

Government of Madras.

EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT.

Recd.

Regd.

} 1911.

Enclosures

Spare copies

G.O., No. 612, 2nd September 1911.

Elementary Education Bill.

Directing that the Government of India be furnished with the views of this Government on the — introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 16th March 1911 and with the copies of the opinions thereon of the officers and bodies consulted.

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G.O.	No.	Department.	Date.	G.O.	No.	Department.	Date.

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G.O.	No.	Department.	Date.	G.O.	No.	Department.	Date.

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GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT.

READ—again the following paper :—

I

G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911.

ABSTRACT.—Referring the Elementary Education Bill for opinion to the Honourable the Judges of the High Court and certain selected officers and bodies.

READ—also the following papers :—

II

Letter—from the Honorary Secretary, Missionary Council on Aided Education, Madras.

To—the Chief Secretary to Government.

Dated—the 22nd April 1911.

I have the honour to forward the following resolution of the Executive Committee of the Missionary Council on Aided Education :—

“The Committee took into consideration G.O., No. 188, Educational, 1st April 1911, referring the Elementary Education Bill to the Missionary Council on Aided Education for favour of opinion, and resolved as follows :—

“The Executive Committee of the council heartily welcome every effort to extend elementary education, and approve of the general principles of the Bill, and more particularly of its permissive character. The Executive Committee would express the hope that the Local Government, in every case in which it is proposed to put the Bill in operation, will consult with, and give due weight to the opinion of, those engaged in educational work within the given area, and will seek to conserve the interests of existing institutions. They would further express the hope that the Act may in no case be applied until the Government is assured of an adequate supply of efficient teachers.”

III

Letter—from M.R. RY. S. VENKATANARAYAN RAO GARU, B.A., Chairman, Municipal Council, Kurnool.

To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.

Dated—the 27th April 1911.

No.—Ref. on Car. 7-G.

Adverting to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Elementary Education Bill introduced by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in the Imperial Legislative Council for opinion to the municipal councils, among other bodies, I have the honour to state that the Government order under reference was previously circulated among the members of this council for careful perusal and the subject was then placed before the council at its meeting held to-day for consideration. The council, after considering the *pros and cons* of the subject, unanimously resolved to give its whole-hearted support to the Bill as a whole and to suggest at the same time to raise the limit provided in sub-clause (1) of clause 9 from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20.

2. An extract of the proceedings of the meeting of the Council relating to the subject is herewith submitted.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the Municipal Council, Kurnool, dated 27th April 1911.

Read the following G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Elementary Education Bill for opinion to the municipal councils.

Resolution No. 1.—The council accords its whole-hearted support to the Elementary Education Bill introduced by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in the Imperial Legislative Council and trusts that the Government would see their way to pass the measure at an early date.

In this connection the Council is of opinion that it would be more in accord with the spirit of the Bill if the limit of Rs. 10 provided in sub-clause (1) of clause 9 of the Bill be raised to Rs. 20. Carried unanimously.

IV

Letter—from C. A. INNES, Esq., I.C.S., President, District Board, Malabar.

To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.

Dated—Calicut, the 9th May 1911.

No.—D. 487-L.F.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of resolution No. 14 of this district board passed at its meeting held on the 6th instant, containing the opinion of the board on the “Elementary Education Bill” of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the District Board, Malabar, dated 6th May 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, from the Government of Madras, Educational Department, referring the Elementary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale for the opinion of the district boards.

Resolution No. 14.—The board resolves as follows :—

(1) This board agrees that the widest possible diffusion of elementary education is the ideal to be aimed at in Malabar as elsewhere and recognizes that compulsion in some form or other is probably the only effective means of securing universal elementary education.

(2) The board considers that compulsory education can be introduced only very gradually, and it approves of the principles (a) that the responsibility of taking the first step in this direction should lie with the local boards, (b) that those boards should not be allowed to take that step except in areas where there is already a widespread demand for education, (c) that the final decision in the matter should rest with the Local Government and (d) that a part at least of the cost of introducing compulsory education should be met by extra taxation in the area to which the Act is extended.

(3) The board considers that ordinary education which is compulsory should also be free, but it recognizes (a) that there are many people in Malabar who send their children to board schools who can well afford to pay the very moderate fees charged, and (b) that the loss of fee-income would probably be a serious obstacle to the progress of a scheme the cost of which must be very heavy.

(4) The board, therefore, approves of the general principles of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Bill.

(5) Whether compulsory education even with the safeguards provided in the Bill can be regarded for many years to come as a measure of practical politics so far as the areas under the Malabar district board are concerned is a different and much more difficult question. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale considers that the experiment should be tried first in the municipal towns, and, subject to his observation in paragraph 6 below, the board agrees in this view. It will depend much on the success or otherwise of the experiment in municipal towns, whether it should be extended to the selected rural areas of the district. It is true that, according to the statistics printed on page 94 of volume II of the last Report on Public Instruction in the presidency, Malabar already fulfils the education test suggested by the Honourable Member. That is to say, 42.8 per cent. of the boy population of school age in the district are already at school, whereas the limit suggested by Mr. Gokhale is only 33 per cent. But the board sees very grave practical difficulties in the way of any general extension of compulsory education in the district in the near future. The expense which would be considerable in any district would be particularly heavy in Malabar. Compulsory education connotes as a preliminary the compulsory provision of schools and of the staff necessary to man those schools. In Malabar there are no villages in the strict sense of the term. The inhabitants do not live in a compact collection of houses on a village-site set apart for the purpose. They live in separate homesteads scattered about all over the desams and very often at a considerable distance from any road. Unless, therefore, a great proportion of the boy population is to be exempted under the provisions of clause 5 (a) of the Bill, at least one school for every desam would be required. There are 2,222 desams in Malabar and at present less than 700 recognized schools. On the lowest computation, then, upwards of 1,500 new schools

would be required. But even this number would not suffice, for it must be remembered that in Malabar, caste distinctions are sharply defined and caste feeling runs high. The Mappilla will not send his children, as it is, to the Hindu school, and, as matters stand at present, it is impossible to imagine a high caste Nayar boy seated side by side on the same bench with a Chorum or a Nayadi or a Paraya boy. It is extremely likely, therefore, that in order to make even compulsion serve the need which the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has in view, two or three schools would be required in every desam. A partial remedy might be found by exempting certain of the lower castes from the provisions of the Bill under clause 16, and no doubt some of the jungle tribes would be so exempted. But the board would point out that it is just these lower castes that compulsion is intended to get hold of. The higher castes in Malabar can, generally speaking, be depended upon to educate their children. Nor would the expense end with the provision of the buildings, furniture and staff required for the additional elementary schools. Additional training schools for masters and training colleges on the Saidapet model would be a necessary adjunct of the scheme. A great increase in the supervising and inspecting staff would also be necessary, and probably also increased provision of aided secondary schools and colleges. Though, therefore, Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale terms his Bill a moderate one, and though its principles are unexceptionable, the board considers that ultimately it will involve expenditure of which at present it is impossible to see the limits. How is this expenditure to be met? As the board has frequently had occasion to point out, the maintenance of roads owing to the rainfall and configuration of this district involves a heavy drain on its resources, and it cannot make available from these resources any appreciably larger sum for education than it does at present. A special education rate imposed at any figure which would not cause reasonable discontent would meet only a fraction of the cost involved in the application of any measure of compulsory education to the district, and the greater part of the expenditure involved in financing such a measure would fall on the Local Government. It is mainly for Government to say therefore whether the Bill can be accepted on financial grounds as a measure of practical politics.

(6) For its own part the board inclines to the opinion that compulsory education would not be possible without additional taxation (over and above a special rate), which it would deprecate on general grounds. * It fears that the Bill is premature so far as the rural areas of Malabar are concerned. Speaking for its own district, the board is of opinion that the improvement of elementary education should take two lines—firstly, the improvement of existing schools, their masters, their appliances and their buildings; and secondly, the opening of schools in important villages where they do not now exist. It believes that a well-considered scheme of improvement on these lines would do more good than a premature scheme for universal and compulsory education. But the board cannot follow these lines of improvement without the aid of liberal subsidies from the Local Government and from this point of view it apprehends danger even from experiments with compulsory education in municipal towns, unless these experiments are conducted on the most restricted scale. For it fears that these experiments may require so much financial aid from Government that Government will not be able to subsidize district boards as liberally as would be necessary for any real advance on the lines indicated above. The board doubts whether any such result would be in the true interests of elementary education in India.

(7) In any case the Bill will require amendment in various points of detail, but the board does not think it necessary to specify such points. It considers, however, that the maximum rate at which the special education rate should be levied should be specified and also that some indication should be given as to how the rate would be assessed. In rural areas it would presumably take the form of an additional cess on the land revenue.

V

Letter—from H. R. BARDSWELL, Esq., M.A., I.C.S., Chairman, Municipal Council, Nandyal.

To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department (through the Collector of Kurnool, and the Revenue Divisional Officer, Nandyal).

Dated—the 23rd April 1911.

No.—G.O.-29.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, forwarding the Elementary Education Bill for opinion to the Honourable the Judges of the High Court and certain selected officers and bodies, I have the honour to submit a copy of the council resolution No. 9, dated 20th April 1911.

2. It is observed from the Statement of Objects and Reasons at the back of the Bill that it is realised that the present time is one rather for a beginning to be made in the direction of compulsory education than for compulsory education to be made general throughout the country. The beginning should, I understand, be made in the case of areas in which the people have already attained some degree of advancement socially, economically and in respect of general intelligence. Nandyal in which the

* This sentence was approved by a majority of the board. Seven of the twenty-one members present dissented from it.

people in general are backward can by no means be considered as one of such areas and the introduction into it of compulsory education would probably be misunderstood and possibly resented, and I am therefore in agreement with the opinion of the council. In these circumstances criticism of the details of the Bill of the council appears to be unnecessary and has not been offered.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the Municipal Council, Nandyal, dated 20th April 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, regarding the Elementary Education Bill.

Resolution No. 9.—The council is of opinion that the time is not yet ripe for making education compulsory in this municipality.

N. Dis. No. 543-Sub., dated 23th April 1911.

Forwarded.

H. R. BARDSWELL,
Sub-Collector.

N. Dis. No. 1169-Gl., dated 9th May 1911.

Forwarded.

E. S. LLOYD,
Ag. Collector of Kurnool.

VI

Letter—from Gao. H. COLEMAN, Esq., Chairman, Municipal Council, Coonoor.

To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department (through the Revenue Divisional Officer, Coonoor, and the Collector of the Nilgiris).

Dated—the 1st May 1911.

No.—265.

In compliance with G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, I have the honour to submit copy of a resolution of the council passed thereon at a meeting held on the 26th April 1911.

I would beg to remark that the proposed Bill makes no reference to the existing Grant-in-aid Code, and it appears doubtful whether the Bill is intended to override the code, so far as the latter applies to elementary schools. It would appear reasonable that when a municipality provides school accommodation to the satisfaction of the Department of Public Instruction, it should not be further compelled to aid other schools. A proviso might be added to section 7 of the Bill to the effect that any local body providing such school accommodation shall not be called upon to make grants-in-aid to other schools.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the Municipal Council, Coonoor, dated 26th April 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring, for remarks, "The Elementary Education Bill" of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale.

Resolution No. 1.—The Council, while approving of the principle of compulsory elementary education, does not feel prepared to increase its expenditure on education to more than it is paying at present. If the Bill were passed, the number of municipal schools which may be required might be large and probably beyond the means of the council to maintain.

Endorsement N. Dis. No. C 622/11, dated 3rd May 1911.

Submitted.

C. G. MACKAY,
Sub-Collector.

Endorsement Genl. Cir. Regr. No. 1089, dated 12th May 1911.

Submitted. I shall have an opportunity of discussing the Bill as President, District Board, and accordingly refrain from comment here.

P. S. P. RICE,
Collector.

VII

Letter—from K. G. VENKATASUBBA AIYAR, Esq., B.A., B.L., President of a public meeting of the citizens of Salem.

To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.

Dated—the 17th May 1911.

Agreeably to resolution No. 3 of a public meeting of the citizens of Salem held on the 16th of May 1911, I have the honour to forward herewith an extract of the second resolution passed in that meeting with the request that you will be so good as to place the same before His Excellency the Governor in Council for consideration.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of a public meeting of the citizens of Salem held in the Town Hall on Tuesday the 16th of May 1911.

Resolved that—

2. (a) This meeting is of opinion that the progress of the country renders it absolutely necessary that a beginning should be made in the way of compulsory education in certain selected areas.

(b) The Bill introduced into the Viceroy's Legislative Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale with the above object is an extremely cautious measure and that this meeting is in complete accord with the principles of the Bill.

(c) In the opinion of this meeting if financial necessities demand the levying of fees in elementary schools, the limit of income that secures exemption from payment of such fees should be much higher than Rs. 10 a month—the limit fixed in clause 9, sub-clause (1); in consequence of the considerable rise in the cost of living that has taken place during the recent years and the probability of its continued rise, especially in urban areas, this limit may safely be raised to Rs. 20 a month.

VIII

Letter—from P. S. P. RICE, Esq., I.C.S., President, District Board, Nilgiris.

To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.

Dated—Ootacamund, the 18th May 1911.

No.—R.C. 32-G.

I have the honour to reply to G.O. No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911.

2. It is not quite clear to me whether criticism is invited of the general principle of compulsory education or only of the provisions of the Bill, but I venture to submit first a few remarks on the general question before proceeding to detail.

3. Lord Curzon said: "What is the greatest danger in India? What is the source of suspicion, superstition, outbreaks, crimes, and also much of the agrarian discontent and suffering among the masses? It is ignorance. And what is the only antidote to ignorance? Knowledge. And the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale when he first introduced his resolution into the Imperial Council referred to three movements, the humanitarian as exemplified by the prison reforms and by the abolition of slavery, the democratic movement, and finally the industrial movement, which had "combined to give to mass

education the place which it occupies at present amongst the duties of the State". In his speech with which he introduced the present Bill he alluded with emphasis to the condition of England, Japan and Ceylon. England, he said, had educated by compulsory methods in a space of ten years the whole residue of the population that had not already received instruction. Japan had done the same in twenty years, while Ceylon was cited as an example of an eastern country in the vicinity of India, where the experiment had been tried with success.

4. I am not acquainted with the antecedent condition of England and Japan and the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has not enlightened us. I cannot now without becoming wearisome enter into a detailed criticism of the many points in the speech which seem open to it: but it is at least a well-known fact that England is a rich country and England is a heavily-taxed country. She is especially eminent in manufactures and industries, and her people are well educated as compared with those of most countries in the east and at any rate with the masses in India. There are, moreover, very many openings for an English boy which are closed to the Indian. It has been urged, and it seems to me with force, that the amount of learning which compulsory primary education will confer, will be just enough to create discontent amongst the agricultural classes with their hereditary occupation of following the plough and not enough to fit them adequately for any other calling. And that which is charged against the British Government in respect of its educational policy in dealing with the middle classes, the creation, namely, of a large class of half educated youths who jostle one another in the struggle for prizes they do not deserve, may occur again in respect of the larger and on the whole more important class of agriculturists who will think that reading and writing constitute the whole of knowledge.

5. Nevertheless we are trying to educate the people on the voluntary system and it would perhaps be illogical to fear the results of compulsion when we are at present striving towards the self same goal by milder methods. It is safer to take other ground. Now the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale says that only 1.9 per cent. "of the whole population" of India "is receiving elementary education". I have perhaps a heretic dislike for statistics and especially naked statistics, though at times they are necessary and when guarded by checks and counter-checks are often useful. But accepting Mr. Gokhale's figures I would ask why only 2 per cent. of the population are receiving elementary education and parenthetically I would remark that the percentage is of little use to us unless we know the percentage of boys of school-going age to the whole population. Mr. Valentine Chirol (*Indian Unrest*, page 246) tells us that out of the whole population of 294 millions, only about 15 million males, and about 1 million females could read and write. And again there were about 3,631,000 pupils at school in India of whom half a million are girls. This was in 1907. There is, therefore, no doubt that statistics of other countries where there is not the same prejudice against female education are very misleading, and assuming that the proportion of males and females is nearly equal, the percentage of males to the total male population would be nearer 4 than 2. But if Mr. Chirol is correct, then if of 294 millions 140,000,000 be male and 15,000,000 be literate, the proportion of literate males to the total male population is rather over 11 per cent. We are further told that "in Bombay presidency alone there are said to be 100,000 boys for whom parents want, but cannot obtain, primary education". Now if this statement be true and if the same conditions apply to the rest of British India, it follows that there must be more than a million boys, whose parents would educate them on the voluntary system but cannot for want of schools. The answer to the above question why the percentage is so low is now apparent. There are not enough schools, and there are not enough schools because there is not enough money; and there is not enough money because the country is not a rich country. The land-cess is leviable under the Act at one anna in the rupee and the question immediately suggests itself; If it is desired to extend education in districts where the land-cess is not levied at maximum rates, and where schools are already deficient, would it not be wiser to levy the maximum rates? and again where the taxes already levied at those rates, can the district bear more? or putting the same idea in other shape is it not wiser to develop on present lines what we already have, the voluntary system, namely, for which extension there is evidently plenty of scope rather than introduce a principle of compulsion which men naturally

dialike? For it is just those districts which are the poorest that are the most backward and are therefore most in need of extended education and it is just those poorest districts (seeing that land-cess follows land revenue) that find the calls upon local funds so difficult to meet, and yet are least able to bear extra taxation. Mr. Chiroli estimates that it would cost £15,000,000 a year to maintain free and compulsory education, while the initial capital cost would be £18,000,000. This, of course, is to assume that primary education would be free and compulsory everywhere, but this is the goal for which we are to strive, and where is the money to come from?

6. But Mr. Gokhale does not contemplate anything like universality in his scheme. So far from this is he, that when the provisions of his Bill are examined it would appear to amount to very little beyond the assertion of the principle of compulsion, for it is only to be extended to certain parts by special notification and even then special classes and communities may be exempted and individuals also on various grounds. And when all this is done, it is very doubtful whether grants for the extension of primary education on voluntary lines would not equally serve the same purpose. So long as so much remains to be done for willing parents, is it wise or desirable to force education upon the unwilling, seeing that we do not possess the purse of fortunates and that the influx of the compulsory pupil must lead to the entertainment of more teachers and so to the diversion of the money for the sake of the unwilling to the disadvantage of the willing. I say nothing of the enormous difficulty of finding the extra teachers, for it is acknowledged that even under existing conditions we cannot afford to pay for a class that is really adequate to the work.

7. Passing now to more detailed criticism of the Bill I would remark that the definition of a "reasonable excuse" is very vague. It throws a great responsibility on the Magistrate and a too rigid interpretation is very likely to cause great discontent and even hardship. Clause (a)—a village may easily be situated a mile from the nearest road and yet the school may be only a few furlongs down that road. If by "road" is meant "route" I would advocate the adoption of this word. In common parlance a road does not mean a footpath and yet it would be very easy to conceive of the existence of a school situate half a mile from the boy's house and not connected by any road at all. Clause (b)—I take stronger exception to the words "domestic necessity, the seasonal needs of agriculture, or other sufficient cause". What is a domestic necessity? Does it, for instance, include the herding of cattle, which is usually done by small boys in this country because their elders are otherwise engaged? What are the seasonal needs of agriculture? and to what extent are small boys required for the operation of ploughing, sowing, weeding and harvesting? These provisions would be found very difficult to work in practice unless great latitude is allowed to the parent, for what may appear and may really be domestic necessity to the parent may not appear so to the Magistrate, who is not acquainted with the various difficulties of the household. And yet an unwilling parent might easily make out a case of domestic necessity and of seasonal needs, which would practically keep the boy from school for the whole year.

Section 7.—It is all very well to say the local body shall provide such accommodation as the Director of Public Instruction considers necessary and sufficient, but as matters stand at present there is no doubt that even the most sympathetic district board cannot provide such accommodation simply for want of money. If this clause be made imperative, other departments would be starved and some saving clause is obviously necessary.

Section 8.—This clause would have to be embodied in the local Acts in order to be valid and the question above alluded to, namely, whether, extra taxation is advisable at once arises. It has further been pointed out that many a parent would be paying double fees, one the educational cess under section 8 and one the school fees under section 9, of course the retort would be that the parent would in any case be paying the fees if he sent his boy to school and hence he is only required to pay his extra educational rate. There is no suggestion as to the calculation of this rate. If it is to be on the annual rent value of all occupied lands, as is the case with the land-cess and the railway cess, it is obviously unfair, for it lays upon the land-holding population alone the extra burden of this educational tax, which artisans, pleaders, money-lenders and others, who are perhaps far more able to bear the rate, would go free and educate

their children at the expense of the ryots. Or is it to be a kind of poll-tax or household tax and if so on what basis? The case of railways is somewhat different, for district board railways which are of the class of the Egyptian light agricultural railways are largely intended to assist agriculture by enabling the people to transport harvests cheaply and easily and the benefit to the community as a whole is chiefly a benefit to agriculture. A school benefits the ryot no more than the money-lender. But an Act that imposes a special rate and yet leaves unsaid how that rate is to be calculated is surely very defective.

Section 9.—(1) Here is an inquisitive section with a vengeance. Objection was taken to it in the Imperial Council by the Maharaja of Burdwan and by Sir Vitaldas Thackersey on the ground that a man getting Rs. 10 may conceivably be better off than a man getting Rs. 15; the latter also said that there will be "lots of disputes and dissatisfaction" foreshadowing what I object to, the need for inquisition and the difficulty of finding out even approximately what constitutes a man's income. What is meant by the "monthly income"? Does it mean the takings of the year divided by 12 and if so are we to have a permanent register of such fee-paying houses or is the fee to depend on the fluctuations of income? Suppose a Cuddapah ryot with 20 acres of choolam land. His income in a good year might be Rs. 200, in a bad it might be only Rs. 40 to Rs. 50. How do you propose to differentiate without a yearly inquisition resembling that now necessitated by the Income-tax Act; only 10 times more difficult and 100 times more irksome?

Section 10.—I regret I do not share Mr. Gokhale's faith in the school attendance committee nor do I support the plea of Mr. Dadabhai for "school boards". I shall, and I suppose many of my colleagues will, be open to abuse for taking the view of the "hide-bound civilian" and of the "sun-dried bureaucrat", but unless I have much mistaken the body of opinion on the question of village panchayats, I venture to prophesy that very few district officers will expect much help from school attendance committees. Something of the sort has been tried, I think, at the suggestion of the council of native education and one such committee existed at Kamalapur in Cuddapah. It did next to nothing; the interest displayed was apathetic and spasmodic; and occasional remark about a broken chair or a torn map measured the extent of its assistance. To use a somewhat hackneyed phrase, the country has not yet shown itself capable of such methods of self-government on English lines.

Section 19.—As a matter of more minor detail I would suggest that this section is somewhat redundant when read with section 10, but no doubt this would be recast when the Bill took final shape.

8. To sum up: the principle of the Bill whose ultimate goal is free and compulsory education may be well enough, but the pill of compulsion must be gilded with the freedom if it is to be palatable. There is yet plenty of scope for the extension of education on voluntary lines and curiously enough Mr. Subba Rao advocates compulsion because there are so many voluntary seekers after education and Mr. Bhupendranath Basu goes a step further and says in effect that the principle of compulsion must be judged by the extent of voluntary demand. Compulsion is for the unwilling, not for the willing. The financial difficulty is enormous. Great exception was taken by several speakers in the debate to the new rate proposed and yet we cannot make bricks without straw. Such money as can be found can still be usefully spent on voluntary education. The supply of teachers is a problem which will perhaps leave the Bill a dead letter for years to come, for schools are even now undermanned and that the teachers in them are underpaid, not perhaps for the quality we get but for the quality we ought to get. Finally, the Bill is open to much criticism in detail and especially as regards the education rate and the limit of income, perhaps also in respect of the exemption clause.

The Hon'ble Mr. Butler, in that part of his speech which is printed on page 391 of the *Fort St. George Gazette* of 11th April 1911, has ably put the matter in a nutshell. "Ignorance," he says, "is our enemy and our prayer is for light to expose and shatter that insidious foe." For light perhaps but if it is to be a burning and a shining light, it must be kindled by money.

IX

Letter—from L. VIBERT, Esq., I.C.S., President, District Board, Chingleput.
To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.
Dated—Saidapet, the 18th May 1911.
No.—Dis. 45-L.R.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated the 1st ultimo, referring, for opinion, the Elementary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, I have the honour to report that this district board approves of the principles and provisions of the Bill.

2. I would, however, observe that although section 9 of the Bill speaks of the remission of school-fees in certain cases and assumes that they are to be levied as a matter of course in other cases, there is no specific provision for their levy in the Act and no scale of fees laid down.

ENCLOSURE.

Minutes of Proceedings passed by the District Board of Chingleput at its meeting held at the Sub-Collector's office, Chingleput, on Monday, the 15th May 1911, at 3 P.M.

Read the following:—

(i) G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring, for opinion, the Elementary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale.

(ii) Letter from the Assistant Inspector of Schools, Chingleput district, No. 685/Ch., dated 2nd May 1911.

(iii) Tiruvallūr Taluk Board's resolution No. 18, dated 6th May 1911.

Resolution No. 3—The board approves of the principles and provisions of the Bill.

X

Letter—from R. A. GRAHAM, Esq., I.C.S., President, District Board, South Canara.
To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.
Dated—Mangalore, the 24th May 1911.
No.—Dis. 316-D, D.B.

In reply to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, I have the honour to state that the district board has pronounced itself generally in favour of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill, being of opinion that, though it should for the present be introduced only into very limited areas, it contains sufficient provision to prevent undue application. The Coondapur Taluk Board is unreservedly in favour of it, the Mangalore Taluk Board approves of its principles, but is of opinion that the time has not yet come to introduce compulsory education into the area under its jurisdiction, while the President of the Puttur Taluk Board has not had an opportunity of putting the question before his board.

2. I am personally of opinion that there is some danger, if the Bill becomes law, of the Government being placed in an invidious position in that it may have to check local enthusiasm; while if the enthusiasts are allowed to have their way, hardships may be imposed on some of the poorer classes, which will only be remedied by wholesale relaxations.

3. There are one or two details which seem to call for criticism. (a) It seems unnecessary in this country to provide for religious objections as at the end of clause 5 (a), since the teaching in all the public elementary schools is purely secular and the only use that can be made of the provision is by the recalcitrant parent. (b) It seems inadvisable to fix, as in clause 9 (i), an exact limit of income for the remission of fees. Circumstances vary greatly in different places, a rupee goes a great deal further in rural areas than in towns, and the sufficiency of a man's income depends more on the number of his children than on its exact amount. (c) Except in very limited areas it will be difficult or impossible for a school attendance committee to secure the attendance of all the boys, unless they are given the assistance of some paid official whose duty will consist in hunting up boys who are not attending; and it would appear to be necessary to provide for the appointment of such officials where necessary.

XI

Letter—from M.R.Ry. Rao Bahadur C. GOPALAN NAYAR Avargal, Revenue Divisional Officer and Chairman, Calicut.
To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department (through the Collector of Malabar).
Dated—the 15th May 1911.
No.—Dis. 222/11.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, I have the honour to report that the municipal council accepts the principle of the Elementary Educational Bill, but so far as the municipal area of Calicut is concerned, the council considers the scheme to be premature and also unworkable in view of the heavy additional taxation that will be required to meet the expenditure. A copy of the resolution of the municipal council, dated 13th May 1911, on the subject is enclosed.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the Municipal Council, Calicut, dated the 13th May 1911.

Read again resolution No. 5 of the Municipal Council, dated 29th April 1911, referring to a committee for report G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Elementary Education Bill introduced by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale into the Imperial Legislative Council for opinion to municipal councils, etc.

Also remarks dated 6th May 1911 by the committee on the subject.

Resolution No. 2—The remarks of the committee are approved by the council.

SUB-ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the committee appointed to report on the Elementary Education Bill passed at a meeting, dated 6th May 1911.

The committee accepts the principle of the Bill; but so far as the municipal area of Calicut is concerned, the committee considers the scheme to be premature, and also unworkable in view of the heavy additional taxation that will be required to meet the expenditure.

Endorsement on C. No. 234/ML., dated 21st May 1911.

Forwarded.

C. A. INNES,
 Ag. Collector of Malabar.

XII

Letter—from M.R.Ry. T. RAMACHANDRA RAO PANTULU Garu, B.A., Chairman, Municipal Council, Vizianagram.
To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.
Dated—the 24th May 1911.
No.—D. Dis. 275.

Referring to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, I have the honour to state that the council is in favour of the provisions of the Bill in general, but would suggest that the distance limit of one mile referred to in section 5 (a) may be reduced to half a mile and the limit of monthly income of parent referred to in section 9 (1) raised to Rs. 15. A copy of the resolution is enclosed.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the Municipal Council, Vizianagram, dated the 20th May 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill for opinion to the Honourable the Judges of the High Court and certain selected officers and bodies.

Resolution No. 2.—The council approves the provisions of the Bill in general and suggests that the distance limit of one mile referred in section 5 (a) may be reduced to half a mile and also the limit of monthly income of parent or guardian referred to in section 9 (1) may be raised to Rs. 15.

XIII

Letter—from M.R. BY. M. THILLAINAYAKAM PILLAI AVARGAL, B.A., Chairman—
Delegate, Municipal Council, Cuddalore.

To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.

Dated—the 29th May 1911.

No.—1597.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of the resolution of the council passed at its meeting held on the 27th instant, on the subject of the Elementary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the Municipal Council, Cuddalore, dated the 7th May 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Elementary Education Bill for opinion to the Honourable the Judges of the High Court and certain selected officers and bodies.

Resolution.—The council is unanimously of the opinion that the Bill in question is necessary and may be passed into law with alteration of the definition of "elementary education" in section 2 substituting the words "in such technical subjects as may be" in place of "other subjects, if any".

XIV

Letter—from L. E. BUCKLEY, Esq., I.C.S., President, District Board, Salem.

To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.

Dated—the 27th May 1911.

No.—123-Govt.

I have the honour to submit the report called for in G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911. I enclose copy of the report of the sub-committee appointed to consider the question, and the resolution of the board on the report. The suggested provision of corporal punishment for boys who wilfully stop away from school has been omitted as the board considers that it is for the parent to exercise the reasonable powers of chastisement which the law permits. I enclose also copies of the resolutions of the taluk boards which were also consulted. The Hosur Taluk Board has recorded the opinion that "the Taluk Board accepts in general the principle of compulsion, but does not consider that the area which it administers is ripe for the introduction of "compulsory education". The Dharmapuri taluk board has decided that "the board recognises the need for compulsory elementary education in this country. It is averse to the levy of a special education rate for the purpose and considers that "the increased cost should be borne by local boards with the aid of liberal grants "from Government. It is also of opinion that no specific limit of income entitling a "child to free education should find place in the proposed measure and that each "board must be left to fix the limit with reference to the local conditions of the tract "to which the measure is extended". The Salem and Sankari Taluk Boards approve of the proposals.

2. I solicit permission to express my own views:—

(a) The proposal to make education compulsory may be admirable in theory, but in this country it is not yet within the range of practical politics, and the Bill as it stands is premature. The proposal is presented in a most insidious form: it is no doubt hoped that opposition will be disarmed by the provision that the application of the Act is to be permissive, but when once the Act is passed it is likely there will be constant pressure, coming probably from those who will not be affected by it, to have

it enforced generally. The enforcement of compulsory attendance and the levy of an adequate rate will cause widespread discontent. If the Bill is to be passed into law, it should deal solely with municipal areas for the present. The question of the extension of the Act to other areas may be left to be considered after experience has been gained.

(b) The Bill provides that the local body shall provide accommodation: nothing is said of equipment or staff. It is to be presumed that accommodation, equipment and staff are expected to be provided on existing lines. No one who knows anything of rural education can be satisfied that any one of the three is given as it ought to be. Accommodation and equipment are poor; what can be said of the staff? The majority of them draw the wage of a menial; and it is not to be expected that men who are really fit to train and educate the young can be obtained on such terms; they may be able to teach the elements of the three R's, but they are in many cases the failures in other walks of life, and lack the essentials for forming the characters of their pupils. The fault is not theirs, it is in the system of expecting local bodies with their exiguous funds to provide for elementary education, as well as for communications, sanitation and medical services. Of late years Government assistance has been given with greater and greater liberality, but even so the funds available are wholly insufficient. What is wanted before the extension of education is a reformation of existing conditions involving the payment of salaries which will attract competent men to take up masterships. If Mr. Gokhale's Bill becomes law, it will delay, if it will not prohibit, any improvement of existing conditions.

3. It is proposed that the cost of the proposals shall be met by the levy of an education rate. No suggestion has been vouchsafed as to the manner in which the rate is to be assessed. Every rate involves direct taxation, which can never be anything but unpopular and is troublesome to assess and collect. The charge should certainly not be thrown upon the land. The funds should be found by Government by some form of indirect taxation.

4. The application of the Act will involve an expenditure of which it is difficult to see the limit. Supposing it is to be applied to all areas within a mile of existing schools, the school staffs will have to be doubled or trebled to deal with the increased numbers of boys. If the schools are eventually to be provided every two miles, the number of schools in Salem district will have to be increased from 200 to 1,000. And if the masters of these schools are to be given an adequate pay, our expenditure on education will be many times the present total income of the board. The present expenditure is about two-thirds lakh; our future expenditure, if the Bill becomes law and is enforced, may run to any figure between 10 and 20 lakhs.

ENCLOSURES.

(1)

Report of the Sub-Committee appointed to consider the Elementary Education Bill, 1911.

The sub-committee approves generally the Bill as it stands, but ventures to offer a few remarks on some of the clauses.

2. The sub-committee recognises the initial difficulty that will present itself in attempting to introduce the principle of compulsion into the elementary education system, but from clauses 1 (2), 3 and 4 it is seen that the Bill is only permissive in character. Local bodies are merely empowered but not bound to notify areas for compulsory education. If the people are left to themselves, elementary education can never become general. Compulsion must at some time be resorted to. These clauses therefore meet with its approval.

3. Clause 4 imposes on the parent or guardian the obligation to send a child between six and ten to a recognised elementary school. The sub-committee thinks that it ought to be made clear that parents of mature children below the age of six are not debarred from voluntarily sending their children to school.

4. Clause 5 which deals on the reasonable excuses for non-attendance seems comprehensive enough. The phrase "or other sufficient cause" is elastic enough to cover all conceivable cases. Rev. Mr. Anderson thinks that 5 (a) would mean that the ideal area would have a school for every two miles. Children in the worst of weather can walk over a mile. In Denmark children are expected to walk three to four miles for school.

5. Clauses 6, 14 and 15 deal with the prohibition of the child's employment. The sub-committee thinks, in the interest of the employer, that some provision may be made in clause 6 for the production of a certificate of age at time of employment.

6. Clause 7 requires local bodies to provide sufficient school accommodation in a notified area. It should also make provision for the number and efficiency of the teaching staff.

7. Clause 8 authorizes the levy of a special education rate. The sub-committee is of opinion that in its early stage the whole cost of elementary education should be borne by the State. Elementary education should not only be compulsory but free as far as possible.

8. Clause 9 deals with the remission of school-fees on the ground of poverty. This is a wise provision.

9. Clauses 11, 12 and 13 deal with the penalties against parents for non-compliance with the provision of the Act. The sub-committee is of opinion that it does not go far enough. They do not cover cases where boys are beyond the control of their parents or guardians or those cases where the elders are willing that their children should attend school, but the children are refractory. Corporal punishment may be provided for boys who will not attend school in spite of the wishes of their parents.

10. The sub-committee has no remarks to offer on clause 17 which restricts the compulsion to boys at first, but it may extend its provisions to girls when desirable.

While agreeing generally with the majority of the members of the sub-committee on the provisions of the Bill, the Chairman begs leave to record his dissent.

The Bill is premature. Should the Bill even pass into law, a very infinitesimal portion of the population of the Presidency will be affected for some decades to come. The Director of Public Instruction even now cannot give full effect to the provisions of the codes dealing with grants for want of funds, how can it work up to the limit set by the Act of having a school within a mile of each notified area? The Bill seems to anticipate this extra expenditure by requiring local boards to meet a part of the cost and providing for an educational cess. The cess will be unpopular. This attitude of the people may influence local bodies to meet the extra expenditure from their ordinary sources. In many districts far too much prominence has been given to educational needs at the expense of the development of its communications. The largest source of income is the road cess, but this income meets many other wants, besides its legitimate expenditure.

The educational cess will be most unpopular because the bulk of the rural population is not educated up to the point of providing funds for elementary education. Even in advanced England Mr. Fawcett omitted the compulsory clauses in the Education Act in 1870. It was not till 1876 that the penal clause found a place. Looking at the marginal references, most of the provisions are taken from the Irish Education Act, but the object of that Act was to provide literary, moral and separate religious instruction. If the history of the Irish Education Act were carefully studied, it would be found that at first education was made compulsory rather to meet the spiritual needs of the children than to supply literary defects. Remove the very strong motive that must have existed to supply the spiritual needs of the children and the educational needs sink into insignificance.

Compulsory education may prove a hardship instead of a blessing. The process of grafting an exotic on a well-rooted tree is not free from danger. In the ordinary rural household husband, wife and children work; a boy of 8 to 10 is well able to tend cattle. A child of 6 to 8 is required to contribute those little helps which go to maintain the family. For instance, looking after the baby, fetching dry sticks, keeping the fire growing when cooking is in progress, sweeping and feeding the poultry, are not above the capacity of children even below the age of 6. A child therefore at this age is an asset and the State does not give sufficient assistance by merely exempting them from school-fees. It is possible by fixing the hours of attendance in such a way as to minimise the evil, but it will not exist, and the Bill should recognise this as a factor.

Under clause 9, parents not earning Rs. 10 per mensem will be exempt from school-fees. Who is to assess this income? The income-tax was objected to as being too inquisitorial in its effects. The same feeling will contribute to the unpopularity of the proposed Bill if passed into law. Most Hindus of the four upper classes realise the benefits of education, and compulsion is not needed. It is the Panchama class that will be most affected by the Bill. In towns most syces earn Rs. 10 per mensem. The average household is about five. It is impossible to live on this sum, so each member of the house contributes towards its maintenance. It would be cruel kindness to compel a child of 8 or 9 to go to school when he is in a position to earn Rs. 3 as his master's dog boy. Compulsion will unnecessarily harass those educating their children in their own way, and prove a hardship to those most likely to benefit by literary education.

Compulsion can only be justified when the conditions precedent are such as to render it necessary. Two stupendous difficulties have first to be removed—school accommodation and the number and efficiency of teachers. In England, a step from parochial laws to an Education Act was natural and welcome. The compulsory Education Act that followed had the support of the nation. In India the interests of classes are so different that steps should first be taken to assimilate the conditions before forming the final stage by undue haste.

(2)

Proceedings of a special meeting of the Salem Taluk Board, dated 8th May 1911.

Read endorsement, Ref. No. 60/Govt., dated 25th April 1911, from the President, District Board, Salem, communicating the Elementary Education Bill by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale for the opinion of the taluk board.

Resolution.—The board agrees that the measure is a sound one.

(3)

Proceedings of the Dharmapuri Taluk Board, dated 12th May 1911.

Read endorsement, Ref. No. 60/Govt., dated 20th April 1911, of the President, District Board, Salem, communicating to the Presidents of Taluk Boards for favour of very early expression of opinion of their taluk boards, a copy of G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Elementary Education Bill for opinion to the Honourable the Judges of the High Court and certain selected officers and bodies.

Resolution No. 10.—The board recognises the need for compulsory elementary education in this country. It is averse to the levy of a special education rate for the purpose and considers that the increased cost should be borne by local boards with the aid of liberal grants from Government. It is also of opinion that no specific limit of income entitling a child to free education should find place in the proposed measure and that each board must be left to fix the limit with reference to the local conditions of the tract to which the measure is extended.

(4)

Proceedings of the Sankari Taluk Board, dated 16th May 1911.

Read endorsement, Ref. No. 60/Govt., dated 20th April 1911, from the President, District Board, Salem, communicating for expression of the board's opinion on the Elementary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale received with G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911.

Resolution No. 4.—The taluk board is in entire agreement with the principles of the Bill and recommends that it may be passed into law.

(5)

Proceedings of the Hosūr Taluk Board, dated 22nd May 1911.

Read endorsement, No. 60-Govt., dated 20th April 1911, from the President, District Board, Salem, forwarding for expression of opinion of the board on the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill.

Resolution No. 1.—Proposed by the Sub-Assistant Inspector of Schools, seconded by Mr. Vasudeva Rao, carried unanimously; the Taluk Board accepts in general the principle of compulsion, but does not consider that the area which it administers is ripe for the introduction of compulsory education.

(6)

Proceedings of the District Board, Salem, dated 20th May 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Elementary Education Bill for opinion to the Honourable the Judges of the High Court and certain selected officers and bodies and the report of the sub-committee thereon.

Resolution No. 19.—The board accepts the report generally except paragraphs 3 and 5 and the suggested provision for imposing corporal punishment.

XV

Letter—from M.R. Ry. B. V. NARASINHA AIYAR AVARGAL, B.A., B.L., Chairman—
 Delegate, Municipal Council, Salem.
To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.
Dated—the 30th May 1911.
No.—778.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, inviting the opinion of the municipal council on the Elementary Education Bill introduced into the Viceroy's Legislative Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, I have the honour to submit the following observations on behalf of the Municipal Council of Salem.

The Municipal Council of Salem is of opinion that the time is ripe for a beginning to be made in the way of compulsory elementary education and that the Bill above referred to is eminently calculated to secure the same in an extremely guarded manner. The safeguards provided in the Bill are amply sufficient to prevent any ill-considered and hasty action on the part of local bodies. One of the possible objections to the Bill is that in a large number of cases of poor parents, child labour is a valuable asset of the family, as, for instance, among the hand-loom weavers of Salem. Such cases are provided for sufficiently by clause 5 (b) and clause 16. Another likely objection is the power to levy an educational cess. This objection, however, is of very little value since the local body which is empowered to levy the cess is not likely to have resort to the same unless in its opinion the locality can bear the same without undue pressure on local property. The limit of income that exempts a parent from payment of fees fixed in clause 9 (1) is, in the opinion of this council, too low under existing conditions. During recent years there has been a very considerable rise in the cost of living especially in urban areas and the process is likely to continue for a long time. An income of Rs. 10 a month for a parent is hardly sufficient to meet the needs of an average family especially in a town and such income should hardly carry with it the responsibility of paying for the education of the children of the family. The general sense of the Council as gathered from the observations made when the Bill was discussed, was that the limit of income fixed in the above clause may well be raised to Rs. 20 a month.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the Municipal Council, Salem, dated 18th May 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Elementary Education Bill for the opinion of the municipal councils and other bodies.

Resolution No. 1.—The council is of opinion that the Bill as it stands is feasible and workable and may be passed into law.

XVI

Letter—from P. L. MOORE, Esq., I.C.S., President, Corporation of Madras.
To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.
Dated—the 30th May 1911.
No.—R.O.C. G.D. 408-Sup.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, I have the honour to report that the Corporation at their meeting held on 16th May 1911 passed the following resolution unanimously:—

"The Corporation heartily approves of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Education Bill and are willing to incur additional expenditure, if necessary, for the extension of free and compulsory education within the municipal limits of Madras."

2. The time available did not admit of a consideration of the provisions of the Bill in detail, but the Corporation approved of the general principles of the Bill.

3. The Corporation has already proposed to Government the establishment of forty model elementary schools in the city from municipal funds. The Inspector of Schools, IV Circle, considers that besides these schools, twenty schools would be

required to provide for the education of all the boys in the city between the ages of 6 and 10, and that the extra expenditure involved on account of the twenty schools would be about Rs. 25,000 *per annum*.

4. A copy of the discussion at the meeting of the Corporation at which the Bill was considered, is enclosed.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the Corporation of Madras, dated 16th May 1911.

President.—The next item for consideration is No. 4 on the agenda regarding Government Order requesting the opinion of the Corporation on the Bill to make better provision for the extension of elementary education. The Standing Committee has made no recommendation, but there is nothing to prevent us from considering the question.

Mr. G. A. Natesan.—I do not think why we should go to the Standing Committee. I beg to move the following resolution:—"The Corporation heartily approves of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Education Bill and are willing to incur additional expenditure, if necessary, for the extension of free and compulsory education within the municipal limits of Madras."

Mr. K. C. Desikachariyar.—I move for an adjournment of the question. I think the Commissioners should have an opportunity of considering the matter. If it is a mere formal expression of opinion, I have no objection to consider the matter now.

Mr. G. A. Natesan.—I do not propose to waste the time of the Corporation with anything like a lengthy discourse. The Madras Corporation in a sense already paved the way for affording free and compulsory education. We have sanctioned a general scheme for starting 40 elementary schools and our non-recurring expenditure for them was Rs. 4 lakhs, and their recurring expenditure was half a lakh. From a calculation made by Mr. Pranatharthihara Aiyar, I find that if we start 20 more schools required of us, if we give full effect to the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Bill, our non-recurring expenditure will come to about two lakhs and the recurring expenditure to Rs. 25,000 annually. We will then have 60 schools in Madras with a recurring expenditure of three-fourths of a lakh. I do not believe there will be any dispute about the general question. We are bound to give free education in some form or another and unless we give full effect to the proposal of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, we cannot have the best type of civic work which is necessary for the good administration of the country. I need hardly point out that if we pass this resolution we are not compelled to start the schools at once. It is only optional and if funds permit we can go on opening fresh schools.

Dr. T. M. Nair.—I second the proposition.

Mr. T. Rangachariyar.—There is no obligation cast on the Corporation. Still we must see how far our finances will permit and whether we will be driven to have recourse to fresh taxation. That is a matter which we have to consider. I do not think anything will be lost if we defer the consideration of the matter. If the Commissioners could throw light on the matter, I have no objection to consider it now. The question is if it is extended to the city, are we in a position to meet the obligation without additional taxation?

The President.—It is impossible to give the figures now.

Mr. T. Rangachariyar.—In that view it is better to defer the consideration of the question.

Mr. V. C. Seshachariyar.—Seeing that it is only permissive I do not think there is any need for the figures. We are only called upon to do so much and nothing more. It is a permissive legislation and we are not called upon to start the required number of schools at once. If the number of schools, already started proves as a success and if we find the wherewithal for starting fresh schools we are quite willing to do it. In these circumstances I do not see any necessity for the figures.

Dr. T. M. Nair.—When I seconded the proposition I little expected any opposition. Mr. Rangachariyar has not studied the question evidently. A big Corporation like this with an income of Rs. 23 lakhs spent only Rs. 23,000 on education. This is a very poor contribution indeed. Even if the proposed Bill cost them more, we should bear the additional charge and not grudge spending anything more. In Calcutta the Corporation has already started schools for giving free elementary education and it is time that we should wake up and state our opinion.

Mr. T. Rangachariyar.—It was at my instance that the expenditure on education was increased. I have also complained in this Corporation that we are not spending what we ought to on education. But if you want to express an opinion on a Bill like this we must see how far it affects the finances. As an individual I approve of the Bill, but as a Corporation we must consider how the finances of the Corporation stand.

Mr. Pranatharthihara Aiyar.—Let me explain what has been stated by Dr. Nair and Mr. Seshachariyar. We have already resolved to construct 40 schools and if effect is given to the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Bill, I have worked out the scheme and I find that 20 more municipal

schools will have to be started. In other words we have to start 60 schools. We have already resolved to incur a non-recurring expenditure of 4 lakhs and a recurring expenditure of half a lakh on these 46 schools. If all the children between the ages of 6 and 10 are to be given free and compulsory education, I find there are about 24,000 children according to the last census statement and we have provided schools for about 20,000 children already. So we shall have to provide additional accommodation for 4,000 children more, which require the starting of 20 more schools at the rate of 200 children per school. For these 20 schools we have to incur a non-recurring expenditure of 2 lakhs and for running them we will have to spend annually about Rs. 25,000. In other words when all these 60 schools are worked by the Corporation, it will have to incur a non-recurring expenditure of 6 lakhs and a recurring expenditure of Rs. 75,000 annually. The Government simply ask us to give our opinion. As far as Madras is concerned, we have already done a good deal in having resolved upon a non-recurring expenditure of 4 lakhs on school buildings and half a lakh in the shape of recurring expenditure. The additional expenditure will be very little.

Mr. Parthasarathy Mudaliyar.—I suggest that the words “without additional taxation” may be added to the proposed resolution.

The President.—I think it will be introducing irrelevant matter. The Government did not compel us nor did they ask us to revise our estimates.

The resolution was then put to vote and carried.

XVII

Letter—from J. F. BRYANT, Esq., M.A., I.C.S., President, District Board, Rámnád.

To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.

Dated—Madura, the 31st May 1911.

No.—Dis. 133.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring, for the opinion of the district board, the Elementary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, I have the honour to enclose a copy of the district board's resolution No. 39, dated 27th May 1911, approving, subject to certain suggestions, of the general principles laid down in the Bill.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the District Board, Rámnád, dated 27th May 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Elementary Education Bill for opinion to the Honourable the Judges of the High Court and certain selected officers and local bodies.

Resolution.—Resolved that the board approves of the principle of permitting a district board to introduce the levy of a cess and compulsory education. The board does not approve of the hard and fast proposals as to the school attendance committee and would prefer that the local board itself were left a free hand to make arrangements for the administration of the Act. The board also does not approve of the hard and fast scale of Rs. 10 fixed in section 9 and thinks a discretion should be allowed to the local board. The board considers that the source and scale of the rates (whether on occupied lands or on other incomes) should be made clearer. Resolved that it is desirable, if such a rate is levied, that it should be based on all incomes and not only on incomes derived from land.

XVIII

Letter—from R. W. D'E. ASHER, Esq., I.C.S., President, District Board, Tinnevely.

To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.

Dated—the 2nd June 1911.

No.—D. Dis. 359.

Adverting to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated the 1st April 1911, I have the honour to enclose a copy of the district board resolution No. 16, dated 27th May 1911, submitting its opinion on the Elementary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and to offer a few remarks in explanation of some of the suggestions made therein.

Sections 2 and 4.—The omission of the words “and other subjects, if any,” is suggested as the board is of opinion that it will suffice if boys are compelled to learn only the three R's. If they were fairly well able to read and write and understand the simple rules of arithmetic, they will be in a position to protect themselves from palpable fraud. The introduction of other subjects will lengthen the course of instruction too much and increase the number of hours the boys will have to attend school on each day. It is not desirable in the opinion of the board that the ordinary manual work of the boys should be too violently interfered with. Such a course would create most serious discontent; consider, for example, the disastrous effect on poor families in municipalities where there are spinning mills with many children employed therein. The board thinks too that the local authority will be in a better position to judge of local conditions than the Department of Public Instruction.

Section 5.—The words “or on the score of social customs” were proposed as the board thinks it necessary to protect from prosecution parents or guardians belonging to a higher caste who may be unwilling to allow their children to mix with pupils belonging to the low castes and who may not be able to put forth any religious objections.

The board considers that provision for separate schools for the higher and lower castes is necessary, as otherwise the admission of low caste boys into a school would cause the withdrawal of the boys of the higher castes from the school on the score of social custom, and the parents or guardians of such higher caste boys being, possibly, not in a position to provide for their instruction themselves in some satisfactory manner, the high caste boys would be denied the advantage of elementary education. There can be no doubt that in this Bill the caste question is one of much difficulty and of the very greatest importance.

Clause 5 (d) was suggested as it was thought that intelligent boys of poor families who might pass the third standard before the age of nine and who might not be in a position to continue their studies should not be compelled to continue to attend school up to the completion of their ninth year.

Section 6.—The board suggests the alteration, as the words “take into his employment” are not clear and as it is necessary that the boys should not be prevented from employment out of school hours.

Section 11 (ii).—The board is of opinion that the insertion of the words “regularly, subject to the provisions of the Act” is necessary as the present wording of the Bill will not permit the conviction of a person who sends his boy to school for only one day every time an order under this section is made by the Magistrate. The board intended that the word “from” should be substituted for “before” in line 5 of section II (ii), but did not record it through an oversight.

Section 17.—The board is of opinion that in the present state of India the necessity for an application of the provisions of the Bill in the case of girls is far too remote to require such a section as 17 and that the very existence of such a section in the Bill may do more harm than good as it may very probably create suspicions in the minds of the people and cause alarm to the classes who observe goshia. It is better to move slowly and hence the board has suggested the removal of the section.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the District Board, Tinnevely, dated 27th May 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring for opinion the Elementary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale.

Read President's note thereon.

Resolution No. 16—Section 2.—The board is of opinion that the words “and other subjects, if any,” in section 2 may be omitted.

Section 3.—The board is of opinion that provision for repeal of the notification by the Local Government on the initiative of the local board or municipality or on its own motion should be made, with necessary modification in section (1) (2).

Section 4.—The board is of opinion that it will be sufficient if boys are compelled to study only up to the third standard inclusive (present Madras Educational Rules). For this a period of four years instead of the five indicated in the Bill will be sufficient. The board would, therefore, alter the word "ten" to "nine" in line 5 of section 4. The board is in favour of prescribing in the Act itself the maximum number of hours a boy should be compelled to attend daily and would propose that it should be fixed at three hours. The board is of opinion that the number of days should be left to be fixed by the local authority.

Section 5.—The board is of opinion that the words "or foot-path" should be inserted after the words "nearest road" in section 5 (a) and is unanimously of opinion that the words "or on the score of social customs" should be added after the words "on religious grounds" in the same section.

The board is unanimously of opinion that separate provision must be made for the higher and lower castes.

The board believes that the words "which the boy can attend" contemplate such provision, but would have the meaning more clearly expressed. The board would also provide the power to make by-laws on the subject as in section 19.

The board is of opinion that a clause "that the child has passed the third standard in any recognized school" should be inserted as 5 (d).

Section 6.—The board is of opinion that section 6 should run as follows:—

"No person shall employ any boy who ought to be at school under this Act during the hours when he ought to be at school."

Section 8.—The board is of opinion that the education rate should be struck on a house valuation in the area.

Section 9 (1).—The board proposes that the limit of "Rs. 10" at the end of section 9 (1) should be raised to "Rs. 15".

Section 11 (ii).—The Board is of opinion that after the word "school" the words "regularly subject to the provisions of the Act" should be inserted.

Sections 12 and 13.—Fines should be credited to the special education rate.

Section 14.—The board does not understand the meaning of the words "for whose prosecution he is willing to afford the necessary facilities".

Section 17.—The board is unanimously of opinion that section 17 should be struck out with consequent alterations.

XIX

Letter—from M.R.Ry. T. A. K. PERUMAL PILLAI Avargal, Chairman, Municipal Council, Vaniyambadi.

To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department (through the Collector of North Arcot and the Revenue Divisional Officer, Tirupattur).

Dated—the 22nd May 1911.

No.—Dis. 457.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational dated 1st April 1911, I have the honour to state that the municipal council at their meeting held on the 4th instant considered the subject and to forward herewith a copy of the resolution passed thereon.

The council have no remarks to offer except in regard to rule No. 9 (1) of the Bill. They consider that the income-limit laid down in the said rule should be raised to at least Rs. 15, as the sum of Rs. 10 will hardly be sufficient for the maintenance of a man having a wife and a boy depending upon him.

It may safely be presumed that a man having a boy of school-going age may have another child and it will probably be too much to expect a man getting an income of Rs. 10 with two or three others depending on him to save any small sum for any purpose other than mere maintenance.

The council, therefore, suggest that the income-limit referred to in the said rule may be raised to Rs. 15.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the Municipal Council, Vaniyambadi, dated 4th May 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring for opinion the Elementary Education Bill.

Resolution No. 2.—The council approve of the Elementary Education Bill with the following amendment:—

In clause 9 (1) the income-limit may be fixed at Rs. 15.

Endorsement No. 1184-5, dated 28th May 1911.

Submitted.

J. F. HALL,
Ag. Sub-Collector.

Ref. on Cur. No. 2142, dated 1st June 1911.

Forwarded with the remark that an envoy has been touring in this district to secure the support of the municipalities for the Bill.

M. G. SYKES,
Divisional Officer.

XX

Letter—from E. B. ELWIN, Esq., I.C.S., President, District Board, Giddavari.

To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.

Dated—Cocanada, the 30th May 1911.

No.—R. Dis. 60/D.B.

Adverting to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, I have the honour to submit herewith a copy of the district board resolution No. 2, dated 27th May 1911, giving its opinion as regards the Elementary Education Bill.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the District Board, Giddavari, dated 27th May 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring for opinion the Elementary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and requesting that replies may be forwarded so as to reach Government not later than the 10th June 1911.

Also opinions thereon of the Taluk Board, Cocanada, and of the Presidents, Taluk Boards, Rajahmundry and Peddapuram.

Resolution No. 2.—The board approves of the general principles of the proposed Bill and considers that the local body should not be made to meet more than one-third of the cost of compulsory education, such one-third to be provided by the education rate and that the education rate should be levied not only from land-owners but also from those deriving income from other sources than land.

XXI

Letter—from P. SCOTT, Esq., Chairman, Municipal Council, Kodaikanal.

To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department (through the Collector of Madurai).

Dated—the 23rd May 1911.

No.—Dis. 442 of 1911.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, I have the honour to state that the council has, in its resolution No. 195, dated 11th May 1911 (copy enclosed), resolved that, while it recognises the need for extended primary education, it does not think that the time has yet come to introduce the compulsory principle.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the Municipal Council, Kodaikādal, dated 11th May 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911.

Resolution No. 195.—Resolved that while the council recognises the need for extended primary education, it does not think that the time has yet come to introduce the compulsory principle.

N. Dis. No. 1937-Gl. of 1911,

Submitted to Government.

J. R. HUGGINS,
for Collector.

3rd June 1911.

XXII

Letter—from E. W. LUGH, Esq., I.C.S., President, District Board, Trichinopoly.
To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.
Dated—the 6th June 1911.
No.—Dis. 568/D.B.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, I have the honour to submit herewith an extract from the proceedings of the district board, dated the 2nd instant, regarding the Elementary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, together with a copy of the sub-committee's report on the Bill.

ENCLOSURES.

(1)

Proceedings of the District Board, Trichinopoly, dated the 2nd June 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, forwarding for remarks the Elementary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and the reports of the sub-committee and the Presidents of the Taluk Boards, Ariyalur, Námakkal, etc.

Resolution No. 60.—(1) That the board accepts the principle that universal primary education is desirable and is in the best interests of all classes.

(2) That so long as the country is in its present condition, and areas differ widely in the stage of advancement they have arrived at, it is proper both—

- (a) that local areas should have the right to take steps towards this end, and
- (b) that a proportion of the cost of such measures should be borne by the local area concerned.

(3) That the cost of primary education should be borne as far as possible by all classes and that this principle should be embodied in the Bill.

(4) Maximum penalties should be raised to Rs. 5 and Rs. 20 inasmuch as the local bodies should be prepared to enforce the measure they introduce.

(5) That the monthly income under clause 9 should not be a fixed sum. But it should be within the power of the local bodies initiating compulsion, subject to rules made by the Local Government, to fix the standard of income below which fees should not be charged.

(6) Provision should be made in case of need for withdrawing from notification an area once notified.

(7) *Clause 14 (2).*—The words "for whose prosecution, etc., facilities" should be deleted as they will lead to legal difficulties in dealing with persons prosecuted under this clause.

(8) It should be specified that there should be no imprisonment in default of payment of fine.

(2)

The Sub-Committee met on 8th May 1911.

The following members attended:—

- (1) M.R.Ry. A. V. Gopalachariyar Avargal.
- (2) " P. T. Rangaswami Aiyangar Avargal.
- (3) " T. Sundara Rao Avargal.
- (4) R. Narayana Aiyar, Esq., B.A., I.C.S.

Messrs. Salisbury and Desikachariyar were not able to attend, but M.R.Ry. B. C. Ramaswami Aiyar Avargal, Assistant Inspector of Schools, was present.

Mr. Salisbury had sent in a brief memorandum protesting against the Bill as (i) forcing education down the throats of the masses, and (ii) involving additional expenditure disproportionate to the results aimed at. Mr. Desikachariyar had communicated his opinion that the Bill was all right, but that elementary education must be free and compulsory, and that the Trichinopoly Municipality could not afford an education rate. Mr. Sundara Rao indeed was of opinion that elementary education must be not only free and compulsory but universal, and that the village schoolmaster should, in fact, be part of the village establishment supported from the public funds.

A general discussion ensued. So far as a measure of compulsory education for India was concerned, it was felt that Mr. Sundara Rao's was the logical position, that is to say, that education should be not only compulsory but free and universal. In other words, taking India at its present stage of development, education cannot be made compulsory till it can be given free and given, as it were, at the door of each peasant. The enormous cost entailed by such a measure and, as pointed out by Mr. B. C. Ramaswami Aiyar, the paucity of trained teachers put its consideration out of the region of practical politics.

It was next pointed out that considerations affecting the introduction of a general measure of compulsory education did not apply to the particular Bill. The fact that it was essentially permissive in character was emphasised, that is to say, that the passing of the Bill does not make education compulsory throughout India or anywhere, that education can be made compulsory under it only in certain select local areas and after due deliberation by the local body and with the approval of the Local Government. To the extent to which it enabled progressive local bodies (where they are now powerless) to make education compulsory in advanced local areas, it was generally agreed that the Bill was a desirable instalment of a general measure, though one of the absent members, Mr. Salisbury, was understood to demur even to this, as entailing additional expenditure from the general revenues. The question was then discussed whether the local body should be made to bear a proportion of the cost of such education and whether it should be given power to levy a special education rate for the purpose. Some members were of opinion that the cost should be borne entirely from general revenues and that the local area should not be specially taxed for the purpose. In other words, it was contended that the clauses of the Bill relating to the education rate should be omitted. It was pointed out in answer that this would—

- (i) in the first instance work inequitably, because certain local areas will receive the benefit of compulsory education at the expense of the rest of the country; and
- (ii) ultimately and really result in a scramble, there being nothing to prevent every local body going up to Government with a request to introduce the measure in its own local area, saddled as it is with no special burden on the locality.

The advisability of making elementary education free in the locality to which the measure may be extended was also discussed. It was felt that, however desirable this seemed at first, it would mean an additional burden on general revenues and on the special rate which was neither justifiable nor necessary.

The principles underlying the Bill had therefore the approval of the sub-committee.

Mr. Narayana Aiyar's report was then read and three points taken in it were discussed, viz.—

(i) that the object of the Bill being the extension of elementary education the Local Government might be given a concurrent initiative with the local body in introducing compulsory education in selected local areas;

(ii) that where the Local Government introduces the principle of compulsion on its own motion it should have the power to impose a special rate—on the analogy of section 59 of the Madras Local Boards Act; and

(iii) that apart from the veto of the Local Government, safeguards may be provided in the first instance against hasty or ill-considered resolutions of the local body in favour of the levy of a special education rate or of the extension of elementary education by requiring the vote of a three-fourths majority at two successive meetings—on the analogy of the proviso to section 58 of the Madras Local Boards Act.

The sub-committee generally concurred in the above, and were of opinion that as regards (i) there could be no objection to the Local Government also having an initiative as regards clause 3, and that as regards (ii) if it was given such initiative it was necessary also to invest it with power to impose a rate on the locality. As regards (iii) it was thought that the vote of a three-fourths majority at one meeting was sufficient safeguard.

As to the various clauses of Bill, the remarks made in paragraphs 6 and 7 of Mr. Narayana Aiyar's report were also concurred in except—

- (a) that the maximum fines leviable under clauses 12 (2) and 13 should be fixed at Rs. 5 and Rs. 20 respectively, and not at Rs. 10 and 50,
(b) that clause 17 of the Bill may stand.

(3)

Letter—from R. NARAYANA AIYAR, Esq., I.C.S., President, Taluk Board, Karur.
To—the President, District Board, Trichinopoly.
Dated—the 5th May 1911.

I have the honour to offer the following remarks on the Elementary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale referred to me in your R.C. No. 441-D.B., dated 24th April 1911.

2. Underlying the Bill is the assumption that local bodies are more unenlightened and progressive than the central Government. This will probably be repudiated by the Honourable framer of the Bill and the supporters of its principle. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that it exists; for whereas the central Government has been armed with the power of veto at every stage, it has been completely deprived of all initiative. The object of the Bill being what it is, viz., to provide for the gradual introduction of the principle of compulsion into the elementary education system of the country, it is as important to invest the central Government with the power to initiate as it is to devise means for giving effect to the aspirations of local bodies. To this end I would suggest that clauses 3 and 17 be amended as follows:—

The Bill.

Amendment proposed.

“3. Every municipality or district board may, from time to time, with the previous sanction of the Local Government and subject to such rules as the Governor-General in Council may make in this behalf by notification, declare”

“3. Subject to such rules as the Governor-General in Council may make in this behalf, every Local Government and every municipality or district board, with the previous sanction of the Local Government, may, from time to time, by notification, declare”

“17. In any area in respect of which a notification has been issued under section 3, the municipality or district board may, with the previous sanction of the Local Government and subject to such rules as the Governor-General in Council may make in this behalf by notification, declare that the foregoing provisions relating to boys shall, from a date to be specified in the notification, apply also in the case of girls residing within such area, and”

“17. Subject to such rules as the Governor-General in Council may make in this behalf, the Local Government or the municipality or district board, with the previous sanction of the Local Government, may by notification declare that foregoing provisions relating to boys shall, from a date to be specified in the notification, apply also in the case of girls residing within any area in respect of which a notification has been issued under section 3, and”

3. When the Local Government is thus given the power to introduce compulsory elementary education independently of, or may be as I shall presently show in spite of, a local body, it is obvious that it must also be given the necessary power to impose local taxation which under the Bill it has no power to impose of its own motion. It follows therefore that in addition to clause (8) it should be enacted that—

Clause 8 (a).—If at any time it seems advisable to the Local Government that such an education rate shall be raised in any local area, the Local Government may direct the municipality or district board to levy such rate unless the municipality or district board shall show cause to the contrary within three months after the receipt of the order containing such direction; if the municipality or the district board fails to show cause within the said time to the satisfaction of the Local Government, the rate so directed to be levied shall be levied in such local area as if the same had been determined by the municipality or district board with the sanction of the Local Government; provided that it shall be competent to the Local Government from time to time to modify or cancel such direction.

4. The Honourable framer of the Bill observes that the measure, if anything, errs on the side of caution. But so far as its provisions go, the caution is all to be exercised by the central Government. That is to say, the central Government may make it difficult for a local body to initiate any measure of compulsory education by fixing a high percentage of boys or girls at school under clause 18 (2) (a), it may check the local body's extravagance by refusing sanction to the levy of a special education rate under clause (8) or it may restrain its enthusiasm by vetoing the proposal to notify any area under section 3 or section 17. What, however, the Bill does not provide is safeguards that the local body itself in the first instance shall not pass a hasty or ill-considered resolution or one that but reflects a section of the local opinion or local will. For instance, there

is nothing to prevent a bare majority of a municipality or local board at a sparsely attended meeting from resolving on the levy of a special education rate or the introduction of compulsory education in a local area, just as, under the Bill which gives no initiative to the Local Government, there is nothing to prevent such a majority from effectually obstructing the introduction of compulsory elementary education in any local area. In the former case of course there is always the Local Government which can intervene to check the vagaries of the local body. But it is obvious that from the point of view of the prestige of both the central Government and the local body, it is undesirable that the latter should, in the first instance, be allowed to pass such resolutions at all. I would therefore suggest that, so far at any rate as the levy of a special education rate is concerned, the resolution of the local body be required to be supported by not less than three-fourths of the members present at a meeting specially convened in that behalf and to be confirmed after six months by a like majority at a like meeting.

5. If this suggestion be accepted, it will become all the more necessary to provide the central Government with an independent initiative. It may happen that in an area which is sufficiently advanced for the introduction of compulsory elementary education the local body might fail to secure the necessary majority in favour of the measure. Indeed, under the Bill as framed, a local body might prove so obstructive that it may effectually prevent the introduction of compulsory elementary education in such an area. It is essential, therefore, that the Local Government should be given concurrent power of initiative in the matter of notifying areas under clauses 3 and 17 and should be armed with the power to impose the education rate under clause 8.

6. Concerning the special education rate itself I have one remark to make. The Bill does not say how the rate will be fixed or on whom the incidence will fall. It seems desirable that these matters should be made clear in the enactment itself and not be left to be determined by rule.

7. Other remarks that have occurred to me are:—

Clause 5 (b).—Should the seasonal needs of agriculture be accepted as a reasonable excuse for non-attendance of boys from six to ten, the purpose of the Bill will be considerably, if not entirely, frustrated in rural areas.

Clause 9 (1).—The limit of income fixed in the clause is unduly low and might be raised to Rs. 20.

Clause 9 (2).—If for “district board” the words “local board” be substituted the respective taluk boards will be enabled to deal with applications for remission instead of the district board.

Clause 10 (1).—The area referred to herein may be small or large and I suggest that the words “a school attendance committee” be substituted by “one or more school attendance committees”.

Clauses 12 (2) and 13.—The maximum fines awardable under these clauses appear to me unduly and unnecessarily low. They may be raised to Rs. 10 and Rs. 50 respectively.

Clause 14 (2).—The exact import of the words “for whose prosecution he is willing to afford the necessary facilities” is not quite clear to me. What are the facilities which an employer can afford to the school attendance committee? He can give the name and address of the agent or workman; can he do anything more? He may probably allow access to his books. But all this may be compelled by the Magistrate before whom he is charged; and the evidence which he must adduce to escape the penalty will furnish the information required for the prosecution of the agent or workman.

Clause 17.—*Query*—Is it absolutely necessary that compulsory education of boys should precede that of girls?

XXIII

Letter—from M. AZIZ-UD-DIN SABIT BAHADUR, Khan Bahadur, President, District Board, South Arcot.

To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.

Dated—Cuddalore, the 8th June 1911.

No.—R. Dis. 37/D.B.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Elementary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale for the opinion of the district board, I have the honour to submit herewith a copy of the district board resolution No. 17, dated 7th June 1911, passed thereon.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the District Board of South Arcot, dated 7th June 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, regarding the Elementary Education Bill and the reports from the Presidents of Taluk Boards and the Assistant Inspector of schools.

Resolution No. 17.—Resolved by a majority of the members present, that time has not arrived yet for the introduction of compulsory education on the lines laid down in the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Bill.

XXIII

Letter—from P. S. P. RICE, Esq., I.C.S., President, District Board, the Nilgiris.
To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.
Dated—Ootacamund, the 10th June 1911.
No.—Dis. 226-D.B.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, I have the honour to forward herewith the copy of the board's resolution passed at its meeting held on the 8th instant.

2. The letter of opinion has already been sent on the 9th instant.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the District Board, the Nilgiris, dated the 8th June 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Elementary Education Bill for opinion.

President's reply to the above Government Order.

Resolution No. 26.—The District Board adopt the letter of the President and is of opinion that the principle of compulsory education embodied in the Bill is at present impracticable and uncalled for. It desires to emphasize the popular discontent which would result, if the measures were adopted, the enormous initial cost estimated at £18,000,000 and the annual cost of £15,000,000. At the same time it believes that the scheme would be rendered futile by the wholesale exemptions, while the Bill necessarily provides for and considers that, in the interests of genuine education, the voluntary system should be further developed.

XXIV

Letter—from R. F. AUSTIN, Esq., I.C.S., President, District Board, Tanjore.
To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.
Dated—the 11th June 1911.
No.—R. Dis 106-D.B.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, I have the honour to submit a copy of district board resolution No. 37, dated 10th June 1911, approving with remarks the Elementary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the Tanjore District Board, dated 10th June 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Elementary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale for opinion.

Resolution No. 37.—The board approved of the Bill.

Proposed by Mr. Chidambaramudha Mudaliyar and seconded by Zamindar of Papanadu that the rate contemplated in section 8 of the Bill be so levied that every person within the area, whose total income is Rs. 30 a month or upwards, be made to contribute to the education rate.

Lost by 12 to 10.

Proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and seconded by Mr. K. S. Venkatarama Aiyar that after section 3 of the Bill be added "that a municipal council or district board may, with the previous sanction of the Local Government, declare that the provisions of the Act shall cease to apply to any area to which it has been applied under this section."

Amendment proposed by Mr. Atmanatha Aiyar and seconded by Zamindar of Papanadu that the words "with the previous sanction of the Local Government" be omitted.

The amendment was lost.

The resolution was carried.

XXV

Letter—from G. F. PADDISON, Esq., M.A., I.C.S., President, District Board, Anantapur.
To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.
Dated—the 14th June 1911.
No.—D. Mis. 85.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, forwarding the Elementary Education Bill for the opinion of the district board, I have the honour to state that the district board have, at their meeting held on the 9th June 1911, approved of the principles of the Bill with the hope that if rules are framed under section 18 (b), provision will be made that the poorer districts, where the Government grants are most needed, shall get an adequate share. A copy of the board's resolution No. 86 is enclosed.

2. The taluk boards in the district have also in general expressed their opinion approving of the principles of the Bill. Copies of their resolutions are herewith submitted.

3. It was also suggested by the vice-president at the meeting of the district board that it is perhaps desirable to define the words "road" and "income" occurring in sections 5 (a) and 9 (1), respectively, so as to make it clear whether the first-mentioned word includes "puntas" or pathways and what sources of earnings are comprised in the latter term.

ENCLOSURES.

(i)

Proceedings of the Anantapur District Board, dated 9th June 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Elementary Education Bill for opinion to the district board and certain selected officers.

Read replies received from the presidents of taluk boards.

Resolution No. 86.—The board approve of the principles of the Bill with the hope that if rules are framed under section 18 (b), provision will be made that the poorer districts where the grant will be most needed shall get an adequate share of the Government grant.

(ii)

Proceedings of the Penukonda Taluk Board, dated 25th May 1911.

District Board President's R.C. No. 57, dated 20th April 1911, forwarding for opinion Elementary Education Bill specified in G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911.

Resolution No. 21.—The board accepts the general principles of the Bill, but considers that its application should be restricted for the present to major unions and municipalities. The board would suggest, however, that the cesses raised in each compulsory area should be pooled for the whole Presidency and divided among the compulsory area in the ratio of the school-going population in each.

(iii)

Proceedings of the Anantapur Taluk Board, dated 26th May 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, regarding the Elementary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale.

Resolution No. 17.—The board approves of the provisions of the Elementary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale.

(iv)

Proceedings of the Gooty Taluk Board, dated 20th May 1911.

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Endorsement No. R.C. 57, dated 20th April 1911, of the President, District Board, Anantapur, communicating G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, and requesting to submit opinion on the Elementary Education Bill.

Resolution No. 13.—The board considers that the introduction of the Bill will improve the masses, but it doubts whether universal compulsory education is suited to Gooty division and whether additional taxation which will be required to meet the expenditure will not cause reasonable discontent among the people.

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XXVI

Letter—from J. A. CUMMING, Esq., I.C.S., President, District Board, Bellary.
To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.
Dated—the 12th June 1911.
No.—Dis. 584.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, I have the honour to state that the board considers the provisions of the Bill might be worked in selected unions, but are impracticable for general application in such a district as Bellary.

2. A copy of the board's resolution is enclosed.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the District Board, Bellary, dated 11th June 1911.

* * * * *

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, calling for the opinion of the district boards, municipalities and certain officers, regarding the Elementary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale.

Resolution No. 4.—The board considers the provisions of the Bill might be worked in unions, but are impracticable for general application in a district as Bellary.

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XXVII

Letter—from J. W. MAIDEN, Esq., Chairman, Municipal Council, Masulipatam.
To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department (through the Divisional Officer, Bandar, and the Collector of Kistna).
Dated—the 6th June 1911.
No.—Dis. 76-D/Gl.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, regarding the Elementary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of the council's resolution No. 7, dated 6th June 1911, and to state that the council is unanimously of opinion that such a Bill is a very necessary measure for India under the present requirements. The council suggests some amendments and alterations in the Bill before it is finally passed into an Act.

Considering the purpose to be served by the committee in section 10 of the Bill, it is plain that one committee for a large area is both impracticable and ineffectual. So the council is of opinion that "school attendance committees should be substituted for a school attendance committee".

In section 18 of the Bill, the power of fixing the percentage of boys or of girls that should attend a school is vested in the Governor-General in Council, and this power may be vested in Local Government as it will be in closer touch with the people and they are likely to know better the needs of particular areas. The council is also of opinion that compulsory education should be made entirely free and as such the percentage to be borne by the State in imparting this free primary education should not be less than two-thirds of the total cost incurred in each area.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the Municipal Council, Masulipatam, dated 6th June 1911.

* * * * *

Read again resolution No. 29, dated 13th May 1911, and read also the report of M.R. By. Rao Bahadur P. Venkatappayya Pantulu Garu, councillor, regarding the Elementary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale.

Resolution No. 7.—The council is of opinion that the Bill is a necessary measure. The council thinks that in section 10 the words "school attendance committees" should be substituted for "a school attendance committee" and necessary modifications in other sections should be made with reference to this change. The council is of opinion that in section 18 (a) the power of fixing the percentage of boys should be vested in Local Government and in 18 (b) it should be provided that the percentage to be borne by the State should be not less than two-thirds of the cost in each area. The council proposes that compulsory education should be made entirely free and section 9 should be changed accordingly. In section 8 the council suggests that a proviso may be added to the effect that in case a tax is imposed by the local body, no state tax should be imposed for the same purpose.

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N. Dis. No. 882-Rev., dated 10th June 1911.

Submitted.

K. RAJAGOPALA RAO,
Deputy Collector.

N. Dis. No. 144-M., dated 15th June 1911.

Forwarded.

H. L. BRAIDWOOD,
Collector.

To the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.

XXVIII

Letter—from H. F. W. GILLMAN, Esq., I.C.S., President, District Board, Coimbatore.
To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.
Dated—the 16th June 1911.
No.—R. Dis. 161-D.B.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, I have the honour to submit herewith a copy of district board's resolution No. 46 of 12th June 1911, and to state that the district board is in favour of the principle of compulsory education proposed in the Bill, but considers that no school-fees should be charged in view of the fact that a special education cess is to be levied.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the District Board, Coimbatore, dated 12th June 1911.

* * * * *

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring, for opinion of the district board, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill; and also the resolutions of the several taluk boards in this district expressing their opinions in the matter.

Resolution No. 46.—The district board is in favour of the principle of compulsory education proposed in the Bill; but considers that education should be free, in view of the fact that a special education cess should be levied.

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XXIX

Letter—from W. R. H. WATT, Esq., Chairman, Municipal Council, Adoni.
To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department (through the Collector of Bellary).
Dated—the 17th June 1911.
No.—Dis. 568.

Adverting to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill for the opinion of this council, I have the honour to submit herewith a copy of this council's resolution No. 1, dated 12th June 1911, passed on the subject.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the Municipal Council, Adoni, dated 12th June 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Elementary Education Bill for opinion of the Council.

Resolution No. 1.—The council, while approving the principle of compulsory education, considers the Bill would be somewhat premature in such a backward locality and is not prepared to increase its taxation in order to provide the funds which would be necessitated by the introduction of the Bill.

N. Dis. C. No. 2261, dated 23rd June 1911.

Forwarded.

J. A. CUMMING,
Collector of Bellary.

To the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.

XXX

Letter—from J. M. TURING, Esq., I.C.S., President, District Board, Ganjam.

To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.

Dated—Chatrapur, the 20th June 1911.

No.—Dis. 80 R/D.B.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Elementary Education Bill for opinion to certain selected bodies, etc., I have the honour to submit herewith a copy of the resolution of the Ganjam District Board together with copies of the resolutions of the three taluk boards in the district.

ENCLOSURES.

(1)

Proceedings of the District Board, Ganjam, dated 16th June 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Elementary Education Bill for opinion to the Honourable the Judges of the High Court and a certain selected officers and bodies.

Also resolutions thereon of the three taluk boards in the district.

Resolution No. 7.—The board accepts the principle of the desirability of compulsory education in limited areas.

The majority of the board accepts the principle that special taxation should be imposed in the local area to meet the expenses.

(2)

Proceedings of the Taluk Board, Chicacole, dated 27th May 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Elementary Education Bill for opinion to the Honourable the Judges of the High Court and certain selected officers and bodies.

Resolution No. 17.—The board approve of the principle of the Bill, but considers that education should be completely free. The income to be derived from boys whose parents have over Rs. 10 per month will be small and the determination of such income a matter of great difficulty.

The school committee referred to would be difficult to constitute these parts. There would necessarily be a very small area under each committee and there are not in this taluk sufficient qualified men for the large number of areas.

The board would suggest that the Bill be first introduced in municipalities and unions, the increased charges being met by a large increase in house and land tax for the latter. The board can suggest no other source for meeting these charges.

With reference to section 18, the board is of opinion that the rules for the carrying out of the Act should be passed by the Local Government.

(3)

Proceedings of the Taluk Board, Berhampur, dated 31st May 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, communicated by the President, District Board, Ganjam, with his footnote No. R.G.C. 106-D.B. of 11, dated 1st April 1911, regarding the gradual introduction of the principle of compulsion into the elementary education system of the country and requesting to be furnished with the opinion of the taluk board on the subject.

Resolution No. 48.—The board approves of the general principles of the Bill. It considers that the education rate should be imposed on all properties and should not be confined to land.

(4)

Proceedings of the Taluk Board, Goomsur, dated 31st May 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, communicated with District Board President's footnote R.G.C. No. 106-D.B./11, dated 21st idem, referring the Elementary Education Bill for opinion.

Resolution No. 18.—The taluk board approves of the main principles of the Bill in view of the provision contained in section 3.

XXXI

Letter—from the Hon'ble Mr. J. H. STONE, M.A., F.R.H.S., Acting Director of Public Instruction, Madras.

To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.

Dated—the 21st June 1911.

No.—Ref. on Cur. 2562.

I have the honour to submit my opinion on the Elementary Education Bill of Mr. Gokhale as required in G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911.

2. In his Statement of Objects and Reasons the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale declares that: "The experience of other countries has established beyond dispute the fact that the only effective way to ensure a wide diffusion of elementary education among the masses of the people is by a resort to compulsion in some form or other". This statement entirely begs the question. Almost universal literacy has no doubt been secured in Europe by systems involving compulsory attendance which is what Mr. Gokhale means by compulsion, but it by no means follows that a wide diffusion of elementary education could not have been secured without it, and "a wide diffusion of elementary education" would probably have been secured merely by the provision of a sufficient number of well-managed free schools.

3. He also assumes that the universal diffusion of elementary education in Europe, which partly caused and partly resulted from making it free and compulsory, has been beneficial, and that Indian education is destined to a similar course of development. I invited the opinions on the Bill of the Inspectors of Schools and as Mr. Braithwaite, Inspector of Schools, in the VIII Circle, has discussed these points with great vigour, the following paragraphs are quoted from him:—

"There seems to be a general assumption on the part of Mr. Gokhale, others who spoke in the council on that occasion and those who have written about the question, that the development of education in India is bound to take the same direction as it has in Western countries. With this as their major premise, they proceed to assume that the extension will inevitably take the form of increasing the number of schools of the present type with their concomitant expenditure on sites, buildings, repairs, furniture, teachers and Government inspecting officers. Argument on these lines leads inevitably to condemnation from financial reasons of the whole scheme.

"If such vast sums, as would be necessary, can be made available, we might possibly anticipate gaining our object by such a development of the existing system. Even so, I doubt, for reasons which I shall indicate, whether we should be proceeding on the right lines and really conferring a benefit on the country as a whole.

"I submit that the major premise mentioned above is unsound. We ought to be able to see from the development of the 'people's' educational system in Western countries what mistakes have been made and what we should avoid.

"Grant for a moment parallel conditions in Europe and in India—with India developing later and trying to know what mistakes to avoid.

"What do we see?

"A system which, because it takes the children away from the parents between the years 5—14, is unpopular with a great proportion of the working classes, has to be rigidly enforced by law, and in many cases evaded. Compulsion in some form is, however, perfectly justifiable on the ground that the enlightened force the unenlightened to carry out a policy which will ultimately prove beneficial to them.

"On its good points it is hardly necessary to dwell. Its bad points are not easily visible—they are the following:—

"A—Removal of the children from their natural environment during the years when they should be learning their fathers' trade.

"B—Keeping them indoors at work with their brains and their eyes, neglecting their arms and fingers.

"C—Giving them a smattering of a literary education which the vast majority do not follow up.

"Now A has had a bad effect in country districts, disinclining boys and girls to remain contentedly on the land in the avocations of their fathers.

"It has had a far worse effect amongst artisans and has gone far to give the death blow to domestic and 'cottage' industries.

"As a result, we get attempts to teach the rudiments of agriculture, carpentry and blacksmith's work, developing in certain cases into more highly specialized instruction in carving, tailoring, metal-work, etc.

"The logical conclusion of this line of development is the 'technical' school and the 'continuation' school.

"All this vast system which has grown up in Western countries is an undesirable *excess*. The place to learn agriculture is *not* the school, the place to learn carpentry and tailoring is *not* the school, the place to learn cookery and domestic economy is *not* the school.

"Farsseeing men have always agreed that industries are best learnt in the workshop and agriculture on the land. Even if the school could possibly take the place of the workshop and the farm (which I cannot admit) look at the expense! An expense which must be borne by the people as a whole.

"This development is plain when pointed out but has been obscured by the fact that the majority of the manhood of the nation (in England, America and Germany) is employed in factories which they are forbidden to enter before a certain age. For factory hands the education is not bad, though even so it is recognized to be too 'literary' in character: but for artisans and cultivators it is a bad system.

"B—Keeping them indoors at work with their brains and eyes, neglecting their arms and fingers.—This needs little comment, having been generally recognized everywhere and having been partially tackled by the introduction of manual instruction, which is not only expensive but unproductive and after all only a subterfuge.

"C.—If once the argument 'all children ought to know this' is admitted, the 'literary educated' officers of the State Education Department use it for forcing upon the masses instruction, not only in Geography and History, which is comparatively a harmless amusement, but also in object lessons and French!

"This argument logically leads to the inclusion of almost every subject under the sun, there being something to be said for the introduction of any branch of knowledge. The masses thus get a smattering of many branches of literary education and so the huge system grows, becoming daily more exacting and more expensive.

"Granted parallel conditions in Europe and India, the above mistakes would perhaps be avoided. But we have *not* parallel conditions—the mass of the manhood of India is engaged in agriculture and in village and domestic industries. The number of factory hands is extremely minute and we must ask ourselves whether a system, which works only fairly well for the factory hands of manufacturing countries (but badly for their agriculturists and artisans) ought to be blindly followed in such a country as India.

"I would lay down the proposition that it is not only expedient but the positive duty of Government to restrict 'mass' education to simple instruction to the three R's.

"I find in the course of my own work that six or seven years of literary education does undoubtedly unfit boys for their life work. These cases come before me every day of my life and it is astonishing that this self-evident fact is not better understood. I submit also that exactly the same effect has been and is being produced in Western countries. That the fact is recognized by many of the leading Indians, is plain from the following statements in the course of the debate:—

"The Hon'ble Mr. Abdul Najid said: 'Take the case of an agriculturist. What elementary education will you give him? If you give him elementary education, the result of which will be to make him a gentleman, but not a good agriculturist, that will be an injury to the country itself.'

"The Hon'ble Mr. Chitnavis said: 'I say from experience that village boys who have received even an elementary education betray a repugnance to manual labour, especially in the fields. I do not know how compulsory education works in Baroda, where I am told it has been introduced; but speaking of my own province, I find there is a general complaint amongst agriculturists that school-going boys do not make good agriculturists or field labourers and there is a general tendency among them to imitate the leisured classes in their pursuits.'

"The evidence of this tendency which is furnished by statistics of higher education in India, tells the same story in no uncertain language. The remedy, which is at present being tried in high schools, is exactly parallel to the remedy for 'over-literary' education in the schools of Europe and America. As I said above, I do not think that this remedy, which is only a 'makeshift' forced upon us by the school system we have adopted, is a really sound one. School life for eight or nine years does unfit boys for manual labour in the East and West alike; and the fact has got to be faced."

4. The provisions of the existing Bill do not seem fraught with the dangers Mr. Braithwaite anticipates, but Mr. Gokhale avowedly aims only at a beginning and it is not probable that compulsory education would long be limited to four years' schooling and I have some sympathy with Mr. Braithwaite's line of attack. Even, however, if it be granted that India must eventually follow the example of Europe, there is much in the Bill that calls for criticism.

5. It is avowedly based on the English and Irish Education Acts, but it appears to me to miss the real point of those Acts. Compulsory education implies two things, the compulsory provision of school places and the compulsory filling of them by children. The Act of 1870 compelled the creation of school boards and the levy of a rate for the provision, by supplementing those in existing schools, of as many school places as were necessary for all the children of the locality in need of State education and almost as a corollary made attendance compulsory. Mr. Gokhale's Bill would allow local bodies to compel attendance at school but does not compel the provision of school places. A local authority *may* raise a cess. The fact that this permission is most commonly singled out for criticism and that, as I understand, boards do not now exercise to the full their taxing powers, perhaps indicate the extent to which it would be availed of. It appears to me that if any legislation is to be undertaken it should be legislation in the first place to encourage or compel local bodies to provide school places, and only in the second and when the necessity was clearly proved to compel attendance.

The Act of 1870 laid the same burden upon all citizens. The present Bill leaves it to the hazard of local opinion whether the inhabitants of any locality shall be subject to the burden or not. This seems to me unsound. I do not deny that if compulsion is to be introduced it must be by stages; but the determination of what these stages should be is clearly the business of Government. It might be well, for instance, to begin by introducing compulsion into all municipalities of a certain population.

6. I do not think, however, that in this Presidency there is yet any need for compulsory attendance. The average attendance of the elementary schools is 30 and when it is remembered that considerably more than half of these schools are under teacher-managers of very low educational qualifications, and that they are mostly without school houses and almost without school appliances, there are grounds for thinking that the low average of strength is not due to any great unwillingness on the part of parents to send their children to school.

The percentage of children in elementary schools to the male population of school-going age is 30.3. This again points to a considerable willingness on the part of parents to take advantage of such educational facilities as there are, when it is remembered that there are 1,633 villages, or groups of villages with a population of 1,000 and upwards and 23,817 others which have no schools. There are 3.5 per cent. of boys of school-age in secondary schools so that there are 33.8 per cent. of boys in school altogether. The total number of elementary schools is 23,260 so that if this were doubled and the average attendance remained the same we should have without compulsion about two-thirds of the boys of school-age in school, and when this result or something near it has been obtained it will be time to consider whether resort to compulsion is necessary to bring in the remaining third.

7. The Bill only proposes to compel the attendance of boys. This, I think, is a fundamental error. I suppose that perhaps the only unmixed good that has resulted from the compulsory systems of Europe has been an immense improvement in the status of women.

If Mr. Gokhale's Bill had the results he anticipates, it would tend to accentuate the salient defect of Indian social organization—the subjugation of women. It appears to me that Government ought not to be a party to any compulsion that is not equally applicable to girls and boys. If India is not ripe for one, it is not ripe for the other.

8. It is at least doubtful whether if the Bill passed it would do much to further Mr. Gokhale's object, the "wide diffusion of elementary education among the mass of the people".

Elementary education must mean at least literacy, *i.e.*, a mastery of the arts of reading writing and cyphering. The Bill only compels children to attend school between the ages of 6 and 10. That is to say, that if a boy passed through the standards at the rate of one a year, he would be allowed to leave school when he had completed the third standard. It is doubtful whether the results of so short a schooling would be permanent literacy. One of the inspectors says "experience shows that it does not secure life-long literacy," and I have had the same opinion from other persons qualified to judge.

I am loath to accept it because if it be well founded nearly all our elementary education is useless. Even, however, it be the case that most of the boys who pass through the third standard are permanently literate, the fact remains that a very large number of boys do not do so by the age of ten. I am not able to say how many, as we have no age statistics.

9. The financial aspect of the matter has received considerable attention and it has been assumed that the passing of the Bill would result in a great and immediate increase of public expenditure. It does not appear to me that this increase would be very immediate. The first result of the application of the Act to any area would be, of course, an increase in the strength of existing schools. If, however, the age rule were worked rationally, all the boys between six and ten who had received no previous education would not be forced into school. It would perhaps be worthwhile to take those of seven but certainly not those of eight and nine, so that the immediate increase would be only half the possible maximum. Under clause 9, there would certainly be some loss of fee-income, and increase of fee-income would not be proportionate to increase of strength. Increase of strength implies increase in the number of teachers, but as regards existing schools it is quite possible to exaggerate the extent to which this would be necessary because standards above the first are commonly weak, there being 469,000 boys in the infant and first standards in elementary schools as against 251,000 in the second and third. I doubt whether an increase in staff of as many as one teacher on Rs. 8 a month per school would be necessary. Under the existing Madras Educational Rules and Grant-in-Aid Code, boards would have to give additional capitation grant of at least Re. 1 per pupil and Government an additional grant of

Rs. 36 per teacher in aided schools and of at least As. 8 per pupil. With an increase in the number of schools, educational administration must also become more expensive. It does not seem to me, however, that increase in expenditure would necessarily be either greater or more rapid than must be anticipated from the development of elementary education on its present lines, since the financial aspect of any application to notify an area under the Act would naturally be the first to be examined.

It is quite another matter whether the increased expenditure would be to the best advantage. I feel sure that it would not, because it would be devoted to perpetuating and intensifying the great defect in our present system, the enormous preponderance of third standard schools and the consequent limitation of education to a smattering of the three R's which in very many cases must be rapidly and entirely lost.

10. If the Bill were to become law, there is danger that the demand for teachers would greatly exceed the supply and that it would largely increase the proportion of unqualified teachers. It is perhaps worth noting in this connection that universal education would have in Europe probably proved an impossibility but for the ease with which the teaching staff was recruited from the female population. We have no such resource in India.

11. The administrative provisions of the Bill present difficulties. Who would be found, particularly in rural areas, to form the school attendance committees? In view of the class of persons available it seems likely that no very stringent compulsion would be exercised particularly as the list of grounds for excuse is so comprehensive. Difficulties would also arise about age. The registration of births, I understand, is far from complete. The rule fixing the measured mile along a road as the distance to which children must go to school would not be easy of application in rural areas.

These provisions might, however, be amended in Committee. The introduction of the religious question is a more serious matter. It may be presumed that parents would as a matter of course resist compulsory attendance at a mission school, so that in the numerous cases where such was the only available school the Bill would be inoperative. There is also a further danger that this resistance to compulsory attendance would react on voluntary attendance and might produce something like a boycott of mission schools.

XXXII

Letter—from M.R.Ry. K. G. KRISHNASWAMI AIYAR AVARGAL, B.A., Chairman, Municipal Council, Palamcottah.

To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department (through the Revenue Divisional Officer and the Collector of Tinnevely).

Dated—the 17th June 1911.

No.—595.

Adverting to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, I have the honour to submit copy of the resolution of the municipal council in the matter as well as a memorandum showing the amendments which the council wishes to suggest and the reasons for the same.

2. The council approves of the principle of the Bill except in so far as it relates to levy of extra taxation for educational purposes. The income of the people is not such as to allow them to bear extra taxation without unduly diminishing their already very limited resources. The money that is being spent for grants to private institutions may very well be diverted for the purposes contemplated in the Bill. Most of the private elementary schools now aided from municipal funds are in my opinion of doubtful utility and may very well be replaced by municipal schools.

ENCLOSURES.

(1)

Proceedings of the Municipal Council, Palamcottah, dated 3rd June 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring for opinion the Elementary Education Bill.

Resolution No. 1.—The principle of the Bill is accepted. As regards details the modifications mentioned in a separate memorandum are considered necessary.

Memorandum mentioned in the Resolution of the Palamcottah Municipal Council, No. 1, dated 3rd June 1911—*cont.*

Provisions as they stand in the Bill.	Amendments proposed.	Reasons for the amendments.
11. (1) Whenever the school attendance committee is satisfied that a boy in its area that ought to attend school does not do so, it may after due warning make a complaint against the parent of the boy before a magistrate.	<i>Between the words "warning" and "make" insert the words "in writing".</i>	The amendment is intended to remove difficulties in the way of proving before a court that a warning has been given.
(2) The magistrate shall, if satisfied of the truth of the complaint, issue an order directing the parent to cause the boy to attend school before a certain date.	<i>Between the words "school" and "before" insert "regularly".</i>	The amendment is necessary to prevent parents making a sham compliance with the orders and escaping from penalty thereby.
12. (1) If such order is not complied with and the Prosecution of school attendance parent. committee does not see any satisfactory cause for the non-compliance, it may prosecute the defaulting parent before a magistrate.	....	....
(2) The Penalty for not parent shall be compliance with liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding Rs. 2.	....	....
13. In cases of repeated non-compliance the parent shall on conviction be liable to a fine not exceeding Rs. 10.	....	....
14. (1) The school attendance committee may, after due warning, prosecute any employer who violates the provisions of section 6.	Omit	<i>Vide reasons noted against section 6.</i>
(2) Unless such employer is able to satisfy the magistrate that there is no recognised school within a distance of one mile measured along the nearest road from the residence of a boy, or that the time and nature of the boy's employment are such that he is not prevented from receiving elementary education at school or that the boy was employed under false representations as to age, residence and other conditions or without his knowledge and consent by an agent or workman under him for whose prosecution he is willing to afford the necessary facilities, he shall, on conviction, be liable to a fine not exceeding Rs. 20.	....	....
15. When the act of taking a boy into employment in contravention of this Act is in fact committed by an agent or workman of the employer that agent or workman shall be liable to the same penalty in the same manner and subject to the same conditions as if he were the employer.	Omit	<i>Vide reasons noted against section 6.</i>
16. The Local Government may exempt particular classes or occupations from the operation of this Act.	<i>* Insert "or the local body subject to the approval of the Local Government".</i>	It is necessary that discretion should be given to local bodies to grant exemption in order to suit local circumstances.
17. In an area in respect of which a notification has been issued under section 3 the municipality or district board may, with the previous sanction of the Local Government and subject to such rules as the Governor-General in Council may make in this behalf by notification, declare that the foregoing provisions relating to boys shall, from a date to be specified in the notification, apply also in the case of girls residing within such area and the said provisions shall apply in the case of girls accordingly.	Omit	The present state of Indian society precludes the possibility of its becoming fit to have compulsory female education in the near future.

Memorandum mentioned in the Resolution of the Palamcottah Municipal Council, No. 1, dated 3rd June 1911—*cont.*

Provisions as they stand in the Bill.	Amendments proposed.	Reasons for the amendments.
18. (1) The Governor-General in Council may make rules carrying out the provisions of this Act.	<i>* Insert the Local Governor for the territories under it.</i>	The circumstances of the area under one Local Government may vary from those of the area under another Government. It is better to authorise Local Governments also to frame rules suitable to their respective provinces.
(2) In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power such rules may provide for—	....	....
(a) the fixing of the percentage of boys or of girls that should be at school in an area before a notification in respect thereof may be issued under section 3 or section 17 as the case may be; and	....	....
(b) the prescribing of the proportions in which the cost of providing elementary education under this Act should be divided between the municipality or district board and the Local Government as the case may be.	....	....
(3) The power to make rules under this section shall be subject to the condition of the rules being made after previous publication.	....	....
19. A municipality or district board may, with the previous sanction of the Local Government, make by-laws prescribing—	<i>+ Insert "or amend any by-laws".</i>	....
(a) The manner in which the school attendance committee should be constituted, the number of its members, their duties and their mode of transacting business.	....	....
(b) That steps which the school attendance committee may take to secure the attendance of children at school.	....	....

N. Dis. I.C. No. 2008-11, dated 12th June 1911.

Submitted.

T. N. RAMACHANDRA RAO,
Revenue Divisional Officer.

N. Dis. No. 1140-Eng./11, dated 26th June 1911.

Submitted.

H. F. W. GILLMAN,
Collector of Tinnevely.

To the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.

XXXIII

Letter—from E. H. D'Cruz, Esq., Vice-Chairman, Municipal Council, Cocanada.
To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department (through the Collector of Gódvári, and the Deputy Collector Head-quarters Division, Gódvári district).

Dated—the 9th/10th June 1911.

No.—D. Dis. 200-C.M. of 1911.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, I have the honour to inform you that the council approves of the Elementary Education Bill and suggests that in section 9 (1) the limit of income of the parent be raised to Rs 15.

A copy of the council's resolution on the subject is enclosed.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the Municipal Council, Cocanada, dated 26th May 1911.

* * * * *

Read Elementary Education Bill drafted.

* * * * *

Resolution No. 9.—The council approves of the Bill, and suggests that in section 9 (1) the limit of income be raised to Rs. 15.

* * * * *

N. Dis. G.C. No. 863, H.D.C. of 1911, dated 15th June 1911.

Submitted.

HABIBULLA KHAN SAHIB,
Deputy Collector.

T.D. 1814 of 1911, dated 23rd June 1911.

Submitted.

E. B. ELWIN,
Collector of Goddāvari.

XXXIV

Letter—from M.R.Ry. Rao Bahadur T. V. NARASAYYA PANTULU Garu, Chairman, Municipal Council, Bezvada.

To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.

Dated—the 30th June 1911.

No.—725.

In compliance with G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, calling for opinion on the Elementary Education Bill, I have the honour to submit herewith a copy of the suggestions of Councillor M.R.Ry. V. L. Narasinham Pantulu Garu as adopted by the council in its Resolution No. XV, dated 13th June 1911, for information of the Government.

ENCLOSURES.

(1)

Letter—from M.R.Ry. V. L. NARASINHAM PANTULU Garu, Municipal Councillor, Bezvada.

To—the Chairman, Municipal Council, Bezvada.

Dated—the 5th June 1911.

The Elementary Education Bill referred to me for suggestions is herewith resubmitted to the chairman in council for their hearty and unqualified sympathy with the spirit of this measure for compulsory elementary education and the levy of an education rate therefor. Considering the present need for mass education the Bill offers only a modicum of supply. The provisions relating to the compulsion and the payment of an education rate are contained in sections 4 and 8 of the Bill, respectively, and they are more than sufficiently moderate. In these days of progressive Indian opinion when reforms in every direction are advocated by the leaders of Indian society and some of them at least to an extent were set on foot and pursued, mass illiteracy would be a heavy clog on to them obstructing the advance of the nation at every step and hence the necessity for this measure. It would be the duty of every well-wisher of this country and its advancement to support the Bill in unstinting terms though the provisions relating to compulsion were even strongly worded that not only the apprehended severity of compulsion in some quarters is alleviated thereby, but in my humble opinion it errs on the side of over-caution and to some extent affects, though for a time, the very object for which it is brought into existence. The proposed education rate would not be heavy nor would it be incompatible with the need for such education and the benefit that would accrue from it to the country. The sacrifice the public will have to make towards the payment of this rate would be too little when compared with the benefit the country as a whole is likely to derive from it if the Bill is fortunately passed into Act.

I. The only suggestion that I am inclined to make in reference to the provision of declaring an area for compulsory elementary education is that the various municipalities in the country shall be the first to introduce the principle in them soon after the passing of this Bill into an Act and set the example. A period of five or six years may be fixed to bring gradually the whole municipal area of every municipality in the country under compulsion subject to section 16 of the

Bill; and the district boards in a like manner shall declare all union panchayat villages within their respective jurisdictions within a like period. Else I fear it would be too long before these areas could be declared for compulsion and longer still for other parts of the country.

II. Next as to the period of attendance of a pupil at school it may be six years for four years provided in the Bill both for educating the pupil better and for the preservation of his physique from deterioration when put to work when he is barely ten years old.

III. As for the payment of an education rate, the cost of elementary education, when compared with that for secondary and higher education, would be much less and when, as suggested in the Bill, a moiety of such cost is to be borne by the Government it would not be difficult for local bodies to raise the other half of the cost and therefore it requires no amendment.

IV. Then as to the fixity of an income limit of a parent for purposes of remission of school fees as contemplated in section 9 of the Bill, I would have it as Rs. 15 instead of Rs. 10 as provided while retaining sub-section (2) of the same section as it is.

V. The other provisions of the Bill call for no remark till such time when the Imperial Government and local bodies would be in a position to frame rules and by-laws contemplated in sections 18 and 19 of the Bill.

VI. With these remarks and suggestions I commend this Bill for your sympathy and support.

(2)

Proceedings of the Municipal Council, Bezvada, dated 13th June 1911.

* * * * *

Read again G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, regarding the Elementary Education Bill with the remarks of M.R.Ry. V. L. Narasinham Pantulu Garu, Municipal Councillor, on the Bill.

Resolution No. XV.—The suggestions made by Mr. V. L. Narasinham Pantulu are adopted and will be submitted to Government.

XXXV

Letter—from M.R.Ry. N. G. PONNAYIA AVARGAL, B.A., L.T., Chairman-Delegate Municipal Council, Mannārgudi.

To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.

Dated—the 17th June 1911.

No.—R.C. 162-H. of 1911.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, I have the honour to submit herewith an extract from the Proceedings of the Municipal Council, Mannārgudi, dated 12th June 1911.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the Municipal Council, Mannārgudi, dated 12th June 1911.

* * * * *

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Elementary Education Bill for opinion and the remarks of the Councillor Mr. N. G. Ponnayia thereon.

Resolution No. 6.—The council, though in favour of educating all people, is against an education rate and making education compulsory to such an extent as to be prejudicial to the training and interests of agricultural labourers.

* * * * *

E.O. No. 4285-2, dated 17th June 1911.

Submitted.

C. SUBBIAH,
Deputy Collector.

Encl. on Cur. No. 882-MI. of 1911, dated 24th June 1911.

Forwarded to the Director of Public Instruction.

R. F. AUSTIN,
Ag. Collector of Tanjore.

N. Ref. on Cur. No. 2562/11, dated 6th July 1911.

Submitted to Government.

J. H. STONE,
Ag. Director of Public Instruction.

XXXVI

Letter—from B. G. McCLOUGHIN, Esq., Vice-Chairman, Municipal Council, Trichinopoly.

To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department (through the Revenue Divisional Officer, Trichinopoly).

Dated—the 29th June 1911.

No.—G.C. 50.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring for opinion the Elementary Education Bill, I have the honour to submit, for the information of Government, that the municipal council has, at its meeting held on the 24th instant, resolved that the general principles of the Bill might be approved and is of opinion that the taxation clause might be deleted. I beg to submit herewith a copy of its resolution No. 324 (7).

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the Municipal Council, Trichinopoly, dated 24th June 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Elementary Education Bill for opinion to the Honourable the Judges of the High Court and to certain selected officers and bodies, with the report of the sub-committee on the subject.

Resolution No. 324 (7).—The council approves the general principles of the Bill and are of opinion that the taxation clause may be deleted.

E.C. No. 1323-Sub., dated 3rd July 1911.

Submitted.

J. A. DE ROZARIO,
Deputy Collector.

E.C. No. 2820-Rev., dated 8th July 1911.

Forwarded.

E. W. LEIGH,
Ag. Collector.

XXXVII

Letter—from F. DEWSBURY, Esq., Registrar of the University of Madras.

To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.

Dated—Senate House, the 12th July 1911.

No.—1888.

I have the honour, by the direction of the Syndicate, to inform you that, in accordance with G.O., Mis. No. 303, Educational, dated the 20th May 1911, and the desire of Government expressed therein that the opinion of the Senate upon the Elementary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale should be obtained and forwarded to Government by the 15th instant, the Syndicate summoned a special meeting of the Senate for the 10th July 1911 for the consideration of the Elementary Education Bill. At this meeting the Senate by a large majority passed the following resolution:—

“That the Senate of the University of Madras approves of the general policy of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill.”

The Senate had before it for consideration at the meeting other motions having reference to the details of the provisions of the Bill, but no resolutions thereon were passed.

Copies of the notice summoning the meeting, of the Agenda and of the proceedings thereof, are submitted herewith for the further information of Government.

XXXVIII

Letter—from E. F. HANDCOCK, Esq., Chairman, Municipal Council, Ootacamund.
To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department (through the Collector of the Nilgiris and the Revenue Divisional Officer).

Dated—the 7th July 1911.

No.—1422.

Adverting to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated the 1st April 1911, I have the honour to submit herewith a copy of the municipal council's resolution No. 3, passed at its meeting held on the 5th instant, accepting the views of the sub-committee which was appointed for the purpose of reporting on the Elementary Education Bill.

2. A separate copy of the sub-committee's report is submitted.

ENCLOSURES.

Minutes of a meeting of the sub-committee appointed to consider the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill, dated the 28th June 1911.

The sub-committee is of opinion that, having regard to the extent to which elementary education has spread in Ootacamund under the existing system, it would be a mistake to introduce compulsory measures. It considers that education should develop on voluntary lines, on which a steady and progressive growth may be expected.

2. It believes that a measure of the nature contemplated would be extremely unpopular, that the provision of the Bill exempting different classes are so vague as to render the measure largely inoperative, and that the crux of the matter is the financial difficulty.

Proceedings of the Municipal Council, Ootacamund, dated the 5th July 1911.

Read the report of the sub-committee appointed to consider the Elementary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, referred for opinion of the municipal council under G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911.

Resolution No. 3.—The council accepts the views of the sub-committee, which will be submitted to Government at once.

N. Dis. C. No. 970/11, dated 8th July 1911.

Submitted.

C. G. MACKAY,
Sub-Collector.

N. Dis. Cur. No. 1680/11, dated 13th July 1911.

Submitted.

I have given my views as President, District Board.

P. S. P. RICE,
Collector.

XXXVIII

Letter—from M. R. RY. K. SRINIVASA AIYANGAR Avargal, Vice-Chairman, Municipal Council, Srivillipattur.

To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department (through the Divisional Officer, Sattur, and the Collector of Rámnád).

Dated—the 7th July 1911.

No.—Cur. 190/11-Gl.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Elementary Education Bill for opinion to the several local bodies, I have the honour to submit herewith a copy of resolution No. 4, dated 30th June 1911, approving the Bill with certain modifications therein made.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the Municipal Council, Srivilliputhur, dated 30th June 1911.

* * * * *

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Elementary Education Bill for opinion to several local bodies.

Resolution No. 4.—The council approves the Bill subject to the following modifications:—

- (1) *Section 5-A.*—The words “or social” subsequent to the word “religious” may be added.
- (2) *Section 9 (i).*—Omit “if the monthly income of the parent does not exceed Rs. 10.”
- (3) *Section 9 (ii).*—Omit the whole.
- (4) *Section 17.*—Omit the whole.
- (5) Provision may also be made for boarding and scholarship in case of poor boys who are intelligent.

N. Dis. I.C. No. 1153/11, dated 17th July 1911.

Forwarded.

J. R. KRISHNAMMA,
Divisional Officer.

N. Dis. No. 1753/Gl., dated 21st July 1911.

Forwarded.

J. F. BRYANT,
Collector.

XXXIX

Letter—from F. C. PARSONS, Esq., I.C.S., President, District Board, Koraput.
To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.
Dated—Vizagapatam, the 21st July 1911.
No.—Dis. 131-K.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Elementary Education Bill for the opinion of the local boards, I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of the resolution of the District Board, Koraput, No. 10, dated 30th June 1911, on the subject.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the District Board, Koraput, dated 30th June 1911.

* * * * *

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, sending the Elementary Education Bill for opinion to local bodies as to desirability of its approval.

Resolution No. 10.—The Bill is unsuitable to the Agency tracts.

XL

Letter—from H. D. C. REILLY, Esq., I.C.S., Registrar, High Court, Madras.
To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.
Dated—the 3rd August 1911.
No.—Dis. 889.

In reply to your letter, dated 11th April 1911, forwarding G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Educational Bill to the Honourable the Judges of the High Court for opinion, I am directed to forward to you copies of minutes recorded by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Benson, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sundara Aiyar and the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Phillips on the Bill. The other Judges do not wish to offer any remarks on the Bill.

ENCLOSURE.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Benson.—I do not know of any local area in which the Bill could at present be put in force with advantage.

But its provisions are of a purely permissive character and are surrounded by ample safeguards.

I, therefore, see no objection to the passing of the Bill as an intelligent anticipation of what will be a practical need some ten or twenty or thirty years hence.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sundara Aiyar.—I entirely approve of the general principles of the Bill. It is a cautious measure. I am of opinion that a compulsory law is necessary for the promotion of elementary education, especially on account of its indirect consequences on the minds of parents. I attach no weight to the objection that compulsion should not be resorted to on the ground that the Government is a foreign Government, as it is called. The people for whose benefit the Bill is intended do not so regard it, and in any event, on a question of paramount importance like elementary education, the Government, in my opinion, should not hesitate to use compulsion. It certainly has not hesitated with respect to other matters such as sanitation, etc.

The exemption from school attendance “on religious grounds” is worded too broadly. I take it that the intention is to grant exemption only when the objection to attendance is based on the character of the religious teaching imparted in a school. Section 4 taken with the definition of parent in section 2 would make more than one person responsible at the same time for the education of an infant. I doubt whether this is intended by Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. A person liable to maintain an infant may not be the guardian or the person having the custody of the infant as in the case of the daughter of an undivided deceased co-parcener and it seems to be hardly right to hold such a person responsible for the infant's education.

In section 12 referring to penalty, I would suggest that the provision should be that a certain amount of fine may be inflicted for every week of the child's absence from school.

I do not think it necessary to deal further with the details of the Bill. I generally agree with them.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Phillips.—I approve generally of the Bill, but have no detailed criticism to offer except that I agree with Sundara Aiyar, J. that “parent” is too loosely defined.

XLI

Letter—from M.R.Ry. T. S. PICHUMANI AIYAR Avargal, Chairman, Municipal Council, Tinnevely.
To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department (through the Revenue Divisional Officer and the Collector of Tinnevely).
Dated—the 19th July 1911.
No.—R.O.C. 285/11.

Adverting to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring for opinion the Elementary Education Bill, I have the honour to submit herewith a copy of the report of the sub-committee appointed to consider the Bill and a copy of the council's resolution accepting the recommendations of the sub-committee.

ENCLOSURES.

(1)

Proceedings of the Municipal Council, Tinnevely, dated 17th July 1911.

* * * * *

Read Elementary Education Bill with the report of the sub-committee.

Resolution No. 15.—Resolved that the recommendation of the sub-committee be accepted.

(2)

Report of the Sub-Committee appointed in connection with the Elementary Education Bill.

The District Municipalities Act and the Madras Local Boards Act distinctly enact that local boards and municipalities are bound to provide for the education of people within their areas, nay, in some case, even outside their areas. A comparison of clause (iv) of section 113 of the District Municipalities Act and clause (iv) of section 95 of the Madras Local Boards Act would show that municipalities are expected to do more and better work in this direction, inasmuch as the establishment and maintenance of public libraries, reading rooms, gymnasia and similar other institutions are included among their powers.

The local self-Government committee of 1882 pointed out that till then, only two or three municipal bodies had attempted to deal either adequately or systematically with the education of the mass of the people, in spite of the repeated exhortations of Government on the subject. They found that Government generally had never interfered with municipalities in matters educational save in respect of elementary education, for which they gave explicit orders for enhancement of provision. The committee also regretted that, while the law laid down, with great minuteness, the duties of municipalities in regard to conservancy, the registration of births and deaths, etc., it failed to indicate to those councils what their duty was to the towns people or what those people had a right to expect, in regard to the not less important service of education.

In 1884 sections 117—124 of the District Municipalities Act were inserted and they remain practically unaltered by Act III of 1897. From section 117 it would be clear that, provided there were funds, every municipality which did not provide for instruction, in school, of every child of school-going age, would be guilty of a serious dereliction of duty. The only justification that could be pleaded is that provision for the purpose had otherwise been made. Section 119 prescribes that, for classes that require such help, municipal councils are competent to remit the school fees.

In G.O., No. 180 L., dated 28th January 1891, it was declared that elementary education for boys was the chief duty of local boards. Again the Government said in their G.O., No. 490 L., dated 14th March 1900, that the boards should make provision for the instruction of all children of school-going age, and that their responsibility was confined to primary education pointing it out clearly that local boards were being allowed to work a few secondary schools only as a means of extending primary education.

From the above facts, we see that the Government have recognised all through that all local bodies ought, if they only could afford it, to provide every boy and girl with primary education. It would also appear that the making of such education free would not be obnoxious, if such free education were only feasible.

When we remember that our council has resolved to provide for a small medical scholarship, we have no hesitation in thinking that the council will be for universal primary education.

The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Bill as it seeks only to define duties that are on all hands accepted as essential, is entitled to our fullest support, if in the *modus operandi* that it prescribes nothing should be found objectionable.

The principle of compulsion of parents to send children to school will no doubt at first be resented by a few people but these are the sort of people, we venture to submit, that would object to anything new. There is no man of this district but would admit that the Christian Missions' efforts to give education to our boys and girls were resented in the beginning, but that now there is nothing but praise from every lip to those pioneers of education here. The Bill provides that compulsion is to be resorted to only in areas which the Government and the local bodies agree in considering as fit for the promulgation of such a measure. The penalties that are provided are light; and it is only to boys that this element of coercion would first be made applicable. Justifications are provided for rather liberally, as also the age limits of children to be sent to school. Special Committees are to be constituted for the proper administration of the rules to be framed.

As regards finance, the Bill when it is passed into law will make definite provision. And no man should grudge a small local taxation on this account.

For these reasons, we recommend that our council do give their warm and strong support to the Bill.

We beg leave to add that the school attendance committee should consist of a certain number of the elected members of the local bodies concerned and an equal number of non-officials unconnected with any such bodies, the latter to be elected according to the rules that should be framed by Government in this behalf, if not according to the specific provisions in the Act itself. We would also propose this alteration, viz., that in clause (9) (1) Rs. 10 be altered to Rs. 15.

No. Dis. T.C. 2254, dated 24th July 1911.

Forwarded.

A. MC. G. C. TAMPOR,
Sub-Collector.

N. Dis. No. 1542/Eng., dated 4th August 1911.

Submitted.

H. F. W. GILLMAN,
Collector.

XLII

Letter—from J. L. JACQUES, Esq., Divisional Officer in charge, Municipal Council, Cochin.

To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department (through the Deputy Collector, Cochin).

Dated—the 8th August 1911.

No.—D-2226/11.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April last, I have the honour to state that the majority of the councillors are not in favour of the Elementary Education Bill.

An extract from the Council's Resolution No. 1, dated 3rd instant, is enclosed.

ENCLOSURE.

Proceedings of the Municipal Council, Cochin, dated 3rd August 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Elementary Education Bill for opinion. Read also remarks of the councillors.

Resolution No. 1.—Resolved that Government be informed that the majority of the councillors are not in favour of the Bill.

Endt. No. 648/Mis., dated 9th August 1911.

Submitted through the Collector of Malabar.

J. L. JACQUES,
Deputy Collector.

Endt. on C. No. 403/ML/1911, dated 13th August 1911.

Forwarded.

C. A. INNES,
Ag. Collector.

XLIII

Letter—from M.R.Ry. S. N. ANANTARTI RAO Avargal, Chairman, Municipal Council, Tirupati.

To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department (through the Divisional Officer and the Collector of Chittoor).

Dated—the 18th July 1911.

No.—Ref. on 30/G.O.

With reference to G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, I have the honour to submit herewith an extract from the minutes of proceedings of the Municipal Council on the subject.

ENCLOSURE.

Minute of Proceedings of the Municipal Council, Tirupati, dated 15th July 1911.

Read G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, referring the Elementary Education Bill for opinion to the Honourable the Judges of the High Court and certain selected officers and bodies.

Resolution No. 7.—The council unanimously approves of the general principles of the Bill and suggests that the age limit be altered from 6 to 10 to 7 to 12.

Endorsement, dated 21st July 1911.

Forwarded.

J. C. STODART,
Divisional Officer.

N. Dis. No. 3424/Genl. of 1911, dated 8th August 1911.

Forwarded.

E. W. LEIGH,
Collector.

XLIV

Letter—from H. D. C. REILLY, Esq., I.C.S., Registrar, High Court, Madras.
To—the Secretary to Government, Educational Department.
Dated—the 22nd August 1911.
No.—Dis. 889/11.

In continuation of my letter Dis. No. 889, dated 3rd August 1911, regarding Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill, I am directed to forward a copy of a minute recorded by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sankaran Nair and to state that His Lordship was unable to consider the Bill before the vacation.

ENCLOSURE.

Minute recorded by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sankaran Nair.

I have now fully considered the provisions of the Bill and I think it ought to be passed. It may be brought into force in many localities with great advantage.

XLV

FILE of replies from the following Municipal Councils and District Boards who approve the Bill and have no suggestions to offer:—

Municipal Councils.

Máayavaram.	Chingleput.	Bellary.
Walaajapet.	Vellore.	Karúr.
Ellore.	Mangalore.	Srirangam.
Dindigul.	Tanjore.	Vizagapatam.
Tiruppattúr.	Chicacole.	Erode.
Tuticorin.	Anantapur.	Tenali.
Palni.	Periyakulam.	Parákimedi.
Tellicherry.	Palghat.	Berhampur.
Cannanore.	Nellore.	Guntúr.
Coimbatore.	Kumbakónam.	Anakápalle.
Bimlipatam.	Negapatam.	Conjeveram.
Gudiyáttam.	Tiruvannámalaí.	Madura.
Cuddapah.	Ongole.	Chidambaram.
Rajahmundry.		

District Boards.

Nellore.	Guntúr.	Madura.
Kurnool.	Vizagapatam.	Kistna.
Cuddapah.	Chittoor.	Vellore.

Order—No. 612, Educational, dated 2nd September 1911.

The following letter will be addressed to the Government of India.

[Here enter letter No. 613, Educational, dated 2nd September 1911.]

(True Extract.)

L. DAVIDSON,
Ag. Secretary to Government.

EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT.

No. 613.

From

THE HON'BLE MR. L. DAVIDSON, I.C.S.,
Acting Secretary to the Government of Madras,

Educational Department,

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,

LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

Dated Ootacamund, the 2nd September 1911.

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1166, dated 21st March 1911, forwarding copies of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill and inviting an expression of the views of this Government on the provisions of that measure together with the opinions of the Honourable the Judges of the High Court and of selected officers and other persons.

2. In reply I am to state that the Bill was referred for opinion to the Honourable the Judges of the High Court, the Director of Public Instruction, the Senate of the University of Madras, the district boards and municipal councils throughout the Presidency, the Corporation of Madras, the Missionary Council on Aided Education, and the Council on Native Education. Replies have now been received from those consulted with the exception of the Council on Native Education, and those communications which embody detailed criticisms or suggestions will be found printed in the enclosure (G.O., No. 612, Educational, dated 2nd September 1911) to this letter. The majority of the district boards and municipal councils have merely contented themselves with expressing general approval of the principles and provisions of the proposed measure.

3. The Bill together with the Statement of Objects and Reasons was published in the *Fort St. George Gazette* in English on the 28th March 1911, in Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Canarese on the 25th April 1911, and in Hindustani on the 2nd May 1911.

4. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's object is to make better provision for the extension of education, and the main feature of his Bill is that, if passed into law, it will enable the Government, at the instance of municipal councils or district boards, to declare it obligatory upon parents to send to school their boys, and possibly also their girls, between the ages of six and ten, provided that recognized schools have been established within one mile of their homes.

5. With the Honourable Member's object His Excellency the Governor in Council is in entire sympathy. He agrees that the most pressing need in India at the present time is the wider diffusion of education and the improvement of the character of the instruction imparted. It is an axiom that the universal education of the masses is the goal to be aimed at, and all who have the interests of the country at heart are equally interested in bringing about this consummation. Its attainment is necessarily remote, but it is the established policy of Government to do all that is in their power to facilitate progress in that direction. As an instance of the special consideration already devoted to the question mention may be made of the discussion which took place during 1906—1908 in regard to the proposal to abolish fees in primary schools, when this Government, in Mr. Taylor's letter No. 133, Educational, dated 24th February 1908, signified its desire to contribute to such a measure in so far as

financial exigencies permitted. That proposal has since reached a more advanced stage, the Government of India having recently called for an estimate of the cost of making elementary education free in all boys' and girls' schools under public management or in receipt of State aid. A further step in the same direction is to be found in the instructions which have just been issued for the preparation of a comprehensive plan for the improvement and extension of the existing system of primary education, towards which hopes of financial assistance from Imperial funds have been held out.

6. The main question now under examination, however, is whether the interests of elementary education are likely to be more effectually promoted by passing the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Bill than by continuing the accepted policy of expanding educational grants, improving the teaching agency and increasing the number of schools. This question His Excellency the Governor in Council is reluctantly constrained to answer with a decided negative. The principles of the Bill have much to commend them, and its superficial attractions have been much enhanced by the admirable exposition of the merits of the measure by its author. It is provided with safeguards against the most obvious dangers incidental to the policy in view, has beyond doubt appealed strongly to the imagination of many classes and may in one sense fairly claim to rank as a popular measure. At the same time His Excellency in Council cannot satisfy himself that he would be justified in recommending its adoption in the Presidency of Madras for some time to come.

7. The primary objection lies in the fact that compulsion is unnecessary and premature. That universal primary education cannot be secured without recourse to compulsion is doubtless the case, but it has yet to be shown that elementary instruction cannot without such assistance be extended to the utmost limit which current financial considerations permit. There is ample scope for further outlay upon the building, equipment and maintenance of schools, and given proper accommodation in well-selected centres, a sufficient and adequately trained staff and the accessories essentially required for efficient instruction, experience shows that there is no need to apprehend any deficiency of school children. *Universal* compulsion is impracticable without an enormous increase of expenditure, of which part at least must be met by local taxation, but local bodies in general would not be prepared to impose a special cess, and the levy of an adequate local rate could not fail to cause the gravest discontent in the areas to which it applied. Educational interests, again, would not be served by the introduction of *partial* compulsion, for the most pressing needs of the day are a much greater number of trained teachers and a large increase in the number of schools, and neither of these wants would be in any way supplied by the application of the compulsory principle, while their paramount importance might be lost sight of in the excitement of passing a legislative measure based on high ideals but producing little practical effect towards their realization.

The arguments which are based upon supposed analogies with the experience of other countries do not bear scrutiny. In Ireland, to which reference is constantly made, there is no educational rate, and there can be little doubt that one main reason for the acceptance of the principle of compulsion embodied in the Irish Education Act was that the scheme propounded involved no new taxation. In England local government and parish government had reached a stage of development many years in advance of the present condition of India, before compulsory education was advocated. In Japan again, while compulsion is nominally a factor, the operative agency really is persuasion of a character as yet almost untried in India. There is a highly organized department assisted by local committees and voluntary educational associations which interest themselves actively in increasing the number of children at schools. "In one 'prefecture', it is stated, 'the high percentage of attendance was attributed largely to the persevering efforts of a recent inspector, who personally urged its necessity upon 'the people of every backward house. In other cases educational associations 'have been active in beating up the children, especially the girls.'" (Sharp's Report on the Educational System of Japan, paragraph 101.) In England, when the Elementary Education Act of 1870 was introduced, two-fifths of the children between the ages of six and ten were on the school registers and one-third of those between ten and twelve. In Japan, on the promulgation of the Imperial Re-script of 1872 and the first Educational Code 40 *per cent.* of the boys were attending school and

15 *per cent.* of the girls. These figures stand out in striking contrast with the latest available statistics of the Presidency of Madras. The male population as recorded in March 1911 was 20,386,000. Applying the accepted ratio based upon the census results of 1901, the number of boys between the ages of six and twelve would be 15 *per cent.* of this total or 3,057,900. According to the latest educational returns the number of male pupils in public elementary schools on the 31st March 1910 was 757,471 or less than 25 *per cent.* of the estimated male population between the ages of six and twelve. On the same date the number of girls under instruction was only 172,088 or only 5.5 *per cent.* of the available number. There can be no doubt that these low proportions might be materially raised without any resort to coercion. In India it is not the case, as in Japan in 1872, that "farmers, 'artisans and merchants regard learning as beyond their sphere.'" Indifference may exist in the rural classes of the population, but it has not shown itself unamenable to persuasion, and comparative statistics extending over a period of years establish a very direct relation between the rise in the strength of primary schools and the amount of money spent on primary education, and indicate that the chief limiting factor in the matter of school attendance is the funds available for expenditure, not the absence of compulsion. It will be time enough to have recourse to compulsory measures, when actual difficulty is experienced in filling the schools set up.

8. On educational grounds the Bill is open to three grave objections. In the first place the period of instruction provided for, viz., four years, cannot reasonably be expected to produce lasting results. All the educational authorities are agreed as to the necessity of extending the course by at least two years. In Japan it was found at the annual examination of conscripts that those who had quitted school at the end of the ordinary four-year course were practically illiterate by the time they had reached the age for military service. Experience in Italy tells the same tale, and in England with a longer course the benefits of education are too often only transitory. It would be folly in India to ignore this lesson by limiting the period of instruction and to embark upon a course of action which has been proved to be mistaken.

Secondly, the system of school attendance committees, which it is proposed to create, would in practice be unworkable. The public spirit which has been so productive of results in Japan does not exist in India, and it is in the last degree unlikely that such committees as could be appointed would apply the provisions of the Bill in an effective manner. With the wide field of excuses for non-attendance allowed by clause 5 and the disinclination of the average committee member to incur odium, the probability is that the operative clauses would be compulsory only in name.

The third and perhaps the most important educational objection is that the passing of this measure would indirectly control the expenditure of the available funds and starve those requirements which are really pressing in order to meet ill-judged demands for education of a type the value of which is at least problematic.

9. On examining the Bill from a financial standpoint, it is impossible not to be impressed by the vagueness of its provisions. It empowers a local authority to decree compulsory elementary education which shall be largely free and may be almost entirely so if the local authority so decides under sub-clause (2) of clause 9. It lays an obligation upon the local authority to provide sufficient school accommodation for all children between the ages of six and ten residing within the local area. To meet the expenditure which will be necessary it gives a discretionary power to the local authority to levy a special education rate of an unlimited amount and of an unspecified kind. It further empowers the Governor-General in Council to make rules prescribing the proportions in which the cost of providing elementary education shall be divided between the local authority and the Local Government. Taking the Bill by itself, therefore, it is impossible to estimate what financial liability it may impose upon Local Governments. This must depend upon the extent of the application of the Bill, a matter in regard to which the Local Government retains some control under clause 3, and upon the proportion of the cost which the Governor-General in Council may impose on provincial finances.

It has been suggested by the author of the measure and his supporters that the Bill should be applied to every local area in which one-third of the boys of school-going age are attending school, and if that suggestion were incorporated in a rule made under

sub-clause (2) (a) of clause 18, Local Governments would sooner or later virtually be compelled to sanction the application of the Bill to every area in which that condition was fulfilled. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale contemplates the distribution of the outlay involved between local and provincial revenues in the proportion of one to two, but other advocates of the measure go so far as to contend that the whole cost should devolve upon provincial revenues.

Now in municipal primary schools in Southern India the average cost of educating each pupil is approximately Rs. 6½ *per annum*. In the Presidency as a whole the estimated male population between the ages of six and ten may be taken as 2,039,000 and the education of this number would involve an annual outlay of 132.53 lakhs, assuming that it were possible to work on the present low rate of Rs. 6½ *per pupil*. The number of boys in public elementary schools on the 31st March 1910 was 757,471, that is to say, already more than one-third of the total number between the ages of six and ten. No doubt some of these are more than ten years of age, but if every allowance be made on that account, it is safe to conclude that in many areas the proportion of boys between six and ten who are attending school exceeds the ratio of one-third which it is proposed to adopt as the test. It is conceivable, therefore, that at no distant date the Local Government might find considerable pressure put upon it to apply the Bill to an extent involving a demand upon its finances which they would be quite unable to bear. The provincial expenditure on primary schools for boys is now only 9.23 lakhs *per annum*, but if one-third of the ultimate outlay were met by a local cess, the total cost to provincial funds would on this calculation amount to Rupees 88.35 lakhs. And if, as seems inevitable, on educational grounds the course of instruction were ultimately extended from four to six years, the expenditure would increase largely. It is not unreasonable to estimate the increase at 50 *per cent.* and perhaps even more since the cost of teaching the higher classes is likely to exceed the rate obtaining in the case of the lower standards. In the meantime the expenditure under the Bill of large sums on a system of incomplete and inadequate education would appear to be an unjustifiable waste of public money.

10. Turning now to the political aspect of the proposed legislation, I am to advert to the effect upon popular feeling of the introduction of compulsory methods and the levy of additional direct taxation. In justification of the measure it has been stated that there is a strong demand in India for universal education. It is no doubt the case that a section of the press and the educated classes in general demand universal education, but they do not constitute, and cannot be said to represent, the mass of the people. This advanced party demands not only universal education for boys but also a wide extension of education among girls, a development which though provided for in clause 17 of the Bill is regarded even by its supporters as hardly within the range of practical politics. The introduction of compulsion is inseparably connected with the provision for the levy of the local rate, for without that provision it is clearly absurd to confer upon local bodies, whether municipal councils or district boards, the power to force the hands of Government in regard to the system of education to be pursued in the areas under their control. But if the provision of ways and means continues entirely to devolve upon the central Government, it is that authority and not local bodies which should prescribe so drastic a change as the introduction of rules enforcing compulsory education.

The supporters of the measure are apt to cite Japan as an instance in point, but in so doing they overlook the essential difference between the two countries. Measures of the character under consideration are possible in Japan only because the masses understand that their very existence as a nation depends upon their education. The people are therefore with the Government, and this is why they are willing to contribute in the shape of local taxation no less than 62 *per cent.* of the enormous outlay of Rs. 472 lakhs incurred upon education, towards which only 19 *per cent.* is contributed from the Government treasury. There is absolutely no similar public feeling in India; it has yet to be created.

As a reason for accepting the Bill, again, it has been urged that "the Government should enable the educated classes to feel that though largely foreign in *personnel*, it is "national in spirit and sentiment". The proposition may be admitted, but the conclusion does not follow. The national wishes will in no sense be met by imposing upon the

mass of the people a responsibility which hitherto they have shown no desire to undertake, especially when the policy adopted involves the levy of a heavy addition to taxation, which the educated classes themselves constantly condemn as already grinding in its severity. In municipal areas compulsion would probably not be necessary, in this Presidency at least, to any great extent. But among the rural population it would have to be enforced largely, especially in the cultivation season, and would arouse great hostility. The odium would fall entirely upon the Government, for the ryot and the labourer would not understand the machinery of attendance committees or appreciate the fact that the initiative had been taken by the local bodies which in theory represent their interests. They would know that the attendance of their children was enforced in the last resort by their appearance in the court of a magistrate, the infliction of a fine and possibly even imprisonment—in other words, by the ordinary coercive procedure of the Sircar—and they would draw the natural inference. Members of local boards and municipal councils come from comparatively well-to-do classes and would not themselves seriously feel the burden of an educational cess; those of them who are elected are chosen by a limited section of the rate-payers; and the electors themselves form a minute fraction of the general population. Education in a compulsory form would thus be forced upon the masses at the mandate of a small number of persons influenced by ideas which do not appeal to the general public. Nor would the dislike of an educational cess be confined to the lower classes. The higher castes share in the objection to paying for the education of their children, and it is common experience that the collection of school-fees presents difficulties even in the case of wealthy parents. So pronounced is this attitude that it is problematical whether any considerable proportion of the district boards and municipal councils would venture to take the initiative towards introducing compulsion with its inevitable concomitant, the levy of an educational rate. It is certain, therefore, that the tendency to throw the entire expense on provincial funds would grow in strength, and if that tendency were not effectively resisted, the application of the Bill to rural areas would prove impossible, unless the Government of India were able and prepared to meet the cost from Imperial funds. The alternative is the combination of compulsory methods with the imposition of a special cess, and in the present state of public opinion such a measure would be attended by grave political dangers.

11. While for the reasons set out in the preceding paragraphs His Excellency the Governor in Council regards the Elementary Education Bill as unnecessary, premature and open to objections of a serious character on educational, financial and political grounds, he admits that in this Presidency the application of its provisions to selected municipal areas would not be fraught with disastrous consequences. If, as a matter of policy, it should be deemed inexpedient absolutely to veto the proposed legislation, he would therefore be prepared, though not without doubt as to the wisdom of such a course, to consent to the introduction of a measure of a more limited character confined strictly to municipal areas. Having regard to the stage which education has already reached in urban areas in Southern India, it would not be necessary to have recourse to compulsion to any large extent, for towns might be selected in which the majority of the children are already at school, and compulsion would then be requisite only in the case of the poorest classes, who would probably accept the situation without resistance, though it would inflict considerable hardship upon them, and it is not likely that even with the addition of a small local rate discontent would be caused to a dangerous degree. It is possible that attendance committees with some pretensions to efficiency might be created here and there, and some extension of the compulsory period of instruction need not in this limited sphere be ruled out of court on financial grounds.

12. This qualified acceptance of the Bill in a restricted shape necessitates some examination of the minor provisions embodied in it and certain suggestions for amendment in drafting. These I am now to set out.

13. Clause 3.—In order to prevent so important a measure as the introduction of compulsory education and the imposition of a special cess being adopted in a hurried manner and by a small majority of the council concerned it is desirable to introduce a proviso corresponding to that which finds place in section 58 of the Madras Local Boards Act, 1884, in regard to proposals for the levy of a railway cess. It is therein

provided that no such tax shall be levied "unless the levy thereof is determined by a resolution [of the local body] supported by not less than three-fourths of the members present at a meeting specially convened in that behalf, such resolution being confirmed after a period of six months by a like majority at a like meeting".

14. *Clause 4.*—Provision must clearly be made for the extension of the period of instruction beyond a term of four years.

15. *Clause 5.*—The category of reasonable excuses for non-attendance appears too extensive. I am to refer in particular to the expression "or for sufficient cause" in sub-head (b). If compulsion is to be a reality, the discretion conceded to local attendance committees must not be too wide. Provision must, however, be made for reasonable objections based on caste scruples; Brahmans and Paraiyas cannot yet be expected to sit side by side in the same school. And further attendance should not be obligatory in the case of children who have already passed the requisite standard in a recognized school but have not reached the maximum limit of age specified in the Bill.

In sub-head (a) of the same clause, the word "road" is open to criticism and should presumably be replaced by "road or path" or some more comprehensive phrase.

16. *Clause 6* read with clause 14 (2) which casts the onus of proof upon the employer is too stringent, and these provisions should be re-drafted so as to prevent parents from being deprived of the much-needed assistance which they derive from allowing their children to work in factories.

17. *Clause 7.*—It is not clear why the obligation imposed on the local body should be restricted to the provision of school accommodation. Teaching staff and education appliances are as necessary as school-houses, and sub-clause (2) (b) of clause 18 does not state that outlay on accommodation should be left out of account in prescribing the proportions in which total expenditure shall be divided between local bodies and the Local Government.

18. *Clause 8.*—No indication is given of the lines upon which the special rate should be assessed. It is doubtless desirable to give some discretion in this matter to Local Governments, but the general principles should be laid down, and in order to obviate the objections incidental to the creation of a fresh form of taxation with special agencies for its collection, it is *prima facie* desirable that the new cess should invariably take the form of an enhancement of the rate at which some existing tax is levied.

19. *Clause 9.*—The proposal to base the title to free education on the means of the parents would be of necessity attended by inquisitorial enquiries and exceedingly difficult to work in practice. If, however, free education is to be permitted in any case, it should be conceded to all. The attempt to discriminate between the rich and the poor would inevitably create hardship and give rise to abuses.

20. *Clause 11.*—No provision has been made for the case of refractory children whose parents are unable, or profess inability, to compel their attendance.

Sub-clause (2) of the same clause opens the door for evasion by reason of the vagueness of the words "directing the parent to cause the boy to attend school before a certain date". The object in view is to compel *regular* attendance after a certain date.

21. *Clause 12.*—It is matter for consideration whether the maximum penalty is sufficiently high. In the absence of any qualification, it may be observed that default in the payment of fines will lead to imprisonment under section 25 of the General Clauses Act, 1897.

22. *Clause 13.*—The same objection applies to this clause, and it is open to the further criticism that the expression "repeated non-compliance" requires definition.

23. *Clause 14.*—The sufficiency of the fines allowed is again doubtful. Allusion has already been made, in paragraph 16 *supra*, to the doubtful propriety of casting the onus of proof upon the employer. The phrase "for whose prosecution he is willing to afford the necessary facilities" is vague and at the same time hardly necessary.

24. *Clause 18.*—The rule-making powers should clearly vest in the Local Government "subject to the control of the Governor-General in Council".

25. Finally, I am to say that, whether it should be ultimately decided altogether to veto the proposed legislation or merely to restrict its application to selected municipal areas, His Excellency the Governor in Council regards it as desirable on grounds of policy that such a decision should be accompanied by a definite pronouncement in regard to the alternative proposals of Government for the improvement of elementary education. In his opinion the proper course is to lay down a progressive programme of educational finance. The accepted policy should be to develop educational facilities in every possible direction, devoting a very much larger portion of the public revenues to this object than has been the case in the past. The rate at which surplus provincial revenues grow is systematically estimated and the calculations allow for the normal annual growth of expenditure, which includes some provision for the development of outlay on education. These calculations are liable to be vitiated by the occurrence of unfavourable seasons, but there is now a considerable reserve and it should be possible to promise a substantial annual accession to the grant for elementary education. It has been roughly estimated that in the present state of the provincial finances in this Presidency an annual increment of two lakhs might without risk be regarded as obligatory. Assuming Rs. 6½ to be the annual cost of educating each pupil in an elementary school, this would allow of an addition of 30,000 pupils every year. With assistance from the growing Imperial revenues to the moderate extent of, say, a similar annual increment of five lakhs, the yearly accession to the strength of elementary schools in Madras would rise to 100,000. On this scale of progression, even allowing for a compulsory course of six years, the universal education of boys might be brought within reach in less than a generation.

26. A copy of a minute recorded by the Hon'ble Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar is annexed.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

L. DAVIDSON,

Ag. Secretary to Government.

ANNEXURE.

Minute of Dissent.

I have the misfortune to differ from the other Members of Government. I have re-examined my position with reference to the criticisms, to which it has been subjected, but I remain substantially of the same opinion as I held originally.

2. My Honourable Colleagues would be prepared, though not without doubts as to the wisdom of such a course, to consent to the introduction of a measure of a more limited character confined strictly to municipal areas, but they regard the Bill in its present form as unnecessary, premature and open to objections of a serious character on educational, political and financial grounds.

3. I think it may be taken as axiomatic that universal mass education is the goal to be aimed at. Some would see in it the danger of alienating the people from their ordinary avocations in life, especially the agricultural and working classes. They regard the lines on which primary education has been developed in western countries as a mistake which India should avoid. I think it is enough to give them the answer that theirs is an attempt to mop back the Atlantic. The policy for this country has been definitely laid down for a great many years and has been so repeatedly affirmed that it is too late to throw doubt upon education in schools for boys or girls. In the Educational Despatch of 1854, the Court of Directors said: "It is one of our most sacred duties to be the means as far as in us lies of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge." And again: "Our attention should now be directed to a consideration, namely, how useful and practical knowledge suited to every station in life should be best conveyed to the great mass of the people who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts and we desire to see the active measures of Government more especially directed for the future to this object for the attainment of which we are ready to sanction considerable increase in expenditure." The Education Commission of 1882 regarded this despatch as definitely accepting "as a State duty the education of the whole people in India." One of the recommendations of that Commission was as follows: "An attempt should be made to secure the fullest possible provision for an expansion of primary education by legislation suited to the circumstances of each province." In the now famous resolution on Indian educational policy of 1904, the Government of Lord Curzon stated: "There are more than eighteen millions of boys who ought now to be at school, but of this only a little more than one-sixth are actually receiving primary education." Again "these figures exhibit the vast dimension of the problem and show how much remains to be done before the proportion of the population receiving elementary instruction can approach the standard recognized as indispensable in more advanced countries." Further on, they said, "They consider that primary education possesses a strong claim upon the sympathy both of the Supreme Government and of the Local Governments and should be made a leading charge upon the provincial revenues." The standard and methods of western countries were definitely accepted as the guiding principles of Indian educational policy. In the circular letter of the Government of India, dated 22nd November 1906, they expressed a desire to abolish fees as soon as the finances of the country permitted and added the hope that the time had arrived for such a step. They said: "To insist upon the permanent retention of fees is manifestly incompatible not only with universal school attendance but with anything that approaches to it." The Government of Madras accepted these declarations of policy and were prepared to introduce the scheme of free primary education *per saltum* instead of gradually—vide letter dated 24th February 1908. Though universal free primary education has not been stated in terms as a definite policy of the Government of India, there can be no doubt that that goal has been steadily kept in view in the expansion of primary education.

4. I think that the present method of promoting primary education must be pronounced to be substantially a failure. The number of boys at school in the primary stage at various quinquennial periods is stated as follows in Mr. Orange's report:—

1882	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,061,000
1887	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,581,000
1892	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,680,000
1897	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,028,000
1902	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,009,000
1907	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,631,000

Mr. Gokhale states in his speech that three million nine hundred thousand may be taken as the number of boys at school in the primary stage in 1911. The apparent ratio of progress has, however, got to be reduced with reference to the growth in the population of British India during the thirty years ranging between 1881 and 1911. The entire male population of the Indian Empire with reference to the censuses of 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911 is as follows:—

1881	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	101,324,656
1891	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	112,542,730
1901	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	117,804,942
1911	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	124,791,881

While the increase in the number of boys at school during the period from 1881 to 1911 may be taken roughly as 75 per cent., 25 per cent. out of it must be deducted as merely due to the increase in the population of the country. The ratio of boys at school to the total population of school-going age has no doubt been raised, but the increase in the number of boys for the thirty years may be roughly stated at about one million. If the population of India continue to be stationary and do not multiply at the rate at which it has done during the last thirty years, and if we take the present male population of school-going age at eighteen and odd millions on the basis of a 15 per cent. calculation, it must take nearly 250 years for the entire population of school-going age to be at school at the rate of 1½ million for every thirty years. But as population increases in a geometrical ratio at the rate of 25 per cent., which is the increase during the last thirty years in the total population of the country, the problem of universal mass education on present lines must be hopeless indeed. If population and the number of boys at school both rose in geometrical progression at their present rates it would take at least 120 years for the whole population of school-going age to be at school. I have adopted the 15 per cent. ratio even for the four years of school attendance which Mr. Gokhale has fixed in his Bill, as Mr. Hardy's calculation of 15 per cent. for ages ranging from 6 to 11 was apparently for European countries, and the shorter longevity in India would probably justify the same rate for ages ranging from 6 to 10. In the review of Mr. Cotton's report of 1897, the Government of India regarded the position as by no means encouraging, and they characterised the progress as slow indeed. Nathan's report of 1902 for the quinquennium between 1897 to 1902 showed a set-back and he characterised the general rate of progress as "most unsatisfactory". Then followed the Educational Resolution of 1904 and more vigorous activity. On this Mr. Orange remarks at page 98: "The rate of increase whether for the last twenty-five years or for the last five is very slow when compared with the distance that has to be travelled before primary education can be universally diffused. If the number of boys at school continued to increase even at the rate of increase that has taken place in the last five years (that is, six hundred thousand to three millions) and there were no increase in population, several generations would still elapse before all the boys of school-going age were in school." The voluntary method of persuasion must be condemned as a hopeless failure.

5. A policy of increased grants on definite lines is accepted by my Honourable Colleagues. An annual increment of 2 lakhs out of provincial revenues added to the present contribution of 9.23 lakhs, as suggested in paragraph 25 of the letter, will have to be continued for 40 years before the estimated provincial subsidy of 88.35 lakhs necessary to cover the present boy population of school-going age taken at 2,039,000 is reached. But that population ought really to be taken at 3,057,900, for Mr. Hardy's 15 per cent. was for European countries and for ages between 6 and 11 and for shorter longevity in India may be assumed for ages between 6 and 10. If this be correct, the period must be extended to 60 years. This, again, will have to be raised to 90 years if the cost of education is raised by 50 per cent. (see paragraph 9 of the letter) for the extended course of six years. Meanwhile it is fair to assume that

population will have doubled itself, leaving the problem of universal education as far from solution as ever. Unless therefore a substantial incremental addition from imperial funds is certain there is practically no chance of realizing the anticipation made in paragraph 25, namely, that the universal education of boys might be brought within reach in *less than a generation*. There is no doubt that, if more money were spent on primary education, better results would follow. But no resolution for increased subsidy on the part of the Executive Government can be free from the modifications consequent on the change of *personnel* or the fluctuations of finance, or the exigencies of foreign or domestic policy. Nor has a resolution of Government the virtue of accelerating progress to the same extent as the legislative acceptance of an ideal placed before every town and village as the motive of local organization and effort.

6. The only alternative which has been accepted in modern times and been found invariably successful wherever it has been tried is the policy of compulsion. The rigour of that policy Mr. Gokhale has endeavoured to soften by the adoption of what may be called "optional compulsion". But various objections have been taken to it sometimes even from opposite standpoints:—

(a) It is argued that the measure is fraught with "grave political danger" as compulsion is certain to breed "discontent to a dangerous degree". In paragraph 6, however, it is admitted that "it may fairly claim to rank as a popular measure". Before I proceed to examine this it is interesting to notice that in 1868 Lord Lawrence observed: "Amongst all sources of difficulty in our administration and of possible danger to the stability of our Government, there are few so serious as the 'ignorance of the people.' Education amongst Hindus of the higher castes has been regarded as a religious sacrament, and the reading of the Koran is a solemn religious duty amongst Mussalmans. It is admitted that 'in India it is not the case, as in Japan in 1872, that farmers, artisans and merchants regard learning as 'beyond their sphere' (see paragraph 7). That any gentle pressure for the diffusion of education will ever be regarded by the people of this country as the tyrannical exercise of authority is, to my mind, extremely problematic. The enormous body of opinion, larger in volume than has found expression on any other question within my knowledge, has been discounted as in no sense representative. But it is a truism in politics that the voice and vote of every man, even if he be articulate, are unnecessary to signify the general acceptance of a view and that the judgment of the thoughtful section, selected at random from the common body, is a sufficient index to the popular feeling. Mr. Gokhale has rightly cast the initiative in the matter of compulsion upon local bodies. The sanction of the Local Government is a safeguard against hasty action. The facilities for exemption from payment of fees and even from attendance on the ground of poverty or inconvenient avocations, must minimise the chance of friction between individual disinclination and compulsion from superior authority. The Government of India have rightly pointed out in their resolution of 1904: "To the people themselves, the lack of education is now a more serious disadvantage than it was in more primitive days. By the extension of railways, the economic side of agriculture in India has been greatly developed and the cultivator has been brought into contact with the commercial world and has been involved in transactions in which an illiterate man is at a great disadvantage. The material benefits attaching to education have, at the same time, increased with the development of schemes for introducing improved agricultural methods, for opening agricultural banks, for strengthening the local position of the cultivator, and for generally improving the conditions of rural life. Such schemes depend largely for their success upon the influence of education permeating the masses and rendering them accessible to ideas other than those sanctioned by tradition." The popular appreciation of the present-day need for an acquaintance with the three R's is sufficiently keen to save the masses from a sense of political oppression as the reason for compulsory attendance, even with an educational rate adding 40 lakhs to their present burdens in this Presidency.

(b) It has, on the other hand, been argued that a law for compulsory school attendance is bound to remain a dead letter.

(i) It is maintained that school-attendance committees will exempt almost everybody for one reason or another from the obligation to attend school. I see no warrant for this assumption. The committees themselves are required to be constituted under by-laws which must have the sanction of the Local Government. It is easy to

provide for an officer of the Educational Department of the rank of Supervisor or Sub-Assistant Inspector (there are 268 Supervisors and 111 Sub-Assistant Inspectors in this Presidency according to the report of 1907) being a member of each school-attendance committee so as to prevent any laxity of action on the part of those committees. We may even adopt the analogy of section 3, clause 1, of the Irish Act whereby provision is made for half the members being appointed by the local authority and the other half by the Commissioners, whose place may be taken here by the Inspector of Schools, or the Director of Public Instruction.

(ii) An objection has been raised of the want of competent or qualified teachers. This has always been the standing argument against compulsory education. The qualification of the teacher is nothing more than a knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic. This minimum can be found amongst many people who have never obtained the normal training school certificate. It is found necessary to employ at the present day in England large numbers of uncertificated and student teachers—please see the report of the Board of Education for 1908-1909, pages 116 and 117. When Japan inaugurated compulsory education, Sharp says: "There was a natural difficulty about teachers. The Japanese had little conception of a trained teacher. Any one who could speak a language was supposed to be capable of teaching it" (paragraph 23). "Even at the present day," he says in paragraph 452, "though primary teachers ought, by rule, to be provided with licenses, owing to the shortage in teachers, there are many who are not (21.5 per cent.) and some are preparing themselves for the licensing examination." Though licensed and properly qualified teachers are the ideal to be aimed at, I cannot agree that the lack of certificated teachers is a serious impediment to Mr. Gokhale's scheme.

(iii) Another objection is based on the ground of lack of school accommodation. Clause 7 of the Bill insists upon its provision. Mr. Gokhale said in his speech at Madras: "If Japan may be content with verandahs for school-houses, there is no loss of dignity for the Indian school boy to be housed in such a manner." The idea of substantial school buildings according to type-designs is borrowed from western conditions of climate not applicable to this country, and this poor country may well dispense with such structures. It has been my conviction that more money has been wasted on the fattening of contractors and the Department of Public Works than is justifiable in the climatic conditions of this country. A thatched or tiled shed situated in the midst of half an acre of open ground dotted with a few trees, the whole thing costing only a few hundred rupees, is far more adapted for the needs of a school-house in this country than the more costly structures which may gratify the eye of the cultured architect.

(iv) A more serious objection than all that has gone before is the shortness of the course provided by Mr. Gokhale's Bill. It is said: "It is true that Japan and Baroda began with four years, but they are finding that the period is too short. Unless we can go in for six years, the game is not worth the candle." But this argument overlooks that both Japan and Baroda have achieved solid results on a four-year basis. If they are now dissatisfied after years of trial with the old period, that is no reason why we should not begin on a modest scale leaving it to the future to extend the period when changed conditions may justify such a course. It was in the year 1908, after thirty years' experience of a four-year elementary course, that Japan thought it was time owing to its deficiencies to extend the elementary school course to six years. I am unable to accept the statement that a boy who has gone through a four-year course forgets everything that he has learnt in after-life even amidst the opportunities of agriculture or other business bringing him into contact with writing and correspondence. I quite admit that some men who have only received this modicum of education between 6 and 10 may, in after-life, forget their early acquisition. But it is a great exaggeration to assert that every man amongst those who only received a four-year training has an absolutely blank mind with reference to what he learnt in his early days. Reading, writing and arithmetic meet a man at every turn in his life whatever be his avocation. If he had a foundation in those directions in early life, the ordinary relations of life must tend to increase his knowledge without any further schooling. The value of that knowledge, small as it may be, in enabling the agriculturist, the day-labourer, and the petty trader to carry on his avocations with more intelligence and less liability to deception cannot be over-rated. He is more accessible to a

knowledge of the rules of hygiene and sanitation spread through leaflets and newspaper paragraphs, and he must be regarded as altogether a happier man for the greater ability to accommodate himself to the forces of nature and the surroundings of modern life. Moreover, it is not unreasonable to hope that in many cases a compulsory four-year course may lead to a voluntary addition of two years. I am unable to agree with paragraph 14.

The period selected by Mr. Gokhale very little affects the boy-labourer of a factory who can only enter it after he is nine (*vide* section 23 of the Factory Act), and the ordinary needs of agriculture cannot be said to be dependent upon the labour of boys who are below ten years of age. I do not, therefore, share the view expressed in paragraph 16.

(v) That compulsion is impracticable or will be largely resisted by the people is effectively refuted by the example of Ceylon and Baroda, not to speak of the Philippines, for the conditions of the Native State and the neighbouring island of Ceylon are in every respect similar to those of British India. It is true that their area is much smaller. But although that may have a bearing on the financial aspect of the question, it has none with reference to the disposition of the people to accept compulsion.

(vi) The strongest and perhaps in my judgment the only argument against the Bill is the financial one. Mr. Gokhale has endeavoured to reduce the expenditure in various ways. He proposes that the Act shall not be applied to any area in which one-third of the school-going population is not already under instruction. He reserves the discretion to the municipality or local board to apply it to a particular local area. He burdens the locality with the financial responsibility for one-third or more of the cost so as to check the too ready disposition to avail itself of the new law. He gives the Local Government a further discretion to accept or not the proposition of the municipality or local board to apply the law to the locality. These appear to my mind to be very substantial limitations upon the scope of the proposed legislation. But figures worked out on the basis of an immediate application of the provisions of the Act to every local area are misleading. I would be prepared, if necessary, to add a limitation to the provincial contribution in amount instead of merely in ratio. Section 18 of the Irish Education Act of 1892 provided a fixed grant "of 210,000 pounds or of such other amount as Parliament may determine, having regard to the amount of free grant under the Elementary Education Act, 1891." The distribution of this amount was determined by the fourth schedule to the Act. My present suggestion would, to a certain extent, assimilate my scheme to the scheme of increased grants without legislation accepted by my Honourable Colleagues. But my idea is to fix a statutory maximum, which may or may not be worked up to as the result of local bodies applying the Act to their special areas. Or under section 18 by-laws may be framed fixing the maximum provincial contribution from time to time to be divided amongst local areas whose application of the Act and levy of the educational rate are approved by the Local Government. I have thought it unnecessary in view to the above suggestion to examine the financial aspect in detail for determining the possible scope of Imperial or Provincial expenditure under the Act.

7. I agree with Mr. Gokhale in claiming for compulsion greater results in the spread of education than for any other known means of action. Quoting from the report of the Royal Commission of 1886, he says: "The increase of the numbers on the roll is largely attributable to compulsion. Among the witnesses before us, Mr. Stewart appears to stand alone in his opinion that provided that required accommodation had been furnished, the results would have been much the same if attendance had not been obligatory. But to estimate fairly the influence which compulsion has had upon the great increase in the number of children attending school, we must speak of it under the three heads into which its operations may be divided. There is first the *direct influence of compulsion*. This is exerted over parents who are indifferent to the moral and intellectual welfare of their children, who are very eager to enjoy what advantage they can from their children's earning but who never look beyond. Secondly, compulsion exercises an *indirect influence*. Many parents are apathetic, yielding weakly to their children's wish not to go to school; but they are keenly alive to the disgrace of being brought before a magistrate, a fear of which supplies a stimulus sufficient to make them do their duty in this respect. In addition, the existence of a compulsory law has considerably affected public opinion and has done much to secure

"a larger school attendance by making people recognize that the State regards them as neglecting their duty if their children remain uneducated." The Ceylon Commission of 1905 expressed itself as follows:—

"With the exception of one or two districts of the island, little good will be done by any system which does not enforce compulsory attendance. The parents throughout a large portion of the island exercise very little control over their children and will leave them to do as they like in the matter of school attendance. The result is that, where there is no compulsion, boys attend very irregularly and leave school very early. That compulsory attendance is desirable we have no doubt."

8. I have so far dealt with the objections to compulsion even under the limitations contained in Mr. Gokhale's Bill. But there are certain objections of detail most of which, I venture to believe, might have been taken to the Irish Act and the Ceylon Ordinance:—

(a) With reference to paragraph 13 of the letter I think the precaution suggested is exaggerated. It is enough to say that not less than half the numbers shall be present at the meeting voting for the introduction of compulsory education and the imposition of a special cess, and that the majority shall be not less than two-thirds of those present.

(b) I do not agree with paragraph 17 of the letter. In teaching the three R's no school appliances are worth mentioning. The teacher is implied in education and funds are provided for with a view to supply him.

(c) Objection is taken in paragraph 15 to the one-mile limit of road between the school-house and the pupils' residence. This provision is modelled on clause a of section 3 of the Irish Act, which prescribes a two-mile distance "by the nearest road". The word "road" has created no difficulty in Ireland for the last twenty years and need not in British India.

(d) Objection is taken in the same paragraph 15 to "other sufficient cause" in section 5, clause (b), and apparently also to the phrase "seasonable needs of agriculture." These words are substantially reproduced from clause (b), section 3, of the Irish Act. If they confer an undesirable latitude of discretion on the attendance committee, the power to make by-laws is sufficiently wide under section 18, and can, if necessary, be made wider to circumscribe the action of the committee.

(e) It has been said that the limit of income, which is a ground of exemption from payment of fees, will lead to inquisitorial enquiries and is an unworkable criterion in practice. I am disposed to agree with this criticism. I think it is sufficient to empower the committee to exempt individuals on the ground of poverty as in clause 2, section 9. The rules as to poverty must be different in different localities and may to some extent be defined by by-laws or left to the absolute determination of the committee.

(f) The constitution of the committee is left to by-laws under section 19. They may differ in different localities. But being subject to the sanction of the Local Government, that authority, in my opinion, may insist on the presence of a Supervisor or a Sub-Assistant Inspector on each school committee or one half the number being nominees of the Director of Public Instruction. This, in my judgment, will ensure considerable uniformity of action or at all events help to save the committees from very erratic courses of action. And if each head of a school with reference to which the committee has to act is also a member of the committee, I think we may feel pretty certain that particularly unreasonable conduct will be avoided in considerable measure.

(g) The Bill does not provide what shall be the character of the educational rate. The object of the author is apparently to leave it to the Government of India to determine its form. But I see no objection, having regard to the importance of a taxing provision not being omitted from the statute itself, to an express provision that the educational rate shall be not more than six pies in the rupee of land revenue to be added to the one anna of road-cess, or a per centage addition to the house-tax in municipal areas. I am aware that a six pies additional road-cess will bring in only about 28 to 30 lakhs from the local board areas in this Presidency. The addition to the house-tax in municipalities will bring in only a few lakhs (about three lakhs on

an extra rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. with reference to the present receipt of 11·80 lakhs). If double this amount is provided out of provincial revenues, I would consider the income which would be capable of natural expansion sufficient for many years to come. My suggestion would entail no extra machinery or new methods of enquiry for the ascertainment and the collection of the tax. The present expenditure in Madras is 34 lakhs, of which provincial and local revenues together contribute 21 lakhs. The scale I have fixed is the maximum to be worked up to.

(h) I think it would be necessary to confer certain powers on Local Governments with reference to the constitution of the school-committees in place of the existing references to the Government of India. I agree with paragraph 24. But I do not think that any power to initiate compulsion need be conferred upon the Local Government.

(i) The provision prohibiting employment of a child that ought to be under instruction is a reproduction of section 2 of the Irish Act, and having regard to boys of nine and below not being eligible to be factory labourers, I see no objection to the enactment of clauses 14 and 15. I do not agree with the criticism in paragraph 16.

(j) The last three lines of clause 10, sub-clause 1, seem to me to be superfluous, clause 19 being sufficient for the purpose.

(k) Section 4 of the Irish Act speaks of attendance "in such regular manner" as is specified in the order. Similar language may have to be employed in sub-clause (ii) of section 12, so as to prevent merely nominal compliance with the magistrate's order to attend. No provision seems to me to be necessary to help parents of refractory children.

(l) I do not think there is any practical difficulty in determining what repeated non-compliance is within the meaning of section 13, as apprehended in paragraph 22. It may be advisable to enact a provision similar to sub-clause (iii) of section 4 of the Irish Act, that a complaint with respect to continuing non-compliance with the attendance order shall not be repeated by the school-attendance committee at any less interval than two months. But perhaps the object of clause 13 of the Bill is to limit the action of the school-committee to a single complaint for repeated non-compliance.

(m) I see no reason to think that the penalties prescribed are too low as supposed in paragraphs 21 and 23. Imprisonment in default of payment of fine should be provided against.

9. The conclusion, therefore, to which I have come is that the Bill is desirable and necessary; that it is conceived in the best interests of education; that there is no reasonable probability of political or other danger arising from its enforcement; that it will largely accelerate the pace of educational progress; that allowing for laxity in the administration of the law here and there and for excessive zeal in its premature application to parts of the country, there will be an abundant return in the shape of increased interest in education amongst the great mass of the people and the educational authorities of the country. It seems to me that real political danger lies in resisting a large mass of enlightened opinion supported by European missionaries and by large numbers of Englishmen connected with the administration of the country so as to leave a abiding source of irritation and bitterness and a standing theme for a widespread public agitation which cannot make for the peace and good government of the country. I would support the Bill.

1st September 1911.

V. KRISHNASWAMI AIYAR.

EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT.

NOTES CONNECTED WITH G.O., Nos. 612, 613, EDUCATIONAL,
DATED 2ND SEPTEMBER 1911.

[SUBJECT.—The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill.]

Previous papers :

G.O., No.	57, Financial,	dated	22nd January 1908.
" "	138, Educational,	" "	24th February "
" "	54 "	" "	2nd " 1911.
" "	188 "	" "	1st April "
" "	208, Financial,	" "	25th " "
" "	303, Educational,	" "	20th May "
" "	952 "	" "	6th July "
" "	916 L.	" "	12th " "

Read file of replies to G.O., No. 188, dated 1st April 1911.

In G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, the Government referred for opinion the Elementary Educational Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale to the Hon'ble the Judges of the High Court, the Director of Public Instruction, the Senate of the University of Madras, all district boards and municipal councils, the Corporation of Madras, the Missionary Council on Aided Education and the Council of Native Education.

2. Thirty-seven municipal councils, nine district boards, the Corporation of Madras and the Senate of the University of Madras, entirely approve of the principles of the Bill and have no remarks to offer. Fourteen municipal councils, thirteen district boards and the Missionary Council on Aided Education, while generally approving the principles of the Bill, offer certain criticisms to the Bill in general and to its provisions in particular. Two Municipal Councils (Kodaikānal and Ootacamund) and the District Boards of South Arcot and the Nilgiris consider that the Bill is premature.

3. Eight municipal councils, namely those of Anakapalle, Tirupati, Conjevaram Chidambaram, Madura, Cochin, Tinnevely and Srivilliputtur, the Hon'ble the Judges of the High Court and the Council of Native Education have not yet sent in their replies.

4. The main objections which have been raised to the general principles of the Bill will now be considered.

5. *Compulsion*.—It is pointed out that although the Bill is admirable in theory, it is premature as the country is not ripe

Paragraph 2-(a) of Mr. Buckley's letter.

for compulsory education and is not within the range of practical politics. The Hon'ble Mr. Stone observes that the Bill is avowedly based on the English and Irish Education Acts, but that compulsory education implies two things, namely, the compulsory provision of school places and the compulsory filling of them by children. The English Education Act of 1870 compelled the creation of school boards and the levy of a rate, for the provision of as many school places as were necessary for all the children of the locality in need of State education and almost as a corollary made attendance compulsory. The present Bill would allow local bodies to compel attendance at school but does not compel the provision of school houses. He therefore considers that if legislation is to be undertaken it should, in the first place, encourage or compel local bodies to provide school places and only in the second compel attendance. It is also urged that the improvement of elementary education, for which there is considerable scope, may well be carried out on the voluntary principle by improving the existing schools, their buildings and their masters and also by opening schools in important places where they do not now exist, the local bodies being helped by liberal subsidies from Government where necessary, that compulsion is for the unwilling and not for the willing, and that such money as can be found can still be usefully spent on voluntary education. The supply of teachers is a problem which will perhaps leave the Bill a dead letter for years to come, for schools are even now undermanned and most of them are underpaid. Some local bodies, *e.g.*, the Municipal Councils of Nandyal, Kodaikāmal, Calicut and Adóni and the District Boards of Bellary and Malabar consider that the areas under their administration are not sufficiently ripe for the introduction of compulsory education.

6. With regard to these arguments it has to be pointed out that although the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Bill aims at asserting the principle of compulsion, it does not contemplate anything like universality in its introduction. The Bill is essentially permissive in character, that is to say, the passing of the Bill will not make education compulsory throughout India or anywhere. Education can be made compulsory under it only in certain select local areas by special notification which is to be issued after due deliberation by the local body concerned and with the previous approval of Local Government and even

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

Paragraphs 6 and 8 of Mr. Rice's letter.

L.D.—29-7-11.

Paragraph 6 of the proceedings of the Malabar District Board.

Clause 3 of the Bill.

Clauses 15 and 16 of the Bill.

Perhaps not disastrous results. But the question is "would it lead to *valuable* results."

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in the localities to which the Act might be extended, special classes and communities may be exempted and individuals also on various grounds. As regards provision of school places, the Bill (clause 7) does provide for the provision of school buildings although it makes no specific mention of equipment and staff. As the Act is not to be introduced throughout the country, and as its extension is to depend on the results of experiments conducted in selected areas where a beginning is to be made, and as the initiative is to be taken by the local bodies, it does not appear that the Bill is likely to lead to any disastrous results.

7. The Hon'ble Mr. Stone, however, considers that in this Presidency there is not yet any need for compulsory attendance. He says "The average attendance of the elementary schools is 30 and when it is remembered that considerably more than half of these schools are under teacher-managers of very low educational qualifications, and that they are mostly without school houses and almost without school appliances, there are grounds for thinking that the low average of strength is not due to any great unwillingness on the part of parents to send their children to school."

"The percentage of children in elementary schools to the male population of school-going age is 30.3. This again points to a considerable willingness on the part of parents to take advantage of such educational facilities as there are, when it is remembered that there are 1,633 villages, or groups of villages with a population of 1,000 and upwards and 28,817 others which have no schools. There are 3.5 per cent. of boys of school-age in secondary schools so that there are 33.8 per cent. of boys in school altogether. The total number of elementary schools is 23,260, so that if this were doubled and the average attendance remained the same we should have without compulsion about two-thirds of the boys of school-age in school, and when this result or something near it has been obtained it will be time to consider whether resort to compulsion is necessary to bring in the remaining third."

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8. The voluntary system of elementary education has been in force in this Presidency for the past fifty years and more, but on the 31st March 1907, there was only one elementary school for every 6.6 square miles or in other words, five villages out of eleven were without a school, and

Paragraph 289 of Mr. Orange's report, page 100, volume I.

Total number of villages	50,000.
Villages with schools	25,000.

* Percentage is 33.8.

Query ?

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Page 98, volume I.

Paragraph 291, page 101 of volume I.

Why even? If more funds are made available, the rate is likely to become accelerated in the future and acceleration depends on funds rather than means of compulsion.

L.D.—29-7-11.

L.D.—29-7-11.

two out of every three children* were allowed to go without any sort of education. Moreover the rate of expansion of elementary education which has been secured in the past under the voluntary system is not such as to warrant the belief that the diffusion of elementary education among the masses can be secured without resort to some sort of compulsion for, as observed by Mr. Orange in his quinquennial report on education in India, paragraph 284 :—

"The rate of increase (in the number of boys attending primary schools), whether for the last twenty-five years or for the last five is very slow, when compared with the distance that has to be travelled before primary education can be universally diffused. If the number of boys at school continued to increase even at the rate of increase that has taken place in the last five years, and there was no increase in population, several generations would still elapse before all the boys of school-age were in school."

Mr. Orange further observed: "Two factors enter into increased school attendance, namely, increased provision of school accommodation and willingness of the population to send their children to school. The strength of this latter factor remains to some extent conjectural. The apathy of the populace towards primary education is often mentioned and does undoubtedly operate as a cause which keeps school attendance low; that is to say, it is very certain at present that if there were a school place available for every child there would not be found hundred per cent. of the children at school."

The introduction of the principle of compulsion, besides exerting a direct influence over parents who are indifferent to the moral and intellectual welfare of their children and who are very eager to obtain what advantage they can from their children's earnings, has got an indirect effect on such of them as are either apathetic or yield weakly to their children's wish *not* to go to school, in whose case the fear of being brought before a magistrate supplies a stimulus for doing their duty in this respect. At the same time the argument which has been urged against the Bill, that it will affect a large number of poor parents by depriving them of the assistance or labour of their children amounts to an implied admission of the existence of unwillingness on the part of a large number of parents to take advantage of increased educational facilities which may be provided on the voluntary system. In view

of the above circumstances and of the fact that the Government of India have in their recent letter No. 952, Education, dated 6th July 1911, declared that their policy is "to make a sustained effort to break down illiteracy in India" and having regard to the safeguards provided in the Bill against hasty or ill-considered introduction of the Act to any area, it is for consideration whether any objection should be taken to the principle of compulsion embodied in the Bill.

9. The Bill as now framed not only provides for compelling parents to send their children to school, but also indirectly imposes a sort of obligation on local bodies to take an active part in the spread of elementary education. If the Act is extended to any local area, the local body concerned will be obliged to provide school places (clause 7) and to provide the funds required for meeting a portion of the extra cost either from their general revenues or by levying a special education cess, if this is considered necessary. Under the existing Local Boards and Municipal Acts no obligation is imposed on local bodies as to the extent to which they should devote their funds to elementary education. The law merely declares that the diffusion of education is one of the legitimate objects on which the funds of local bodies may be expended and although it has been repeatedly held that elementary education has a predominant claim on the expenditure of these bodies, yet experience has shown that they are not over-anxious to be liberal in this direction. One of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Decentralization is that local boards and municipal councils should confine their educational operations to elementary education and should not undertake higher education before the claims of elementary education have been satisfied. The Bill indirectly gives effect to the above recommendation.

10. *Financial*.—It has been urged that the application of the Act will entail heavy extra expenditure as it will involve the provision of school buildings within one mile of the area to which the Act is applied, the increase of the staff and the increase of their pay if efficient men are to be got. The Bill anticipates this extra expenditure by requiring local bodies to meet a part of it and by providing for an educational cess. It has been urged that the passing of the Bill will result in a great and immediate increase of public

Clauses 7 and 8 of the Bill.

Clause 8 of the Bill.

Paragraph 5 of Home Department letter on page 3 of G.O., No. 54, Educational, dated 2nd February 1911.

Paragraph 9 of the Director of Public Instruction's letter.

Paragraph 4 of Mr. Buckley's letter.

Paragraph 10 of Salem District Board Sub-Committee's report.

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Paragraph 2 of Chairman's letter, Palamcottah Municipality.

Paragraph 2 (a) of Mr. Buckley's letter.

Paragraph 9 of the Director of Public Instruction's letter.

Paragraph 9 of Director of Public Instruction's letter.

Vide rule 83 of the Educational Rules and article 15 of the Grant-in-Aid Code.

expenditure and that the levy of the educational cess will be most unpopular because—

(i) the bulk of the rural population is not educated up to the point of providing funds for elementary education; and

(ii) the Bill which follows the Irish Education Act, 1876, misses the object of that Act which was to provide "literary, moral and religious instruction".

It is further pointed out that the income of the people is not such as to allow them to bear extra taxation without unduly diminishing their already very limited resources and that although the application of the Act is permissive, yet when once the Act is passed, it is likely there will be constant pressure coming probably from those who will not be affected by it, to have it enforced generally, and the levy of an additional rate which must necessarily follow would cause widespread discontent.

11. It is, however, observed that the increase in public expenditure is not likely to be very immediate. The first result of the application of the Act to any area would be, of course, an increase in the strength of existing schools. If, however, the "age rule were worked rationally, all the boys between six and ten who had received no previous education would not be forced into school. It would perhaps be worth while to take those of seven but certainly not those of eight and nine, so that the immediate increase would be only half the possible maximum. Under clause 9, there would certainly be some loss of fee-income, and increase of fee-income would not be proportionate to increase of strength. Increase of strength implies increase in the number of teachers, but as regards existing schools it is quite possible to exaggerate the extent to which this would be necessary because standards above the first are commonly weak, there being 469,000 boys in the infant and first standards in elementary schools as against 251,000 in the second and third. I doubt whether an increase in staff of as many as one teacher on Rs. 8 a month per school would be necessary. Under the existing Madras Educational Rules and Grant-in-Aid Code, boards would have to give additional capitation grant of at least Re. 1 per pupil and Government an additional grant of Rs. 36 per teacher in aided

"schools and of at least As. 8 per pupil. "With an increase in the number of schools, educational administration must also become more expensive. It does not seem to me, however, that increase in expenditure would necessarily be either greater or more rapid than must be anticipated from the development of elementary education on its present lines, since the financial aspect of any application to notify an area under the Act would naturally be the first to be examined."

12. The provisions of the Bill in regard to the levy of the cess are only permissive and not obligatory and having regard to the general unwillingness of the local bodies in this Presidency to utilize to the full extent their existing powers of taxation, it is not likely that a local body will have resort to the cess unless in its opinion, such levy is absolutely necessary. Moreover as the Bill, if passed into law, will presumably be extended in the first instance to well-to-do municipalities, the additional taxation which might be imposed is not likely to be felt burdensome and as the inhabitants of these municipalities may be presumed to be alive to the benefits of education they are not likely to regard the additional tax with disfavour. Further the Local Government whose previous sanction is necessary to the extension of the Act to any particular locality will see that the locality to which it is proposed to extend the Act could bear the additional taxation without hardship. Lastly the additional tax will not be heavy as the local body concerned is to bear only a share of the extra cost, the rest being met by a subsidy from Government.

13. *Religious objections.*—The President, District Board of South Canara (Mr. R. A. Graham), observes that it is unnecessary in this country to provide for religious objections (as in clause 5 (a) of the Bill) since the teaching in all the public elementary schools is purely secular and the only use that can be made of the provision is by the recalcitrant parent. The above argument, however, overlooks that in many aided schools, especially mission schools, religious instruction forms part of the daily work of the institution. Mr. Stone considers that the introduction of the religious question is a serious matter and observes:—"It may be presumed that parents would as a matter of course resist compulsory

This proposition is directly counter to normal experience. Tax, though paid by the rate-payers in general, would be levied at the instance of the councillors and even where the latter agreed to it—and as a rule they would not—it by no means follows that the "inhabitants" would not oppose it. The majority of the "inhabitants" have no votes; the councillors are elected only by a minute proportion.

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

I see no such danger. At the most the clause may drive Mission schools to adopt a conscience clause which, I think, should be a condition of aid even now. The language of the Irish Act is identical, i.e., "to which the parent of the child does not object on religious grounds to send the child."

V. K[RISHNASWAMI AIYAR]—21-8-11.

The danger is probably remote, but I am not prepared to deny its existence.

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

I think this is a serious danger.

M. H[AMMICK]—3-8-11.

Chairman, Municipal Council, Salem.

"attendance at a mission school, so that "in the numerous cases where such was "the only available school the Bill would "be inoperative. There is also a further "danger that this resistance to compulsory "attendance would react on voluntary "attendance and might produce something "like a boycott of mission schools". The Missionary Council on Aided Education does not however seem to entertain any such apprehension.

14. *Child labour.*—Another objection which has been generally put forward is that compulsory education is likely to prove a hardship instead of a blessing, as, in the case of poor parents, child labour is a valuable asset of the family. Sufficient safeguards have however been provided against this in sections 5 and 16 of the Bill.

15. *Period of schooling.*—Mr. Rice (President, District Board, the Nilgiris) points out that the amount of learning, which compulsory elementary education will confer, would be just enough to create discontent among the agricultural classes with their hereditary occupation of following the plough and not enough to fit them adequately for any other calling and that the charge now made against the British Government in respect of its educational policy in dealing with the middle classes, the creation, namely, of a large class of half-educated youths who jostle one another in the struggle for prizes they do not deserve, may occur again in respect of the larger and on the whole more important class of agriculturists who will think that reading and writing constitute the whole of knowledge. It has, however, to be observed that the Government of India attach the greatest importance to the education of the agriculturists. They have laid it down that the children of the agriculturists should be given such a "preliminary training as will make them "intelligent cultivators, will train them to "be observers, thinkers and experimenters "in however humble a manner and will "protect them in their business transactions with the landlords to whom they "pay rent and the grain dealers to whom "they dispose of their crops."

There is, however, some force in Mr. Rice's argument, if he means that the period of schooling (four years) provided in the Bill is insufficient.

Paragraph 21 of Educational Policy, page 20.

Herein lies the crux. Will the Bill secure this?

L.D.—29-7-11.

They will sign muchilkas. They will know who has signed the patta and the receipt for rents. The common plea of "marksman" and "ignorance of contents" in hosts of cases and the false evidence abundantly given on either side will become largely things of the past.

V. K[RISHNASWAMI AIYAR]—21-8-11.

Attention is in this connection drawn to the remarks of Mr. P. P. Braithwaite, Inspector of Schools, VII Circle, extracted in paragraph 3 of the Director of Public Instruction's letter which put the objection rather forcibly. The Hon'ble Mr. Stone, however, while expressing the opinion that the present Bill avowedly aims only at a beginning and that it is not probable that compulsory education would long be limited to four years' schooling, considers it doubtful whether the Bill would do much to further Mr. Gokhale's object, namely, the wide diffusion of elementary education among the mass of the people. He observes—

"Elementary education must mean "at least literacy, i.e., a mastery of the "arts of reading, writing and cyphering. "The Bill only compels children to attend "school between the ages of 6 and 10. "That is to say, that if a boy passed "through the standards at the rate of "one a year, he would be allowed to leave "school when he had completed the third "standard. It is doubtful whether the "results of so short a schooling would "be permanent literacy.

"I am loath to accept it because if it "be well founded nearly all our elementary "education is useless. Even, however, it "be the case that most of the boys who "pass through the third standard are "permanently literate, the fact remains "that a very large number of boys do "not do so by the age of ten."

It may, however, be observed that the Government of India, in their recent letter No. 952, Education, dated 6th July 1911, propose to break down illiteracy in India by educating pupils up to the second or third standard only. No objection need, it is submitted, be taken to the period of schooling as contemplated by the Bill.

Several suggestions have been made in regard to the alteration of this period and these are dealt with under clause 4.

16. The Hon'ble Mr. Stone also points out that the administrative provisions of the Bill present difficulties, namely, in finding suitable men for the school attendance committees; and in enforcing compulsion, in view of the numerous grounds for excuse, the difficulty of ascertaining age and of applying the one mile rule in rural areas.

He however observes that these might be amended in committee.

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

L.D.—29-7-11.

Cf. how very little a man of 20 in England knows of reading and writing if he had neglected his education after he has left his elementary school.

M. H[AMMICK].
3-8-11.

Criticism is clearly called for.
L.D.—29-7-11.

17. The suggestions which have been made with regard to the several clauses of the Bill are dealt with in the tabular statement below :—

Clause 2.

Definition.

[Elementary Education Act (England and Wales), 1870, sec. 3.]

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

“Parent” includes the guardian and every person who is liable to maintain or has the actual custody of any child :

“Department of Public Instruction” means the department in charge of public instruction under the Local Government of the province in which the municipality or district board concerned is situated :

“Recognised school” means a school recognised by the Department of Public Instruction :

“Elementary education” means the courses in reading, writing and arithmetic and other subjects, if any, prescribed from time to time by the Department of Public Instruction for elementary schools :

“District Board” includes a “District Local Board” and a “District Council” :

“Magistrate” does not include a “village magistrate”.

Municipal Council, Cuddalore.

Substitute the words “in such technical subjects as may be” for the words “other subjects if any”.

The words “other subjects” are general and include technical subjects. The alteration proposed is undesirable, as it will exclude such subjects as history, geography, elementary science and object lessons.

Office note.

District Board, Tinnevely, and Municipal Council, Palamcottah.

Omit the words “other subjects if any”.

The board is of opinion that it will suffice if boys learn only the three R's. The introduction of other subjects will lengthen the course of instruction and increase the hours of attendance, interfering with the normal work of the boys which is undesirable.

The proposed alteration is unnecessary inasmuch as the teaching of other subjects is not made compulsory * and under clause 4 of the Bill the number of days and hours of attendance are to be prescribed by the Department of Public Instruction.

Secretary's note.

* Not by the Bill ; but indirectly the Director of Public Instruction is given power to compel instruction in other subjects. There is much force in the objection to the words “and other subjects, if any”.

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

Municipal Council, Palamcottah.

For the definition of “parent” given in the Bill substitute the following :—

“Parent” means the father or any other male member having the guardianship or charge of the boy or liable under law to maintain the boy.

As it is proposed to restrict the Bill to boys alone (vide clause 4) the word “boy” may be substituted for “child”. If female guardians or mothers are made responsible for their boys education, the working of the law will cause hardship in the present state of Indian society.

The proposed alteration does not appear to be necessary. There is no objection to female guardians being made responsible for their ward's attendance at school (vide clause 4).

Secretary's note.

† Where there are no male guardians the female relations must be responsible. Moreover clause 17 of the Bill contemplates its application to girls.

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

Clause 3.

3. Every municipality or district board may from time to time, with the previous sanction of the Local Government, and subject to such rules as the Governor-General in Council may make in this behalf, by notification declare that this Act shall apply to the whole or any specified part of the area within the local limits of its authority and the provisions of this Act shall apply to such area or part accordingly.

District Boards of Tinnevely, Tanjore and Trichinopoly.

Provision should be made for withdrawing notifications issued under this clause.

Office note.

This is unnecessary—vide section 22 of the Madras General Clauses Act, 1891.

Secretary's note.

This Act does not apply. The provision applicable is section 21 of the General Clauses Act, 1897.

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

Office note.

There is no objection to the proposal although it is not absolutely necessary. Under the Bill as it now stands the previous sanction of the Local Government is necessary and this seems sufficient.

Secretary's note.

A point to be considered. If it be conceded that compulsion is necessary the only reason for refusing Government initiative is the worship of the local self-government and the idea that compulsion is unwise if local opinion does not favour it. This would be reasonable if local bodies were really representative but they are not.

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

Office note.

Municipal Council, Besseada.

All municipal councils should introduce compulsory education in their municipal areas as soon as the Bill is passed and all district boards should introduce it in union panchayat villages.

This is not a matter to be provided for in the Bill. The introduction of the Act to any particular area is to be decided by the local body concerned after examining whether the conditions prescribed in the rules framed by the Government of India under section 18 are fulfilled in that area.

Clause 4.

4. In every area, to which this Act applies, it shall be the duty of every boy, not under six and not over ten years of age, residing within such area, to cause such boy to attend a recognised school for elementary education for so many days in the year and for such time on each day of attendance as may be prescribed by the Department of Public Instruction, unless there is a reasonable excuse for the non-attendance of the boy.

District Board, Tinnevely, and Municipal Council, Palamcottah.

Office note.

It will be sufficient if boys are compelled to study only up to the third standard ; for this, a period of four years instead of five indicated in the Bill is sufficient. For the word “ten” in the Bill, substitute therefore “nine”.

The maximum number of hours of attendance should be prescribed by the Act and it should be fixed at three hours. The maximum number of days should be left to be fixed by the local authority, and not by the Department of Public Instruction.

The Bill provides for a compulsory period of school attendance of four years only between the ages of six and ten. The alteration proposed by the District Board, Tinnevely, is therefore not called for.

Under rule 21 of the Madras Educational Rules the school day in the case of elementary schools should, as a rule, consist of four hours of secular instruction and the average daily attendance in each year should consist of 150 school days. These limits are now fixed by the Department of Public Instruction and it does not appear to be desirable to leave the settlement of these matters to the local bodies as there will be no uniformity of practice.

Secretary's note.

The Act might prescribe the maximum number of hours as a check on the over-enthusiastic educationists.

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

Municipal Council, Benicada.

The period of attendance of a pupil at school may be six years instead of four years provided in the Bill, both for educating the pupil better and for the preservation of his physique from deterioration by being put to work when he is barely ten years old.

Please see remark against the proposal of the Tinnevely District Board to shorten the period of attendance. The period of four years is, no doubt, short, but seems sufficient for a beginning.

Mr. Stone doubts.
L.D.—29-7-11.

Clause 5.

5. Any of the following circumstances is a reasonable excuse for non-attendance:—

Non-attendance when excusable.

- (a) that there is no recognised school within a distance of one mile, measured along the nearest road, from the residence of the boy, which the boy can attend, and to which the parent has no objection, on religious grounds, to send the boy;
- (b) that the child is prevented from attending school by reason of sickness, infirmity, domestic necessity, the seasonal needs of agriculture, or other sufficient cause;
- (c) that the child is receiving instruction in some other satisfactory manner.

Office note.

It is perhaps a little too much to expect a Hindu boy of six years to go to a school at a distance of one mile.

Secretary's note.

It would do him good. You cannot have schools at every door.

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

District Board, Anantapur.

The word "road" should be defined so as to make it clear whether it includes puntas or pathways.

Mr. Rice, President, District Board, the Nilgiris.

The word "route" should be substituted for "road" as the latter word would exclude foot-paths.

District Board, Tinnevely, and Municipal Council, Palamecottah.

The words "or foot-path" should be inserted after the words "nearest road".

The words "or on the score of social customs" should be inserted after the words "on religious grounds"; and the words "into which the boy could be admitted" after the words "can attend". As it is necessary to protect from prosecution parents or guardians belonging to a higher caste who may be unwilling to allow their children to mix with pupils of low castes, separate provision must be made for higher and lower castes.

No alteration or addition seems to be necessary.

Office note.

Caste cannot be ignored. The attendance committees will doubtless regard caste objections as one "other sufficient cause" for non-attendance under head (b).

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

[Irish Education Act, 1892, sec. 1 (9).]

Mr. Rice, President, District Board, the Nilgiris.

The definition of a "reasonable excuse" given in this section is very vague. It throws a great responsibility on the magistrate and a too rigid interpretation is very likely to cause great discontent and even hardship.

The words "domestic necessity, the seasonal needs of agriculture or other sufficient cause" are not sufficiently definite and this provision will be found very difficult to work in practice unless great latitude is allowed to the parent.

Office note.

The question whether an excuse is not reasonable is one for decision by the school attendance committee in the first instance and again by the magistrate. The magistrate's decision may act as a check on the verdict of the school attendance committee.

There is no need to make any alteration. These are matters for the consideration of the school attendance committees and they will interpret the provision in accordance with local needs and usages.

Secretary's note.

So as to limit compulsion to almost negligible factor!

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

District Board, Tinnevely.

Insert as clause 5 (d) the following, namely: "that the child has passed the third standard in any recognised school".

Intelligent boys of poor families might pass the third standard before the age of nine and they should not be compelled to continue to attend school till they complete the ninth year.

Power should be given to local bodies to make by-laws under this clause as in section 19.

Yes.
L.D.—29-7-11.

Office note.
The suggestion is worthy of consideration.

An extra standard won't do any harm if the child is not ten.
V. K[RISHNASWAMI AIYAR].

Office note.

It is not clear for what purpose by-laws are necessary under this clause. Section 19 gives power to local bodies to make all by-laws necessary.

Clause 6.

Prohibition of child's employment.

District Board, Tinnevely.

The clause should be recast as follows:—

"No person shall employ any boy who ought to be at school under this Act during the hours when he ought to be at school."

The reason for the alteration is that the words "take into his employment" are not clear and that boys should not be prevented from employment out of school hours.

Municipal Council, Palamecottah.

The clause should be omitted altogether as it is unnecessary to proceed against the employer also, when the parent of the boy is to be proceeded against for neglecting to educate his boy.

6. No person shall take into his employment any boy who ought to be at school under this Act.

Office note.

The suggestion is a good one. But please see for sub-clause (2) of clause 14 where this is provided for.

Secretary's note.

Clause 14 (2) is enough.

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

Office note.

The provision seems necessary as it will prevent boys whom their parents cannot control from evading attendance at school under cover of employment.

Secretary's note.

The provision does work rather hardly on the employer since clause 14 (2) throws the onus of proof on him. The hearing on factory labour requires careful examination.

L. DAVIDSON—29-6-11.

See section 23 of the Factory Act.

V. K[RISHNASWAMI AIYAR].
612-613, Ed. 4

[Irish Education Act, 1892, section 2 (1); Elementary Education Act (England and Wales), 1876 section 5.]

Clause 7.

7. For every area to which this Act applies, the municipality or district board shall provide such school accommodation as the Department of Public Instruction considers necessary and sufficient.

Duty of local body to provide sufficient school accommodation.

District Board, Salem.

Local bodies should also be required to provide the necessary teaching staff.

Office note.

The provision of teaching staff seems to be as necessary as the provision of school accommodation.

Secretary's note.

But is left to inference clause 18 (2) (b).

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

Office note.

Mr. Rice, President, District Board, the Nilgiris.

The clause is imperative; but at present the district board cannot provide the accommodation for want of money. Some saving clause is therefore necessary. Otherwise other departments under the administration of local boards would be starved.

This ignores the provisions of the Bill in clauses 8 and 18 whereby the local body to whose local area the Act is extended is empowered to levy an educational rate and the cost of providing compulsory education is to be borne jointly by the local board and Government.

Secretary's note.

If funds do not permit, under clause 18 (2) (b), the extra cost will devolve on the Local Government.

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

Office note.

See above.

Municipal Council, Palamcottah.

The words "as far as the fund permits" should be inserted between the words "shall" and "provide". Otherwise sudden demands of this nature would lead to the abandonment of very necessary expenditure under sanitary and other important heads.

Mr. Coleman, Chairman, Municipal Council, Coonoor.

A proviso might be added to this section to the effect that any local body providing school accommodation should not be called upon to make grants in aid to other schools.

Clause 8.

8. In any such area as aforesaid, the municipality or district board may, with the previous sanction of the Local Government, levy a special education rate, the proceeds of which shall be devoted exclusively to the provision of elementary education for the boys residing in the area.

Local body may levy special education rate.

District Board, Ramnad.

The source and scale of the rate (whether on occupied lands or on other incomes) should be made clear. If it is levied, the rate should be based on all incomes and not only on incomes derived from land.

Mr. Rice, President, District Board, the Nilgiris.

It is not stated how this rate is to be calculated. Is it to be a rate on the annual rent value of land or is it to be a kind of poll-tax or household tax? If the former, it will be unfair, for it would lay upon the landholding population alone, the entire burden of the educational tax and would enable artisans, pleaders, money-lenders and others to go free and educate their children at the expense of the ryots.

District Board, Tinnevely.

The education rate should be struck on a house valuation in the area.

Office note.

It seems necessary to provide how the rate is to be calculated. The suggestion of the Tinnevely District Board to calculate it on a house valuation in the area seems to be a good one. But this will probably be dealt with in the rules framed under section 18.

Secretary's note.

Yes: but so important a matter ought not to be left to rules.

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

*Municipal Council, Masulipatam.**Office note.*

A provision should be added to the effect that in case a tax is imposed by the local body, no State tax should be imposed for the same purpose.

This is unnecessary. Under the clause, the local body alone can impose the rate.

*Municipal Council, Palamcottah.**Office note.*

The clause should be omitted altogether as the levy of a tax would be unpopular. If the local bodies are exempted from paying grants to aided schools, they will be able to introduce compulsory education without extra taxation.

This proposal does not seem to be acceptable.

Secretary's note.

This proposition is certainly not true.

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

*District Board, Salem.**Office note.*

Elementary education should not only be compulsory but free as far as possible and the cost of it in its early stage should be borne by the State.

Clause 9 provides for gratuitous instruction only in the case of those children whose parents are extremely poor, not earning Rs. 10 a month. Individual cases of poor parents outside this limit may also be exempted. The cost of making elementary education entirely free would be prohibitive and this is outside the scope of the present Bill.

L.D.—29-7-11.

Bill.

Mr. Rice, President, District Board, the Nilgiris.

This clause would have to be embodied in the local Acts in order to be valid.

Office note.

This does not appear to be necessary. The Bill, if passed, will extend to the whole of British India and will become operative in the local areas to which it may be applied by a special notification. Perhaps it may be necessary to amend the local Acts by stating that the taxes therein specified are leviable in addition to this tax.

L.D.—29-7-11.

No: a mere matter of drafting of this Bill.

L.D.—29-7-11.

Clause 9.

9. (1) No fee shall be charged in respect of the instruction of a boy required to attend school under section 4 if the monthly income of the parent does not exceed Rs. 10.

(2) In every other case, the municipality or district board may, on the ground of poverty, or for other sufficient reason, remit the whole or any part of the fee payable by a parent on account of his boy required to attend school under section 4.

Secretary's note.

* The local body would have to act on the advice of others and this wide provision throws open the door to wholesale remissions on questionable grounds.

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

*Municipal Councils of Salem and Kurnool.
Public meeting at Salem.*

The limit of Rs. 10 fixed in the Bill is too low and should be raised to Rs. 20.

District Board, Tirunelveli.
Municipal Council, Vaniyambudi } would
" Palamcottah } raise the
" Bezwada } limit to
" Cocanada } Rs. 15.
" Visayanagaram }

*Mr. Graham, President, District Board,
South Canara; District Boards of Rámmá and Trichinopoly.*

It is undesirable to fix a limit of income for the remission of fees as circumstances vary greatly with locality and the needs of particular families. The hard and fast limit of Rs. 10 is undesirable. The remission should be left to the discretion of the local body.

President, District Board, Anantapur.

The word "income" should be defined.

Mr. Rice, President, District Board, the Nilgiris.

Objects to the limit on the ground that it will be extremely difficult to assess the monthly income of a person and would also result in inquisitional enquiries.

Municipal Council, Masulipatam } would
District Board, Coimbatore } make ele-
Taluk Board, Chicacole } mentary
} education
} free.

President, District Board, Chingleput.

There is no provision in the Bill for the levy of school fees and no scale of fees is laid down.

Office note.
The limit of Rs. 10 appears to be too low and may be raised to Rs. 15. So long as elementary education is not to be entirely free, a line must be drawn somewhere to show where free primary education is to end. As regards particular hardships such as a person with a small income but having a large family, sub-clause (2) of the clause under consideration gives ample power to the local body to remit the whole or any part of the fee for sufficient reasons.

Secretary's note.

The income test and especially the standard of monthly income is open to the grossest objection. Apart from the inquisitorial trouble incomes vary from month to month.

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

Office note.

The existing rates of fees which are regulated by the Educational Rules will be retained.*

Secretary's note.

* Probably.

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

Clause 10.

[Irish Education Act, 1892, sec. 3 (1).]

10. (1) For every area to which this Act applies, the municipality or district board shall appoint a school attendance committee, to be constituted in such manner as may be prescribed by by-laws framed in that behalf.

(2) It shall be the duty of the school attendance committee, subject to by-laws framed in that behalf, to secure the attendance of every boy within its area that ought to be at school.

District Board, South Canara.

Except in very limited areas it will be impossible for a school attendance committee to secure the attendance of all boys; the committee should be given the assistance of a paid official and provision should be made for the appointment of such officials.

An express provision for the appointment of an official under the school attendance committee does not appear to be necessary. There appears to be no objection to a local body framing by-laws under clause 19 authorizing the school attendance committee to appoint an official to assist it.

Office note.

Municipal Council, Masulipatam.

Municipal Council, Palamcottah.

For large areas a single committee would not be sufficient and the words "school attendance committees" should therefore be substituted for the word "a school attendance committee".

Office note.

This suggestion may be adopted.

Secretary's note.

Yes, it is better to use the plural, though section 13 of the General Clauses Act makes singular include the plural. (The context is perhaps repugnant to the plural here though.)

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

The Irish Act, section 3, has a "school attendance committee".

V. K. IRISHNASWAMI Aiyar.

Office note.

District Board, Rámmá.

Does not approve of the hard and fast proposals as to the school attendance committee and would prefer that the local board itself is left a free hand to make arrangements for the administration of the Act.

Mr. Rice, President, District Board, the Nilgiris.

Considers that no help can be expected from school attendance committees.

The appointment of school attendance committees appears to be desirable. It may be noted that the Decentralization Commission have recommended the establishment of village panchayats for dealing with various local matters *inter alia* village schools.

Secretary's note.

I believe such committees would in general neutralize the effect of the Bill.

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

Clause 11.

11. (1) Whenever the school attendance committee is satisfied that a boy in its area that [Irish Education Act, 1892, sec. 4 (1).]
 Complaint against parent. ought to attend school does not do so, it may, after due warning, make a complaint against the parent of the boy before a magistrate.
- (2) The magistrate shall, if satisfied of the truth of the complaint, issue an order directing the parent to cause the boy to attend school before a certain date.
 Attendance order.

District Board, Salem.

The penalties provided in clauses 11, 12 and 13 do not go far enough—that is, they do not cover cases where boys are beyond the control of their parents or guardians or where the elders are willing that their children should attend school but the children are refractory.

Municipal Council, Palamcottah.

The words "in writing" should be inserted between the words "warning" and "make" in sub-clause (1) of this clause. It is intended to remove difficulties in proving before a court that a warning has been given.

Office note.

The Board do not suggest what further penalties might be provided. The sub-committee of the District Board which considered the Bill suggested corporal punishment for refractory boys, but the Board were not in favour of it.

Office note.

The suggestion may be adopted.

Secretary's note.

It can be provided by bye-law under clause 19.

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.
 612, 613, Ed. 1.—6

District Board, Tinnevely.

The present wording of the Bill will not permit the conviction of a person who sends his boy to school for only one day every time an order under sub-clause (2) of this clause is issued by the magistrate. It is therefore necessary to insert the words "regularly, subject to the provisions of the Act" and to substitute the word "from" for the word "before" in the last line.

Municipal Council, Palamcottah.

The word "regularly" should be inserted between the words "school" and "before" in the last line to prevent parents making a sham compliance with the orders of the magistrate and escaping from penalty thereby.

Office note.

The words "regularly from a certain date to be specified in the order" may be substituted for the words "before a certain date" in the last line.

Secretary's note.

Some verbal change is requisite.

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

Clauses 12 and 13.

[Irish Education Act, 1892, sec. 4 (4).]

12. (1) If such order is not complied with and the school attendance committee does not see any satisfactory cause for the non-compliance, it may prosecute the defaulting parent before a magistrate.

Prosecution of parent.

Penalty for non-compliance with attendance order.

Penalty for repeated non-compliance.

District Board, Trichinopoly.

Maximum penalties under these sections should be raised to Rs. 5 and Rs. 20 inasmuch as the local bodies should be prepared to enforce the measure they introduce.

District Board, Tinnevely.

Fines should be credited to the head to which the special education rate is credited.

Office note.

No alteration in the amount of fine is necessary or desirable, considering that most of those who will be affected by these sections will be poor parents.

Office note.

The rate is to be levied by the local board or municipal council and the receipts therefrom will be credited to the local or municipal fund as the case may be. Fines levied under the Towns Nuisances Act and in the case of prosecutions instituted under the Local Boards and Municipal Acts are credited to the funds of the local body concerned and there seems to be no objection to a similar course being followed in the case of fines under this Act. The suggestion may be commended to the Government of India for consideration.

Secretary's note.

There is no need to prescribe it by law.

2. The exact effect of clause 13 is doubtful. What is repeated "non-compliance"? Refusal on two occasions?

If a man has once been prosecuted under clause 13, can he be prosecuted a second time?

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

Clause 14.

Employer's liability.

14. (1) The school attendance committee may, after due warning, prosecute any employer who violates the provisions of section 6. [Irish Education Act, 1892, sec. 6 and 6.]

(2) Unless such employer is able to satisfy the magistrate that there is no recognised school within a distance of one mile, measured along the nearest road, from the residence of the boy, or that the time and nature of the boy's employment are such that he is not prevented from that the boy is receiving instruction in some other satisfactory manner, or that the boy was employed under false representations as to age, residence and other conditions, or without his knowledge and consent by an agent or workman under him for whose prosecution he is willing to afford the necessary facilities, he shall, on conviction, be liable to a fine not exceeding rupees twenty.

Municipal Council, Palamcottah.

Sub-clause (1) of this clause should be omitted as it is unnecessary to proceed against the employer also, when the parent of the boy can be prosecuted for neglecting to educate his boy.

Office note.

This provision seems to be necessary to prevent the employment by others of boys who are beyond the control of their parents and also to prevent any collusion between the parents and the employer.

District Board, Tinnevely.

The meaning of the words "for whose prosecution he is willing to afford the necessary facilities" in the penultimate paragraph of sub-clause (2) is not understood.

Office note.

The meaning of the words is clear but they may perhaps be omitted as being unnecessary.

District Board, Trichinopoly.

The words specified above should be omitted as they will lead to legal difficulties in dealing with persons prosecuted under this clause.

District Board, Trichinopoly.

It should be specified that there should be no imprisonment in default of payment of fine.

Office note.

I think so. The suggestion is worthy of consideration. V. K. [RISHNASWAMI] Please see section 25 of the General Clauses Act, 1897, and section 67 of the Indian Penal Code. ATYAH—21-8-11.

Secretary's note.

The objection to clause 14 (2) is that it throws all the onus of proof on the employer, a consideration which may so hamper him as to restrict the employment of children in factories to an extent distasteful to their parents.

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

Clause 15.

15. When the act of taking a boy into employment in contravention of this Act is in fact committed by an agent or workman of the employer, that agent or workman shall be liable to the same penalty, in the same manner, and subject to the same conditions as if he were the employer. [Irish Education Act, 1892, sec. 6 (1).]

Municipal Council, Palamcottah.

The section should be omitted for the reason given against sub-clause (1) of clause 14.

Office note.

The clause may stand for the reasons given against clause 14 (1).

Clause 16.

Exemption from compulsory education

Municipal Council, Palamcottah.

The words "or the local body subject to the approval of the Local Government" should be inserted after the words "Local Government" as it is necessary that discretion should be given to local bodies to grant exemption in order to suit local circumstances.

16. The Local Government may exempt particular classes or communities from the operation of this Act.

Office note.

The suggestion may be adopted.

Secretary's note.

Immaterial. The alteration is not necessary to enable the local body to make recommendations to Government. Government must approve in either case.

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

Clause 17.

17. In any area in respect of which a notification has been issued under section 3, the Municipality or District Board may, with the previous sanction of the Local Government and Council may make in this behalf, by notification

Application of Act to girls.

subject to such rules as the Governor-General in Council may make in this behalf, by notification declare that the foregoing provisions relating to boys, shall, from a date to be specified in the notification, apply also in the case of girls residing within such area, and the said provisions shall apply in the case of girls accordingly.

District Board, Tinnevely.

Municipal Council, Palamcottah.

The clause should be omitted altogether as the application of the provisions of the Bill to the case of girls is far too remote a contingency and as the existence of the section would do more harm than good.

The clause is only enabling and may stand. The fear entertained seems to be groundless.

Office note.

Clause 18.

Governor-General in Council to make rules.

18. (1) The Governor-General in Council may make rules for carrying out the provisions of this Act.

(2) In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power, such rules may provide for—

(a) the fixing of the percentage of boys, or of girls that should be at school in an area before a notification in respect thereof may be issued under section 3 or section 17, as the case may be; and

(b) the prescribing of the proportions in which the cost of providing elementary education under this Act should be divided between the Municipality or District Board and the Local Government, as the case may be.

(3) The power to make rules under this section shall be subject to the condition of the rules being made after previous publication.

Municipal Council, Masulipatam.

Municipal Council, Palamcottah.

The power of fixing the percentage of boys should be vested in the Local Government who will be in closer touch with the people and who are likely to know better the needs of particular areas.

Yes.
L.D.—29-7-11.

This suggestion may perhaps be adopted; but the Government of India is not likely to fix the percentage without consulting the Local Government.

Office note.

District Board, Giddavari.

Municipal Council, Masulipatam.

The local body should not be made to meet more than one-third of the cost of compulsory education and the State should bear two-thirds of the cost.

There seems to be no necessity at present to consider this suggestion. The proportion will be fixed by the Government of India.

Secretary's note.

The Local Government ought to fix it.

L. DAVIDSON—29-7-11.

Clause 19.

Power to make bye-laws.

19. A Municipality or District Board may with the previous sanction of the Local Government, make bye-laws prescribing—

(a) the manner in which the school attendance committee should be constituted, the number of its members, their duties and their mode of transacting business.

(b) the steps which the school attendance committee may take to secure the attendance of children at school.

Municipal Council, Palamcottah.

Office note.

The words "or amend any bye-laws" should be inserted after the words "make bye-laws".

This is unnecessary as the power to make bye-laws includes power to amend them—vide section 21 of the General Clauses Act, 1897.

Mr. Rice, President, District Board, the Nilgiris.

Office note.

The clause is somewhat redundant when read with clause 10, but no doubt it would be recast when the Bill took final shape.

No necessity to consider the suggestion now

K. RANGASWAMI AYYANGAR.

24-7-11.

The Government of India desired that the report on Mr. Gokhale's Bill should be sent in by the 1st August 1911. In G.O., No. 188, Educational, dated 1st April 1911, subsidiary reports were called for by the 10th June, but a special extension of this period up to the 15th July was allowed in the case of the Senate in G.O., No. 303, dated 20th May 1911, in the notes to which the Honourable Member expressed the opinion that the matter should not be delayed and that the report should reach the Government of India by the time fixed. The tabulation of the replies received and the printing of the papers—the local press had urgent judicial work which had to take precedence—prevented the papers from reaching me until the 25th instant and I have been unable owing mainly to the Palghat case to complete my own scrutiny until to-day.* It has unavoidably been of a somewhat hurried and perfunctory description, but I thought it better in view of the Honourable Member's remarks to send on the file as rapidly as possible instead of giving rise to further delay by the re-arrangement and amplification of my remarks.

* 29th July 1911.

2. The current file covers upwards of 40 pages. I would invite attention in particular to the opinions of the following persons and bodies:—

- (i) The Malabar District Board.
- (ii) The Salem District Board and its President.
- (iii) The Sub-Committee of the Trichinopoly District Board.
- (iv) The Director of Public Instruction, notably the extract from Mr. Braithwaite's report.

3. Mr. Gokhale himself in his speech at Madras reported in the *Times* of the 23rd July described his Bill as founded on three cardinal principles, viz.—

(1) it aims at introducing the principle of compulsion into the elementary education system of this country;

(2) it seeks to achieve this object not by advocating immediate compulsion but by gradual measures applicable to specified local areas; and

(3) the initiative in regard to the principle of compulsion is to be taken by local bodies subject to the consent of the Local Government.

4. The first question is whether it is sound policy to introduce the principle of compulsion at all. The idea is based upon the view that the experience of other countries shows compulsion to be a necessary antecedent to a wide diffusion of elementary education. It is doubtless true that without compulsion it is not possible to secure universal primary education, for there will always be certain members of the community who, unless applied, will not send their children to school; e.g.—

(i) agriculturists and artisans in poor circumstances whose income is eked out by the earnings or personal service of their children, and

(ii) parents who have not the strength of character necessary to compel refractory or unwilling children to attend school.

Universal education, however, is a far-off ideal and the practical question is whether compulsion is required in order to extend elementary education to the utmost limit which financial considerations permit. This can hardly be affirmed. With proper school buildings located in suitable places, an adequately trained staff and sufficient equipment, every rupee available with or without a special educational cess can surely be utilized without there being any risk of a deficiency of school children. It is for consideration, therefore, whether on this ground compulsion is not premature and whether it is not better first to provide adequately for the education of those who are willing to go to school and after that stage has been reached to introduce compulsion.

5. If it be conceded that immediate recourse to compulsion is desirable, there need be no hesitation about accepting Mr. Gokhale's principle that the method of introduction must be gradual, and it is, I submit, sound to let the initiative rest

with local bodies instead of saddling the Government of the country with all the odium which will doubtless attach to such a matter, especially if it embodies additional taxation. Whether local bodies as at present constituted are safe guides is another question. In the first place, they are not really representative of the mass of the population. Take, for instance, the case of a municipality. The councillors themselves come from comparatively well-to-do classes and would not seriously feel the burden of an educational cess. Those of them who are elected are chosen by a limited section of the rate payers. The electors themselves form a minute fraction of the general population, as a rule, only a few hundreds out of many thousands. Education will thus be forced upon the masses at the mandate of a small number of persons, and the people in general will not look upon the compulsory methods as introduced with their own consent. Notwithstanding the initiative of the local body a portion of the resultant odium will inevitably attach to the established Government. And if the Government on financial or other grounds reject the proposals of local bodies as it will frequently be compelled to do, the advanced section of the community will not be slow to complain. The Government are thus exposed to unpopularity with both the articulate advanced section and the silent masses.

6. The financial aspect of the case is of supreme importance and we have at present no satisfactory data upon which to examine it. The ultimate result will doubtless be universal free education, the cost of which has yet to be investigated, though enquiries are now in progress in regard to the more limited question of the funds required to make education free in all Government, Board, Municipal and aided schools. It will take generations to reach the final goal and in the meantime the Government will have cast upon it the onus of deciding between the competing claims of numerous local areas in respect of which the application of the Bill will be recommended. Under section 18 the proportion in which the cost of providing elementary education should be divided between Imperial or Provincial funds and local funds is left for fixation by rules promulgated by the Government of India. In his speech at Madras Mr. Gokhale announced his preference for the incorporation in the Bill of a definite proportion and urged that one-third of the burden

But see remarks of Mr. Orange, pages 3 and 4 of the notes.

V. K[RISHNASWAMI AYYAR].

only should be borne, by local bodies. If this proposal were adopted, it would still leave the financial effect absolutely indefinite, for we do not know and cannot predict to what extent local bodies would advocate the application of the Bill.

7. Another root difficulty is to be found in the deficiency of competent teachers. Mr. Gokhale, as may be seen from his speech, thinks that new schools may be satisfied with untrained teachers. It is doubtful whether Government will subscribe to this view and thus countenance the creation of numerous institutions the education given in which cannot fail to be of a very unsatisfactory character.

8. With these preliminary remarks, I come to the criticism of individual clauses in the Bill.

Clause 2.—There is much to be said for the proposition that the definition of elementary education is too wide and elastic. It includes not only the three R's but also other subjects, if any, prescribed from time to time by the Department of Public Instruction. Enthusiastic educationists may be tempted to extend the curriculum unduly and it will be necessary to guard carefully against this danger. The Government of India themselves in a recent letter have indicated that in their opinion the three R's with the addition in some cases of a little drawing and a study of the village map represent all that is reasonably required.

9. *Clause 3.*—It has been suggested that Government should be given concurrent initiative with local bodies for the introduction of compulsory education. If it be conceded that compulsion is necessary, this suggestion is perhaps sound in theory, but the objection is that already stated, viz., that Government should not be saddled with the whole odium of obligatory measures.

To prevent so important a proposition being carried by a catch-vote, local bodies should be restricted by a section corresponding to the proviso to section 53 of the Madras Local Boards Act, 1884, requiring a three-fourths majority and confirmation of the resolution at a second meeting held six months later.

10. *Clause 4.*—It is for consideration whether as a check upon the enthusiastic educationists the Act itself should not prescribe a maximum limit to the hours of attendance.

Whether the ages mentioned are suitable is open to doubt. It is a question of fact whether four years is sufficient to ensure that the average child shall receive more than a smattering of the three R's. If experience proves that this is not the case, an extension of the age-limits will have to follow.

11. *Clause 5.*—The category of reasonable causes for non-attendance is too extensive. I would draw attention in particular to the words in sub-head (b) "or other sufficient cause" that it is very doubtful whether compulsion will ever be effective. This doubt is enhanced by the consideration that the operation of the compulsory clauses is dependent upon the initiative of the school attendance committee under clause 11 and the personal idiosyncrasy of the magistracy.

In clause (a) the word "road" should clearly be replaced by "road or path" or some other wider term.

I take it that the words "or other sufficient cause" will be utilized by most attendance committees to cover caste objections, for which allowance must be made, since Brahmans will not go to a school which receives Panchamas and the latter will be refused admission to Brahman schools.

The same phrase meets the suggestion made by the District Board of Tinnevely, viz., that a new sub-head (d) should be inserted as follows:—

"that the child has passed the third standard in any recognized school."

12. *Clause 6.*—This clause read with clause 14 (2) puts the employer of child-labour in a very unenviable position and may have very far-reaching consequences in localities where large factories are at work. An energetic school attendance committee not too well disposed towards the employers of labour might work clause 14 in such a way as practically to deprive parents of the much-needed assistance which they derive from allowing their children to work in the local factories. Under sub-clause (2) of clause 14 the onus of proof is cast upon the employer and he may not care to risk the annoyance of recurring prosecutions.

13. *Clause 7.*—It is not clear why the provision of school accommodation should explicitly be imposed upon the local body, while no mention is made of other essential elements in the cost of elementary education. It is not stated that outlay on such

accommodation is to be left out of account in prescribing the proportion in which the total expenditure shall be divided between the local bodies and the Local Government under clause 18 (2) (b).

14. *Clause 8.*—No indication is given of the lines upon which the special education rate is to be assessed. It is doubtless desirable to give some discretion in this matter to Local Governments, but surely definite principles should be laid down if only to ensure that the burden of the rate is equitably distributed.

15. *Clause 9.*—The principle of basing the title to exemption from school-fees upon the monthly income of the parent is open to grave objection. The standard embodied in the clause is Rs. 10 *per mensem*, but in his speech at Madras Mr. Gokhale indicates the desirability of raising the limit; "if", he says, "a local body thinks that an income of Rs. 25 is 'the proper limit they might adopt it'". But whatever limit of income be fixed, inquisitorial enquiries will be necessary in order to examine claims for exemption. And it may not be easy to deal with the common case where the parent's income varies from month to month, or with that of agriculturists whose means are so universally dependent upon seasonal conditions.

Dangerously wide powers are also given to local bodies by sub-clause (2) under which they can sanction remissions for any "other sufficient reason". Such bodies will presumably be dependent upon the reports received from subordinates and this throws the door wide open to malpractices on the part of the latter. Moreover it will be possible for a local body by wholesale leniency in this respect to vitiate the financial estimates by which the Local Government is guided in permitting the application of the Bill to a given area.

16. *Clause 10.*—The whole scheme of school attendance committees is open to criticism. In a few instances the membership may consist of capable persons, in which case there is the risk that zeal and enthusiasm will lead them to undue rigour in the application of the compulsory provisions of the Bill. In the great majority of cases the committees will probably be lukewarm and take advantage of the wide discretion which is entrusted to them so as to make compulsion barely nominal and of no substantial effect.

See section 3, clause 1, of the Irish Act. It provides for half being appointed by the local authority and half by the commissioners. We may adopt the same principle and say here Inspector of Schools or Director of Public Instruction in the place of commissioners.

V. K[RISHNASWAMI AYYAR]—21-8-11.

Notwithstanding section 13 of the General Clauses Act, 1897, it would seem better that the wording of this clause should refer to school attendance committees in the plural.

17. *Clause 11.*—No provision is made for the case of refractory children whose parents are unable, or profess inability, to compel their attendance.

In sub-clause (2) some verbal change is necessary providing that the magistrate shall be enabled to require the parent to arrange for the regular attendance of his child after a certain date. Otherwise, as critics have pointed out, the parent will escape from penalty if he sends the boy to school on a single day.

18. *Clauses 12 and 13.*—It is doubtful whether the penalties are sufficiently high and the phrase "repeated non-compliance" would seem to require definition. Unless an explicit exception be made, default in the payment of fine will lead to imprisonment under section 25 of the General Clauses Act, 1897.

19. *Clause 14.*—The same remark applies to the fines leviable upon employers under this clause. I have already alluded to the manner in which sub-clause (2) throws the onus of proof on the employer and the consequences which may result from this provision.

The phrase "for whose prosecution he is willing to afford the necessary facilities" seems hardly necessary.

20. *Clause 18.*—The rule-making power is very wide and vests solely in the Government of India. It would surely be preferable either altogether to exclude that Government and to confer these powers upon the Local Governments, or if such course is considered dangerous, to let the rule-making powers of Local Governments be "subject to the control of the Governor General in Council."

L. DAVIDSON—31-7-11.

We are asked for an opinion on the Bill of Mr. Gokhale and we are further asked to obtain the opinions of the High Court Judges. They, I notice, have not yet reported.

Since received.

2. The Bill is to make better provision for the extension of education and the main object of the Bill is to enable the Government, if called upon by municipal councils or district boards, to declare it compulsory upon parents to send their boys and may be, girls to school, between the ages of six and ten, if there are schools available within one mile of their homes.

3. In 1908, this Government reported that so far as financial exigencies permitted, they were ready to contribute to the object of free primary education, and the Government of India have recently (July) asked us to report what would be the cost of making elementary education free in all boys' and girls' schools; they have also asked us to draw up a comprehensive plan for improving and extending the existing system of primary education and promised financial assistance. These matters are now under the consideration of the Director of Public Instruction.

I refer to these papers to show that whatever view we may take of this Bill, we are all anxious to improve our systems of vernacular education and to develop the spread of literacy. Mr. Gokhale is an enthusiast, but all of us who have the interests of this country at heart equally desire with him the object put forward in his speech on this Bill.

4. The point, I take it, is this—are we really likely to forward elementary education in this country by passing a Bill of the character of this Bill, in any more efficient manner than we should do by largely increasing our educational grants, and vastly improving our teaching agency, and increasing the number of our schools?

I believe not. I believe that the probability is that the Bill will be a dead letter and never be put in force. I do not believe that a single district board in this presidency will be ready to suggest the levy of special education rate, without which of course the introduction of any compulsion on parents to send their children to school would be impossible. Either Government must supply the funds or a local rate must be imposed; without additional funds the number of schools in no district can be increased to enable any compulsory rules to be enforced.

The same thing, I believe, will apply to municipal councils. I do not believe any council in Madras would be ready to levy the additional taxation to enable elementary schools to be built and worked with such efficiency as would justify any rules for compulsory attendance of children.

5. Mr. Gokhale looks to Government contributing from public funds at least two-thirds of the new expenditure, and it may be pointed out that, according to the latest figures I can get hold of, in Ireland from where Mr. Gokhale derived his inspiration, out of £1,591,214 spent on education, £1,451,139 was met from the Imperial treasury while voluntary sources produced £140,074.

There is no education rate in Ireland, and while the Irish Education Act is copied as regards its clauses regarding compulsion, Mr. Gokhale declines to copy it in its omission to make any provision for the levy of local education rates. The Irish accepted the scheme of compulsory education, because it involved no new taxation. Had education rates been a concomitant necessity, it is very doubtful whether now education would be compulsory in Ireland.

6. It is quite unnecessary and premature now to introduce the element of compulsory education into our system, and I believe it would be dangerous to do so. It is unnecessary, because it is impossible to introduce compulsion without a great extension of schools necessitating a large expenditure, which must be met in great part from local taxation, which local bodies are not prepared to levy and which, if levied, would cause the gravest discontent. It is premature because, at present, there is no necessity, so far as educational interests are concerned, to take this step. Primary education in this country at present requires first a much greater number of trained teachers; secondly, a large increase in the number of schools. Neither of these objects will be effected by introducing partial compulsion and it is very likely that, in all the excitement that the passing of such a measure as this will produce, these immediate necessities will be to a great extent lost sight of.

7. Mr. Gokhale put his finger very effectively on the real point in his speech concluding the debate in the Legislative Council, when he said that he could not produce the analogy of a country governed as India is. It is for this very reason that his instances derived from Western countries, from Ceylon, Baroda and the Philippines will not hold good. It is Lord Morley's "far coat" again. In England, Local Government and Parish Government had arrived at a stage of development years in advance of anything we have arrived at in India before compulsory education was dreamt of, and until we have real municipal spirit in the country, and until we have developed some real

feeling of communal government by developing our taluk boards and unions, it is premature to talk of introducing compulsory education. Ireland is the nearest case in point, and there local taxation for education does not exist. The whole point in Mr. Gokhale's Bill seems to me to lie in the provision for the levy of a local rate; without the levy of the local rate, it seems to me absurd that local bodies, whether municipal councils or district boards, should have the power to force the hands of Government by introducing rules enforcing compulsory education. As long as the central government has to provide ways and means, surely it is for the central Government, and not local bodies, to prescribe such a drastic change as this.

8. Mr. Gokhale says there is a strong demand in this country for universal education. I deny this altogether. If Mr. Gokhale means that the educated press and the educated Indians demand universal education, he is no doubt right, but unfortunately they are not the mass of the country. The educated classes in this country demand not only universal education for boys, but a wide extension of education among girls. But even Mr. Gokhale is not prepared to give effect to this demand. Japan is the common instance quoted. But have those who quote this case any idea of what education in Japan costs the people? Mr. Sharp in his book tells us that out of £3,150,000, or 472 lakhs of rupees, spent on education, no less than 61·8 per cent. is found by local taxation, while 10 per cent. is found by fees and only 19 per cent. found from the Government treasury. Is it practical politics to ask the Government of India to dream of introducing such a scheme here? Of course in Japan this condition of things is only possible because the people there, the mass of the people, understand that their very existence as a nation depends upon their education and the people are therefore with the Government. Here, of course, there is absolutely no such feeling. It has to be created.

9. Mr. Gokhale lays stress on the proposition that "the Government should enable us (the educated classes) to feel that, though largely foreign in personnel, it is 'national in spirit and sentiment'". I quite agree, but we certainly shall not do this by imposing upon the mass of the people a responsibility which so far they have shown no desire to undertake, and specially so, if this leads to imposition of a very heavy addition to their taxation which, Mr. Gokhale and his friends are never tired of telling us, is grinding in its severity already.

10. I remember a few years ago it was suggested to me by an Indian friend that the Government of India made a great mistake in reducing the salt tax and that they would have done much better if they had ear-marked the tax they then remitted for education. I agree so far that I think in this country at present we are not ready for a local rate for education and that the funds must for some time to come be found from the Imperial exchequer. But if so, then, I think, it is also premature to try and introduce compulsion. It will be time enough to take this measure when we have put up schools and find we cannot fill them.

11. Briefly, it seems to me that compulsion in the matter of education is certain to be unpopular among the mass of the people, that with the facilities for education at present available, compulsion even in our larger municipal towns will do very little towards promoting the extension of education which is of real value, that under the provisions of this Bill compulsion will be only in name, that the agency for enforcing it will be so half-hearted that things will be left very much as they are at present, that until the facilities for educating our people have enormously improved it is premature, that the proposal to give power to impose a local education rate, to our present municipal councils and local boards, is a very dangerous one and likely to cause general discontent.

On the other hand I am entirely in agreement with Mr. Gokhale that the most pressing need in India at the present time is the greater diffusion of education and its improvement. I would make this quite plain in our letter to India.

12. I consider that we should formulate some scheme which will pledge us to contribute a much greater portion of the public revenues to this object than has hitherto been done. We might, for instance, promise India that we are ready to give every year a fixed sum in addition to what has been given up to date. Finance is examining this matter at present and the Chief Secretary has made the suggestion to me that we might every year add, say a lakh or two lakhs, to the expenditure of the previous year, until

we have worked up our agency for elementary education to such a point that we may justly insist on the universal education of the people. I doubt whether it is the charges for education that keep children from school now; it is much more the absence of good schools and the fact that children are wanted in the fields and elsewhere. Until our efforts to spread local government and the sense of citizenship have developed the feeling that exists in other countries as regards the value of education, it is too early to talk of compulsion and I think for that reason that Mr. Gokhale's Bill should not be accepted. I do not believe Mr. Gokhale's Bill, if passed, would have any marked influence in spreading education. We are not ready for it.

13. It is, I think, hardly necessary to criticize Mr. Gokhale's Bill in detail. Almost every section is open to criticism. I take absolute objection, as I have said, to the proposal as regards the levy of an education rate, and I consider the proposal to give or refuse free education according to the means of the parents hopelessly difficult to work in practice. It will be impossible to work it without an army of officials and corruption of every kind. If we give free education it must be given, in my opinion, to all.

14. I consider the scheme of committees absolutely unworkable. I do not believe in any town or district such committees would work the provisions of the Bill effectively and the probability is that the compulsory clauses would be so only in name.

15. I do not think the persons who talk so much on this subject have any conception of what a huge advance we have to make before our Education Department will be able to offer anything like the facilities which they should before they can reasonably suggest compulsion on parents to send their children to school. Japan is very near Madras Presidency in area and has a slightly greater population. It has, according to Mr. Sharp, about 27,000 primary schools, and no less than 109,000 teachers with five million scholars. We in Madras have about 22,000 schools, but out of those very many were of an ephemeral character, while we have only about 34,000 teachers and only about 800,000 scholars. In Madras we spend on primary education about 33 lakhs, of which 20½ lakhs come from public funds and 6½ from fees and 6½ from other sources. In Japan no less than 472 lakhs is spent on primary education alone.

16. Our policy should be to develop our educational facilities in every possible direction, giving perhaps free education and devoting a very much larger portion of our public revenues to the subject. Then years hence, it may be advisable, if we have indications that the mass of the people are with us, to introduce compulsory education and perhaps some system of local rates. But this cannot be done until our efforts to make local government a reality have been much more successful than has hitherto been the case.

17. In no case that I can remember has the advice of the articulate section of the Indian population been more dangerous than it is over this point. It is most dangerous to my mind to follow that advice, which is really to increase the burden of taxation of a large section of the people to meet the educational wants of another section, which have not asked for the boon. The great mass of the ryots would have to bear the burden of this new education rate which is to be an addition to the land-cess, while the persons who mostly benefit will be chiefly the labouring classes in our large villages and cities. The persons who are loudest in calling for this reform are those whom the weights of the new burden will hardly touch.

18. The above express my views on this matter. It may, however, be politic not to give an absolute refusal to Mr. Gokhale and his party over this Bill, and if this is so, I would not have so much objection to the Bill provided it is entirely confined to municipalities. In municipalities at all events there is some chance that here and there it might be possible to impose a small rate and make education compulsory without creating any dangerous discontent, and if my Honourable Colleagues desire to concede so much to Mr. Gokhale, I would not object. In any case the various clauses of the Bill to which exception has been taken by the various officers and bodies consulted will require amendment, and I would particularly object to any attempt to discriminate as regards free education between rich and poor. We all know the impossibility in this country of judging anybody's income accurately, except the fixed salaries which public servants draw, and the distinction drawn in the Bill would, I am sure, work great hardship and give rise to great abuse.

M. H[AMMICK]—5-8-11.

The Hon'ble Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar is coming back to-day. May the Elementary Education Bill be circulated to him please? The remarks of the Financial Department have not yet been received.

K. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR—12-8-11.

Yes: let Financial know it is going to Honourable Members.

L. DAVIDSON—12-8-11.

FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT.

From the financial standpoint, this Bill is bad for vagueness. It empowers a local authority to decree compulsory elementary education which shall be largely free, and may be almost entirely free if the local authority so decides under sub-clause (2) of clause 9. It lays an obligation upon the local authority to provide sufficient school accommodation for all children between the ages of 6 and 10 residing within the local area. To meet the expenditure which will be necessary, it gives a discretionary power to the local authority to levy a special education rate of an unlimited amount and of an unspecified kind. It further empowers the Governor General in Council to make rules prescribing the proportions in which the cost of providing this elementary education should be divided between the local authority and the Local Government. Taking the Bill alone, it is impossible therefore to estimate what financial liability is imposed by it on Local Governments. That would depend upon the extent of the application of the Bill, over which the Local Government retains some control (clause 3), and upon the proportion of the cost which the Governor General in Council might impose on provincial finances. It has been suggested by Mr. Gokhale and his friends that the Bill should be applied to a local area as soon as one-third of the boys of school-going age within that area are attending school, and we may take it that, if that proportion was fixed by the rule made under paragraph (a) of sub-clause (2) of clause 18, the Local Government would virtually be compelled to sanction the application of the Bill to every area in which that condition was fulfilled. It has also been suggested by Mr. Gokhale that the proportion of the cost to be borne by local and provincial revenues, respectively, should be one-third and two-thirds, but his friends are less agreed in supporting him here, as many of them think that the whole cost should fall upon provincial revenues and that there should be no local rate.

2. When Mr. Gokhale talks of one-third of the boys of school-going age, he presumably means one-third of the boys between the ages of 6 and 10. The corrected age table of the census of 1901 shows that the boys between those ages form 10 per cent. of the male population, while the number of boys whose ages extend over 6 years (6 to 11 inclusive) form 15 per cent. of that population. It appears from Appendix G in Volume II of the Madras Public Instruction Report for 1909-1910 that the male population of our municipalities is 1,194,480, and the number of boys between the ages of 6 and 10 is therefore approximately 119,000, but the same return shows that the number of boys actually at school in those municipalities is 178,000. This of course includes a number of boys who are 10 years of age and upwards, and we have no information to show how many of the 119,000 boys who are not less than 6 and under 10 are actually at school. I think, however, that we may conclude that a very large proportion of them are actually receiving elementary education and that in every case more than one-third of them are at school.

I may note here that we greatly need a detailed age return of the pupils in all educational institutions, and I suggest that this should be prescribed?

H. A. STUART.

Yes, we do want this. Will Educational please note on the point and show exactly what information we do get now and how it can best be supplemented.

M. H[AMMICK].

Yes, we do want this. Will Educational please note on the point and show exactly what information we do get now and how it can best be supplemented.

According to the statement on page 44 of Volume I of the Public Instruction Report for 1909-1910, the total expenditure from municipal funds on primary schools for boys is 2.06 lakhs, but we do not know what ratio this bears to the total expenditure on elementary education for boys in municipalities. The cost of educating a pupil in a municipal primary school is Rs. 6-7-1, or, say, Rs. 6½. The cost of education in aided schools is much less, but we may be quite certain that one of the results of the introduction of compulsion both upon the local

authority to find school places and upon the parent to send his boy to school would be the fairly rapid substitution of board schools for aided schools. Moreover, I do not for a moment believe that the cost of education can be kept down to Rs. $6\frac{1}{2}$ *per annum*. In Bombay the cost per head in public schools is Rs. 7 and in Japan it is about Rs. 10. However, taking Rs. $6\frac{1}{2}$ as the rate, we have $7\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs as the cost of educating the boys between the ages of 6 and 10, living in our municipalities. Taking two-thirds as the share which would fall upon the Local Government, the amount of this liability would be a little over 5 lakhs. It is impossible to say what the additional liability would be as we do not know the amount now spent from provincial funds on elementary education in municipalities. But even if we had to find the whole amount of 5 lakhs *per annum* immediately, it would not, I think, cause us any serious embarrassment.

3. Turning now to the Presidency as a whole, we have a male population, according to the census of this year, of 20,386,000, which gives 2,039,000 as the number of boys between 6 and 10. The cost of educating these at Rs. $6\frac{1}{2}$ a head is Rs. 132.53 lakhs *per annum*. The number of boys in public elementary schools is 757,471, which is more than one-third of the total number of boys between the ages of 6 and 10. It is no doubt true that some of the boys in public elementary schools are 10 years of age and upwards, but it is not unreasonable to conclude that in many areas the proportion of boys between 6 and 10 who are already at school exceeds the one-third which Mr. Gokhale proposes to adopt as his test. It is conceivable, therefore, that at no distant date this Government might find itself subjected to considerable pressure to apply the Bill to a number of rural areas and that there would be a demand on its finances which they would be quite unable to bear. The provincial expenditure on primary schools for boys is now 9.23 lakhs, and two-thirds of the 132.53 lakhs specified above as the total cost of educating all boys between 6 and 10 amounts to 88.35 lakhs.

4. In the foregoing remarks, I have followed the Bill and assumed a four-year

It will be useless.

M. H[AMMICK].

the new conscripts each year, that those who

My experience in England when last at home was that the average golf caddie of 18 years old had practically forgotten all he had ever learnt at school!

M. H[AMMICK].—16.8-11.

That is the experience of Italy also, and it would be foolish of India to ignore this lesson and embark on a course which has been proved to be mistaken. The substitution of six years for four years will increase the expenditure by at least 50 *per cent*, and perhaps by more, since the cost of teaching the higher classes is likely to be greater per head than in the case of the first four standards. It is not a question of the relative merits of the good and the best. The real issue is whether the four-year course produces any permanent good except among that infinitesimal fraction of the pupils who will keep up their reading and writing after leaving school at the end of the four years. If the answer is in the negative—and experience suggests that answer

I quite agree.

M. H[AMMICK].

be profitably employed in advancing sound education. To divert money from a useful to a useless object is bad finance; it is still worse when you have to raise part of the money by additional taxation.

5. These views will not be acceptable to Mr. Gokhale and his friends, who seem to me to want the name rather than the substance. Speaking at Madras, Mr. Gokhale brushed aside the arguments that there were not enough trained teachers and that school-houses must be built: "We will have untrained teachers," he said, "and we will hold the schools in verandahs." I submit that that kind of education is not worth paying for. These "impatient idealists" want to be able to say that the people of

I agree to all this.

M. H[AMMICK].

that it will hinder, and not advance, the progress of sound education.

course only; but I do not believe a four-year course will produce useful results. In Japan it is found at the examination of course of four years are practically illiterate by the time they reach the age for service. All the education authorities, Mr. Sharp tells us, are agreed that the four-year course is too short and that it ought to be extended by at least two years.

—then this Bill will lead only to a useless harassment of the people and a gross waste of public money, which could otherwise

India are educated, and they will point to the Education Act to prove this. It will prove nothing of the sort and I maintain

6. I may perhaps be permitted to make a few observations on the political aspect of the proposed legislation. I think the statistics show that in municipalities it would not be necessary to resort to compulsion to any great extent, for the majority of children are already at school. Compulsion would be required only in the case of the very poor, who would probably accept it without resistance, though it would inflict considerable hardship on them. Mr. Davidson mentions the case of child-labour in factories, but this would not be seriously affected, since no child under 9 is allowed to labour in a factory (section 23 of the Factories Act, 1911).

Among the rural population, however, compulsion would, I believe, have to be

It would of course.

M. H[AMMICK].

enforced largely, especially in the cultivation seasons, and would arouse great hostility. The odium would fall entirely on the Government, for the ryot and the labourer would understand nothing of the attendance committee. They would know that attendance was enforced by an appearance before a magistrate and the infliction of a fine—the ordinary coercive procedure of the Sircar.

7. The education rate would also be very unpopular and might excite dangerous discontent among a people who do not want education. It would amount to at least one anna in the rupee of land revenue if it is to provide one-third of the expenditure, and that would be regarded as a

I agree.

M. H[AMMICK].

very considerable addition to the burden of taxation.

8. To sum up. I think that in the case of municipalities the Bill would do little harm politically and would not impose any great burden on provincial finances, though it would be unfair to the general tax-payer by deviating exclusively to municipalities for some years funds which should be distributed for the spread of education in rural as well as urban areas; while a four-year course is useless and should not be recognized by legislation. The Bill would also need modification in minor points before being applied even to municipalities, notably in respect of clause 18 which should be amended so as to give the rule-making power to the Local Government.

In the case of the areas outside municipal towns, the application of the Bill would be impossible unless the Government of India are prepared to find the money, for the imposition of an education rate would be extremely unwise, while provincial revenues could not for many years to come find the necessary funds. Further, the introduction of compulsion among the rural population would be politically dangerous.

9. But I would not meet Mr. Gokhale's legislative proposals with a barren negative. The Honourable Member has referred to an alternative proposal for improving elementary education which I mentioned to him. It is, briefly, that we should lay down a progressive programme of education finance. It is estimated that our surplus revenue grows at the rate of 5 lakhs *per annum*, which allows for an annual growth of expenditure of 13 lakhs. (See page 18 of notes to G.O., No. 208, Financial, dated 25th April 1911). These calculations are liable to be upset by bad seasons, but we have a considerable reserve, and I think it would be quite safe to promise to increase the grant for elementary education by 2 lakhs every year. This provision should be regarded as obligatory. Taking Rs. $6\frac{1}{2}$ as the cost of educating each pupil in an elementary school, it would allow of an addition of 30,000 pupils every year. Moreover, it is reasonable to expect that a not inconsiderable proportion of the growing Imperial revenues will be assigned to education, and if we get only 5 lakhs a year from that source, we shall be able to add about 100,000 pupils a year to the strength of our elementary schools. Under a six-year course, the number of boys of school-going age would be 3,000,000; and at the rate proposed it would take 20 to 25 years to provide education for the full number; but we cannot go faster unless the Government of India is prepared to give us more money, and at the beginning, at least, I doubt whether it would be wise to attempt to go faster. Progress indeed may be slower, since there are various items of expenditure which are not included in the Rs. $6\frac{1}{2}$ which has been taken as the basis of calculation. On the other hand, some assistance may be obtained from municipal funds, and the normal growth of expenditure includes something for elementary education.

10. With a definite financial programme, the Educational Department will be able to frame an equally definite programme for the training of teachers and the provision and equipment of schools.

H. A. STUART—14-8-11.

To the Educational Department.

EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT.

Honourable Member & Circ.—

L. DAVIDSON—14-8-11.

I have noted on pages 27 to 30 *ante* and agree very much with the note of the Chief Secretary. As I said, I believe any idea of compulsion throughout the country for this very small amount of education which Mr. Gokhale proposes to give is out of the question.

M. H[AMMICK]—16-8-11.

I understand my Honourable Colleague to be prepared to accept the Bill as regards municipalities, but not as to local board areas.

2. Mr. Gokhale has been subjected to two cross-fires. It has on the one hand been strenuously argued that the Act is certain to be a dead letter, and on the other that it will prove a source of political danger, as compulsion under the Act is likely to create political discontent. Before examining these two somewhat opposite lines of attack, it is perhaps desirable to consider the position with reference to the desirability of universal mass education and the possibility of achieving it under existing conditions.

3. I think it may be taken as axiomatic that universal mass education is the goal to be aimed at. Mr. Braithwaite would see some danger in it of alienating the people from their ordinary avocations in life, especially the agricultural and working classes. Mr. Stone would seem to have a thinly veiled sympathy for that view. Mr. Braithwaite seems to regard the lines on which primary education has been developed in western countries as a mistake which India should avoid. I think it is enough to give him the answer that his is an attempt to mop back the Atlantic. The policy for this country has been definitely laid down for a great many years and has been so repeatedly affirmed that it is too late to throw doubt upon education in schools for boys or girls. In the Educational Despatch of 1854, the Court of Directors said: "It is one of our most sacred duties to be the means as far as in us lies of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge." And again: "Our attention should now be directed to a consideration, namely, how useful and practical knowledge suited to every station in life should be best conveyed to the great mass of the people who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts and we desire to see the active measures of Government more especially directed for the future to this object for the attainment of which we are ready to sanction considerable increase in expenditure." The Education Commission of 1882 regarded this despatch as definitely accepting "as a State duty the education of the whole people in India." One of the recommendations of that Commission was as follows: "An attempt should be made to secure the fullest possible provision for an expansion of primary education by legislation suited to the circumstances of each province." In the now famous resolution on Indian educational policy of 1904, the Government of Lord Curzon stated: "There are more than eighteen millions of boys who ought now to be at school, but of this only a little more than one-sixth are actually receiving primary education." Again "these figures exhibit the vast dimension of the problem and show how much remains to be done before the proportion of the population receiving elementary instruction can approach the standard recognized as indispensable in more advanced countries." Further on, they said, "They consider that primary education possesses a strong claim upon the sympathy both of the Supreme Government and of the Local Governments

"and should be made a leading charge upon the provincial revenues." The standard and methods of western countries were definitely accepted as the guiding principles of Indian educational policy. In the circular letter of the Government of India, dated 22nd November 1906, they expressed a desire to abolish fees as soon as the finances of the country permitted and added the hope that the time had arrived for such a step. They said: "To insist upon the permanent retention of fees is manifestly incompatible not only with universal school attendance but with anything that approaches to it." The Government of Madras accepted these declarations of policy and were prepared to introduce the scheme of free primary education *per saltum* instead of gradually—*vide* letter dated 24th February 1908. Though universal free primary education has not been stated in terms as a definite policy of the Government of India, there can be no doubt that that goal has been steadily kept in view in the expansion of primary education. It seems, therefore, unnecessary to argue against the obvious trend of Mr. Braithwaite's letter and the Director of Public Instruction's endorsement of it.

4. I think that the present method of promoting primary education must be pronounced to be substantially a failure. The number of boys at school in the primary stage at various quinquennial periods is stated as follows in Mr. Orange's report:—

1882	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,061,000
1887	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,381,000
1892	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,680,000
1897	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,028,000
1902	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,009,000
1907	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,631,000

Mr. Gokhale states in his speech that three million nine hundred thousand may be taken as the number of boys at school in the primary stage in 1911. The apparent ratio of progress has, however, got to be reduced with reference to the growth in the population of British India during the thirty years ranging between 1881 and 1911. The entire male population of the Indian Empire with reference to the censuses of 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911 is as follows:—

1881	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	101,324,656
1891	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	112,542,739
1901	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	117,804,942
1911	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	124,791,881

While the increase in the number of boys at school during the period from 1881 to 1911 may be taken roughly as 75 per cent., 25 per cent. out of it must be deducted as merely due to the increase in the population of the country. The ratio of boys at school to the total population of school-going age has no doubt been raised, but the increase in the number of boys for the thirty years may be roughly stated at about one million. If the population of India continue to be stationary and do not multiply at the rate which it has done during the last thirty years, and if we take the present male population of school-going age at eighteen and odd millions on the basis of a 15 per cent. calculation, it must take nearly 250 years for the entire population of school-going age to be at school at the rate of 1½ million for every thirty years. But as population increases in a geometrical ratio at the rate of 25 per cent., which is the increase during the last thirty years in the total population of the country, the problem of universal mass education on present lines must be hopeless indeed. If population and the number of boys at school both rose in geometrical progression at their present rates it would take at least 120 years for the whole population of school-going age to be at school. I have adopted the 15 per cent. ratio even for the four years of school attendance which Mr. Gokhale has fixed in his Bill, as Mr. Hardy's calculation of 15 per cent. for ages ranging from 6 to 11 was apparently for European countries, and the shorter longevity of life in India would probably justify the same rate for ages ranging from 6 to 10. In the review of Mr. Cotton's report of 1897, the Government of India regarded the position as by no means encouraging, and they characterized the progress as slow indeed. Nathan's report of 1902 for the quinquennium between 1897 to 1902 showed a set-back and he characterized the general rate of progress as "most unsatisfactory". Then followed the Educational Report of 1904 and more vigorous activity. On this Mr. Orange remarks at page 98: "The rate of increase whether for the last twenty-five years or for the last five is very slow when compared with the distance that

"has to be travelled before primary education can be universally diffused. If the number of boys at school continued to increase even at the rate of increase that has taken place in the last five years (that is, six hundred thousand to three millions) and there were no increase in population, several generations would still elapse before all the boys of school-going age were in school." The voluntary method of persuasion must be condemned as a hopeless failure.

5. A policy of increased grants on definite lines is suggested by the Chief Secretary and accepted by my Honourable Colleague. There is no doubt that, if more money were spent on primary education, better results would follow. But no resolution for increased subsidy on the part of the Executive Government can be free from the modifications consequent on the change of *personnel* or the fluctuations of finance, or the exigencies of foreign or domestic policy. Nor has a resolution of Government the virtue of accelerating progress to the same extent as the legislative acceptance of an ideal placed before every town and village as the motive of local organization and effort.

6. The only alternative which has been accepted in modern times and been found invariably successful wherever it has been tried is the policy of compulsion. The rigour of that policy Mr. Gokhale has endeavoured to soften by the adoption of what may be called "optional compulsion". But various objections have been taken to it sometimes even from opposite standpoints:—

(a) It is argued that the measure is fraught with political danger as compulsion is certain to breed discontent. Before I proceed to examine this, it is interesting to notice that in 1868 Lord Lawrence observed: "Amongst all sources of difficulty in our administration and of possible danger to the stability of our Government, there are few so serious as the ignorance of the people." Education amongst Hindus of the higher castes has been regarded as a religious sacrament, and the reading of the Koran is a solemn religious duty amongst Mussalmans. That any gentle pressure for the diffusion of education will ever be regarded by the people of this country as the tyrannical exercise of authority is, to my mind, extremely problematic. The enormous body of opinion, larger in volume than has found expression on any other question within my knowledge, has been discounted as in no sense representative. But it is a truism in politics that the voice and vote of every man, even if he be articulate, are unnecessary to signify the general acceptance of a view and that the judgment of the thoughtful section, though selected at random from the common body, is a sufficient index to the popular feeling. Mr. Gokhale has rightly cast the initiative in the matter of compulsion upon local bodies. The sanction of the Local Government is a safeguard against hasty action. The facilities for exemption from payment of fees and even from attendance on the ground of poverty or inconvenient avocations, must minimise the chance of friction between individual disinclination and compulsion from superior authority. The Government of India have rightly pointed out in their resolution of 1904: "To the people themselves, the lack of education is now a more serious disadvantage than it was in more primitive days. By the extension of railways, the economic side of agriculture in India has been greatly developed and the cultivator has been brought into contact with the commercial world and has been involved in transactions in which an illiterate man is at a great disadvantage. The material benefits attaching to education have, at the same time, increased with the development of schemes for introducing improved agricultural methods, for opening agricultural banks, for strengthening the local position of the cultivator, and for generally improving the conditions of rural life. Such schemes depend largely for their success upon the influence of education permeating the masses and rendering them accessible to ideas other than those sanctioned by tradition." The popular appreciation of the present-day need for an acquaintance with the three R's is sufficiently keen to save the masses from a sense of political oppression as the reason for compulsory attendance.

(b) It has, on the other hand, been argued that a law for compulsory school attendance is bound to remain a dead letter.

(i) It is maintained that school-attendance committees will exempt almost everybody for one reason or another from the obligation to attend school. I see no warrant for this assumption. The committees themselves are required to be constituted under by-laws which must have the sanction of the Local Government. It is easy to

provide for an officer of the Educational Department of the rank of Supervisor or Sub-Assistant Inspector (there are 268 Supervisors and 111 Sub-Assistant Inspectors in this Presidency according to the report of 1907) being a member of each school-attendance committee so as to prevent any laxity of action on the part of those committees.

(ii) An objection has been raised of the want of competent or qualified teachers. This has always been the standing argument against compulsory education. The qualification of the teacher is nothing more than a knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic. This minimum can be found amongst many people who have never obtained the normal training school certificate. It is found necessary to employ at the present day in England large numbers of uncertificated and student teachers—please see the report of the Board of Education for 1908-1909, pages 116 and 117. When Japan inaugurated compulsory education, Sharp says: "There was a natural difficulty about teachers. The Japanese had little conception of a trained teacher. Any one who could speak a language was supposed to be capable of teaching it" (paragraph 23). "Even at the present day," he says in paragraph 452, "though primary teachers ought, by rule, to be provided with licenses, owing to the shortage in teachers, there are many who are not (21.5 per cent.) and some are preparing themselves for the licensing examination." Though licensed and properly qualified teachers are the ideal to be aimed at, I cannot agree that the lack of certificated teachers is a serious impediment to Mr. Gokhale's scheme.

(iii) Another objection is based on the ground of lack of school accommodation. Clause 7 of the Bill insists upon its provision though the Director of Public Instruction strangely overlooks it. Mr. Gokhale feelingly said in his speech at Madras: "If Japan may be content with verandahs for school-houses, there is no loss of dignity for the Indian school boy to be housed in such a manner." The idea of substantial school buildings according to type-designs is borrowed from western conditions of climate not applicable to this country, and this poor country may well dispense with such structures. It has been my conviction that more money has been wasted on the fattening of contractors and the Department of Public Works than is justifiable in the climatic conditions of this country. A thatched or tiled shed situated in the midst of half an acre of open ground dotted with a few trees, the whole thing costing only a few hundred rupees, is far more adapted for the needs of a school-house in this country than the more costly structures which gratify the eye of the cultured architect.

(iv) A more serious objection than all that has gone before is the shortness of the course provided by Mr. Gokhale's Bill. It is said: "It is true that Japan and Baroda began with four years, but they are finding that the period is too short. Unless we can go in for six years, the game is not worth the candle." But this argument overlooks that both Japan and Baroda have achieved solid results on a four-year basis. If they are now dissatisfied after years of trial with the old period, that is no reason why we should not begin on a modest scale leaving it to the future to extend the period, when changed conditions may justify such a course. It was in the year 1908, after thirty years' experience of a four-year elementary course, that Japan thought it was time owing to its deficiencies to extend the elementary school course to six years. I am unable to accept the statement that a boy who has gone through a four-year course forgets everything that he has learnt in after-life even amidst the opportunities of agriculture or other business bringing him into contact with writing and correspondence, so as not even to retain a disposition to see his children educated in the three R's. I quite admit that some men who have only received this modicum of education between 6 and 10 may, in after-life, forget their early acquisition. But it is a great exaggeration to assert that every man amongst those who only received a four-year training has an absolutely blank mind with reference to what he learnt in his early days. Reading, writing and arithmetic meet a man at every turn in his life whatever be his avocation. If he had a foundation in those directions in early life, the ordinary relations of life must tend to increase his knowledge without any further schooling. The value of that knowledge, small as it may be, in enabling the agriculturist, the day-labourer, and the petty trader to carry on his avocations with more intelligence and less liability to deception cannot be over-rated. He is more accessible to a

knowledge of the rules of hygiene and sanitation spread through leaflets and newspaper paragraphs, and he must be regarded as altogether a happier man for the greater ability to accommodate himself to the forces of nature and the surroundings of modern life.

The period selected by Mr. Gokhale very little affects the boy-labourer of a factory who can only enter it after he is nine and the ordinary needs of agriculture cannot be said to be dependent upon the labour of boys who are below ten years of age.

(v) That compulsion is impracticable or will be largely resisted by the people is effectively refuted by the example of Ceylon and Baroda, not to speak of the Philippines, for the conditions of the Native State and the sister island of Ceylon are in every respect similar to those of British India. It is true that their area is much smaller. But although that may have a bearing on the financial aspect of the question, it has none with reference to the disposition of the people to accept compulsion.

(vi) The strongest and perhaps, in my judgment, the only argument against the Bill is the financial one. Mr. Gokhale has endeavoured to reduce the expenditure in various ways. He proposes that the Act shall not be applied to any area in which one-third of the school-going population is not already under instruction. He reserves the discretion to the municipality or local board to apply it to a particular local area. He burdens the locality with the financial responsibility for one-third or more of the cost so as to check the too ready disposition to avail itself of the new law. He gives the Local Government a discretion to accept or not the proposition of the municipality or local board to apply the law to the locality. These appear to my mind to be very substantial limitations upon the scope of the proposed legislation. I would be prepared, if necessary, to add a limitation to the provincial contribution in amount instead of merely in ratio. Section 18 of the Irish Education Act of 1892 provided a fixed grant "of 210,000 pounds or of such other amount as Parliament may determine, having regard to the amount of free grant under the Elementary Education Act, 1891." The distribution of this amount was determined by the fourth schedule to the Act. My present suggestion would, to a certain extent, assimilate my scheme to the scheme of increased grants without legislation accepted by my Honourable Colleague. But my idea is to fix a statutory maximum, which may or may not be worked up to as the result of local bodies applying the Act to their special areas. I have thought it unnecessary in view to the above suggestion to examine the financial note for determining the possible scope of Imperial or Provincial expenditure under the Act.

7. I agree with Mr. Gokhale in claiming for compulsion greater results in the spread of education than for any other known means of action. Quoting from the report of the Royal Commission of 1886, he says: "The increase of the numbers on the roll is largely attributable to compulsion. Among the witnesses before us, Mr. Stewart appears to stand alone in his opinion that, provided that required accommodation had been furnished, the results would have been much the same if attendance had not been obligatory. But to estimate fairly the influence which compulsion has had upon the great increase in the number of children attending school, we must speak of it under the three heads into which its operations may be divided. There is first the *direct influence of compulsion*. This is exerted over parents who are indifferent to the moral and intellectual welfare of their children, who are very eager to enjoy what advantage they can from their children's earning but who never look beyond. Secondly, *compulsion exercises an indirect influence*. Many parents are apathetic, yielding weakly to their children's wish not to go to school; but they are keenly alive to the disgrace of being brought before a magistrate, a fear of which supplies a stimulus sufficient to make them do their duty in this respect. In addition, the existence of a compulsory law has considerably affected public opinion and has done much to secure a larger school attendance by making people recognize that the State regards them as neglecting their duty if their children remain uneducated." The Ceylon Commission of 1905 expressed itself as follows:—

"With the exception of one or two districts of the island, little good will be done by any system which does not enforce compulsory attendance. The parents throughout a large portion of the island exercise very little control over their children

"and will leave them to do as they like in the matter of school attendance. The result is that, where there is no compulsion, boys attend very irregularly and leave school very early. That compulsory attendance is desirable we have no doubt."

8. I have so far dealt with the objections to compulsion even under the limitations contained in Mr. Gokhale's Bill. But there are certain objections of detail most of which, I venture to believe, would never have been taken if the Irish Act and the Ceylon Ordinance had been perused by the critics:—

(a) The definition of parent is almost word for word the same as in section 13 of the Irish Act and pretty much as in section 4 of the Ceylon Ordinance. If there be any danger of more than one person being hit at by the definition in the same case, a slight verbal change is sufficient to prevent it.

(b) Objection has been taken to "other subjects, if any, prescribed from time to time by the Department of Public Instruction." I am unable to appreciate the contention. Section 8, clause D, of the Ceylon Ordinance provides for the prescription of the course of instruction to be given on the recommendation of the Director of Public Instruction. Directors are not faddists who are emancipated from the control of Local Governments. I see no danger in the power to prescribe additional subjects, if any. It was unanimously agreed by the Educational Conference of Allahabad that at present "the three R's, drawing and the village map would form the ordinary curriculum of instruction." I cannot suppose that the power to add the village map or drawing is a dangerous latitude of action in the Director of Public Instruction. It can hardly be contended that the "elements of morals" which find a place in the Elementary School curriculum of Japan are not a permissible addition by the Director of Public Instruction in India.

(c) Objection is taken to the one-mile limit of road between the school-house and the pupils' residence. This provision is modelled on clause (a) of section 3 of the Irish Act, which prescribes a two-mile distance "by the nearest road." The word "road" has created no difficulty in Ireland for the last twenty years and need not in British India.

(d) Objection is taken to "other sufficient cause" in section 5, clause (b), and also to the phrase "seasonable needs of agriculture." These words are substantially reproduced from clause (b), section 3 of the Irish Act. If these words confer an undesirable latitude of discretion on the attendance committee, the power to make by-laws is sufficiently wide under section 18, and can, if necessary, be made wider to circumscribe the action of the committee.

(e) It has been said that the limit of income, which is a ground of exemption from payment of fees, will lead to inquisitorial enquiries and is an unworkable criterion in practice. I am disposed to agree with this criticism. I think it is sufficient to empower the committee to exempt individuals on the ground of poverty as in clause 2, section 9. The rules as to poverty must be different in different localities and may to some extent be defined by by-laws or left to the absolute determination of the committee.

(f) The constitution of the committee is left to by-laws under section 19. They may differ in different localities. But being subject to the sanction of the Local Government, that authority, in my opinion, may insist on the presence of a Supervisor or a Sub-Assistant Inspector on each school committee. This, in my judgment, will ensure considerable uniformity of action or at all events help to save the committees from very erratic courses of action. And if each head of a school with reference to which the committee has to act is also a member of the committee, I think we may feel pretty certain that particularly unreasonable conduct may be avoided in considerable measure.

(g) The Bill does not provide what shall be the character of the educational rate. The object of the author is apparently to leave it to the Government of India to determine its form. But I see no objection, having regard to the importance of a taxing provision not being omitted from the statute itself, to an express provision that the educational rate shall be not more than six pies in the rupee of land revenue to be added to the one anna of road-cess, or a percentage addition to the house-tax in

municipal areas. I am aware that a six pios additional road-cess will bring in only about 28 to 30 lakhs from the local board areas in this Presidency. The addition to the house-tax in municipalities will bring in only a few lakhs (about three lakhs on an extra rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. with reference to the present receipt of 11:80 lakhs). If double this amount is provided out of provincial revenues, I would consider the income which would be capable of natural expansion sufficient for many years to come. My suggestion would entail no extra machinery or new methods of enquiry for the ascertainment and the collection of the tax. The present expenditure in Madras is 34 lakhs, of which provincial and local revenues contribute 21 lakhs. The scale I have fixed is the maximum to be worked up to.

(d) I think it would be necessary to confer certain powers on Local Governments with reference to the constitution of the school-committees in place of the existing references to the Government of India. But I do not think that any power to initiate compulsion need be conferred upon the Local Government.

(e) The provision prohibiting employment of a child that ought to be under instruction is a reproduction of section 2 of the Irish Act, and having regard to boys of nine and below not being eligible to be factory labourers, I see no objection to the enactment of clauses 14 and 15.

(f) The last three lines of clause 10, sub-clause 1, seem to me to be superfluous, clause 19 being sufficient for the purpose.

(g) Section 4 of the Irish Act speaks of attendance "in such regular manner as is specified in the order." Similar language may have to be employed in sub-clause (ii) of section 12, so as to prevent merely nominal compliance with the magistrate's order to attend.

(h) I do not think there is any practical difficulty in determining what repeated non-compliance is within the meaning of clause 13. It may be advisable to enact a provision similar to sub-clause (iii) of section 4 of the Irish Act, that a complaint with respect to continuing non-compliance with the attendance order shall not be repeated by the school attendance committee at any less interval than two months. But perhaps the object of clause 13 of the Bill is to limit the action of the school committee to a single complaint for repeated non-compliance.

9. I have made the above detailed remarks with reference to the objection that almost every clause of the Bill is faulty. I do not myself share that opinion. But if there is force in the objection, it seems to me the difficulties are capable of being easily remedied.

10. The conclusion, therefore, to which I have come is that the Bill is desirable and necessary; that it is conceived in the best interests of education; that there is no reasonable probability of political or other danger arising from its enforcement; that it will largely accelerate the pace of educational progress; that allowing for laxity in the administration of the law here and there and for excessive zeal in its premature application to parts of the country, there will be an abundant return in the shape of increased interest in education amongst the great masses of the people and the educational authorities of the country. It seems to me that real political danger lies in resisting a large mass of enlightened opinion, supported by European missionaries and by large numbers of Englishmen connected with the administration of the country, so as to leave a standing source of irritation and bitterness and a standing theme for a widespread public agitation which cannot make for the peace and good government of the country. Lord Creve views the objects of the Bill "with unbounded sympathy" and in his words "it is one of extreme moderation." I would certainly support it.

V. K[RISHNASWAMI AIYAR]—21-8-11.

There is a great deal in the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Bill which is attractive. The policy of extending education as rapidly as possible to the masses of this country is at the present day accepted, I suppose, by practically every one, and therefore I have not a word to say against paragraph 3 of the Hon'ble Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar's note. We must give Mr. Gokhale credit for hedging round the root principle of his Bill, with a profusion of devices for preventing it from becoming noxious. But this is

root principle, that of compulsion—compulsion of the people to get their children educated, and compulsion of Government to find the funds—is it either necessary or desirable?

2. I am quite unable to accept the conclusion at which the Hon'ble Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar arrives in paragraph 4 of his note that "the voluntary method of 'persuasion must be condemned as a hopeless failure'." The method of persuasion has never been put to a test. If the increase in numbers of boys at school has been relatively slow during the past thirty years, the cause is to be found, not in the unwillingness of the people to accept education, but in paucity of funds available for expenditure, and in a smaller degree in deficiency of *material*, mainly in the matter of trained teachers, but also of school-houses. I don't believe that any real attempt at persuasion has ever been made. Schools have been opened where there has been demand, but the demand for education has never yet been fully met—

"Primary schools have increased considerably both in number and in strength although as yet this increase does not nearly reach the point of fully satisfying the demand." [Fifth Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1909.]

3. Such persuasion as is, even at the present day, under the nominally compulsory system a normal feature of the educational policy of Japan is and has always been unknown in India. In Japan there are committees, and a highly organized department which interests itself actively in increasing the numbers of children at school; and in addition there are local educational associations formed with the same object. "In one prefecture the high percentage of attendance was attributed largely to the persevering efforts of a recent inspector, who personally urged its necessity upon 'the people of every backward house. In other cases educational associations have 'been active in beating up the children, especially the girls' (Educational System in Japan, paragraph 101). Has anything of this sort ever been attempted in this country? I think not. I have here and there come across an isolated district or taluk board member or municipal councillor who would profess himself interested in the cause of education, but unless he were the manager of a school, I don't think his interest would go further than making an occasional inspection of the schools in his neighbourhood, and certainly would not extend to 'beating up' children.

4. As I have noted above, the chief limiting factor in the matter of school attendance is the fund available for expenditure on education. I have not got figures, but I have no doubt that it would be found that the rise in attendance at primary schools has been in direct proportion to the amount of money spent on primary education. There is not, so far as I know, the slightest reason to think that increased expenditure would not continue to produce increased attendance. We are very far from having reached the stage attained by Great Britain, and by Japan at the time when compulsory education was introduced into them. In the former the number of children in primary schools had for years been practically stationary, and without compulsion further progress seemed impossible. I believe that the case was much the same in Japan. "A long time has elapsed since schools were first established"—says the Imperial Rescript of 1872—"But for farmers, artisans and merchants, as well as for women, learning was regarded as beyond their sphere" (Education in Japan, paragraph 32). That is a very different state of affairs from what obtains in India at the present day. Education is not regarded as beyond the sphere of any of the classes mentioned. There may be indifference among some of the rural classes, but such indifference as there is, is readily soluble, or at least has never shown itself to be otherwise, since the appropriate solvent of persuasion and "beating up" has never been applied.

5. The Hon'ble Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar has given the number of boys at school at the different quinquennial periods between 1882 and 1907, the figure in the latter year being 3,631,000. In 1909 the figure was

* I take this figure from a note on page 268 of Sir John Strachey's "India, its Administration and Progress" (Edition 1911, by Sir Thomas Holderness). I don't know where Mr. Gokhale got his figure of 3,900,000 quoted by my Honourable Colleague.

4,095,000.* The numbers therefore are steadily increasing, and that without either compulsion or persuasion. The figures suggest another comment. The entire male population in 1909 was probably about 124,000,000. There was therefore only about 3 per cent. of the male population at school. I can find no figures either

English or Japanese of the pre-compulsion period in those countries with which to compare this figure: but I have little doubt that it is much below their corresponding figures: and there cannot be the slightest doubt that this ridiculously low figure might be very greatly raised without any resort to coercion.

6. My Honourable Colleague seems also to have failed to notice that in Japan at any rate the method of persuasion has not been condemned as a "hopeless failure", but is in fact that upon which reliance is chiefly placed—see Mr. Sharp's remarks in paragraphs 95, 98, 100 and elsewhere of his book on Education in Japan.

7. It seems clear, then, that the methods of persuasion have not been exhausted as yet, and that being so, I agree with Sir M. Hammick that it is "unnecessary and premature now to introduce the element of compulsory education." I agree also that the introduction of compulsion would be likely to arouse serious discontent, and particularly if it were accompanied by the levy of an educational rate. It may be, as the Hon'ble Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar says, that "education amongst Hindus of the higher castes has been regarded as a religious sacrament." But we are not concerned with these higher castes now, but with the masses of the people, and I fear that they have not yet learnt to love education so much that they love not money more.

8. Nor will the dislike of the education cess be confined only to the lower castes. Higher and lower will unite in objecting to it. Education may be "a religious sacrament" to the higher castes, but they are at one with other castes in doing all they can to avoid paying for it. I believe there is always a difficulty in collecting the fees: I know, for instance, how great is the difficulty even in the case of the wealthy parents who make use of the "Home Education classes" for girls in Madras. It is certain that the tendency will constantly grow to throw all the expense on the provincial funds.

9. It is this financial argument which the Hon'ble Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar admits as the strongest or perhaps the only argument against the Bill. The Chief Secretary has discussed the matter in his note on pages 31 to 34 *ante*, and has shown that the burden on provincial finance will probably be more than it can bear. There can be little doubt that he is correct. We are asked to accept a charge which may amount to 80 or 100 lakhs *per annum*. And at the same time we are being urged by multitudes of critics (including so sober a journal as the *Wednesday Review*) to make the land revenue assessments permanent and immutable, by others to abolish the salt tax, by others to abandon excise administration and revenue, by others to remit all fees charged for use of the State forests. In fact, we are asked to make something out of nothing to grant free and universally compulsory education after resigning one-quarter of our revenues, and all prospective growth on the remaining three-quarters.

10. I agree with Sir M. Hammick that we should object to Mr. Gokhale's Bill as unnecessary, premature and dangerous. I doubt whether it is prudent to permit its introduction even in municipal areas; but will not oppose an attempt in selected municipalities.

J. N. A[TKINSON]—26-8-11.

This file reached me yesterday at 3 p.m. and two hours later came India's peremptory request for our opinion on Mr. Gokhale's Bill, so I have not had time to consider the notes on it as fully as I could wish.

2. The Bill itself has very much in principle to commend it. Its attractiveness has been much enhanced by the admirable manner in which its author expounded the merits of the Bill in his remarkable speeches in Madras. It has appealed strongly to the imagination of people of all sorts. Of that there is no doubt! It can fairly claim to rank as "a popular measure"! I am therefore very reluctant to reject the Bill.

3. At the same time I cannot satisfy myself that we should be justified in recommending its adoption in this Presidency for some time to come. In my opinion we are not ready for it. I am convinced that much more can be done for the extension of elementary education than is being done at present without any resort to compulsion. If money were available for the building and equipment and maintenance of schools, there would be no difficulty in filling them for a long time to come.

4. I would far rather see the devotion from provincial funds (or Imperial or both) of an annually increasing sum for the extension of education than the introduction of such a measure as this. The country is not ready for it. There is the financial

question to be faced which seems to be regarded as a very minor consideration. We are very much in the dark as to the amount to which Government will be committed—and so far as I can see committed irrevocably—if this Bill goes through, but I don't think we can hope that the ultimate recurring extra cost to Government (if they assume two-thirds of the extra cost and that is what Mr. Gokhale suggests) will be less than 100 lakhs.

5. This I am sure is an underestimate. No one is going to be satisfied with the four-year limit of age from 6 to 10. It is much better to be honest and face the fact that the limit of age must be increased. We must reckon on a *six*-year course and consequent increased cost.

6. We must therefore be prepared to face an ultimate recurring cost of anything from 100 to 150 lakhs, *i.e.*, assuming that Government only meet two-thirds of the extra cost. Government certainly cannot alone bear the total cost. A local rate is inevitable and will assuredly be most unpopular. It is chiefly, moreover, among the poorer agricultural classes that compulsion would have to be applied. That again would be most unpopular. As Sir G. Forbes once put it "compulsory education means 'the constable and the jail necessarily'." Rather than recommend the introduction of this measure, I would much prefer that we should, as the Chief Secretary suggests, lay down a progressive programme of education finance. I do not know whether we can state off hand the amount which we are ready to impose as a definite obligation on provincial revenues.

7. If we can secure an increase in the number of our elementary scholars approximating to the figures hazarded by the Chief Secretary, then we shall have no need for many years to come of Mr. Gokhale's Bill in the Madras Presidency.

A. L[AWLEY]—23-8-11.

This file reached me a little before 6 p.m. to-day without the Financial file, which please trace at once. The Chief Secretary's note, Mr. Atkinson's and His Excellency the Governor's notes should be printed to-morrow morning.

2. The draft may follow the lines of Sir Murray Hammick's note, amplified by relevant passages in Mr. Atkinson's note, some of which are very much in point, and prefaced or ended by His Excellency's expression of reluctance to reject a measure possessing such attractions. Application to municipal areas may come in with hesitation at the end. If His Excellency does not concur, it will go out. A *brief* note of objections to detail may wind up.

3. Without the Financial note, I cannot say how far extracts or arguments taken therefrom can appropriately be incorporated.

4. I have noted in pencil the salient points of the Honourable Members' notes; please preserve the slips.

5. The case must be ready for Council on Friday, and drafting must be taken up at once, so that proofs may be ready on Friday. I shall probably be able to devote most of Wednesday to revising your draft, if you can get it ready in time. I may want a printed copy of the notes to show Sir Murray Hammick on Wednesday morning with a view to taking his instructions.

6. Send this telegram to India—

"Your telegram twenty-fourth. Opinions Education Bill will be ready for 'despatch by end of current week.'"

L. DAVIDSON—28-8-11.

The notes have been printed.

2. A draft letter to India is submitted for approval.

K. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR—29-8-11.

Received at 1-15 p.m. on 30th August 1911.

Revised draft dictated on 30th and 31st August and sent to press on 31st August.

L. DAVIDSON—31-8-11.

A draft letter on the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill is circulated for approval. It is based upon the views of the majority of Honourable Members and is circulated in a very urgent cover in consequence of a telegram received from the Government of India to which, on the return of the file from Government House, I telegraphed in reply a promise to send the opinion of the Madras Government by the end of this week. For the convenience of Honourable Members and the Chief Secretary, duplicate copies of the notes and draft are being separately circulated, except to the Hon'ble Sir Murray Hammick to whom the main file will go first.

L. DAVIDSON—31-8-11.

I think the draft excellent and approve.

M. H[AMMICK]—31-8-11.

I have appended a minute * of dissent. Please send me a proof.

* Printed as an annexure to the letter.

V. K[RISHNASWAMI AIYAR]—1-9-11.

† Hon'ble Mr. Atkinson's suggestion on paragraph 7 of draft:—

"It seems to follow that we never shall have universal elementary education. I suggest the insertion of 'current' between 'which' and 'financial' [in the second sentence]. That would imply that as revenue increases education would extend."

I approve the draft. I have made one suggestion, † but only as a suggestion. I do not press it.

J. N. A[TKINSON]—1-9-11.

Please see my marginal remarks in paragraphs 9 and 10.

A. L[AWLEY]—1-9-11.

I don't quite like this sentence. I would say "On examining the Bill from a financial standpoint it is impossible not to be impressed by the vagueness of its provisions".

A. L[AWLEY].

Paragraph 9 of draft.—The Bill next requires examination from the financial standpoint and must in the first instance be pronounced bad for vagueness.

And if, as seems inevitable, on educational grounds the course of instruction were ultimately extended from four to six years, the expenditure would increase [by at least 50 per cent. and probably more] since the cost of teaching the higher classes is likely to exceed the rate obtaining in the case of the lower standards. In the meantime [pending such extension the Bill as now drafted would lead only to a waste of public funds which might otherwise be profitably employed in advancing sound education.]

[To divert money from a useful to a useless object is bad finance. It is still worse when part of that money is raised by additional taxation.]

10. Paragraph 10 of draft.—Turning now to the political aspect of the proposed legislation, I am to advert to the effect upon popular feeling of the introduction of compulsory methods and the levy of additional direct taxation. In justification of the measure it has been stated that there is a strong demand in India for universal education. [This proposition cannot be admitted.]

? I should say that there is undoubtedly such a demand! I should omit these words []

A. L[AWLEY].

A proof of the minute of dissent by the Honourable Member is submitted below for approval.

K. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR—2-9-11.

Proof revised. Please incorporate corrections and additions.

V. K[RISHNASWAMI AIYAR]—2-9-11.

The draft letter on Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill has returned from circulation accepted with immaterial verbal alterations by all Members except the Hon'ble Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar who has converted his original note with certain additions and modifications into a minute of dissent. It is proposed to add a final paragraph referring to the fact of his dissent and to attach a copy of his minute to the letter, without otherwise altering or adding to the draft. This course follows the precedent adopted in the recent case of the despatch regarding Mrs. Besant's University for India. A copy of the Honourable Member's minute is attached to this note together with the draft as finally altered.

Quite so.

A. L[AWLEY].

All right.

A. L[AWLEY].

I have made a slight alteration in paragraph 6 changing the phrase "and may fairly claim to rank as a popular measure" into "and may in one sense fairly claim to rank as a popular measure". The limiting words "in one sense" have been introduced for the reason that a little further on in the draft it is pointed out that the classes with whom the measure is popular do not constitute the people. Will Honourable Members kindly telephone if they have any objection to the immediate issue of the draft? I promised to despatch it to the Government of India by the end of this week.

L. DAVIDSON—2-9-11.

I agree.

M. H[AMMICK]—2-9-11.

The following further alteration has been made in paragraph 25 of the draft letter on the Elementary Education Bill:—

For the words "say, five lakhs per annum" occurring in the penultimate sentence of paragraph 25, the words "say, a similar annual increment of five lakhs" have been substituted.

2. The Hon'ble Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar has telephoned that the following should be substituted for the sentence "I am utterly unable to follow . . . in 'less than a generation'" occurring in lines 2 to 5 on page 10, paragraph 5 of his minute of dissent:—

"Unless, therefore, a substantial incremental addition from Imperial funds is certain, there is practically no chance of realizing the anticipation made in paragraph 25, namely, that the universal education of boys might be brought within reach in less than a generation."

L. DAVIDSON—2-9-11.

M. H[AMMICK]—2-9-11.

J. N. A[TKINSON]—2-9-11.

I accept the draft letter to India.

A. L[AWLEY]—2-9-11.

Issue.

L. DAVIDSON—2-9-11.

FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT.

I venture to suggest that it would be more expedient if the portion A of paragraph 25 of the draft were modified.

2. The view as now set out in paragraph 25 is based on the forecasts* of the expansion of provincial resources and liabilities made during the budget season early this year. But this forecast as all previous ones were put forward with various reservations, a very important one being the assumption that the expansion of the more productive revenues should be as rapid as it has been in the last few years. This is, however, by no means certain. The expansion of some of the main sources of revenue has been by no means uniform, and the development has been very unequal at different periods. Sir William Meyer drew attention to this in his remarks about the growth of excise revenue, regarding which he appeared to hold it hardly prudent for us to expect this head to exhibit the same extraordinary expansion in the future that it has in the immediate past. It is, therefore, problematical whether we shall actually receive the increment forecasted

Sir William Meyer's note, dated 30th July 1910 (paragraph 3)—page 18 of notes regarding Armed Police Reserves.

in the notes to G.O., No. 208, Financial, dated 25th April 1911. Should the increment be less than that forecasted there, it follows that we shall be the less able to carry out the programme we have in view.

3. Further, it is to be noted that, as surmised by Sir Murray Hammick, it would appear that in the next few years we shall require all our growth of revenue for schemes we have already in view, which must largely be considered legitimate and necessary developments of the services that have already been assigned to us.

4. It is, therefore, not free from doubt whether we can really face, in addition to the prospective cost of the schemes already under contemplation, an access of extra expenditure in an arithmetical progression of two lakhs *per annum*. Such an increment would mean an extra expenditure of no less than ten lakhs in five years' time alone.

Notes to letter No. 138, Educational, dated 24th February 1908 (page 24); and notes to G.O., No. 57, Financial, dated 22nd January 1908 (page 18).

which the net revenue is declining) an additional expenditure of ten lakhs was beyond the resources of the province.

I venture to submit that, having regard to the prospective liabilities we have assumed in recent years, we are in no better a position now to assume a financial burden of the magnitude contemplated than we were in 1908. Seeing, too, that we

† Letter to the Government of India, No. 916 L., dated 12th July 1911 (paragraphs 19 and 41).

have only recently told India† that our present settlement only suffices for the normal development of our existing services. I venture to submit that it would be expedient to modify the phraseology of paragraph 25 as it stands. As worded, it, is a confession—unique in the history of provincial finance—that we have a settlement considerably in excess of our requirements, an admission that the Finance Department of India will not be slow to use against us in the future.

5. I venture to submit, therefore, that for the portion A in paragraph 25 the following may perhaps be substituted:—

"The extent to which it may be possible, by effecting all possible economies in the development of the other assigned services, to specially supplement the normal annual growth of expenditure from provincial funds on education, is separately engaging the attention of His Excellency the Governor in Council in connection with the letters from the Government of India. No. 952, dated 6th July 1911, and No. 960, dated 6th July 1911. The expansion of some of the principal constituents of provincial resources is by no means continuous or uniform, but, subject to the condition that the rate of expansion of recent years of provincial revenues as a

whole is maintained, it may not be impossible to increase considerably the annual accession to the grant for elementary education. With assistance from growing Imperial and provincial revenues to the moderate extent of, say, 7 lakhs *per annum* the yearly accession to the strength of elementary schools in Madras would, assuming Rs. 6½ to be the annual cost of educating each pupil in an elementary school, rise to 100,000 pupils every year. On this scale of progression, even allowing for a course of six years, the universal education of boys might be brought within reach in less than a generation."

C. REILLY—3-9-11.

I understand that the draft letter has issued, but in any case I do not share Mr. Reilly's misgivings. I believe we can find an additional two lakhs a year without difficulty.

H. A. STUART—4-9-11.

The statement we have made is no confession at all that we have more money than we need. Education is normal expenditure and its expansion is one of the things we take into account when fixing our settlement. When we told India that our income would only suffice to meet normal expenditure, of course they understand that this includes the normal growth of expenditure on education, which normal growth

Two lakhs in arithmetical progression is to be in addition to the normal growth of expenditure on primary education apparently—see paragraph 9 of Chief Secretary's note, page 40 ante.

C. REILLY.

will enable us to meet the educational charges or we shall have to find fresh sources of revenue. There is no doubt that we must meet this cry for education sympathetically and there is no better object on which we may gradually spend our balances.

It may necessitate a smaller Public Works Department expenditure later on, but it will not be difficult to contract that expenditure by three or four lakhs *per annum* if necessary.

M. H[AMMICK]—4-9-11.

[G.O., Nos. 612, 613, Educational, dated 2nd September 1911.]

Secretary

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT.

No. 613.

From

THE HON'BLE MR. L. DAVIDSON, I.C.S.,

Acting Secretary to the Government of Madras,

Educational Department,

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,

LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

Dated Ootacamund, the 2nd September 1911.

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1166, dated 21st March 1911, forwarding copies of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill and inviting an expression of the views of this Government on the provisions of that measure together with the opinions of the Honourable the Judges of the High Court and of selected officers and other persons.

2. In reply I am to state that the Bill was referred for opinion to the Honourable the Judges of the High Court, the Director of Public Instruction, the Senate of the University of Madras, the district boards and municipal councils throughout the Presidency, the Corporation of Madras, the Missionary Council on Aided Education, and the Council on Native Education. Replies have now been received from those consulted with the exception of the Council on Native Education, and those communications which embody detailed criticisms or suggestions will be found printed in the enclosure (G.O., No. 612, Educational, dated 2nd September 1911) to this letter. The majority of the district boards and municipal councils have merely contented themselves with expressing general approval of the principles and provisions of the proposed measure.

3. The Bill together with the Statement of Objects and Reasons was published in the *Fort St. George Gazette* in English on the 28th March 1911, in Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Canarese on the 25th April 1911, and in Hindustani on the 2nd May 1911.

4. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's object is to make better provision for the extension of education, and the main feature of his Bill is that, if passed into law, it will enable the Government, at the instance of municipal councils or district boards, to declare it obligatory upon parents to send to school their boys, and possibly also their girls, between the ages of six and ten, provided that recognized schools have been established within one mile of their homes.

5. With the Honourable Member's object His Excellency the Governor in Council is in entire sympathy. He agrees that the most pressing need in India at the present time is the wider diffusion of education and the improvement of the character of the instruction imparted. It is an axiom that the universal education of the masses is the goal to be aimed at, and all who have the interests of the country at heart are equally interested in bringing about this consummation. Its attainment is necessarily remote, but it is the established policy of Government to do all that is in their power to facilitate progress in that direction. As an instance of the special consideration already devoted to the question mention may be made of the discussion which took place during 1906-1908 in regard to the proposal to abolish fees in primary schools, when this Government, in Mr. Taylor's letter No. 138, Educational, dated 24th February 1908, signified its desire to contribute to such a measure in so far as

financial exigencies permitted. That proposal has since reached a more advanced stage, the Government of India having recently called for an estimate of the cost of making elementary education free in all boys' and girls' schools under public management or in receipt of State aid. A further step in the same direction is to be found in the instructions which have just been issued for the preparation of a comprehensive plan for the improvement and extension of the existing system of primary education, towards which hopes of financial assistance from Imperial funds have been held out.

6. The main question now under examination, however, is whether the interests of elementary education are likely to be more effectually promoted by passing the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Bill than by continuing the accepted policy of expanding educational grants, improving the teaching agency and increasing the number of schools. This question His Excellency the Governor in Council is reluctantly constrained to answer with a decided negative. The principles of the Bill have much to commend them, and its superficial attractions have been much enhanced by the admirable exposition of the merits of the measure by its author. It is provided with safeguards against the most obvious dangers incidental to the policy in view, has beyond doubt appealed strongly to the imagination of many classes and may in one sense fairly claim to rank as a popular measure. At the same time His Excellency in Council cannot satisfy himself that he would be justified in recommending its adoption in the Presidency of Madras for some time to come.

7. The primary objection lies in the fact that compulsion is unnecessary and premature. That universal primary education cannot be secured without recourse to compulsion is doubtless the case, but it has yet to be shown that elementary instruction cannot without such assistance be extended to the utmost limit which current financial considerations permit. There is ample scope for further outlay upon the building, equipment and maintenance of schools, and given proper accommodation in well-selected centres, a sufficient and adequately trained staff and the accessories essentially required for efficient instruction, experience shows that there is no need to apprehend any deficiency of school children. Universal compulsion is impracticable without an enormous increase of expenditure, of which part at least must be met by local taxation, but local bodies in general would not be prepared to impose a special cess, and the levy of an adequate local rate could not fail to cause the gravest discontent in the areas to which it applied. Educational interests, again, would not be served by the introduction of partial compulsion, for the most pressing needs of the day are a much greater number of trained teachers and a large increase in the number of schools, and neither of these wants would be in any way supplied by the application of the compulsory principle, while their paramount importance might be lost sight of in the excitement of passing a legislative measure based on high ideals but producing little practical effect towards their realization.

The arguments which are based upon supposed analogies with the experience of other countries do not bear scrutiny. In Ireland, to which reference is constantly made, there is no educational rate, and there can be little doubt that one main reason for the acceptance of the principle of compulsion embodied in the Irish Education Act was that the scheme propounded involved no new taxation. In England local government and parish government had reached a stage of development many years in advance of the present condition of India, before compulsory education was advocated. In Japan again, while compulsion is nominally a factor, the operative agency really is persuasion of a character as yet almost untried in India. There is a highly organized department assisted by local committees and voluntary educational associations which interest themselves actively in increasing the number of children at schools. "In one prefecture", it is stated, "the high percentage of attendance was attributed largely to the persevering efforts of a recent inspector, who personally urged its necessity upon the people of every backward house. In other cases educational associations have been active in beating up the children, especially the girls." (Sharp's Report on the Educational System of Japan, paragraph 101.) In England, when the Elementary Education Act of 1870 was introduced, two-fifths of the children between the ages of six and ten were on the school registers and one-third of those between ten and twelve. In Japan, on the promulgation of the Imperial Re-script of 1872 and the first Educational Code 40 per cent. of the boys were attending school and

15 per cent. of the girls. These figures stand out in striking contrast with the latest available statistics of the Presidency of Madras. The male population as recorded in March 1911 was 20,386,000. Applying the accepted ratio based upon the census results of 1901, the number of boys between the ages of six and twelve would be 15 per cent. of this total or 3,057,900. According to the latest educational returns the number of male pupils in public elementary schools on the 31st March 1910 was 757,471 or less than 25 per cent. of the estimated male population between the ages of six and twelve. On the same date the number of girls under instruction was only 172,088 or only 5.5 per cent. of the available number. There can be no doubt that these low proportions might be materially raised without any resort to coercion. In India it is not the case, as in Japan in 1872, that "farmers, artisans and merchants regard learning as beyond their sphere." Indifference may exist in the rural classes of the population, but it has not shown itself unamenable to persuasion, and comparative statistics extending over a period of years establish a very direct relation between the rise in the strength of primary schools and the amount of money spent on primary education, and indicate that the chief limiting factor in the matter of school attendance is the funds available for expenditure, not the absence of compulsion. It will be time enough to have recourse to compulsory measures, when actual difficulty is experienced in filling the schools set up.

8. On educational grounds the Bill is open to three grave objections. In the first place the period of instruction provided for, viz., four years, cannot reasonably be expected to produce lasting results. All the educational authorities are agreed as to the necessity of extending the course by at least two years. In Japan it was found at the annual examination of conscripts that those who had quitted school at the end of the ordinary four-year course were practically illiterate by the time they had reached the age for military service. Experience in Italy tells the same tale, and in England with a longer course the benefits of education are too often only transitory. It would be folly in India to ignore this lesson by limiting the period of instruction and to embark upon a course of action which has been proved to be mistaken.

Secondly, the system of school attendance committees, which it is proposed to create, would in practice be unworkable. The public spirit which has been so productive of results in Japan does not exist in India, and it is in the last degree unlikely that such committees as could be appointed would apply the provisions of the Bill in an effective manner. With the wide field of excuses for non-attendance allowed by clause 5 and the disinclination of the average committee member to incur odium, the probability is that the operative clauses would be compulsory only in name.

The third and perhaps the most important educational objection is that the passing of this measure would indirectly control the expenditure of the available funds and starve those requirements which are really pressing in order to meet ill-judged demands for education of a type the value of which is at least problematic.

9. On examining the Bill from a financial standpoint, it is impossible not to be impressed by the vagueness of its provisions. It empowers a local authority to decree compulsory elementary education which shall be largely free and may be almost entirely so if the local authority so decides under sub-clause (2) of clause 9. It lays an obligation upon the local authority to provide sufficient school accommodation for all children between the ages of six and ten residing within the local area. To meet the expenditure which will be necessary it gives a discretionary power to the local authority to levy a special education rate of an unlimited amount and of an unspecified kind. It further empowers the Governor-General in Council to make rules prescribing the proportions in which the cost of providing elementary education shall be divided between the local authority and the Local Government. Taking the Bill by itself, therefore, it is impossible to estimate what financial liability it may impose upon Local Governments. This must depend upon the extent of the application of the Bill, a matter in regard to which the Local Government retains some control under clause 3, and upon the proportion of the cost which the Governor-General in Council may impose on provincial finances.

It has been suggested by the author of the measure and his supporters that the Bill should be applied to every local area in which one-third of the boys of school-going age are attending school, and if that suggestion were incorporated in a rule made under

sub-clause (2) (a) of clause 18, Local Governments would sooner or later virtually be compelled to sanction the application of the Bill to every area in which that condition was fulfilled. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale contemplates the distribution of the outlay involved between local and provincial revenues in the proportion of one to two, but other advocates of the measure go so far as to contend that the whole cost should devolve upon provincial revenues.

Now in municipal primary schools in Southern India the average cost of educating each pupil is approximately Rs. $6\frac{1}{2}$ per annum. In the Presidency as a whole the estimated male population between the ages of six and ten may be taken as 2,039,000 and the education of this number would involve an annual outlay of 132.53 lakhs, assuming that it were possible to work on the present low rate of Rs. $6\frac{1}{2}$ per pupil. The number of boys in public elementary schools on the 31st March 1910 was 757,471, that is to say, already more than one-third of the total number between the ages of six and ten. No doubt some of these are more than ten years of age, but if every allowance be made on that account, it is safe to conclude that in many areas the proportion of boys between six and ten who are attending school exceeds the ratio of one-third which it is proposed to adopt as the test. It is conceivable, therefore, that at no distant date the Local Government might find considerable pressure put upon it to apply the Bill to an extent involving a demand upon its finances which they would be quite unable to bear. The provincial expenditure on primary schools for boys is now only 9.23 lakhs per annum, but if one-third of the ultimate outlay were met by a local cess, the total cost to provincial funds would on this calculation amount to Rupees 88.35 lakhs. And if, as seems inevitable, on educational grounds the course of instruction were ultimately extended from four to six years, the expenditure would increase largely. It is not unreasonable to estimate the increase at 50 per cent. and perhaps even more since the cost of teaching the higher classes is likely to exceed the rate obtaining in the case of the lower standards. In the meantime the expenditure under the Bill of large sums on a system of incomplete and inadequate education would appear to be an unjustifiable waste of public money.

10. Turning now to the political aspect of the proposed legislation, I am to advert to the effect upon popular feeling of the introduction of compulsory methods and the levy of additional direct taxation. In justification of the measure it has been stated that there is a strong demand in India for universal education. It is no doubt the case that a section of the press and the educated classes in general demand universal education, but they do not constitute, and cannot be said to represent, the mass of the people. This advanced party demands not only universal education for boys but also a wide extension of education among girls, a development which though provided for in clause 17 of the Bill is regarded even by its supporters as hardly within the range of practical politics. The introduction of compulsion is inseparably connected with the provision for the levy of the local rate, for without that provision it is clearly absurd to confer upon local bodies, whether municipal councils or district boards, the power to force the hands of Government in regard to the system of education to be pursued in the areas under their control. But if the provision of ways and means continues entirely to devolve upon the central Government, it is that authority and not local bodies which should prescribe so drastic a change as the introduction of rules enforcing compulsory education.

The supporters of the measure are apt to cite Japan as an instance in point, but in so doing they overlook the essential difference between the two countries. Measures of the character under consideration are possible in Japan only because the masses understand that their very existence as a nation depends upon their education. The people are therefore with the Government, and this is why they are willing to contribute in the shape of local taxation no less than 62 per cent. of the enormous outlay of Rs. 472 lakhs incurred upon education, towards which only 19 per cent. is contributed from the Government treasury. There is absolutely no similar public feeling in India; it has yet to be created.

As a reason for accepting the Bill, again, it has been urged that "the Government should enable the educated classes to feel that though largely foreign in personnel, it is national in spirit and sentiment". The proposition may be admitted, but the conclusion does not follow. The national wishes will in no sense be met by imposing upon the

mass of the people a responsibility which hitherto they have shown no desire to undertake, especially when the policy adopted involves the levy of a heavy addition to taxation, which the educated classes themselves constantly condemn as already grinding in its severity. In municipal areas compulsion would probably not be necessary, in this Presidency at least, to any great extent. But among the rural population it would have to be enforced largely, especially in the cultivation season, and would arouse great hostility. The odium would fall entirely upon the Government, for the ryot and the labourer would not understand the machinery of attendance committees or appreciate the fact that the initiative had been taken by the local bodies which in theory represent their interests. They would know that the attendance of their children was enforced in the last resort by their appearance in the court of a magistrate, the infliction of a fine and possibly even imprisonment—in other words, by the ordinary coercive procedure of the Sircar—and they would draw the natural inference. Members of local boards and municipal councils come from comparatively well-to-do classes and would not themselves seriously feel the burden of an educational cess; those of them who are elected are chosen by a limited section of the rate-payers; and the electors themselves form a minute fraction of the general population. Education in a compulsory form would thus be forced upon the masses at the mandate of a small number of persons influenced by ideas which do not appeal to the general public. Nor would the dislike of an educational cess be confined to the lower classes. The higher castes share in the objection to paying for the education of their children, and it is common experience that the collection of school-fees presents difficulties even in the case of wealthy parents. So pronounced is this attitude that it is problematical whether any considerable proportion of the district boards and municipal councils would venture to take the initiative towards introducing compulsion with its inevitable concomitant, the levy of an educational rate. It is certain, therefore, that the tendency to throw the entire expense on provincial funds would grow in strength, and if that tendency were not effectively resisted, the application of the Bill to rural areas would prove impossible, unless the Government of India were able and prepared to meet the cost from Imperial funds. The alternative is the combination of compulsory methods with the imposition of a special cess, and in the present state of public opinion such a measure would be attended by grave political dangers.

11. While for the reasons set out in the preceding paragraphs His Excellency the Governor in Council regards the Elementary Education Bill as unnecessary, premature and open to objections of a serious character on educational, financial and political grounds, he admits that in this Presidency the application of its provisions to selected municipal areas would not be fraught with disastrous consequences. If, as a matter of policy, it should be deemed inexpedient absolutely to veto the proposed legislation, he would therefore be prepared, though not without doubt as to the wisdom of such a course, to consent to the introduction of a measure of a more limited character confined strictly to municipal areas. Having regard to the stage which education has already reached in urban areas in Southern India, it would not be necessary to have recourse to compulsion to any large extent, for towns might be selected in which the majority of the children are already at school, and compulsion would then be requisite only in the case of the poorest classes, who would probably accept the situation without resistance, though it would inflict considerable hardship upon them, and it is not likely that even with the addition of a small local rate discontent would be caused to a dangerous degree. It is possible that attendance committees with some pretensions to efficiency might be created here and there, and some extension of the compulsory period of instruction need not in this limited sphere be ruled out of court on financial grounds.

12. This qualified acceptance of the Bill in a restricted shape necessitates some examination of the minor provisions embodied in it and certain suggestions for amendment in drafting. These I am now to set out.

13. Clause 3.—In order to prevent so important a measure as the introduction of compulsory education and the imposition of a special cess being adopted in a hurried manner and by a small majority of the council concerned it is desirable to introduce a proviso corresponding to that which finds place in section 53 of the Madras Local Boards Act, 1884, in regard to proposals for the levy of a railway cess. It is therein

provided that no such tax shall be levied "unless the levy thereof is determined by a resolution [of the local body] supported by not less than three-fourths of the members present at a meeting specially convened in that behalf, such resolution being confirmed after a period of six months by a like majority at a like meeting".

14. *Clause 4.*—Provision must clearly be made for the extension of the period of instruction beyond a term of four years.

15. *Clause 5.*—The category of reasonable excuses for non-attendance appears too extensive. I am to refer in particular to the expression "or for sufficient cause" in sub-head (b). If compulsion is to be a reality, the discretion conceded to local attendance committees must not be too wide. Provision must, however, be made for reasonable objections based on caste scruples; Brahmans and Paraiyas cannot yet be expected to sit side by side in the same school. And further attendance should not be obligatory in the case of children who have already passed the requisite standard in a recognized school but have not reached the maximum limit of age specified in the Bill.

In sub-head (a) of the same clause, the word "road" is open to criticism and should presumably be replaced by "road or path" or some more comprehensive phrase.

16. *Clause 6* read with *clause 14 (2)* which casts the onus of proof upon the employer is too stringent, and these provisions should be re-drafted so as to prevent parents from being deprived of the much-needed assistance which they derive from allowing their children to work in factories.

17. *Clause 7.*—It is not clear why the obligation imposed on the local body should be restricted to the provision of school accommodation. Teaching staff and education appliances are as necessary as school-houses, and sub-clause (2) (b) of *clause 18* does not state that outlay on accommodation should be left out of account in prescribing the proportions in which total expenditure shall be divided between local bodies and the Local Government.

18. *Clause 8.*—No indication is given of the lines upon which the special rate should be assessed. It is doubtless desirable to give some discretion in this matter to Local Governments, but the general principles should be laid down, and in order to obviate the objections incidental to the creation of a fresh form of taxation with special agencies for its collection, it is *prima facie* desirable that the new cess should invariably take the form of an enhancement of the rate at which some existing tax is levied.

19. *Clause 9.*—The proposal to base the title to free education on the means of the parents would be of necessity attended by inquisitorial enquiries and exceedingly difficult to work in practice. If, however, free education is to be permitted in any case, it should be conceded to all. The attempt to discriminate between the rich and the poor would inevitably create hardship and give rise to abuses.

20. *Clause 11.*—No provision has been made for the case of refractory children whose parents are unable, or profess inability, to compel their attendance.

Sub-clause (2) of the same clause opens the door for evasion by reason of the vagueness of the words "directing the parent to cause the boy to attend school before a certain date". The object in view is to compel regular attendance after a certain date.

21. *Clause 12.*—It is matter for consideration whether the maximum penalty is sufficiently high. In the absence of any qualification, it may be observed that default in the payment of fines will lead to imprisonment under section 25 of the General Clauses Act, 1897.

22. *Clause 13.*—The same objection applies to this clause, and it is open to the further criticism that the expression "repeated non-compliance" requires definition.

23. *Clause 14.*—The sufficiency of the fines allowed is again doubtful. Allusion has already been made, in paragraph 16 *supra*, to the doubtful propriety of casting the onus of proof upon the employer. The phrase "for whose prosecution he is willing to afford the necessary facilities" is vague and at the same time hardly necessary.

24. *Clause 18.*—The rule-making powers should clearly vest in the Local Government "subject to the control of the Governor-General in Council".

25. Finally, I am to say that, whether it should be ultimately decided altogether to veto the proposed legislation or merely to restrict its application to selected municipal areas, His Excellency the Governor in Council regards it as desirable on grounds of policy that such a decision should be accompanied by a definite pronouncement in regard to the alternative proposals of Government for the improvement of elementary education. In his opinion the proper course is to lay down a progressive programme of educational finance. The accepted policy should be to develop educational facilities in every possible direction, ~~conceding perhaps free education~~ and certainly devoting a very much larger portion of the public revenues to this object than has been the case in the past. The rate at which surplus provincial revenues grow is systematically estimated and the calculations allow for the normal annual growth of expenditure, which includes some provision for the development of outlay on education. These calculations are liable to be vitiated by the occurrence of unfavourable seasons, but there is now a considerable reserve and it should be possible to promise a substantial annual accession to the grant for elementary education. It has been roughly estimated that in the present state of the provincial finances in this Presidency an annual increment of two lakhs might without risk be regarded as obligatory. Assuming Rs. 6½ to be the annual cost of educating each pupil in an elementary school, this would allow of an addition of 30,000 pupils every year. With assistance from the growing Imperial revenues to the moderate extent of, say, five lakhs ~~per annum~~ the yearly accession to the strength of elementary schools in Madras would rise to 100,000. On this scale of progression, even allowing for a compulsory course of six years, the universal education of boys might be brought within reach in less than a generation.

26. A copy of a minute recorded by the Hon'ble Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar is annexed.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

L. DAVIDSON,

Ag. Secretary to Government.

✓ This is to go out. Financial object of
any definite commitment even of this magnitude
description. In M. Government agrees.

Other financial agrees.

L.D.
2/8/11

ANNEXURE.

Minute of Dissent.

I have the misfortune to differ from the other Members of Government. I have re-examined my position with reference to the criticisms to which it has been subjected, but I remain substantially of the same opinion as I held originally.

2. My Honourable Colleagues would be prepared, though not without doubts as to the wisdom of such a course, to consent to the introduction of a measure of a more limited character confined strictly to municipal areas, but they regard the Bill in its present form as unnecessary, premature and open to objections of a serious character on educational, political and financial grounds.

3. I think it may be taken as axiomatic that universal mass education is the goal to be aimed at. Some would see in it the danger of alienating the people from their ordinary avocations in life, especially the agricultural and working classes. They regard the lines on which primary education has been developed in western countries as a mistake which India should avoid. I think it is enough to give them the answer that theirs is an attempt to mop back the Atlantic. The policy for this country has been definitely laid down for a great many years and has been so repeatedly affirmed that it is too late to throw doubt upon education in schools for boys or girls. In the Educational Despatch of 1854, the Court of Directors said: "It is one of our most sacred duties to be the means as far as in us lies of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge." And again: "Our attention should now be directed to a consideration, namely, how useful and practical knowledge suited to every station in life should be best conveyed to the great mass of the people who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts and we desire to see the active measures of Government more especially directed for the future to this object for the attainment of which we are ready to sanction considerable increase in expenditure." The Education Commission of 1882 regarded this despatch as definitely accepting "as a State duty the education of the whole people in India." One of the recommendations of that Commission was as follows: "An attempt should be made to secure the fullest possible provision for an expansion of primary education by legislation suited to the circumstances of each province." In the now famous resolution on Indian educational policy of 1904, the Government of Lord Curzon stated: "There are more than eighteen millions of boys who ought now to be at school, but of this only a little more than one-sixth are actually receiving primary education." Again "these figures exhibit the vast dimension of the problem and show how much remains to be done before the proportion of the population receiving elementary instruction can approach the standard recognized as indispensable in more advanced countries." Further on, they said, "They consider that primary education possesses a strong claim upon the sympathy both of the Supreme Government and of the Local Governments and should be made a leading charge upon the provincial revenues." The standard and methods of western countries were definitely accepted as the guiding principles of Indian educational policy. In the circular letter of the Government of India, dated 22nd November 1906, they expressed a desire to abolish fees as soon as the finances of the country permitted and added the hope that the time had arrived for such a step. They said: "To insist upon the permanent retention of fees is manifestly incompatible not only with universal school attendance but with anything that approaches to it." The Government of Madras accepted these declarations of policy and were prepared to introduce the scheme of free primary education *per saltum* instead of gradually—vide letter dated 24th February 1908. Though universal free primary education has not been stated in terms as a definite policy of the Government of India, there can be no doubt that that goal has been steadily kept in view in the expansion of primary education.

4. I think that the present method of promoting primary education must be pronounced to be substantially a failure. The number of boys at school in the primary stage at various quinquennial periods is stated as follows in Mr. Orange's report:—

1882	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,061,000
1887	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,381,000
1892	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,680,000
1897	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,028,000
1902	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,009,000
1907	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,631,000

Mr Gokhale states in his speech that three million nine hundred thousand may be taken as the number of boys at school in the primary stage in 1911. The apparent ratio of progress has, however, got to be reduced with reference to the growth in the population of British India during the thirty years ranging between 1881 and 1911. The entire male population of the Indian Empire with reference to the censuses of 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911 is as follows:—

1881	...	...	...	...	...	101,324,656
1891	...	...	...	...	...	112,542,739
1901	...	...	...	...	...	117,804,942
1911	...	...	...	...	...	124,791,881

While the increase in the number of boys at school during the period from 1881 to 1911 may be taken roughly as 75 per cent., 25 per cent. out of it must be deducted as merely due to the increase in the population of the country. The ratio of boys at school to the total population of school-going age has no doubt been raised, but the increase in the number of boys for the thirty years may be roughly stated at about one million. If the population of India continue to be stationary and do not multiply at the rate at which it has done during the last thirty years, and if we take the present male population of school-going age at eighteen and odd millions on the basis of a 15 per cent. calculation, it must take nearly 250 years for the entire population of school-going age to be at school at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ million for every thirty years. But as population increases in a geometrical ratio at the rate of 25 per cent., which is the increase during the last thirty years in the total population of the country, the problem of universal mass education on present lines must be hopeless indeed. If population and the number of boys at school both rose in geometrical progression at their present rates it would take at least 120 years for the whole population of school-going age to be at school. I have adopted the 15 per cent. ratio even for the four years of school attendance which Mr. Gokhale has fixed in his Bill, as Mr. Hardy's calculation of 15 per cent. for ages ranging from 6 to 11 was apparently for European countries, and the shorter longevity in India would probably justify the same rate for ages ranging from 6 to 10. In the review of Mr. Cotton's report of 1897, the Government of India regarded the position as by no means encouraging, and they characterised the progress as slow indeed. Nathan's report of 1902 for the quinquennium between 1897 to 1902 showed a set-back and he characterized the general rate of progress as "most unsatisfactory". Then followed the Educational Resolution of 1904 and more vigorous activity. On this Mr. Orange remarks at page 98: "The rate of increase whether for the last twenty-five years or for the last five is very slow when compared with the distance that has to be travelled before primary education can be universally diffused. If the number of boys at school continued to increase even at the rate of increase that has taken place in the last five years (that is, six hundred thousand to three millions) and there were no increase in population, several generations would still elapse before all the boys of school-going age were in school." The voluntary method of persuasion must be condemned as a hopeless failure.

5. A policy of increased grants on definite lines is accepted by my Honourable Colleagues. An annual increment of 2 lakhs out of provincial revenues added to the present contribution of 9.23 lakhs, as suggested in paragraph 25 of the letter, will have to be continued for 40 years before the estimated provincial subsidy of 88.35 lakhs necessary to cover the present boy population of school-going age taken at 2,039,000 is reached. But that population ought really to be taken at 3,057,900, for Mr. Hardy's 15 per cent. was for European countries and for ages between 6 and 11 and for shorter longevity in India may be assumed for ages between 6 and 10. If this be correct, the period must be extended to 60 years. This, again, will have to be raised to 90 years if the cost of education is raised by 50 per cent. (see paragraph 9 of the letter) for the extended course of six years. Meanwhile it is fair to assume that

There is practically no chance of realizing the anticipation made in paragraph 2, that namely that

unless there for a substantial incremental addition from Imperial funds will contain the statement in paragraph 2

population will have doubled itself, leaving the problem of universal education as far from solution as ever. I am utterly unable to follow the statement in paragraph 25 of the letter that "on this (above assumed) scale of progression, even allowing for a compulsory course of six years the universal education of boys might be brought within reach in less than a generation". There is no doubt that, if more money were spent on primary education, better results would follow. But no resolution for increased subsidy on the part of the Executive Government can be free from the modifications consequent on the change of personnel or the fluctuations of finance, or the exigencies of foreign or domestic policy. Nor has a resolution of Government the virtue of accelerating progress to the same extent as the legislative acceptance of an ideal placed before every town and village as the motive of local organization and effort.

alterations mostly typographical

6. The only alternative which has been accepted in modern times and been found invariably successful wherever it has been tried is the policy of compulsion. The rigour of that policy Mr. Gokhale has endeavoured to soften by the adoption of what may be called "optional compulsion". But various objections have been taken to it sometimes even from opposite standpoints:—

(a) It is argued that the measure is fraught with "grave political danger" as compulsion is certain to breed "discontent to a dangerous degree". In paragraph 6, however, it is admitted that "it may fairly claim to rank as a popular measure". Before I proceed to examine this it is interesting to notice that in 1868 Lord Lawrence observed: "Amongst all sources of difficulty in our administration and of possible danger to the stability of our Government, there are few so serious as the 'ignorance of the people.' Education amongst Hindus of the higher castes has been regarded as a religious sacrament, and the reading of the Koran is a solemn religious duty amongst Mussalmans. It is admitted that 'in India it is not the case, as in Japan in 1872, that farmers, artisans and merchants regard learning as 'beyond their sphere' (see paragraph 7). That any gentle pressure for the diffusion of education will ever be regarded by the people of this country as the tyrannical exercise of authority is, to my mind, extremely problematic. The enormous body of opinion, larger in volume than has found expression on any other question within my knowledge, has been discounted as in no sense representative. But it is a truism in politics that the voice and vote of every man, even if he be articulate, are unnecessary to signify the general acceptance of a view and that the judgment of the thoughtful section, selected at random from the common body, is a sufficient index to the popular feeling. Mr. Gokhale has rightly cast the initiative in the matter of compulsion upon local bodies. The sanction of the Local Government is a safeguard against hasty action. The facilities for exemption from payment of fees and even from attendance on the ground of poverty or inconvenient avocations, must minimise the chance of friction between individual disinclination and compulsion from superior authority. The Government of India have rightly pointed out in their resolution of 1904: "To the people themselves, the lack of education 'is now a more serious disadvantage than it was in more primitive days. By the extension of railways, the economic side of agriculture in India has been greatly developed and the cultivator has been brought into contact with the commercial world and has been involved in transactions in which an illiterate man is at a great disadvantage. The material benefits attaching to education have, at the same time, increased with the development of schemes for introducing improved agricultural methods, for opening agricultural banks, for strengthening the local position of the cultivator, and for generally improving the conditions of rural life. Such schemes depend largely for their success upon the influence of education permeating the masses and rendering them accessible to ideas other than those sanctioned by tradition." The popular appreciation of the present-day need for an acquaintance with the three R's is sufficiently keen to save the masses from a sense of political oppression as the reason for compulsory attendance, even with an educational rate adding 40 lakhs to their present burdens in this Presidency.

(b) It has, on the other hand, been argued that a law for compulsory school attendance is bound to remain a dead letter.

(i) It is maintained that school-attendance committees will exempt almost everybody for one reason or another from the obligation to attend school. I see no warrant for this assumption. The committees themselves are required to be constituted under by-laws which must have the sanction of the Local Government. It is easy to

provide for an officer of the Educational Department of the rank of Supervisor or Sub-Assistant Inspector (there are 268 Supervisors and 111 Sub-Assistant Inspectors in this Presidency according to the report of 1907) being a member of each school-attendance committee so as to prevent any laxity of action on the part of those committees. We may even adopt the analogy of section 3, clause 1, of the Irish Act whereby provision is made for half the members being appointed by the local authority and the other half by the Commissioners, whose place may be taken here by the Inspector of Schools, or the Director of Public Instruction.

(ii) An objection has been raised of the want of competent or qualified teachers. This has always been the standing argument against compulsory education. The qualification of the teacher is nothing more than a knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic. This minimum can be found amongst many people who have never obtained the normal training school certificate. It is found necessary to employ at the present day in England large numbers of uncertificated and student teachers—please see the report of the Board of Education for 1908-1909, pages 116 and 117. When Japan inaugurated compulsory education, Sharp says: "There was a natural difficulty about teachers. The Japanese had little conception of a trained teacher. Any one 'who could speak a language was supposed to be capable of teaching it' (paragraph 23). 'Even at the present day,' he says in paragraph 452, 'though primary teachers ought, by rule, to be provided with licenses, owing to the shortage in teachers, there are many who are not (21.5 per cent.) and some are preparing themselves for the licensing examination.' Though licensed and properly qualified teachers are the ideal to be aimed at, I cannot agree that the lack of certificated teachers is a serious impediment to Mr. Gokhale's scheme.

(iii) Another objection is based on the ground of lack of school accommodation. Clause 7 of the Bill insists upon its provision. Mr. Gokhale said in his speech at Madras: "If Japan may be content with verandahs for school-houses, there is no loss of dignity for the Indian school boy to be housed in such a manner." The idea of substantial school buildings according to type-designs is borrowed from western conditions of climate not applicable to this country, and this poor country may well dispense with such structures. It has been my conviction that more money has been wasted on the fattening of contractors and the Department of Public Works than is justifiable in the climatic conditions of this country. A thatched or tiled shed situated in the midst of half an acre of open ground dotted with a few trees, the whole thing costing only a few hundred rupees, is far more adapted for the needs of a school-house in this country than the more costly structures which may gratify the eye of the cultured architect.

(iv) A more serious objection than all that has gone before is the shortness of the course provided by Mr. Gokhale's Bill. It is said: "It is true that Japan and Baroda began with four years, but they are finding that the period is too short. 'Unless we can go in for six years, the game is not worth the candle.' But this argument overlooks that both Japan and Baroda have achieved solid results on a four-year basis. If they are now dissatisfied after years of trial with the old period, that is no reason why we should not begin on a modest scale leaving it to the future to extend the period when changed conditions may justify such a course. It was in the year 1908, after thirty years' experience of a four-year elementary course, that Japan thought it was time owing to its deficiencies to extend the elementary school course to six years. I am unable to accept the statement that a boy who has gone through a four-year course forgets everything that he has learnt in after-life even amidst the opportunities of agriculture or other business bringing him into contact with writing and correspondence. I quite admit that some men who have only received this modicum of education between 6 and 10 may, in after-life, forget their early acquisition. But it is a great exaggeration to assert that every man amongst those who only received a four-year training has an absolutely blank mind with reference to what he learnt in his early days. Reading, writing and arithmetic meet a man at every turn in his life whatever be his avocation. If he had a foundation in those directions in early life, the ordinary relations of life must tend to increase his knowledge without any further schooling. The value of that knowledge, small as it may be, in enabling the agriculturist, the day-labourer, and the petty trader to carry on his avocations with more intelligence and less liability to deception cannot be over-rated. He is more accessible to a

knowledge of the rules of hygiene and sanitation spread through leaflets and newspaper paragraphs, and he must be regarded as altogether a happier man for the greater ability to accommodate himself to the forces of nature and the surroundings of modern life. Moreover, it is not unreasonable to hope that in many cases a compulsory four-year course may lead to a voluntary addition of two years. I am unable to agree with paragraph 14.

The period selected by Mr. Gokhale very little affects the boy-labourer of a factory who can only enter it after he is nine (*vide* section 23 of the Factory Act), and the ordinary needs of agriculture cannot be said to be dependent upon the labour of boys who are below ten years of age. I do not, therefore, share the view expressed in paragraph 16.

(v) That compulsion is impracticable or will be largely resisted by the people is effectively refuted by the example of Ceylon and Baroda, not to speak of the Philippines, for the conditions of the Native State and the neighbouring island of Ceylon are in every respect similar to those of British India. It is true that their area is much smaller. But although that may have a bearing on the financial aspect of the question, it has none with reference to the disposition of the people to accept compulsion.

(vi) The strongest and perhaps in my judgment the only argument against the Bill is the financial one. Mr. Gokhale has endeavoured to reduce the expenditure in various ways. He proposes that the Act shall not be applied to any area in which one-third of the school-going population is not already under instruction. He reserves the discretion to the municipality or local board to apply it to a particular local area. He burdens the locality with the financial responsibility for one-third or more of the cost so as to check the too ready disposition to avail itself of the new law. He gives the Local Government a further discretion to accept or not the proposition of the municipality or local board to apply the law to the locality. These appear to my mind to be very substantial limitations upon the scope of the proposed legislation. But figures worked out on the basis of an immediate application of the provisions of the Act to every local area are misleading. I would be prepared, if necessary, to add a limitation to the provincial contribution in amount instead of merely in ratio. Section 18 of the Irish Education Act of 1892 provided a fixed grant "of 210,000 pounds or of such other amount as Parliament may determine, having regard to the amount of free grant under the Elementary Education Act, 1891." The distribution of this amount was determined by the fourth schedule to the Act. My present suggestion would, to a certain extent, assimilate my scheme to the scheme of increased grants without legislation accepted by my Honourable Colleagues. But my idea is to fix a statutory maximum, which may or may not be worked up to as the result of local bodies applying the Act to their special areas. Or under section 18 by-laws may be framed fixing the maximum provincial contribution from time to time to be divided amongst local areas whose application of the Act and levy of the educational rate are approved by the Local Government. I have thought it unnecessary in view to the above suggestion to examine the financial aspect in detail for determining the possible scope of Imperial or Provincial expenditure under the Act.

7. I agree with Mr. Gokhale in claiming for compulsion greater results in the spread of education than for any other known means of action. Quoting from the report of the Royal Commission of 1886, he says: "The increase of the numbers on the roll is largely attributable to compulsion. Among the witnesses before us, Mr. Stewart appears to stand alone in his opinion that provided that required accommodation had been furnished, the results would have been much the same if attendance had not been obligatory. But to estimate fairly the influence which compulsion has had upon the great increase in the number of children attending school, we must speak of it under the three heads into which its operations may be divided. There is first the direct influence of compulsion. This is exerted over parents who are indifferent to the moral and intellectual welfare of their children, who are very eager to enjoy what advantage they can from their children's earning but who never look beyond. Secondly, compulsion exercises an indirect influence. Many parents are apathetic, yielding weakly to their children's wish not to go to school; but they are keenly alive to the disgrace of being brought before a magistrate, a fear of which supplies a stimulus sufficient to make them do their duty in this respect. In addition, the existence of a compulsory law has considerably affected public opinion and has done much to secure

"a larger school attendance by making people recognize that the State regards them as neglecting their duty if their children remain uneducated." The Ceylon Commission of 1905 expressed itself as follows:—

"With the exception of one or two districts of the island, little good will be done by any system which does not enforce compulsory attendance. The parents throughout a large portion of the island exercise very little control over their children and will leave them to do as they like in the matter of school attendance. The result is that, where there is no compulsion, boys attend very irregularly and leave school very early. That compulsory attendance is desirable we have no doubt."

8. I have so far dealt with the objections to compulsion even under the limitations contained in Mr. Gokhale's Bill. But there are certain objections of detail most of which, I venture to believe, might have been taken to the Irish Act and the Ceylon Ordinance:—

(a) With reference to paragraph 13 of the letter I think the precaution suggested is exaggerated. It is enough to say that not less than half the numbers shall be present at the meeting voting for the introduction of compulsory education and the imposition of a special cess, and that the majority shall be not less than two-thirds of those present.

(b) I do not agree with paragraph 17 of the letter. In teaching the three R's no school appliances are worth mentioning. The teacher is implied in education and funds are provided for with a view to supply him.

(c) Objection is taken in paragraph 15 to the one-mile limit of road between the school-house and the pupils' residence. This provision is modelled on clause a of section 3 of the Irish Act, which prescribes a two-mile distance "by the nearest road". The word "road" has created no difficulty in Ireland for the last twenty years and need not in British India.

(d) Objection is taken in the same paragraph 15 to "other sufficient cause" in section 5, clause (b), and apparently also to the phrase "seasonable needs of agriculture." These words are substantially reproduced from clause (b), section 3, of the Irish Act. If they confer an undesirable latitude of discretion on the attendance committee, the power to make by-laws is sufficiently wide under section 18, and can, if necessary, be made wider to circumscribe the action of the committee.

(e) It has been said that the limit of income, which is a ground of exemption from payment of fees, will lead to inquisitorial enquiries and is an unworkable criterion in practice. I am disposed to agree with this criticism. I think it is sufficient to empower the committee to exempt individuals on the ground of poverty as in clause 2, section 9. The rules as to poverty must be different in different localities and may to some extent be defined by by-laws or left to the absolute determination of the committee.

(f) The constitution of the committee is left to by-laws under section 19. They may differ in different localities. But being subject to the sanction of the Local Government, that authority, in my opinion, may insist on the presence of a Supervisor or a Sub-Assistant Inspector on each school committee or one half the number being nominees of the Director of Public Instruction. This, in my judgment, will ensure considerable uniformity of action or at all events help to save the committees from very erratic courses of action. And if each head of a school with reference to which the committee has to act is also a member of the committee, I think we may feel pretty certain that particularly unreasonable conduct will be avoided in considerable measure.

(g) The Bill does not provide what shall be the character of the educational rate. The object of the author is apparently to leave it to the Government of India to determine its form. But I see no objection, having regard to the importance of a taxing provision not being omitted from the statute itself, to an express provision that the educational rate shall be not more than six pias in the rupee of land revenue to be added to the one anna of road-cess, or a percentage addition to the house-tax in municipal areas. I am aware that a six pias additional road-cess will bring in only about 28 to 30 lakhs from the local board areas in this Presidency. The addition to the house-tax in municipalities will bring in only a few lakhs (about three lakhs on

an extra rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. with reference to the present receipt of 11.80 lakhs). If double this amount is provided out of provincial revenues, I would consider the income which would be capable of natural expansion sufficient for many years to come. My suggestion would entail no extra machinery or new methods of enquiry for the ascertainment and the collection of the tax. The present expenditure in Madras is 34 lakhs, of which provincial and local revenues together contribute 21 lakhs. The scale I have fixed is the maximum to be worked up to.

(h) I think it would be necessary to confer certain powers on Local Governments with reference to the constitution of the school-committees in place of the existing references to the Government of India. I agree with paragraph 24. But I do not think that any power to initiate compulsion need be conferred upon the Local Government.

(i) The provision prohibiting employment of a child that ought to be under instruction is a reproduction of section 2 of the Irish Act, and having regard to boys of nine and below not being eligible to be factory labourers, I see no objection to the enactment of clauses 14 and 15. I do not agree with the criticism in paragraph 16.

(j) The last three lines of clause 10, sub-clause 1, seem to me to be superfluous, clause 19 being sufficient for the purpose.

(k) Section 4 of the Irish Act speaks of attendance "in such regular manner as is specified in the order." Similar language may have to be employed in sub-clause (ii) of section 12, so as to prevent merely nominal compliance with the magistrate's order to attend. No provision seems to me to be necessary to help parents of refractory children.

(l) I do not think there is any practical difficulty in determining what repeated non-compliance is within the meaning of section 13, as apprehended in paragraph 22. It may be advisable to enact a provision similar to sub-clause (iii) of section 4 of the Irish Act, that a complaint with respect to continuing non-compliance with the attendance order shall not be repeated by the school-attendance committee at any less interval than two months. But perhaps the object of clause 13 of the Bill is to limit the action of the school-committee to a single complaint for repeated non-compliance.

(m) I see no reason to think that the penalties prescribed are too low as supposed in paragraphs 21 and 23. Imprisonment in default of payment of fine should be provided against.

9. The conclusion, therefore, to which I have come is that the Bill is desirable and necessary; that it is conceived in the best interests of education; that there is no reasonable probability of political or other danger arising from its enforcement; that it will largely accelerate the pace of educational progress; that allowing for laxity in the administration of the law here and there and for excessive zeal in its premature application to parts of the country, there will be an abundant return in the shape of increased interest in education amongst the great mass of the people and the educational authorities of the country. It seems to me that real political danger lies in resisting a large mass of enlightened opinion supported by European missionaries and by large numbers of Englishmen connected with the administration of the country so as to leave a abiding source of irritation and bitterness and a standing theme for a widespread public agitation which cannot make for the peace and good government of the country. I would support the Bill.

1st September 1911.

V. KRISHNASWAMI AIYAR.

Bill
Legislative Department.

Letter.

To

The Secretary to the Govt., of India,
Legislative Department.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1160 dated 21st March 1911 forwarding copies of the Hon'ble Mr. Gopalakrishna's Elementary Education Bill and inviting an expression of the views of this Government on the provisions of that measure together with the opinions of the Hon'ble the Judges of the High Court and of selected officers and other persons.

2. In reply I am to state that the Bill was referred for opinion to the Hon'ble the Judges of the High Court, the Director of Public Instruction, the Senate of the University of Madras, the district boards and municipal councils throughout the Presidency, the Corporation of Madras, the Missionary Council on Aided Education, and the Council on Native Education. Replies have now been received from those consulted with the exception of a few local bodies and the Council on Native Education and those communications ~~in which~~ which embody detailed criticisms or suggestions will

will be found printed in the enclosure to this letter. The majority of the district boards and municipal councils have, however, merely contented themselves with expressing general approval of the principles and ~~proposed~~ provisions of the proposed measure.

3. The Bill together with the statement of Objects and Reasons was published in the Fort St. George Gazette in English on the 28th March 1911, in Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Canarese on the 25th April 1911 and in Hindustani on the 2nd May 1911.

Section 4

4. Mr. Gokhale's object is to make better provision for the extension of education and the main feature of his Bill is that if passed into law it ~~would~~ ^{will} enable the Government at the instance of municipal councils or district boards to declare it obligatory upon parents to send to school their boys, and possibly also their girls, between the ages of six and ten provided ^{repealed} that schools have been established within one mile of their homes.

5. With the Hon'ble Member's object His Excellency the Governor in Council is in entire sympathy. He agrees that the most pressing need in India at the present time is the wider diffusion of education and the improvement of the character of the instruction imparted. It is an axiom that the universal education of the masses

is the goal to be aimed at and all who have the interests of the country at heart are equally interested in bringing about this consummation. Its attainment is necessarily remote but it is the established policy of Government to do all that is in their power to facilitate progress in that direction. As an instance the special consideration already devoted to the -- question mention may be made of the discussion which took place during 1906-1908 in regard to the proposal to abolish fees in primary schools, when this Government in Mr. Taylor's letter No. 138 Education, dated 24th February 1908 signified its desire to contribute to such a measure in so far as financial exigencies permitted. That proposal has since reached a more advanced stage, the Government of India having recently called for an estimate of the cost of making elementary education free in all boys' and girls' schools under public management ^{or} in receipt of State aid. A further step in the same direction is to be found in the instructions ~~which have just been issued~~ ^{which have just been issued} for the preparation of a comprehensive plan for the improvement and extension of the existing system of primary education, towards which hopes of financial assistance from Imperial funds have been held out.

6. The main question now under -- examination however is whether the interests of elementary education are ~~materially~~ ^{likely} to

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to be more effectually promoted by passing Mr. Goldhale's Bill than by continuing the accepted policy of expanding educational grants, improving the teaching agency and increasing the number of schools. This question His Excellency the Governor in Council is reluctantly constrained to answer with a decided negative. The principles of the Bill have much to commend them and its superficial attractions have been much enhanced by the admirable exposition of the merits of the measure by its author. It is provided with safeguards against the most obvious dangers incidental to the policy in view, has beyond doubt appealed strongly to the imagination of many classes and may fairly claim to rank as a popular measure. At the same time His Excellency in Council cannot satisfy himself that he would be justified in recommending its adoption in the Presidency of Madras for some time to come.

7. The primary objection lies in the fact that compulsion is unnecessary and premature. That universal primary education cannot be secured without recourse to compulsion is doubtless the case, but it has yet to be shown that elementary instruction cannot without such assistance be extended to the utmost limit which financial considerations permit. There is ample scope for *facts* outlay upon the building, equipment and the maintenance of schools and given proper accommodation in well-selected centres, a sufficient

sufficient and adequately trained staff and the accessories essentially required for efficient instruction experience shows that there is no need to apprehend any deficiency of school children. Universal compulsion is impracticable without an enormous increase of expenditure, ^{of} which ~~most~~ ^{at least most} ~~part~~ ^{part} ~~be~~ ^{be} met by local taxation, ^{but} ~~which~~ ^{local} ~~bodies~~ ^{bodies} would not be prepared to impose ~~and~~ ^{which if levied} could not fail to cause the gravest discontent. ~~Without~~ ^{educational} ~~interest~~ ^{interest} ~~is served~~ ^{is served} ~~in any way~~ ^{in any way} by the introduction of partial compulsion, for the most pressing needs of the day are a much greater number of trained teachers and a large increase in the number of schools ^{and} ³ [^]. Neither of these wants would be in any way supplied by the application of the compulsory principle, ^{while} ^{and} their paramount importance might be lost sight of in the excitement of passing a legislative measure ^{based on high} ~~embodying~~ ^{high} ideals, but producing little practical effect towards their realization. The

arguments which are based upon supposed analogies with the experience of other -- countries do not bear scrutiny. In Ireland, to which reference is constantly made, there is no educational rate and there can be little doubt that one main reason for the acceptance of the principle of compulsion embodied in the Irish Education Act was that the scheme propounded involved no new taxation. In England local ^{g.v.} government and parish government had reached a stage of development many years in advance of the present

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present condition of India, before compulsory education was advocated. In Japan again, while compulsion is nominally a factor the operative agency ^{really} is persuasion of a character as yet almost untried in India. There is a highly organized department assisted by local committees and voluntary educational associations which interest themselves -- actively in increasing the number of children at schools. "In one prefecture", it is stated, "the high percentage of attendance was attributed largely to the persevering efforts of a recent inspector, who personally urged its necessity upon the people of every backward house. In other cases educational associations have been active in beating up the children especially the girls". (Sharp's ^P Report on ^{the} Educational system of Japan. Paragraph 101). In -- England when the Elementary Education Act of 1870 was introduced, two-fifths of the children between the ages of six and ten were on the school registers and one-third of those between ten and twelve. In Japan ^{on the promulgation of} ~~then the Imperial Re-script of 1872~~ ^{and} -- ~~published together with the first educational code~~ ^{it is stated that} 40 per cent of the boys were attending school and 15 per cent of the girls. These figures stand out in striking contrast with the latest -- available statistics of the Presidency of Madras. The male population as recorded in March 1911 was 20,386,000. Applying the accepted ratio based upon the census results of 1901 the number of boys between the ages of

of six and twelve would be 15 per cent of this total or 5057,900. According to the latest educational returns the number of male pupils in public elementary schools on the 31st March 1910 was 757,471 or less than 25 per cent of the ^{estimated} ~~assumed~~ male population between the ages of six and twelve. On the same date the number of girls under instruction was only 172,083 or ²⁴ 5.5 per cent of the available number. There can be no doubt that these low proportions might be materially raised without any resort to coercion. In India it is not the case, as in Japan in 1872, that farmers, artisans and merchants regard learning as beyond their sphere, and though Indifferent ^{ce} may exist in the rural classes of the population, ~~but it has~~ ^{not} ~~shown~~ ^{and} itself unamenable to persuasion, ^{and} Comparative statistics extending over a period of years ~~indicate~~ ^{establish} a very direct relation between the rise in the strength of the primary schools and the amount of money spent on primary education and ^{not} ~~the~~ chief limiting factor in the matter of school-attendance is the funds available for expenditure, not the absence of compulsion.

8. On educational grounds the Bill is open to three grave objections. In the first place the period of instruction provided for, viz., four years cannot reasonably be expected to produce lasting results. All the educational authorities are agreed as to the necessity of extending the course by at least

indicate
 It took the time enough to have recourse to compulsion measures, when actual difficulty is experienced in filling the schools & set up

two years. In Japan it was found at the annual examination of conscripts that those who had quitted school at the end of the ordinary four year course were practically illiterate by the time they had reached the age for military service. Experience in Italy tells the same tale and in England with a longer ~~period~~ ^{of time} the benefits of education are too often only transitory. It would be folly in India to ignore this lesson by limiting the ~~scope of instruction~~ ^{scope} to embark upon a course of action which has been proved to be mistaken.

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Secondly, the system of school attendance which committees are, it is proposed to create, would in practice be unworkable. The public spirit which has been so productive of results in Japan does not exist in India and it is in the last degree unlikely that such committees as could be appointed would apply the provisions of the Bill in an effective manner. With the wide field of excuses for non-attendance allowed by clause 5 and the disinclination of the average committee member to incur odium the probability is that the operative clauses would be compulsory only in name. The third and perhaps the most important educational objection is that the passing of this measure would indirectly control the expenditure of the available funds and starve those requirements which are really pressing in order to meet ill-judged demands for education of a type the value of which is at least problematic.

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9. The Bill next requires examination from the financial standpoint and must in the first instance be pronounced bad for vagueness. It empowers a local authority to decree compulsory elementary education which shall be largely free and may be almost entirely ~~free~~ if the local authority so decides under sub-clause (2) of clause 9. It lays ^{an} ~~an~~ obligation upon the local authority to provide sufficient school accommodation for all children between the ages of six and ten residing within the local area. To meet the expenditure which will be necessary it gives a discretionary power to the local authority to levy a ~~special~~ special education rate of an unlimited amount and of an unspecified kind. It further empowers the Governor General in Council to make rules prescribing the proportion in which the cost of providing elementary education shall be divided between the local authority and the ^{cap.} local Government. Taking the Bill by itself, therefore, it is impossible to estimate what financial liability it may impose upon ^{cap.} local Governments. This must depend upon the extent of the application of the Bill, a matter in regard to which the Local Government retains some control under clause 8, and upon the proportion of the cost which the Governor-General in Council ^{may} ~~might~~ impose on provincial finances.

It has been suggested by the author of the measure and his supporters that the Bill should be applied to every local area

in which one-third of the boys of school-going age are attending school, and if that suggestion were incorporated in a rule made under sub-clause (2)(a) of clause 18 local Governments would sooner or later virtually be compelled to sanction the application of the Bill to every area in which that condition was fulfilled. The Hon'ble Mr. Gophale contemplates the distribution of the outlay involved between local and provincial revenues in the proportion of one to two but other advocates of the measure go so far as to contend that the whole cost should devolve upon provincial revenues. Now in municipal primary schools in ~~this Presidency~~ ^{the Presidency} the average

cost of educating each pupil is approximately Rs. 6½ per annum. In the Presidency as a whole the estimated male population between the ages of six and ten may be taken as -- 3,059,000 and the education of this number would therefore involve an annual outlay of Rs. 1,82.58 lakhs, assuming that it were possible to work ~~with~~ ^{on} the present low rate of Rs. 6½ per pupil. The number of boys in public elementary schools on the 31st March 1910 ~~is already stated to be~~ ^{was} 757,471, that is to say, already more than one-third of the total number between the ages of six and ten. No doubt some of these are more than ten years of age, but if every allowance be made ^{on that account} ~~it is~~ ^{not} it is safe to conclude that in many areas the ~~the~~ proportion of boys between six and ten who are attending school exceeds the ratio of one-third which it is proposed

to adopt as the test. It is conceivable therefore that at no distant date the Local Government might find considerable pressure put upon it to apply the Bill to an extent involving a demand upon its finances which ~~they will~~ ^{it would} be quite unable to bear. The provincial expenditure on primary schools for boys is now ^{only} 9.23 lakhs ~~per annum~~, ^{but} if one-third of the ultimate outlay were met by a local cess the total cost to provincial funds would on this calculation ~~still~~ ^{be} amount to Rs. 38.55 lakhs. And if, as seems inevitable, one educational grounds the course of instruction were ultimately extended from four to six years, the expenditure would increase by at least 50 per cent more, since the cost of teaching the higher classes is likely to exceed that rate obtaining in the case of the lower standards. In the meantime pending such extension the Bill ^{cannot be lifted} would lead only to a gross waste of public ^{funds} ~~money~~ which ^{might} ~~was~~ otherwise be profitably employed in advancing sound education. To divert money from a useful to a useless object is bad finance. It is still worse when part of that money is to be raised by additional taxation.

10. Turning now to the political aspect of the proposed legislation I am to advert to the effect upon ~~the~~ ^{the} popular feeling of the introduction of compulsory methods and the levy of additional direct taxation. In justification of the measure it has been stated that there is a strong demand in India for universal education. This pro-

proposition cannot be admitted. It is no ^{press and} doubt the case that a section of the ~~people~~ ^{the} educated classes in general demand universal education, but they do not constitute, and cannot be said to represent, the ^{party} mass of the people. This advanced ~~section~~ demands not only universal education for boys but also a wide extension of education among girls, a development which though provided for in clause 17 of the Bill is regarded ^{by even} its supporters as hardly ^{as} within the range of practical politics. The introduction of compulsion is inseparably connected with the provision for the levy of the local rate, for without that provision it is clearly absurd to confer upon local bodies, whether municipal councils or district boards, the power to force the hands of Government in regard to the system of education to be pursued in the areas under their control. If the provision of ways and means continues entirely to devolve upon the central Government, ^{it is ~~not~~ ^{retaining} ~~not~~ ^{which should} ~~not~~ ^{prescribe}} and not ~~not~~ ⁱⁿ local bodies ^{to} so drastic a change as the introduction of rules enforcing compulsory education. ^{ad.} The supporters of the measure are apt to cite Japan as an instance in point, but in so doing overlook the essential difference between the two countries. Measures of the character under consideration are possible in Japan only because the masses understand that their very existence as a nation depends ~~on~~ upon their education. The people are therefore with the Government and this is why they are willing to contribute in the shape of local

taxation no less than 62 per cent. of the enormous outlay of Rs. 472 lakhs incurred upon education, towards which only 19 per cent is contributed from the Government treasury. There is absolutely no ~~such~~ ^{similar} public feeling in India; it has yet to be created.

As a reason for accepting the Bill, ^{again} it has been urged that the Government should enable the educated classes to feel that ~~it is~~ "though largely foreign in per- sonnel it is national in spirit and sentiment." The proposition may be admitted but the conclusion does not follow. The national wishes will in no sense be met by imposing upon the mass of the people a responsibility which hitherto they have shown no desire to undertake, especially ~~when~~ ^{when} the policy adopted involves the levy of a heavy addition to taxation, which the educated classes themselves constantly condemn as already grinding in its severity. In municipal areas compulsion ~~is~~ would probably not be necessary, in this Presidency at least, to any great extent. But among the rural population it would have to be enforced largely, especially in the cultivation season, and would arouse ~~great~~ ^{great} hostility. The odium would fall entirely upon the Government, for the ryot and the labourer would not understand the machinery of attendance committees

or appreciate the fact that the initiative had been taken by the local Indian bodies which in theory represent their interests. They would know that the attendance of their children was enforced in the last resort by their appearance in the court of a magistrate, the infliction of a fine and possibly even imprisonment, in other words by the ordinary ~~coercive~~ procedure of the Sircar. Members of local boards and municipal councils ^{come} ~~are drawn~~ from comparatively well-to-do classes and would not themselves seriously feel the burden of an educational cess; those of them who are elected are chosen by a limited section of the rate-payers; the electors themselves form a minute fraction of the general population. Education in a compulsory form would thus be forced upon the masses at the mandate of a small number of persons influenced by ideas which do not appeal to the general public. Nor would the dislike of an educational cess be confined to the lower classes. The higher castes share in the objection to ~~assessments on that account~~ and it is common experience that the collection of school fees presents difficulties even in the case of wealthy parents. It is certain that the tendency to throw the entire expense on provincial funds ^{therefore} would grow in strength, ^{and if that tendency} ~~and if that tendency~~ ^{in rural areas}

- and they would draw
to natural inference.

paying for the education
of their children

is pronounced in their attitude: that
it is problematical whether any considerable
proportion of the District boards and municipal
Councils will venture to take the initiative
in directing towards introducing compulsory
with its inevitable commitment, the large
of an educational cess.

are not effectively resisted

to rural areas

the application of the Bill would ~~be~~ ^{be} impossible, unless the Government of India ~~that~~ were able to and prepared to meet the cost. ~~the imposition of a special cess~~ ^{Compulsory methods} combined with ~~the imposition of a special cess~~ would beyond question constitute a grave political danger.

from Imperial funds.

Failing effectual ~~se.~~

The alternative is the combination of compulsory methods with the imposition of a special cess and in the present state of public opinion such a measure ~~would~~ ^{would} be attended by grave political dangers.

11. While for the reasons set out in the preceding paragraphs His Excellency the -- Governor in Council regards the ~~proposed~~ -- Elementary Education Bill as ~~unwise~~ both unnecessary, ^{premature} and open to objections of a serious character on educational, financial and political grounds, he admits that in this Presidency the application of ^{the Bill} to selected municipal areas would not be fraught with disastrous consequences. If as a matter of ^{policy} ~~decision~~ it should be deemed inexpedient absolutely to veto the proposed legislation, he would be ^{prepared} to consent, though not without doubt as to the wisdom of such a course, to the introduction of a measure of a more limited character confined strictly to municipal areas. Having regard to the stage which education has already reached in urban areas in Southern India it would not be necessary to have recourse to compulsion to any large extent, for towns might be selected in which the majority of the children are already at school, and compulsion would then be requisite only in the case of the poorest classes, who would probably accept the situation without resistance, though it would inflict considerable hardship upon them, and it is not likely that even with the addition of a small local rate discontent would be caused. It is possible that attendance committees with some pretensions to efficiency might be created here and there, and some extension of the compulsory period of instruction ^{might} ~~would~~ not be ruled out of court

to a measure type

on financial grounds.

12. This qualified acceptance of the Bill in a restricted shape necessitates some examination of the minor provisions embodied in it and certain suggestions for amendment in drafting. These I am now to set out.

13. CLAUSE 3. To prevent so important a measure as the introduction of compulsory education and the ^{imposition} ~~levy~~ of a special cess being adopted in a hurried manner and by a small majority of the council concerned, it is desirable to introduce a proviso corresponding to that which finds place in section 58 of the Madras Local Boards Act, 1884, in regard to ~~the~~ proposals for the levy of a railway cess. It is therein provided that no such tax shall be levied "unless the levy thereof is determined by a resolution [of the local body] supported by not less than three-fourths of the members present at a meeting specially convened in that behalf, such resolution being confirmed after a period of six months by a like majority at a like meeting".

14. CLAUSE 4. Provision must clearly be made for the extension of the period of instruction beyond a term of four years.

15. CLAUSE 5. the category of reasonable causes for non-attendance appears too extensive. ^{I am} ~~am~~ to refer in particular to the expression "or for sufficient cause" in sub-head (b). If compulsion is to be a reality

reality, the discretion conceded to local attendance committees must not be too wide. Provision must however be made for reasonable objections based on caste scruples; Brahmans and ^{any} ~~pariahs~~ cannot yet be expected to sit side by side in the same school. and further attendance should not be obligatory in the case of children who have already passed the requisite standard in a recognized school, but have not reached the maximum limit of age specified in the Bill.

In sub-head (a) of the same clause, the word "road" is open to criticism and should presumably be replaced by "road or path" or some more comprehensive phrase.

16. Clause 8. read with clause 14(2), which casts the onus of proof upon the employer, is too stringent, and these provisions should be re-drafted so as to ^{prevent} ~~prevent~~ parents from being deprived of the much-needed assistance, which they derive from allowing their children to work in factories.

17. Clause 7. -- It is not clear why the ~~an~~ obligation imposed on the local body should be restricted to the provision of school accommodation. Teaching staff and education appliances are as necessary as school houses, and sub-clause (2)(b) of clause 18 does not state that outlay on accommodation ^{shall} ~~is to~~ be left out of account in prescribing the proportion in which total expenditure shall be divided between local bodies and the

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Local Government.

18. Clause 8.--No indication is given of the lines upon which the special rate ^{shall} be assessed. It is doubtless desirable to give some discretion in this matter to Local Governments, but the general principles should be laid down and in order to obviate the objections incidental to the creation of a fresh form of taxation with special agencies for its collection it is prima facie desirable that the new cess should invariably take the form of an ^{enhancement of} ~~addition to~~ the rate at which some existing tax is levied.

19. Clause 9.--The proposal to base the title to free education on the means of the parents would be of necessity attended by inquisitorial enquiries and exceedingly difficult to work in practice. If however ^{free} education is to be ^{permitted} ~~permitted~~ in any case, it should be conceded to all. The attempt to discriminate between the rich and the poor would inevitably create hardship and give rise to abuses.

20. Clause 11.--No provision has been made for the case of refractory children whose parents are unable, or profess inability, to compel their attendance.

Sub-clause (2) of the same clause opens the door for ^{eviction} ~~intercession~~ by reason of the vagueness of the words "directing the parent to cause the boy to attend school before a certain date". The object in view is to compel regular attendance after a certain date.

21. Clause 12.--It is matter for consideration whether the maximum penalty is sufficiently

high. In the absence of ^{any} qualification, it may be observed that default in ~~the~~ the payment of fine will lead to imprisonment under section 25 of the General Clauses Act 1897.

22. Clause 12.--The same objection applies to this clause, and it is open to further criticism that the expression "repeated non-compliance" requires definition.

23. Clause 14.--The sufficiency of the fines allowed is again doubtful. Allusion has already been made ~~in~~ to the doubtful propriety of casting the onus ^{of} proof upon the employer. The phrase "for whose prosecution" he is willing to afford the necessary "facilities" is vague and at the same time hardly necessary.

24. Clause 18.--The rule-making powers should clearly ~~vest~~ ^{be} with the Local Government "subject to the control of the Governor General in Council".

25. Finally, I am to say that, whether it should be ultimately decided altogether to veto the proposed legislation or merely to restrict its application to ~~the~~ selected municipal areas, His Excellency the Governor in Council regards it as desirable on grounds of policy that such a decision should be accompanied by a definite pronouncement in regard to the alternative proposals of Government for the improvement of elementary education. In his opinion

the

(H.S. No. 1)

in paragraph 16 ^{supra}

(See clause 16 ^{supra}
para 16)

the proper course is to lay down a progressive programme of educational finance. The ^{accepted} ~~quality~~ policy ^{shall be} ~~of the Government should be~~ ^{or} to develop educational facilities in every possible direction, conceding perhaps free education and certainly devoting a very much larger ~~proportion~~ ^{than has been the case in the past} portion of the public revenues to this object. The rate at which surplus ^P ~~provincial~~ revenues grow is systematically estimated and the calculations allow for the normal annual growth of expenditure, which includes some provision for the development of outlay on education. These calculations are liable to be vitiated by the occurrence of unfavourable seasons, but there is ~~not~~ ^{not} a considerable reserve and it should ~~not~~ ^{be possible} ~~be~~ ^{possible} to promise a substantial annual accession to the grant for elementary education. It has been roughly estimated that in the present state of the provincial finances in this ^P ~~presidency~~ an annual increment of two lakhs might without risk be regarded as obligatory. Assuming Rs. 8½ to be the annual cost of educating each pupil in an elementary school, this would allow of an addition of 30,000 pupils every year. With assistance ^{moderate} from the growing imperial revenues to the extent of, say, 1½ lakhs ^{per} ~~per annum~~ ^{yearly accession} the ~~annual~~ ^{yearly} increment to the strength of elementary schools in Madras would rise to 100,000. On this scale of progression, even allowing for a compulsory course of six years' universal education might ^{be brought within} ~~be brought within~~ reach in less than a generation.

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