to put to a test the pretensions of the extremist party with regard to their principles and programme of national progress. A majority of extremists are radicals in politics, but conservatives in matters of social and truly national reform. They oppose Government because it is a foreign Government, and their idea of democracy is nothing more than that political power should pass from the hands of the present bureaucracy into those of an extremist bureaucracy. So long as opposition to Government and an appeal to the past glories of Indian civilization were sufficient qualifications for the leadership of the masses who were too ignorant and backward to understand the needs of their uplift. But now it is no longer a question of mere opposition to Government, which will consist largely of our own representatives. The battle for reform must now be fought with our own people, and all who hold liberal views and care for the steady and all-round progress of the nation

have to combine for attaining their ends. The discussion of questions relating to constitutional reform has thrown into bold relief the narrow and selfish outlook of the extremists, and the friends of the masses have been roused to a consciousness of the danger of allowing political power to pass into the hands of the so-called leaders of the people.

The controversy relating to the Inter-caste Marriage Bill and the introduction of compulsory elementary education in Poona revealed to public view in a glaring manner the character of the motives and the programme of the extremists as a party, which learned its first lesson of democracy when its leaders like Messrs. Tilak, Kelkar, Khadilkar and Lavate could not obtain a patient hearing in public meetings in their own stronghold. These men had learned to dictate and to domineer and to think that they carried public opinion in the hollow of their hands. They now stand exposed and realize that the masses, when they are enlightened as to the merits of a question, will tolerate no nonsense and will not take as sacred truth whatever they are told. Owing to the field which is now opened out for representative institutions to work and for public opinion to be effectively formed on questions of national importance, the leaders of the Liberal party and of the backward communities have obtained opportunities to educate and train the masses as to their rights and responsibilities, and the extremist spell is broken. The Poona District Conference which recently met at Junnar was another and a heavy blow to the autocracy of the Deccan extremists. It proved that the whole battalion of extremist leaders, including Mr. Tilak, could not sway the masses when they are roused to a consciousness of their position and requirements. The Poona extremists had already some experience of the strength of the combination of Liberals who are putting up a stiff fight for social elevation and the triumph of equality and justice. The extremists, therefore, went in pretty large numbers to Junnar, but found that the days of their domination were coming to an end before the rise of a Progressive party that was determined to carry out a comprehensive programme of national reform.

The National Congress has been recently admitting to its sessions a large number of peasant delegates free in order to give to these people an opportunity to learn lessons in political life and also to show to the outside world that the masses are at the back of that national institution. At a district conference the need of admitting rayat delegates in this way is still greater as most of the questions discussed there are of a local nature, and it is of the utmost importance that peasants should be made to take interest in those questions. With this object in view, the Poona District Congress Committee had recommended to the Reception Committee of the Junnar Conference that it should follow the useful procedure laid down by the Congress, and, in the expectation that the re-



commendation would be adopted, a large number of the cultivators of the Poona District went to Junnar on the day of the Conference. But, on one plea or another, they were refused admission as free delegates. Of course, the Reception Committee could have admitted a certain number that might have been accommodated in the pandal without inconvenience and to the advantage of the dignity of the Conference. The Reception Committee and the Poona group of extremists were, however, afraid that they would be swamped by the rayat delegates and that they would have a good deal of difficulty in getting their pet resolutions passed. Some of the leaders of the Satyashodhaka Samaj and of the Poona Liberals had worked in the villages of the Junnar Taluka, and the peasants going to the Conference under the influence of the preaching to which they had listened, would perhaps have shown independence of judgment and opinion in the Conference. The extremists would tolerate no independence of opinion. If the peasants had been expected to act like dumb, driven cattle, and if it was thought that they would cry "Tilak Maharaj ki Jai" to the echo every time that cry was raised by the worshippers of that idol, they would have been eagerly admitted to the Conference in their hundreds and even their thousands to swell the number of meek and reverent devotees. Then the popular and representative character of the assembly would have been advertised to the world, and the support of the masses to the extremist leaders would have been tom-tomed. But the matters were different here. The organizers of the Conference and their Poona advisers were afraid that the Liberal delegates and the peasants between them would prove inconvenient to them, and all protests, made inside and outside the Conference, against the unwise decision of the Reception Committee were unavailing. A mass meeting of the visitors was, therefore, held near the pandal in the morning and in the afternoon and resolutions were passed protesting strongly against the high-handedness and arbitrary proceedings of the Reception Committee. The Liberal delegates refrained from attending the sessions of the Conference and addressed meetings of the rayats, speaking to them of the reforms and of their rights and duties.

The meetings outside the Conference pandal, which was almost empty during its second and third sittings, were an eye-opener to the few extremists who sat in the Conference. There was an audience of more than three thousand, which met under the shade of a big banyan tree to listen to the eloquent speeches made by the leaders of the Liberal party, including the spokesmen of the backward communities. While the extremists inside the pandal addressed almost empty chairs and benches, the Liberals outside discoursed to thousands of eager listeners in the unparalleled enthusiasm which prevailed. While the handful of extremist delegates in the Conference condemned the

reforms as disappointing, the Liberals and the rayats under the banyan tree welcomed them as a substantial step in advance. The latter demanded a rapid spread of primary education among the masses; the former were hesitating with faint hearts as to the advance to be made. The unpolitical and straightforward rayats had a valuable object-lesson in the mass meetings as to the policy of their self-constituted leaders deliberating behind the purda and resolved to be guided by their true friends, the Liberals. The experience of the Junnar Conference brought out clearly the value of mass education which had been attempted by a few leaders of the Liberal party from Poona and exposed the hollowness of the pretension of the extremists that they had the support of the masses behind them. It appeared as if the Junnar Conference were designed to glorify Mr. Tilak who was paraded before the people as an Avatar. But it all fell flat upon the masses who saw through the whole farce and who were convinced that the extremists were not and could not be their friends. Extremist pretensions are now bound to be challenged on each occasion, and the volume of real public opinion is sure to run so strongly against the so-called "Nationalists" that they must yield before the revulsion of popular feeling which their own policy and principles have created. The masses will follow the flag of Liberalism when they know their interests better, and the reforms have created opportunities for mass enlightenment and mass elevation which must be seized by the supporters of all-round, steady national progress. The Poona extremists are chagrined to find the political ground slipping from under their feet, and there is consternation among their ranks. They are blaming the Liberals for having made common cause with the backward communities as if there was anything unholy or unpatriotic in this. The real trouble is that they find this legitimate and wise combination inconvenient to them, and they see in it the beginning of the end of their autocracy. A democracy they have talked about and hugged to their bosoms as a theory. But as a reality, democracy has no greater opponents than the extremists.

V. R. KOTHARI.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### VILLAGE PANCHAYATS AND THE POLICE PATEL.

SIR.—The Bombay Village Panchayats Bill, as it has emerged from the Select Committee, retains the provision making the police patel an *ex officio* member of the village panchayats. The provision is inconsistent with the first formula of the Montford Report, viz.: "There should be, as far as possible, complete popular control in local bodies and the largest possible independence for them of outside control." The village panchayat will be concerned with the affairs of the village only, and it is here, if anywhere, that the independence of outside control should be complete. The police patel may be allowed to enter the panchayat by election and not by virtue of his office. The *ex officio* member of the panchayat will be

responsible to Government and not to the people of the village. Thus there will be two conflicting elements in the panchayats, and one of two results will follow. If the popular representatives are strong there will be constant friction, and if they are weak the official view will always dominate the counsels. Neither of these results is desirable and it is hoped that the non-official members of the legislative council will yet endeavour to make the village panchayats, which are to be local bodies of the lowest grade, completely democratic from the beginning.

Another great defect in the Panchayats Bill is the absence of any provision conferring on the panchayats civil and criminal jurisdiction in petty cases. The deficiency is unintelligible in a Government Bill, which provides that the police patel should be an *ex officio* member of the panchayat. It should be noted that the Bombay Village Police Act (Bombay Act No. VIII of 1867) invests the police patel with jurisdiction in petty criminal cases. Section 14 of the Act empowers the police patel to try and punish any person for petty assault or abuse. S. 15 of the said Act empowers the Divisional Commissioner to authorise the district patel, investing him with jurisdiction to try and punish any person for mischief or petty theft. Under S. 16 of the said Act a police patel, holding a commission under S. 15, has authority to punish any person committing disorderly acts such as torturing an animal, defiling any public well or tank, depositing dirt in forbidden places, etc. Now, can it be contended, with any show of reason, that when police patels, acting singly, can be entrusted with such powers, the village panchayats which are to include (according to Government's proposal) the police patel as an *ex officio* member, would not be competent to exercise these and like powers?

As a matter of fact, the police patel should not have been entrusted with the powers referred to above, because there are no safeguards in the Village Police Act against the misuse of the powers. There is no appeal from the conviction and sentence by the police patel and the District Magistrate has no power even to transfer a case pending before him. The autocracy of the police patel should cease in the new era of democracy and he should no longer hold these powers. The chances of a panchayat of five abusing its judicial powers are far less than of a single individual abusing the powers assigned, and safeguards should be provided to correct possible abuse.

It is understood that Government intends to bring a separate bill, in order to confer judicial powers on the panchayats. If, indeed, a separate bill is necessary, it should be introduced as early as possible, and at the same time steps should be taken to repeal Sections 14, 15 and 16 of the Bombay Village Police Act, conferring judicial powers on the police patel of the village.—Yours, etc.

V. N. BARVE.

Dhulia, February 29.

## SELECTION.

### THE DACCA UNIVERSITY BILL.

MR. SRINIVASA SASTRI'S SPEECH.

THE Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, speaking on the Dacca University Bill in the Indian Legislative Council, said as follows:—

The Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri:—"Your Excellency, some of us who were on this Council two years ago may remember an animated debate when the Hon'ble Nawab Ali Chaudhri brought forward a Resolution about the Dacca University. At that time we witnessed a most interesting duel between him and the Hon'ble Mr. Basu in which, as far as I could recall the event, there was neither victor nor vanquished as has happened in many other generous encounters before. I had hoped that the animosity then slightly exhibited would have died out. As far as I could see at present, the movement for the Dacca University has received unanimous support from all sections of the community, and I heard with special pleasure the testimony borne to that fact by the Hon'ble the present

Member for Education. It is, therefore, somewhat disappointing to find that the Hon'ble Nawab Ali Chaudhri still makes references to the enemies of the Mohammedan movement, references which find some emphatic echo in a representation made by the Mohammedans of East Bengal to this Council. I am not able to see in the published papers any justification for the continuance of this complaint. The one shadow of justification is the attitude assumed by the Calcutta University towards one of the cardinal features of the scheme, namely, that of communal representation. Now, my Lord, those that refer to this principle must always do so with a very heavy sense of responsibility, and I wish on this occasion to allude to this principle and make clear what, in my judgment, it carries with it. I am afraid too many are under the impression that this is a good and sound principle *per se*, that it would be well to welcome it on all occasions and in all matters, whereas the fact is that we all admit it into constitutions as a necessary evil, as a deduction from the principle of efficiency and national spirit which it is expedient in the present condition of Indian society to make. An undue extension of this principle, a desire to perpetuate it and to safeguard it against future inroads, these seem to me to be entirely wrong as an attitude to take up. We ought to recognise, whenever we admit this principle, that it is a lamentable necessity that compels us to do so, and we ought to look forward to the time when we should discard it in the interests of the general community. If possible, we should in admitting it make such provision for such discarding in course of time. I am very sorry, more sorry than I can tell, that in the constitution of the present Legislative Councils, these two necessary safeguards were at first ignored. We have admitted this principle without qualification. It has had the evil effects which might have been anticipated. It has led the favoured community from time to time to demand its extension in aggravated forms into departments where it is not only illegitimate, but bound to be pernicious in its results. We have had demands made that it should be introduced into the constitution of local boards and municipalities. We have had demands, emphasized to-day all too strongly, that it should be admitted as a righteous, as a sound principle even in education. My Lord, I know of no department of human activity which should be kept sacred from the infection of this principle as education. I will admit it in the case of the Dacca University as an inevitable necessity, and I would ask the Council whether the limitations recommended by the Calcutta University are not reasonable in themselves. They submit to the necessity; they would admit the principle of communal representation, but they ask that the necessity should be examined at the end of ten years. If it is considered still a matter of expediency, continue it. If, however, as we all hope and trust, the Mohammedan community have shaken off their diffidence in the meantime, the principle should be abandoned altogether in the future composition of the Dacca University. I think, your Excellency, that that is a consideration which should be borne in mind. Besides, they recommend that if communal representatives should be chosen, it is best that they should be chosen by mixed electorates and not merely by separate electorates. That, again, is a principle worthy of consideration. Your Excellency, I feel rather strongly on this subject. I feel that much mischief has been done, which if we had only observed these two safeguards in the beginning, would have been avoided, and I cannot but recall with sadness to this Council a Resolution passed by a non-Brahmin federation in Madras some years ago in solemn meeting assembled, to the effect that the principle of communal separation should be carried to this extent, that educational establishments, all colleges and schools of every grade from the collegiate to the elementary, should be communal; separate schools for Brahmans, separate schools for non-Brahmans, each community to be taught by teachers of their own community. That is the kind of thing to which this leads, and want of timely precautions is likely to land us in similar difficulties. I would, therefore, solemnly entreat the members of the Government of India and their official advisers, you who know the difference between the national and the sectarian spirit, you who know

how to work a constitution and will realize how the sectarian spirit, if allowed to ream unchecked, will choke off and kill the national spirit, you ought to help us in putting these safeguards on an admittedly evil principle which is to be introduced into the education of this country.

"Now there is a second point of capital importance to be borne in mind in considering the Dacca University scheme. That is the principle of what is called academic freedom, the liberty of the University authorities to arrange their own affairs, to establish curricula, to promote students from stage to stage and, in fact, govern the internal affairs of the University according to their own convictions. This principle is recognised everywhere. In India, however, its recognition has been very slow and fitful. We seemed in the case of the Patna University to have shaken off this principle of official subordination of the University to the Government of Province; we seemed for the moment to have shaken it off. But I am afraid the Dacca University scheme resiles altogether from that advanced position and puts us backward to a situation which I can only recall as having existed before the Universities Act of 1904. We are now face to face with a constitution in which officials and official nominees predominate in every agency of administration of this University. Look at the Court, look at the Executive Council. The Court particularly, which is the supreme authority of the University, is entirely dominated by officials and official nominees. Now that seems to me to be entirely inimical to the principle of academic freedom. No University, your Excellency, can function on the highest plane, yielding benefits of the first quality unless the professors there have perfect freedom to regulate internal affairs as to them may seem fit and proper. It is political considerations, which too often have prevailed in India, which have induced the Governments of the Provinces to control University functions. Now these political considerations must be of diminishing importance in this country in educational matters, and, I think, the time has arrived when in instituting a unitary and teaching University for the first time—Patna was only mixed and the Hindu University was sectional—on a national scale, we should recognize also what is the very life-breath of academic independence, namely, the right of the University authorities to regulate their own affairs as they please. You will find not only in the personnel of the Committees, but in the distribution of powers also, the balance always reposes in the officials. The Visitor as supervising authority is empowered to inspect and to have anything which he considers wrong examined. That in itself is a distinct and, if I may say so, a very useful provision, calculated, if anything goes seriously wrong, speedily to set it right. But not content with that, we proceed to invest the Chancellor, who is the Governor of the Province, with enormous powers at every stage. The Chancellor appoints the Vice-Chancellor, and the Vice-Chancellor is the very pivot of the whole scheme, having in his hands the substance of every conceivable power.

"Putting all this aside, I wish to ask you to examine the way in which professors are to be appointed, professors on whose quality, on whose independence, on whose spirit of free research, the whole efficiency of a University should depend. Now, how are the professors to be appointed? A glance at clause 18 of the Bill ought to fill any one with serious misgivings. Now, what does clause 18 say? It says 'that not less than a third of the professors should be appointed in England by means of a special board to be constituted.' Now I am one of those who believe most sincerely, your Excellency, that Indian education stands to gain at every turn by the infusion of men of first-rate talent from all parts of the world, and not merely from the United Kingdom. We want experts of quality from every country which can afford to spare them for us. We welcome them; we will pay them any terms that may appear proper, but we do not want to be tied down. It is very wrong to tie us down to any particular source of recruitment and to say that a certain proportion shall be recruited in such and such a manner. But that is not all. There is worse and worse to follow in that clause. We are told that

to this Advisory Board there should be appointed five people, only two by the Academic Council in Dacca and the remaining three by the Secretary of State. Then, when the Board so constituted, give advice as to the appointment of professors that advice is not to be treated as advice usually is, that is taken or rejected as the appointing authority may please, but in cases where the University authority does not accept it, the matter has got to be referred to the Chancellor who may finally throw the decision on the Secretary of State. That means that the Secretary of State and the Chancellor have the deciding voice as to the choice of all the professors under this clause. I think, your Excellency, it is a principle of exceeding danger. I hope the Select Committee will watch very minutely the wording of this clause when they come to examine it and put it on a proper basis. The only basis on which it can rest is that the University authorities must have freedom to choose their professors from all parts of the world and on any terms that they may choose to offer. It will not do to tie them down.

"A word, your Excellency, may not be out of place in connection with the appointment of professors, for I attach the greatest weight to this. Some time ago I remember the late Mr. Gokhale complained in this very Council of the recent deterioration in the quality of the professors imported from the West; but Mr. Gokhale might be a prejudiced judge. On the same occasion—it was many years ago and I doubt whether any of the officials were here at the time, I was not but I read a report of the proceedings at the time—a gentleman who had held the office of principal of one of the Government Colleges in Madras and subsequently rose to the high office of Director of Public Instruction for a time, speaking officially in this very Council during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, gave expression to the view that for some years past the choice of the Secretary of State to professorships in India had tended to deteriorate the quality of professors. Now I know as a matter of fact that complaint is very general all over India. You will find it deplored by Indians that when in this Council we determine salaries and tenures and conditions, we do so on the footing that the men imported will be the very first men available and that they will be of the soundest quality, men to whom any terms might be offered and not be excessive. In the event, however, it turns out that we get men not of that quality but of much inferior quality. But we pay them exceedingly high salaries and we make them a burden to the poor Indian taxpayer who does not get a sufficient return for the money which he spends on these costly professorships statutorily provided for in Acts of Incorporation. The matter does require the attention of the Select Committee on the Bill; and I strongly commend this particular aspect of the Bill to their attention."

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