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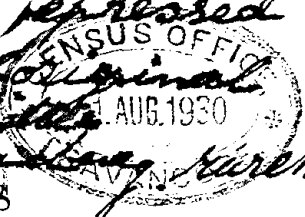
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*Report of the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Problem Committee
Bombay Assembly March 1930*



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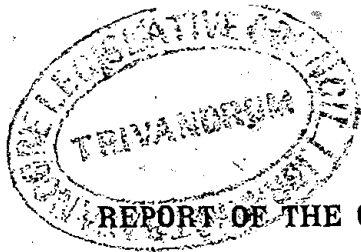
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REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY.

1. The Government of Bombay in Government Resolution, Educational Department, No. 4370, dated the 5th November 1928, appointed this Committee in acceptance of the Resolution moved by Dr. P. G. Solanki and passed by the Legislative Council with the following terms of reference :—

“To enquire into the educational, economic and social condition of the Depressed Classes (untouchables) and of the Aboriginal Tribes in the Presidency and to recommend measures for their uplift.”

By Government Resolution, Educational Department, No. 4370 of 26th August 1929 we were informed that “Government have decided that Sind should be excluded from the purview of the present Committee.”

The Committee was first asked to report by the 15th November 1929. The period was extended to 31st March 1930 by Government Resolution, Educational Department, No. 4370, dated the 26th August 1929. The following were the members appointed :—

1. Mr. O. H. B. Starte, I.C.S. (Chairman).
2. Dr. P. G. Solanki, M.L.C.
3. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, M.L.C.
4. P. R. Chikodi, Esq., M.L.C.
5. L. M. Deshpande, Esq., M.L.C.
6. Lt.-Col. Burfoot, Salvation Army, Bombay.
7. A. V. Thakkar, Esq., L.C.E., Servants of India Society.
8. A. A. Thorat, Esq.
9. Rao Saheb J. K. Mchta, Dangs Diwan.
10. D. A. Janvekar, Esq., M.L.C.

To our great regret Mr. D. A. Janvekar died on the 12th July 1929. Government under Government Resolution, Educational Department, No. 4370, dated the 2nd September 1929, appointed Khan Saheb A. M. Mansuri, M.L.C., to replace him in the Committee.

The Chairman was on Special duty from 15th December 1929 to 25th January 1930 in connection with the work of this Committee. For the rest of the period he did the work in addition to his ordinary duties of Criminal Tribes Settlement Officer.

The Committee held its first meeting on the 15th February 1929. Meetings of the full Committee have been held in Bombay (twice), Poona (twice), Dharwar (twice), Belgaum (once), and Ahmedabad (once). The total number of days in which the full Committee has been in session has been 32.

More detailed work was done by three Sub-Committees of the Members which toured in the Northern, Central and Southern Divisions of the Presidency respectively. In addition the Chairman visited Madras Presidency to obtain information relating to the work done by that Government for the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes.

A Questionnaire (*vide* Appendix IV) was issued to many officials, local authorities, philanthropic societies and private individuals. Considerable interest was taken in the subject and written replies were received from 185 persons or Societies. Sixteen Officials, 16 deputations consisting of 47 persons, and 34 non-officials speaking individually were examined orally. A list of their names together with those who have submitted written replies is given in Appendix V.

The cost of the Committee has been approximately Rs. 16,000 divided as follows :—

	Rs.	a.	p.
Pay and allowances of establishment	5,315	0	0
Travelling Allowance of Committee and witnesses	9,395	0	0
Contingencies (including printing)	1,290	0	0
Total	16,000	0	0

CHAPTER II.

THE PROBLEM OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES AND ABORIGINAL TRIBES.

THE PROBLEM OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

2. The problem of the Depressed Classes arises largely from the peculiar position they are made to occupy amongst the people of the Presidency. They form a large part of the total population as in the Presidency proper, they number about 1,476,000 out of 16,012,342 persons. It is not easy to define exactly the position of this large body of people. Notwithstanding the fact that it has the culture of the Hindu Community, notwithstanding the fact that it observes the religious rites prevalent in the Hindu Community, and recognizes the sacred as well as the secular laws of the Hindus, and celebrates the Hindu festivities, yet as a mere touch of the Depressed Classes is held to cause pollution, which the orthodox Hindus are taught in the name of religion to avoid as sin, the Depressed Classes are obliged to live in a state of isolation from the rest of the Community.

The effects of this isolation have been disastrous both to the untouchables as well as to the orthodox Hindus. It has prevented the two from working as a single unit. There is very little inter-relationship of that praiseworthy unity of purpose and welfare or loyalty to public ends, or mutuality of sympathy, which goes to make up an ideal society. On the other hand in the material field the exclusiveness resulting from this isolation has ended in each group having interests of its own, so that the prevailing purpose of each is the protection of that which it possesses, instead of reorganization and progress through wider relationships. In the cultural field it has prevented social osmosis. The vast difference between the cultural developments of the Depressed Classes and the other Hindus is largely to be explained by this isolation.

In the social field the result of this has been most deplorable. This exclusiveness has developed in such a manner that it has educated the Hindus to become masters and the Depressed Classes to become servile. Thus isolation is not the only characteristic of the inter-relation between the Depressed Classes and the rest of the Hindus. Servility is also another noteworthy characteristic, and the effects of it are worse than those following from isolation. As a degraded people the Depressed Classes are expected to follow a code of behaviour according to which the Depressed Class man may not do anything, which will raise him above his appointed station in life. He should not dress in a style superior to that of his status, nor should his wife adorn herself with ornaments after the fashion of the higher class Hindu women. He should not have a house better or bigger than the houses of other people in the village. He should not own land or be independent. He should not take to new and more remunerative services except those which are customary. It is true that some members of the Depressed Classes have risen above the low status prescribed by custom for them, and have acquired

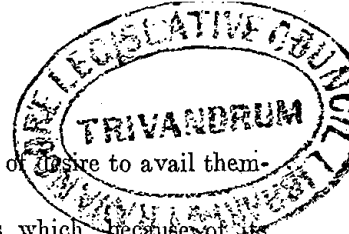
property, high place, and even social esteem. But for the majority this particular attitude of the orthodox Hindus has been responsible for keeping them in their servile position.

But the overwhelming characteristic which includes both the isolation and the servility is that of untouchability. There is nothing strange in the idea that an unclean person or thing causes repulsion which underlies the idea of pollution. But what is regrettable about it, as applied to the Depressed Classes, is its irrationality. It stamps an individual as untouchable by the mere accident of his birth. A person born untouchable, remains untouchable however superior he may be in personal cleanliness to the so-called touchable, and there is no way open to him by which he can escape his fate. What is surprising in all this is that an orthodox Hindu, notwithstanding the differences between his religious notions and mode of living and outlook in life and those of the Mahommedan, Parsis and Christians treats them as touchables. This has resulted in further aggravating the position of the Depressed Classes. For by this unjust discrimination on the part of the orthodox Hindus in some cases, being influenced by the orthodox Hindus especially in villages, even the Mohammedans, Parsis and Christians observe untouchability towards the Depressed Classes though their religions teach contrariwise. What we are concerned most to point out are the evils arising out of untouchability. They include the social and economic evils attributable to it, in so far as untouchability includes isolation and inferiority. But there are evils specifically attributable to untouchability as such. Pressed to its logical limit, in an orthodox Hindu Society, it would prevent the Depressed Classes from obtaining entry into a public school though it is maintained at the expense of the State, it would prevent them from entering the public services though they may be qualified for it, except for the services customarily allotted to them. It would also prevent them from taking water from the public watering places maintained out of public funds. Looked at from this point of view untouchability is not merely a social problem. It is a problem of the highest political importance and affects the fundamental question of the civic rights of the subjects of the State.

Times are however fortunately changing and the solution of this problem is being tackled from many sides. Especially we do not wish to undervalue the services of those Hindus who have risen above tradition and have laboured nobly to remove the disabilities of the Depressed Classes.

THE PROBLEM OF THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES.

3. To a certain extent the problem of the Aboriginal and Hill Tribes is not essentially different from that of the Depressed Classes. In both cases the difficulty arises from the fact of isolation from the main body of the community. But the problem of the Depressed Classes becomes different because in their case the evils of isolation are aggravated by the fact of untouchability, and the result is that while in the case of the Depressed Classes the problem is due to denial of opportunities, in the case of the Aboriginal Tribes the problem is due to



geographical difficulties combined with the lack of desire to avail themselves of such opportunities.

Unlike the problem of the Depressed Classes which, because of its peculiar features, has attracted the attention of the whole world the problem of the Aboriginal Tribes and Hill Tribes has not been brought before the public in any very definite form hitherto. It is only in the Annual Report of the Director of Public Instruction that it is presented to the public, when the education of children of these Classes is reviewed. In spite of their large population in this Presidency they have no representative in the Bombay Legislative Council; much less have they any spokesman in the Central Assembly, though they number not less than 5 per cent. of the total population of the country. The words of Sir Chunilal Mehta, uttered in 1928 when he was the Finance Member of the Bombay Government, are memorable in this connection. He said "These (Aboriginal) Classes are far removed from the touch of civilization, and I think they will feel proud, and it would be a great encouragement to the uplift of these people, if one among them is appointed to represent them in this Council and rub shoulders with all of us." But it is some satisfaction to note that their condition did attract the notice of the Bombay Legislative Council in August 1928, when Dr. P. G. Solanki moved and carried a resolution in the Council, as a result of which this Committee has been appointed in the interest both of the Depressed (untouchable) Classes and the Aboriginal Tribes.

4. The sense of servility which has been noted above as one aspect of the problem of the Depressed Classes is absent in the Aboriginal Tribes. Rather they are characterised by a pride of race despising the culture of the other Communities.- As their condition and habits differ more widely from the other Communities than do those of the Depressed Classes and are also not so well-known, perhaps the best means of conveying a conception of their position in Society will be by a short description of three such Tribes. The following description of Bhils, the most numerous of the Aboriginal Tribes of this Presidency is taken from Encyclopaedia Britannica (11th Edition). It applies more or less to all the Aboriginal Tribes found in this Presidency:—

"Bhils ('Bowmen', from Dravidian bil, a bow), a Dravidian people of Central India, probably Aborigines of Marwar. They live scattered over a great part of India. They are found as far North as Aravali Hills, in Sind and Rajputana, as well as Khandesh and Ahmedabad. They are mentioned in Sanskrit works, and it is thought that Ptolemy refers to them as 'Leaf-Wearers' though this word might equally apply to the Gonds. Expelled by the Aryans from the richer lowlands, they are found to-day in greatest numbers on the hills of Central India. In many Rajput States the Princes, on succession, have their foreheads marked with blood from the thumb or toe of a Bhil. The Rajputs declare this to be a mark of Bhil allegiance but it is more probably a relic of days when the Bhils were a power in India. The Bhils eagerly keep the prestige alive, and the right of giving the blood is hereditary in certain families. . . . Under the Moghuls

the Bhils were submissive, but they rebelled against the Marathas. . . . The race became outlaws, and they have lived their present wild life ever since. Their nomad habits and skill with their bows helped them to maintain successfully the fight with their oppressors. An unsuccessful attempt was made in 1818 by the British to conquer them. Milder measures were then tried, and the Bhil Agency was formed in 1825. The Bhil corps was then organized with a view to utilizing the excellent fighting qualities of the tribesmen. This Corps has done good service in gradually reducing their more lawless countrymen to habits of order, and many Bhils are now settled in regular industries." After quoting this general description of Bhils, the most numerous of the Aboriginal Tribes in this Presidency, it would be as well to mention their distribution over the various districts and State of this Presidency. Bhils are found chiefly in Khandesh and both the Indian States and British Districts of Gujerat. Besides, they are found in fairly large numbers in the district of Nasik and in the desert area of Tharparkar and Hyderabad Districts of Sind. In these areas the Bhils are found in various grades of civilization from the primitive man to the Hinduised cultivator. Their literacy qualification is very low, the lowest of all the castes in the Presidency, being only four per thousand males which is much below that of even the untouchable Dhed and Mahar, who can boast of 65 and 23 literate males per thousand respectively.

In the words of Mr. R. E. Enthoven "the Bhil is frank, thriftless, timid, fond of spirits, and loathes steady work. At the same time he is simple, faithful and honest, kindly and intelligent. In the Mahikantha (States bordering on the river Māhi) they go armed with bows and arrows ready to fight with each other or their neighbours, either to please their chief or to shelter a criminal. In the Panchmahals, where 60 years ago there were almost daily complaints of their daring aggressions, though they are still poor and somewhat unsettled they are not as a class given to serious crime. The women, who in former times went to battle sometimes using slings with great effect, have much influence over the men."

Their number in the Presidency proper is about 5,00,000.

5. The Varlis are chosen for mention here as being an example of a backward section of the Aboriginal Tribes. They are found chiefly in the Thana District, but are also found in the States of Surat Agency (Bansda and Dharampur) and Jawhar State in Thana. A large number of them reside also in Nasik District. This tribe is slightly influenced by Hinduism. Like Thakurs, Katkaris and other Forest Tribes, Varlis follow no regular craft or calling. They generally make their living by collecting or selling grass and firewood, and by hunting; only a few are employed in tillage during the rainy season. Their boys have taken to education very slightly. Some Varli boys have recently been admitted in the Hostel at Mokhada, the north-easternmost Taluka town of Thana District, but none in the State Hostel of Jawhar nearby. A large number of the tribe who once owned land have parted with them in favour of the

Sahukar Class, whose tenants they continue to be. A large majority of them are servants, often servants of some rich money-lender or Kumbi, to whom they have pledged their labour, or have had their labour pledged by their fathers for 12 or 15 years in consideration of having their marriage expense paid. They are said to be immoderately fond of drinking. Their total population in the Presidency is about 1,24,000.

6. The Dhodias are chosen for description as they are a community on the border line between the Aboriginal Tribes and the intermediate Classes. They are found only in Gujerat, *viz.*, in Surat District in the northern or Gujerati-speaking portion of Thana District and in the Surat States of Bansda and Dharampur. Like Dublas, they work chiefly as field labourers and hereditary servants (Halis). Their women put on solid rings or tiers of brass from ankle up to the knee and also on the arm from the wrist to the elbow. These weigh from 18 to 20 lbs. They have cleared many of the jungles of Surat District and Navasari District of Baroda State and made the land fit for cultivation. In 1921 their population was enumerated as nearly 75,000 in this Presidency.

They are educationally in advance of other Aboriginal Tribes of Gujerat and the Deccan. They can boast of 31 literates per 1,000 *males*, as against 25 for Chodhras, 21 for Dublas, 8 for Vaghtris, 4 for Bhils, and 3 for Varlis. If adequate encouragement be given to this community, it will easily come into line with the Hindu "Intermediate" Classes.

7. We have only described three of the Aboriginal Tribes. The names of the others can be seen in Schedule II of Appendix II of this report and description of them can be found in Mr. Enthoven's volumes on "The Tribes and castes of Bombay", and for many of them also in the glossary of the 1911 Census, Volume VII, Part I, pages 228-310.

Whatever their own desires may be, the march of civilization inevitably brings the Aboriginal Tribes into contact with others. If they remain in their present condition they will become more and more the prey of the unscrupulous from among the more educated communities. The problem for them is to implant a desire for education, to break down their exclusiveness and to enable them to take a part in the national life befitting their numbers. Yet one fears for them in this closer contact with other communities which is inevitable, lest they lose some of those characteristics of cheerfulness, hardihood and truth-loving, which bind them to the hearts of all those who come into close contact with them.

CHAPTER III.

NOMENCLATURE.

8. We consider that the word "untouchable" is an offensive term to apply to those unfortunate people whose touch is deemed by the orthodox section of Hindu Society to cause pollution, and we have discussed various alternatives which would be sufficiently definite and yet not so offensive: Adi Hindus, Adi Dravidas, etc., have been proposed but we consider that ethnologically none of the proposed terms could be accurately applied to all the untouchable Classes. Finally we have come to the conclusion that *the term "Depressed Classes" should be retained, to designate the untouchable castes included in our Schedule I, Appendix II.* We do this because in most Provinces the phrase "Depressed Classes" is used as a synonym for the untouchable classes, and it is so used in the reports of the Educational Department of this Presidency and of several other Provinces. It is also used in this sense by the Government of India in their latest Quinquennial Report (1922-27) on the Progress of Education in India, and in very many other reports by the Central and Provincial Governments. It is similarly used in the same sense by the recently issued Hartog Committee Report. Thus the use of the phrase "Depressed Classes" in this sense will coincide with the existing common practice. We are of opinion that as long as the higher classes of Hindus do, in actual fact, treat others as untouchable no change in name can disguise the fact. In the vernaculars for the Depressed Classes we consider that (बहिष्कृत) Bahishkrita may be used.

But our recommendation is made with an important proviso. We consider that great confusion has been introduced into the classification of the communities of this Presidency by the system adopted in the Schedule to the rules published by Government under the Primary Education Act (Government Notification, Educational Department, No. 2534 of 10th October 1924), where in the phrases "Backward Classes" and "Depressed Classes" have been given another meaning to that in which they had hitherto been used by the Educational Department of this Presidency.

In this new nomenclature the phrase "Depressed Classes" has taken on a much wider meaning, and includes besides the untouchable classes also the Aboriginal Tribes and the Criminal Tribes, and some other wandering and backward Castes. This classification has, in our opinion, been very unfortunate and has resulted in much confusion of thought in this Presidency, as in ordinary usage the phrase Depressed Classes is taken as meaning the untouchables, and any figures or facts relating to the progress of the Depressed Classes, are thought to refer to the progress of the untouchable classes, whereas they do not form half of this new and enlarged grouping of Depressed Classes. This difficulty of the dual meaning for Depressed Classes has been very present in all our investigations, and in each case in taking evidence it had to be made clear in which sense the phrase was being used. We therefore propose that the nomenclature of the classifications now made in the rules under

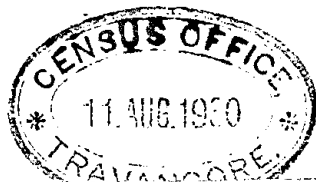
the Primary Education Act should be changed and that the classes therein called Backward Classes should be named "Intermediate Classes" and the Classes therein called the Depressed Classes should be named "Backward Classes" in fact to adopt the same nomenclature as was adopted by the late Mr. Sedgwick in his Census of 1921 (Volume VIII, Part II, pages 9 and 10 of Provincial Table II).

We also recommend that the "*Backward Classes*" should be again sub-divided into "*Depressed Classes*" which will consist of the untouchable classes only and the "*Aboriginal and Hill Tribes*" and "*other Backward Classes*." An exact definition of "Aboriginal and Hill Tribes" is not possible. It cannot be done wholly on ethnological lines. Our attempt at the classification of "Aboriginal and Hill Tribes" has been based on the consideration as to whether a large proportion of the caste inhabit or did inhabit until recent times the forest areas. However as we do not propose any separate treatment for the "Aboriginal Tribes and Hill Tribes" than that proposed for the "other Backward Classes", the distinction between the two classes is not important. As far as we are concerned we would prefer that the "Aboriginal and Hill Tribes" and "other Backward Classes" should be grouped into one category called "Primitive Classes", but we fear this classification might involve difficulties in the Government of India Statistics for Educational purposes.

The sub-divisions of the "other Backward Classes" will include the wandering tribes whose origin ethnologically may not be aboriginal and who do not live in forest areas but who need special care as being very backward. They usually obtain their living in part at least by begging and in part by some minor trade such as weaving toddy-leaf mats, shaving buffaloes, etc. Examples of such tribes are Sikligars and Gollars.

CRIMINAL TRIBES.

9. We are of opinion that it is unnecessary and inadvisable in the records of the Educational Department to include separate figures for the Criminal Tribes. They can either be included in the Depressed Classes if they are untouchable, for example, Mang Garudis, or in the "Aboriginal and Hill Tribes" if they live or lived mainly in forest areas for example Bhils in areas where they are so declared, or in the "other Backward Classes" for example Berads and Wagrís. In actual fact the present classification by the Educational Department for Criminal Tribes differs widely from that obtained by making a list of castes declared as Criminal Tribes under the Criminal Tribes Act. The classification of the Criminal Tribes according to the Criminal Tribes Act is a very technical matter, and the same caste is in fact declared to be a Criminal Tribe in some districts and is not in other districts. Moreover as the Criminal statistics improve for a tribe, either as a whole or in certain areas, the notification of the tribe as a Criminal Tribe under the Criminal Tribes Act will be cancelled as a whole or in the areas in which they have improved. Thus the total figures for the Criminal Tribes will be changing continually and no separate comparisons of educational progress for the Criminal Tribes as a whole can usefully be made. An



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 illustration of the difficulty in classification can be found in the violent oscillations of figures in the educational returns for the Criminal Tribes. It would be sufficient if information relating to the Special Schools under the Criminal Tribes Settlement Officer is noted in the Educational Annual and Quinquennial Reports separately.

Hereafter in this report we are using the phrase "Backward Classes" "~~Depressed~~ Classes", and "Aboriginal and Hill Tribes", and "other Backward Classes" in the sense recommended in paragraph 8.

SUB-DIVISIONS OF THE BACKWARD CLASSES.

10. It is difficult to define in exact terms who should be included in the Schedules for the "Aboriginal and Hill Tribes" and in "other Backward Classes". Roughly they will consist of the castes included as Depressed Classes by the Schedule to the rules under the Primary Education Act excluding those who can be classed as untouchables. There is however one important exception. The Bhats or Barots are included in the above Schedule but compared with the rest of the castes in the list, they are enterprising and well advanced. Though relatively a small community they have by the pure accident of their inclusion in the list of "Depressed Classes" (called by us Backward Classes) captured four out of the 14 seats of the School Boards of the Northern Division, but it cannot be said that they are likely to represent either the interests of the untouchables or of the Aboriginal Tribes or Hill Tribes or of the Criminal Tribes or of the Wandering Tribes on these Boards.

Their case supports the usual apprehension that the most advanced castes in the list will probably capture a high proportion of the seats, and therefore care must be taken to exclude any caste which does not need that special protection required by the other castes. On the other hand we consider that the Gollas of Belgaum and Dharwar should be included amongst the Backward Classes. We append a classification of the communities we propose to include in the Backward Classes (Appendix II) and have sub-divided it into:—

Schedule (I)—the Depressed Classes ;

Schedule (II)—the "Aboriginal and Hill Tribes" and

Schedule (III)—"other Backward Classes".

We admit the possibility of error and the lists may need further examination, but we think that once the list is fixed, no change should be made except with the consent of Government, as progress and its absence as tested by figures may easily be obscured, and in fact are so obscured at present, by frequent changes of classification. Once fixed this list should be applicable for all purposes such as educational, recruitment of services and representation.

11. Though we have not proposed any name such as Adi Hindu, Adi Dravidas to the Depressed Classes as a whole, we consider that there are occasions when a particular caste will desire to change its name. We propose that Government should announce, as has been done by

the Madras Government, that if Government are satisfied that the great majority of a caste desire to change their caste name for the purpose of social betterment, Government will accept their request and will order the change to be made in the future Government records.

There is a general desire on the part of the Dheds of the whole of Gujerat to be known as Wankars (weavers) which is also a name by which their caste is known in Northern Gujerat and Cutch and Kathiawad. We recommend that this should be done in all Government records including of course the coming Census.

We would suggest that, if it is at all possible, Government should consider our classification at an early date, so that the classification for the "Backward Classes" may be decided before the Census Officer settles his forms.

REMOVAL FROM THE BACKWARD CLASSES.

12. A community should not be permitted to remain in the Backward Classes category after the special aids and protection to be afforded to these Classes become no longer necessary for its advancement.

In practice we consider that the *Backward Classes Board* (the institution of which is recommended in paragraph 111) should review the list of *Backward Classes periodically and propose to Government to remove from it any community which—*

(a) *Is not treated as untouchable by the other Classes of the community ; and*

(b) *Has reached a certain standard of literacy, the exact standard to be fixed by Government in consultation with the Educational Department, and the Backward Class Board ; and*

(c) *Has reached an economic status that special assistance is not necessary.*

INDIAN CHRISTIANS.

13. The position of the Indian Christians has been considered. They form a difficult problem as in culture and economical position they are found in all grades of Society. But in some areas, e.g., Gujerat and parts of the Deccan those who formerly belonged to the Depressed Classes, or who are descendants from such, still live in the Depressed Class quarters in large numbers and share their life. They also share their disabilities in all respects for example exclusion from the common well of the village or from the common school.

Though the general level of the Christians prevent us from placing them in any category of the Backward Classes, it seems to us that in those areas, where in actual fact they are still treated as untouchables, the efforts we propose to make, to raise the other communities treated as untouchables must be extended to them also. In fact the struggle for the common rights will be made much easier if both unite for this purpose. This would apply to questions relating to wells, entry in common schools sites, etc. In questions relating to employment however the Christian

community, whatever their origin, should not be reckoned amongst the Backward Class recruits for the purpose of statistics, similarly for electoral purposes the Christians even if they are from the Depressed Classes and are still treated as such, should not be entitled to vote in the Depressed Class Constituency.

The question of scholarships stands intermediate between these two positions. It would probably suffice if the help recommended in the Primary and Secondary education is also given to those Christian candidates who come from the Depressed Class and whose families are at the time of the grant of the assistance actually being treated as untouchables. Any such assistance should be removed as soon as they are freed from the disabilities arising from untouchability.

A somewhat similar position would arise with those communities which though nominally Mahomedans are in fact treated as untouchables.

It is obviously necessary however that a community should not get a double advantage by inclusion in two sets of preferential rules. For example, Tadvi Bhils and Mianas and Mahomedan Bhangis.

CHAPTER IV.

EDUCATION.

Primary Education of the Depressed Classes.

EARLY ATTEMPTS.

14. In the Pre-British and in early British days no attempt was made to educate the Depressed Classes, education being confined to the higher classes. The earliest efforts to educate the Depressed Classes seem to have been made by Christian Missionaries. In 1855 the first separate school for Depressed Classes was opened in Ahmednagar. In 1856 the question of admission of a Depressed Class boy into a Government School (Dharwar) was first raised. Though the right of the Depressed Classes along with the other Communities to enter Government schools was asserted in a despatch of 1858, as a matter of fact no effort was made for some years to enforce this theoretical right, and also very few separate schools were opened so that in 1882 only 2,713 pupils of the Depressed Class population were in Primary Schools. The handicap to the Depressed Classes which resulted in the race for education has been very real.

Matters however have gradually improved. The rate of this progress in recent years is shown by the following figures of Depressed Class children in Primary Schools :—

1917	..	..	..	..	..	30,212
1922	..	..	..	..	..	37,892
1927	..	..	..	..	..	59,693

PRESENT POSITION.

15. We rejoice to find that we are able to record an important advance in the position of the Depressed Classes in Primary Schools in recent years and particularly after 1922, for looking at the figures of 1927 we find that there is a rise of 57 per cent. in the number of children of these classes in the primary stage between that year and 1922. This advance is largely due to the policy of Government requiring the admission of the children of the Depressed Classes in the common schools conducted by public authority without distinction of caste or creed by the Press Note No. P. 23 of 23rd February 1923, wherein they publicly stated their determination to see that no disabilities were imposed on Depressed Class children in any school conducted by public authority in its own or hired building.

ADMISSION IN COMMON SCHOOLS.

This policy of admission to Common Schools has unfortunately not been applied in all places. Consequently in the primary schools at which the Circular chiefly aimed the results regarding the admission of Depressed Classes have varied from locality to locality. We would however pay our tribute of praise to those Educational Officers of the Bombay Government and of the Administrative Officers of the Local

Authorities who have loyally tried to carry out the Government policy in this respect. Their task has no doubt been rendered easier by the general arousing of public conscience to the wrongs of these Classes, and to a feeling that their present treatment is a blot on the national life of India, a change which is largely due to the influence of the Christian and other social organizations and of Mr. M. K. Gandhi : At the same time we would raise a note of warning against taking too rosy a view of the situation, and against an assumption that the battle is won. We agree that in the majority of the common schools the Depressed Class children are admitted. But we are of opinion that there are very many schools in which after admission they are not allowed to sit along with the rest of the children attending the school. In one District the Depressed Classes gave a list of 57 primary schools in which their children had to sit on verandahs or quite outside. Of these about half were held in temples. This District is rather more orthodox than most, but it is by no means the only district where instances on a similar scale could be given. The most extreme case actually seen by any member of the Committee during its investigation was in Nasik District where a Depressed Class boy was made to sit on a platform (as used by cultivators when watching their crops) exposed to the sun and rain outside the school which was held in an upper room, whilst the teacher occasionally leaned out of the window to give instruction to him. On rainy days he had to go home.

In the cases of schools held in temples, normally Depressed Class children are not admitted. In some cases they are admitted and made to sit outside. We heard of rare cases where they were admitted inside these schools.

16. Progress in this matter of entry into the common school has depended mainly on the firmness or otherwise of the Educational or Deputy Educational Inspectors. We commend the example shown in certain instances wherein, though the villagers have threatened a boycott of the school when the Depressed Class children were admitted, the Educational Authorities have remained firm and carried on the school with the Depressed Class children only, until the others yielded and sent their children back. We have heard of no instance wherein firm action by the Educational Authorities has not been successful.

These cases refer mainly to incidents before primary education was handed over to the Local Authorities. It remains to be seen if the Local Authorities will be as firm as in such matters. Some of us have doubts lest some of them may be more sensitive to local orthodox opposition. In one case in Thana District in village Deheri commonly called Daviyar the Administrative Officer had ordered the Depressed Classes to be made to sit inside the school, but as a result of local opposition the School Board passed a resolution the result being that 25 Depressed Class boys were made to sit altogether in a separate building in the same compound. On the other hand we all agree that some Boards, *e.g.*, Satara have pressed forward strongly the policy of admission of the Depressed Class children in common schools.

As we find doubts in some places as to the meaning of Press Note No. P-23 of 23rd February 1923 *we would suggest that Government reaffirm the above order stating definitely that "admission" of the Depressed Class children to a school implies that the children are allowed to sit jointly with the others and not made to sit separately.*

We also urge that the removal of schools from temples or from buildings rented subject to a clause on non-admission of Depressed Classes should be expedited.

SEPARATE SCHOOLS *versus* COMMON SCHOOLS.

17. The relative merits of the separate schools for the Depressed Classes as against the admission of these classes into the ordinary schools has taken a prominent place in our deliberations. These separate schools have admittedly been a very potent influence in the past in helping the Depressed Classes to obtain such education as was possible, and without such institutions in the past the educational progress of the Depressed Classes would not have been possible. Nevertheless it must be admitted that from the standpoint of standard of education the separate school is an inefficient school. Moreover the existence of such schools perpetuates the difference between the Depressed Classes and the rest of the community instead of helping to remove it. Again being for the most part one-teacher schools there is an absence of that stimulus and supervision which is exercised over the other teachers by the Head Master in a large school. The Depressed Classes themselves not being keen on education do not put that pressure of public opinion on the teacher to be regular in attendance and keen on his duties, which is exercised by the more advanced communities over their schools, with the result that the only thing upon which the proper conduct of the school can depend is the conscientious regard of the Depressed Class teacher himself to his duties, which in the absence of supervision is likely to be at a very low ebb. But assuming all these things to be equal, the consideration of economy alone we fear must set a limitation upon the education of the Depressed Classes, if their education is to wait upon the opening, of separate schools. For it cannot be gainsaid that separate schools involves duplication of educational agencies which must result in a needless duplication of costs and to that extent must lead to a curtailment in the growth of their education. We therefore agree that the principle of Common Schools must be preferred to that of separate schools, and that the Government Circular of 1923 has struck the right line of action. We are glad to find that the Hartog Commission came to the same conclusion when they say "We are strongly of opinion that the policy of the mixed school is the right one". The system of segregate schools tends unnecessarily to emphasize rather than reduce the differences between the Depressed Classes and the other Hindu castes.

18. We cannot however shut our eyes to the difficulties in the way of making the common school a success. We have said that, as far as Government orders are concerned, the Depressed Class child has a right

to demand entrance to the common school, but this is a right the Depressed Classes are often not in a position to exercise. If the caste Hindus object they can, and in fact do, put pressure on the Depressed Classes not to send their children to the common school. The Depressed Classes are the village servants and have very little chances of standing against a village boycott. Even if admitted, an orthodox school master can, and sometimes does, make it very hard for the Depressed Class pupils in his Class.

The majority of the Depressed Classes themselves have, during our enquiry, expressed themselves in favour of separate schools. This is partly due to a sense of protection, for the reasonable treatment of their children which a separate school gives. Partly it is due to the facilities which result from the school being in or very close to their own quarters, and so making for the safety of their younger children when going to school. Partly it is due to the existing policy of staffing these separate schools with the Depressed Class teachers; and the Depressed Classes fear that the tenure of these teachers may be insecure if such schools are closed.

When a separate school is opened for the Depressed Classes the number of Depressed Class pupils increase as the teacher has then no caste scruples of the touchable Hindus to consider, and also it is in his interests to increase the Depressed Class pupils in order to swell the numbers in his school. Conversely when a separate school for the Depressed Classes is closed there is a danger lest there be a drop in numbers in the Depressed Class pupils attending school.

At the same time statistics show that in recent years the main increase in the number of Depressed Classes pupils attending Primary Schools is in the number of those attending the common schools, for example between 1921-22 and 1926-27 the increase in Depressed Class children attending the separate schools was only 2,716, whereas the increase of Depressed Class children attending the common primary schools in the same period was 21,091.

19. The procedure to be recommended would be quite clear if compulsory education was likely to be enforced immediately for all communities. Then attendance at common schools could be quickly carried through. But we have to consider the question on the assumption that it will be many years before Compulsory Primary Education can be enforced in a complete manner. Even accepting this we consider it is most important to press forward with the admission of these children into the common school, and we do not advocate the opening of new separate schools unless the opposition is so strong that it means a practical exclusion of the Depressed Classes to insist on the right of entry into the common school.

20. With a view to remove the difficulties and to make the common school a success we suggest the following measures:—

(a) An admixture of staff.

We consider that the time is ripe for a more frequent interchange of teachers between the common schools and the separate schools. We are of opinion that if more Depressed Class teachers are placed in the common schools, the entry of the Depressed Class children in these schools will be greatly facilitated.

The entry of such teachers into the common schools will be much easier if the teachers so transferred are trained teachers. We refer to this side of the question again in the section on the training of teachers. We are of opinion that Government should set an example in this respect and introduce a Depressed Class teacher into each Practising School.

(b) A bonus to teachers.

This point is referred to later in paragraph 39.

21. In practice we propose that before a new separate school for the Depressed Classes is recognised by the Educational Department for a grant, the latter should be satisfied that the interest of the Depressed Classes will be best served by its institution.

Regarding the question of closing the separate schools now in existence we propose to make a distinction. We have found that the opposition to the entry of the Depressed Classes children to the common schools seems to lessen in the higher standards, and if the separate schools are limited to the Infants and first four Standards, their efficiency will increase. We found in a few villages that standards higher than the fourth were being taught in separate schools having one teacher only, though there were full primary common schools in the same area. We consider this undesirable and see no reason why the practice should not now be definitely forbidden.

22. We do not think the time is ripe for closing the separate schools of the lower primary grade immediately. The closing of such schools should be accomplished as the social and political opinions of the higher classes advance. In cases where the school is conveniently situated it will often be advisable not to close it, but to convert it into a common school, by encouraging other children to attend it. To facilitate this we suggest that hereafter no schools should be labelled as Depressed Class schools. We saw some schools in Gujarat definitely labelled "Low caste schools" on the entrance. This seems objectionable and should be forbidden. We accept the position that in cities and towns and big villages it will be necessary to have schools conveniently situated to the areas occupied by the Depressed Classes, and that thereby such schools will probably get a preponderance of Depressed Class children, but the right of other children to attend such schools, and of the Depressed Class children to attend the other schools should be enforced.

23. It seems to us that the policy of closing the smaller separate schools and insisting on the right of entry into the common schools should be pressed provided it does not check the increase in the number of pupils attending schools and becoming literate thereby. For this a

very careful watch for each local authority and year by year ought to be kept on the following figures and a comparison made between them :—

- (a) the population of the Depressed Classes,
- (b) the number of common schools,
- (c) the number of separate schools,
- (d) the number of Depressed Class children in common schools,
 - (i) where there is one or more Depressed Class teachers in the school,
 - (ii) where there are no Depressed Class teachers in the schools,
- (e) the number of Depressed Class children in separate schools,
- (f) the number of Depressed Class teachers in ordinary schools,
- (g) the number of Depressed Class teachers in the separate schools.

Later on in paragraph (65) we are advocating the appointment of an Assistant to the Director of Public Instruction for the Backward Classes and an important part of his duty should be to watch on behalf of the Director of Public Instruction the interests of the Depressed Classes as represented by any change or absence of change in these figures.

Primary Education of the Aboriginal Tribes.

24. The problem of the education of the Aboriginal Tribes differs vitally from the corresponding problem for the Depressed Classes. The latter as a whole live in villages in which they are in a minority, and if the special disabilities attaching to their position in relation to the Hindu Society could be removed they would soon advance.

The Aboriginal Tribes on the other hand lived originally in forest areas, and to a considerable extent still live there, though many, and in fact perhaps the majority, now live in the plains especially in the areas adjacent to the forest. As a whole they despise education as being a useless and cramping thing which unfits them for their free life in the jungle, and for agricultural pursuits if they are leading a settled life.

It is difficult to obtain a conspectus of the progress of the Aboriginal Tribes in education, as changes in classification confuse the issues, but this much seems quite clear that the education of the Aboriginal Tribes is much behind that of the Depressed Classes, and that far less educational progress has been made amongst them than amongst any other class in the Province.

We regret very much that the Hartog Committee was not able to find time to investigate the progress of the Aboriginal Tribes as it did for the Depressed Classes.

The problem of the Aboriginal Tribes children who live in villages in the plains is largely that of attracting them to the common village

school and of opening more schools where none exist, as there is no serious objection on the part of the other communities in admitting them to their schools. Many of them will need assistance by way of scholarships if they are to proceed beyond the IV Standard, and we propose to meet this partly by means of an increased number of primary scholarships. But many of them will have no relatives in places where there are full primary schools and thus they will need hostels to live in.

25. The problem of education of children scattered in forest hamlets with parents who are indifferent or despise education resolves itself into making a small school as efficient and attractive as possible. Much has been said in recent years of the inefficiency and waste of the one-teacher school, but this type of school is inevitable in most forest villages, and all one can do is to make it as efficient as possible. One great drawback to the progress of these schools is the reluctance of the ordinary teacher from the plains to remain in such forest areas, and he uses every excuse and influence to get away, and failing that to reduce the attendance so that the school may be automatically closed. *While not desiring to exclude the higher caste teachers from such schools we feel that the solution lies in the recruitment of more teachers from the Aboriginal Tribes.* We look forward to an increase in the number of lower Primary Schools in forest villages manned by teachers who are prepared to live in such villages and take their share in the uplift of these people. At the same time we recognize that it is not feasible to carry education in most of these villages beyond the IV Standard, and in very small villages, *where it is not possible to gather more than an average attendance of 10 children* it will not be possible to have a school of any description.

PRIMARY HOSTELS.

26. A certain number of Boarding schools admitting day scholars, on very simple lines near to their own homes are therefore needed for the Aboriginal Tribes of villages where no school is possible for boys from Infants to IV Standard. Central Hostels attached to full Primary Schools are equally necessary for the Aboriginal Tribes boys who wish to proceed to the higher Primary stage. Some of those in existence have achieved excellent results for example Godsamba in Surat District. We recommend that their number be expanded. But we would urge that they should be kept on as simple lines as possible, and the boys made to do much of the cooking and house-work, and that also the boys of relatively well-to-do parents should be made to contribute part of the expenses. It is very necessary to inculcate a spirit of independence and self-respect in them.

27. It is not necessary or even advisable that all these hostels or boarding schools should be under direct School Board control. Voluntary Agencies both Hindu and Christian are doing excellent work amongst these people, and their hostels are often run on a more practical and economic basis than those under direct management. Thus we recommend that where suitable hostels exist under voluntary agencies the

boys should be encouraged to go to them and that a capitation grant be given to these societies for the maintenance of these boys.*

28. Whatever be the decision in regard to schools attended mainly by boys from the other communities, we consider that at least for the primary schools attended mainly by the Aboriginal Tribes the curriculum should be that of the Agricultural bias and at an earlier period of a boy's career than that given in the present curriculum. We would however urge that the course be made more practical than is the case in the average agricultural bias school at present. This will help them in after life to take a more intelligent interest in the cultivation of their fields, and those who pass the Agricultural vernacular School Final, and become teachers will have a better back-ground for their teaching in forest villages than those who pass the ordinary Vernacular School Final can possess.

Where there is a hostel for Aboriginal Tribes attached to a school practical agriculture should be introduced into the hostel life outside school hours if it is not being taught in the school.

EXPERIMENTAL AREAS.

29. Though we admire much of the work which has been done for the education of the Aboriginal Tribes, we think that there is room for much more investigation. The education of the Aboriginal Tribes is the hardest problem which the educationalist has to solve in this Presidency, and it is the one in which least success has been obtained hitherto. It may well be that the methods and curricula which are suitable for ordinary schools are not suited for such people. It hardly seems a fair task to ask the School Boards to solve this problem without special assistance. To facilitate this experimental work we would suggest that intensive experiments on bold lines be tried in hill areas, carefully selected, as being those in which practically all the inhabitants are Aboriginal Tribes and in which at present schools are very few, and in which very little success has been obtained hitherto in the work of educating the Aboriginal Tribes children. We suggest in particular that more experiments are required amongst the Katkaris and Varlis, and Bhils of the hilly areas.

Probably areas could be chosen where the School Board would voluntarily hand them back for the purpose of experiment, or in the alternative accept control and guidance of a special kind in return for specially high grants. The following amongst the proposals suggested to us might be tried as experimental methods and the results watched carefully :—

- (i) The giving of prizes every third month to those children who have learnt a certain amount in that period.
- (ii) Part of the salary of the teacher to depend on results (this is suggested because of the difficulty of supervision.)

* Mr. Thorat is of opinion that where the School Boards are prepared to undertake direct control of the hostels this is the cheapest and most efficient way. Hostels under Voluntary Agencies might tend to accentuate caste distinctions.

We are aware that the principles underlying suggestions (i) and (ii) are usually condemned by educationalists ; but the conditions of the Hill Aboriginal Tribes are very different to those in which others live, and it may be that methods condemned as inadvisable elsewhere will be the most suitable in these special conditions.

- (iii) Enlisting the support of the Revenue or Forest Officer most closely connected with the people, by giving him a voice in location of schools and securing his presence to preside at meetings of the Tribes to discuss educational questions.
- (iv) Before starting a school, getting the people to promise before this Revenue or Forest Officer that they will send their children to school, and after the school has been started asking this Officer to use his influence to keep them to their word.

(The idea underlying suggestions (iii) and (iv) is that democratic Government has proceeded too fast for the Aboriginal Tribes, and that the strongest influence over them is still that of the Revenue or Forest Officer, so that the Educational Authority, whether he be a direct representative of the Educational Department, or is on the staff of a School Board, who tries to work without the aid of their influence, is working without utilizing the most powerful influence available.)

- (v) Vacation Training Schools for the teachers and frequent conferences with them to prevent them from stagnating.
- (vi) Schools held for part of the day only so that for the rest of the day the pupils can graze cattle or do other work, and night schools for the older lads.
- (vii) After much propaganda and discussion in caste Panchayats, compulsory education should be introduced into one or more typical hill areas.

We consider that compulsion forms the final solution for the education of these people, and though on financial grounds general compulsion may not be possible at present throughout the Presidency, very valuable experience might be gained meanwhile without much expense by introducing it into limited areas populated mainly by Aboriginal Tribes. Compulsion should start with the children now aged six. It would not be of any use bringing children aged ten newly to school for one year. The Assistant to the Director of Public Instruction for the Backward Classes should, if administratively possible, be in charge of these experimental areas and should have such staff under him as is necessary for supervision. His staff should not limit themselves to questions of education. They should start co-operative societies amongst the people and preach sanitation and temperance among them. They should enlist the teachers to help them in this work and for this purpose study the various experiments which are being made for community work in villages in the Punjab and elsewhere in India. In this way they and the teachers should endeavour to raise the whole community. The Officer for the Backward Classes who is being recommended later on in

this report should specially interest himself in the experiment and endeavour to make it a success. The advantages of experimental areas of this kind would be many and its influence felt in all the other areas inhabited by the Aboriginal Tribes.

REVISION OF CURRICULUM.

30. In the next revision of the Curriculum for the Primary Schools we regard it as very important that an educationalist who has spent much of his life amongst the Aboriginal Tribes should be included in the Committee for revision so that sufficient latitude for adaptation to their special needs should be permitted. In particular the question should be considered whether in forest areas agriculture can be introduced at a very early stage of the curriculum. We consider that at least in the interests of the Aboriginal Tribes, if for no other reasons, the present curriculum urgently needs revising. We feel too that it would be preferable to hold examinations more frequently than once a year to lessen the serious stagnation which occurs at present in the Infants and First Standard. This has proved of great advantage in the Criminal Tribes Settlement Schools.

31. In the new text books we consider that more lessons on simple lines dealing with moral principles, humanitarianism, cleanliness and the like should be introduced, but we have come to the conclusion that it would be unwise to introduce lessons dealing directly with the evils of untouchability, as such lessons might be wrongly used by unsympathetic teachers.*

COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

32. We have considered the question of the separate introduction of compulsory primary education amongst the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes. We do not think that in most areas it would be feasible to introduce it before its introduction for the other communities in the same areas. But it may be tried in those areas where the leaders of the community are prepared to accept compulsion for their community separately. At the same time we would record our opinion that the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes should not be left out of any scheme of compulsion on the score of poverty. We consider that it is quite possible for them to spare their children to go to school and they should be made to send them.

Education of the other Backward Classes.

33. In this paragraph we are concerned with the other Tribes referred to in paragraph 10, and enumerated in Schedule III of Appendix II. They live mainly in small numbers in the villages of the plains, and as they are not untouchables, there is no bar to them attending the common school except the distrust between themselves and the villagers. The whole problem is how to entice them into school.

* Mr. Thorat adds "lessons from Puranas depicting life in ancient India when people lived under a common roof without a caste or creed may be introduced."

If as proposed later on in the report facilities are given to the wandering tribes referred to above to settle down (*vide* paragraph 83), we consider that the recommendations for the education of the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes, if applied to them also, will be as much as can be attempted for the present. Compulsory Primary Education will be needed, as for the rest of the Backward Classes before a final solution of their educational needs is obtained.

These castes were outside the purview of our enquiry, and so we have not paid special attention to the study of their education and uplift. But large castes like Berads and Vaghris are included in them, and we suggest that the Backward Classes Officer proposed by us, should look as carefully after their interests as after those in Schedules I and II.

Education of Backward Classes Girls.

34. The education of the Backward Classes girls whether they belong to the Depressed Class section, or to the Aboriginal Tribes or to the other Backward Classes, presents difficulties even greater than that for the boys, but as urged by the Hartog Committee for all classes, so too we consider for the Backward Classes in particular, preference should be given to girls' education. According to the Quinquennial Report of 1927, page 273, with a total population of 1,983,415 backward class females in the Presidency in 1927, only 5,739 girls were studying in the lower primary and only 159 girls in the middle classes, one in the higher classes and none in the University classes. To a limited extent this preference can be fostered by giving preference for the scholarships to Backward Class girls who will live at home whilst studying. We understand this is already being done to some extent. We are of opinion however that, to foster education amongst the girls studying in the upper primary and in secondary schools, hostels must be developed. We are not however in favour of mixed hostels of boys and girls as are found occasionally even though the girls have a separate matron. The dangers are too great. The Superintendent of a hostel for girls must be a thoroughly responsible woman and we are strongly against the recognition of any girls hostels where this cannot be ensured. *We suggest that the existing girls hostels or boarding schools controlled by Voluntary Associations such as the Seva Sadan or Christian Missions where they are efficiently conducted, should be asked if they will accept such girls as boarders and treat them on equal terms with other inmates. In addition attached to the Practising Schools of the Women's Teachers Training Colleges we would suggest the establishment of hostels for girls of the Backward Classes under the general supervision of the Superintendents of the Training Colleges.* These would serve a double purpose. They would introduce Depressed Class and Aboriginal Tribes girls into the Practising Schools—a change very urgently needed as an example to the teachers under training, and also it would enable an option to be given to the parents of the girls to decide whether they would prefer to send their girls to these hostels, or to the approved hostels, of the Voluntary Associations. In this way any religious difficulty would be avoided. In making this recommendation.

one purpose is no doubt to accelerate the growth of Depressed Classes women teachers to take charge of the education of the Depressed Classes. But we do not desire that these hostels should be merely boarding houses. Rather they should be Boarding Schools in which besides providing accommodation to girls going to the practising school, opportunities should be afforded to others for instruction in useful Arts and Crafts with a view to open to them new ways of earning a living. If such provision is not available in other institutions near to the hostel it should be organized in connection with these hostels.

35. We would suggest that eventually provision be made for 400 girls in hostels for girls from the 3 groups of the Backward Classes. Though it will take time to work up to these figures, those who are in closest touch with the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes do not despair of obtaining a sufficient number of girls within a decade to absorb this provision in hostels.

HOSTELS FOR ABORIGINAL TRIBES GIRLS.

36. In addition to the hostels for girls attending Upper Primary and Secondary Schools there is a need for small hostels for Aboriginal Tribes girls from the forest areas who are in the lower primary stage. Hindu or Christian Missions should be encouraged to open such hostels in suitable areas. Such hostels could continue the girls for the upper primary stage also. These hostels could only obtain a limited number of girls in each, probably not more than 25 in most cases.

Wastage for the Backward Classes in Primary School.

37. Unfortunately separate figures for the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes which would show the proportion of children who enter school but leave before passing the IV Standard and so may be presumed to lapse into illiteracy, are not available. Such figures would have been very instructive. In the 1927 Quinquennial Report the Director of Public Instruction calculated that of the children of all classes of this Presidency who entered school roughly 33 per cent. passed the IV Standard and so may be regarded as having attained literacy. Approximate calculations on the same basis show that only about 17 per cent. of the Backward Classes children who enter school, attain literacy. The appalling waste of public money which results from this can be readily conceived.

A policy which concentrates on the number of Backward Class children in schools and does not consider the number which become literate thereby is a very wasteful policy. It thus becomes very necessary to reduce this wastage. One cause is the indifference to education on the part of the parents. They quickly give up the idea of making their children literate when the latter become old enough to work. In the absence of compulsory education, we propose this should be attacked by propaganda by the Backward Classes Board and Officer through district conferences and communal organizations.

38. Another reason for this wastage is the lack of keenness on the part of the teacher in teaching the pupils from these Classes, and an inbred assumption on their part and on his alike that they will not be able to pass examinations as readily as the pupils of other classes. Most of the parents of the Backward Classes pupils are uneducated and so can give no assistance in the home to the studies of their children. This makes it more difficult for the latter to pass the class examinations, and thus they need more attention from the teacher than the children of the more advanced parents. In addition in the case of the Depressed Classes the same feeling of aversion which until recently kept them out of school entirely and which even now often makes them to be seated separately, and the teacher to refuse to take a book out of their hands or give it back to them, must also react against giving them even an equal chance with the other children. The stagnation is specially serious in the Infants Class.

REWARDS TO TEACHERS.

39. To encourage the teacher to take a special interest in such children we propose that rewards should be given to the Class teachers from whose class the Backward Class child passes its examination for promotion to the next class. We propose the following scale:—

	Rs.
For each Backward Class pupil passing each standard from the Infants to the Sixth	1
For each Backward Class pupil passing Vernacular School Final	3

When there has been a change in masters during the year the rewards should be divided in proportion to their period of work. The reward should not be paid to masters of classes where the boys of the Depressed Classes are made to sit separately from the others.

In the Central Provinces rewards are given to Head Masters for each pupil from the Depressed Classes who passes the Primary Certificate Examination. Such rewards would generally be earned by the Head Masters. The Masters in this Presidency already have a special allowance and we prefer a system which will give more encouragement to the Class Master. So far from being an added expenditure it will be a measure of true economy if it reduces, as we believe it will, the wastage which is now so serious.

We also consider that the pamphlets which the Officer for the Backward Classes should issue would help in retaining literacy, if he is careful to see that they were written in very simple language.

Secondary Education.

40. Having considered separately the needs for the Depressed Classes and the Aboriginal Tribes children in Primary Education the remaining spheres of education can be considered jointly for all the Backward Classes. It is very necessary that a sufficient number of the

Backward Classes should receive secondary education. It is from this group, and in particular from those who having passed successfully through the Secondary School course proceed to College or to some technical training, that the future leaders of the Backward Classes must be drawn. For the uplift of these classes it is also essential that they should obtain a fair footing in all Government Departments and this cannot be accomplished without Secondary and College education.

There are very few signs of differential treatment in admission or seating or teaching of the Depressed Classes in secondary schools, and where it exists the Educational Department are taking adequate steps to end it.

The number of Depressed Classes attending Secondary Schools in March 1927 (the latest figures available) was 730. On the same date only 54 pupils of the Aboriginal Tribes were in Secondary Schools.

41. The figures for the pupils of the Aboriginal Tribes in Secondary Schools are very disappointing. If these classes are to obtain a fair share of the appointments in the Government Departments a large increase in their number taking secondary education must be encouraged. In particular it seems to us that if secondary education spreads more amongst these classes, useful recruits for executive and clerical work in the Forest Department could be obtained who would not shrink from the life in the jungles. This increase is needed also for another reason. As a class they are taking no part in the political life of the country. To a restricted extent persons of other communities become their leaders, but they have raised no leaders of their own, and as a result, to a much greater degree than is the case with the Depressed Classes, they have little or no influence on the local politics of the district, or on the broader politics of the Presidency.

Had the Aboriginal Tribes any educated representatives of their own in the Councils, and more representatives in the Local Boards and the School Boards their interests would not be so easily overlooked, as they often are at present when the interests of the different communities conflict.

42. It appears that the number of Backward Class boys in the Government High Schools is small. In their present backward state and ignorance of procedure rigid rules regarding admission are not suited to them. We therefore recommend that *the present rules for admission to Government Secondary Schools should be relaxed so that they may be admitted at any time of the year* even though this may temporarily mean an excess over the sanctioned strength of a particular class. We understand that such relaxation is permitted for sons of Government Officers on transfer.

43. We understand that at present the proportions of admission to the Government Secondary Schools are fixed at 40 per cent. for the Advanced classes, 45 per cent. for the Intermediate and Backwards together, and 15 per cent. to the Mohammedans. In view of the many excellent aided schools which have now been established we consider

that the proportion of 45 per cent. for the Intermediates and Backward Classes in the Government Schools should be increased, as these schools are under direct Government control and orders can easily be enforced. This increase should be so proportioned that the further influx of Backward Classes into these Schools should not be at the expense of the intermediate classes.

Hostels for Boys attending Secondary Schools.

44. Special hostels for the Backward Classes have many advantages in providing for corporate life for the boys. They have however the grave drawback that they do not mix the boys with those of the other castes. Where the boys can live in a mixed hostel many advantages follow: We would draw attention to the vacancies at present in many of the hostels attached to Government Secondary Schools, and suggest that the Backward Class boys and specially Depressed Class boys should be accommodated therein. The success of this would however depend on making such a hostel cheap, and securing fair treatment for the boys.

We recognize however that this does not provide a full solution for the problem, and separate hostels will be needed in Taluka towns and large villages where there are Anglo-Vernacular Schools. Hostels controlled Societies working for the uplift of the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes fulfil a very useful function and deserve to be encouraged. We would emphasize the need of more adequate inspection by Government Officers and of audits of their accounts. This is as much in their own interests as in that of Government.

45. In most of the hostels whether run by Government or by the voluntary agencies, we noticed the absence of any effort to provide manual work for the students for any part of the day. A large proportion of the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes pupils fail to pass their standards and have to leave the secondary course before completing it. If they had some skill of hand they would not flounder so hopelessly, when they have to leave school. We do not think that some manual work would detract from their other studies. Thus we would like to see weaving, printing or carpentry introduced into the Depressed Class hostels and other work such as agriculture in the Aboriginal Tribes hostels for about 4 hours a week. Such work would also serve to emphasize the dignity of manual labour.

At the same time we consider that the real place of such manual work is in the school curriculum and our recommendation is also meant for operation until such change is made in the present curriculum for Secondary Schools.

46. For all hostels whether under direct Government control or under voluntary agencies we advocate great simplicity. This is not only on the score of economy, but also because of the bad effect on the boy who becomes accustomed to a style of living which he may not be able to live up to when he has to fend for himself.

Scholarships.

47. It is in the Primary School stage that we consider the greatest encouragement is needed in order to increase rapidly the number of students who continue their studies beyond the IV Vernacular. The present provision of Government upper primary scholarships for the Backward Classes for the Presidency proper in the Primary Schools is 300 only, *i.e.*—

5	for each district of Rs. 5	tenable in 5th Standard.
5	„ „ Rs. 6	„ 6th Standard.
5	„ „ Rs. 7	„ 7th Standard.

The value of these scholarships seem quite adequate. We consider however that the number should be increased by 600 more upper primary scholarships and in addition the savings made by adjustments from the present unused secondary and college scholarships.

In the Hill Tracts lower primary scholarships will also be needed in a few cases. We propose a provision of Rs. 10,000 for these.

It may often prove advisable not to pay the whole value of the scholarship in cash but to deduct from it the necessary expenditure on books and clothes, and in some cases enough for a midday meal.

48. Besides the above scholarships in some areas the Local Authorities also award scholarships for Primary Education. These are usually of smaller value than the above. Before handing over Primary Education to the Local Authorities these scholarships were paid in full by Government and no part of it was paid from Local Board or Municipal funds and this practice has been continued. We understand however that no instructions have been issued to the Local Authorities as to the proportion of such expenditure which must be allotted to the Backward Classes. If this is the case, we consider that the proportion should be fixed by Government.* It is a healthy sign that in some areas local authorities are anxious to take an increasing share in the uplift of these people by raising the number of scholarships for the Backward Classes, paying their share of the increased cost, and we trust such proposals will be considered sympathetically.

49. For the boys attending Secondary Schools the existing rates of scholarships seem quite sufficient in value. We understand that a number of these lapse. It seems to us that the reasons for this are as follows :—

(a) The system is very rigid and has provided the same number of scholarships from the 1st to the 7th Standard without taking into consideration that the number of Backward Class boys is sure to be larger in the lower classes than in the higher.

(b) The special scholarships for the Backward Classes have only been recently instituted, and sufficiently wide publicity has not been

* Mr. Thorat is of opinion that the proportion of scholarships for Backward Classes should be fixed by the School Boards, which are the best judges of the peculiar local conditions obtaining within their respective areas. The proportion should be as a rule fixed upon the basis of population, and care should be taken to see that one Class does not take a lion's share to the detriment of the more Backward Classes.

given to them to attract the notice of the parents of all suitable candidates.

(c) The lapsed scholarships are only awarded in the beginning of each year and consequently many boys who in their ignorance fail to apply in time do not succeed in obtaining one.

50. *We therefore recommend that the rigidity of the system should be relaxed in favour of the Backward Classes by placing the amount of the scholarships at the disposal of the Divisional Inspector without restricting his discretion concerning the number to be awarded to each standard or the dates on which they may be awarded or the Districts.* We consider that this will result in more elasticity. Also wider publicity should be given to them especially by Circulars to the Head Masters of the Primary Schools.

We anticipate that the present provision for Secondary Schools will soon be insufficient and therefore we have made an additional provision of Rs. 20,000 on this account.

51. In all scholarships preferences should be given to girls, and secondly to boys who are unmarried and whose parents cannot afford to educate them without assistance. We heard of a few cases where the boys of the Depressed Classes, who were given these special scholarships, had parents who could have well afforded to educate their sons without assistance.

52. We consider that it is important that the scholarships meant for the Backward Classes should be retained for their benefit.

In the past the surplus amounts if any of the amount allotted for the benefit of the Backward Classes as scholarships have been transferred to the Intermediate Classes. Instead of this *we propose that the scholarship allotment for the Backward Classes be considered as one unit, and where, as at present, insufficient suitable applicants apply for the secondary schools and College scholarships, the amount should be transferred to the primary scholarships.* This will increase the number of primary school scholarships.

53. In awarding the scholarships we suggest that care be taken that no one community of the Backward Classes absorbs an undue proportion of the scholarships. As these scholarships are for the express purpose of advancing the education of the Backward Classes we consider that the principle that the more backward the caste, the more need for assistance in its advancement be recognized. But at the same time in awarding these scholarships the economic position of the community and also of the individual himself should be taken into consideration. The scholarships should not be, however, awarded to candidates below the minimum capacity necessary to complete the course.

54. There does not appear to have been any injustice done to the Depressed Classes, or the Aboriginal Tribes hitherto by their joint grouping for the purposes of scholarships. But this joint grouping may produce difficulties in future as the number of competitors increase and the point will need to be watched carefully by the Educational Department and Backward Classes Officer and Board.

EXEMPTION FROM FEES.

55. The value of the scholarships we have said is sufficient but this is on the understanding that the student from the Backward Class gets exemption from fees while in school. We understand however that such exemption from fees is only given to a limited number and is also subject to restrictions as to age. We are of opinion that in the backward state of these classes every poor student of the Backward Classes in the Secondary Schools who is not proved to be incompetent by misconduct or repeated failures should be exempted from fees irrespective of the question whether he gets a scholarship or not. There are many economic and other reasons which operate in the case of the Backward Classes to break the steady progress of their education, and though raising the age has its dangers, we feel that the number of deserving cases which are now excluded by the operation of the age limit make it desirable to remove this limit. As the majority of the boys attend aided schools we recommend that the managers of such schools should be compensated by appropriate additional grants for the loss so incurred through exemption of fees to backward classes. We understand that such exemption of fees is granted to sons of all school mistresses. We do not think that our proposed concession will be very costly to Government. We would point out that by the time a considerable number of students from any one caste among the Backward Classes take to Secondary Education, the question of the removal of the caste from the Backward Class list according to the conditions in paragraph (12) will have to be considered.*

CHARITABLE FUNDS FOR PROMOTING EDUCATION.

56. Many other communities have funds for promoting education amongst their community, *e.g.*, the Shirsangi Lingayat Education Fund, Raddi Educational Scholarship Fund, Anjuman Educational Scholarship Fund, etc. The existence of such funds has been of great advantage to the communities concerned. If the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes could raise through themselves and through their sympathisers funds for this purpose much good could be done. Nor do we consider the establishment of such funds beyond the reach of possibility.

College Education.

57. The number of Backward Classes students attending Colleges is very disappointing. The number of Depressed Class students in March 1927 was only nine and there were none from the Aboriginal Tribes or from the other Backward Classes.

SCHOLARSHIPS

We consider that the present provision of scholarships by Government is more than adequate in number but they are only adequate in amount if exemption from fees, or an extra scholarship to cover fees is added to it. We understand that such extra help is not always given.† We

* Mr. Thorat is of opinion that exemptions of fees in schools and colleges should be granted on the basis of population. A certain percentage for that purpose be fixed and the percentage once fixed should be as far as possible adhered to.

† Mr. Thorat would add that this is specially the case in aided colleges.

however recommend that it should always follow the scholarship. If the existing provision for College scholarships is absorbed by the increase in the number of College students which we anticipate we would recommend that those boys who do not succeed in getting a scholarship should at least get exemption from fees.

The number of Backward Class students attending college is likely to be so small that this concession will not be expensive to Government. We have received no complaints of differential treatment by Depressed Class students in Colleges and we have no reason to suppose that any such differential treatment exists.

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR FOREIGN STUDY.

58. We consider it would be of great advantage if one scholarship is available for study abroad in technical or literary subjects for a member of the Backward Classes. It is very important that there should be a few men among these communities of wide views and experience. The existence of such men, though they will necessarily be very few, will give greater confidence to these communities that they are not for ever doomed to be the under-dog of Society, but that they too can rise and take an honourable and important place in the life of the nation.

Adult Education.

59. Adult education can be defined as the instruction in the three Rs of men and lads who are working for their bread during the day time. This education besides doing good to those that receive it, helps the education of their children, who will be sent more certainly to day-schools than would otherwise be the case. It is this latter advantage that is of greater national value than the former.

We find that very little is being done for the adult Primary Education of the Backward Classes in this Presidency, specially when compared with Madras and the Punjab. However we found Chambhars in Dharwar who had been taught solely in the night school conducted for some time by the Central Co-operative Institute through the generosity of the late Sir Vithaldas Thakersay, and who still retained their literacy. Similar good work is being done by the opening of a large number of night schools in Paradi Taluka of Surat District where a large number of Aboriginal Tribes learn to read and write. But in other places the results seem very disappointing. However, considering the importance of the issues involved *we recommend an increase in the number of Night Schools in areas occupied by the Backward Classes though we do not propose that the schools should be limited to them.*

Such schools need not be located for a long time in one place. On the other hand, if after three or four years a school is found to be attracting an insufficient number of adult men, it may be closed. Here it may be said to have fulfilled its mission by making as many of such grown up people literate as desired literacy. Moreover such schools are cheap, and the teacher's work may be encouraged by a part of his salary being made to depend upon results at the end of six months. The teacher in the Local Board School of the same or an adjacent village will very much appreciate such work as making a substantial addition to his earnings,

TRAVELLING LIBRARIES.

Such Night Schools may be supplemented by circulating library boxes containing books for children and also for grown up people in the village, which will help them to keep up their literacy. Such boxes may easily be obtained by the help of philanthropic gentlemen of the district and will not cost much.

**Recruitment of Teachers from among the Backward Classes
and their training.**

PRESENT POSITION.

60. The following figures represent the position of recruitment as teachers in Primary Schools as given in the last Quinquennial Report :—

	For all castes	Aboriginal Tribes and Hill Tribes	Depressed Classes	Criminal Tribes	Total for Backward Classes
Trained	15,372	121	200	31	352
Untrained	10,644	167	381	19	567
Total	26,016	288	581	50	919
Total for 1922	24,777	237	328	44	609

It will thus be seen that though there has been a satisfactory increase in the number of teachers amongst the Depressed Classes the progress amongst the Aboriginal Tribes has not been so satisfactory. The percentage increase of the Aboriginal Tribes teachers being only 21 in the five years as compared with the percentage increase of 77·1 for the Depressed Classes. This smaller percentage is the more regrettable as it is not easy to find teachers from other communities who are willing to remain in forest areas.

There also seems some danger that the recruitment of Depressed Class teachers may receive a severe set back if the policy advocated by us in paragraph 20 is accepted, wherein it is proposed that Depressed Class teachers should be introduced in greater numbers into the ordinary primary schools, as to do this requires a strong determination on the part of the Local Authorities, and the easier course would be to reduce the recruitment of the Depressed Classes.

PERCENTAGE OF RECRUITMENT.

To obviate this risk and to ensure that a sufficient number of Backward Class teachers are recruited *we advocate that just as a percentage has been fixed by Government for the admissions to the Primary Teachers Training Colleges, so too a similar minimum percentage should be fixed for the future recruitment of primary teachers from the Backward Classes by the Local Authorities.* By the Quinquennial Report only 919 out of a total of 34,611 teachers in Primary Schools belonged to the Backward Classes, *i.e.*, a proportion of 2·7 per cent. The proportion of the Backward,

Classes to the total population is about 23 per cent., so that it will be seen that their recruitment is by no means proportionate to their numbers.

TRAINING.

61. In the training of teachers from amongst the Backward Classes much leeward has to be made up. Government have ordered that of the persons to be recruited to the Primary Teacher's Training Colleges and who receive Government stipends, there should be 15 per cent. of the Backward Classes for the Bombay, Central and Southern Divisions and 10 per cent. for the Northern Division. According to the Quinquennial Review of 1927 in the Training Colleges out of 1,608 students only 85 belong to the Backward Classes, *i.e.*, only 5.3 per cent. These figures refer to the total number of teachers in the Training Colleges but it seems that there is a divergence of the actual practice from the expressed desire of Government. We have been told that suitable candidates were not available. On the other hand we were confronted with statements from the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes that there are very many persons qualified to be teachers having passed the Vernacular School Final who cannot get posts. This is supported, at least for some areas, by the statement of the Educational Inspector, Northern Division, quoted in the 1927 Quinquennial Report page 189. "Instead of there being a lack of Aboriginal Class teachers for schools for Aboriginal Classes as there was 25 years ago there is now an excess for whom in these days of financial stringency which has prevented the opening of any more schools since 1921 it is now impossible to find employment."

Taking the latest figure the following table shows the admissions of Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes compared with the corresponding admission for 1924-25 :—

	Number admitted to Government Training Institutions in the Presidency (excluding Sind) (All Castes)		Out of the number admitted, how many were from the Local Authorities (District Local Boards and Local Authority, Municipalities) (All Castes)		Out of the numbers admitted on behalf of Local Authorities, the number admitted from the			
	1924-25	1929-30	1924-25	1929-30	Depressed Classes		Aboriginal Tribes	
					1924-25	1929-30	1924-25	1929-30
Bombay Division..	49	35	49	35	..	..	..	..
Central Division ..	486	346	465	312	26	27	9	9
Northern Division..	131	68	87	17	2	2	15	..
Southern Division..	30	30	25	15	2	..	..	..
Total ..	696	479	626	379	30	29	24	9

The practical absence of any Depressed Classes sent up for training in either of the years in question from Bombay Division and Southern Division and also the drop in the figures for admission for the Aboriginal Tribes are very disquieting. There seems no sufficient reason why the Depressed Classes from the Bombay Division and the Southern Division or the Aboriginal Tribes from all divisions are not being sent to the Training Colleges. The figures for the Northern Division where are no members of the Aboriginal Tribes in Training Colleges compared with 15 in 1924-25 form a sad commentary on the quotation given above of the excess of qualified candidates from that division from among the Aboriginal Tribes. Of the total of nine teachers under training from the Aboriginal Tribes seven are Kolis and only two are Bhils. The total Bhil population is about 500,000 excluding Sind, and it is very regrettable that only two persons of this community are found fit for selection for the Training Colleges.

62. We feel, that it is even more important for the teachers from among the Aboriginal Tribes and Depressed Class to receive a training in the Training Colleges than for teachers from the higher classes. They have so little cultural background that they specially need this contact with other communities to give them a broader outlook on life. The figures, however, given in paragraph 60 show that whereas the percentage of the Trained teachers to the total for all castes is 59.1 per cent., the percentage of trained teachers for the Depressed Classes is 34.4 per cent. and for the Aboriginal Tribes is 42.1 per cent. Thus it seems essential that more attention should be paid to the admission of Backward Class teachers in Colleges. In particular the totals of admissions from the Backward Classes from each Local Authority over a number of years should be carefully watched, so that a lessened percentage in one year would have to be made up in succeeding years. *We consider that the existing percentages fixed by Government are not bringing the proportion of trained teachers from among the Backward Classes to their total number, to the proportion for the rest of the community at a sufficiently rapid rate, and until this is done the proportion should be raised.*

In this it must be watched that the Depressed Classes are not neglected as compared with the other Backward Classes. On the other hand we feel that the Aboriginal Tribes teacher does not get the proper rural background in the present Training Colleges, which are mostly situated in big towns. We should suggest that it be considered if more Training Colleges cannot be established in rural areas, even if this means the closing or reduction in scope of some of the present Training Colleges.

VACATION TRAINING AND RE-TRAINING CLASSES.

We would press also for vacation Training and re-training classes for teachers in which the Backward Class Teachers should be given preference, because of their greater need of being kept up to a standard of alertness and efficiency owing to their lack of cultural background.

PRACTISING SCHOOLS ATTACHED TO TRAINING COLLEGES.

63. We would like to draw attention to the Practising Schools attached to the present Training Colleges. There are extremely few Depressed Class pupils in these schools.

Statement showing the number of students studying in the Practising Schools attached to :—

Practising School attached to	Approximate total number of pupils	Depressed class pupils
Poona Training College for Men ..	250	2
Ahmedabad " " ..	226	0
Dharwar " " ..	249	8
Poona " " Women	230	0
Ahmedabad " " ..	250	0
Dharwar " " ..	200	1

The general impression seems to be that these schools attract the pupils of the higher castes, and that most of their parents are comparatively rich and educated. This seems to us to be an entirely wrong principle which is seriously affecting the interests of the education of the poorer classes, and especially of the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes.

The teachers under-training look to these schools as Model Schools on which they should fashion the schools in which they will teach hereafter. But we fear that under the present circumstances they will draw the conclusion that the best way to get good results is to concentrate on the children of the higher classes whose parents being educated, will take an interest in the education of their children, and will send them regularly and clean to school. Also they will not learn in the Training College how to mingle the Depressed Class children with the other children, and to insist on equality of treatment for them. Thus a very valuable opportunity, which would influence the outlook of all the teachers who come under the influence of the Training Colleges, is being neglected. We understand that some of the Training Colleges, e.g., Poona Men's Training College are situated in areas surrounded by well-to-do people and they might find it difficult to obtain Depressed Class pupils. Nevertheless we would urge that *Government should insist on the proportion of Depressed Classes in the Training Colleges being not less than the proportion of the Depressed Classes to the general population, i.e., not less than 9 per cent.* We do not believe that this is an impossible task if strenuous efforts are made to ensure the results. The proposal made in paragraph 34 would help to solve the difficulty, as regards the girls in the Practising schools attached to Women's Training Colleges. *Another aid would be the introduction of a Depressed Class teacher into every Practising School, and we recommend that this should be done.*

If this means that these Practising Schools would attract a poorer type of boy or girl than at present, we would welcome the change. For the problem of the future is how to provide teachers trained to work among the children of the poor, as it is these who most need primary education if they are to take their proper place in the life of the nation.

TRAINING FOR SCHOOLS.

64. We understand that the Training Colleges are giving instruction in methods of carrying on a one-teacher school, and take a few pupils from each of the different Standards of the Practising School to form a one-teacher school for demonstration purposes. We would suggest however that this idea be carried further and made more practical, and that attached to each Training College, there should be a real one-teacher school situated in a poor area where on account of the situation the pupils would be mainly (but not wholly) members of the Depressed Classes. There the teachers would learn how to deal with the real problems of poor attendance, lack of cleanliness, absence of educated parents, etc. This school should not however be used as an excuse to avoid the admission of Depressed Class children in sufficient numbers in the main Practising School.

ADMINISTRATION

65. There has been progress made in the education of the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes but it has lacked uniformity, and we fear, that unless carefully supervised, this lack of uniformity will increase, as each School Board will have its own policy. Much leeway remains to be made up and the education of these classes forms the most serious problem which the Educational Department has still to face. In the hill areas bold experimental work is required. A very careful watch needs to be kept on the various returns to see that Government orders relating to the Backward Classes are not being evaded.

We consider that it is essential for the Director of Public Instruction to have under him an Assistant who would specialize in the educational needs of the Backward Classes. He should be of the grade of the Bombay Educational Service.

He should be put in direct charge of the supervision of the experimental areas for Aboriginal Tribes education referred to in Paragraph 29. Later on (Paragraph 107), we are recommending the establishment of a Backward Class Officer and Board. This Assistant should prepare on behalf of the Director of Public Instruction the progress reports which will be required by them. He must be an enthusiast for the cause of these classes, and if a suitable person cannot be found in the present cadre Government should not hesitate to make the experiment of appointing one from outside. The administration of the ordinary district work relating to Backward Classes should be retained as at present, except for the experimental areas for Aboriginal Tribes, in the hands of the existing inspecting staff, as any separate organization would increase the divergence of interest between the Backward Classes

and the rest of the community. The policy should be guided by the Director of Public Instruction who would be aided by his Assistant for the Backward Classes, and this Assistant should have the right of inspecting any educational institution to see if the Backward Classes are admitted, and the Government or Departmental orders obeyed.

SUPERVISORS.

66. We have come to the conclusion that a separate inspecting staff for the Backward Classes under the School Boards is not advisable, as it would tend to harden the present difference between themselves and the other communities, but *we consider it very advisable that for each School Board one or more Supervisors should be drawn from the Backward Classes.* He should have his area of inspection as other Supervisors, but his presence would encourage the Backward Classes (especially the Depressed Class section) if he is a member of the Depressed Classes, and would keep the School Boards in touch with the needs and difficulties of these Classes, and we accordingly recommend that a rule to this effect should be added.

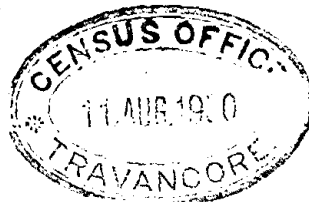
INSTRUCTIONS IN TRADES.

67. The problem presented by the students from the Backward Classes particularly from the Depressed Classes who fail to complete their high school course is graver than the problem of the failed Matriculate from the other classes. His failure is a terrible blow to him, For the educated boy of the Depressed Classes who fails to get into Government service is barred from entering many avocations, open to the boys of the higher castes. For example he cannot be set up in business as a shop-keeper in most trades nor can be employed in such shops, on account of caste prejudice.

But there is another aspect of his failure which shows that his failure has wider consequences. For there can be no doubt that if he fails he not only discredits himself but also brings education into general disrepute and thereby defeats the object of Government, namely to induce people to take to education. Special care has therefore to be taken of those from the Depressed Classes who fail to complete the High School Course. In their interests we propose vocational training. We realize that there are certain caste occupations which the non-caste men cannot adopt.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOLARSHIPS AND TRAINING.

There are however newer trades in which such caste prejudices do not operate to such an extent, and it is to these trades that the attention of some of the educated Depressed Class lads should be attracted. We therefore propose that provision for scholarships for industrial training as apprentices in Mills and Railway Work-shops and in big Engineering works and to other suitable trades should be made. The control of such scholarships should be in the hands of the Officer for the Backward Classes. We propose an annual expenditure of Rs. 10,000 on this account.



In addition the Backward Class Officer should secure entrance for some of them in the existing Industrial Training Schools, and if this provision proves insufficient separate industrial schools should be started.

We fear that one important reason why the Backward Classes do not take advantage of the existing provision of the scholarships now available for industrial training is that sufficient publicity is not given to the vacancies. The Backward Class Officer should take steps to ensure wider publicity for these scholarships among the Backward Classes.

68. *We also consider that instruction in improved methods of tanning, rope making and basket making, etc., should be organized by the Director of Industries on the lines of his present weaving schools.*

CHAPTER V.

ECONOMIC.

Indebtedness and Co-operation.

69. One of the reasons why the Depressed Classes have remained in their degraded condition is their poverty and the consequent want of economic independence without which they cannot be expected to rise in social status and free themselves from the many injustices to which they are subjected. Witnesses have stated to us that in the Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts where the Mahars have been carrying on an extensive movement of social uplift, the landlords of the District evicted them from the lands which the Mahars cultivated as tenants, and the Sawkars either refused to give them loans or commenced recalling former loans. In such conditions the progress of a community is effectually blocked and the situation must be remedied.

INDEBTEDNESS.

The Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes are heavily indebted, and the rates charged to them by the moneylenders are very high. The main reason for these high rates of interest is not that they are Depressed Classes or Aboriginal Tribes, but that they have very little real property capable of being given in security and (more especially in the case of Aboriginal Tribes) advantage is taken of their isolation and ignorance of accounting. This indebtedness can only be slowly removed by an increase in the earning capacity of these classes, and by an improvement in their social habits. Education may be expected to give much assistance in the reduction of intemperance, of costly death ceremonies, and caste dinners for marriage, and of other evil habits among them. As steps for immediate action we recommend the measures outlined below.

CO-OPERATION.

70. Co-operation is of great value in freeing them from the grip of the money-lender but at present it is only touching the fringe of the population which seems to be in great need of it.

We consider that as far as possible the Depressed Classes should be encouraged to join the common village Co-operative Credit Societies, as they will learn thereby to work with other communities. We would like however to see more of the Depressed Classes on the Managing Committees of such Societies, and we trust that the Co-operative Department will continue to use their good offices to see that these classes get due representation where this is not accorded at present.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES FOR MUNICIPAL CONSERVANCY STAFFS.

We would like to draw attention to the great field which is open to Municipalities in organizing Co-operative Credit Societies amongst their

conservancy staff, who are normally in debt bearing extraordinarily high rates of interests. Being in receipt of regular pay and deduction being possible from it, there will hardly be any bad debts. We would wish that Government should circularize all Municipalities pointing out the great necessity for starting such Societies. Already there are a few Societies of this type working successfully.

71. Where the Aboriginal Tribes live in villages occupied also by other classes we consider that they too should be encouraged to join the general societies. This is not possible in hill areas, and special societies must be organized on their behalf. We are glad to learn that Government have appointed a Special Mamlatdar for furthering the establishment and supervision of Societies amongst the Aboriginal Tribes of the Dohad and Jhalod talukas of the Panch Mahals District, and *we would like the principle to be extended by similar appointments being made in all areas where there is a large Aboriginal Tribes population ready for such Societies, such as Khandesh, Surat and Thana districts.*

72. Separate Societies for the Depressed Classes are needed in the case where they are Producers Societies and should be encouraged. We were impressed by the value of the "Dharwar Machigar Co-operative Credit Society" not only in improving the finances of its members, but also in the sense of self-respect, and confidence which has been given to the community by the training in self-Government and the opportunities afforded through the Society of mixing with other communities in Co-operative Conferences. At present the Annual Report of the Co-operative Department of this Presidency does not enable the reader to ascertain what progress the co-operative movement is making amongst the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes. More information on this point would be very valuable. *We accordingly recommend that this should be given.*

PROVIDENT FUND FOR MUNICIPAL CONSERVANCY STAFFS.

73. We would draw attention to the absence of any pension or Provident Fund Scheme in the majority of the Municipalities for their conservancy staff. We consider such provision is very necessary and are of opinion that a Provident Fund is more suitable than a Pension Scheme. *We would suggest that it be made an obligatory function for at least the City Municipalities to organize some such Provident Fund, the funds being provided partly by contributions from the workers and partly from the Municipal funds.*

The majority of us consider that compulsion also should be used to the staff to join. We would note in this connection that the Bombay City Municipality has a Provident Fund on a voluntary basis for its conservancy staff.

PROTECTION BY LEGISLATION.

74. We also recommend that some enactment on the lines of the English Money Lenders Act or the Punjab Money Lenders Act should be

passed for this Presidency. In view of the illiteracy of the masses and their chronic indigence such measures seem to be urgently called for.

LAND.

75. In recent years much land has been given out to the Aboriginal Tribes through the Forest Department in the "inforest Settlements," and through the Revenue Department when lands have been disforested. We would suggest that it be made a condition hereafter in the inforest settlements that the grantees of land should send their children to school if a school is established in the vicinity and that the Divisional Forest Officer should ask the School Boards to open schools for these villages where the numbers permit.

The Depressed Classes would gain economic independence much earlier if more of them were land holders and we regard it as of great importance that attention should be paid to the problem of obtaining more land for them. There are scattered Government waste lands available in the cultivated areas of most districts. Most of these are however not fit for cultivation, but some are suitable and under existing orders are given out to applicants with or without occupancy price. We have not been able to make a detailed study of the present rules under which the disposal of land is governed, but we think that the Backward Class Officer should go into the question in detail and in particular consider the working of the malkano system of the Punjab, where the payment of occupancy price can be made by instalments for a certain number of years in addition to the payment of assessment, and see if it can be applied to the purchase of lands by the Depressed Classes where the lands are valuable and the occupancy price is beyond their immediate capacity to pay, if the finances of Government do not permit the remission of the occupancy price.

In practice it seems that the grant of disforested lands is mainly reserved for the Aboriginal Tribes. We agree that they have a prior claim to such lands, at the same time we consider that some share of the land should be given to the Depressed Classes as in many respects their need is greater than that of the Aboriginal Tribes.

76. One great drawback to the colonization of forest lands is the prevalence of malaria. It is comparatively easy to get theoretical advice on the way in which a campaign against malaria should be undertaken, but it is extremely difficult to get practical advice which the layman can follow out. *We suggest that experiments be made in recolonizing, by the Backward Classes, some of the areas which have become depopulated by malaria* (and sometimes by damage by pig in addition). There are many such areas on the borders of North Kanara and Dharwar districts. It is quite possible that the increased income to Government through Land Revenue would more than counterbalance the expenditure which might have to be incurred by Government in the commencement of the experiment.

We also consider it possible that some of the Depressed Classes would take up land in Sind if a suitable scheme could be worked out by the

Barrage Revenue authorities in consultation with the Backward Class Officer. Such a movement would be slow in the beginning but would gain impetus if the early colonists were successful, and we recommend action in this direction. We have of course no intention of excluding any other community of this Presidency from obtaining land in similar ways.

We consider that the present policy of giving out land to the Backward Classes on restricted or inalienable tenure has been of material advantage to the Backward Classes.

There is much land passing from hand to hand. We think it advisable to find ways and means to enable members of the Backward Classes to take advantage of such transfer of land wherever it takes place, so that instead of such land passing into the hands of the Sawkars and richer Classes, it may be secured to the members of the Backward Classes or other equally poor persons.

LAND BANKS.

For the purchase of lands by the Backward Class for private holders, Land Banks should be of advantage, but such Banks are in their infancy, and cannot give much assistance at present though attempts should be made to get the Backward Classes to use them for this purpose. Membership of such Banks should be open to all communities but if such fail to materialize or the Backward Classes fail to obtain facilities from them, then an effort to start Land Banks with money raised from the Depressed Classes themselves should be made by the Co-operative Department.

Having discussed the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act as far as it affects the Backward Classes, we consider that the Act has been of benefit to them, and though we would not object to its amendment in certain directions, we consider that its complete repeal would be detrimental to the interests of the Backward Classes.

RECRUITMENT TO PUBLIC SERVICES.

77. The Depressed Classes labour under many disabilities in seeking for employment in Government service. It is not only the question of lack of education which stands in their way, but also the general prejudice against them. This is well illustrated by the admitted fact that very few are employed as menials such as peons though no standard of education has been required in the past for such posts. Their excellent record for honesty in carrying Government money to the Treasuries from the villages shows that they are not unfitted for such posts on account of character.

ARMY.

Their position has been made materially worse by the closure of recruitment to the Army. This is to be the more regretted as the army gave to the Depressed Classes an opening for employment and an

opportunity to rise to the Indian Commissioned ranks such as Jamedar, Subhedar and Subhedar Major. The attainment of such positions by some of the Depressed Classes has been of great benefit to the rest of the community in raising its status, and in providing leaders for them. *We urge that the present bar to the recruitment of the Depressed Classes in the Army should be removed by the Government of India and that the Government of Bombay, should represent the matter to them.*

POLICE.

78. We regret to note that there is at present no member of the Depressed Classes of the rank of a Sub-Inspector or in any of the higher grades of the Police. We were given to understand that the hindrance to their recruitment is not solely an absence of candidates with the necessary educational and physical fitness, for there are a number among the younger Depressed Classes who satisfy these conditions. We were referred to the opinion of the Police Commission in which it was stated that the candidates selected should be of "good social status" and were told that in the past it has been held by the appointing Board that the Depressed Classes were not of good social standing. We consider that whatever may have been the position in the past, Depressed Classes should not in these days be debarred from service in the higher ranks of the Police Department solely on the ground that their untouchability makes them unsuitable for such service. Given the authority, a Depressed Class Police Officer will be respected by all communities, and there will follow a rise in his social status as a result of his authority. This we believe to have been the case in the Army where the Depressed Classes rose to the ranks of Subhedar Majors. We are the more anxious to press this point as the closing of recruitment to the Army has stopped the opportunities of rising in that direction, and it was from the families of the pensioned Military Officers that many of the natural leaders of the Depressed Classes have been drawn hitherto. The time has now come for the Government to say definitely that it is determined to give the Depressed Class communities equal opportunities with others. We consider that a Depressed Class Sub-Inspector or Inspector will, if he is of the right calibre, be able to enforce his orders and carry out his duties. It is sometimes said that a grave difficulty in the way of employment of the Depressed Classes in the higher ranks of the Police is that on account of caste feeling it could not be possible to employ them in discharging of such duties as house-searches, etc., which fall to the lot of a Police Officer. We do not think that there is much substance in this, as there are many Mahommedans, Christians, Jews, and Parsis in the higher Police ranks and as such they have to perform house-searches, an action which is strictly speaking equally an offence to the orthodox as the entry of a member of the Depressed Classes.

No such bar has been raised in connection with the difficulty in the way of recruitment of the Aboriginal Tribes to the higher ranks of the Police. The difficulty for them is the lack of persons of suitable educational qualifications.

We were told that 66 Depressed Classes were recruited in the 2 years (1927 and 1928) in the Lower ranks of the Police. We consider that this proportion of Depressed Class recruits could be increased, and that this would have a great effect in raising their social status. The difficulties of housing the Depressed Class sepoy in the lines and providing water for them should not be exaggerated. There are examples where such recruits live in amity with the others, and we consider that a District Superintendent of Police should be able to insist on their admission to the lines. We specially emphasize the need of more recruitment of Depressed Classes in the Police Force of Bombay City where caste distinctions are not so acute as in the mofussil.

RECRUITMENT TO HIGHER SERVICES.

Referring next to the higher appointments to other Government ranks, we note with pleasure that Government have recently appointed a person from the Depressed Classes, as a Deputy Collector. We agree that in these higher appointments qualifications both educational and physical must be the main considerations in making a choice, but we do regard it as important that when suitably qualified men from the Backward Class are available their applications should be sympathetically and preferentially considered, and the fact that they belong to the Backward Classes should not be a bar to their appointment, but rather a recommendation.

RECRUITMENT TO CLERICAL POSTS IN ALL DEPARTMENTS.

79. The existing orders of Government are sufficient in regard to the recruitment of the Backward Classes to clerical posts in all Departments, if properly carried out. In most districts a qualified Depressed Class or Aboriginal Tribes candidate can get a Government clerical appointment if he applies. This is not always the case however. We regret to note that according to a statement made by Government (Bombay Legislative Council Debates, 1928, Volume XXII, Part II, page 96) out of 993 clerks in Government offices in Bombay City (Secretariat, High Court, Police, etc.) not a single person belonging to the Depressed Classes has been recruited. One of the difficulties of a candidate is that he has no friends in the offices, and does not know how and when to apply to the many Officers who make clerical appointments in their own Departments. The present staffs in the offices are often against the introduction of a Depressed Class man into the Office and may throw hindrances in the way of the would-be applicant. One of the duties of the Backward Class Officer should be to obtain lists of qualified candidates for clerical posts from amongst the Backward Classes who are searching for Government employment, and to send on their names to suitable appointing Officers. He should also study the returns obtained periodically by Government and see how far their orders in relation to the appointment of Backward Class candidates are being carried into effect.

MENIALS.

In view of the fact that no educational tests are required for the posts of menials, it might have been expected that a large number of Depressed

Classes would be employed as menials but in fact very few menials are so appointed from amongst them. We consider that a radical change in this respect should be made and that *Government should insist on a number not less than that represented by their proportion to the total population be employed*. Indeed in view of the fact that they are shut out from many of the avocations open to the ordinary Indian, it would not be unjust if a larger number than their population ratio were so employed. It would be an advantage in compensation of the many disadvantages they suffer in social life. Their contact with the officers would tend also to blunt the angularities of castes and would pave the way for the entry of the Depressed Class into the higher clerical ranks. Besides giving a new opening to these Classes the presence of Depressed Class peons would check the petty but none the less galling insults which Depressed Classes are likely to receive from the peons of other castes when approaching an office. Such insults are more likely to be offered by the peon class than by the higher grades of service. There should be no difficulty in obtaining a sufficient number of recruits physically qualified to work as menials. We strongly recommend immediate action in the matter.

We consider there is more room for employment of the Aboriginal Tribes as Forest Guards. We believe that this will result from the spread of education amongst them.

POSTAL SERVICES.

We also consider that Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes could be used in larger numbers than hitherto in the Postal Service as runners and Postmen.

SERVICE IN THE VILLAGES.

80. In most villages the main services are performed by the Mahars in the Deccan and by the Vethias in Gujerat but where there are no Mahars they are performed by other castes from among the Backward Classes. In our succeeding paragraphs regarding services except in references to the Hereditary Officer's Act we intend our remarks to apply to the Vethias as well as to the Mahars.

The conditions of service and the system of remuneration are extremely complicated and varied, and we feel that the material at our disposal is not sufficient to permit us to make detailed suggestions, in view of the fact that any change in the system of remuneration involves very great financial issues, the details of which are not calculable by us. At the same time we feel that the existing conditions of service to the Government and to the Rayats touch the life of the Depressed Classes so intimately that we cannot pass over the subject in silence.

There is much to be admired in the old village system. Amongst the Depressed Classes it has produced a feeling of hereditary loyalty, and a pride in their watans. Considering their poverty and the amount of money conveyed annually to the local Treasuries it is remarkable that cases of misappropriation by them are practically unknown.

Their services to the Rayats have had much value in the economic and social life of the village. But the old conditions are rapidly changing,

and the traditional services rendered to the Government and to the Rayats are in urgent need of readjustment. Some of the services they render are unnecessary. The transition will take time and any legislative measures or executive steps taken by Government to hasten this process must be based on an intimate study of the facts and figures.

We would draw attention to the great waste of time involved in the Mahars waiting in the village on the chance that service may be required from them. Much time is also being wasted by the use of an unnecessary number of persons under the present system of Mahars escorting at night the kit of an Officer to the next village, waking up the Mahars of that village and handing over charge of the lamps, etc., to them so that they may perform the escort duty to the next village. None of these persons so awakened can be expected to do a full day's labour on the morrow if they have lost from two to four hours sleep in the night. It is admitted on all sides that the present number of Watandar Mahars is excessive, and their number can safely be reduced. The mere existence of this excess encourages the exaction of illegal or unnecessary service from them.

The nature of the work done for the villagers by the Mahars is gradually changing. In some villages the Hereditary duties and the hereditary payment by baluta has already been replaced by service on a basis of free contract, and it is desirable that this process should extend, as the present system leads to an inactive life in which the work and remuneration alike are not regular.

One customary service to the villagers is the removal of the carcasses of dead animals, the Depressed Classes generally receiving the skin in return. Intimately related to this is the eating of carrion. It must be admitted that in many instances the Depressed Classes would object if prevented from eating this carrion, but a reforming spirit is abroad and many are leaving off the practice. When they are persuaded successfully by their leaders to leave off the use of carrion they often do not wish to remove and skin carcasses on account of the ideas of degradation commonly held about such work. When doing so they sometimes incur opposition from the higher classes even to the extent of social boycott. It is not so much the removal of the dead animal which grates as the compulsion to do so, and the inference is that the compulsion is made because they belong to the Depressed Classes.

The eating of carrion is one of the important causes which keeps the Depressed Classes down. We believe that the time is approaching when the practice can be forbidden by law, and *we would recommend legislation to be applied when the leaders of the Depressed Classes of that area consider that the majority of their number would accept willingly such a restriction.*

The practice of receiving scraps of daily bread as part of their remuneration is also very degrading to these castes. We consider that eventually every service whether to Government or to the rayats should be on a free contractual basis, the remuneration being fixed according to the nature of the service. We look forward to the time when the idea, now so prevalent, that an official suffers in prestige if he carries his own Daftar

will vanish and to the time when transport of kit will no longer need the escort of a Mahar. We also look forward to the time when the Mahar will be paid in cash by the Rayats for each service he renders according to its value. The solution must incorporate some provision whereby the Watan can be commuted though we have not sufficient data at our disposal to suggest the terms.

NEED FOR DETAILED ENQUIRY.

Though the injustices and uneconomic waste of time are admitted by officials and non-officials alike to exist in the present system, the eventual financial issues involved are very great. We agree that patient study of the details of the existing practices is necessary before any solution is found but the matter is of such urgency that *we are obliged to recommend, that an enquiry should be made into the customary services performed by the Depressed Classes, and in some areas by the Aboriginal Tribes, and their remuneration.* This enquiry should be extended to all classes of service and not to be limited to those under the purview of the Hereditary Offices Act. In particular it should include an inquiry into the Vethia system of Gujarat.

FORCED LABOUR.

81. We have received many complaints from witnesses that forced and unpaid labour is exacted from the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes by the Subordinate Government Officers. This is a long standing injustice which needs to be stopped with a firm hand by Government through its district officers. We understand that the orders of Government are against such forced labour, but such orders are not sufficiently known to the Backward Classes affected. We therefore consider that simple pamphlets explaining to the Backward Classes the Government orders in this respect and their rights, and also the provisions of section 374, Indian Penal Code, in this connection should be widely circulated amongst them.

HOUSING OF THE BACKWARD CLASSES.

HOUSING.

82. The housing of the Aboriginal Tribes presents as a rule no difficult problem, but the same cannot be said for the Depressed Classes. Often their houses are in an insanitary part of the village close to the village dung-heaps. This insanitation is often increased by the long established practice of placing dead animals near the Depressed Class quarters in the absence of a suitable defined place. In very many cases these quarters are very crowded in a small area and require land for expansion. Very often the low-lying nature of the land makes them very insanitary especially in the rainy season, and is the cause of epidemics.

In the Madras Presidency much work has been done in securing more healthy sites for the Depressed Classes. Where possible a Government site adjacent to the Gaathan is developed into suitable plots. Where this is not possible suitable areas have been acquired. A percentage

of the acquisition cost varying from 5 per cent. to 20 per cent. has to be paid by the Depressed Classes at the time of acquisition. The balance is recovered from the holders in instalments either directly by the Revenue Department or through Co-operative Societies formed for this specific purpose. Since the commencement of the operations in the Madras Presidency 27,329 house sites have been so acquired up to 31st March 1928. $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. is charged at present on the loans both to Co-operative Societies and to individuals in connection with acquisitions of house sites. We learn that so far very few bad debts had been incurred in working out the scheme. We do not consider that work on this scale is required in this Presidency, but there are a number of cases in which sites are urgently needed for the Depressed Classes. These fall into three classes :—

- (a) Where the sites are in an extremely unhealthy position or are congested.
- (b) Where the present huts of the Depressed Classes are on sites held by the higher Classes who use the position as a threat to make the Depressed Classes conform to their wishes on pain of eviction.
- (c) Where there is an influx of the Depressed Classes into towns or cities in search of work.

We propose that in general the lines on which Madras Presidency has been working for the development of sites in villages should be followed in this Presidency, but in view of the fact that the cases requiring attention will be far fewer, we do not propose a special staff, but consider that the ordinary District staffs could cope with the work with the advice of the Backward class Officer and his staff. Every endeavour should be made to keep the scheme on a self-supporting basis.

MIGRATION TO TOWNS.

83. We would draw attention to the influx of the Depressed Classes into the towns and cities. This influx is mainly due to the fact that caste prejudices are less strong in towns and cities than in villages and hence a Depressed Class person has less difficulty in breaking through tradition and obtaining work. We are of opinion that the Depressed Classes have benefitted by this migration. It has however raised housing problems.

In cities a man of the Depressed Classes cannot ordinarily expect to become a house owner as the capital involved would be too great for him. In many cases also it would not be to his advantage, as he needs to move from one part of the city to another in search of work. We would draw attention however to the Poona City Municipality Scheme for housing the Depressed Classes as suiting those cases where the Depressed Classes desire to acquire houses. The scheme is only in its infancy but it should be watched sympathetically and if possible copied elsewhere. In such schemes however we prefer that they should not be exclusively for the Depressed Classes but should be open to all persons who are poor and need accommodation, as the admixture of castes would prove an advantage. In smaller towns we consider that often the best solution will be to acquire a suitable area, and divide it into streets and plots, and sell

the plots on some instalment scheme as in the Madras schemes to the Depressed Classes. The latter should put up their own huts, subject to some simple rules about the plinth and minimum height of the hut.

There is a need for similar assistance to be given to some of the small wandering tribes who are classed as Backward Classes though not as Aboriginal Tribes or Depressed Classes. There seems now a tendency on the part of many such tribes to settle down in places where work is available and this tendency should be encouraged.

HOUSING OF MUNICIPAL CONSERVANCY STAFF.

84. We would draw the attention of the Municipalities to the housing of their conservancy staff. Each Municipality has its own problems in this respect and no one solution would fit all cases, but we think that in some cases the best solution would be to provide well drained sites provided with the necessary water and sanitary conveniences on which they could put up their huts. Where possible opportunity should be given to the staff to purchase their hut sites. In other cases the Poona City Scheme of housing of the Depressed Classes might be adopted. A system permitting purchase reduces the danger of restriction of freedom of contract.

MIGRATION OUTSIDE THE PRESIDENCY.

85. Besides migration to towns, some of the Depressed Classes have migrated to Assam and to East Africa. Though instances of recruitment through false promises are not wanting, on the whole such emigration has been of material benefit to them both financially and in the removal of their disabilities and *it should be the duty of the Backward Class Officer to promote their emigration.*

CHAPTER VI.

SOCIAL.

Untouchability within Untouchability.

86. It must be admitted that a good deal of untouchability within untouchability exists in this Presidency. This complicates many questions relating to their life, especially the provision of the water supply. Too often each community of the Depressed Classes demands its own well, and in consequence, since in the typical village the number of members of each community is small, it becomes an impracticable proposition to provide a water supply which will be permanent throughout the hot weather for each community. The reason for the maintenance of these distinctions is not far to seek. Each caste except the lowest within the Depressed Classes realizes the disabilities imposed upon it by its supposed untouchability, and feels some sense of pride in being at least higher in caste than some other community. They fear that by uniting themselves with the lowest of the Depressed Classes they will lower their own position.

They have frequently used the argument before us "Let the touchables remove our untouchability and immediately we will remove the untouchability of those castes lower than our own". As against this we have heard an argument from the touchable Hindus to the effect that "We will remove untouchability for all Depressed Classes when they remove it between themselves". We are glad to say however this argument is rarely used, and it is surely a very poor argument for the more advanced communities to use, as it implies that they will wait to right the wrongs they are committing against the Depressed Classes, until the latter are able to show a lead to the more advanced communities in this respect.

We are pleased to be able to record, that the leaders amongst the Depressed Classes are striving to remove this untouchability within untouchability.

Furtherance of Temperance.

87. The question of the use of liquor and other intoxicants affects the social and economic condition of all Backward Classes to a great extent. Almost all the castes comprising all the three groups of Backward Classes, and forming more than one-fifth of the total population form a great part of what are called drinking classes, in the phraseology of the Excise Department. It is a patent fact that a large part of their hard earned money goes to the drink-shop, specially if the allurements of a liquor or toddy shop be very close to their door.

But we have seen signs of the reformer's work in this connection also in various districts. Large masses of these people, when asked in a body why they do not voluntarily abstain from drink, reply by a counter question "but why don't you get the Government to close the drink-shops?" They mean thereby that the temptation to drink is too great to be resisted by them at every minute of their life with so many facilities placed next door to them. This is especially so with the child races like Bhil or Varli. Where drink-shops are reduced in number or the quantity

rationed to them in a Taluka or a District, the total consumption goes down, and the people concerned are benefitted materially and morally.

A very large proportion of witnesses have expressed in writing and orally their great desire for complete prohibition. Almost all the Depressed Class and Aboriginal Tribes witnesses have told us their view that prohibition is the only solution to many of the economic ills of their classes. We are aware of the fact that Bombay Government have declared prohibition as their goal, but the method and period of attaining it is not settled. At the same time we are not unmindful of the fact that complete prohibition, if introduced within a short period, is likely to cause disturbance to the State finances and lowering of the moral tone of Drinking classes. So we are not prepared to recommend prohibition suddenly. But the system of rationing adopted by Government for about 5 years, and then discontinued, took this Presidency a long way in the direction of prohibition. We very much wish that it may be re-introduced, if not all over the Presidency at least in the areas where the problem of illicit distillation is not serious.

An argument is usually advanced that any restriction of drinking facilities increased the number of offences of illicit distillation, possession, etc. But naturally when people are denied the luxury of a vice which they are used to indulge in unrestrictedly before, they will rebel for a time and thus for a short time the number of such offences will increase. But there is no reason to believe that in this country where drink is looked at with abhorrence by all the major communities, the illicit distillation will ever go on increasing even after things have settled down to a normality and after many of the present hard drinkers have died.

88. Failing the re-introduction of rationing system, we would strongly advocate the following changes in the present Abkari policy in the interest of the Backward Classes :—

- (1) Restriction of the hours during which a shop is kept open to the period from 10-30 a.m. to 7 p.m. only—every minute that a shop is open after 7 p.m. adds to the enticement which the drinker cannot resist to an increasingly greater extent.
- (2) Close all shops on Divali, Holi and similarly large festivals of local importance, at the time of riots, and on all Sundays or all weekly Bazaar days whichever may be suitable.
- (3) Reduce the number of shops by slow and sure degrees, specially in areas inhabited by Aboriginal Tribes, and in areas occupied by factories in towns.
- (4) Remove the shops, wherever they be situated amidst or close to the localities inhabited by Backward Classes from their present position to a distance of at least a furlong if not two.
- (5) Reduce gradually the strength of the liquor served *at all* the shops to 60° under proof.
- (6) Strive to obtain bilateral agreements from the Indian States bordering this Presidency not to have shops selling more than 60° U. P. near the borders.
- (7) Increase the Preventive Force to the extent necessary to prevent illicit distillation and importation from increasing.

89. We recognise that such a Policy would result in a reduction in revenue and cannot be carried out unless there is co-operation from the political parties in the support of Government in its efforts to raise additional taxation from other sources to compensate for this loss and for the increase in the Preventive Force. We therefore appeal to all temperance reformers to support proposals for taxation rendered necessary by a policy advocated above.

Use of Wells and other Public Conveniences.

90. In 1923 the Legislative Council passed a resolution to the effect that "the untouchable classes be allowed to use all Public Watering places, wells and Dharamshalas which are built and, maintained out of Public Funds, or are administered by bodies appointed by Government or created by Statutes as well as public schools, courts, offices and dispensaries."

Upon this resolution Government issued the following order:—

"In pursuance of the foregoing Council Resolution the Government of Bombay are pleased to direct that all heads of offices should give effect to the resolution so far as it related to the public places and institutions belonging to and maintained by Government. The Collectors should be requested to advise the local bodies in their jurisdiction to consider the desirability of accepting the recommendations made in the Resolution so far as it relates to them."

The majority of the District Local Boards and Municipalities then considered the question. Some Boards voted for its acceptance, others voted against it. Kaira District Board first voted for its acceptance, but afterwards rescinded the resolution. This was not the only case of this kind.

USE OF PUBLIC WELLS.

91. But whatever the nature of the resolution the result has been the same. We have not been able to find a single instance where the Depressed Classes are using continuously the same public well as the higher classes. There may be such wells, but if so, they must form an infinitesimal proportion of the hundreds of thousands of the public wells of the Presidency.

The cause of this complete failure deserves attention.

The public wells under direct Government possession are very few as practically all are in the possession of the Municipal or Local Boards. A few of these Boards seem to have made a genuine attempt to enforce their resolution to throw open the public wells to the Depressed Classes, and they placed notice boards near the wells stating that they could be used by all classes including the Depressed Classes. In still fewer cases the Depressed Classes themselves attempted to use these wells. But the anger of the touchable Hindus was too much, and the practice was given up. There are a few instances where the Depressed Classes have insisted on their right to use a public well, but though they may have succeeded in this the cost has been heavy, and the victory has been unreal. For example in one village the touchable Hindus had several wells containing water all the year round while the Depressed Classes wells ran dry in the

hot weather. The Depressed Classes aided by their more educated brethren from the town, decided to insist on their right to the use of one of the touchable wells, and having given prior notice to the police of their intention went in procession and used it. The presence of the police prevented a riot, but the effect has been that the touchable Hindus have boycotted the Depressed Classes and refused to sell them anything from their shops or to employ them. This has entailed great suffering on the Depressed Classes. The Depressed Classes are still using the well in question but the touchable Hindus have abandoned its use, so that at the most the Depressed Classes have gained an additional well for their use, but at the time of writing this report they are just as far off as ever from the ideal of the common well, and meanwhile they have been suffering for several months the hardships of a boycott. This instance has a number of parallels in other villages.

92. In many villages the Depressed Classes have separate water supplies, but their wells are usually very poor and in many cases except in parts of Gujarat become dry in the hot weather. When there is no water in their wells or if they have no wells, they have to wait for the charitable amongst the higher classes to draw water and pour a little into their pots. The economic loss caused to the Depressed Classes by this waste of their time, and the difficulty of getting sufficient water for drinking and washing purposes can well be imagined. The question of the use of public wells is becoming a burning question with the Depressed Classes, and will become increasingly so, as they become more organized, and realize their grievances and their inherent rights as human beings more clearly. The educated ones amongst them read of the resolutions passed by the Legislative Council, the Municipal and Local Boards, the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha. They see the negative results of all this talking, and their hearts are sick with the unreality of it all.

The passing of resolutions will be of no avail until some remedy is found for the social boycott which is effectually barring the efforts of the Depressed Classes to insist on their common rights. Until that time often harm rather than good is done by reformers who go for a few days to a village and persuade the Depressed Classes to insist on their rights, and then leave them to suffer the cruelties of the inevitable boycott.

The remedy for the social boycott will either have to be by propaganda or legislation. We would earnestly commend to those organizations which advocate the removal of untouchability as an important plank in their creed, that they should actually go into the villages and persuade the higher classes who nominally accept their creed, to be willing to be put their lip service into practice. If only they could persuade the inhabitants of a dozen villages to permit the Depressed Classes willingly to use the general wells without inflicting a boycott or taking revenge in any other way on them an immense step forward would have been made as the fame of the movement would spread.

Though no solution of immediate general applicability can be proposed we consider that attempts should continue to be made to gain permission for the Depressed Classes to use the public wells. The heart-breaking

hardships they now endure in some villages for lack of water cannot be allowed to continue indefinitely. In those villages where the need of the Depressed Classes for drinking water is very acute, while the rest of the villagers claim exclusive right to the use of the public well with an abundant permanent supply of water the villagers should be confronted with the alternative of subscribing for the construction of a satisfactory well for the Depressed Classes, or of permitting the latter to use the public well or of paying a cess for the wages of a person to pump or otherwise raise water for them. Such a policy could only be enforced gradually, and cautiously after every effort at amicable settlement has failed.

We consider that it would be valuable to have a Notice Board placed near every public well stating that it is for the use of all castes. Though this notice will not have much immediate effect the accumulative effect will eventually be great, and incidentally it will make clear to the Depressed Classes which wells are public property. We recommend that this should be done by the Municipalities and Local Boards.

Much propaganda amongst the Depressed Classes is also required to persuade them not to insist on separate water supplies—for each caste among themselves.

93. Though there has been little or no progress made towards the ideal of the common well, some progress has been made in certain areas towards allowing the Depressed Classes the rights to take water from tanks, though insistence is made that they draw from another part of the tank.

DHARAMASALAS.

94. The Depressed Classes are often not permitted to use the Dharamasalas. Many dharamasalas have been built by private funds and are in private ownership, and no action can be taken in respect to these. Where however Government or Municipal or Local Board money is used for the maintenance of dharamasalas we consider that the rights of the Depressed Classes to use them should be insisted upon. A notice board to the effect that the dharamasala is for the use of all classes including the Depressed Classes would be valuable.

HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES.

95. We have had no evidence of differential treatment between the Depressed Classes and other classes in the larger hospitals and dispensaries, but there still seems to be difference in treatment in some of the smaller Local Board dispensaries. Such differential treatment is against all the traditions of the medical profession. If the Depressed Classes obtain adequate representation in the Taluka Local Boards and District Local Boards, their representatives can voice their grievances in this direction, and obtain disciplinary action against any Sub-Assistant Surgeon who is proved to have refused to allow a Depressed Class man within the dispensary or to touch him during the medical examination. Here again a notice board stating that all communities are entitled to treatment without distinction would be helpful to inform the Depressed Classes of their rights and the Medical Officer of his duties.

Notice Boards by themselves will not have much immediate effect where there is a strong feeling on the part of the majority of the touchable Hindus against the assertion by the Depressed Classes of their rights as in the use of wells, but they will be of immediate value where, as in the case of Dharamasalas and Dispensaries, their rights have been conceded in many instances.

All such notice boards for wells, Dharamasalas and dispensaries should be in very simple vernacular language that it may be understood by the Backward Classes who can only read with difficulty.

TRAVELLING IN RAILWAYS.

96. It is very seldom nowadays that objection is taken to Depressed Classes travelling in any compartment of a train. In fact the railway rules have been of great service in educating the travelling public to the equal rights of all communities. Some times difficulties arise in the supply of drinking water and refreshments to the Depressed Classes on Railway Stations and occasionally in seating. We bring these and similar difficulties which occasionally arise whilst travelling to the notice of the Railway authorities and of the Railway Advisory Committees.

In areas where these grievances remain unremedied a member of the Depressed Classes in the Advisory Board would be helpful.

TRAVELLING IN PUBLIC BUSES, ETC.

97. We have received complaints from some parts of the Presidency and specially from Gujerat that Depressed Classes are sometimes hindered from travelling in licensed buses owing to the objections of the other travellers or of the driver. These complaints have been received from several areas, and we fear that there must be some truth in them. We regret this the more, as travelling in buses is a new form of conveyance, and it would be a great pity if wrong traditions grow up in connection with it. We suggest that Government circularize District Superintendents of Police asking them to make enquiries whether such a practice is in vogue in their District, and if so to put it down with a firm hand by the suspension of the license of the Offender, or in the last resort by its revocation.

Similar difficulties occasionally arise with licensed horse conveyances and a similar action is required.

Dedication of Girls as Murlis and Males as Waghyas, etc.

98. Though the practice of the dedication of girls as Murlis, Devadasis or Basvis is not confined to the Depressed Classes yet it is more widely practised by them than by other communities. Most of these dedications by the Depressed Classes will be found in the Karnatak. It is still very widespread in spite of Government efforts to stop it.

We understand that prosecution under section 372 of the Indian Penal Code has been made more difficult by High Court Ruling in *Emperor Vs. Parmeshwari Subbi* (22 Bombay Law Reporter 894 of 1920) and by *Emperor Vs. Sahebba Birappa* (Bombay Law Reporter 1022 of 1925) and similar cases in other parts of India whereby the ceremony of dedication of the girl is not held in itself to be an offence in the absence of the

proof that it is for the purpose of prostitution. The actual effect of these decisions has been serious. After the issue of notification 3866 of July 8th, 1909, Bombay Judicial Department, drawing attention to the conviction of certain persons for performing the shej ceremony of certain minor girls, the number of dedications became reduced, but since these judicial decisions the number of dedications appears to have increased considerably. We doubt if the extent of the practice still existing in the Karnatak is generally realized. We could get no exact figures of the girls so dedicated but we believe that it runs into thousands.

99. We are of opinion that dedication of minor girls to temples leads inevitably to an immoral life and legislation should be introduced, so that it should not be necessary in each case to prove that the intention of the person arranging for or abetting the dedication is that the girl so dedicated should lead an immoral life.

We would suggest three alternatives—

(a) An amendment of the Children's Act,

or

(b) Special separate legislation,

or

(c) The addition of new illustrations to sections 272 and 273 of the Indian Penal Code.

The dedication of boys as Vaghyas or Potras is prevalent to some extent though not to the extent to which the dedication of girls is practised and should be legislated against.

Some boys more especially in North Gujerat are made into eunuchs. They are largely drawn from the Depressed Classes. It is an offence under section 320 of the Indian Penal Code to make a boy into a eunuch, but evidence is very difficult to obtain.

We look forward to the formation of a Vigilance Society composed largely of the leaders of the Depressed Classes in the areas in which these practices are prevalent and affiliated, if it proves advisable, to one or other of the existing agencies in other parts of the Presidency, which will help the local authorities in checking these practices. The Backward Class Officer should assist in inaugurating and aiding this Society. A reforming movement has been going on for some time, and at intervals numbers of these dedicated girls have been remarried (in some cases after a formal divorce from the deity to which they have been "married"). The rescue of such girls has often resulted from the interest-taken in the question by some local official or non-official; but more uniform and steady action is however required.

Treatment of Depressed Classes by Government Officers.

100. There has been a great improvement in the treatment of the Depressed Classes by Government Officers in recent years and complaints that they are kept outside of law courts or Katcheris are now rare. The refusal to hand any paper to or to receive it from a member of the Depressed Classes is still fairly common in Government and semi-Government Offices. We consider that the time has come for Government to enforce the principle of polite treatment by its officials of all communities,

and to say that the refusal to take a paper from the hand of a person, or to throw it on the ground rather than hand it to him is not polite treatment, and will be punished. We believe that the addition of a section to the Government Servants Conduct Rules to the effect that "A Government Officer is not permitted to refuse to take a paper from the hands of a person or to hand it to him on the ground that he belongs to a Depressed Class" would be very helpful and result in a great improvement in the treatment of Depressed Classes in public offices. We consider that unless a person is prepared to do this he should not enter public service.

We would bring to the notice of the High Court the need of restating or removing the last four lines of Section 87 of the High Court Circular Orders, page 55 (1925 edition), in which it is stated ".....at the same time to be careful that such arrangements are made as will avoid the possibility of their (*i.e.*, the out-castes) being brought in any sort of contact with the rest of the Community."

We recommend that Government should restate the policy which the senior Government Officers should enforce on their subordinates towards the Depressed Classes making it quite clear that more sympathetic attention should be paid to the rights of the Depressed Classes as members of the public.

101. We have received complaints that Postal peons refuse to enter the Depressed Class areas to deliver letters or telegrams, but hand them over to some intermediary to deliver at his will. The Postal Department undertakes personal delivery of letters and telegrams, and it would seem that the inspecting staff of this Department need to enforce this principle more strictly on their subordinates.

Depressed Classes and Social Boycott.

102. Although we have recommended various remedies to secure to the Depressed Classes their rights to all public utilities we fear that there will be difficulties in the way of their exercising them for a long time to come. The first difficulty is the fear of open violence against them by the orthodox classes. It must be noted that the Depressed Classes form a small minority in every village, opposed to which is a great majority of the orthodox who are bent on protecting their interests and dignity from any supposed invasion by the Depressed Classes at any cost.* The danger of prosecution by the Police has put a limitation upon the use of violence by the orthodox classes and consequently such cases are rare.

The second difficulty arises from the economic position in which the Depressed Classes are found today. The Depressed Classes have no economic independence in most parts of the Presidency. Some cultivate the lands of the orthodox classes as their tenants at will. Others live on their earnings as farm labourers employed by the orthodox classes and the rest subsist on the food or grain given to them by the orthodox classes in lieu of service rendered to them as village servants. We have

* Mr. Thorat is of the opinion that this is not true of all villages. In many villages the interests of the majority of the inhabitants do not clash with the interests of the Depressed Classes.

heard of numerous instances where the orthodox classes have used their economic power as a weapon against those Depressed Classes in their villages, when the latter have dared to exercise their rights, and have evicted them from their land, and stopped their employment and discontinued their remuneration as village servants. This boycott is often planned on such an extensive scale as to include the prevention of the Depressed Classes from using the commonly used paths and the stoppage of sale of the necessaries of life by the village Bania. According to the evidence sometimes small causes suffice for the proclamation of a social boycott against the Depressed Classes. Frequently it follows on the exercise by the Depressed Classes of their right to the use of the common-well, but cases have been by no means rare where a stringent boycott has been proclaimed simply because a Depressed Class man has put on the sacred thread, has bought a piece of land, has put on good clothes or ornaments, or has carried a marriage procession with the bridegroom on the horse through the public street.

We do not know of any weapon more effective than this social boycott which could have been invented for the suppression of the Depressed Classes. The method of open violence pales away before, for it has the most far reaching and deadening effects. It is the more dangerous because it passes as a lawful method consistent with the theory of freedom of contact. We agree that this tyranny of the majority must be put down with a firm hand if we are to guarantee to the Depressed Classes the freedom of speech and action necessary for their uplift. If propaganda and compromise fail, legislation provides the only remedy.

CHAPTER VII.

GENERAL.

Representation of the Backward Classes on Public Bodies.

103. We have been impressed with the importance of representation in the Legislative Council, Municipalities, Local Boards and School Boards not only for the purpose of safeguarding the interests of these Classes, but also for the value of the training in leadership and administration which such representation affords. In addition the intermingling with other communities in the Council or Board meetings is of service in providing an object lesson of the equal rights of these Classes with the rest of the community.

* REPRESENTATION IN THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

104. The question of increased representations of the Depressed Classes in the Legislative Council has been considered in most of the representations submitted to the Indian Statutory Commission but the need for representation of the Aboriginal Tribes and other Backward Classes has attracted practically no notice, though they too need spokesmen in the Council and under the present constitution they are practically unrepresented.

We venture to draw attention to this need. Owing to the confusion of thought in the dual use of the phrase Depressed Classes it is sometimes not clear, whether the special representation is meant only for the Depressed Classes (untouchables) or if it is meant for all the Backward Classes as defined by us, of which the Depressed Classes form only 38 per cent. In our view however the interests of the Depressed Classes are so divergent from that of the other Backward Classes (the Aboriginal Tribes and Hill Tribes and the "other Backward Classes") *that separate representation is required for them.* Whether that be by separate election, reservation of seats or by nomination or by any other method we do not feel ourselves competent to judge. But that it should be secured to them in some way seems to us very necessary, and this must not be at the cost of the Depressed Class representation.

REPRESENTATION IN MUNICIPAL, LOCAL AND SCHOOL BOARDS.

105. We are of opinion that in many areas the representation of the Backward Classes in Municipal Boards, District Local Boards, Taluka Local Boards and School Boards is inadequate in view of the proportion of their population to the rest of the community and to the fact that in practice they stand no chance of election in a general electorate. Adequate representation on these Boards is the more important because exceedingly wide powers especially in relation to Primary Education have been given to them. It becomes very important therefore that the interests of the Backward Classes especially in education should be watched and this can best be done by their own representatives.

VILLAGE PANCHAYATS.

106. At present no provision exists for the representation of the Backward Classes on the Village Panchayats. *Adequate representation is necessary on these bodies and we recommend that it be provided for.*

Backward Classes Board and Officer.

107. We consider it to be essential that the needs of the Backward Classes should be considered as a whole and that there should be some one definitely charged with the duty of seeing that their progress is continuous and their rights upheld. Though their uplift must come mainly through education it is by no means the only way in which help is needed. Education alone will not solve the problem. Highly educated Depressed Classes are still treated as untouchable, and refused the ordinary rights which they should share equally with the rest of the community. We would emphasize the grave danger to the rest of the community, if the Backward Classes are neglected. We have been much impressed with the growing sense of bitterness of the Depressed Classes, especially the younger and more educated members, who are realizing their inherent rights as human beings, and the injustice under which they now labour.

The interests of the Aboriginal Tribes are specially liable to be overlooked as they are very unorganized, and have no effective means of making their grievances and needs known and redressed. *We therefore consider that it is very necessary that a Backward Class Board with a Backward Class Officer working with it should be appointed to watch over their interests.*

BACKWARD CLASSES OFFICER.

108. We note that Madras has a permanent Officer, the Labour Commissioner, whose main duty is to look after the interests of the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes. He is also responsible for the Criminal Tribes Settlements. He is in grade always a senior Collector. We have considered the alternatives of a separate officer, or (as in Madras) combining the work of the Backward Classes with the supervision of the Criminal Tribes Settlements. The former proposal had many attractions but eventually in the interests of economy we decided to recommend the latter course. We are of opinion however that the designation of the Criminal Tribes Settlement Officer should be changed to "Backward Class Officer". The Criminal Tribes already form one branch of the Backward Classes. We have made the proposal in this form as we feared that it would be impossible on financial grounds for Government to consider the creation of a new senior post. The proposal involves Government in no additional expenses as far as the Officer is concerned. The Backward Class Officer should always be of a Collector's grade of not less than 12 years' service.

109. We enumerate some of the duties of the Backward Class Officer which we consider he should undertake. He should—

- (a) investigate and report on any question relating to the Backward Classes referred to him by Government.

(b) make suggestions to Government on any change in policy he considers necessary for the moral or material progress of the Backward Classes.

(c) collect the reported facts and figures which are available, and prepare for the use of Government and the public a short Annual Report on the progress of the Backward Classes and a more detailed report after five years working.

(We attach great importance to the attention to the public being continually drawn to the needs of the Backward Classes, and to more exact information as to their real progress being made available.)

(d) draw the attention of any Department to the needs of the Backward Classes in so far as it relates to that Department, provided the proposal made by him is in consonance with the declared policy of Government.

(e) be responsible for the allocation of the Trade Apprenticeship scholarships (*vide* paragraph 67).

(f) assist the Backward Classes in obtaining employment under Government (paragraph 79).

(g) obtain from the respective Departments or Societies suitable simple pamphlets on health, temperance, and co-operation, where pamphlets of a simple enough nature are not available, cause them to be prepared. In particular by this means he should explain in simple language the orders of Government in relation to entry into schools, buses, dispensaries, etc.

(h) keep in touch with the various Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes Societies which have been formed or may be formed hereafter, and through their aid where possible, and by other agencies where this is not feasible, distribute the above pamphlets. We consider that distribution on a large scale of reading matter interesting to the Backward Classes will help to retain their literacy.

(i) investigate the need for house sites for the Backward Classes and where the need seems urgent and a scheme feasible, draw the attention of the local authorities to it, and where necessary assist them in preparing the scheme (paragraph 82).

(j) promote suitable schemes for emigration (*vide* paragraphs 83 and 85).

110. We do not regard it as necessary that the Backward Classes Officer should have a staff in every district, and we do not contemplate that the disposal of the various questions which arise in connection with the Backward Classes in every district should be taken out of the hands of the representatives of the existing Departments. Though we feel strongly the need of an officer to care for the needs of these Classes, we feel equally strongly that the present departments must still remain responsible for carrying out their own duties to the Backward Classes as well as to the other classes.

The Backward Classes Officer would however require a small staff to assist him in investigating the problems enumerated above and in ascertaining the needs of the Backward Classes, so that he may approach the appropriate authority for aid. We suggest that two officers of the pay of Deputy Collectors should be appointed (though we would not necessarily limit the selection to the Deputy Collector's cadre). One of these should work in the Northern Division as the position of the Depressed Classes seems worse there than elsewhere in the Presidency, and the other should work in the rest of the Presidency.

We have given in Appendix III a rough estimate of the cost of clerical and menial establishment required. It would be advisable as far as possible to draw such staff from qualified members from the Backward Classes.

BACKWARD CLASSES BOARD.

111. We are of opinion that this Officer should have a Board associated with him for consultative and directive purposes on important problems relating to the Backward Classes. The Board will help to keep him in touch with current public opinion, and in shaping that opinion towards the removal of the disabilities of the Backward Classes.

In this connection we recognise the growing importance of the Legislative Council as a means for considering the needs of these Classes and enforcing their rights and for shaping public opinion to assist in their uplift, but the Council needs assistance from a small body of persons who can spare the time to study the subject in more detail. We therefore propose the institution of a Board called the Backward Classes Board mainly composed of the members of the Legislative Council.

We suggest for its composition—

- (a) Three persons to represent the Depressed Classes (to be chosen as far as possible from the Depressed Class members of the Legislative Council).
- (b) Three persons to represent the Aboriginal Tribes (to be chosen as far as possible from amongst the Aboriginal Tribes members of the Legislative Council, or if this is not possible from influential members of the Aboriginal Tribes. If this also does not prove possible the choice should be made from among the workers for their uplift).
- (c) Three members of Legislative Council to represent general interests.
- (d) Any Government Officer or Social worker co-opted for the purpose of explanation or guidance, but having no vote.

The members of the Board from the Legislative Council should, we think, be elected by the Members of the Legislative Council. In case the number of members of the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes in the Legislative Council are not sufficient to provide their quota the Government should choose them.

We suggest that this Board should meet for a few days during such Legislative Council Session and at other times when necessary but not less than four times a year. Service in this Board should be honorary

but its members should receive travelling and halting allowances at the rate allowed for Committees of the Legislative Council.

The Backward Class Officer should act as Secretary of the Board, and collect such information as may be required by it.

The resolutions of the Board should be forwarded to Government for its consideration.

112. We propose that the whole scheme and the appointments made under it should be regarded as temporary and sanctioned for seven years only, and that the position should be reviewed again before the expiry of that period. The detailed progress report after the scheme has been working for five years [*vide* paragraph 109 (c)] would be of assistance to Government when a decision is being made in regard to the future of the work.

EXPENDITURE.

113. We give in Appendix III an estimate of the expenses. It will be seen that the annual expenditure proposed is Rs. 3,70,000. This estimate is necessarily very approximate.

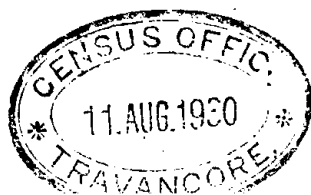
CONCLUSION.

114. It may be said that we are asking much for the Backward Classes, but we would venture to point out that whereas at present about Rs. 2 per head per annum is spent on education for the population of the Presidency as a whole, only about 8 annas per head per annum is now spent on the education of the Backward Classes. Nor can it be said the Backward Classes do not contribute their quota to the public revenues. Though we could wish it were otherwise, through the Abkari receipts their share in contributing to the public income is considerable. Thus the additional expenditure now proposed for the Backward Classes is really only a small part of that which is really their due.

Though the number of our recommendations may seem large, our financial requests only amount to Rs. 3,70,000. This would form a very small percentage of the total budget of the Presidency.

We believe that there is a keen desire on the part of Government and of all the communities of this Presidency that the Depressed Classes and the Aboriginal Tribes should be raised from their present level, and that the injustices from which they suffered from centuries past should be removed. We therefore have confidence that our recommendations will be examined in a constructive spirit. We realize that we have not been able to do justice to the manifold questions involved in the terms of our reference, and for our short-comings in this respect we crave the forgiveness of the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes.

To the very great regret of the other members of the Committee owing to a very serious illness one of our colleagues Mr. P. R. Chikodi, B.A., M.L.C., was not able to be present at the final discussion though his advice has been very helpful to us in the earlier stages. We are very glad to learn that he is recovering. The circumstances in which he has



signed the report will be made clear by the following note written by him :—

“ On account of my serious illness I could not be present at meetings of the Committee during the discussion of evidence and its deliberations ; nor am I able to go through the draft report owing to weakness. But Mr. Iyer read out to me the main conclusions arrived at, and I agree with them generally.”

In conclusion we would desire to express our gratitude to the many gentlemen both official and non-official who have spared much of their valuable time to give us assistance and advice in our investigations.

We would also like to express our thanks to Mr. N. Rama Iyer, the clerk to the Committee, who has worked loyally in its interests.

Finally we desire to express to Government our appreciation of this opportunity it has given to us to study the condition and needs of the Depressed Classes and the Aboriginal Tribes. If our study assists in any degree in the uplift of these classes our efforts will not have been in vain.

O. H. B. STARTE.

P. G. SOLANKI, M.L.C.

B. R. AMBEDKAR.

H. F. BURFOOT.

A. V. THAKKAR.

G. G. THORAT.

J. K. MEHTA.

L. M. DESHPANDE

(subject to a minute of dissent).

P. R. CHIKODI.

A. M. MANSURI.

APPENDIX I.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS.

The term "Depressed Classes" should be retained to designate the "untouchable" castes, but the nomenclature of the classifications now made in the rules under the Primary Education Act should be changed, and the classes therein called "Backward Classes" should be named "Intermediate Classes", and the classes therein called "Depressed Classes" should be named "Backward Classes". The latter should be subdivided into "Depressed Classes" (which will consist of untouchable classes only) and the "Aboriginal and Hill Tribes" and "other Backward Classes". (Paragraph 8.)

The measures proposed for the Backward Classes regarding wells, entry in common schools, etc., should be extended to those Indian Christians also who are treated as untouchables, but for purposes of statistics and voting they should not be reckoned amongst the Backward Classes. (Paragraph 13.)

Education—(Chapter IV).

Education in common schools is recommended for the Depressed Classes. (Paragraph 17.)

To encourage this, bonus to teachers should be given. (Paragraph 20.)

There should be an interchange of staff between the separate schools for the Depressed Classes and the common schools. (Paragraph 20.)

Separate schools should be lower primary only.

More teachers should be recruited from the Aboriginal Tribes. Central hostels attached to full primary schools should be started. (Paragraph 26.)

Experiments should be undertaken in selected areas under the direct supervision of the Assistant to the Director of Public Instruction for the Backward Classes. (Paragraph 29.)

The Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes should not be left out of any scheme of compulsory education on the score of poverty.

The same facilities that are recommended for the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes should also be given to the "other Backward Classes". (Paragraph 33.)

Preference should be given in scholarships to Backward Class girls. (Paragraph 34.)

Hostels or Boarding schools controlled by Voluntary Associations should be developed for girls studying in upper primary and Secondary Schools. (Paragraph 34.)

There is also a need for small hostels for Aboriginal Tribes girls in the Lower primary stage. (Paragraph 36.)

Pamphlets in simple language should be issued to help these classes in retaining literacy. (Paragraph 39.)

The present rules for admission to Government Secondary Schools should be relaxed so that Backward Class boys may be admitted at any time of the year. (Paragraph 42.)

The proportion of admission of these Classes to such schools should be increased. (Paragraph 43.)

Boys from these Classes should be accommodated in the existing vacancies in the hostels attached to Government Secondary Schools. (Paragraph 44.)

Hostels controlled by Voluntary Associations should be encouraged. (Paragraph 44.)

There should be great simplicity of these hostels, and boys should be provided with manual training. (Paragraphs 45—46.)

• The upper Primary and Secondary School scholarships should be increased. (Paragraph 47.)

The system should be made more elastic and the scholarship allotments of the Backward Classes should be considered as one unit for all the stages of education and the amount should be transferred from College to Secondary and from Secondary to Primary whenever necessary. (Paragraph 50.)

A undue proportion of scholarships should not be absorbed by any particular community. (Paragraph 53.)

Exemption of fees is recommended to be given in all cases including College education. (Paragraphs 55 and 57.)

Charitable funds should be promoted where possible for Backward Class education. (Paragraph 55.)

There should be one scholarship available for study abroad. (Paragraph 58.)

More Night Schools should be established in areas occupied by the Backward Classes. Such Night Schools should be supplemented by Circulating Library Boxes. (Paragraph 59.)

A percentage should be fixed for the future recruitment of Primary teachers from the Backward Classes by the Local Authorities. (Paragraph 60.)

Until the proportion of the trained teachers from the Backward Classes reaches the same level as that attained by the rest of the Community, admission in Training Colleges should be secured for these Classes at a more rapid rate than at present. (Paragraph 62.)

Vacation training and re-training classes should be held. (Paragraph 62.)

Training in one-teacher schools should be given. Depressed Class teachers should be introduced in Practising Schools. (Paragraphs 63 and 64.)

In the Practising Schools there should be more Backward Class and specially Depressed Class pupils. (Paragraph 63.)

A special Assistant under the Director of Public Instruction should be appointed to look to the educational needs of the Backward Classes. (Paragraph 65.)

School Boards should appoint one or more Supervisors from the Depressed Classes. (Paragraph 66.)

Scholarships for Industrial Training as apprentices in Mills, Railway Workshops and in Engineering works should be awarded, and the Director of Industries should organize classes for training in tanning, rope-making, etc.. (Paragraphs 67 and 68.)

Economic—(Chapter V).

The Depressed Classes should be encouraged to join the common village Co-operative Credit Societies. Credit Societies and Provident Fund schemes should be organized by all Municipalities for their Conservancy staff. (Paragraphs 70 and 73.)

For supervision of Societies among the Aboriginal Tribes special arrangements should be made in hill areas. (Paragraph 71.)

Separate Producers Societies should be encouraged to improve the earning capacity of these Classes. (Paragraph 72.)

Legislation relating to money-lenders should be undertaken. (Paragraph 74.)

Experiments should be made in recolonizing the Backward Classes in areas depopulated owing to the ravages of Malaria and pig. (Paragraph 76.)

We advocate the formation of Land Banks. (Paragraph 76.)

We consider that a complete repeal of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act would be detrimental to the interests of the Backward Classes. (Paragraph 76.)

We emphasize the need of more recruitment of the Depressed Classes in the Police Department and we urge that the present bar to the recruitment of the Depressed Classes in the Army should be removed. (Paragraphs 77 and 78.)

The Backward Class Officer should obtain lists of qualified candidates from these Classes and promote their recruitment to clerical posts. (Paragraph 79.)

We recommend more recruitment of the Backward Classes as menials in all Departments. (Paragraph 79.)

The traditional services rendered to Government and to the Rayats in villages by these classes are in urgent need of re-adjustment and we recommend that a detailed enquiry should be made into the customary services performed by the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes. (Paragraph 80.)

We recommend that legislation may be applied in certain areas to stop the eating of carrion. (Paragraph 80.)

Housing schemes for the Backward Classes, especially the Depressed Classes and the wandering Tribes, should be promoted. (Paragraph 82.)

We draw the attention of the Municipalities to the housing of their Conservancy staff. (Paragraph 84.)

It should be the duty of the Backward Class Officer to promote migration. (Paragraph 85.)

Social—(Chapter VI.)

We advocate some changes in the present Abkari policy of Government. (Paragraphs 87—89.)

We recommend that Notice Boards should be placed near every public well, Dharmashalas, Hospitals and Dispensaries to the effect that all communities are allowed to use them. (Paragraphs 90 to 96.)

Cases where the Depressed Classes are hindered from travelling in public buses should be dealt with firmly. (Paragraph 97.)

We recommend that legislation should be introduced to prevent the dedication of minor girls to temples. (Paragraphs 98—99.)

We recommend that Government should enforce the principle of polite treatment by its officials of the Depressed Classes and that an addition should be made to the Government Servants Conduct Rules. (Paragraph 100.)

Social boycott which operates against the Depressed Classes should be checked by propaganda and compromise and in the last resort by legislation. (Paragraph 102.)

General—(Chapter VII.)

Separate representation is required in the Legislative Council for the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes. Also adequate representation should be given to these Classes in Municipal, Local and School Boards and in the Grama Panchayats. (Paragraphs 103 to 106.)

A Backward Class Board with a Backward Class Officer working with it should be appointed to watch over the interests of the Backward Classes. This work may be part of the work of the Criminal Tribes Settlement Officer, but if so his designation should be changed to Backward Class Officer.

The Board should have nine members: Three members from the Depressed Class Members of the Council, three members from the Aboriginal Tribes Members of the Council and three Members of the Council to represent general interests. If no suitable Members of the Legislative Council are available, others may be chosen. The Backward Class Officer should be the Secretary of the Board. The whole scheme should be regarded as temporary and sanctioned for seven years only. (Paragraphs 107—112.)



APPENDIX II.

CLASSIFICATION OF CASTES.

Backward Classes.

Schedule I	Schedule II	Schedule III
Depressed Classes	Aboriginal and Hill Tribes	Other Backward Classes
1. Agers.	1. Adwichincher Pardhis.	or 1. Alikar.
2. Asodi.	2. Barda.	2. Bahirupi.
3. Bhambi.	3. Baveha.	3. Bajania.
4. Bhangis.	4. Bhils.	4. Bal-Santoshi.
5. Chakrawadya-Dasar.	5. Chodhra.	5. Bandi.
6. Chambhar or Mochigar.	6. Dhanka.	6. Battal.
7. Chelwadi.	7. Dhodia.	7. Bava.
8. Chena-Dasar.	8. Dubla.	8. Bazigar.
9. Chuhar (Chuhra).	9. Gamit or Gamta.	9. Beldar.
10. Dakleru.	10. Gond.	10. Berad or Bedar, or Talwar, or Walmiki, or Naik-Makkalu.
11. Dhed.	11. Katkari or Kathodi.	11. Bhampta.
12. Dhegu-Megu.	12. Kokna.	12. Bhand.
13. Dhors or Tanners.	13. Koli Mahadev.	13. Bharadi.
14. Garoda.	14. Mavchi.	14. Bhavaya.
15. Halsar (Haslars) Halsavars.	or 15. Nayak or Naikdas.	15. Bhavin.
16. Holiya.	16. Phanse Pardhi.	16. Bhistis.
17. Khalpas.	17. Patelia.	17. Bhute.
18. Koli Dhor.	18. Pomlas.	18. Buruds.
19. Kolghas or Kolchas.	19. Rathawa.	19. Chamtha.
20. Kotegar (North Kanara only).	20. Thakurs.	20. Chandlagar.
21. Kotwal or Kotwalia.	21. Tadvi-Bhils.	21. Chapparband.
22. Lingaders.	22. Valvi.	22. Charans.
23. Mahar or Mhar.	23. Varlis.	23. Chitrakathi.
24. Mang and Madig.	24. Vasava.	24. Dasa.
25. Mang Garudi.		25. Depla.
26. Meghwal or Menghwar.		26. Gandhrap.
27. Mini-Madig.		27. Garudi.
28. Mukris.		28. Ghisadi or Tinkar.
29. Nadias.		29. Golla.
30. Shindawa or Shenwas.		30. Gondhali.
31. Sochi or (Mochi except Gujerat where they are touchables).		31. Gopal.
32. Timalis.		32. Helav.
33. Turis or Drummers.		33. Jagiasi (Sind).
34. Vitholia.		34. Jajak (Sind).
35. Wankars.		35. Jatia.
36. Wansfodas.		36. Jogi.
		37. Jogin.
		38. Joshis.
		39. Joharis or Javeris.
		40. Kahar.
		41. Kaikadi.
		42. Kanjari.

Schedule I	Schedule II	Schedule III
Depressed Classes	Aboriginal and Hill Tribes	Other Backward Classes
		43. Kapdis.
		44. Kattais.
		45. Khavas.
		46. Khati (Sind).
		47. Killiket or Katbus.
		48. Kolhatis or Tumblers, or Dombaris, or Khelkaris.
		49. Koli Malhar.
		50. Korwas or Korchas.
		51. Kori (Sind).
		52. Kucchria (Sind).
		53. Lamani.
		54. Mairal.
		55. Manbhavs.
		56. Mangelas.
		57. Me.
		58. Miana (Mahomedans).
		59. Mochi (touchables in Gujerat and untouch- ables elsewhere).
		60. Modikar (same as Garudi).
		61. Nat.
		62. Ods.
		63. Padharia.
		64. Padiar.
		65. Patti.
		66. Pangul.
		67. Patradavaru.
		68. Patharvat.
		69. Phudgi.
		70. Rachevar.
		71. Raekari.
		72. Ramoshi.
		73. Ravalia.
		74. Sahadev Joshi.
		75. Salat.
		76. Sangar.
		77. Sanjogi.
		78. Sappalig.
		79. Sarnias.
		80. Sarodi.
		81. Sarvades.
		82. Shikari.
		83. Shikligar.
		84. Suler.
		85. Suthria (Sind).
		86. Takari.
		87. Thakar.
		88. Tingar.
		89. Tirmali.
		90. Vaddar.
		91. Vadi.
		92. Vaghri.
		93. Vaidu.
		94. Vaiti.
		95. Valhar.

Schedule I	Schedule II	Schedule III
Depressed Classes	Aboriginal and Hill Tribes	Other Backward Classes
		96. Vanjari. 97. Vasudev. 98. Vir.
Total approximate population according to Census of 1921 (excluding Sind) 1,475,785..	1,323,429	1,041,023
Backward Classes Grand Total ..	3,840,237	

Note I.—Some names given in the Schedule A attached to the Primary Education Rules No. 2534 of October 10th, 1924, have been omitted by us as we considered that they were names of professions only and that such persons had caste names in addition.

Note II.—As we have not been requested to investigate into the condition of the "other Backward Classes" (Schedule III) we have not made detailed investigation regarding them.

Note III.—It was not clear in some cases if certain minor castes had been included or not in the Census of 1921 in the figures of other castes. The error for the first two Schedules would however not be more than 1 per cent. but it might be much higher in the last Schedule.

APPENDIX III.

BUDGET.

*Estimated expenditure under Educational Budget.**Assistant to Director of Public Instruction.*

(Average pay of Bombay Educational Service selection grade)	.. .. .	8,695	....
<i>His Staff.</i>			
I. Clerk on 85—5/2—100 and			
1. Clerk on 30—5/2—80			
2. Peons at Rs. 18 each	.. .. .	2,220	13,915
Travelling allowances for the Assistant to the Director of Public Instruction and staff	.. .. .	3,000	....
<i>Additional Upper Primary Scholarships.</i>			
(Vide para. 47)	.. .. .	45,000	55,000
Lower Primary Scholarships (para. 47)	.. .. .	10,000	....
New Hostels for boys and additional grants to existing hostels for Primary students (para. 26)	.. .. .	40,000	40,000
Hostels for Backward Class girls in connection with the women's Primary Teachers Training Colleges, and maintenance of girls in aided hostels (paras. 35-36)	.. .. .	44,000	44,000
Additional expenditure in connection with the experimental areas for Aboriginal Tribes (para. 29)	.. .. .	20,000	20,000
Additional expenditure on hostels for Secondary School students of the Backward Class (paras. 44-46)	.. .. .	30,000	30,000
Compensation to aided schools for free tuition to Backward Classes (para. 55)	.. .. .	5,000	5,000
Additional Scholarships for Backward Classes in Secondary Schools (para. 50)	.. .. .	20,000	20,000
Rewards to teachers (para. 39)	.. .. .	60,000	60,000
Re-training Classes for Backward Class teachers (para. 62).	.. .. .	3,000	3,000
Additional Primary Night Schools and Libraries (para. 59).	.. .. .	10,000	10,000
Total ..			3,00,915

Under Budget Head.

Major Head "(47-Miscellaneous)" Elevation of Backward Classes.

Backward Class Officer.

Extra expenditure,	.. .. .	Nil	....
Two Assistant Backward Class Officers, one in grade 300—50—550—50/2—650, one in grade 700—50—850	.. .. .	15,440	15,440

Clerical Staff for Backward Class Officer.

One clerk 105—5—140	}	2,213	2,213
Two clerks 30—5/2—80				

Clerical and Menial Staff for each Backward Class Officer.

One clerk 85—5/2—100	}	Rs. 2,220 each	4,440	4,440
One clerk 30—5/2—80				
Two peons at Rs. 18				

APPENDIX III—*contd.**Travelling allowance for members of Backward
Class Board.*

Travelling allowance for Backward Class Officer (included in his present budget)	<i>Nil</i>	..
Travelling allowance for two Assistant Backward Class Officers	3,200	3,200
Travelling allowance for Clerical and Menial Staff	1,400	1,400
Contingencies including printing and service postage	2,000	2,000
Scholarships for training in trades and Industrial Schools (para. 67)	25,000	25,000
Unforeseen expenditure	10,000	10,000
		66,702
Total ..		66,702

*Under present budget of Criminal Tribes
Settlement Officer.*

Cost of adjustment in staff that will be necessary if the Criminal Tribes Settlement Officer becomes Backward Class Officer, one of the Assistant Criminal Tribes Settlement Officers being changed to a Second Grade District Deputy Collector's post	1,650	1,650
Grand total including cost under Educational Budget		3,69,267
Rounding		3,70,000

APPENDIX IV.

THE UNTOUCHABLE CLASSES AND ABORIGINAL TRIBES COMMITTEE.

QUESTIONNAIRE.

1. (a) What castes in your opinion should be included amongst the (1) Untouchable castes and (2) Aboriginal Tribes for the Bombay Presidency ?
 (b) Do the Untouchable castes observe untouchability amongst themselves ? If so, grade them according to the degree of untouchability.
2. As the expression "Depressed Classes" is too indefinite and as the word "untouchable" is offensive, can you suggest any other term less offensive and sufficiently definite to include only such classes and castes whose touch is deemed to cause pollution.

Education.

3. What are the obstacles to the spread of education among the untouchable castes and Aboriginal Tribes ?
4. How far can these Castes and Tribes beneficially take advantage of the schools meant for the general public or do you advocate separate schools where the population justifies them ?
5. Do you advocate any changes in the curriculum of the Primary Schools which are specially established for these Castes and Tribes from (1) Infant to fourth standard, (2) Fifth to seventh standard, with a view to promote vocational training amongst them ?
6. Do you advocate that the teachers of these special schools should be drawn mainly from the same castes as the scholars ?
7. Do you advocate the advisability of establishing Boarding schools for these Castes and Tribes supplementary to ordinary special schools ? Can you suggest how the expenditure should be met ? Could or would the parents pay part of the cost ?
8. How far do you think the spread of higher education among the intelligent members of these communities raises the status of their respective communities, and if so, can you suggest any measures for attaining this end ?
9. (a) Should separate scholarships for Primary, Secondary and Collegiate courses be allotted for (1) Untouchables and (2) Aboriginal Tribes, with the proviso that the unused balances are carried forward with a view to their use in future years for the same purpose, if suitable candidates are not available in any particular year ?
 (b) What should be the value of each scholarship in each of the three stages of education ?
 (c) Should all the pupils be given cash scholarships or other assistance in all the three stages of education or a percentage only, and if so, what percentage ?
10. Is it desirable to make special facilities for training classes for both unqualified and untrained teachers from these Castes and Tribes ?
11. (a) Has the transfer of Primary Education from the Provincial Government to the School Boards of the Local Authorities affected the spread of Primary Education amongst these people ?
 (b) If the transfer has affected it adversely would you advocate a special agency for taking charge of these schools, and if so, what form should this agency take ?
 (c) Alternatively, assuming you advocate the continuation of the control of the Local Authorities, are you in favour of the establishment of a special Inspectorate to safeguard the educational interests of these classes ?
12. If the compulsory provisions of the Bombay Primary Education Act, 1923, are not likely to be applied to a particular area in the near future would you advocate the application of compulsion to these classes only and if so how ?
13. Have you any suggestions for increasing the education amongst the girls of these classes and for their curriculum ?
14. Should special lessons be introduced into the curriculum of the ordinary schools inculcating the need for removing the injustice and wrongs done hitherto to these Castes and Tribes and urging the necessity of equal treatment to them ?
15. (a) Has the Government Order, Educational Department, No. P-23, dated the 23rd February 1923, regarding admission and seating of children of the Depressed Classes in ordinary schools been brought into force in your district ?

(b) Are you in favour of stopping all educational grants where these orders are not enforced to ensure compliance therewith? If not what other plenary measures do you advocate to secure the same end?

Economic.

16. (a) Do you know of any special Co-operative Society for these Castes and Tribes whether weavers, tanners, rope-makers, broom-makers or engaged in other agricultural or occupational employment?

(b) Do you think that these Castes and Tribes get sufficient benefit out of the general Co-operative societies or do you advocate the formation of special societies composed of them only?

17. Do any persons or groups out of these Castes and Tribes work as serfs to land holders or house holders on account of their indebtedness, if so on what terms? Please describe their normal condition. Are they attached to the soil and passed on from owner to owner?

18. (a) What are the special impediments in the way of these Castes and Tribes following the ordinary occupations and professions open to all?

(b) Can you suggest any measures for the economic betterment of the occupational Castes and Tribes?

(c) Can you suggest any measures for the employment and economic betterment of non-occupational Castes and Tribes?

19. Do you favour the Mysore system or any other plan for the formation of colonies on forest or other lands for these Castes and Tribes where land is available? If so, can you suggest any measure for supplying capital to such colonies?

20. (a) Do these Castes and Tribes perform any service for (a) Villagers and (b) Government and are they paid for the same and if so, whether by villagers or by Government or by both? What is the nature of payment and is it adequate?

(b) Are they compelled to remove or skin dead animals and if so what do they get in return? Are you in favour of such compulsion and if so for what reasons?

21. Have these Castes and Tribes to do any forced labour and if so, of what nature and what is its effect upon the moral and material wellbeing of these people?

22. (a) Is the employment of the untouchable Castes and Aboriginal Tribes in Public Service adequate?

(b) Are there any departments of Government in which in your opinion these Castes and Tribes can be given preference in the immediate future in the matter of recruitment?

(c) Is there any ban on their employment in any department, Civil or Military?

(d) Have you any suggestions to offer with regard to the employment of these Castes and Tribes in service, public or private?

23. (a) Is indebtedness widely spread amongst these Castes and Tribes? From which class of money-lenders do they usually borrow? Have they, by reason of the fact that they belong to these Castes and Tribes, to pay higher rate of interest than is usually paid by members of the other communities and if so what is the rate of interest?

(b) Do you favour any enactment such as the English Money-lenders Act to prevent the usurious rates of interest being charged to debtors?

(c) To what extent have these Castes and Tribes been dispossessed of their lands by their creditors as a result of their indebtedness?

(d) What benefit if any, have these Castes and Tribes derived directly or indirectly from the application of the Deccan Agricultural Relief Act to your district?

24. Do you suggest that there should be any periodical investigation of the economic life of typical members of these Castes and Tribes with a view to compare their relative position with that of other typical villagers?

25. Is there any migration from these classes from villages to cities? What are the causes of such migration?

Social.

26. Are there instances in your district where the wearing of clothes or ornaments usually worn by the higher classes is prohibited by the village public in the case of these Castes and Tribes?

27. How far do the higher classes respond to the attempts of the untouchable castes for their own uplift?

28. What opportunities are there in your area for the members of these Castes and Tribes for mixing socially with other castes. If there are none at present would you suggest any measures for establishing contact ?

29. For the furtherance of prohibition amongst these classes do you advocate any changes in the present Abkari policy of Government ?

30. What steps, if any, would you suggest for improving the housing and the sanitary condition of the areas in which these classes live ?

31. Are these Castes and Tribes admitted ordinarily in dispensaries, hospitals and dharmashalas and are they allowed the use of wells maintained by Government, Municipalities and Local Boards ?

32. (a) Assuming that there is untouchability towards the lower grades of untouchables by the higher grades thereof, what measures do you suggest for meeting the wants of the lower grades of untouchables ?

(b) Do there exist in your area sufficient facilities for those castes lower down in the scale of untouchability for (i) the provision of drinking water from wells or taps and (ii) instruction in schools ? Do you favour such separate treatment ?

33. What measures do you advocate for the stoppage of the evil customs of dedication of girls as Murlies, Devadasis, and Basvis, and males as Waghyas and Potras ?

General.

34. Under the Rules framed under the Primary Education Act, 1923, the list given under "Depressed Classes" contains in addition to the untouchable castes and aboriginal tribes, a number of castes which are touchable though backward. Does this grouping hinder the election of members of the untouchable castes and aboriginal tribes to District or Municipal School Boards, and if so, what remedy would you suggest to ensure this privilege being enjoyed by these Castes and Tribes ?

35. (a) Are any members of the Untouchable Class and Aboriginal Tribes elected to Village Panchayats ? If not, would you favour the principle of reservation of seats being introduced in the constitution of the village panchayat to secure their representation ?

(b) Are these Castes and Tribes represented on local bodies in your area ? Is their representation adequate ? Should such representation be through election, nomination or reservation of seats ?

36. Would you favour any special Officer being appointed permanently to act as a protector of these Castes and Tribes as in Madras if ; so, what would be his main duties ?

37. Have you any other suggestions for the uplift of these castes and tribes ?

APPENDIX V.

List of persons who have submitted written statements, and given oral evidence before the Committee.

1. Mr. Bhajji Ukabhai, Depressed Class representative of Ahmedabad.
2. Rev. A. B. Coates, Methodist Episcopal Mission, Gokak Falls.
3. Mr. R. B. Chelwadi, Nidgundi, Bijapur (Member, D. L. B.).
4. Rev. R. W. Fairbank, B.A., B.D., American Marathi Mission, Ahmednagar.
5. Mr. B. K. Gaikwad, Member, District Local Board, Nasik.
6. Rev. H. P. Garner, Manager, Church of Brethern Mission, Ahwa Dangs.
7. Mr. C. B. Huli, B.A., Assistant Registrar, Co-operative Societies, S. D., Dharwar.
8. Mr. R. Y. Hulkoti, Inspector of Agricultural Schools, Poona.
9. Mr. M. K. Jadhav, B.A., Probationary District Deputy Collector, Bijapur.
10. Mr. Lalji Sharma, Broach.
11. Mr. F. P. B. Lory, I.E.S., Director of Public Instruction, Poona.
12. Dr. Sumant B. Mehta, Pritam Nagar, Ahmedabad.
13. Mr. W. S. Mukadam, M.L.C., Godhra.
14. Mr. P. L. Muzumdar, Secretary, Antyaj Seva Mandal, Navasari.
15. Mr. Nemanna Bharmappa Modge, Belgaum.
16. Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, Kt., C.I.E., M.B.E., M.L.A., Bombay.
17. Mr. Purshottam M. Waghela, President, Dalita Bandu Sudharak Sabha, Bombay.
18. Rao Saheb Papanna Jaliah, Member, District Local Board, Belgaum.
19. Mr. P. N. Rajbhoj, B.A., B.D., Municipal Councillor, City Municipality, Poona.
20. Rev. E. C. Reddy, Methodist Episcopal Mission, Gokak Falls.
21. Mr. L. M. Satoor, Secretary, Camp Education Society, Poona.
22. Mr. D. Y. Sambrani, Dharwar.
23. Mr. Shetwappa Bharmappa Durgai, Belgaum.
24. Mr. J. H. Garrett, I.C.S., Commissioner, Northern Division, Ahmedabad.
25. Mr. Dayabhai J. Naik, Representative of the Bhil Seva Mandal, Dohad.
26. Mr. Laxmidas Srikant, Representative of the Bhil Seva Mandal, Dohad.
27. Mr. S. R. Tavde, M.A., Principal, Training College for Men, Poona.
28. Commissioner S. R. Ewens, representing the Salvation Army in Western India.
29. Mr. S. N. Medhe, Superintendent, Depressed Class Boarding, Jalgaon.
30. Dr. M. B. Udgaonkar, Hindu Maha Sabha, Matunga, Bombay.
31. Raoji Punjaji Thenge, Member, District School Board, Ahmednagar.

List of persons who have given oral evidence only before the Committee.

1. Mr. Alaji Khetaji, Depressed Class Representative of Viramgam.
2. Mr. P. B. Advani, M.Sc., Director of Industries, Bombay.
3. Mr. Ayappa Ramappa Machigar of Muddebihal.
4. Mr. Allabaksh Bhangi of Saidapur, Dharwar.
5. Miss V. Baptista, Lady Superintendent, Mahalakshmi Female Training College, Ahmedabad.
6. Mr. Bhikabhai Makan, Depressed Class Representative of Ahmedabad.
7. Mr. Bhikabhai Jivan, Member, Taluka Local Board, Kasal.
8. Mr. Bhulaki Bakubhai, Depressed Class Representative of Ahmedabad.
9. Mr. Budhu Chinabhai, do. do. do.
10. Mr. Bhau Payagouda Patil, Satara.
11. Mr. Basappa Ramappa Bendigeri, Depressed Class School Master, Hubli.
12. Mr. Chabildas S. Masekar, Forbes Building, Fort, Bombay.
13. Mr. Govindaji K. Chohan (Wankar), Bombay.
14. Rao Saheb Chunilal Kishabhai Amin, Forest Officer, Dangs.
15. Dr. Chandulal, Congress Worker, Broach.
16. Mr. H. A. Desai, Deputy Educational Inspector, Ahmedabad.
17. Administrative Officer, Ahmedabad City Municipality.
18. Rev. Enok, Hedberg. D. Litt., Scandinavian Alliance Mission, Dhulia, West Khandesh.
19. Mr. D. R. Ghatkamble, Aval Karkun, Khanapur Taluka.
20. Mr. Girdhar Jivabhai, Depressed Class Representative of Ahmedabad.
21. Mr. H. R. Gould, I.C.S., Collector of Poona.
22. Subhedar R. S. Ghatge, Poona.
23. Mr. M. D. Ghodke, Merchant, Hubli.

24. Mr. Girmallappa Adivappa Chelwadi of Hubli.
25. Mr. Gopalrao Bhiyaji Pol, Contractor of Hubli.
26. Mr. Hiralal Nathabhai Rathod, Representative of the Bhangi Community of Bombay.
27. Mr. Huchappa Ramappa Bannur (Waddar) of Gopankoppa, Taluka Hubli.
28. Mr. Irappa Ayappa Madar, Taluka Local Board Member, Bankapur Taluka.
29. Mr. N. T. Jadhav, Member of the Mahar Deputation of Bombay.
30. Mr. Khermode, Member of the Mahar Deputation of Bombay.
31. Mr. Krishnadas Nathuram Sharma, Ahmedabad.
32. Mr. Kallappa Kobbanna Samgar, Municipal Member, Bagalkot.
33. Mr. K. G. Limaye, Servants of India Society, Poona.
34. Mr. Lalji Tejaji, Bhil School Master, Jhalod, Taluka Dohad.
35. Mr. Balubhai Mehta, B.A., LL.B., Congress Worker, Nandurbar.
36. Mr. J. B. Masekar, Bombay.
37. Mr. T. T. Mudraddi, Dharwar.
38. Mr. Malkaji Narsingh Dhor, Hubli.
39. Dr. J. S. Nerurkar, Health Officer of the Bombay Corporation.
40. Mr. Neogal Sudhari, Sweeper of the Bombay Corporation.
41. Mr. Naranbhai Ranchodbhai Chohan, Depressed Class Representative, Ahmedabad.
42. Miss Navalkar, Lady Superintendent, Training College for Women, Poona.
43. Mr. Ningappa Shivaningappa Machigar, Shahapurpet, Padanpur (Bijapur).
44. Mr. Ranchoddas Sharma, Depressed Class Representative of Ahmedabad.
45. Mr. Samant Meghwad, Sweeper of Bombay Corporation.
46. Mr. N. P. A. Smith, Personal Assistant to the Inspector General of Police, Poona.
47. Mr. D. A. Shah, M.A., LL.B., Assistant Registrar of Co-operative Societies, C. D., Poona.
48. Mr. B. D. Samgar, Member, District Local Board, Bijapur.
49. Mr. Y. B. Sambrani, Dharwar.
50. Miss H. V. Twells, B.A., I.E.S., Inspectress of Girls Schools, Bombay and Northern Division.
51. Mr. Tulsidas Acharya, Navi Golwadi, Baroda.
52. Mr. A. B. Tribhuvan, LL.B., Pleader, Ahmednagar.
53. Mr. S. G. Vaze, Servants of India Society, Poona.
54. Mr. K. S. Vakil, I.E.S., Educational Inspector, S.D., Dharwar.
55. Mr. Vithal Ramji Shinde, Depressed Class Mission, Poona.
56. Mr. Vasu Venka Chamgar, Member, District School Board, Sirshi.
57. Mr. B. H. Varale, Superintendent, Depressed Class Boarding, Dharwar.
58. G. B. Wable, B.A., L.T., Administrative Officer, School Board, Poona City.
59. Mr. Mahant Fakirdas Jettabhai of Dakar, Taluka Tasara.
60. Mr. Ranchodbhai Viraji Parmar, Nadiad.
61. Mr. M. N. Dikhale, Supervisor of Schools, District Local Board, Poona.
62. Mr. Shivram Gopal Jadhav, Representative of Ratnagiri and Kolaba Depressed Classes.
63. Mr. Shambhaji Tukaram Gaikwad, Representative of Ratnagiri and Kolaba Depressed Classes.
64. Mr. Govind Ramji Adrekar, Representative of Ratnagiri and Kolaba Depressed Classes.
65. Changdev Narayan Mohite, Representative of Ratnagiri and Kolaba Depressed Classes.
66. Mr. Tamaji Mahadev Kadam, Representative of Ratnagiri and Kolaba Depressed Classes.

List of persons who have submitted written statements only to the Committee.

1. Administrative Officer, District School Board, Kanara.
2. Association of British University Women in India.
3. Mr. J. Abbott, I.C.S., Collector, Dharwar.
4. Mr. S. Aminuddin, Assistant Collector, Dahnu Prant, Thana.
5. Assistant Collector, Northern Division, Satara.
6. Mr. Atmaram Itcharam, Dariapur Chakla, Ahmedabad.
7. Mr. R. R. Badve, B.A., District Deputy Collector, Poona.
8. Mr. J. Bleakly, Manager, Gokak Mills.
9. Mr. M. R. Benjamin, Member, District Local Board, Ahmedabad.
10. Mr. R. G. Bhatankar, Member, District Local Board, Kolaba.
11. Mr. M. D. Bhansale, M.A., LL.B. (Cantab.), Personal Assistant to the Collector, Ahmednagar.

12. Mr. J. L. Bell, I.F.S., Divisional Forest Officer, East Khandesh.
13. Bhil Samaj President Raje Veersjingaji Bapuji Padve, State Shingapur.
14. Mr. B. S. Sawant, Headmaster, School No. 7, Rawivar Peth, Satara.
15. Chairman, District School Board, East Khandesh.
16. Chambhar Vidyarti Mandal, Poona.
17. Mr. S. B. Chavan, B.A., District Deputy Collector, Nawabshah.
18. Rev. H. R. Coventry, Baramati.
19. Mr. T. M. Chaudhari, B.A., District Deputy Collector, Thana.
20. Chairman, District School Board, Poona.
21. Chairman, Pravara Canal Irrigators' Association, Ashvi.
22. Mr. C. S. Campbell, I.C.S. (Retired), Poona.
23. Mr. B. T. Char, B.A., Scout Organizer, S. D., Dharwar.
24. Chairman, District School Board, Nasik.
25. Mr. G. F. S. Collins, I.C.S., Collector of Thana.
26. Chairman, District School Board, West Khandesh.
27. Chairman, Municipal School Board, Surat.
28. Chairman, District School Board, Dhulia.
29. Mr. S. H. Covernton, I.C.S., Collector of Hyderabad.
30. Collector of West Khandesh, Dhulia.
31. Mr. Chunilal, Mighraj Maheshurb, Headmaster, Vernacular School, Nagarparkar, District Thar Parkar.
32. Collector, Sholapur.
33. Chief Conservator of Forests, Bombay Presidency.
34. Mr. R. R. Divekar, District Deputy Collector, Kanara.
35. Mr. G. G. Desai, M.A., District Deputy Collector, Ankleshwar Sub-division.
36. District Deputy Collector, Kolaba.
37. Mr. A. H. Dracup, B.A., Collector, Bombay Suburban District.
38. Divisional Forest Officer, N. D., Kanara.
39. Mr. D. G. Dabu, Vice-President, Taluka Local Board, Alibag.
40. Divisional Forest Officer, Belgaum.
41. Deputy Director of Agriculture, Dharwar.
42. Rao Saheb Dhirajlal C. Desai, Deputy Superintendent of Police, Criminal Investigation Department.
43. Mr. R. T. Dev, B.A., Huzur Deputy Collector, East Khandesh.
44. District Deputy Collector, C. D., Satara.
45. Divisional Forest Officer, Southern Division, Kanara.
46. Depressed Classes of Surat District residing in Bombay. Public meeting held on 28th June 1929.
47. Mr. H. P. W. Davis, I.F.S., Divisional Forest Officer, West Nasik.
48. Mr. Dagadu Balaji Adhari, Headmaster, Local Board School, Shirole.
49. Mr. Dingomal Gurumukdas, Huzur Deputy Collector, Sukkur.
50. Divisional Forest Officer, Dharwar-Bijapur.
51. Mr. M. S. Divekar, Vai, District Satara.
52. Divisional Forest Officer, North Thana.
53. Director of Agriculture, Bombay Presidency, Poona.
54. Mr. S. A. Ghatge, B.A., LL.B., Prant Officer, East Khandesh.
55. Mr. W. B. Gilligan, I.C.S., Ag. Collector, Ratnagiri.
56. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, B.A., District Deputy Collector, III Division, Dharwar.
57. Mr. J. G. Gokhale, M.A., B.Sc., Khandesh Education Society, Amalner.
58. Mr. H. K. Gokhale, Administrative Officer, District School Board, Kolaba.
59. Mr. J. L. Hegde, S. P. G. Mission, Ranebennur.
60. Mr. A. S. Holland, I.P., Deputy Inspector General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Poona.
61. Head Clerk to the Director of Public Instruction and Protector of the Depressed Classes, Cochin State.
62. Mr. J. R. Hood, I.C.S., Collector of Sukkur.
63. Rao Saheb M. N. Halyal, B.A., District Deputy Collector, Western Division, Poona.
64. Mr. Hari Sakhrabai Lallubai, Municipal Councillor, Ahmedabad.
65. Head Supervisor, Conservancy Branch, Bombay Municipality.
66. Mr. Hamid A. Ali, I.C.S., Collector of Kolaba.
67. Mr. D. R. Ingle, Superintendent, Depressed Class Hostel, Belgaum.
68. Mr. Hyam S. Israel, B.A., District Deputy Collector, City Sub-division, Poona.
69. Mr. K. R. Kajrolkar, Thana.
70. Mr. P. N. Karkar, B.A., Mahalkari of Mokhada.
71. Mr. S. V. Kowjalgi, LL.B., President, Bijapur Municipality.

72. Rao Saheb B. V. Kolkar, Deputy Superintendent of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Poona.
73. Mr. D. W. Kerkar, B.A., I.C.S., Assistant Collector, Broach.
74. Mr. G. K. Kudav, B.A., District Deputy Collector, Bombay Suburban Division.
75. Mr. V. S. Koimatpur, Mamlatdar, Dharwar Taluka.
76. Mr. Kalidas Karsandas Vaishya, Assistant Teacher, Ahmedabad.
77. Mr. L. K. Kirloskar, General Manager, Kirloskarwadi Iron Works.
78. Mr. B. F. Kallanavar, Member, School Board and District Local Board, Dharwar.
79. Mr. J. S. Kaj, Hamam Street, Fort, Bombay.
80. Labour Office, Bombay.
81. Mr. H. G. Lakhia, Mamlatdar of Wada.
82. Mr. Lalji Munia, Secretary, Bhil Teachers' Association of Taluka Jhalod, District Panch Mahals.
83. Mr. Lalji T. Muliya, Bhilti Anshi Goulad.
84. Mr. S. M. Mate, Sadhashiv Peth, Poona.
85. Mr. B. S. Muzumdar, Member, Taluka Local Board, Ankola.
86. Mamlatdar of Chalisgaon.
87. Mukhtiarkar of Chachro.
88. Mukhtiarkar of Hyderabad.
89. Mukhtiarkar of Naushahro.
90. Manager, Kune Katkari Settlement, Kolaba District.
91. Mr. A. M. Macmillan, I.C.S., Collector, Ahmednagar.
92. Mr. C. N. Millard, B.A., Collector, Nasik.
93. Mamlatdar of Bhusawal.
94. Mr. Meyer Nissim, M.A., President, Municipal Corporation, Bombay.
95. Mr. A. Master, I.C.S., Collector of Kaira.
96. Rao Bahadur Dr. V. V. Mulay, L.M. & S., President, Sholapur Municipality.
97. Manager of the Glass Works, Oglewadi, Karad, District Satara.
98. Mamlatdar of Dhulia.
99. Mamlatdar of Nandurbar.
100. Mamlatdar of Shahade.
101. Mamlatdar of Shirpur.
102. Mamlatdar of Sindkhed.
103. Mamlatdar of Sakri.
104. Mamlatdar of Taloda.
105. The Millowners' Association, Bombay.
106. Member of District Local Board, Kolaba.
107. Member, District Local Board, Ahmednagar.
108. Mr. J. Monteath, I.C.S., Collector of Satara.
109. Mr. Maniklal M. Shah, M.B.B.S., Godhra.
110. Mr. R. R. Nabar, B.A., Member, Stock Exchange, Bombay.
111. Mr. D. V. Naik, Vice-President, Samaj Samat Sangh, Dadar.
112. Mr. Narayandas Ranchoddas, representing the Depressed Class on the Ahmedabad Municipal School Board.
113. President, District Local Board, Kolaba.
114. Mr. G. D. Parasnis, B.A., Mamlatdar, Raver Taluka, East Khandesh.
115. President, Matheran Hill Station Municipality.
116. Mr. G. R. Parwatikar, Vice-President, Bagalkot Municipality.
117. Mr. H. G. Parke, Chairman, District School Board, Ahmednagar.
118. Mr. K. G. Parikh, Mamlatdar, Broach.
119. Rao Bahadur P. C. Patil, Professor, Agricultural College, Poona.
120. Rao Bahadur Palekar, District Deputy Collector, N. D., Belgaum.
121. Vice-President, Taluka Local Board, Alibag.
122. Mr. R. A. Patwardhan, President, Taluka Local Board, Alibag.
123. President, Adi Hindu Seva Mandal, Dhulia.
124. Mr. G. R. Phatkar, Divisional Forest Officer, Kolaba.
125. President, Taluka Local Board, Sirur.
126. President, Rohidas Sewa Sangh Chambhar Community of Bombay.
127. Mr. V. B. Patil, Huzur Deputy Collector of Kaira.
128. Rao Bahadur C. B. Ramrao, Bangalore.
129. Mr. G. J. Ramchandani, Divisional Forest Officer, Larkhana.
130. Assistant Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Surat.
131. Mr. C. H. Reynolds, I. P., D.S.P., West Khandesh, Dhulia.
132. Mr. Rama Kushya Patil, District School Board Member, Kolaba.
133. Mr. P. J. Rodrigues, Divisional Forest Officer, Shikarpur.
134. Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

135. Mr. R. R. Sonalkar, B.A., District Deputy Collector, Kolaba.
136. Mr. Showkiram, Hyderabad.
137. Sir Phiroze C. Sethna, Kt., O.B.E., J.P.
138. Mr. J. G. Shringarpur, Municipal Councillor, Igatpuri.
139. Seva Sadhan Society, Bombay.
140. Secretary, Depressed Class Mission, Poona City.
141. Rev. Schabiger, Roman Catholic Missionary, Sangamner.
142. Mr. R. A. Sairate, Divisional Forest Officer, West Thana.
143. Mr. Shakarabhai Lallubhai, Municipal Councillor of Ahmedabad.
144. Mr. Shantaram Annaji Upsham, Secretary, Shri Somavanshiya Unsheltered
Education Progressing Fund, Bombay.
145. Mr. D. B. Sothers, B.A., I.F.S., Conservator of Forests, C. C., Poona.
146. Mr. J. A. Singh, B.A., I.F.S., Divisional Forest Officer, West Khandesh.
147. Superintendent of Excise, Khandesh Sub-Division.
148. Mr. Samant Nanji, Marwadi, Secretary, Meghawal Sudharak Sabha, Bombay.
149. Mr. K. K. Sakat, Secretary, Matang Samaj, Poona City.
150. Mr. E. T. C. Vas, I.F.S., Divisional Forest Officer, East Thana.
151. Swamin Virupax Wodeyar, Kanebennur, District Dharwar.
152. Mr. S. K. Wadeyar, District Deputy Collector, Kalyan, Thana.
153. Mr. H. N. Willis, I.C.S., Assistant Collector, N. D., Satara.
154. Mr. A. G. Wells, I.C.S., Prant Officer, S. D., Belgaum.

MINUTE OF DISSENT BY MR. L. M. DESHPANDE, M.L.C.

The grievances of the Depressed Classes as have come to the light of the Committee have much truth in them except that in some cases they have been very much exaggerated and in some cases the part played by the members of the Depressed Class is not mentioned. But that does not mean that the Depressed Classes have no genuine grievances which require immediate redress. But grievances are of such a long standing that all of them cannot be removed at a stroke of pen. Members of the Depressed Classes also admit that their grievances cannot be remedied all of a sudden.

2. The first and foremost grievance of the Depressed Classes is that they were and are considered untouchables. Why this was so, need not be discussed here. But the fact is, there is such grievance as requires immediate solution. The world is passing through a new phase and everybody has to adapt himself to the altered circumstances. From this point of view untouchability must at once cease, and efforts for the removal of untouchability are being made by the Leaders of the Hindu Community. Their sympathy for the general uplift of the Depressed Classes who after all form part of the great Hindu Society is real. Their's is not merely a lip-sympathy as said by some but a very active one. They are making propoganda. Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Moonje, M.L.A., have actually travelled through the length and breadth of the country and advised the masses about the necessity of removing the untouchability. Even the present awakening of the Depressed Classes themselves is due to the efforts of these Hindu leaders. In Poona an institution called *Samata Sangh* was started and the members of this Sangh were Brahmins as well as untouchables. Not only this but some Brahmins joined in the Parvati Satyagraha (temple entry) at even personal risk. I have given this here to show that the sympathy of the higher classes is not merely a lip-sympathy as is tried to be made out by some but it is a very active sympathy.

3. But it always happens that where there is action there is reaction and when some members of the Depressed Classes took some extreme steps for redressing their grievance the same was also sought to be kept down by the other extreme side. Whatever that may be, the removal of untouchability is very urgent and essential and to attain this aim fully I am one with the whole committee that public offices, Schools, Dharmashalas, Motors and the like should be thrown open to all by Government executive orders. Further it must be seen that these executive orders have been followed. There can be no compulsion in private institutions, but these institutions, if they are to run, shall have to imitate the public institutions otherwise their very existence will be threatened.

4. Next comes the question of wells which is the most important as well as the most difficult to solve. Government have issued Circulars that all public wells should be thrown open to all. But not a single case has come to the notice of the Committee where a common well is used by the touchables as well as untouchables. There are instances where

wells used by other Hindus are thrown open to the Depressed Classes but where the Depressed Classes made use of them the other Hindus do not use the wells and in certain cases even though the common wells were used by the Depressed Classes for a day or two they themselves ceased to make further use of the wells. The latter is due to three causes :—

(1) because of the fear, (2) because of the sub-caste among the Depressed Classes or (3) because there are many orthodox Depressed Classes who themselves do not like to use such common wells.

Whatever changes may take place in cities and towns it will be very difficult to put into practice the use of common wells in villages which form a great majority of the Presidency. There persuasion is the only remedy. At the same time because the people in the village do not condescend, the Depressed Classes cannot wait to have water and for this purpose separate wells should be immediately provided for.

Education.

5. Admission to common schools can be effected by Government Circulars. But where the Depressed Classes themselves want a separate school that may be given. No fees should be charged for any Depressed Class boys so far as the Primary education is concerned. It is the duty of the State to impart education to all and if the State is unable to impart it free to all in the immediate future the boys of the Depressed Classes at least should be given free education. Further the Primary Education should not only consist of intellectual training but also there should be manual and technical training. There should be at least one school in every Taluka where there is one school teaching agricultural bias, another teaching weaving bias, third teaching rope-making and fourth, tanning and fifth teaching preparation of manure from hides and the like. It might be difficult to have such schools in every taluka in the beginning, but as many as are possible should be started in every Taluka or every alternative Taluka.

The Depressed Class boys should be given free education in all these schools and the brilliant ones among them should, in addition, be awarded scholarships. There should be one Deputy Educational Inspector working as a Personal Assistant to the Director of Public Instruction and he should look specially to the educational needs of the Depressed Classes.

6. It is apprehended by some that the education of the Depressed Classes will not be safe and well attended to by the District Local Boards who are now given the control of education. But this apprehension is not only not borne out by the evidence before the Committee but is actually contradicted. It is admitted that Gujerat is far behind the other two Divisions of the Presidency in the matter of admitting Depressed Class children to common schools. In the Central Division there are many common Schools attended by boys of the Depressed Classes. In Satara District, where the control is in the hands of the District Local Board, even in villages the boys of the Depressed Classes sit together with other boys. The teachers of the Depressed Classes are also appointed

in common schools. While in Gujerat where the control is yet to be transferred to District Local Boards or where it is only recently transferred, things are actually reverse. Under these circumstances it will be unjust to apprehend any injustices at the hands of the District Local Board.

Averages at times are misleading. It is said that while Rs. 2 per head is spent on the education per boy in the Presidency the share of the Depressed Classes is less than annas eight only. If the comparison is carried forward to the education on reserve side where 6 lacs and odd is spent on the education of European boys, even supposing that there are some boys of non-European parentage in the schools, still the average amount spent on this education would come to even more than Rs. 50 per head.

7. I am of opinion that the education of girls of the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes should be taken in hand after seeing the results that will be obtained regarding the education of boys for some years at least. It is a fact that cannot be denied that the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes do want the help of the young boys and girls for their daily maintenance. For the sake of their future uplift we want their boys to take education even at some sacrifice to their parents. It will be unjust to them if we also take their girls away and thus make them feel the absence of both. Moreover it is a known fact, that when children take education they are very unwilling and become also unfit to do any household or menial work.

I would suggest that the question of educating the females should be left over for the consideration of the males who should after themselves being educated see how and what sort of education should be given to their females. So much is said against the present curriculum, and I for one am prepared to say that the education given to females of the so-called higher classes is exactly the opposite of what is wanted. This is actually ruining our civilization. But if the Aboriginal Tribes want the same to be given to their females, let them at least be educated so as to give utterances to their feelings.

8. The qualified boys of the Depressed Classes should be given liberal scholarships for their secondary education. I do not think that Government should open hostels or Boarding houses for them free of any charge, such institutions are uneconomic and moreover boys in such institutions do not understand their real worth even in paid hostels, more so will be the case in free Hostels. The present Government Hostels can be made use of and there will surely be some philanthropic pupils who will help their Depressed Class brethren in the hostels as stated by Sir. Purushottamdas Thakurdas in his evidence before the Committee. Similarly scholarships should be given for higher education for really fit students also.

Government Appointments.

9. In principle I oppose appointments to Government service on communal lines. Such appointments will increase rather than decrease the communal differences. Our past experience in the matter is also

not satisfactory as is admitted by high officers, and moreover there will be no end to the proportion for communities as Government appointments are fewer in number than the communities themselves. So Government should not follow or pursue the policy of making appointments on communal lines. The only test should be of qualification. Not the minimum qualification, as is contemplated by Government orders, but merit alone should count in making such appointments. I admit that when merit is equal preference should be given to the Depressed Classes for some years in the beginning. Education is not necessarily for service and sooner the Hindus learn this the better. It is impossible that Government will provide appointments for all the educated and qualified people. It is only the people of outstanding merit that should and would get Government appointments.

10. Then comes the question of supplying funds for small trades and industries which members of the Depressed Classes such as Chambar, weavers, ropemakers follow. Co-operative Credit Society is an institution which can be made use of by the Depressed Classes and if there be any difficulty with the ordinary common society then special Co-operative Credit Societies should be formed. Here also an Inspector should be appointed to watch the interest of the Depressed Classes and take immediate steps to remove any legitimate grievances of the Depressed Classes.

11. There is a proposal of giving waste or disforested land to the Depressed Classes. I am really for such a measure. I have further to add that where any portion of disforested land is available that should not be restricted for the use of the Depressed Classes only but that should also be made available to all others who are equally poor, and to avoid misunderstanding I would say that no member of any advanced community even though he may howsoever be poor should be given the benefit of such a measure.

Indebtedness.

12. I think there is no more specially large indebtedness among the Depressed Classes than the other poor cultivators. Government have been trying to remove the indebtedness since 1879 by the provisions of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act. But the point is even after a lapse a half a century, it is admitted that indebtedness is on the increase. I think after such a bad experience, the Act should have been removed from the Statute Book: An act which teaches the Agriculturists to tell falsehoods and demoralises them. The effect of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act is that the Sowkar Class is extinct. And Co-operative Societies have taken their place in some cases. But in the majority of cases an agriculturist advances small sums to others and it is thus the needs of the average agriculturist are not met with for want of necessary money required by them. The repeal of Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act *in toto* or at least the definition of an agriculturist, which is now admitted even by the High Court as not sound, should be changed. The report of the Committee known as Arther Bodas is very instructive but this report also appears to be shelved.

Boycott and Legislation.

13. No doubt that some cases of social boycott by the villagers on the Depressed Classes have been brought to the notice of the Committee but the origin of this boycott cannot simply be said due to purchase of a piece of land or the use of a common well alone. Such a thing is made capital of by the Depressed Classes and triumphant processions are taken out in a village on the supposition that they have the backing of the Government. It is when such things take place that social boycotts are resorted to for example as in Pimprised in Nasik District. In the same District a person of the Depressed Class has purchased not only a strip of land but land worth Rs. 18,000 (eighteen thousand) in a Dumala village but no boycott was resorted to. What I mean to say is wherever there is action there is reaction and such stray instances are not sufficient to draw any conclusions. I know of many instances where the Mahars exact Baluta like anything without doing any service in return. The Mangs and Ramoshis who are paid by Government exact one anna per every cart halting at night within their jurisdiction and also at camping places where carts on their long journey halt. They take this one anna as *Rakhavali* (protection duty) but if anything is lost they are not at all responsible. What I think is that such small things should not have been mentioned in such report but as it has been done the other side of the same has most unwillingly to be mentioned.

14. I admit the necessity of the Depressed Classes' representation on public Bodies, and I have no objection to this being given to them for some years to come, but here again I differ from my experienced and learned colleagues. If this communal representation is to be carried to its logical conclusion, we would be faced with absurd results. Because in every body except perhaps the Legislative Council, regarding which also I have a doubt, the number of persons elected, nominated or both is far less than the number of communities residing within the locality. It will practically be impossible to run the public bodies if communalism is encouraged. I will so far urge and suggest that in the next Census only the classification such as Hindus, Muhammadans, Christians and so on should only be given. Muhammadans are not shown as Shiahis or Sunnis or Bohras and Kutchi Memons and the like though there do exist such divisions. Similarly the Christians are not sub-divided as Roman Catholics, Protestants, Presbyterians and so on. In the same way no sub-division of Hindus also should be mentioned. One may or may not use these sub-divisions for his private life, but in public life there should be no distinction at all, and the first great step in this way would be to drop all such entries in the next Census. I strongly recommend to Government with all the sincerity at my command to consider very carefully this suggestion and see whether it can be given effect to. This will be a right step in the direction of the uplift of the Depressed Classes and also of all others.

15. There is much difference between the Aboriginal Tribes and the Depressed Classes. The Aboriginal Tribes are not untouchables. But they have themselves abstained not only from taking education but also

from mixing with the other people. Even up to this day the awakening that is visible in the Depressed Classes is not found in the Aboriginal Tribes. From what little I saw, I think that even the Bhils who have sufficient lands are poor. But all this poverty is due to excess of drink and *Zagadas* (quarrels over divorce). All their money is wasted in both these things. The latter may disappear by education. But the former, I mean the drink evil, is very difficult to be removed inasmuch as the policy of Government, though avowedly that of ultimate prohibition, as a matter of fact tends towards the increase, and the income derived by the Bombay Government on Excise *per capita* supports this view. Consumption of liquor in this Presidency is far more than in any other Presidency, and unless some drastic steps are taken nothing would be done.

So far as these Aboriginal Tribes are concerned no difficulty of entering a common school or taking water from a common well exists. The only thing therefore that has to be done in their case is that compulsion in education and unless this is resorted to it will take a very long time to make any real progress in their uplift. I am also against opening any hostels or boarding houses for them. But the area in which these people live is compact and it will be less expensive to begin with compulsory education here. If that is done and disforested lands where they mostly live are given to them on restricted tenure the question of their uplift will be easily solved. In their case also, I do not think there is any necessity of an Officer.

16. The next but the most important question is that of the appointment of an agent or Protector or some officer for the Depressed Classes. I am strongly against the appointment of any such officer and my reasons for the same are :—

(a) The present finances of the Government do not allow of the creation of any such post. It is proposed that there would be no new creation of a post, but the present holder of a post in another Department should be given this additional work. This supposes in the first instance that the present holder of the post has no full-time sufficient work. Had he got any such full and sufficient work he would not be able to pay any attention to the new work, which is after all not a temporary work of some days or months but it is to continue for some years. If really he has no sufficient full-time work I would on the contrary recommend that the present holder of the post should be taken over to some other Department and that the work which he now does should be entrusted not to any such senior and best qualified man but to a man of the higher Subordinate service, as a District Deputy Collector.

(b) The appointment of any such Officer will help to keep up Depressed Classes and other Hindus as two separate water tight compartments and thereby unnecessary friction between the communities will continue.

(c) This Officer will have often times to meddle with the ordinary duties of various other executive officers, and when the officers are of a lower grade than this officer there would remain no option for them

but to abide by the so-called advice of this Officer for Backward Classes.

The following questions and answers in the Bombay Legislative Council on 18th February 1930 are quoted here to show how communal appointments are made and merit is disregarded. :—

“ 2. Mr. L. M. DESHPANDE (Satara District) : Will Government be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that a person whose services were dispensed with by Government in another department was appointed as an auditor in the Co-operative Department ;

(b) whether the person had applied to Government that his previous service should be considered as linked with his new service though there was a break of service ;

(c) whether Government has issued orders to the effect that his previous service should not be linked with the new service ;

(d) whether Government have recently (after June 1928) cancelled their orders and allowed the person to have his previous service linked with his present service ;

(e) whether copies of both the Government orders will be placed on the Council table ?

The Honourable Mr. B. V. JADHAV : (a) In one case recently a person whose services were dispensed with from the Registration Department was re-appointed in the Judicial Department and subsequently transferred to the Co-operative Department.

(b), (c) and (d) Yes.

(e) Government are not prepared to place copies of the orders on the Council table.”

(d) This officer of the Backward Classes is so to say to plead the cause of the Depressed Classes that is in fact a pleader and who also is to be the deciding officer.

(e) There is wide awakening among the Depressed Classes untouchability is fast disappearing. If there was any need at all for investigation into their grievances it was before the last ten years but not now as in cities and towns untouchability has disappeared and in villages so far public places are concerned it is fast disappearing. In some places the progress no doubt is slow, but on the whole there is no necessity of the appointment of any officer now.

The Depressed Classes have now organised themselves and trying to unite, but if such an officer is appointed I fear the differences between the untouchables sub-section will increase. Because the officer will naturally look to the different section among the Depressed Classes and not at the Depressed Classes as unit by itself and in that case rivalry among the sections is bound to increase. The rivalry is there even now. Some members of a section of the Depressed Classes approached me and told that the whole power should not vest in a particular section and that all the different sections should have a voice in shaping their future if a Board or the like was to be recommended. Under such circumstances it will be difficult even for the officer

Treat the whole Depressed Classes as one unit and consequently dissensions will increase rather than disappear. If on the contrary matters are left as at present the differences among the section of the Depressed Classes will decrease as all of them will have to make their way by uniting. But if an officer was appointed there will be no need for the sub-sections to unite, because they will think that their interests are safe in the hands of the Officer.

17. In conclusion I have to say that I have nothing to say against the present Criminal Tribes Settlement Officer. He is really a very sincere and honest worker. But when general suggestions are to be made individuals are not to be taken into account. I am really much obliged to the Officer, who is the Chairman of this Committee for having given me an opportunity of studying the various problems involved herein.

L. M. DESHPANDE.

