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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Indian Military Cadets.

THE interim report of Lieut.-Colonel H. L. Haughton, Commandant in charge of the Prince of Wales Royal Indian Military College, Dehra Dun, complains bitterly that the local authorities who selected cadets for the College have not paid sufficient attention to the previous education and intellectual fitness of the cadets. Of 37 cadets 17 were sixteen and 13 fifteen years old, the remaining 7 being fourteen at the time of selection. One would have expected them to have received high school education. But as a matter of fact, their knowledge of English was so poor that quite half of them could not form the letters correctly and only six could follow understandingly a simple short story read aloud slowly. Twelve cadets had read no Indian history at all, and among them were several senior cadets. Many did not know the position of the mountain ranges or the chief rivers or principal cities in India or the countries bordering on it. It is extremely unfair to send such poor material to a Military “College” and expect the staff to prepare them for an examination immediately on passing which they would have to follow lectures given in English on such new subjects as tactics, field engineering, law and administration which, we are told, are taught at Sandhurst in the first term. No wonder that Lieut.-Colonel Haughton considers only three of the cadets as fit to appear for the Sandhurst entrance examination in April 1923. The local selecting authorities could not have done worse if their purpose had been to defeat the object of the College and waste the money of the Government.

WE have much pleasure in publishing in this issue the Hon. Dr. Paranjpye's Compulsory Education Bill which has been drawn upon the lines recommended by the Committee appointed last year under the chairmanship of the Hon. Sir Narayan G. Chandawarkar. It is very satisfactory that the Bill has been so promptly framed and that it will be introduced in this month's session of the Council. The Bill is a great improvement on the Act now in force. While the latter is a purely permissive measure applying only to municipalities, the former applies to rural areas also and under it Government have reserved to themselves the power to require any local body to introduce compulsion in a part or the whole of its area. The sanction of Government is made necessary before compulsion is introduced in any area, but the object of this provision is only to enable Government to see if they can undertake at the time the financial burden falling upon them. One should expect that municipalities will complain that the relief promised them is only one half while the district boards will get two thirds. We are sure the Education Minister would have very gladly given more relief to the municipalities if the finances had permitted it. But as things are, no reasonable objection can be taken to rural areas and small municipalities being treated a little more generously than the richer municipalities. The creation of school boards including representatives of minorities and women and the appointment of a responsible executive officer for each such board are reforms conducive to the efficient administration of primary education. The freedom given to school boards to change subjects, curricula etc., with the sanction of Government, so as to suit local requirements will also be much appreciated. We wish the Bill every success and trust that the other provinces will follow the lead given by Bombay.

Malabar Train Tragedy.

AFTER an inordinate delay, for which the reasons given are not convincing, the Government of India have published their conclusions on the report of the Committee that enquired into the Malabar train tragedy. The Government of India may will claim that in their Resolution they have sought to assign the responsibility for the tragedy “as impartially and as accurately as it lay in their power to do.” It is absurd to call it a white-washing resolution as some of our contemporaries

have done. The Government of India have fixed part of the general responsibility for the tragedy on Messrs. Evans and Hitchcock for not having brought under regulation the practice of carrying prisoners in luggage vans, which by itself is not held objectionable in a time of emergency. But having thus fixed part of the responsibility on these officers it is surprising that the Government of India are content with merely expressing their sorrow for it. The tragedy was not due to overcrowding as one is likely to suppose at first, but due to suffocation for which the main and special responsibility certainly lay on the Railway official who chose the particular van as fit for carrying human beings and the police escort who were so callous as not to heed the cries—which must have been of an unusual character—of the wretched prisoners. The Railway official being dead, the Government of India have directed the Government of Madras to prosecute Sergeant Andrews who was the officer in charge of the escort party and to take suitable action against the head constable and other constables who formed the escort for having failed, in spite of their knowledge of the prisoner's language, to appraise their officer with the condition of the prisoners. Finding the evidence collected by the Committee of enquiry insufficient to determine what measure of responsibility, if any, attaches to the South Indian Railway Company, the Government of India have asked the Hon. Mr. Knapp and Lieut.-Col. Barnardiston, Senior Inspector of Government Railways, to enquire further into this matter. We do not see any use or special propriety in putting Mr. Knapp on this duty. He was Chairman of the Committee on whose report the Government of India have now passed orders and who failed to collect sufficient evidence for the determination of the responsibility of the S. I. Ry. Moreover, he was and is the chief civilian officer in charge of Malabar affairs; and objection was formerly and rightly taken to his appointment as Chairman of the enquiry Committee.

The Akali Trouble. A very delicate and serious situation has arisen in the Punjab by the determined opposition of the Akalis to the administration of law and the enforcement of order. It is indeed very difficult to suggest a solution, particularly from a distance. But it is clearly futile to expect that injuries inflicted by lathi blows will cool the religious frenzy of the brave Sikhs that has turned them to martyrdom. Though the wood-cutting incident at Gurukabagh is in itself a trivial one, the situation that has developed out of it is the accumulated result of the last two years' relations between the Akalis and the Punjab Government. So serious a situation ought not to be left to the executive authorities to deal with but the leading non-officials of all parties and communities should put their heads together and find a way out. Meanwhile, it is to be hoped that the police will desist from using force in the manner they are now doing and ex-

asperating the people. Perhaps an influential deputation of the members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly now in Simla will be able to hasten the settlement of the trouble.

Political Prisoners. IT is no doubt necessary that strict discipline should be enforced in jails and the example of a few political prisoners who, contrary to Mr. Gandhi's injunctions, deliberately seek to set at nought the jail rules, should not be allowed to corrupt the ordinary prisoners. But the infliction of flogging as in the Barisal jail or of special punishments as in many other jails cannot in the least serve the purpose in view. These punishments, often savouring of vindictiveness, will only embitter the feelings of the prisoners and outrage the conscience of the general public. The right remedy, dictated alike by justice and humanity, is to give special treatment to political prisoners, as is done in England and other enlightened European countries. Some time ago it was reported that the Government of India were trying to bring about a uniform and favoured treatment of political prisoners in all the provinces. In view of the scandals that are reported from every province it is high time that that uniformity was effected.

An Act of Heroism. IT was an act of real heroism that the students now learning spinning and weaving at the Sabarmati Satyagrah Ashram performed the other day at Ahmedabad. They were returning to the Ashram after visiting a mill when they saw a night-soil cart ready to topple by one of its wheels coming off. They drew the attention of the couple of scavengers who were in charge of the cart to it and when those two men were unable to lift the heavy cart and push the wheel to position, the students rolled up their sleeves and helped with their own hands. In doing this they have proved themselves thoroughly worthy of their great spiritual guru and all Indians, whatever their faith or opinions, will be proud of their heroism.

The U. P. Governorship. THE appointment of Sir William Marris to the Governorship of the United Provinces in utter disregard of Indian opinion shows the degree of influence which the die hards have acquired over the British cabinet and the extent to which the interests of the Civil Service are now being allowed to predominate those of India. The people of the U. P. are asking themselves if it was for the sake of putting an additional Rs. 20,000 a year in the pockets of an ambitious civilian that they fought so hard and earnestly to have the status of their province raised to that of a presidency. And the hope created by Lord Sinha's appointment to the Governorship of Bihar that there would always be one Indian Governor at least, has been frustrated on successive occasions. If the reforms are going to be worked from this changed angle of vision, England will soon know what sort of cooperation will be forth coming from any section of Indians.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN MINES.

WE understand that on the 15th of this month is to be introduced in the Legislative Assembly a Bill to amend the Indian Mines] Act. The main provision in it which will interest the general public is the one that fixes the lowest limit of age for labourers employed in or about mines at 13, prescribes a weekly holiday and limits the hours of employment of underground workers in one week to 54 and of surface workers to 60. This is the first time any movement is made in India to regulate the employment of mine workers. Till now there existed no prohibition of any kind, whether on account of age or sex. Any man or woman, child or adult, could be employed, either above ground or below ground, during day or night, for any length of time. It is a great anomaly that the regulation of factory labour should in India precede the regulation of labour in mines. In every other country the first followed the second, for the excellent reason that work in mines is of a more arduous and hazardous nature than work in other industries like cotton mills. But chiefly under the pressure exerted by Lancashire, not altogether from unselfish motives, measures for the protection of labour were adopted in textile and other factories, but the mining industry has till now been completely neglected. It is doubtful whether even now the Government would have adopted any restrictive measures if such had not been necessitated, as they are, by a Washington convention prohibiting the employment in mines of the children under the age of 12. And even the present proposals brought forward after such a long interval fall lamentably short of the requirements. It will be observed at once by the reader that the bill to be introduced by the Government of India places no restriction on female labour. This is a most serious omission and a vital defect in the Bill, with which we will deal presently. But taking child labour, the Bill prohibits it absolutely up to the age of 13 and after that limit is passed, does not prescribe shorter working time for them, either by a daily or weekly limitation, as one would naturally expect, and the reason given for following this course is most extraordinary. We are told, "Children accompany their parents down the mine and help them in their work; it would dislocate the parents' work to be compelled to bring the children to the surface when their daily limit of hours was reached." If the children are so young that the parents must come up again with them when their work underground is over, certainly they are not old enough to be employed below ground at all. And supposing that boys or girls are fit enough for underground labour and yet unable to come up to the surface without the assistance of their parents, do the Government of India seriously mean that, rather than the work of the parents being somewhat interrupted by having to come up and go down again, the boys and girls should be

kept in the bowels of the earth for nearly double the time that is considered proper for them? We cannot believe that the Government really intend to insult the intelligence of educated Indians by addressing such an argument to them?

As to the labour of adults (which means all persons above the age of 13!) a weekly limit is to be put on the hours of their employment, and apart from the question of the adequacy or inadequacy of this limit, it must be observed that there is to be no daily limit. The result is that it would be possible for workmen to work for 12 hours or even more at a stretch, and this is an evil which must be put a stop to. In the Ranigunj coalfield labourers commonly live on the mines for three days in the week, and with small spells of rest, altogether too brief for the recuperation of their exhausted bodies, labour almost continuously all the time. There is no provision in the Bill to make this impossible in future. Without such a provision, the weekly limit is not of much practical use. For that limit is in fact hardly ever transgressed, for the present difficulty is to induce the work people to put in even that much amount of work, so far as underground labour in coal mines is concerned. The limitation now proposed to be made will not affect underground workers to any appreciable extent; it will only affect surface workers like pumping *Khalasis*, who work sometimes for 72 and even 84 hours in a week. Thus the more serious evil in connexion with adult labour is left unremedied in the Bill, which deals comparatively with a minor evil.

But the gravest defect in the Bill—a defect which renders the Bill of little value to social workers—is the non-prohibition of the employment below ground of all females. In no other country, not excepting Japan, are women allowed to work underground, and in fact the prohibition of the underground labour of women came long before, say, the prohibition of the night work of women in factories. (In England women were forbidden by law to work below ground as long ago as 1842, and the prohibition of female factory labour during night came much later.) Now, what is, essentially, the difference between night work in factories and day work underground? None, except that the latter is more unpleasant, more strenuous, less healthful, and more dangerous than the former. But the Government of India do not propose to prohibit the employment of women, whether above ground or below ground, even at night! And therefore they are reduced to this absurd position that, while they are prepared to prohibit children above the age of 6 from being taken below, they do not object to children of more tender years (below the age of 6) from being taken and kept underground. Certainly the Government of India do not think that it better conduces to the health and well-being of children above 6 than below 6 that they should remain in foul air and away from God's light for anything from 6 to 12 hours every day. But the

Government cannot help themselves. If they were to stop infants and children in arms from being taken below ground, they would have to stop the women themselves from going below. And, lacking the courage and the vision to prohibit women from working underground, they are compelled to perpetrate the criminal folly of denying the protection to those who need it most—babies! The result thus of allowing women to work underground is that the growth of the future generation is stunted from their very infancy.

We attach the utmost importance to the prohibition of women's labour below ground, for we believe that this reform lies at the root of every other reform. No substantial improvement in labour conditions is possible so long as women are not taken out of the mines. Take, for instance the evil of drunkenness. It is closely bound up with the underground employment of women. What happens in coal mines (and in no other mines do women actually work below ground) is that the man and the wife go down together, there work together and then come up together. The man cuts the coal and the woman carries it in baskets and loads it into the tubs. They are below the surface, say, from 7 A. M. to 4 P. M. They took their food together probably at 6 in the morning; they never eat anything on the mines in this long interval of ten hours or so, and when, after their day's hard labour, they come up, naturally they are exhausted and feel very hungry. But the food is yet to be cooked, and while the woman starts cooking it, the man goes to the nearest grog shop (thanks to the tender regard the Excise department pays to the comforts of the labouring population, he never has to go far to find one) and drinks half his earnings away, and when he comes home, he naturally has no appetite for the food that is being prepared for him. If on the contrary, his wife, instead of accompanying him below ground, looked after the home and kept the food ready for him, as soon as he returned from work, he would enjoy a hearty meal and would not ordinarily think of liquor. At present some 75 per cent. of the colliery workers drink. It seems to us that it is difficult to wean them from this vice till women are eliminated from the collieries and set free to perform their proper domestic duties.

Similarly in education, which is woefully neglected both by the Government and the colliery proprietors, you cannot get a move on unless you keep women out of the mines. At present there are hardly any schools worth the name on the coalfields, but if any were opened it would be difficult to get children to attend them in the absence of their mothers from home. Take again the question of evolving from the existing fluctuating labour population a stable mining community. Owing to the excessive toil to which women working below are subjected, their capacity for bearing children is diminished, and the birth rate is lowered, while, owing to the incidents of the underground labour of women, infantile mortality has

risen, with the result that there is less chance than would otherwise be of a class of hereditary miners growing up. Thus the way for most of the pressing reforms is blocked by the continued employment of women below ground.

The economic effect of the elimination of female labour from the mines may now be considered. If the man were hereafter to hew the coal, and the filling of tubs, now done by the woman, were to be done by other male labourers, the family would suffer a decline in their joint income—which is bad for the miners. If it results in the diminution of profits to the coal owners, it is bad for the industry. If it raises the price of coal to the consumer, it is bad for the general community. Thus argue the opponents of this reform. They see an economic disaster in front of them. But these are not the only alternatives. The introduction of mechanical coal-cutters and of other improved methods of coal-getting will probably lower the cost of production, and it is possible that without trenching very much either upon profits or upon wages and without enhancing the price of coal, the women can be relieved from underground labour. There is another way out of the dilemma. The railways, in virtue of their monopoly of waggons, so to say hold the coal industry by the throat and compel the colliery owners to give them coal too cheap. If the railways bought coal in the open market on the principle of fair field and no favour, the coal industry will certainly be in a position to bear the additional expense involved in so raising the wages that a man working single-handed should earn what he and his wife by their conjoint labour are earning at present. But we shall frankly state our opinion that, if both the methods suggested by us proved impracticable, we would view with comparative equanimity either of the two results with which the prophets of evil threaten us—diminution in wages or rise in the price of coal. We are so much impressed with the abuses of female labour now prevalent in coal mines that, sooner than tolerate them, we would put up with a fall in the miner's income. A mere rise in wages, unaccompanied by a rise in the standard of living, will do no one any real good. If, on the other hand, the miner's wife looks after the home and gives him food at the right time and thus keeps him from liquor, he will probably have more to spend from his individual earnings upon comforts and amenities of life than he has at present from their combined earnings. Similarly with a rise in the price of coal. If we cannot get coal at the existing rates without keeping the women labourers underground for some nine hours every day with their babes hanging about them in the mines, we certainly get our coal too cheap. If, in order to free women from the existing soul-destroying conditions of labour, it is necessary to pay higher rates for coal, we must pay them. The country can make no better investment than this, which opens up to men the chances of reduced drunken-

ness, to women the comforts of home life and to children better educational facilities. It is by no means too high a price to pay for the result, and the nation will not grudge it. The Tatas have already of their own motion prohibited the underground labour of women in one mine and hope to introduce a general prohibition in all their mines within the next two or three years. But without the intervention of the legislature the prohibition cannot be universal. We therefore hope that the Government of India will take the opportunity offered by the present Bill to carry out a reform upon which many other reforms in the labour conditions of the mining industry depend.

RAILWAYS AND THE BUDGET.

III. EXTRAVAGANCE.

THE Railways in India spend anything from about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a crore to one crore of rupees every year in payment of compensation for goods lost or damaged. The amounts paid during the year 1919-20 were :—

| | Claims. | Gross earnings. |
|------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| Assam-Bengal Railway | 19,000 | 1,04,21,000 |
| Bengal Nagpur Railway | 2,04,000 | 6,59,31,000 |
| B. B. & C. I. Railway | 25,08,000 | 9,67,13,000 |
| Burma Railways | 39,000 | 3,29,58,000 |
| Eastern Bengal Railway | 2,08,000 | 4,45,45,000 |
| East Indian Railway | 12,72,000 | 13,25,77,000 |
| G. I. P. Railway | 12,55,000 | 13,24,04,000 |
| Madras & S. M. Railway | 2,53,000 | 6,17,09,000 |
| North-Western Railway | 10,78,000 | 12,32,81,000 |
| Oudh & Rohilkhand Ry | 1,61,000 | 3,14,64,000 |
| South Indian Railway | 89,000 | 4,19,93,000 |
| | <hr/> 70,86,000 | <hr/> 77,39,96,000 |

This is an item of expenditure where the Assembly should apply constant pressure for reduction, and should demand full information being furnished to enable it to do this. The B. B. & C. I. Railway Company alone pays as much as a quarter crore of rupees and maintains a close approximation to a "two-power" standard of extravagance. In para 12 Chapter VI of the Railway Administration Report for 1920-21, it is admitted that the theft of goods in transit has in recent years shown an unfortunate tendency to increase. The cost of compensation paid for goods lost or damaged must by no means have been inconsiderable in previous years and it is poor comfort to know that the trouble is not peculiar to India. An explanation like this has become so hackneyed that it does not satisfy anyone. Another excuse which also has become hackneyed is the "peculiar circumstances" of India, her vastness and her distances. These explanations are so comprehensive that they can be made to cover any amount of loss to the tax-payer through the inefficiency of the railway management. It must be remembered that the abnormal system of risk notes in India,—which indemnifies railways against losses of goods while in their

possession as carriers, and covers a ground far larger than is the case in other countries,—and the comparatively greater ignorance of the Indian consignees of their rights in their relation to railway administrations as carriers, serve, if anything, to understate the slackness of the railway administration in discharging their responsibilities to the public. The one bureaucratic remedy for all shortcomings is to increase the number of higher officers and to issue pious instructions and advice for effective co-operation between the railway traffic officials and the railway police officials. The real remedy must be sought in fixing greater responsibility on railway officials in whose jurisdiction the losses occur. The existing staff of officers must be made to show better results, or must be made to feel that they stand to lose when their districts show less satisfactory results than others. Railway Administrations must be encouraged to emulate the example of those that shew less losses and the railway traffic officials on each individual railway must be made to do likewise amongst themselves.

ACQUISITION OF LAND.

The cost of land provided for in pages 66-70 of the Statement of Revenue Demands for railways shows an increase of over 300 per cent. over previous demands. Large amounts have been provided for. Five railways among them absorb Rs. 14 lakhs, namely, the Bagmara, the Talcher, the Manoharpur, the Tranquebar, and the Hardwar-Dehra Railways. There has been no expenditure on practically any of these five railways during the last three years. What has led to these large demands suddenly coming up in a year of deficit? They either represent demands for new railways, or they are due to accumulated arrears. They cannot be for new railways, for the Hon'ble the Finance Member has already announced that there is no new construction. From page 72 of these Statements of Demands the Manoharpur and the Talcher Railways appear to be still in the survey stage, so that there can yet be no question of their construction. If, however, these lands are required for new railways, the Government should explain the discrepancy between the fact and the announcement.

If, however, the demand is due to accumulated arrears, one is entitled to know how and why these arrears have occurred, of all others, in these particular railways; and for what specific works the lands are required. These lands are given to railway companies free of charge, and it is necessary to see that these demands are not only fully justified, but represent the absolute irreducible minimum. Another question that arises in connection with this portion of the Revenue Demand is why the cost of these lands should be met from current revenues instead of from borrowed funds. It is strictly speaking a capital charge, since railways cannot be built in the air, but must be built on land. Land is an integral portion of railway property, and there is no reason why a part of this

property should be charged to current revenues, while the remaining portion is charged against capital. The present arrangement is a most unbusinesslike one, specially in a Department professedly commercial. One was not a little surprised to learn on the 22nd September, 1921, from the head of the biggest commercial department of Government that the cost of these lands was not debited to the capital account because it did not represent the capital outlay *by the company*. But it could be very easily shown against the capital account of Government, for there is no known statutory limit to the number of heads that a Government capital account may have.

The expenditure on these free gifts for capital purposes to the end of 1920-21 amounted to Rs. 233 lakhs.

All this expenditure should be written back to capital, and the future outlay debited to the same account.

EXPENDITURE WHICH CAN BE DEFERRED.

At pages 72-76 of the Statement of Revenue Demands for railways, provision is made for 35 different surveys at a cost of 13 lakhs. All surveys except those in connection with coalfield railways are a pure waste in present circumstances. The amount of waste that has already occurred will be apparent from the enormous length of the list published annually by Government of projects which await materialization. These projects, on the investigation of which over Rs. 2 crores has already been spent, will take several generations to materialize, and there can be no object whatever in adding more surveys to those lists. Are Government working on any basis? From the heavy demands made by Government on account of these surveys for expenditure from revenues year after year, and particularly this year, one would imagine that all these projects numbering nearly 500 and costing about three hundred crores, would materialize in five or ten years and that Government, having a plethora of money and not knowing how to put it for better use, was getting new railway projects examined and ready on hand for immediate execution. On the one hand, we are told that the money we can get will for many years to come be absorbed in making up arrears on existing lines; on the other, we are adding 35 projects every year to the appalling number of those still awaiting fruition, on the investigation of which over two crores of rupees has already been spent out of the revenues of the country. The expenditure of a single pie in present circumstances on the survey of a single project which is not designed to serve the coalfields is absolutely unjustifiable.

ECONOMY.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, AUGUST 17, 1922.

TELEGRAMS are still coming in from India showing how seriously the Prime Minister's speeches,

and especially that on the Civil Service, are regarded in almost all quarters in India not excepting the Anglo-Indian papers which are evidently trying to reassure Indian public opinion. The silence in the British press on the Indian telegrams is highly significant. The papers are wondering what there is to be said in support of the theory of the steel framework, in perpetuity, enunciated by Mr. Lloyd George and no one seems quite to know what devil had taken shelter in his jerkin when he made his mischievous speech. I should not be at all surprised if the sorriest people in London on this subject were to be found at the India Office and I have reason to know that the view expressed by the *Leader* that the Civil Service speech calls for a prompt and thorough repudiation by the Prime Minister himself, to be followed by steps which will leave India in no doubt as to whether she is to rule herself in future, both controlling the services and deciding their composition, has already been independently impressed upon high officials in King Charles Street.

KENYA.

News comes from Nairobi that the Executive Council of the Eastern Africa Indian National Congress has cabled to the Colonial and India Offices, expressing keen disappointment at the steps foreshadowed by Mr. Winston Churchill and Major Wood in regard to the solution of the Indian question in Kenya Colony, and submitting that no solution is possible or acceptable unless absolute equality of status is granted to Indians. Upon inquiry at the India Office I learn that no settlement has been reached and that negotiations are still pending. One good piece of news is that there is a likelihood amounting almost to a certainty that the Kampala trouble will shortly be removed. Meanwhile, the news comes that Sir Edward Northey, the weak and reactionary Governor of Kenya, has been recalled and has been replaced by his colleague of Uganda, whose appointment is regarded by a writer in the "*Manchester Guardian*" as preliminary to the creation of a confederation of the East African territories under the control of the Colonial Office, with the possibility of General Seely as High Commissioner. Mr. Churchill's imagination is a big one, but the Government of India ought to make it clear to His Majesty's Government that it will oppose any such change as that contemplated, until the Kenya Indian question has been settled to the satisfaction of the people of India and it has received effective guarantees that the spirit of the Imperial Conference resolution, last year, is to be given full effect to.

GRIFFITHS AND NORTHCLEFFE.

I have left myself almost no space to refer to the deaths of two Irishmen, each great and memorable in his different way. Mr. Arthur Griffiths, the President of the Dail, died suddenly on Saturday last and was buried in Dublin yesterday, in the presence of a vast concourse of his countrymen. Lord Northcliffe, the Napoleon of journalism, as he has been called, died on

Monday morning, and was buried to-day, after a memorial service at Westminster Abbey. He had contributed greatly to a settlement of the Irish question and he had many other claims upon the gratitude of the British people. Some of the press criticisms of his career have not erred upon the side of generosity, but most of the newspaper comments have been appreciative in a high degree, and the papers are full of tributes from all over the world. Arthur Griffith's loss to Ireland is irreparable, and comes just at the moment when his wise and temperate counsels are most needed, now that the rebellion has been definitely broken and the Constitution has to be agreed to by the Irish Parliament newly constituted.

GERMANY AND BOLSHEVISM.

The Reparations Conference, from which so much was hoped, has failed ignominiously. . . . It is generally realised, except in France, that at present at any rate Germany simply cannot pay and that if she is forced to pay in gold with an unbalanced budget the printing presses must be kept going with the natural consequence that Germany's currency must become depreciated further. French currency depreciates with the fluctuations of the mark and that is not the end of it all. There is a serious danger that a ruined Germany will revive Bolshevism that is now in its death throes. Hitherto there has been the tendency on Germany's part to turn towards Russia not so much with a view to the adoption of Bolshevism as to the economic and industrial domination of that country which would doubtless have been succeeded by a close political association of the two countries with aims and objects that could only have endangered the security of Western Europe. But with an impoverished Germany, with little food and no hope, there are far graver possibilities as Mr. Lloyd George indicated in tones of the most sincere emotion at the Genoa Conference. The present German Government is very weak and unpopular but amidst the greatest difficulties, it is managing to keep Germany together as a political entity capable of fulfilling its obligations. It is keeping the peace between the irreconcilable Monarchists with their stores of concealed arms who are sworn to overthrow what they call the "bourgeoisie" and replace it by what they call the rule of the proletariat. If the present German Government cannot obtain bread for the workers and preserve some hope among the German people, the country is likely to be torn as under by civil war; poverty and disease will spread rapidly through Central Europe and Bolshevism will receive a new lease of life at the very moment when it is sending out S.C.S. signals.

It must be remembered that Berlin has been made the distributing centre of Communist propaganda throughout Europe, by reason of its natural situation. The *Times* Berlin correspondent telegraphing yesterday draws attention to a secret meeting of the Moscow Conference of the Communist Party at which the chief

propaganda agent, Stalin, is stated to have made a report of which a copy has been sent by special couriers to the representatives of the Soviet Government abroad. Stalin declared that the party was now passing through an extremely serious crisis. Affairs were so bad that even the recuperation of Lenin could no longer improve the situation. The formation of the Ural Communists into a body and their uncompromising attitude towards the Moscow Communists had shown that there was no unity in the party and that the voice of Lenin, muffled as it was by his illness, could no longer enjoy the same authority. The Ural Communists, he affirmed, were not alone. They had found allies among the workers of the great industrial regions of Russia. The position was in fact growing really worse and no force at the disposal of the Bolsheviks seemed capable of subduing the volcano of popular revolt. The Communist Party, terrible as the thought might be for the destiny of Russia, was disintegrating. New groups and movements had sprung up. The new economic policy had on one side created a violent opposition, but on the other hand numbers within the party were clamouring for a return to the capitalistic regime. These new enemies maintained that the Communist experiment should be considered as having failed, and called for a return to the condition preceding the October triumph of the Bolsheviks. Even in the Communist International there was no unity. If this report is correct, it would show that the Bolsheviks, who have always been in a very small minority in the Soviets, which they have overawed by armed force, will shortly be fighting for their lives. The main hope of those who are urging France not to make the irreparable mistake of throwing Germany into the hands of Bolshevik terrorism, lies in the fact that France is known to be the most bitterly hostile of all the European countries to any encouragement or recognition of Bolshevik Russia in existing conditions.

REVIEW.

THE AIMS OF LABOUR. By RT. HON. ARTHUR HENDERSON. Madras (S. Ganesan.) 1922. 5 x 7. pp. 111. Rs. 1.

We heartily congratulate the publishers of this pamphlet on making it (by special arrangement with the Swarthmore Press Ltd.) generally available to the Indian reading public; and we recommend to every member of the latter to get the little book and to read it. But we cannot but express at the same time our strongest disapprobation of statements which the publishers have not despised to embody in the booklet's "jacket"—as for instance that in its pages "Mr. Henderson launches an attack on the peace-treaties" and on "recent" encroachments of liberty. For the book is the reprint of a pamphlet published in December 1917—one year before the Armistice, one year and a half before any Peace Treaty was signed. The two appendices

(“ Memorandum on War Aims ” and “ Labour and the New Social Order ”) are of the same date ; the former being part of a special Labour Conference held on December 2nd 1917. In the interests of maintaining a decent standard in the Indian publishing world, we ask the publishers to impound so misleading a “ jacket ”, and to substitute one which need not detract from the value of the pamphlet for being strictly truthful.

For as a matter of fact, the great value of the book, lies just in the fact that it is ancient history ; that it enables the reader to put himself back into the mentality which preceded the Peace. We all know now, what the Peace was like ; what is so important, is to realize what it was intended to be. For only thus can we analyse where and why the intentions failed to fructify and guard against a repetition in future.

As one reads it all—the half forgotten ideals and war aims of oneself ; as one reads of the impossibility of handing back the railways to the shareholders, of the minimum of a million new cottages, of not letting indispensable industries slip back into the unfettered control of private capitalists, of appropriating all surplus for the common good, of the purifying influence of war on the souls of men and women, of the world’s final riddance of militarism, of the removal of tariff barriers, of minimum standards of life, of securing permanent employment for all—whose heart can remain untouched by the pregnant contrast between the attempted and the actually attained ? Those days, when Mr. Henderson wrote, were the days when the new Labour Party was being organized, to be no longer the party of a class, but of a nation—the party of all who would labour, by hand or brain, for the common good. The new party has come into being, but the English nation had no use for it, when its rulers who said they had won the war went to them for a mandate. At the General Election of a year later the people turned aside from all the ideals they had cherished during four years of agony and shouted instead for a Kaiser to hang and a Germany to make pay.

That misleading of a nation ; that deliberate turning it aside from its true path into the unspeakable morass in which the world finds itself to-day, must always remain one of the most blatant and abominable cases of demagogy. Even as Mr. Henderson wrote, he felt qualms here and there whether the will and intelligence of men will be equal to the task ; whether the people will “ entrust their destinies at the Peace Conference to statesmen who have not perceived the moral significance of the struggle and who are not prepared to make a people’s peace.”

Alas, the deceived people, led by men playing upon their basest instincts, misled, that is, by men like M. Clemenceau and Mr. George, gave them *carte blanche* to “ subordinate the moral to the material.” For “ say victory, however spectacular and dramatic in a military sense it may be, which falls short of the realization of the ideals with which we entered the war, will not be a victory but a defeat.”

These are prophetic words, and true and great words at that. May the man who uttered them soon be enabled by a disillusioned people to take the reins of government out of the hands of those, whose memory will go down to history as men, who infamously betrayed every trust that a nation could confide to them.

Z.

CORRESPONDENCE.

NATIONALISM RUN MAD.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

Sir,

There are some statements in the paragraph entitled “ Nationalism run mad ” in your issue of August 31 which need modification. The writer of the paragraph criticises in the renaissance of Ireland “ the importance bestowed on the revival of Erse, a language as extinct a generation ago as Hebrew.” There is no Erse language in Ireland. The language which has never ceased to be spoken in Ireland is a branch of the Gaelic language which is held by scholars to be one of the most highly developed of the Aryan tongues. It produced a large and valued literature, and, like every living language went through its vital evolution from ancient forms to modern. It has never reached the point of extinction despite centuries of external effort in that direction. Twenty years ago I knew old people who knew no word of English, and heard children wrangling at play in Irish. I have even known dogs and horses who answered only to Irish! The statement, therefore, that every Irishman used to speak English and nothing but English is no more in accordance with fact than that the Irish have tried to revive in Ireland a dialect of Scotland! Of like accuracy is the further statement that “ the main exponents ” of “ this nationalist make-believe ” (which I take to mean the language revival) are the Spanish De Valera the Polish Countess Markievicz, and the Englishman Childers’ Mr. De Valera is an American citizen with Spain in his ancestry as well as Ireland. Countess Markievicz, takes her name by marriage. She is a daughter of an English family resident for centuries in Ireland. Neither they nor Mr. Childers are “ the main exponents ” of the language revival. There has never ceased to be a language revival movement in Ireland. One had its centre in (of all places) Belfast in the early years of the nineteenth century when Irish was still the language of sixty per cent. of the people. The latest revival was started twentyfive years ago by Dr. Douglas Hyde, son of a Protestant clergyman. The interval between was filled in by the operations of various societies for the preservation of the language. This unbroken protest was not, therefore, merely the result of what the writer of the paragraph terms “ the hyper-sensitiveness of a subject race, which looked for an alternative to English,” nor was it based on the idea of being “ as different as possible from the hated English.” It was just the natural, and now successful, struggle of a people against the attempted destruction of its age-long natural means of expression.

ULSTERMAN

MISCELLANEA.

THE BOMBAY COMPULSORY EDUCATION BILL.

A Bill to provide for compulsory elementary education and to make better provision for the management and control of primary education in the Bombay Presidency.

WHEREAS it is expedient to provide for compulsory elementary education and to make better provision for the management and control of primary education in the Presidency of Bombay and
WHEREAS the previous sanction of the Governor General required by clause (e) of sub-section (3) of section 80A of the Government of India Act has been obtained for the passing of this Act:
It is hereby enacted as follows:—

1. (1) This Act may be called the Bombay Short title and Primary Education Act, 1922.
extent.

(2) It extends to the whole of the Bombay Presidency except the City of Bombay.

2. In this Act unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context,

"approved school" means a place in which instruction in elementary education is given and which is for the time being approved by the school board;

"area of compulsion" means the area in which elementary education is compulsory;

to "attend" an approved school means to be present for instruction at such school, on such days and at such time and for such periods on each day as may be required by the school board with the approval of the Government;

"child" means a child whose age at the beginning of the school year is not less than six and not more than eleven years;

"city municipality" means a city municipality as defined in sub-section (1) of section 3 of the Bombay District Municipal Act, 1901;

"elementary education" means the education from time to time imparted in infant classes and vernacular standards I to IV inclusive and in European and English teaching schools and in such other schools as the Government may prescribe in the first five standards;

"local authority" means a district local board or a city municipality which is authorised by the Government to manage its own schools and includes, in the case of Aden, the Executive Committee of Aden;

"parent" includes a guardian and any person who has the actual custody of a child;

"prescribed" means prescribed by rules made by the Government for the purposes of this Act.

3. For every local authority there shall be a school board. The school board shall be constituted as prescribed and shall consist of not less than ten and not more than fifteen members. Of these not more than three shall be appointed by the Government. The remaining members shall be elected by the local authority and shall include persons experienced in education, women, representatives of minorities and, if the local authority is a district local board, representatives of municipalities in the district which are not authorised by the Government to manage their own schools.

4. The powers and duties of the school board shall be as prescribed. It shall perform the duties of the local authority for which it is constituted in respect of primary education and, if the local authority is a district local board, it shall also perform the like duties of the municipalities in the district which are not authorised by the Government to manage their own schools. The school board shall also enforce the provisions of this Act.

5. Every municipality which is not authorised by the Government to manage its own schools shall on the date to be notified by the Government in this behalf transfer to the district local board of the district in which it is

Transfer of schools by municipality to district local board.

Powers and duties of school boards.

Constitution of school boards.

situate all primary schools which their lands, buildings and equipment which vest in it and shall contribute annually to the said district local board for educational purposes such amount as may from time to time be fixed by the Government on the basis of the number of children of the municipal district receiving primary education from the district local board.

6. Where in any municipality a school committee has been appointed under section 28 of the Bombay District Municipal Act, 1901, the control by that committee of primary education shall from a date to be notified by the Government in this behalf cease.

7. The local authority shall with the previous approval of the Government appoint an officer who shall be called the School Board Administrative Officer. He shall be the chief executive officer of the school board and his pay, powers and duties shall be as prescribed.

8. (1) A local authority may by resolution declare its intention to provide compulsory elementary education in the whole or any part of the area subject to its jurisdiction in the case of children of either sex or both sexes and, if the local authority is a district local board, in any area subject to the jurisdiction of a municipality situate in the district not being a city municipality which is authorised to manage its own schools, and shall submit its proposals to the Government in the form of a scheme.

(2) A local authority, if called upon by the Government so to do, shall within a time to be specified by the Government submit a scheme to provide compulsory elementary education in such areas as above and in the case of children of either sex or both sexes as the Government may specify.

9. The scheme shall contain the following particulars:—

- Particulars to be contained in scheme.
- (a) the area of compulsion;
 - (b) a census of children of either sex or both sexes residing within such area and classified by communities and vernaculars;
 - (c) a list of existing and proposed schools indicating the private schools which will be approved schools;
 - (d) a schedule of existing and proposed teaching, inspecting and supervising staff;
 - (e) the manner in which provision will be made for the compulsory elementary education in their vernaculars of the children of all communities in the area of compulsion;
 - (f) the recurring cost of the scheme and how the local authority proposes to meet its share of it; and
 - (g) if there is a municipality which is not authorised to manage its own schools within the area of compulsion which the municipality in the opinion of the local authority should make.

10. The Government may after such enquiry as shall seem necessary either sanction such scheme with or without modification or refuse to sanction it.

11. If the scheme is sanctioned the Government shall agree to bear half the recurring annual cost of the scheme if the local authority is a municipality and two thirds of the said cost if the local authority is a district local board not exceeding however half or two thirds, as the case may be, of the cost as estimated by the local authority in the scheme as sanctioned.

12. When a scheme has been sanctioned the local authority shall make adequate provision for compulsory elementary education within the area of compulsion and no fee shall be charged in any school within such area managed by the school board in respect of the elementary education of any child.

13. A sanctioned scheme may with the sanction of the Government be withdrawn or from time to time modified by a local authority or may by an order published with the reasons for making it in the *Bombay Government Gazette* be modified, cancelled or temporarily suspended by the Government.

14. Approved schools shall at all times be open to inspection by the inspecting officers of the Government.

15. The subjects, curricula, books and standards of teaching of approved schools shall be as prescribed but may be altered by the school board with the sanction of the Government to suit local requirements.

16. In every area of compulsion the parent of every child to whom a scheme applies shall in the absence of a reasonable excuse as hereinafter provided and if such parent and child ordinarily reside in such area cause such child to attend an approved school in such area.

17. A parent shall be deemed to have a reasonable excuse for failure to cause a child to attend an approved school in any of the following cases:—

(a) where the child is prevented from attending school by sickness, infirmity or other unavoidable cause;

(b) where the child is receiving, otherwise than in an approved school, instruction which in the opinion of the school board is efficient, or has received from the school a certificate of having already completed his elementary education;

(c) where there is no approved school within a distance to be fixed by the Government in consultation with the school board and measured

according to the nearest road, from the residence of the child;

(d) where, after due application, entrance to an approved school has been refused to the child by reason of lack of accommodation or for other sufficient cause, until such time as the parent is notified that the child can be admitted;

(e) where there is no approved school in the locality in which instruction is given in the vernacular of the child.

18. (1) Where the school board is satisfied that the parent of any child, who is bound under the provisions of section 16 to cause such child to attend an approved school, has failed to do so, the school board, after giving the parent an opportunity of being heard and after such enquiry as it considers necessary, may pass an order directing the parent to cause such child to attend an approved school on and from a date which shall be specified in the order.

(2) This power may be delegated by the school board to a person or committee appointed by it.

19. (1) Any parent against whom an order with reference to a child has been passed under section 18 and who fails to comply with the provisions of sections 16 with respect to such child on and after the date specified in such order shall, if he resides in a town or village where there is a magistrate, on conviction by such magistrate, and, if he resides elsewhere, on conviction by a revenue or police patel or other person empowered in this behalf by the District Magistrate, be liable to a fine not exceeding two rupees and, if such failure continues after such conviction he shall also on conviction by such magistrate, patel or person be liable to a fine of eight annas for every day that the failure continues or is repeated.

(2) No magistrate patel or person shall take cognizance of an offence under sub-section (1) except on the complaint of the authority or person who passed the order under section 18.

20. (1) Whoever knowingly takes into his employment, either on his own behalf or on behalf of any other person any child in respect of whom the provisions of section 16 apply, so as to interfere with the efficient instruction of such child, shall, on conviction before a magistrate, be liable to a fine not exceeding twenty-five rupees.

(2) No court shall take cognizance of an offence under this section except on the complaint of the school board or the School Board Administrative Officer, and before making any complaint under this section against any person, the school board or the School Board Administrative Officer, shall, unless such person has previously been convicted under this section in respect of the same child, cause a warning to be given to such person.

21. (1) If a fine imposed under section 19 or 20 by a magistrate, patel or person is paid it shall be credited to the local authority.

(e) If such fine be not paid the amount thereof shall be recoverable by the local authority in the same manner as an amount claimed on account of a tax.

22. An appeal from a conviction under section 19 by a *patel or person* shall lie to the nearest magistrate having jurisdiction in the town or village where the appellant resides.

23. The Government may by notification in the *Bombay Government Gazette* exempt any particular class or community in any area of compulsion or part thereof from the operation of this Act.

24. (1) If a local authority, when called upon makes default in preparing a scheme or after a scheme has been sanctioned omits to make adequate provision for compulsory elementary education in accordance with a scheme as sanctioned and to bring into operation or continue to keep in operation such scheme the Government may after due enquiry appoint a person to prepare the scheme or to bring it into operation or to continue to keep it in operation, as the case may be, and the expense thereof shall be paid by the local authority to the Government.

(2) If the expense is not so paid the Government may make an order directing any person who has for the time being custody of any moneys on behalf of the local authority to pay such expense from such moneys as he may have in his hands or may from time to time receive and such person shall be bound to obey such order.

25. (1) The Government may by notification in the *Bombay Government Gazette* make rules for the purposes of this Act.

(2) In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing provision, such rules may determine the powers and duties of local authorities, school boards and School Board Administrative Officers and their relations with the Government Educational Department and the conditions regarding the pay, qualifications and terms of employment of the teaching, inspecting and supervising staff.

26. The Bombay Primary Education (District Municipalities) Act, 1918, is hereby repealed:

Provided that in any municipal district where a notification under section 3 of that Act has issued the provisions of this Act shall from the date of repeal have effect as though the municipality had followed the procedure described in this Act.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS.

The object of this Bill is to carry out the recommendations of the Committee appointed to consider the question of compulsory education. It provides the machinery necessary for the working of a scheme of compulsory elementary education by a local authority and the opportunity is taken to

make improved arrangements for the supply of primary education.

When this Bill comes into operation the duties of district local boards and municipalities in respect of primary education, other than the provision of funds, will be transferred to school boards. There will be a school board for each district local board and for each municipality which desires and is considered fit to manage its own schools. As the educational staff of some of the lesser municipalities is small it is found administratively convenient to have their primary schools managed by the district local boards of the districts in which such municipalities are situated. Such municipalities will however have representatives on the school boards and the school boards will also include members elected by the local authorities, representatives of minorities, persons experienced in education, women and Government nominees. In addition to performing the duties of the local authority, i. e., district local board or municipality, for which it is constituted in the matter of primary education it will be the duty of a school board to enforce the provisions of the Act in respect of compulsory education. It is intended that the school boards should have more extended powers in the matter of primary education than are now exercised by the district local boards and municipalities.

It will be open to a local authority to declare by resolution its intention to provide compulsory elementary education in any part of the area subject to its jurisdiction. If the local authority is a district local board this area may include the area within the jurisdiction of a municipality in the district which is not for the reason given above authorised to manage its own schools. A proposal by a local authority to provide compulsory education will be submitted to Government in the form of a scheme and if the scheme is sanctioned by Government, Government will agree to bear half its recurring cost if the local authority is a municipality and two thirds of such cost if the local authority is a district local board. In the case of a local authority which does not prepare such a scheme if called upon to do so or fails to bring a scheme into operation or to continue to keep it in operation it will be open to Government to have a scheme prepared or brought into operation or kept in operation as the case may be.

When a scheme is sanctioned by Government it will be worked on the lines of the Bombay Primary Education (District Municipalities) Act of 1918 by the school boards, the chief difference being that under that Act free primary education could be made compulsory in a municipal district only, whereas under this Act free elementary education, i. e., education such as given in infant classes and vernacular standards I to IV may, as finances admit, gradually be made compulsory throughout the Presidency except the City of Bombay.

Further details are given in the following notes on clauses.

Clauses 5 and 6.—As the duties of the lesser municipalities in the matter of primary education will be performed by school boards which will have to be constituted, provision is made for the handing over of the school buildings etc. by such municipalities on a date to be fixed by Government. From that date the school committees of such municipalities will cease to control primary education. Provision is made for an annual contribution by such municipalities to the district local boards for

the educational work done for them by the school boards of the district local boards.

Clause 7.—Each school board will have a chief executive officer to carry out its educational work.

Clause 10.—It is necessary that Government should have power to modify or reject a scheme of compulsory education as the proposed scheme might be far beyond the financial resources of Government.

Clause 12.—The difference between this clause and section 14 of the Act of 1918 is intentional. It is thought that where a scheme is in force as regards children of one sex only children of the other sex should be entitled to free education though it is not compulsory.

Clauses 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21.—These follow the provisions of the Act of 1918 with slight differences. It is thought desirable to give the power of fining a parent who fails to send his child to school to the Patel or other suitable person of the locality who may be appointed for this purpose and to avoid the necessity of recourse to a Magistrate unless there is a Magistrate in the village. In order that the Patel or person appointed for this duty shall not abuse his powers an appeal is provided by clause 22 to the Magistrate.

Clause 26. The Act of 1918 is no longer wanted and is repealed. As however compulsory education has been introduced under it in certain municipal districts it is proposed that it should continue to be enforced under this Act.

R. P. PARANJPYE.

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