

*Friday,
18th March, 1910*

ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Council of the Governor General of India,
LAW AND REGULATIONS

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April 1909 - March 1910

ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDING
OF
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ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING

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Proceedings of the Council of the Governor General of India, assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations under the provisions of the Indian Councils Acts, 1861 to 1909 (24 & 25 Vict., c. 67, 55 & 56 Vict., c. 14, and 9 Edw. VII, c. 4).

The Council met at Government House on Friday, the 18th March 1910.

PRESENT :

His Excellency THE EARL OF MINTO, P.C., G.C.M.G., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., Viceroy
and Governor General of India, *presiding*,

and 56 Members, of whom 52 were Additional Members.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

The Hon'ble Mr. SUBBA RAO asked :—

“ I. Will the Government be pleased to state whether any of the listed appointments thrown open to the Provincial Service in different provinces, in accordance with the recommendations of the Public Service Commission appointed in 1886 and the orders passed thereon, are still held by the members of the Civil Service of India? If so, will the Government be pleased to state for each Province why such appointments are still held by the members of the Indian Civil Service, and not by the members of the Provincial Service? ”

“ II. Will the Government be pleased to state the appointments held by the members of the Civil Service of India in each Province which are not included in the list of appointments reserved to them? ”

The Hon'ble SIR HARVEY ADAMSON replied :—

“ *Question I.*—The following appointments which have been ‘listed’ as thrown open to members of the Provincial services are still held by members of the Indian Civil Service :—

Madras.—Under Secretary to Government.

Bombay.—Talukdari Settlement Officer.

Registrar, High Court.

Punjab.—One out of two appointments of Settlement Collector.

Junior Secretary to Financial Commissioner.

Eastern Bengal and Assam.—One out of two appointments of Magistrate and Collector.

Under Secretary to Government.

[*Sir Harvey Adamson ; Mr. M. Mazharul Haque.*] [18TH MARCH 1910.]

"The reasons why these few appointments are still filled by members of the Indian Civil Service are not in all cases known to the Government of India, and this part of the question seems to be one which, if asked at all, might more appropriately be put in the Provincial Council concerned.

"*Question II.*—It is not clear whether in this question the Hon'ble Member refers to the Schedule appended to the Indian Civil Service Act, 1861, which specifies the appointments reserved for the Indian Civil Service. That Schedule does not include any judicial and revenue appointments in what are called the non-regulation provinces, and the number of appointments of that class, such as District and Sessions Judges, Commissioners, heads of districts and the like, which are held by members of the Indian Civil Service, is considerable. But the Hon'ble Member probably refers to the appointments which are ordinarily reserved for members of the Indian Civil Service under the sanction of the Secretary of State. On this assumption the answer is that the following appointments not so reserved are now held by members of the Indian Civil Service :—

Madras.—1. President, Corporation of Madras.

2. Director of Industries (temporarily).

Bombay.—1. Chairman, City of Bombay Improvement Trust.

2. Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

3. Superintendent, Managed Estates, Kathiawar.

4. Administrator, Palitana State.

Bengal.—Superintendent and Vice-President, State Council, Kuch Behar.

United Provinces.—1. Chairman, Municipal Board, Allahabad.

2. Chairman, Municipal Board, Cawnpore.

Eastern Bengal and Assam.—Vice-President of the Manipur Darbar.

Central Provinces.—District Superintendent of Police, Hoshangabad (temporarily)."

The Hon'ble MR. M. MAZHARUL HAQUE asked :—

"1. (a) Will the Government be pleased to state how many of the Civil Surgeoncies, the reservation of which for Civil Assistant Surgeons was sanctioned by the Government of India in their Resolution No. 1084—93 (Medical), dated the 22nd June 1899, have been given in each province to the Civil Assistant Surgeons ?

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“(b) Will the Government be pleased to state how many of the seven Civil Surgeoncies reserved for Bengal by the aforesaid Resolution have been allotted, since the partition, to Bengal proper?”

“(c) If the total number of these appointments have not been filled up, does the Government propose to direct the Local Governments to do so at an early date?”

“II. (a) Will the Government be pleased to state what, if any, proposals has the Government of Bengal submitted with reference to a petition submitted by Civil Assistant Surgeons in Bengal in 1907, praying that their pay and prospects in the service may be improved?”

“(b) What steps, if any, do the Government of India propose to take in the matter?”

The Hon'ble SIR HARVEY ADAMSON replied:—

“I. (a) The number of Civil Surgeoncies to be transferred to Civil Assistant Surgeons has been increased since 1899 from 28 to 33, four of the five new appointments having been added to the list during the last year. Civil Assistant Surgeons hold 22 of these appointments substantively—3 in Madras, 3 in Bombay, 1 in Bengal, 4 in the United Provinces, 3 in the Punjab, 4 in Burma, 3 in Eastern Bengal and Assam, and 1 in the Central Provinces. Eleven more medical officers of this class were officiating as Civil Surgeons on the 1st January last.

“(b) Of the 7 appointments in Bengal which it was decided in 1899 to transfer to Civil Assistant Surgeons when opportunities offered, 4 are now allotted to Bengal and 3 to Eastern Bengal and Assam.

“(c) It was recognised in 1899 that the arrangement could not be given effect to pending the retirement of the uncovenanted medical officers, European and Indian, then employed in several provinces. The Local Governments concerned are aware that the appointments still to be transferred are to be given to Civil Assistant Surgeons when opportunities offer, and the Government of India do not think that it is necessary for them to issue any further orders on the subject.

“II. The Government of India have given full and sympathetic consideration to the memorials referred to, and to the proposals made to them by the Government of Bengal. They are now about to address the Secretary of State on the subject and are consequently unable at present to give the information asked for by the Hon'ble Member.”

[*Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu ; Sir Harvey Adamson.*] [18TH MARCH 1910.]

The Hon'ble BABU BHUPENDRA NATH BASU asked :—

“(a) Is it a fact that the Government of India have decided to make over the relics of Buddha recently discovered near Peshawar to the Government of Burma ?

“(b) Are the Government aware that there is a strong feeling in India that the relics should not pass out of India, but should be deposited in some site connected with the rise of Buddhism in India, either at Gya or Sarnath near Benares ?”

The Hon'ble SIR HARVEY ADAMSON replied :—

“(1) The relics will not be made over to the Government of Burma but to a deputation of Buddhists from Burma.

“(2) The relics will be enshrined at Mandalay and will, therefore, remain within the Indian Empire. The question of depositing them at Gya or Sarnath was considered, but it was felt that the relics should be preserved intact, and that Burma, as being the only Buddhist province in the Indian Empire, had the strongest claims.”

The Hon'ble BABU BHUPENDRA NATH BASU asked :—

“Is there any foundation for the report that part of the Kushtia Sub-division of the Nadia District is to be transferred to Eastern Bengal and Assam ?”

The Hon'ble SIR HARVEY ADAMSON replied :—

“The Government of India have no information as to any intention to transfer a part of the Kushtia Sub-division of Nadia to Eastern Bengal and Assam. It is presumed that the case to which the Hon'ble Member refers is that of certain villages on the border of the Faridpur and Nadia Districts which have been included within the former district by notifications of 1874 and 1884 and were transferred with the rest of the Faridpur District to Eastern Bengal and Assam on the formation of the latter province in 1905. It was found that these villages had continued to be administered by the officers of the Nadiā District and the anomaly was rectified by the Government of Bengal towards the end of 1909 after consulting the High Court and the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam.”

The Hon'ble BABU BHUPENDRA NATH BASU asked :—

“Is it a fact that there is some disparity in the pay and allowances of some officers of the same rank and service in the two provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal and

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Assam, and is it also a fact that in the same grade of some departments of the public service of the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam new hands are appointed on a higher pay to begin with than in the province of Bengal?"

The Hon'ble SIR HARVEY ADAMSON replied :—

"The meaning of the first part of the question is not quite clear, but if the Hon'ble Member refers to the pay of appointments of the same kind, then it is a fact that there is some disparity of pay. I think the Hon'ble gentleman will find all the information he requires in the Civil Lists of the two provinces.

"The Government of India are not aware of any case of the kind referred to in the second part of the question."

The Hon'ble BABU BHUPENDRA NATH BASU asked :—

"Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing—

- (i) the total actual receipts and expenditure of the Administrations of Bengal and Assam in the year 1904-1905 and the share of revenues assigned to Bengal for that year;
- (ii) the estimate of total receipts and expenditure for the provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam at the time of the temporary settlement in 1906;
- (iii) the initial grant to the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam and also the opening balances of Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam on April 1, 1906;
- (iv) the share of revenues assigned respectively to the said two provinces by the settlement of 1906, their respective total annual revenue and expenditure, and any other special grant annually made to each of the said provinces in the years succeeding the partition.

"Will the Government be also pleased to state what portion of expenditure has annually been incurred by the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam in construction of public buildings."

The Hon'ble SIR HARVEY ADAMSON replied :—

"Statements giving the information asked by the Hon'ble Member in his two questions are laid on the table."

[*Raja Pramada Nath Ray ; Sir Harvey Adamson ; [18TH MARCH 1910.]*
Nawab Saiyid Muhammad Sahib Bahadur.]

The Hon'ble Raja PRAMADA NATH RAY of DIGHPATIA asked :—

“ Will the Government be pleased to state if and when it intends to take action on the Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Decentralisation which was published on the 27th of February 1909 ?

“ Will the action of the Government on that Report necessitate the revision of the existing Local Self-government Acts, and, if so, is there any likelihood of the amended Acts coming into force before the next elections to the Imperial and the Provincial Councils take place ?

“ Will the Government be further pleased to state how far and in what way it intends to give effect to the policy indicated in Lord Morley's despatch of November 27th, 1908, regarding an ' effectual advance in the direction of local self-government ' and about ' carrying out a policy that would make the village a starting-point in public life,' as well as in that portion of the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission which says that ' Municipal Councils should ordinarily contain a substantial elective majority and should usually elect their Chairman ? ”

The Hon'ble SIR HARVEY ADAMSON replied :—

“ I think that I can most conveniently answer the Hon'ble Member's three questions together. As the Hon'ble Member is no doubt aware, the Report of the Commission is not confined to a single topic or group of topics ; it covers a very wide range and enters into innumerable matters of detail, so that action cannot be taken on the Report of the Commission as a whole but is being, separately taken on the different main proposals. Action has already been taken on most of the Commission's recommendations in the sense that the Government has considered them ; has in a number of cases accepted and given effect to them ; and, in a still greater number of instances, has referred or is about to refer them for the opinions of Local Governments.

“ In the latter category are the recommendations of the Commission to which the second and third heads of the Hon'ble Member's questions refer.

“ It is impossible at the present stage of the consideration of these important questions to say what the final conclusions of the Government will be or whether or in what respects the existing laws relating to local self-government will require amendment. ”

The Hon'ble NAWAB SAIYID MUHAMMAD SAHIB BAHADUR asked :—

“ Will the Government be pleased to say what provisions, if any, will be made in any new contract with the South Indian Railway Company with a view to enable the District

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Boards which have raised money by local taxation to build railways to get their lines built and worked by that Company on reasonable terms?"

The Hon'ble MR. ROBERTSON replied :—

"The Government of Madras having pressed on the Government of India the importance of obtaining from the South Indian Railway Company suitable terms for the construction and working of District Board Railways in Madras, the Government of India have suggested for the consideration of the Secretary of State certain provisions for insertion in the Company's new contract with the object of securing suitable terms for Madras District Board Railways. It would be premature to publish the proposals until negotiations between the Company and the Secretary of State have been finally concluded."

The Hon'ble MR. GOKHALE asked :—

"Is the Government aware that there is a considerable dissatisfaction in the country owing to the present system of filling medical appointments in India? Is it not a fact that the Chief Civil Surgeoncies, the hospital appointments and the teaching appointments in the Presidency Medical Colleges are mainly held by officers of the Indian Medical Service who on retirement carry out of the country all the experience acquired by them? Will the Government consider the desirability of throwing open a fair proportion of the junior and senior teaching and hospital appointments to properly qualified non-official medical men?"

"Will the Government be pleased to state what steps have been taken or are in contemplation to give effect to the recommendations contained in Lord Morley's Despatches on the subject of the growth of a civil medical department in India?"

The Hon'ble SIR HARVEY ADAMSON replied :—

"The Government are aware that there is a desire on the part of medical practitioners in India to be admitted to Government medical appointments, but they are not aware that any considerable dissatisfaction exists in the country on the subject. At present, the chief Civil Surgeoncies, the hospital appointments, and the teaching appointments in the Government Medical Colleges are mainly held by officers of the Indian Medical Service. The Government are, however, considering the possibility of throwing open a certain number of such appointments to non-official medical men.

"The Hon'ble Member is not correct in suggesting that the Secretary of State has recommended the establishment of a Civil Medical Department in India. It was decided by Lord Morley that the time had arrived when no

[*Mr. Chitnavis; Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson; [18TH MARCH 1910.]*
Mr. Miller; Mr. Kesteven.]

further increase of the civil side of that service should be allowed, and that efforts should be made to reduce it by gradually extending the employment of civil medical practitioners recruited in India. Effect has been given to the first portion of that decision, and, as already stated, the Government are considering what steps can be taken to give effect to the second of these principles. Local Governments have been addressed on the subject, but until their replies have been received and considered, the Government are unable to state what form the decision will finally take."

The Hon'ble MR. CHITNAVIS asked :—

"Will the Government be pleased to make an early announcement of its intentions with reference to the question of a countervailing excise-duty on tobacco manufactured in India.?"

The Hon'ble SIR GUY FLEETWOOD WILSON replied :—

"The question of the imposition of an excise-duty on Indian tobacco is one which would require very careful consideration; and Local Governments and public bodies would have to be consulted. It would in any case not be possible to make any announcement for some time to come."

INDIAN ELECTRICITY BILL.

The Hon'ble MR. MILLER moved that the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to amend the law relating to the supply and use of electrical energy be taken into consideration.

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble MR. KESTEVEN moved that in clause 3, sub-clause (2) (d), of the Bill, as amended by the Select Committee, after the word "Part", the figure "(i)" be inserted, and to the said sub-clause the following be added, namely :—

"and

(ii) save in cases in which under section 10, clause (b), the provisions of sections 5 and 7, or either of them, have been declared not to apply, every such license shall declare whether any generating station to be used in connection with the undertaking shall or shall not form part of the undertaking for the purpose of purchase under section 5 or section 7."

He said :—"I was a member of the Select Committee which sat upon this Bill and whose Report was so recently presented, and the fact that I am now

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[*Mr. Kesteven.*]

found moving an amendment may seem to require explanation. As to this I can only say that the point the amendment is intended to meet was discussed and received consideration in Committee, but it was felt that the difficulties attending the proposals then made for dealing with it were such as to outweigh the probable advantages. The time for the deliberation of the Committee was short, the field they had to cover a large one, and the points to be considered and decided many and diverse, and had there been a further opportunity for consideration of this point, I think it probable that the amendment now proposed would have been adopted by the Committee as part of the Bill. All I need say now, however, as to this is that I move the amendment with the permission of the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill.

“ I will endeavour shortly to explain the point to which the amendment is directed. I am afraid the matter is a technical one and void of general interest, and I will be as brief as I can. It is one which arises only in reference to the powers of purchase given by the Bill, after a fixed time, to local authorities and others, and as regards only the application of these powers to so-called ‘combined undertakings’. A ‘combined undertaking’ may be described as one which includes an undertaking established under license granted in pursuance of the powers of the Electricity Act and also some other undertaking fed by electrical energy from the same generating station; for instance, a tramway established under the Tramways Acts. It is obvious that such an undertaking may come into existence in three ways. The case which is, probably, most common is one where a combined undertaking for the supply of electric energy and the working of a tramway is established at one and the same time, the two parts coming into existence contemporaneously. But, obviously, there may also be the case of an electric supply undertaking followed by the addition of a tramway, or the converse case of a tramway followed by an electric supply undertaking. In the two last-mentioned cases, the generating station would almost certainly continue to belong to the portion of the undertaking first established. It would, of course, do so if the provision proposed by this amendment were used to declare that it should do so. In the case first-mentioned, it would, presumably, be for the promoter to agree with Government to which portion of the undertaking the generating station should, for the purpose of compulsory purchase, belong, and this amendment is intended to provide for the carrying of such an agreement into effect, or to assist in so doing. Now, in all these cases, it seems clear that, apart from special provision, the generating station common to both portions of the undertaking may be considered as belonging to each portion taken separately. And the party exercising the option to purchase of either

portion would, no doubt, desire to have the generating station included in his purchase. On the other hand, if it were so included, the owner of the combined undertaking would be left with the remaining portion without a generating station from which to feed it with energy. The definition, in both this Bill and the Indian Tramways Act, of the undertakings subject to purchase under them are naturally wide enough to cover the generating station, and probably the scope of either could not be controlled by the other Act, or the fact that the generating station was an essential part of the remaining portion of the undertaking established under that Act. The definition in the Tramways Act is especially wide, as including all moveable and immoveable property of the undertaker, suitable to be by him used for the purpose of the tramway. It may, therefore, be taken as probable that the generating station would, in the absence of some provision to the contrary, fall within the clutch of the purchasing power which, in order of time, first becomes exercisable. Generally speaking, this would probably be that under the Tramways Act as the period after which, under the Act, that power becomes exercisable; in the absence of provision to the contrary, is 21 years, while under this Bill, the time for exercise of the option of purchase of an undertaking licensed under it may extend to 50 years. Under the existing Act it was commonly left at 42 years. It is, therefore, of importance to provide some means of determining, when a combined undertaking comes into existence, to which portion of the undertaking the generating station is to belong, and this is the object of this amendment. The Bill, as it stands, contains no provision for making an authoritative declaration as to the question under consideration. This may be a matter of great importance to promoters, who may lose their generating station notwithstanding that the portion of the undertaking which is left to them is much the more important and the generating station really ought to be left with it. I am afraid the amendment can hardly be considered as more than an instalment, as it will not meet the requirements of all cases, unless a corresponding provision is adopted as regards tramways. The question of the amendment of the Tramways Act—which was enacted before electric tramways were known and does not provide for their special requirements—is, I understand, under consideration, and as to this point, I can only express a hope that a provision corresponding to the amendment now before the Council will be adopted in it, so that the two Acts may, if this amendment is adopted, mutually provide for the requirements in question. The amendment now before the Council, however, will, in itself, at least enable definite provision to be made for the case of a combined undertaking where it is intended that the generating station shall belong to the tramway undertaking. In such a case, the electric license would declare that the undertaking under the Electricity Act should not include the

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generating station. And a declaration, under the authority of the Act, that it should be included, might assist to protect it from purchase under the Tramways Act, though it does not seem altogether clear that, without such an alteration as I have suggested in the Tramways Act, it would, in itself, operate to exclude it from such purchase. At the lowest estimate of its value, the provision seems to be a step in the right direction, which at any rate can do no harm, and I accordingly recommend it for adoption by the Council."

The Hon'ble MR. MILLER said :—" The amendment which the Hon'ble Member proposes deals with a rather abstruse legal point, and on that account I thought it better that he should explain it himself, as he has done now in a very lucid manner but at the same time in a speech which though easy for an electrician is a little difficult for a layman altogether to follow. I think I can make it clear to Council in one word what the object of the amendment is. The Hon'ble Member has had very great experience in dealing with all practical questions that arise from agreements with promoters, and he wishes to prevent any difficulty that may arise hereafter when the purchase clauses come into effect. The generating station from which electricity is provided may be common to two undertakings : it may for instance be common to an electric undertaking proper and to a tramway undertaking. The object of the Hon'ble Member's amendment is to make it quite clear to which undertaking the generating station is to be regarded as belonging.

" We discussed the matter in Select Committee as the Hon'ble Member has told you, but we were not satisfied with any of the proposals that were put forward there. Since then the Hon'ble Member has been good enough to go into the question carefully. We have also considered it again, and we think the difficulty, which is a real difficulty as he points out, can be met by the amendment he proposes, and therefore I am prepared to accept it."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble MR. KESTEVEN moved that in clause 5 (*b*), and in clause 7, sub-clause (*i*), respectively, after the words " used by him for the purposes of the undertaking," the words " other than a generating station declared by the license not to form part of the undertaking for the purpose of purchase," be inserted.

He said :—" These amendments are purely consequential on those just adopted.

[*Mr. Kesteven; Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu.*] [18TH MARCH 1910.]

“If the clauses to be amended are looked at, it will be seen that the various portions of the undertaking which are prescribed in them are referred to, not for the purpose of defining the extent of the undertaking to be purchased, but for the purpose of regulating, by reference to the value of such portions, the price to be paid. It has been suggested, in view of the amendment last adopted, that if a declaration were made under it excluding a generating station from an undertaking, the value of the generating station might, nevertheless, be taken into account for the purpose of determining the price and the purchaser obliged to pay the value of a generating station he did not receive. The amendment is only for the purpose of making it clear that this shall not be the case. There can be no doubt that this is the intention, and the meaning which should be given to the Act, and the amendment may be considered as purely consequential and formal.”

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble BABU BHUPENDRA NATH BASU moved that in clause 20 (1), after the words “by him” and before the words “for the purpose of” the words “due regard being had to the religious usages of such occupier” be inserted. He said:—“Clause 20 seems to be a clause which empowers the licensee to enter upon the premises, and I wish to move for the insertion of this clause a clause which I hope will obviate the difficulties which have arisen in the past.

“I take the case of the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation which is in the position of a holder of a monopoly. The public are hardly able to protect themselves against what they sometimes conceive to be an arbitrary proceeding on the part of a Corporation like this. A representation had been sent from the Marwari community of Calcutta, the members of which, as Your Lordship is aware, are very orthodox in their ideas, to the effect that when an inspection of their premises is held, especially in the case of rooms wherein household deities are located, the inspecting officer should go without boots or shoes on, and they made a representation to the Corporation on these lines; but the Corporation expressed itself unable to comply with their wishes. As Hon'ble Members are aware, even the highest amongst us, European or Indian, will not enter what is ordinarily known as the ‘thakurbari’ in Bengal without taking off his shoes. These Marwaris have been unable to enforce such a request, and what they have asked is that a clause should be inserted to the effect that ‘due regard should be had to the religious usages of the occupier’ when inspection takes place. They say that either reasonable notice should be given, where it is possible, so

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that the thakur may be removed, or where it is not possible,—and there are many images which cannot be removed,—the inspecting officer should take off his boots or shoes before entering a 'thakurbari' to inspect the lines or any electric fittings. It is a very moderate request and I hope it will be granted."

The Hon'ble MR. MILLER said :—"Perhaps it would be as well if I explained at once the position in regard to this amendment. It was only at the close of office yesterday that I received it, and it might have been ruled out as not having been given in time; but on looking to its character I thought it ought not to be shut out on any technical grounds. It refers to a matter in which we are all in agreement with the Hon'ble Member as to what is right and proper, and it deals with a principle the force of which I think we probably all recognise. I propose therefore to leave it entirely in the hands of the Council to decide whether this amendment should be carried or not, and anything I may say is not to be taken as opposing the amendment on behalf of the Government, but expressing my own private opinion on the addition which the Hon'ble Member proposes to make to the section. I have given the amendment the best consideration I could in the very short time available. I have had no opportunity of seeing the Hon'ble Member and I did not know till this morning what the grounds were on which he intended to put this forward. The conclusion I came to in considering it, simply on the information before me, was that it was superfluous; and not only that it was superfluous but that it might very conceivably have a totally different effect from that which is intended by the Hon'ble Member. Of course this is a matter which does not exclusively interest any one community. It affects my own community as much as it does any other; but what I thought the Hon'ble Member chiefly had in mind was the question of the time at which inspections were made. Well in my own community there are very many persons who would strongly object to these inspections being made on a Sunday, and they would still more object to any intrusion on their family prayers. They would object quite as strongly as any of those communities to which the Hon'ble Member has referred; in fact they would not tolerate intrusion in their houses except for very urgent inspections at such times as I have referred to. I do not however feel that such a provision as the Hon'ble Member wishes to insert is necessary for our protection. We think we are sufficiently protected by the general conditions under which all statutory powers of this kind are given and by the words 'at any reasonable time'. We should certainly not regard such times as I have mentioned as being reasonable. The Hon'ble Member has introduced quite a new argument which I have not

heard before. I had not heard any complaints in regard to the method in which inspections should be made, but it seems to me that what he said was reasonable and that regard ought certainly be had in carrying out inspections in a case of this sort to the religious usages to which he has referred.

“ He says that the Marwari community have no protection, but I do not know whether they have made the necessary representation or whether they have attempted to have the matter settled by the Courts as to how inspection of this kind ought to be carried out. It seems to me that the licensee who uses any of the powers given under the clause to obstruct or inconvenience the occupiers in the exercise of their religious practices would receive very short shrift from the Court in any action that might be taken against him as a trespasser.

“ It must also be remembered that the licensee is not in the position of a public functionary. He is a caterer for the public, and his success depends on his popularity with the public, and he could not therefore afford to prejudice himself in public opinion. For these reasons I think the amendment is superfluous and I would have held this more strongly but for the fact that the Hon'ble Member said that there have been actual cases of complaint under the existing rules of procedure because the present Bill does not propose to alter in any way the existing law. It is the same law which has been in force for seven years, and the complaints must have been very few, because no notice of them has ever reached us, and during the time that the Bill was under consideration no suggestion to the effect that these provisions have worked hardship have been made.

“ However I do not wish merely to take the line that this amendment is superfluous because it could not do any harm so far as it goes, but I think it may do harm to the very interests which the Hon'ble Member wishes to support by its insertion in this particular clause. I have had no time to look up all the Acts in which powers of access have been given to persons to enter private houses. I know there are some cases in which definite restrictions are laid down by a general rule. There is a section to that effect in the Bombay Municipal Act which covers all possible cases, and I think any Court in Bombay which is called upon to interpret this clause, and to say what is a reasonable method of carrying it out, would probably be influenced by the general prescriptions laid down in the Bombay Municipal Act. But it may be possible that the same provision does not exist in all the Acts giving powers of entry and if this amendment were adopted there would be a risk of its being supposed

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that where no such words were used there was no necessity to pay attention to the religious usages of the occupier. For instance, taking the Bill itself, the Hon'ble Member proposes to insert those words in sub-clause (1) of section 20, but he does not propose to insert them in sub-clause (2) of section 20; so that apparently, if the words are inserted in sub-clause (1), it might be argued that under sub-clause (2) there was not the same necessity to pay due regard to the religious observances of the occupiers. Further, there is sub-clause (4) of clause 26, which gives the licensee certain powers of access.

"It is a question of what the effect of entering the amendment only in sub-clause (1) of section 20 and making no change in the other clauses I have referred to would be. It seems to me that some doubt would be thrown on the interpretation of this Act, and very possibly on the interpretation of other Acts. I think that if anything is to be done in the direction which the Hon'ble Member contemplates, it should take the form of a general rule and not of an addition to the particular sub-clause which he has mentioned. I am quite willing to take that matter into consideration.

"I repeat again these are my private views. The Government do not wish to make it a Government question and we are quite prepared to leave Hon'ble Members to vote on it as they think right."

His Excellency THE PRESIDENT, addressing the Hon'ble Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu, said:—"Having heard what the Hon'ble Mr. Miller has said, do you still wish to put the amendment?"

The Hon'ble BABU BHUPENDRA NATH BASU said:—"I accept the assurance of the Hon'ble Mover of the Bill, and if he introduces the protection which we seek by means of rules, it will serve all the purposes for which I brought forward the amendment. I therefore withdraw it."

The Hon'ble MR. MILLER moved that for sub-clauses (3) and (4) of clause 29 of the Bill, as amended by the Select Committee, the following be substituted, namely:—

"(3) In cases other than those for which provision is made by sub-section (1) the person responsible for the repair of any street may, by order in writing, confer and impose upon any person who proposes to transmit energy in such street all or any of the powers and liabilities of a license under sections 12 to 19, both inclusive, in so far as the same relate to—

(a) opening or breaking up of the soil or pavement of such street, or

(b) laying down or placing electric supply-lines in, under, along or across such street, or

(c) repairing, altering or removing such electric supply-lines,

and thereupon the provisions of the said sections shall, so far as aforesaid, apply to such person as if he were a licensee under Part II.

“(4) If no order is made within fourteen days after the receipt of an application for the same under sub-section (1) or sub-section (2), the order so applied for shall be deemed to have been refused, and every order, and every refusal to make an order under sub-section (1) or sub-section (2), shall be subject to revision by the Local Government.”

He said:—“The intention of sub-clause (3) of clause 29, as drafted by the Select Committee, was to give powers to the Commissioner of Police or the District Magistrate to provide for the transmission in certain cases of electricity in the streets. The District Magistrate and the Commissioner of Police were introduced into the clause because it was to those authorities that, under the existing Act, notice had to be given in certain cases of intention to transmit electricity in a street, so as to allow them to make due provision for the public safety. When the clause was discussed in Select Committee, my Hon’ble friend, Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, whom I am sorry not to see here today, pointed out that while it was quite right that notice should be given to the Commissioner or the Magistrate in any case in which there was a possibility of danger to the public safety, still it was quite a different matter when it was a case of getting powers to do anything—to break up a street or anything of that sort; and in consequence of his objections we drafted a clause so as to make it necessary for the Commissioner or the District Magistrate to refer to the local authorities before giving any powers at all. This was rather a cumbrous procedure, and I think we can go further in the way of meeting Sir Vithaldas Thackersey’s objections and at the same time provide a very much simpler procedure. The provision is intended primarily for cases that are of any great importance, and that will often be merely temporary, and it is not desired either that there should be any very complicated procedure or that there should be any delay in obtaining these powers which are really required. The new draft of the section therefore proposes to leave out the Commissioner of Police and the District Magistrate altogether. It will still be necessary to give notice to these authorities, in any case in which there is a possibility of danger, under clause 30 of the Bill; but when powers are required it is proposed that the application should be made direct to the person responsible for the repair of a street, *i.e.*,

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the same person to whom a licensee has to refer under clause 13 of the Bill. The powers of the local authority will thus be fully retained in cases in which a street is under a local authority, and the amendment, I think, gives better effect to the criticisms of the Hon'ble Member to whom I have referred than does the clause as finally accepted in the Select Committee. Under the clause as now proposed I think we have secured the necessary promptitude of action, while at the same time completely safeguarding the position of the local authority in cases in which the street is repaired under the orders of that authority."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble MR. MILLER moved that the Bill, as now amended, be passed. He said:—"My Lord, it will be observed that this Bill is intended to come into force on such date as the Governor General may direct. The intention is that the Act should take effect on or about a date at which the rules to be made under it are ready in their final form. The rules are exceedingly important and much time and labour have been expended by a Committee composed very largely of non-official members, and over which the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Carnduff has very kindly presided, in throwing them into their final form. We are under a great obligation to this Committee and to the President for the assistance they have given us. The rules will be published for information as soon as possible. They will require some examination to see that they are brought into harmony with the provisions of the new Act, but I think I can say that any alterations made in them are likely to be chiefly in matters of procedure and the technical part of the rules will be published practically as drawn up by the Committee. We hope that these rules will be carefully scrutinized by Local Governments and by all interested so as to secure that in their final form they may be such as to lead to the minimum of difficulties and friction in actual working. In moving that the Bill should be passed I would venture to express a hope that it will be found satisfactory in promoting the development of electrical enterprise in India. In deciding on the final form of its provisions we have had the benefit of many criticisms and suggestions affecting the terms of the original draft. All of these have been carefully considered and a great many have been given effect to. We have had the experience of the working of the existing Act to go on with and have attempted to remove any difficulties that have been found to exist, whether difficulties of a technical or of a legal character. The Bill is more favourable to the industrial and commercial interests involved than the Act which it supersedes, and we have had the Hon'ble Mr. Rawson on the Select Committee to watch over these interests. The Bill is

also more elastic in its provisions and Local Governments have a freer hand in its working than before.

"In asking permission to introduce this Bill at Simla last year I referred to electrical enterprise as being in its infancy in this country. That remark was somewhat severely criticized as arising from ignorance of what had been accomplished already. I adhere to it. I believe that electrical enterprise is in its infancy in India, and I hope it is because I look forward to developments far exceeding any we have had up to the present. If I err in being too sanguine, I at least err in good company. It has interested me in looking through the papers connected with the existing Act which we are now superseding to find that a technical journal in England applied exactly the same expressions to the state of electrical development attained in that country at as recent a date as 1901 as I used at Simla :

'It is desired,' said the English journal *Engineering* in August 1901, 'that the swaddling clothes with which the infant industry has been swathed shall be relaxed and that room shall be allowed for growth.'

"This is more picturesque than my description, but it is exactly the same in substance. We can hardly claim to have reached a higher point here in 1909 than England had attained in 1901. And as to the future the possibilities of development seem to me to be even greater here than in England. Taking first the case of electrical supply, we have done hardly anything as yet to utilize the power running to waste in our rivers and canals. We have no undertakings for the supply of electricity in bulk, and though about a score of licenses have been issued, in only some 12 places has action been taken under them. The great works in the Mysore and Kashmir States are of course outside the purview of my remarks. The Bill does not apply to them. Then as to the development of the demand for electricity, leaving out of account for the moment the possibilities of the supply of electricity for large industries, how little have we done yet for the people even in the large towns where electricity has been installed? Every one knows of the advantages which our large industries are likely to derive from electricity. Their interests are not likely to be neglected. But in humbler spheres there appear to be great potentialities for the future. I cannot but think that there is a great field yet untouched for the supply of electricity as an illuminant in the bazars of our larger towns and as the motive power in the factories and workshops which are too small to have installations of their own. Both for the comfort and convenience of the people and for the

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development of their industrial undertakings, electrical power has great possibilities before it, and we are as yet only on the threshold of its usefulness in India.

“I trust the Bill which we now ask the Council to pass may tend to encourage that development.”

The Hon'ble MR. RAWSON said:—“Before addressing to the Council the few remarks I have to make on this Bill I wish to express my thanks to your Excellency for having invited a representative of one of the large Companies to take part in the proceedings of the Council during its discussion here and in the Select Committee. The electrical industry in India is now becoming an important one, and as this new Bill very materially affects the interests of all new companies as well as the old ones I think, if I may say so, the policy of inviting a representation was a sound one. The Bill being very technical I do not propose to attempt any long criticism of its clauses but to confine myself to making a few remarks on certain of those clauses which to my mind mark a great advance on the previous Bill. I may say frankly that I approach the subject in no hostile spirit ; in fact I consider the Bill far in advance of any Electricity Bill yet produced. It is naturally complicated and technical, but when the Council considers that four separate and important interests have to be considered the difficulty of meeting these interests must be very considerable. These four interests are :—(1) the Government, (2) the companies or licensees, (3) consumers, (4) local authorities who may want to purchase the undertaking after the period fixed in the license. I may here remark that one of the only objections I have to the Bill is the word ‘licensee’, a particularly ugly one and one which shows the limitations of the English language. It reminds one more of publicans, tobacconists or even the humble cab-owner. When the Bill was first published there were a very large number of criticisms from various bodies, and I express my opinion that all reasonable ones have been embodied in the Bill. I must congratulate the Hon'ble Mr. Miller on having been so successful in reconciling the various interests. I certainly think that so far as the companies are concerned their interests have not been neglected Part II of the Bill deals with licenses, and under clause 7 Local Government are now empowered to grant far better purchase terms than was previously the case, the period being extended from forty-two to fifty years, while under clause 10 the Local Governments have practically a free hand to grant any terms they like to proposing licensees. It is to be hoped that they will act under the clause in a generous spirit so that capitalists can be got to

come forward to provide even the smaller towns with electric light and fans. In India some 4½ millions sterling (6½ crores) are sunk in electric supply and tramway undertakings as against 100 million (150 crores) in the United Kingdom and 200 million (300 crores) in the United States of America. It must be remembered that the conditions in India differ very greatly from those in Europe as regards the number of potential consumers. Even in Presidency-towns, where there are of course large numbers of Europeans and Indians who are certain consumers, and more so in other towns the percentage of non-potential consumers must be taken at quite 90 per cent., and so the licensee has to depend on not more than 10 per cent. at the outside of the population to obtain a remunerative return on his capital. Towns, too, in India are generally spread over a large area, and this entails heavy expenditure on mains. The mains of the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation alone, if laid down on a map of London, would extend from Whitechapel to Hammersmith East and West and from St. John's Wood to Clapham, North and South, an area which in London is supplied by seven or eight companies. It is thus evident that the cost of cables in comparison with the houses connected on the route must be extraordinarily high in Indian towns as compared with English or European towns. This is one of the reasons why generous terms are necessary to attract capitalists, and Local Governments have now the opportunity under the new Act of availing themselves of its provisions to grant them. I may add that I can speak without prejudice regarding the purchase clause as the Company I represent has a special purchase clause which is unaffected by this Bill. Municipalities too might be of great service in forwarding electrical enterprise, but I fear that even such progressive Corporations as those of Calcutta, Bombay and Rangoon have not always looked with a too sympathetic eye on Electrical Companies. The advent of such a Company to a town is of such benefit to the citizens that I consider Corporations or Municipalities should assist them in every way possible. If the Company does well, it only requires sympathetic treatment, but if not commercially successful, it may surely look for such help from the Municipality as may possibly enable it to turn the corner.

"I pass on to clause 37, which deals with the rules. The Government of India have entrusted the work of drawing up a new code of rules to a committee of technical men, of whom the majority are non-officials, and the draft has now to undergo the fire of public criticism. They are not yet published, but I am glad to remark that the power to make them is to be retained in the hands of the Government of India, so that they will be uniform all over India. The rules are in many ways more important to the Companies than the Act itself, and

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it is to be hoped that they will be found to be as little restrictive as possible. The duty of seeing that they are carried out falls to the lot of the Electrical Inspectors, whose duties in what I may call 'preserving the peace' between the Company and the consumer are very important. I can only hope that the Government will see that only competent men with practical experience and knowledge are appointed. In saying this I do not wish to reflect for one moment on those Electrical Inspectors I have met, who have often been of great assistance to us; but as the numbers will in time naturally be increased, I hope that great care will be taken in their selection. Electrical science advances so rapidly that it is impossible to acquire a really practical knowledge on the subject as yet in India. I trust also that in the interpretation of the rules they may be given a fairly free hand and rather seek to benefit the Companies and the public than be governed by the hard and fast letter of the rules. I believe I am right in saying that the Board of Trade give their Electrical Inspectors in England very considerable latitude in this respect.

"Clauses 39 and 44 contain the penal clauses for the theft of electricity and interference with meters. Electricity is an intangible matter, which unlike your watch if once stolen cannot possibly be recovered, and the number of unscrupulous mistries who can be found to circumvent the meter are, I am sorry to say, increasing. Hitherto it has been found almost impossible to obtain a conviction even in the clearest case. It is difficult enough to find out when such malpractices are going on, in fact it is generally through the agency of some kind friend of the delinquent that it comes to light at all, and when a clear case is found it is only fair to the Companies that the thief should be punished. The public generally are also interested in this, as cases are not unknown where a person has had his installation connected to that of his next door neighbour and was thus enabled to have his electricity at the latter's expense.

"Clause 57 also marks an advance as it enables Electrical Companies to acquire land under the Land Acquisition Act. This is of course necessary as the land so acquired is undoubtedly for a public purpose in the same degree as for a railway or any other similar undertaking. The purchase of land in large towns is always attended with considerable difficulty as regards title, and private negotiations are often found impossible to complete owing to the complexity of interests. If Government grant a license for the supply of electricity, there can be no objection to their assisting the licensee to acquire the necessary land.

"Clause 58 provides for the repeal of the Act of 1903 and every license granted under that Act is now deemed to have been made under the present Act.

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Licensees can thus have all the benefits of this Act, and they are also empowered to have their existing licenses revoked by agreement and take out new licenses under this Act if they so desire.

"I should perhaps add a word regarding Part III of the Bill, dealing with non-licensees. The scope of this Part has been considerably widened and it now enables permission to be given to non-licensees to undertake the business of supplying electricity. Cases may no doubt arise where it is advisable to give these powers under suitable restrictions. In most cases, however, licenses should be compulsory both in order that the public may have statutory protection and also in order that licensees may not be placed in an invidious position as compared with other suppliers of the same commodity. I am glad to see that clause 28 in this Part gives the licensee reasonable protection from unfair competition.

"I now come to the schedule which to my mind has been very much improved. The re-arrangement of clauses VI and VII shows much more plainly than before the conditions under which a supply is given and continued. The rules for the supply of bulk licensees are entirely new, and though so far I do not think energy has been supplied in bulk in India there can be no doubt that such a method is bound to come. It was therefore as well to have rules to cover such a supply. India offers a limitless field for electrical enterprise if only capital is forthcoming.

"I do not think I have any further criticisms to offer. Electricity for lighting and fans has had such a beneficial effect on the health and comfort of those dwelling in Calcutta and other towns where there is a supply, that any extensions to other towns must be welcomed. I think this new Act gives such powers to Local Governments and local authorities, that, if rightly encouraged, it will give an impetus to Companies to come forward to start a supply in many places where an electric supply does not at present exist, while those Companies which are not on a paying basis can apply for the revocation of their license and obtain a new one on more favourable terms if they desire it and if the Government approve. In conclusion, if I may do so, I should like to congratulate the Hon'ble Mr. Miller and the framer of this difficult and complicated Bill on having got through their labours so successfully."

The motion was put and agreed to.

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INDIAN MUSEUM BILL.

The Hon'ble MR. ROBERTSON moved that the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to the Indian Museum be taken into consideration.

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Mr. ROBERTSON moved that in clause 10, sub-clause (1) (b), of the Bill, as amended by the Select Committee, for the words "past twelve months" the words "previous financial year" be substituted. He said: "The amendment is a purely formal one intended to give effect to the existing practice as to the submission of the accounts of the Museum."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble MR. ROBERTSON moved that the Bill, as now amended, be passed.

The motion was put and agreed to.

CENTRAL PROVINCES COURTS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Hon'ble SIR HARVEY ADAMSON moved that the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to amend the Central Provinces Courts Act, 1904, be taken into consideration.

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble SIR HARVEY ADAMSON moved that the Bill, as amended, be passed.

The motion was put and agreed to.

GLANDERS AND FARCY LAW (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Hon'ble MR. CARLYLE moved for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the law relating to Glanders and Farcy. He said: "This is a very small matter. At present the Government of India not only notify dangerous epidemic diseases but also notify the local areas to which they apply, and the object of this Bill is to carry out a small measure of decentralization and to give Local

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Governments power to decide the local areas to which the Act has to be applied. I therefore ask for leave to introduce the Bill to amend that law."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble MR. CARLYLE introduced the Bill. He said: "The proposal is to bring it before the next meeting of Council, and if there is no strong opposition, to pass it."

The Hon'ble MR. CARLYLE moved that the Bill, together with the Statement of Objects and Reasons relating thereto, be published in English in the Gazette of India.

The motion was put and agreed to.

PRISONS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Hon'ble SIR HARVEY ADAMSON moved for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Prisons Act, 1894. He said: "This is a very small matter and it is fully explained in the Statement of Objects and Reasons."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble SIR HARVEY ADAMSON introduced the Bill.

The Hon'ble SIR HARVEY ADAMSON moved that the Bill, together with the Statement of Objects and Reasons relating thereto, be published in English in the Gazette of India.

The motion was put and agreed to.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

The Hon'ble MR. GOKHALE said:—"I beg to place the following Resolution before the Council for its consideration:—

'That this Council recommends that a beginning should be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory throughout the country, and that a mixed Commission of officials and non-officials be appointed at an early date to frame definite proposals.'

"My Lord, I trust the Council will note carefully what it is exactly that this resolution proposes. The resolution does not ask that elementary education

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should be made compulsory at once throughout India. It does not even ask that it should be made free at once throughout the country, though this was the course which the Government of India themselves were decidedly inclined to adopt three years ago. All that the resolution does is to recommend that a beginning should now be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory and that a Commission should be appointed to consider the question and frame definite proposals. In other words, I propose that the State should now accept in this country the same responsibilities in regard to mass education that the Governments of most other civilized countries are already discharging, and that a well-considered scheme should be drawn up and adhered to till it is carried out.

“ My Lord, a French writer has justly described the nineteenth century as preeminently the century of the child. The question of the education of the child occupied the attention of statesmen during that century as much as any other important question, and there is no doubt that the enormous expansion of popular education that has taken place during the period in the Western world ranks in importance with its three other great achievements, *viz.*, the application of science to industrial processes, the employment of steam and electricity to annihilate distance, and the rise of democracies. My Lord, three movements have combined to give to mass education the place which it occupies at present among the duties of a State—the humanitarian movement which reformed prisons and liberated the slave, the democratic movement which admitted large masses of men to a participation in government, and the industrial movement which brought home to nations the recognition that the general spread of education in a country, even when it did not proceed beyond the elementary stage, meant the increased efficiency of the worker.

“ My Lord, the time is long past when anybody could seriously contend that the bulk of human beings were made for physical labour only and that even the faint glimmer of rudimentary knowledge was not for them. On the contrary, it is at present universally recognized that a certain minimum of general instruction is an obligation which society owes to all its future members, and in nearly the whole civilized world every State is trying to meet this obligation only in one way, namely, by making elementary education compulsory and free. And thus it is, that led by the German States, country after country in Europe and America and Japan in the East have adopted this system of free and compulsory education; and we find today all the countries in Europe, excepting Russia and Turkey, and the United States of America and Canada and Australia and Japan and several even of the smaller Republics in South America— all having this system in

operation. And even within the borders of India itself it is gratifying to note that the enlightened and farseeing Ruler of Baroda, after an experiment of 15 years carried out in one of the talukas of his State, namely, the Amreli Taluka, has since last year extended this system to the whole of his State.

“The statistics of school attendance in the different countries are, in this connection, deeply instructive. To understand these statistics it is necessary that we should remember that the English standard of school-going population is 15 per cent., but that standard pre-supposes a school period of 6 to 7 years. In England the period—the compulsory period—being from 6 to 7 years, they estimate that about 15 per cent. of a country must be at school. It follows therefore that where this period is longer the proportion of the total population that will be at school will be greater, and where the period is shorter the proportion will be smaller. Now in the United States and in some of the continental Countries this period is 8 years, whereas in Japan it is only 4 years, and in Italy it is as low as 3 years. Remembering these things I would ask the Council to note the statistics. In the United States of America 21 per cent. of the whole population is receiving elementary education; in Canada, in Australia, in Switzerland, and in Great Britain and Ireland, the proportion ranges from 20 to 17 per cent.; in Germany, in Austria-Hungary, in Norway, and in the Netherlands, the proportion is from 17 to 15 per cent.; in France it is slightly above 14 per cent.; in Sweden it is 14 per cent.; in Denmark it is 13 per cent.; in Belgium it is 12 per cent.; in Japan it is 11 per cent.; in Italy, Greece and Spain it ranges between 8 and 9 per cent.; in Portugal and Russia it is between 4 and 5 per cent. I may mention in this connection that though elementary education is nominally compulsory in Portugal, the compulsion is not strictly enforced, and in Russia it is not compulsory, though for the most part it is gratuitous. In the Philippine Islands it is 5 per cent. of the total population; in Baroda it is 5 per cent. of the total population; and in British India it is only 1·9 per cent. of the total population.

“I must now invite the Council to survey briefly the progress made in this country in the matter of primary education during the last half century. It is well known that our modern educational system dates from the time of the famous despatch of 1854. Before that despatch was received, it has been estimated by the Education Commission of Lord Ripon's Government that primary education was in existence on a considerable scale in this country. The total estimate made by them was that about 9 lakhs of pupils were receiving instruction in indigenous schools uncontrolled by any State agency and

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in accordance with ancient traditions. The Court of Directors in their despatch of 1854 first of all made the following declaration :—

‘It is one of our most sacred duties to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge and which India may under Providence derive from her connection with England.’

“In other words, as the Education Commission of 1882 say, ‘in 1854 the education of the whole people in India was definitely accepted as a State duty.’ The despatch went on further to say this :

‘Our attention should now be directed to a consideration if possible still more important, and one which has hitherto, we are bound to admit, been too much neglected, namely, how useful and practical knowledge suited to every station in life should be best conveyed to the great mass of the people who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts, and we desire to see the active measures of Government more specially directed for the future to this object, for the attainment of which we are ready to sanction a considerable increase in expenditure.’

“The next landmark in our educational progress is the Commission of 1882 appointed by the Government of Lord Ripon. This Commission was appointed to inquire into the state of education throughout the country, and one of the chief subjects suggested for inquiry was how far the policy laid down in the despatch of 1854 in regard to elementary education had been carried out. The Commission made careful inquiries and found that in 1882 there were about 85,000 primary schools in the country recognized by the Department, and there were about $21\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of pupils attending these schools. In addition to these there were about $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs attending unrecognized schools. If we include these in our statistics for the purpose of finding out what was the extent of elementary education, then we get a total of 25 lakhs of pupils in 1882 receiving elementary instruction. That means 1·2 per cent. of the whole population of India at that time. The Commission, after pointing out how great was the area that still had to be covered, made several recommendations, of which I will quote these two. The first was—

‘While every branch of education might justly claim the fostering care of the State it is desirable in the present circumstances of the country to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed in still larger measure than heretofore.’

“The second recommendation, which has not been much noticed, was that—

‘An attempt be made to secure the fullest possible provision for an expansion of primary education by legislation suited to the circumstances of each province.’

“Well, that was in 1882. A quarter of a century has elapsed since then, and what do we find today? The number of schools has risen from 85,000 to about 113,000: the number of pupils today in recognized schools both for boys and girls is about 39 lakhs. If we include in our estimate pupils who are attending unrecognized schools, we get a total of under 45 lakhs or about 1·9 per cent. of the whole population. Thus in the course of a quarter of a century the progress of primary education in this country is represented by an advance from 1·2 per cent. to 1·9 per cent. of the total population. My Lord, I venture to say that this is exceedingly slow and disappointing progress. It will be noticed on a reference to the last quinquennial report that a large part of this progress has been achieved during the last 6 or 7 years only. But even at this latter rate, I am quite sure that the rate of progress will not be regarded as in any way satisfactory; and well may the Hon'ble Mr. Orange say in his last report, as he says:

‘But the rate of increase for the last 25 years or for the last 5 is more slow than when compared with the distance that has to be travelled before primary education can be universally diffused. If the number of boys at school continued to increase even at the rate of increase that has taken place in the last 5 years and there were no increase in population, even then several generations would still elapse before all the boys of school age were in school.’

“The expenditure on primary education from public funds, that is, from provincial, municipal and local funds all taken together, has advanced during this period only by about 57 lakhs. It was a little over 36 lakhs then; it is over 93 lakhs just now. Now during the same period our land-revenue has advanced by 8 crores. It is now a little over 29 crores as against a little over 21 crores then. Our military expenditure during the same time has risen by about 13 crores: it was 19 crores then; it is now over 32 crores. The expenditure on civil departments has gone up by 8 crores. It is today 19 crores, I am taking the figures for 1907: it was about 11 crores then. Even the capital outlay on railways, which averaged about 4 crores in those days, it will now be noticed, has gone up to about 15 crores. The contrast suggested by these figures is obvious and I do not think that any comment is necessary.

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“ I think, my Lord, a comparison of the progress made in this country during the last 25 years with what has been achieved in other countries during a corresponding period would be of great interest and is undoubtedly of great significance. I will take for purposes of this comparison four countries, two from the West and two from the East. I will take England and Russia from the West and I will take Japan and the Philippines from the East. Well, what do we find? In England compulsory education was first introduced in the year 1870. England with her strongly marked love of individualism stood out against the continental system as long as she could. It was only in 1870 that the first step towards making elementary education compulsory was taken. The famous Act of 1870 did not introduce compulsion directly; it introduced what was described as permissive compulsion, that is, it conferred powers upon School Boards to frame bye-laws requiring the attendance of children at school. That was the first step. Six years afterwards another enactment was passed, and in 1880 a third enactment was passed whereby the fabric of compulsion was completed. The enactment of 1876 imposed an obligation on parents to send their children to school and it also created School Attendance Committees in those areas where there were no School Boards: and finally in 1880 compulsion was made absolute because the framing of bye-laws requiring attendance by School Boards and Committees which was optional before, was made obligatory by the Act of 1880. The statistics about attendance during that period of 12 years are of great interest. Sir Henry Craik in his book *The State in relation to Education* gives these statistics, from which we find that in 1871, when the population of England was 22 millions, the number of children actually attending schools was only 1,300,000. That amounted to about 43·3 per cent. of the school-going population which at 15 per cent. meant a little over three millions. In 1876, the number had risen to 2 millions, which was about 66 per cent. of the school-going population. By 1882 the number had already gone beyond 3 millions, that is, almost every child that should have been at school was at school. The whole problem was thus solved in 12 years and the attendance at schools was carried from 43·3 to nearly 100 per cent. in the period between 1870 and 1882. In 1891 England made education free.

“ Turning now to Japan we have an illustration of progress under other conditions. Japan has successfully applied Western methods to Eastern conditions of life, and in Japan we find that the modern educational system of the country dates, like almost everything else connected with her modern greatness, from the year 1872.

“In that year a rescript was issued by the Emperor in which the following words occur : ‘It is designed henceforth that education shall be so diffused that there may not be a village with an ignorant family, or a family with an ignorant member.’ Ambitious words these, my Lord, as Mr. Sharpe points out, but Japan has entirely fulfilled them in the course of about 30 years. Before 1872 the total proportion of her population that was at school was only about 28 per cent. By the time that the century closed the proportion had already advanced to over 90 per cent. All this was achieved by Japan during a period when at the same time she created her magnificent army and navy, which have extorted the unstinted admiration of the world. In Japan education is now practically compulsory, though they rely more upon moral persuasion than upon compulsion. In the earlier years of this period compulsion was not strictly enforced, but from 1890 steps have been taken to secure the attendance of every child of school-going age. In 1900 Japan made education free as far as possible.

“Now I turn to Russia. The educational problem in Russia is in many respects similar to the educational problem in this country, and yet we shall find that during the period of which I am speaking, that is, from 1880 to 1907, the progress of primary education even in Russia has been far greater than it has been in this country. In Russia the Government tried by the law of 1864 and the law of 1871 to direct the course of education, but without much success. As a matter of fact, the Government has not been able to do in Russia anything like what other Governments in the West have done in their countries. Even so, in the year 1830 there were just over a million pupils at school in Russia, and there were about 28,000 schools at that time. During the 25 years of which I speak the number of schools has risen to 90,000 and the number of pupils has gone up to nearly six millions. It was for 1906-1907 5,700,000. Thus in 1880, according to the population, at that time, about 1·2 per cent. of the total population was at school. Curiously enough, that was precisely the proportion in India at the time, 1·2 per cent. of the whole population. In 1906-1907, however, the proportion had gone up in Russia to about 4·5 per cent. of the population as against 1·9 in India. In Russia, as I have already pointed out, education is not compulsory, but it is for the most part gratuitous.

“Lastly, I will take the case of the Philippine Islands which are under foreign rule. As is well known, the Philippines passed under the rule of America under the rule of the United States, from the rule of Spain at the close of the last century. Definite reliable statistics are available from the year 1903; and taking the period 1903-1908, the period corresponding to that in regard

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to which the Hon'ble Mr. Orange mentions the fact that the progress has been far greater than during any other time before in India, what do we find? In 1903 the number of schools was under 2,000, the number of pupils was about a lakh and a half (150,000). The total population of the Philippine Islands is about 7 millions. This gives for 1903 a proportion of about 2 per cent. of the whole population at school. In 1908 the schools had doubled and the numbers attending them had risen to 360,000, which gives a proportion of about 5 per cent. of the whole population. Thus the population actually at school advanced from about 2 per cent. to 5 per cent. during 1903 to 1908, during which time in India it advanced only from 1'6 per cent. to 1'9 per cent. In the Philippines, education is compulsory, though the compulsion is not strictly enforced. It is also free where the teachers are paid out of public funds.

“ My Lord, I have troubled the Council with this review, not because I believe in bewailing lost opportunities, but because the problems of the present and the future can be successfully solved only when they are taken in relation to the past. ‘ Forget those things that are behind ’ is no doubt a wise injunction, and yet it is sometimes necessary to recall such things in order to understand the better those things that are ahead. I am sure there is no one in this Council who will question either the value or the necessity of universal education for the mass of the people. I am sure even my Hon'ble friend the Maharaja of Burdwan, with all his horror of Western socialism, will not want the mass of our people to remain steeped permanently in ignorance and darkness. Now the only way that the world has discovered to secure universal education in a country has been by making it compulsory and free. This is the only method that the world has found to be successful, and so far there is no other method in the field. Again, if you make elementary instruction compulsory, it follows that you will have also to make it free, because otherwise compulsion would operate harshly on the poorer classes of the community. The only question therefore that we have to consider is how far we in this country can now adopt that principle which has already been adopted by most countries of the civilized world, and which has already produced those most striking results that I have already mentioned to the Council. Now this question, I admit, is largely a question of what is practicable and not a question of mere theory. I want therefore to approach the question and consider it strictly and solely from a practical standpoint. There is no doubt that I shall be told in the course of this discussion that the country is not yet ripe for the introduction of the compulsory principle. Well, I myself admit the necessity of proceeding in this matter with extreme caution, and only after due deliberation, but the objection that the country is not ripe for any

particular reform has always been urged, as far as I am aware, against every reform that has ever been proposed. We shall not therefore take much note of that objection, but consider what are the practical difficulties that will have actually to be surmounted before this principle is successfully applied to Indian conditions. My Lord, what is the extent of the problem that we have got to solve in this country? That is the first consideration. Here let me state at the outset that I do not propose compulsion for the present for girls; I propose compulsion only for boys. For girls for the present and for some years to come, education will have to be on a voluntary basis. In some respects girls' education is even more important than that of boys in the India of today, and yet in view of the difficulties that surround that question, that education must be maintained for some years to come only on a voluntary basis. At the same time, far more vigorous efforts are necessary, on that voluntary basis, than have so far been made. But I want the Council clearly to understand that the compulsory principle which I advocate today is to be confined only to boys. We must therefore first of all ascertain what would be the number of boys that would be at school if education were compulsory in this country. Now I have already pointed out that the standard of 15 per cent. of the total population as the school-going population is the standard of England. There the school period is taken to be 6 to 7 years. I propose that we should be satisfied with a compulsory period of 4 years only as they have in Japan. In Japan the period is from 6 years to 10 years of the child's age. I propose that we should be satisfied with that period. If we have this period as the compulsory period, it will be found on a reference to census returns that the proportion of the male population of the country between the years 6 and 10 is less than 12 per cent. of the total male population. Therefore, our problem is how to educate, how to have under elementary instruction, 12 per cent. of the male population of the country. Now we find that already, at the present moment, about 3 per cent. of the male population is at school—as a reference to the last quinquennial report will show. The number of boys at school, according to that report, is about 36 lakhs, and adding to that number the 5 or 6 lakhs that are attending schools not recognised by the State, it will be found that the proportion comes to about 3 per cent. of the total male population. We therefore have one-quarter of the male population of school-going age already at school. What we want therefore is to quadruple this attendance and provide for the cost of such quadrupling. Now another reference to the quinquennial report will show that the cost of maintaining all these boys' schools in 1906-07 was about a crore and 36 lakhs, from all sources, provincial, municipal and local, as also fees and other receipts. Well, assuming that all

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further expansion takes place only out of public funds, that there are no more fees charged and no more receipts from private sources coming, we shall need four times this cost in order to have the entire male population of school-going age at school. Four times a crore and 36 lakhs means about $5\frac{1}{2}$ crores; that is, about 4 crores more than what is expended at the present moment will have to be found if the entire male population of school-going age is to be maintained at school. Now I do not suggest that the whole of this burden should fall upon the State. I think it should be divided between the State and local bodies. I would suggest a proportion of two-thirds and one-third, as they have in Scotland, where the Parliamentary grant and the amount spent from local rates stand to each other in the proportion of two to one. If the State will therefore undertake to defray two-thirds of this 4 crores, it will mean an additional expenditure of about $2\frac{2}{3}$ crores when every boy is at school, supposing of course that the population remains where it is just now. This, however, it will be seen, will not have to be incurred at once. Two and two-third crores will be reached when the entire field has been covered, which will be a slow process even when the principle of compulsion, as I advocate it, has been adopted, because it will have to be applied slowly; I for one shall be satisfied if the whole field is covered in the course of, say, 20 years. If in the course of 20 years we get the entire male population of school-going age at school, I for one shall think that we have done extremely well. This means that the whole of this increased cost of $2\frac{2}{3}$ crores which the State will have to incur will be spread over 20 years, and will not be incurred at once. Having pointed out thus the extent of the problem, I will now come to the actual proposals that I want to make. (1) My first proposal is that following the example of the Act of 1870 we should pass an Act conferring powers upon local bodies to make elementary education compulsory in their areas. I recognise, my Lord, that the unpopularity that will be evoked by the principle of compulsion in certain sections will be considerable; and in view of the special circumstances attaching to the position of the British Government in this country, I recognise that this unpopularity should not come to the State on account of any direct compulsion introduced by it. The compulsion introduced therefore should be indirect, through local bodies and not direct by the State. (2) My second proposal is that compulsion should be only for boys and not for girls. (3) My third proposal is that the period of compulsion should be between 6 years and 10 years as in Japan. (4) The fourth proposal is this. In any area where 33 per cent. of the male population is already at school, there this principle of compulsion should be applied. I have already pointed out that in England about 43·4 per cent. of the children were at school when compulsion

was introduced. In Japan about 28 per cent. were at school. I should propose 33 per cent. as the proportion which should satisfy us that compulsion would not be premature in any particular area. Where 33 per cent. of the boys are actually at school, elementary education should be made compulsory for all boys in that area. In other areas the attempt should be to work up to this proportion of 33 per cent. As soon as 33 per cent. is reached, compulsion should be introduced. (5) My fifth proposal is that wherever compulsory education is introduced, it should be gratuitous, because otherwise it would be a great hardship on poor people. At any rate the children of those parents whose income is below a certain limit, say, Rs. 25 a month, should receive gratuitous instruction. (6) My sixth proposal is that the extra cost should be divided between the Government and the local bodies in the proportion of 2 to 1. (7) My seventh proposal is that there should now be a separate Secretary for Education in the Home Department. Instead of having a Director General I would have a Secretary in the Home Department specially for education, and eventually I look forward to the time when a Member in separate charge of education will be included in the Executive Council. (8) My eighth proposal is that education should now be a divided head instead of its being a purely Provincial head. The root of the mischief, as we see it today, is there. The resources at the disposal of the Provincial Governments are extremely limited. I know many of the Provincial Governments are anxious to spend more money on primary education; but it is a struggle with them which they have constantly to carry on to make the two ends meet, and it is not possible for them to find more money for primary education than they are able to spend at the present moment. The Government of India, on the other hand, has from time to time abundant resources at its disposal, though this year my Hon'ble friend has imposed extra taxation. In any case the Government of India has not the same struggle to make its two ends meet that the Local Governments generally have; if it had a direct responsibility for education instead of the remote responsibility that it has at present, I am quite sure more would be done for education. Education should therefore be a divided charge and there should be a definite programme before the Government, just as there is a programme for railways, which should be carried out steadily year by year. (9) My last proposal in this connection is that a statement describing the progress of education from year to year should be published with the annual Financial Statement as is done in the case of Army Services and the Railway Board. These are the 9 definite practical proposals that I would like to submit to the consideration of this Council. I do not claim that these are the details of a complete scheme: they are only general

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suggestions tentatively thrown out, and if the Government will appoint a Commission such as I suggest, all these suggestions can go to that Commission and the Commission would be able to pronounce definitely on their practicability. I now come to the financial part of the scheme. I have already said that the cost for the State will be about $2\frac{2}{3}$ crores a year, to be worked up to in twenty years. Well, in spite of the financial difficulties of which we have heard a good deal this year, the State is in a position to meet this cost. The resources of the State are ample for this purpose. I will only briefly indicate them. First of all you have the normal growth of revenue, which was once estimated by Sir Edward Baker at about a crore and 20 lakhs a year. Then you must have retrenchment. I trust after what has been said during the course of the recent discussions that a rigorous policy of retrenchment will now be enforced especially in regard to those Departments which show overgrown expenditure, such as the Army and Civil Departments. Thirdly, there is that sum of about a million sterling, which is spent out of revenue partly for reducing debt under the Famine Insurance Grant and partly under Railways for redemption of debt. That ought to be made available for expenditure for current purposes. The fourth resource is this. For years, in the sixties and seventies, our import-duties used to be at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. instead of 5 per cent. There is no reason why they should not be at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. again. That will bring $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores more for my Hon'ble friend there. The fifth source that I would point out is an export-duty on jute and on several other commodities. A 5 per cent. duty on jute will mean about a crore of rupees. Lastly I go further and I say this, that if the worst comes to the worst and every other resource fails, which I do not for a moment think to be possible, I shall be prepared to advocate an extra 8 annas on salt, because I think it is a smaller evil that my countrymen should eat less salt than that their children should continue to grow up in ignorance and darkness and all the moral and material helplessness which at present characterises their lives.

"My Lord, one word more and I have done. I will frankly confess that I have not introduced this resolution in the Council today in the hope that it will be adopted by the Council. Constituted as this body is, we all recognize that unless a resolution finds favour in the eyes of the Government, there is no chance of its being carried, and I recognize further that it is not reasonable to expect Government to accept this resolution without further consideration. Even if they are inclined to take a favourable view of my proposals, they are proposals which will naturally have to be referred to the Secretary of State before any decisive step is taken. I have not therefore the least expectation that this resolution will be adopted by the Council. But though the Government may not be able to accept the resolution, they certainly can undertake to examine the whole question

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at an early date in a sympathetic spirit. If that is done, I shall be satisfied. In any case the Government, I trust, will not do two things. I trust they will not make a definite pronouncement against the principle of free and compulsory education today, and I also trust that the resolution which I have moved will not be brushed aside on the plea that the condition of the finances does not admit of the proposals being maintained. My Lord, there is much truth in the homely adage that where there is a will there is a way. I think that this question of compulsory and free primary education is now in this country the question of questions. The well-being of millions upon millions of children who are waiting to be brought under the humanising influence of education depends upon it. The increased efficiency of the individual, the higher general level of intelligence, the stiffening of the moral backbone of large sections of the community, none of these things can come without such education. In fact the whole of our future as a nation is inextricably bound up with it. My Lord, however this resolution may be disposed of here today, I feel that in this matter we are bound to win. The practice of the whole civilised world, the sympathies of the British democracy and our own natural and legitimate aspirations of which your Lordship has more than once admitted the reasonableness, all these are united in its favour. This resolution will come up again and again before this Council till it is carried to a successful issue. My Lord, I earnestly hope that the Government will read aright the needs of the situation and not fail to move with the times in this matter. To my mind the call of duty to them is clear, and it is also the call of statesmanship,—that statesmanship which pursues, unflinching but unflinching, the highest interests of the people committed to its care."

The Hon'ble SIR HARVEY ADAMSON said:—"I agree with a great deal that the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has said on the general question and it is unnecessary for me to say that the Government of India earnestly desire the expansion of primary education; but the question before Council today is not whether primary education should be expanded, but whether a Commission should be appointed to inquire into the matter.

"I will first say something about the terms of the resolution. It is worded in very general language. It gives no indication of any definite line on which a beginning should be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory throughout the country. It contemplates that the Commission to be appointed should follow any method that it may please to adopt, and all that it requires is that the Commission should frame definite proposals for making elementary education free and compulsory. Taking the resolution as it stands, I really am unable to see how the Government of India could be expect-

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ed to accept it. To send a Commission roving through the land, without any definite instructions, to search in the dark for the solution of a grave and difficult administrative problem is not a course which any responsible Government would be inclined to adopt.

“The Hon'ble Member in moving the resolution has thrown on it the light of his own views as to the direction in which progress should be made. He has opened entirely new ground that has never been trod before, and has made suggestions that have never yet come under examination. His proposals, as I understand them, may be summarized as follows :—

- (1) The children to be dealt with are males of age between six and ten.
- (2) To educate them all is calculated to cost four times the present expenditure of 136 lakhs, or 544 lakhs.
- (3) This expenditure should be worked up to gradually in a period of twenty years, at the end of which there would be provision for educating the whole.
- (4) Government and local bodies should bear the expenditure in the proportion of two to one.
- (5) Local Boards and Municipalities should be empowered with the previous sanction of the Local Government to make primary education compulsory.
- (6) The ordinary rule should be that when 33 per cent. of children in a local area are already attending school, attendance should be made compulsory.
- (7) These provisions should be applied at first to towns of over 100,000 population.
- (8) In other areas efforts should be made by increasing the number of schools to work up to 33 per cent. of attendance, at which stage attendance might be made compulsory.
- (9) Education should be made a divided head with the object of giving the Imperial Government a greater control over Local Governments so as to ensure that the programme is carried out steadily.
- (10) A statement of progress in Education should be appended annually to the Financial Statement.

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(11) A separate Secretary should be appointed to the Home Department for the purpose of dealing with Education.

(12) The additional expenditure should be met in one or more of the following ways in order of merit :—

(a) Retrenchment.

(b) Normal expanse of revenue.

(c) That portion of the Famine Relief Grant and the amount of $\frac{3}{4}$ million under railways which are at present devoted to redemption of debt.

(d) Increase of import-duties from 5 to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

(e) Export-duty on jute and other commodities.

(f) Increase of salt-tax.

(13) Primary education should be made free when it has reached the stage at which it can be made compulsory.

(14) These provisions should not apply to female education, which however should be accelerated.

“ Now this is a pretty long programme and every item of it is new.

“ It will be readily understood that I can say very little about these suggestions today. They would require a great deal more consideration than can possibly be given in a debate in this Council on a resolution which does not even specifically mention any of them. I had never heard of these proposals till three days ago when the Hon'ble Member was good enough to give me an oral indication of the line that he intended to adopt in this debate. It is absolutely out of the question that new subjects like these should be referred to a Commission before they have been even examined by the Government of India.

“ I need scarcely say that the expansion of primary education is an object with which the Government of India sympathize.

“ Two or three years ago the finances of India were in a much more prosperous condition than at present. It was a period of large surpluses, and one of the most pressing anxieties of the Finance Member was to find useful methods of remitting taxation. The suggestion was then made by the Hon'ble

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Mr. Gokhale that the fees in primary schools should be remitted. By this means it was hoped not only to give a remission of taxation but to give a stimulus to primary education. This proposal was strongly supported by the educated classes in India, of whom the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale was the spokesman in the Imperial Council. We put the proposal to Local Governments in 1906 and asked them to examine it carefully and to submit opinions on it. The Local Governments spared no trouble in collecting information from the various authorities concerned in the management of primary education and made an exhaustive examination of all the issues involved. I do not propose to review that correspondence today, but I may state that the result of it was a strong preponderance of opinion that the fees should not be sacrificed and that the best way to extend primary education generally is to steadily and gradually expand it by the improvement of old schools and the creation of new at such rate of progress as the financial conditions of the country may warrant. We propose to publish this correspondence, which throws much light on the general question of expansion of primary education. I understand that the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale also now abandons the proposal that the first step of progress should be the abolition of fees in primary schools throughout the country. I shall only touch lightly on a few of the specific suggestions made by the Hon'ble Member. His scheme requires a large increase of taxation. It is no light thing to impose new taxation, whatever form it may take, on a country so poor as India, as we have had ample opportunities of observing during the recent debates on the financial proposals. But I may remark that it is not only primary education that calls loudly for heavier expenditure, but secondary, university and technical education, and it must not be forgotten that there are other things besides education which are making loud calls. I admit that it is difficult to see how these calls can be resisted, and it is difficult to see how they can be met from our present resources. The Hon'ble Member has raised the question of self-help. If the large municipalities are to be the field in which a more rapid rate of expansion of primary education is to be first developed, then these municipalities must do something to help themselves. It will not do to fall back on the cry which has been made by some Hon'ble Members during the course of our recent financial discussions that municipalities are already taxed to the last penny of their endurance. Help from Government he proposes that they should have, but at the same time they must show self-help and make some sacrifice themselves. Are they prepared to do so, and if not should they be compelled? That is the question raised by the Hon'ble Member.

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“The Hon'ble Member proposes a steady programme of expansion of primary education independent of the vicissitudes of individual years. Whether the particular line of expansion that the Hon'ble Member recommends is advisable or not, I agree with him that it is desirable to obtain steadier expansion, and that it is undesirable that the expansion in any particular year should depend too much on the question whether there is a large surplus of revenue in that year. On the other hand, I do not, as at present advised, welcome his proposal to remove from Local Governments any part of the control which they exercise over education.

“I have said very little either for or against the specific proposals put forward by the Hon'ble Member. Nor do I intend to say a word more. My attitude is that, as a Member of the Government of India, I ought not to commit myself either for or against large proposals which neither my own Department nor the Government of India collectively have yet had any adequate opportunity of examining. We are really not concerned today with the question whether the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's suggestions are right or wrong, nor can I think that the Hon'ble Member himself expects that his proposals will be determined by this day's debate. The only relevant question now before us is whether a Commission should be appointed to frame proposals for making elementary education free and compulsory. I oppose the appointment of a Commission all the more strongly because the Hon'ble Member who moved the resolution has indicated that the line of its operations should be to inquire into new and far-reaching issues, which have been exploded on us without notice, and which consequently the Government of India have had no opportunity of examining. I may explain that I have no desire to impose on other official members the restriction which in my position of responsibility I have placed on myself. In conclusion, I will promise the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale that his suggestions will be carefully examined by the Government of India.”

The Hon'ble MR. DADABHOY said:—“My Lord, I cordially support this resolution. The country feels on the subject, and the pronouncement made in the Financial Statement of 1907-1908 raised high hopes among the people. The remarks made by the Hon'ble Sir Edward Baker explained the Government policy which was fairly decisive:

‘These figures do not include any provision for the cost of free primary education, which formed the subject of some discussion in the debate on the last Financial Statement. It must not, however, be inferred from this that we have lost sight of the question. During the summer it was very fully considered in the Department concerned, and in the autumn a letter, which has been published in the Press, was addressed to Local Governments,

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reviewing the position at length, calling for certain information, and inviting an expression of their opinions. On receipt of their replies, the matter will receive prompt and earnest attention; and we have received an assurance from the Secretary of State that notwithstanding the absence of Budget provision, if a suitable scheme should be prepared and sanctioned by him, he will be ready to allow it to be carried into effect in the course of the year, provided that the financial position permits.

“This would seem to indicate that the Government had accepted the principle of the reform, and had decided to introduce it; only the details remained to be elaborated and settled in consultation with Local Governments. It was fully expected this part of the work would soon be done. Three years, however, have elapsed since, and although the details appear to have been definitely settled, no attempt even is made to introduce the reform. On the contrary, the latest pronouncement on the subject is a solvent of all hopes. The very principle has apparently been abandoned, and Government, instead of recognising its responsibility to provide the people with a system of free elementary education, is now disposed to shelve the question indefinitely as a measure of relief analogous to reduction of taxation which can only be profitably discussed when the finances improve. The history is discouraging enough. Following the Hon'ble Sir Edward Baker's statement, the Hon'ble Sir Harvey Adamson, on November 1, 1907, in reply to a question by the Hon'ble mover of the resolution, said that the question had been referred to the Local Governments for opinion, and replies were 'still awaited from four of the larger provinces'. In December 1908 I was told by the Hon'ble Home Member that the reports of the Local Governments had been received and were under consideration. That was nearly fifteen months ago, and a sad change would seem to have come over the spirit of Government in the interval. In reply to my further question on the subject, on 4th February last, the Hon'ble Sir Herbert Risley, on behalf of Government, said:

'The replies of the Local Governments have been considered by the Government of India, but no further action can be taken at present owing to want of funds. The remission of fees is primarily a measure of relief analogous to the reduction of taxation. It has not itself the effect of increasing the number of schools, and for this and other reasons it has met with a good deal of criticism. The measure, however, is well worthy of further consideration when the state of the finances is more favourable.'

“Here is a complete break with the past, a go-by to all that has gone before. A more complete and sudden change of policy it is difficult to imagine. Government was prepared in 1907 to introduce the reform even without a special Budget provision for it, provided a scheme could be decided upon; early in 1910, after three years of continued consideration, Govern-

ment shelves the reform till that unknown future when an improvement in the finances would allow,—not of its early introduction, but of 'further consideration'! A little more earnestness, sympathy and consistency in the treatment of this important subject would be clearly more conducive to the public interest. Until Sir Herbert Risley made that startling and disappointing statement the policy of the Government of India in regard to the expansion of primary education was free from doubt, especially after the solemn pronouncements of Lord Curzon at the Simla Educational Conference. The Hon'ble Sir Edward Baker's statement in the Financial Statement for 1907-1908 fixed it even more unalterably. It looked for once as if the Government was going to make up for its past slackness. According to Lord Curzon's statement, the Government of India had not fulfilled its duty: 'I am one of those who think that Government has not fulfilled its duty in this respect.' The present Government of India made a great advance upon the policy of Lord Curzon's Government, and while Lord Curzon did not contemplate anything more ambitious than a liberal financing of primary education, this Government in clear terms undertook to introduce into the country a system of free primary education at an early date. The principle was accepted; the details only had to be settled. If, after the pronouncement in 1907, the delay in execution of the project was disheartening, the Hon'ble Sir Herbert Risley's statement has completely disappointed the expectations of the people. The popular impression so long was that the attention of Government being engrossed by the Reform Scheme which has now been introduced, this question could not be considered. Sir Harvey Adamson's reply of December 1908 supported the idea. But now comes the announcement, after the matter has been considered in every way, that it was to await, like so many other reforms of a more or less urgent nature, a favourable turn in Government finances. This is an act that is hardly calculated to popularise the administration.

"I wonder so shrewd an officer as Sir Herbert Risley did not see the difference in principle between a scheme of administrative reform and a scheme of reduction of taxation. Free primary education is never meant as a relief to the people; it is essentially a measure devised by every civilised Government for the moral improvement of the people, with the professed object of imbuing them with more correct notions of citizenship and communal responsibility. Millions upon millions of pounds are spent every year by Western nations for public elementary education. Does the expenditure stand on the same basis as reduction in taxation, or does it involve a drawback allowed to the people as a measure of relief? No two measures could be more widely apart from each other in principle, objective and effect. It is a mistake to regard free primary education as a measure of relief. The masses have to be educated in spite of

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themselves. That is a duty of every civilised Government. Unless education is made free very few people would care to go in for it. In view of its moral effect, Governments have always been anxious to provide primary education free. This action has nothing in common with a reduction in taxation, and the considerations which determine the one are wholly distinct from those leading to the other. Education is more or less unpopular, especially when it touches the pockets of the poor, while reduction in taxation is always a relief sought for by them. The support of free primary education is a legitimate charge upon the revenues, and in special circumstances would justify additional taxation. Could fresh taxes be imposed for effecting a reduction in taxation? The proposition carries its own refutation. No, my Lord, this reform cannot be postponed; Government's inaction in the matter of free primary education will be greatly disappointing. The community fully expects to have this reform too associated with Your Excellency's regime. Enough time has already been spent in considering the details; the time has clearly come for action.

"In moving for extra taxation a few days ago the Hon'ble Finance Minister referred to the heavy demands upon the Indian Exchequer which education, among other subjects, was expected to cause. The fresh taxes have been imposed; the basis of the revenue has been strengthened in the manner proposed by him. In fairness Government should now be prepared to provide for education on a liberal scale. The money difficulty can no longer be pleaded for justifying delay in the introduction of free primary education. In the vigorous language of Lord Curzon,—

'What is the greatest danger in India? What is the source of suspicion, superstition, outbreaks, crime—yes, and also of much of the agrarian discontent and suffering among the masses? It is ignorance. And what is the only antidote to ignorance? Knowledge. In proportion as we teach the masses, so we shall make their lot happier, and in proportion as they are happier, so they will become more useful members of the body-politic.'

"But the necessity of free primary education is not so much the question; the real question clearly is one of ways and means; and now that Government has got productive sources of additional revenue, funds should be found for the reform.

"My Lord, the Hon'ble Finance Minister has justified his budget by references to the deficits of the United Kingdom and France. Their example ought to be equally suggestive in the matter of education. In France primary education is free, and compulsory up to the age of 13. In England public elementary

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education is free, and the Parliamentary grant for its support was £10,780,242 in 1906. In all the Continental countries, except Russia and Turkey, primary education is *free and compulsory*; in Turkey it is compulsory if not free. In the United States of America and in Japan it is free and compulsory; even in Brazil and Peru it is free. It is a reproach to India that among the progressive countries of the world she lags far behind in education. In the Central Provinces there is great need for education. Notwithstanding departmental activity and the growth of schools during the previous decade, in 1902 the percentage of population able to read and write in those provinces was only 2·8. It is not much higher now. Not that the people do not send their children to school. All the schools are more or less well attended. But village schools are not as many as necessary. The condition of things is not very much brighter in the other provinces. Treating India as a whole, according to the Education Resolution of this Government of March 1904, four out of five villages are without a school, three out of four boys grow up without any education, and *one* girl out of every forty attends any sort of school. This is a stultifying review. And Your Excellency's Government, actuated as it is by so genuine a desire to advance the condition of the people and by quite an enthusiasm for progress and reform, cannot be in doubt as to its course of action in the exigencies of the situation.

"In a country like India any comprehensive scheme of primary education, in order to be effective and successful, must be free. The masses here, besides having in common with the proletariat of other countries, a disinclination to spend money and time over a training which does not bring in pecuniary returns, are very poor, and cannot with justice be called upon to place their children at school at a cost to themselves. The influence of social prejudices against female education must also be counteracted by special State encouragement. In these circumstances I have every hope the resolution will meet with the approval of this Government. Government is pledged to introduce free primary education, and the sooner it is done the better. The necessary funds should now be forthcoming. Money, it is superfluous to remind Government, could not be applied to higher use than the support of Education. Besides, as the *Statist* observes, 'money spent upon sound education in India will prove to be the most fruitful economy.'

"There may be differences of opinion as to the wisdom of the suggestion of making primary education *compulsory*, on the ground that children are helping hands to their parents, and it will cause hardship to their parents to be deprived of their help. But it is shortsighted policy to put children to work at too early an age. The State has a clear duty in the matter. Children cannot be allowed to do manual labour when too young. Such labour interferes with their physical

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development, and therefore with the physique of the nation. Out of regard for the larger public interests the individual interests of the parents concerned must be overlooked. Under the expert advice of the Factory Commission the minimum age of a factory boy labourer is proposed to be fixed at 9. The action of the Government in that direction cannot be seriously questioned. And if the propriety of the Government action in fixing the age at which children can begin manual work in the interests of the physical development of the nation be admitted, equally, if not even more, proper will the Government policy be in compelling children to attend school up to a certain age in the higher interests of their mental and moral development. It is a balancing of advantages and disadvantages, and the advantage would appear to be in favour of compulsory education."

The Hon'ble MR. CHITNAVIS said:—" My Lord, while I cordially support the first part of the resolution, so eloquently moved by my friend Mr. Gokhale, recommending the initiation of a system of free primary education, I must, in the interests of the poor people concerned, point out that compulsory education will cause great hardship in actual working. Children are always, in every country, helping hands to poor parents; they are specially so in India, where financial prostration is the chief complaint. Parents are fond of their children, and they would not, unless under necessity, send them to work at a tender age. If therefore children are taken away from them and compelled to undergo training at school, a deprivation of income would follow, which few parents would be able to take calmly. The action of Government might be misunderstood. I am glad this difficulty is recognised by Mr. Gokhale himself. That is a risk which should not be taken when there are serious economic causes working to produce discontent. Besides, introduction of compulsory education would accentuate the labour difficulty, which in many parts of the country is already great.

" Attendance Committees on Western lines cannot perhaps be formed at once, and in India for years, to come the work of compelling the attendance of children must be principally done by the local bodies. These bodies are already more or less unpopular, not only for the local taxation, but for the sanitary work they have to do, as often as not in the teeth of public opposition. Domiciliary visits by their officers in connection with a system of compulsory education will only make them still more unpopular, and thus interfere with their administrative utility in other directions. The ways of the underlings are also likely to be oppressive, and the people may be excused if they fail to appreciate the motives of Government. I believe it is too early to introduce compulsory education in a country like India. Even in England they had it for the first time in 1870. I do not take exception to the principle. Compulsory education

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is good if it can be effected without the concomitant evils. Only considerations of expediency inspire my criticisms, and I think the time is not propitious for the experiment. Let us have free primary education by all means, but we must wait for better times for the successful introduction of the ambitious project of compulsory education. The experiment will involve an amount of expenditure which may impose a serious burden on the people, and cause a heavy and sudden strain on the slender resources of the local bodies. Provision must be made for a large addition to the teaching and the inspecting staff, increased accommodation, and even for the feeding of children if the scheme has to be worked successfully. I say from experience that village boys who have received even elementary education betray a repugnance to manual labour, especially in the fields. I do not know how compulsory education works in Baroda, where I am told it has been introduced; but speaking of my own province, I find there is a general complaint among agriculturists that school-going boys do not make good agriculturists or field labourers, and there is a general tendency among them to imitate the leisured classes in their pursuits. This prejudice may wear off in time, but for the nonce it will render compulsion more unpopular than it would otherwise be, especially at a time when labour in the villages is getting scarce and dear both on account of plague and a general movement of the villagers to the towns for more lucrative employment. All this will make compulsory education an experiment of doubtful utility at the present time, but there would not be any objection to the gradual extension of free primary education as funds permit. Elementary education ought to be free to be effective, the more so in a country like India which according to high authorities is plunged in 'extreme poverty'. I sympathise with the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and admire the lofty motives which have inspired him to move this resolution, but I am convinced the object aimed at will be more easily attained by natural ways than by compulsory methods. There is already a general desire among the masses both in villages and towns to give education to their children, but I am sure they will resent any undue compulsion in the matter, however laudable may be the motives underlying the action."

The Hon'ble BABU BHUPENDRA NATH BASU said:—"I must confess that in this discussion there is a ring of the unreal. It seems to me to be, more or less academic and that at the present stage we can hope to achieve but small results, if any. But because the question is more or less academic, because the Government of India probably is not at present prepared to take it up earnestly, it is none the less a very serious question for us the people of India.

"I will not trouble the Council with the figures which have been placed so lucidly before us by my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, but there is one con-

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sideration which I do wish to press before the Council. The consideration, my Lord, is whether or not we are convinced that primary education is a matter of great importance to the community as a question of State. I may even go further and say, whether or not, it is a matter of prime importance. I believe that it will be readily conceded that it is so. The question, my Lord, is, have we done all that we could do in the past in this direction? And if we have not done what we should have done, has not the time come when something should be done?

“As regards what has been done, I am taking the figures from the last quinquennial report and we find the total expenditure was roughly a crore and thirty-seven lakhs of which about ninety lakhs were contributed by the Government, about thirty-two lakhs were realised from fees, and fifteen lakhs from other sources. Now, if we make primary education free, we shall have to forego the thirty-two lakhs of rupees that we have derived from fees. If that was the only question, I am quite sure the Hon'ble Finance Member will at once say 'have your thirty-two lakhs and be done with raising the question in this Council.' But there are other considerations which I feel are difficult to meet. If once primary education is made free, the number of boys and students is certain to increase. It was pointed out, my Lord, in the despatch of 1854 that it was necessary that some fees should be levied in India as in England in order to make the people appreciate the value of education. That was the attitude of mind of English statesmen in 1854 and consequently that was the policy inaugurated in our country; but, my Lord, much water has flowed down the Thames since those days as well as in the Hooghly here, and opinion has considerably changed in England. From the view that was taken in the early fifties, we have come to the view that at certain stages and in certain sections of the community free primary education is necessary and has been morally felt to be necessary in England. I will not refer to the other communities and other countries which my friend Mr. Gokhale has referred to. If it is found necessary in England that primary education should be made free, I respectfully submit that the case is much stronger for us, the people of India, who have been described by the Finance Member as well as the Home Member to be extremely poor, and especially for the class who will come within the purview of the extension of the system of primary education. If that was made free, my Lord, as I have said 32 lakhs of rupees would not be a heavy burden, but it is felt that the burden may be very much heavier. But would it really be so? What I feel, my Lord, is this, that taking the middle classes, even the lower middle classes, they will not readily avail themselves of the free education in the primary schools. It is a very ancient practice in my country, a practice which has been laid down in the Institutes of Manu, that education can be had

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only through three channels which must be in the home of the *Guru*, *viz.*, that you can only receive education either by serving your teacher or by giving him adequate wealth or by giving him knowledge in exchange. That is the ideal of the middle classes in India, so that it need not be feared that they would take advantage of the free schools and would make the cost of maintaining the free schools prohibitive.

“ Then, my Lord, the only community that will come to our free schools are the depressed classes; the masses of ignorant humanity in India who are more or less lying submerged today. They constitute, my Lord, as grave a danger to the State as to the people. I will quote one instance of this ignorance to this Council which was within my personal knowledge. I believe it was about fifteen or sixteen years ago when the Hooghly was being bridged over near the station known as Chinsurah. My Lord, it was a great engineering feat and to the ignorant and the superstitious it seems almost profanation to bind the waters of the river which had crushed the pride of the elephant of Hindu mythology, who was the carrier of the God of thunder. It was a feat not to be lightly thought of, and the people believed that hundreds and thousands of men were being sacrificed and their heads were being cut off and carried to the river to be put under the piers to give the bridge stability, so that the river Goddess might appreciate the gift and let the piers remain, and I know that ignorant people were afraid to go out at nights, lest they might be seized and their heads cut off and thrown under the piers of the Hooghly.

“ My Lord, the other day only my Hon'ble friend Sir Herbert Risley in moving for the adoption of the Press Bill—now the Press Act—told a story of the poisoning of wells, how it was believed by illiterate masses that the great Sircar was poisoning the wells in order to kill unwary and ignorant peasants and artisans. If there was more knowledge I am quite sure that such a story would never have been believed. I therefore feel, and I am quite sure the Council and your Excellency's Government also feel, that it is a matter of imperative necessity that this dense mass of ignorance that prevails amongst our people should be removed, or at least partially lifted. My Lord, it has been the greatest reproach of the civilization of India that that civilization had not tried to do anything for the great masses inhabiting India. Knowledge, my Lord, was the privilege of the few. It is now the heritage of the many. The great boast, the just pride, of British rule is that it has thrown open the doors of knowledge wide to all sections of the community—Brahmin or Pariah; but, my Lord, though the doors are theoretically open to them, I respectfully submit they are practically as much closed today and as much sealed as in the days of Manu when molten lead would be

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thrown into the ears of the venturesome Sudra who had accidentally overheard the recitation of the Vedas. The punishment is not there but the disability practically continues, and with that disability the ignorance continues, and with that ignorance, my Lord, much of the best material in the country lies waste and runs to seed; for who is there who can say that the laws of genius, laws which give birth to great men and benefactors of humanity, confine the birth of these men to the upper or the middle classes? My Lord, the history of the world has been otherwise. The great teacher of Christianity came from humble fishermen, and the instances might be multiplied. I say it would be the best investment possible to give as wide an education as we can command to as large a circle as we can bring within the area of education, for we do not know but that the money that is spent today may be paid to us tenfold in time to come. The invention of what is known as the Bessemer process has led to a saving in the manufacture of steel of millions of money, and the artificial indigo of Germany, which has threatened the natural industry in our country, has brought in an enormous revenue to the people in Germany, and it is quite possible, my Lord—I will not repeat the old and familiar lines of the poet which come into my mind just now—that from amongst this mass of humanity there may rise a Newton or a Shakespeare or a Bethoven or a great discoverer in science or art, and then, my Lord, all the money you put forward in this scheme will be repaid tenfold. My Hon'ble friend the Home Member has said that no definite scheme was laid down by Mr. Gokhale for the consideration of Government; but it is difficult, my Lord, to lay down a definite scheme. I think my Hon'ble friend Mr. Gokhale has done what is only proper. He has only just indicated the lines upon which the movement should take place. I believe he would be very sanguine, and we would be very sanguine, if we did expect a Commission to be constituted at once which would go forth all over India as my Hon'ble friend the Home Member says. We feel there are difficulties in connection with this question, but we should put on one side the advantages and on the other side the financial difficulties, and the difficulties which my Hon'ble friend Mr. Chitnavis has put forward, the difficulties created by ignorance and superstition, and have them carefully sifted. The pros and cons of all matters in this connection have got to be taken into careful consideration. For this purpose, having regard to the great interest at stake in which both the State and the country are vitally concerned, is it too much to ask, instead of putting forward definite proposals which might be rejected and with which fault might be found, that a Commission should be constituted composed of official and non-official members to go into the subject carefully and to reject the proposal if they come to the conclusion that it is impracticable and to give it a shape if they consider it feasible; that is our proposal.

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“ My Lord, the Finance Member the other day levied his taxes, I won't say with a light heart but with a skill which nearly made us forget the burden he was imposing on us. Will he not temper the wind to the shorn lamb ?

“ What has been done for the masses, my Lord ? You have given them protection of life ; you have given them protection of property. But the highest gift that lies in your power, namely, that of unlocking the chambers of their mind, which have remained under a heavy seal for unknown centuries, has not been bestowed on them. Will you not extend to them that gift ? ”

The Hon'ble SIR HAROLD STUART said :—“ When I received a copy of the resolution which is before the Council I proceeded to collect material to enable me to take part in the discussion. I assumed both from the terms of the resolution and from the remarks which have fallen from the Hon'ble Mover on previous occasions in this Council that we should be urged to remit at once all fees levied in primary schools, and that was the subject to which I intended principally to address myself. But, Sir, the line which the Hon'ble Mover has taken in introducing his resolution has put me in a position which recalls an old Cambridge story of the undergraduate who having crammed up the proof of the Binomial Theorem found to his discomfiture that the examiner had departed from custom and not set that question. The candidate, however, was determined to display the knowledge he had gained with so much labour, so in answer to the question ‘ Describe the action of the Common Pump ’ he began ‘ Before describing the action of the Common Pump it is first necessary to prove the Binomial Theorem ’.

“ Well, Sir, I hope I shall not be quite so irrelevant, for the remitting of school fees is evidently still regarded with favour in some quarters, and it is, I think, important that the Council should be reminded of the earlier pronouncements of the Hon'ble Mover on the subject of elementary education. I will take first his statement in the Budget Debate of 1906. This is what he said :—

‘ What is needed is a clear aim and a resolute pursuit of that aim in a feeling of faith and with enthusiasm for the cause.

‘ The first step is to make primary education free in all schools throughout the country, and that can be done at once. The total receipts from fees in primary schools throughout India in 1901-1902 were only 30½ lakhs, so the sacrifice will not be very great.’

“ His programme then was compulsory and free primary education throughout the country for both boys and girls, in 20 years or so.

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“Sir Arundel Arundel adopted a cautious attitude towards the Hon'ble Member's proposal for the remission of fees in primary schools. He said—

‘The hope and aspiration of the Hon'ble Member for universal free primary education is one that must meet with wide sympathy, and would be kept in view as the distant peak to be one day attained, while the work of the present must be slow progress along the plain.’

“That speech, I may remark parenthetically, received somewhat ungenerous treatment from the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in the 1907 debate, for Sir Arundel was a warm friend of education throughout his long service.

“Sir Edward Baker, then the Finance Member, expressed great interest in the proposal for making primary education free, but added that he was wholly unconvinced that the cost of it would be anywhere in the neighbourhood of 30 lakhs of rupees per annum.

“The sympathy expressed by both these Members of the Government was no lip sympathy, and when the Government moved to Simla they gave their very careful consideration to the proposal and eventually addressed Local Governments in the circular letter of the 22nd November 1906 which has already been published.

“The tone of that letter is distinctly optimistic, but the Government of India were careful to point out a number of directions in which the cost of carrying the proposal into effect might be very largely increased, and they concluded with an express statement that their future action would depend upon whether the replies of Local Governments were favourable upon whether the probable cost was found to approximate to their estimate; and upon whether the financial circumstances would permit of an assignment of funds for the immediate cost of the scheme.

“In his speech in the Budget Debate in 1907 the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale declared that this circular letter showed unequivocally that the Government of India had already made up its mind to adopt the measure. I am afraid I cannot accept that description of the letter as altogether accurate. The Government of India had undoubtedly shown that they desired to adopt the measure, but they made it clear that their decision would depend upon the opinions of the Local Governments, upon the estimated amount of the cost, and upon the state of the finances of the Government of India. Not one of these conditions is favourable. The majority of the Local Governments consulted are opposed to the proposal; the estimated cost of carrying it out greatly exceeds the 30½ lakhs mentioned by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale,

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and the financial circumstances are such that not only is it impossible to remove any burdens, but it has been necessary to impose extra taxation in order to make both ends meet.

“ Nine Local Governments were consulted. The Madras Government regard the proposal as a form of relief which will naturally tend to the greater spread of elementary education. The Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province also accepts the proposal, but agriculturists in that province are already exempt from fees for education in the primary classes and the amount of fees collected is under Rs. 3,000 per annum. Those are the only two provinces—as widely separated in the degree of educational advancement as in the matter of distance—which definitely accept the proposal. There is a third province from which the answer is somewhat uncertain, namely, Eastern Bengal and Assam. The Lieutenant-Governor is fully in sympathy with the desire to abolish fees, but he insists that this must be accompanied by an improvement in the schools and their teachers, the estimated cost of which is so large as to render it impracticable.

“ The other Local Governments are definitely opposed to the abolition of fees. The first and main ground of opposition is that the money could be better spent upon extending and improving schools than in remitting fees. It is urged that elementary education should be made general before it is made free. The argument is that when it is made general it can be made compulsory, and only when it is made compulsory is it necessary to make it free. It is contended that under the present system no boy or girl is denied admission to a school by reason of inability to pay the fees, since there is a liberal system of remission of fees on the ground of poverty. Finally it is argued that until schools are generally provided it is unfair to tax the man who has no school within reach of his children in order that those who are more favourably situated may obtain education for nothing. These are the main arguments, but others of less importance have also been advanced; such as that the abolition of fees would benefit chiefly the well-to-do; would dry up the springs of private liberality; would remove from the teacher a valuable incentive to increase the school attendance; would encourage irregularity of attendance, since the parent would no longer be losing something that he had paid for; and would result in all schools, except a few, becoming Government schools. Now all these objections, both major and minor, have weight, and it would be necessary to consider them very carefully if there were any prospect of the Government of India being able to finance the project.

“ But I need not labour the case against the remission of fees, for the Hon'ble Member has himself abandoned his original proposal. In 1906 the

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first step in the development of primary education was to make it free ; and that step was to be taken at once. In 1907 that policy is again put in the forefront of the educational programme. But in 1910 the remission of fees is to be postponed to that somewhat distant time when it will be possible to make education compulsory, and even then the remission is to be only partial. The Hon'ble Member has discovered that the great and pressing and immediate need is neither free education nor compulsory education but a steady expansion of the facilities for primary education.

“ There is another minor inconsistency which I may notice. The Hon'ble gentleman has today urged that the Budget head of Education should be made a divided head in order to give the Government of India more control and more responsibility. We are bidden to adopt centralization and the divided head. But I seem to remember that in his evidence before the Decentralization Commission he said that there should be no divided heads either of revenue or expenditure.

“ I have no desire to insist unduly on the virtues of consistency, but the Hon'ble Member's self-sacrificing enthusiasm in the cause of education gives him great influence and clothes his opinions with great authority. It seems to me wise, therefore, that we should bear in mind these somewhat rapid and confusing changes in the Hon'ble Member's views.

“ A cautious attitude towards his proposals on the present occasion is the more necessary because I fear that he has greatly under-estimated the cost of them. His method is very simple. The number of children of school-going age is estimated in England at 15 per cent. of the population, but that is based on a seven years course. For a four years course, such as he contemplates for India, the population of a school-going age would, he says, be only 12 per cent. Now 3 per cent. of the male population of India are already at school, and the annual cost of primary schools for boys is 136 lakhs. By a simple arithmetical sum therefore, the additional cost required is three times that amount, or 408 lakhs, and the total expenditure on boys' primary education will be 544 lakhs per annum. In one point I think the Hon'ble Member has over-estimated his strict requirements. According to the ages recorded at the Census as adjusted by that distinguished Actuary, Mr. Hardy, the proportion of boys at the ages 6 to 9 is 10 per cent. of the male population and not 12 per cent. as suggested by the Hon'ble Member. I may mention here that according to the same authority the number, of boys at the ages 6 to 11 inclusive form 15 per cent. of the male population and the number at the ages 6 to 13 form 19 per cent.

“ The male population of India at the last Census was 118 millions. We have, therefore, to find primary education for about 11,800,000 boys. The

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Hon'ble Member's calculation assumes that efficient primary education, when made general, can be given at the present rate of cost. I doubt if he would maintain that position if pressed, for it is certain that as primary education becomes general it must become public. The cost of each boy in a public primary school is now Rs. 5 per annum, while in the private primary schools it is only Rs. 3 per annum. But no one seriously believes that even Rs. 5 per annum would cover the cost of an efficient education. In Bombay, where primary education is probably more efficient than in any other province, the cost per head in public schools is Rs. 7 per annum. This cost is steadily increasing, and we certainly should not be safe in framing an estimate on any lower basis than Rs. $7\frac{1}{2}$ per annum. That brings our total estimate for boys alone to 8 crores and 85 lakhs as against the Hon'ble Member's 5 crores and 44 lakhs. This is on the assumption of a four years' course, but here again I am confident that India will be bound to follow the example of other countries and provide a course of at least six years. Japan is meditating that change already, for it has found that four years at school is altogether too short a period. Mr. Sharpe tells us in his excellent account of education in Japan that it is found at the examination of the new conscripts each year that those who quitted school at the end of the ordinary course of four years are practically illiterate by the time they reach the age for service. All the education authorities are agreed, he says, that the present course of four years is too short, and that it ought to be extended by at least two years. That increases the estimate by 50 per cent. and brings it up to $13\frac{1}{4}$ crores.

"So far, however, we have taken no account of the expenditure on primary education for girls. In 1906 the Hon'ble Member contemplated the free primary education throughout the country of both boys and girls being worked up to in a period of 20 years. That was also his programme in 1907. But the girls are now left out of his calculations altogether and he contents himself with saying that there must be more rapid progress with female education. I do not believe that we can neglect the primary education of girls when we once make a start in introducing anything like a general system of education for boys. We ought, therefore, to add at least 10 crores to the estimate in order to provide for female primary education. This makes the total estimate $23\frac{1}{4}$ crores. I doubt if even that is sufficient, for it takes no account of the growth of population or of the cost of supplying school-books, stationery, etc., and there must be heavy expenditure on buildings. The cost of primary education in Japan when Mr. Sharpe wrote was rather over 3 millions sterling, and I may mention incidentally that practically the whole of this sum was provided by local rates. If the course is extended to six years, the cost will presumably be £4,500,000. That is the cost for a population

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of 45 millions. The corresponding cost for the British Indian population of 232 millions would be £23,000,000, which is half as much again as the estimate that I have given.

“Nor will this be the only expenditure on education. With the advance in primary education there must also be an advance in secondary, and university, and technical education. Those branches cannot be left stationary, and the funds required for them cannot be left out of our account.

“Now I do not make these criticisms in any hostile or carping spirit. The progress of the development of primary education in India must be quickened, and personally I welcome everything that has been said with a view to securing that object. But let us state the problem completely and face it squarely. A grossly inefficient system of education is almost worse than useless. The course of instruction must be sufficiently long and our schools must be well-housed, well-equipped and well-staffed. The cost of doing all that will be very large and the problem of finding the funds is a difficult one. But it is the duty of statesmen to overcome difficulties, and I do not think that we need be daunted even by the estimate which I have framed. It means of course more taxation, but as the industries of this great country develop, as they are bound to develop, we may contemplate additional taxation without misgiving. It will probably take more than 20 years to reach the goal, but I join heartily in the Hon'ble Member's desire to quicken the pace towards that goal. I feel confident that the discussion which he has initiated today will do much to secure that acceleration, and that when, some 30 or 40 years hence, the history of primary education in India comes to be written, no small part of the merit will be assigned to the self-sacrificing efforts of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale.”

The Hon'ble MR. N. SUBBA RAO said:—“My Lord, I beg to support the resolution which has been placed before the Council with such marked ability by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. He has dealt with the question so comprehensively and with such wealth of detail that it is unnecessary for me to detain the Council at any length.

“There are some striking facts, my Lord, in connection with this question that must arrest our attention.

“The first point is that every civilized country in the West is vying with each other in its endeavour to strengthen its national efficiency by equipping its young to hold its ground in the international race for supremacy and is spending its utmost in providing them with the best type of elementary education.

Learning has come to be regarded as the highest asset of a nation and the moneys laid out in the cause of elementary education as the best and most profitable form of investment which a country can make. General education is recognized to be the foundation of all forms of national activity and national development. Not satisfied with enforcing a 'national' minimum of school training and individual attainment for its young, each State is raising that minimum by extending the scope of elementary education. Not content with compelling each boy and girl to learn at schools provided for them, the best minds of the country are giving their attention to the question as to how to develop the latent possibilities inherent in each child and how to make him realize the nobler self hidden in him. New problems are being grappled with, such as, how to protect those who leave school at 13 or 14, and make them useful citizens of society. Japan within a short period of forty years has equipped herself with a complete system of compulsory elementary education and has come into line with Western countries in national efficiency.

"In contrast to this, when we come to India, we are struck with its backward state. Here the State has not yet even begun to consider the question of making elementary education compulsory. The Hon'ble Sir Harvey Adamson has stated that the attitude of the Government towards this question is one of non-committal and that the Government is prepared to give its careful consideration to the subject. This is no doubt a statesmanlike and proper position to take, as the Government has not yet examined the various aspects of the question.

"I submit, my Lord, that the condition of this country urgently calls for such a measure. Four out of every five boys do not know how to read and write, and four out of every five villages are not provided with a school. Apart from other considerations, such ignorance is a danger to the Government itself. It hampers the effective usefulness of various departments of the State and the intentions and acts of the Government are misunderstood. The present rate of progress is indeed very slow and the sums spent on elementary education are comparatively small. The total amount spent on education from all sources is nearly five and half crores; out of this, the amount contributed by the State is nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores, *i.e.*, one and half annas per head of population, and the amount spent on elementary education is $1\frac{1}{8}$ crores, *i.e.*, about 9 pies per head of population; whereas England spends on education in general 6s., France 5s. 4d., Germany 4s., Austria 2s., and so on. We may easily conceive how many many times more other countries are spending on elementary education.

"The Hon'ble Sir Harvey Adamson has drawn the attention of the Council to the numerous demands on the purse of the Government which it is

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unable to meet. I may say that I have not the heart to blame the Government for the present state of things. It has to maintain a costly army and costly civil establishments. Out of about £50 millions, which we may roughly estimate as the revenue of the State, £19½ millions go to the army, and another £19 for the expenses of civil establishments and civil miscellaneous expenses, and £8 millions for the expenses of collection; what is left is not sufficient to meet the growing demands of the State.

“The next point that arrests our attention is the attitude of the people towards State education. In the West private individuals and private bodies voluntarily co-operate with the State in spending large sums of money in the cause of education. The recent Commission of twenty-six educationists from different parts of England, organized at great expense and trouble by Mr. Mosley to examine the educational system of the United States with a view to improve the state of education in England, is a striking instance of the patriotism and zeal on the part of a private individual, one of the rank and file of England's sons who place their country's weal before their personal convenience. I was reading the other day a statement of the Superintendent of Public Schools in the City of New York to the effect that a sum of 70 crores was placed at his disposal annually for purposes of education and that if he needed more he would get it for the asking. The passion and enthusiasm for education on the part of the people in some of the Western countries is something remarkable. Mr. W. H. Dawson in his book on the evolution of modern Germany quotes Mr. Friedrich Dernburg as follows:—

‘The true ambition of the masses of the German nation is less for economic amelioration and material advantage than for education. The masses of the people see in education endless perspectives; their thirst for knowledge, like their ambition, impels them to the one aim, to be educated.’

“Speaking of Japan, Professor Sharp writes that ‘all classes seem to concur in making provision for every form of instruction, whilst one is told everywhere that the children *insist* on going to school’.

“In contrast to this, the people at large in this country look askance at the educational efforts of the State. There is not that passion and that enthusiasm for the system of State education as we find in other countries. The contributions made in the cause of education are few and far between. The magnificent endowments of the late Mr. Tata and a few others can be counted on our fingers and are exceptions to the general lack of enthusiasm in this country.

“Thus we find that the Government in this country is circumscribed in its resources and the people are not at one with the State in its educational efforts. What then shall we do to improve the present situation, which is certainly not encouraging ?

“I submit that it is absolutely necessary to make a beginning in introducing compulsory education in this country. Else we cannot hope to see rapid progress in the spread of elementary education. If we go on on the lines on which we have been doing so long, our progress will be very slow indeed. The Hon'ble Mr. Chitnavis points out certain difficulties ; such difficulties were always present and had to be met in countries where compulsory education was introduced, and they were successfully overcome ; so it will be here. It must be remembered that at first moral persuasion would be used and it would take many many years before primary education is made compulsory throughout this vast country.

“Further, as an effective means for the rapid spread of education, I would suggest, my Lord, that the Government should make determined efforts to enlist the co-operation of the people in the cause of education. The people of this country value knowledge and from ancient times they are known to regard the gift of knowledge as the most efficacious of all forms of charity. The famous despatch of 1854 bears testimony to this responsive attitude on the part of the people and points out that ‘throughout all ages, learned Hindus and Mahomedans have devoted themselves to teaching with little other remuneration than a bare subsistence, and munificent bequests have not unfrequently been made for the permanent endowment of educational institutions’. If so, how shall we account for the sullen aloofness of the people towards State education, leaving it to the Government to solve this difficult problem in its own way ? The reason, it appears to me, is that the attitude of the Government is also one of aloofness towards the people in regard to its educational policy, which does not touch their imagination or rouse their enthusiasm, and the officers of the Government cannot be said to view with a friendly eye the activities of the people in their attempts to build up a system of national education suited to their wants.

“My Lord, I am sorry to observe that in working out its policy and framing its educational codes, the Government has not taken into account the traditions and ideals of the people, their environment and their requirements. One model is laid down by the Government to which all schools in the country must conform, if they desire to receive aid and seek inspection from the Department.

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The result is that numerous unrecognized private institutions, not necessarily religious, have to stand apart from Government regulations and Government aid. The doors of the University are closed against the pupils of these institutions unless they go through the mills recognized by the Government. Thus, my Lord, the stream of national educational activity and that of the Government run in distinct channels and there is no co-ordination between them. I am constrained to say that under the circumstances the feeling is coming upon the people that there is no use in looking to the Government and their educational experts to devise a system of education which is in close touch with their daily life and which will be a source of inspiration to those that come under its influence. I submit that there is an awakening among the people to the present situation, though dim it may be at present. They are deeply impressed by what Japan has accomplished within so short a time. The question, my Lord, is whether the Government will take advantage of the new spirit of self-help that is perceptible in the country and utilize the new forces to supplement its efforts, or leave the people to work out their salvation in their own way and according to their lights. The despatch above referred to points out that 'as a Government, we can do no more than direct the efforts of the people and aid them wherever they appear to require most assistance.' I submit that if there is to be a large and rapid advance in general education, it is necessary that the attitude of the Government towards private effort which does not conform to the Government codes should be one of whole-hearted co-operation and helpfulness, and that its endeavours should be directed to kindle national ideals and enlist the aid of the people in the spread of national education suited to the traditions and requirements of the people. The Government calls on us to co-operate with it. I hope it is not too much to ask the Government to co-operate with the people in this matter.

"These and other questions intimately connected with the resolution require consideration. I submit that it is necessary to appoint a Commission as suggested in the resolution."

The Hon'ble MR. ORANGE said:—"The Hon'ble Sir Harvey Adamson has explained that official members who follow him will be speaking only for themselves. I avail myself of the liberty so conferred upon me to say that, in my opinion, the Hon'ble Member who moved this resolution, with an eloquence and a breadth of vision that we all admire, has made out an overwhelming case. I do not say that he has made out an overwhelming case for the fourteen points of his programme or that he has demonstrated the immediate necessity of remitting fees or enacting compulsion. But

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he has given a general survey of the progress that we have made in the education of the people of India for the past few generations and has asked us most impressively to consider whether we are satisfied with it. Are we content to remain where we are; are we satisfied with the rate at which we are progressing, and ought we to be satisfied? To these questions the Hon'ble Member answers No, and I also most emphatically answer No.

"In dealing with the subject he has touched more topics than it will be possible for any one speaker to discuss in a short speech. Besides the remission of fees and the enactment of tentative measures of compulsion, he has proposed to throw our administrative system for the control and finance of education into the melting-pot, and has suggested important measures of local and imperial taxation. It is quite certain that all of these proposals will meet with criticism, and it is probable that some at any rate will not survive. The first impression which his speech has produced upon my own mind is, that studiously uncontentious though his tone was, he has yet loaded his cause with so much controversial matter as to run into the danger of being washed down by the gulfs of hostile criticism, so that he may never touch the happy isles for which he sets his course. Education has not progressed very fast as yet in this country; and if, in order to press it forward, we are now to attack railway finance, raid the famine insurance fund, increase the salt-tax, increase local rates, set the policeman to fetch the children to school, and embroil ourselves with the Local Governments by invading their powers of management, I am afraid that education may pick more quarrels than it can comfortably manage. However that may be, the Hon'ble Sir Harvey Adamson has promised the Hon'ble Member that his suggestions shall be considered. That is obviously all that could possibly have been promised at the present stage; and I will now briefly contribute to the discussion on the remission of fees and the enactment of compulsion.

"No one has yet mentioned exactly where we stand now with respect to the supply of free primary education. Those who do not know might suppose, from our being urged to make a beginning of free primary education, that we have at present a system by which fees are universally charged. This of course is very far from being the case. In primary schools for girls it is the exception to charge a fee, and most girls receive their primary education free. Boys are taught free in the monasteries of Burma and in the lower primary schools of Assam. The sons of agriculturists in the Punjab receive their education free. There are, in all parts of India, free schools for aborigines or depressed classes, and in addition to this there are, in every province, rules for

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admitting a portion of the boys free, whether 10, 15, or 20 per cent., as the case may be. Thus there is very liberal provision for remitting fees of boys who cannot pay, and in the Bombay Presidency, for instance, it has been stated by the Director that no case has ever been brought to his notice of a child being refused admission to a school because he was too poor to pay the fee. If we are to make a fresh departure we cannot do so by beginning to admit some boys to school without payment of fees, for that we do already in every part of India, but by beginning to act on the principle of charging no fees to any children whether they can afford to pay or not. Several speakers have given correctly the figures showing the total cost of the primary schools and the total amount of the fees in boys' primary schools, namely, 32 lakhs per annum. The rates of fee have, however, not yet been mentioned; they range from nothing up to 8 annas a month, but this maximum of 8 annas is very seldom charged. A boy pays from $\frac{1}{2}$ anna to 1 anna a month in some provinces, in others he pays up to 2 or 3 annas, and sometimes, but not often, he pays up to 4 annas a month. The average fee in all the boys' primary schools is 14 annas annually for each boy. A primary school upon the average costs from all sources a little under R4 per annum for each scholar, and of this sum 14 annas is contributed by the boy by way of fee, about 7 annas is produced by what are called private subscriptions, and the balance, *viz.*, R2-8, is met from public funds.

"The fees paid in girls' primary schools average $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas yearly for each girl and amount to a total of R68,000.

"I believe that many Members of the Council when they see the correspondence which is to be published will be disposed to wonder not with the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy why the Government do not immediately order the abolition of fees, but rather why they went so far as to say earlier in the session that the remission of fees was a measure of relief well worthy of consideration at some future time. The combined estimates given by the Local Governments put the cost of the measure at 231 lakhs annually besides 250 lakhs non-recurring; and you will say that this would surely be too heavy a price to pay for shifting from the parents to the tax-payer a burden which figures in our statistics only as 32 or 33 lakhs of rupees per annum. But the explanation is that some of the estimates have treated as one and indistinguishable the cost of remitting fees and the cost of bringing schools within the reach of all; and not only so, but they include also the cost of overhauling the existing schools, paying the teachers better and rebuilding the schools. Well, these are excellent objects, but clearly they are something different from remit-

ting fees. Strip the term 'free education' of these extraneous operations, and the remission of fees shrinks once more to manageable proportions. It does not extend schools, it does not improve them, but it relieves the parent at the cost of the tax-payer. The practical question therefore is, out of a limited sum of money which do you prefer to do—to extend education or to relieve the parent? I am not by any means against the principle of free primary education, and I am disposed to think that anything like universal primary education in this country would be incompatible with the retention of fees but speaking of the immediate present, I would define the position in this way. If anyone said, Here are sixty or eighty lakhs; shall we remit fees, or shall we remit some other tax or burden? We are determined to remit something; shall it be fees or something else? I should say, Remit fees. But, if anyone said, Here are sixty or eighty lakhs; shall they be devoted to the improvement and extension of schools, or shall we remit fees? I should say, Give the money to the schools; improve the schools you have; build new schools; extend the facilities; conserve your resources. Let us not interfere with the local discretion which already exists among District Boards and Municipalities to carry out from their own resources the partial or entire remission of fees; but this is a very different thing from asserting, by a resolution in this Council, that Government is now to begin to do this, or to compel others to do it.

"I turn now to the other part of the resolution in which we are asked to make a beginning of compulsory education. This means that parents should be compelled by law and by penalty to send their children to school; and it necessarily implies that there should be within their reach a school to which the children could be sent. Thus there are two steps, first, that someone should be compelled to provide sufficient schools to accommodate all the children who are of an age to attend school; second, that the parents of such children should be compelled to cause their children to attend. So far as I know, this is the first occasion upon which the proposal, which is one of the highest importance, has been discussed in this Council. We have never ascertained the opinions of Local Governments on it, and we have no records to show that Government has discussed it before now. So far as India is concerned, it is a question without a past.

"It is natural, therefore, to turn for a moment, as the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has done, to English example. The English Elementary Education Act was passed in 1870; and its first and chief enactment was to compel every district in England, whether urban or rural, to provide a sufficient amount of accommodation in public elementary schools for all the children resident in the district.

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If this was done by voluntary action, well and good ; if not, public bodies were set up, whose duty it was to make the necessary provision. This was not compulsory education, but compulsory provision of schools. At first there was no law at all for compelling children to go to school in those areas which were sufficiently served by voluntary schools ; but by a succession of laws, which were spread over ten years, this principle was gradually extended, and made universal, by compelling the school boards to make bye-laws for compulsory school attendance, and by setting up in the districts which were not provided with school boards, other bodies having the duty of enforcing school attendance. The Act of 1870 was not a free Education Act ; that did not come till twenty-one years later ; but the Act of 1870 provided that where children were too poor to pay the fees, the fees might be paid for them by the poor law authorities, and the Act also allowed free schools to be built in poor districts ; in other words, the enactment of 1870 as regards fees accorded pretty closely with what we have in India today.

“ Now that was the actual course of legislation in England ; compulsory provision of schools first, then compulsory attendance, then remission of fees all round. But I would remark two things about this Act. First, that it was the culmination of many years of Parliamentary effort ; second, that the provision of schools, and the habit of school attendance, were, at the time that the Act was passed, and had been for years, very much more general in England than they are now in India. Consider how we stand ; one boy in five and one girl in twenty-five at school ; and what is the chief cause of our deficiencies ? Later on we may reach a stratum in which the apathy of the people will be the chief cause obstructing the further progress of school attendance, but that is not so today. The immediate cause which prevents the expansion of school attendance is the want of school provision. In the Bombay Presidency the Government report that there are 100,000 boys ready to come to school if schools were provided for them ; and the annual reports on public instruction in other provinces commonly tell us that the demand for schools is far in excess of the supply.

“ Now this being the condition of affairs, I see no use in nibbling at compulsion of parents to send their children to school. For the present, as fast as you can open schools, you will get children to fill them ; and what we require is the extension of facilities rather than the enactment of compulsion. As to compulsion, I do not know whether it will come later or not. Wise men exhaust persuasion before they begin to talk of compulsion ; and we are at present so far from having exhausted persuasion, that we cannot take in all the children who are knocking at the door and demanding admission.

“ Was it not a wise committee which reported as follows in Bombay? The committee contained among its members the Hon'ble Sir Vithaldas Thackersey and Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta, and after considering for two years the measures which should be adopted to further the spread of education in the city of Bombay, it reported :—

first, that the time has not come for the introduction of compulsory education ;

second, that it is neither necessary nor desirable to remit fees where they are charged already ;

and then proceeded to make recommendations for increased provision of schools and teachers, and free schools for the depressed classes.

“ ‘ Increased provision of schools ’ was their conclusion, and it is mine. This means increased provision of funds. I have heard with very great pleasure the speeches which have been made by non-official members, both in this and in previous debates, urging the necessity for much larger expenditure upon education. As the Hon'ble Mr. Meston has pointed out, it would be a mistake to suppose that we have on the one hand a band of eager non-official members of this Council pressing for increased expenditure upon education, and upon the other side a stern Government saying No. In their last authoritative pronouncement on the subject the Government of India said, six years ago :—

‘ On a general view of the question the Government of India cannot avoid the conclusion that primary education has hitherto received insufficient attention and an inadequate share of the public funds. They consider that it possesses a strong claim upon the sympathy both of the Supreme Government and of the Local Governments, and should be made a leading charge upon provincial revenues.’

“ We have also been reminded today of the words used by the Hon'ble the Finance Member when introducing his budget, as to the claims on the part of education which were waiting to be met. Those were not idle words. We stand, therefore, at a point where official and non-official opinion, though it may differ as to the measures to be taken here and now, is in agreement as to the end which we desire to attain. We desire to see, if not in every village, at any rate within reach of every village, a school ; not an exotic, but a village school in which the village itself can take pride, and of which the first purpose will be to train up good men and women and good citizens ; and the second purpose to impart useful knowledge, not forgetting, while doing this, to train the eye and the hand, so that the children when they leave school, whether for the

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field or the workshop, will have begun to learn the value of accurate observation and to feel the joy of intelligent and exact manual work. The fact is that we have not yet fully faced the question of what that will cost. We increase the expenditure from time to time according to the possibilities of the moment, and we remove those deficiencies which are most glaring. In my opinion, the stage which we should next endeavour to reach is one in which the increase of our expenditure will become less a matter of chance and more a matter of calculation, that we may put before ourselves some defined standard up to which we may hope within some reasonable and not too distant limit of time to arrive in the diffusion of educational facilities; that the cost of reaching this point may be more or less definitely ascertained, and that the provision of the funds required may become part of a settled financial policy. I should not rest the case for such a policy merely upon considerations of the material prosperity of the country, for there are greater issues than that involved in the adequate performance of the public duty of training the young of this country. But even if the case rested solely upon material considerations, those who know best the present difficulties which beset the improvement of agriculture among an insufficiently instructed peasantry, or the building up of great industries with the labour of illiterate artisans, advise us that when we do face the cost of a great system of popular education in this country, we shall find the expenditure on it to be not wholly, and not ultimately, unproductive."

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur R. N. MUDHOLKAR said:—"My Lord, it is a matter of great pleasure to non-official members, who for years have been working in the cause of education, to hear to such sympathetic speeches as those of the Hon'ble Sir Harvey Adamson and the Hon'ble Mr. Orange. Mr. Orange's speech was one which I quite expected after having read his Quinquennial Report, in which it is pointed out that even with the very large increase in expenditure which Government have been making in recent years it would take some generations, even if the population remained stationary, for us to attain the end we have in view. My Lord, if anything has established a case for the kind of remission which the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has asked for, it is the very sympathetic admissions made by the Hon'ble Sir Harvey Adamson, who acknowledged that our education is very far back. He admitted the need for proceeding at a greater pace; he admitted that there were various questions which were deserving of consideration which could not be disposed of offhand without very great deliberation. Well the question of the necessity for increased expenditure on education and of greater expansion of education is admitted by all. This is not the first time that the question of primary education comes before the Government. The Hon'ble Mr. Orange has just read a portion from

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the Resolution of 1904. We have got all these statements made by administrators in the highest position, and if the scope for expansion of education is made out, if it is found that in other countries there has been both material and moral improvement in all the different sections of the community by education being made universal, and if it is found that no harm has resulted in any other country, is not a case of a similar character for universal education made out for India? All that has to be considered is to find out the ways and means, to find out how we are to make a beginning, and what actual steps have to be taken. Well in regard to that I submit that Government will derive very great advantage by the appointment of a Commission though it is characterised as a roving Commission. After all it is only these roving Commissions which can supply us with information on which important Acts of the legislature have to be framed and administrative policy has to be adopted. They would afford materials to the Government on which a real beginning could be made for bringing to every person who stands in need of education that education without which ignorance, which is the parent of so much penury and misery, cannot be removed. My Lord, in our Province the Government has, in the Agricultural Department, been issuing very useful tracts, pamphlets and leaflets giving information in regard to manures, improved implements, improved methods of tillage, selection of seeds, and so on, but the persons for whom they are intended cannot take advantage of these. Over 80 per cent. of them are steeped in ignorance and cannot even read and write. Even from the financial point of view Government would be a gainer. It is quite true that a very large expenditure would have to be incurred. I cannot with the short time I have before me say as to whether Sir Harold Stuart's calculation of 23½ crores or the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's estimate of 5½ lakhs is correct. But it must be admitted that it would be a very large expenditure which would have to be incurred. But it would be an insurance which we would have against famine and against increasing poverty in every direction. My Lord, those who have had any occasion to deal practically with industries know how difficult it is to get our work done intelligently with the kind of materials which we have got. These are matters in regard to which there can be no difference of opinion, and I am not going to waste the time of the Council on that point. My contention is that with the statements issued by the highest administrators from time to time a sufficient case has been made out for not a mere expansion at the present rate but for appointment of a Committee for drawing up a programme which will aim at the eventual establishment in the country of a system of primary education which will carry education home to every person who is of a school-going age. It is said that we are already spending so much on education. Well in England, the richest country in the world, where there is so much of private munificence, out of 88½ millions of the Government revenue,

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17½ millions sterling are spent by the Department of Education, Science and Art. Here, out of 75½ millions sterling, what is spent is £1,892,000. Well the related proportions are there. India is a poor country, and if there is any country in which there is greater need for this kind of education, it is India. My Lord, I only ask to follow in the footsteps of that great country which has served as our ideal and on which all our hopes and our aspirations depend and hope that with the very modest request that my friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, has made the Government will find itself in accordance."

The Hon'ble MR. QUIN said :—" I have listened with the deepest interest and with no small amount of pleasure to the eloquent remarks with which my Hon'ble friend Mr. Gokhale has introduced the resolution which stands in his name.

" rise now to oppose this resolution, and I do this with a very real sense of regret due to the fact that it would give me much pleasure if I were able to convince myself that the stage of educational development at which this country has arrived is a stage at which it would be feasible and desirable to take the great step in advance which has been so enthusiastically advocated by the Hon'ble mover.

" But I find myself altogether unable to attain to such a conviction. Indeed, the more I reflect on the question and the more I become acquainted with the views of others who have studied it, the more clear does it become to me that India is not yet ripe for compulsory education, and that to make a premature attempt at its introduction would be to run a serious risk of throwing back instead of carrying forward the cause with which we are all, I imagine, in sympathy, the great cause of popular education.

" The question brought forward by Mr. Gokhale raises a large number of issues, and this being so it is obviously impossible for any of us in the time at our disposal to comment on the whole of the case set up by the Hon'ble mover. I will therefore confine myself to an attempt to explain to the Council the present position of primary education in Bombay—the province of which I have the honour to be the official representative on this Council—and to show what are the real requirements of the situation—requirements among which we do not include either the introduction of compulsion or the abolition of our fees.

" I will begin with a statement regarding the number of pupils receiving instruction. The Council are aware that the proportion of children of school-

going age to the total population is usually taken at 15 per cent. Well in Bombay I see from the figures for 1908-1909 that about 5 per cent. of the male population and about 1 per cent. of the female population were attending some educational institution or another during that year. In other words, that 66 per cent. of the boys and over 90 per cent. of the girls of school-going age were not attending school at all.

“ For this state of affairs I think three main causes may be assigned :—

- (1) the economic conditions of the country, which render it almost impossible for parents to omit to take advantage of the wage-earning power of their children ;
- (2) the apathy of those large sections of the population to whom education is not a necessity for earning their living and who have not yet come to recognise its value ; and
- (3) the inability of Government through lack of funds to bring education within easy reach of the whole of the population.”

“ The economic difficulty is so obvious and so natural that it needs no explanation, and a very long time will, I fear, elapse before the illiterate and impecunious peasant or labourer will be content to accept the education of his children as an adequate and satisfactory set-off against the wages which they might have earned to aid him in supporting his family.

“ As regards the feelings with which the people look on education, I think it is necessary in the first instance to recognise that we have to deal with two distinct classes of persons.

“ There is on the one hand the class which has come to know the value which education has in their daily life and to desire instruction for their children and to be willing to pay for it. Their number is large, and they are becoming more and more insistent in their demands for school facilities, a fact to which I shall have to make further reference later.

“ But on the other hand we have also the vastly larger class, the real masses of the people, to whom education is but a name, who require no learning of any sort to enable them to earn their livelihood as their fathers earned theirs before them, and whose attitude towards education is that of apathy if not of more or less open obstruction.

“ I should like briefly to illustrate this by mentioning one or two concrete manifestations of it in the Bombay Presidency.

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“The figures of school attendance in the Southern Division show that only 3 per cent. of the children at school belong to the classes to whom education is offered free, while in the Northern and Central Divisions the Koli, the Dhed, the poor Muhammadan and the more penurious of the Kunbi cultivators decline to send their children to school in any considerable numbers, although free education would be given to the extent of at least 30 per cent. of the number under tuition.

“So much for their apathy.

“That they do not always confine themselves to strictly passive resistance is shown by the fact that when during the current year the officers of the Bombay Education Department were taking measures for opening a large number of new schools, the villagers in some places refused positively to allow any house to be lent or rented for a school on the ground that if a school were once set up they would be constantly harassed by all sorts of officers to send their children to it.

“Comment on this would be superfluous.

“I come now to the third main cause of the paucity of attendance at school, and a few figures will show at once how the matter stands.

“In the Bombay Presidency there are over 25,000 towns and villages. Only 7,645 of them have a public school of any kind. In 18,000 villages there is no public school at all, which means practically that in 70 per cent. of the villages of the Bombay Presidency no parents, however much they desire instruction for their children, can send them to a public school for the good and sufficient reason that there is no such school within reach to which to send them.

“Nor is it only small villages which thus suffer from lack of facilities. In the Northern Division there are over 700 villages with a population of more than 500 each which have no school. The Belgaum District of the Southern Division has 257 school-less villages with a population of over 500 each, but perhaps the worst point is reached in West Khandesh, where only 118 villages out of 1,187, less than 10 per cent., have been provided with a school.

“The reason for this scarcity of schools is of course lack of funds. A determined effort is now being made to improve matters in this respect, and the Bombay Government, whose educational expenditure has more than doubled during the last five years, are this year finding funds for the opening of 573 new schools and have set aside a large sum for the improvement of the pay of teachers—an absolutely essential reform.

“ There are many persons, I believe, and it is plain that the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoj is amongst them, who hold that the paucity of attendance at primary schools is to some considerable extent accounted for by the fact that instruction has to be paid for.

“ This point has been fully dealt with by previous official speakers, and I can fully confirm Mr. Orange's statement that there is a practically unanimous consensus of opinion among those officers of the Educational and Revenue Departments, who have been specially consulted in this matter, that the fees are light and are not in practice a deterrent, and further that if the fees were abolished the increase in the attendance would be small, not exceeding 15 per cent., which shows conclusively that it is not the fees which stand in the way of increased attendance.

“ From the considerations which I have mentioned and from what has fallen from the Hon'ble Mr. Chitnavis, it seems to me clear that compulsory education would be extremely unpopular with the masses, and also that a rapid advance from the present situation, when only 3 per cent. of the population are being educated, to universal education would be a very serious, almost indeed a revolutionary, movement. I cannot now discuss these points fully, but I should like just in passing to point out to the Council that the introduction of compulsory education before the country is ripe for it would mean in the first place a long drawn out struggle against deep-seated popular prejudices, an unavoidable waste of public money, and very considerable unproductive expenditure of administrative effort which would be required to make compulsion effective.

“ In a matter which can only be carried out satisfactorily with the co-operation of the people we should be working almost entirely without that co-operation, and we should be giving opportunities for both social and political friction which, it may well be hoped, would be escaped if we waited until, in the fulness of time, we are backed up by a strong public opinion arising from very much greater appreciation of the value of education than is at present to be found among the lower and poorer classes in this country.

“ But it seems to me, also, that the necessity for the immediate introduction of a scheme for gratuitous and compulsory education has not been demonstrated. I hope I have made it clear from the figures I have cited that in the Bombay Presidency at all events there still exist a very large number of areas in which for lack of funds no educational facilities have yet been provided. With the opening of new schools we shall tap sources hitherto untouched and we can look for a very real spread of education through the ordinary working of our present system.

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“Nor indeed would much persuasion be necessary. There is very good reason to believe that if the schools and the teachers could be provided forthwith, we could immediately add 100,000 to the number of pupils in the Bombay Presidency. There is distinct evidence to show that on the part of certain of the upper and middle classes of the population there is a sincere and an increasing desire to obtain facilities for the education of their children, and it is indisputable that the opening of *new* schools will be followed closely by a substantial increase in the number of scholars. The classes referred to, however, are not those which form the great mass of the people, and the existence of an increasing appreciation of the value of education to which I now refer is in no way inconsistent with the almost entire absence of such appreciation among the real masses. There can, however, I think, be little doubt that for many years to come we can continue—if funds are obtainable—to raise very largely the number of pupils in our schools without invoking the aid of compulsion or giving up the revenue which is derived from fees.

“I am myself of opinion that when you can go on largely increasing your school attendance, without compulsion, and without a sacrifice of revenue; when you can raise it, probably, faster than you can find funds for the increased numbers, by means which do not require the introduction of an entirely new principle—a principle revolutionary in its working, and probably incomprehensible and therefore a cause of suspicion to the great majority of the people whom it would affect—then, I say, it is more prudent, more statesmanlike and more really efficacious to postpone compulsion and to continue to work by persuasion and the provision of increased facilities.

“I am of course aware that the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's resolution asks us to recommend only a beginning in the direction of compulsory education, and he suggests that arrangements should be made to throw the responsibility for and the odium of the measure on to the municipal or other local authorities. About this I can only say that in my opinion the scheme will not work. In the first place the Boards do not appreciate the necessity of education, and they would object to saddling themselves with the additional cost—the more so that they are already complaining of the heavy burden of school expenditure. Secondly, it would not in my opinion be possible to transfer from the shoulders of Government the odium which would be aroused by the measure, because the mass of the people would always decline to believe that the Boards were acting independently of Government.

“And lastly it seems to me that the piecemeal introduction of the system would intensify the unfairness which already exists as a result of the

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smallness of the number of existing schools and of their uneven distribution. Hundreds of thousands of individuals are now contributing to the local educational cess for the education of whose children no facilities whatever have been provided, and the inevitable result of Mr. Gokhale's scheme would be that additional public funds would be expended on increasing the facilities which already exist and are availed of largely by the well-to-do, thus leaving less money for providing in other places facilities which are not now in existence but which are urgently required by the poor villagers and which must be supplied if justice is to be done to all cess-payers.

"I have left myself no time to touch on the financial aspect of the scheme, which is of course of the very first importance, and I must leave that for other speakers with this remark only that on the present basis of provincial finance the cost of free and compulsory education would be entirely prohibitive.

"There is now one other matter of considerable interest to which I desire to allude.

"Mr. Orange has told us of the Committee in Bombay City in 1906. He read out two of the resolutions they passed, but I should like to go further and to now read to the Council the conclusions at which the Committee, with one dissentient and one absentee, finally arrived and which they have embodied in their report :

'On the understanding that the first proposition of the Hon'ble Mr. Selby was limited to the City, it was agreed to by all except the Hon'ble Mr. Setalvad. The Committee consider that the present backward state of education among the bulk of the Hindu and Muhammadan population of the City renders it undesirable that compulsory education should be introduced. They feel that it would involve numberless prosecutions and cause endless friction between Government and the people. They consider that there exists now a strong desire on the part of parents to give some degree of education to their children and a willingness to pay the fees at present demanded. Further, they believe that the large number of children shown as not attending school is mainly due to want of school accommodation. They therefore hold that compulsory education is at the present time neither necessary nor desirable.

'The second proposition was passed unanimously, the Committee being satisfied that the fees charged are so low as to be easily paid. They also believe that the majority of parents prefer that some fee should be levied.'

"I leave these findings as they are, without comment, for the consideration of the Council, and I only venture to suggest this further reflection, that if the City of Bombay is not yet ripe for compulsory education, where is the city or the town in India in which the proposed system can safely be given a trial?"

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"And now I will not detain the Council any longer.

"I have the fullest sympathy with the Hon'ble Mover as to the object of his proposals, and I am not ashamed to admit that I find something attractive in his idealism even when it verges on the impatient. But between impatient idealism and practical administration there is a great gulf fixed.

"In this case, I feel it is impossible that that gulf should be bridged, and I must therefore vote against the resolution of my Hon'ble friend."

The Hon'ble PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA said:—"My Lord, the resolution which has been submitted to the Council has been so clearly explained by the Hon'ble Member who has moved it that it comes to me somewhat as a surprise that the aim and object of it should be at all misunderstood. If my friend had begun by saying that compulsion should be introduced today, I could have understood several of the objections which have been urged against the proposal. But Mr. Gokhale has taken great care—the Council will perhaps agree with me in saying that he has taken the greatest possible care—to explain all the practical aspects of the question; he has pointed out that his scheme aims at making compulsion general throughout the country in a period extending over twenty years; he has himself explained that it is impossible, even if we want to do so, to introduce compulsion all over the country at once; he has only urged that a beginning should be made in select areas which should satisfy certain definite conditions, and that the system should be gradually extended. Not only that, but he has urged that even before such a small beginning as he has proposed is actually made, there should be a Commission appointed to work out the details and to prepare a complete scheme. That being so, I submit that the objections which have been urged on the ground that no definite scheme has been suggested must fall to the ground. There is one objection, however, which goes to the root of the matter, and which deserves, therefore, greater consideration. It has been urged that the country is not ripe for compulsory education. No country will ever be ripe for compulsory education unless and until those who are entrusted with its government feel an earnest and active desire to introduce such education. The Hon'ble Mr. Quin has told us that the proper stage has not been reached when compulsion could be introduced. I submit that every country that has emerged from the state of primitive barbarism is fit for a measure of compulsory education. A country like this, where learning has from the earliest times been deeply appreciated, is most undoubtedly and pre-eminently fit for it. Our present administrators have found this country ripe enough for the most advanced measures of reform in the Civil Administration, in the Army Administration, in the matter of the extension and improvement of railways, telegraphs and post offices, in matters affecting public health and sanitation. The element of compulsion has been introduced and is at work in various forms and ways. Vaccination has been compulsory for a long time. And yet it is said that the country is not ripe for the gentle and humane measure of compulsory education, which will seek to rescue the people from the darkness of ignorance, and from its evil concomitants, poverty, misery and crime! My Lord, many of the remarks which have been made against the resolution betray a lack of appreciation of the need and value of compulsory education and of the duty of the State in regard to it. It seems it is thought by some people that it is merely a luxury that it is proposed to secure to the people by making it sure that they shall receive a little elementary education. That is certainly not the correct view. Speaking in 1847 in the House of Commons on the question of education, and adding force to his own weighty

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words by quoting the authority of Adam Smith, Macaulay pointed out, in language which applies to all times and to all countries, the true function of the state in the matter of the education of the mass of the people. Said he:—

'The education of the poor, he (Adam Smith) says, is a matter which deeply concerns the commonwealth. Just as the magistrate ought to interfere for the purpose of preventing the leprosy from spreading among the people, he ought to interfere for the purpose of stopping the progress of the moral distempers which are inseparable from ignorance. Nor can this duty be neglected without danger to the public peace. If you leave the multitude uninstructed, there is serious risk that religious animosities may produce the most dreadful disorders.'

"Speaking a few years ago with special reference to the conditions which prevail in India, Your Excellency's brilliant predecessor in office gave emphatic expression to the same view in the remarkable words which have already been quoted by my friend Mr. Dadabhoj. Never did Lord Curzon utter a greater truth than when he said that the greatest danger in India is the ignorance of the people; that that is the source of suspicion, superstitious outbursts and crime; and that knowledge is the only antidote to it. Looking therefore at the question from the purely administrative point of view, it is clearly the interest as well as the duty of the Government to promote knowledge and to remove the ignorance of the people.

"This is the administrative aspect of the question. There are other and higher aspects, *viz.*, the moral and the economic. And first with regard to the latter. As a great Professor of Germany has pointed out, 'general education is the foundation and necessary antecedent of increased economic activity in all branches of national production, in agriculture, small industries, manufactures and commerce; that the ever-increasing differentiation of special and technical education, made necessary by the continual division of labour, must be based upon a general popular education, and cannot be successful without it. England was roused to recognise this truth sometime about 1870. She saw that several countries of Europe were rapidly increasing their manufactures, and she instituted an inquiry to ascertain the causes thereof.' The Report of Mr. Samuelson's Committee on Scientific Education said that 'nearly every witness speaks of the extraordinarily rapid progress of continental nations in manufactures, and attributes that rapidity, beside other causes, to the scientific training of the proprietors and managers in France, Switzerland, Belgium and Germany, and to the elementary instruction which is universal amongst the working population of Germany and Switzerland. In 1870, England passed its great Education Act, which, for the first time, introduced the element of compulsion in education, and laid the foundation of universal education there. The moral advantages of education are so obvious that they need not be dilated upon. It is enough to say that there is hardly any civilised country now which has not made primary education universal among its people and few which have not made it compulsory. And they have all richly benefitted by it.

"The position of this country is in this matter peculiarly unfortunate. Happily for us the Government of India have for the last half century recognised that it is their duty to impart general elementary education to the masses. I do not think there is another country in which there will be found such a series of utterances made by the Government in favour of the extension of elementary education among the masses as are to be found in this country. My friend Mr. Gokhale has referred to the despatch of 1854; he has also referred to what was said in the Education Commission's Report. In the

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despatch the Government recognised it to be one of its most sacred duties to be the means, as far as it lay in its power, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the diffusion of general knowledge, and it particularly laid stress upon useful and practical knowledge being conveyed to the great mass of the people. In appointing the Education Commission the Government of India said that the object of the inquiry should be the then existing state of elementary education throughout the Empire, and the means by which it could everywhere be extended and improved. Then, my Lord, the Education Commission recommended that, while every branch of education could justly claim the fostering care of the State, it was desirable, in the existing circumstances of the country, to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should be directed in a still larger measure than had been done till then. Subsequently, in reviewing the progress of education every five years, the Secretary of State and the Government of India have repeatedly laid stress on the desirability of extending education among the masses. Speaking in 1904 in this very Council, Your Excellency's predecessor said, with regard to the question of education in India, that he agreed with those Hon'ble Members who had been urging that educational reform in India was mainly a matter of money. The principle that it was the duty of the Government to secure elementary education to the mass of the people was not questioned.

"Two years later the Hon'ble Sir Edward Baker, speaking as the Financial Secretary of the Government of India, said :

'The extension of primary education and the making of it free, are objects worthy of a foremost place in our policy * * *. I am greatly interested in Mr. Gokhale's proposal for making primary education free, with the intention of ultimately making it compulsory.'

"The Government of India were pleased to issue a letter to the Local Governments in 1907 which clearly showed that they were prepared to make primary education free with a view to making it compulsory. It was stated in that letter that if the Government of India had never stated in so many words that it was their aim to provide universal primary education, all their declarations had tended in that direction. But, as a matter of fact, as Sir Frederic Lely has said in his books, the Government is committed to universal education. It was thought hitherto that it was the want of funds alone which stood in the way of primary education being made universal. High hopes were naturally raised among the people when the statement to which reference has already been made by more than one speaker was made by Sir Edward Baker in 1908 that a good beginning would be made by making primary education free. Those hopes have unfortunately not been fulfilled. And, my Lord, by moving the resolution which he has brought before the Council, my friend has only sought to remind the Government of the wisdom and the necessity of carrying out the policy which the Government have, during all these decades, declared it to be their duty to carry out, and which they expressed their intention so recently as 1908 to carry out. Can there be any doubt as to the necessity for such a reminder? Let us see what the position is. Notwithstanding these numerous and very satisfactory expressions of opinion in favour of the extension of primary education, the progress of that education has, it is admitted, been sadly slow; and, my Lord, in the meantime other countries have made immense progress in education and built up their prosperity upon its foundation. Japan started work in 1871; education is universal there now. Japan was spending

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in 1902 nearly 5 crores a year on primary education, which is the largest figure which my friend Mr. Gokhale says would be necessary if education is made compulsory throughout India. My Lord, the striking progress made by that country and by other countries—by Germany, America, France and Switzerland, and other countries—ceaselessly remind us of the eloquent truth that the position of the general masses of the people can undoubtedly be immensely improved by a sound system of compulsory and free education. How long then, my Lord, is this country to wait for such education? If the revenues of the country were not amply sufficient to meet the cost of such education, if they had not been growing, there might be some excuse for postponing action. But my Hon'ble friend has pointed out that the revenue has been growing; that in other departments expenditure also has been growing by leaps and bounds; that the Army has received eight crores more; the general administration has received a great deal; that in telegraphs, railways and post offices there has been a steadily growing increase in expenditure. This is the one department—the Department of Education—which has been most unfortunate, which has received the smallest attention and support. And we strongly feel that unless the proposal which has been brought forward by my friend before the Council is accepted, there will be little chance of adequate support being given to Education even in the future. It may be that some of the proposals put forward by my Hon'ble friend may not be quite satisfactory. My friend does not claim perfection for his proposals; he has put them forward tentatively for consideration. And if the Commission which Mr. Gokhale has asked for is appointed, it will discuss the whole question; it will go into all the necessary practical details, and prepare and submit a scheme which when worked out will, in the course of a few years, secure the first great benefit which every civilized Government which has established peace ought to secure to its people, *vis.*, the light and life of knowledge. The need for it is imperative. At the present moment, out of every five villages, four are without a school. Your Lordship was pleased to say two years ago that 'our land-revenue tells a tale of increasing wealth to great proprietors, but still more, I hope, of abundance of the necessaries of life to the small tiller of the soil,' and Your Lordship was pleased to add: 'he is the man we must strive to help. He is to a great extent the backbone of the population of India. On his welfare depends much of the happiness and contentment of the people.' Your Lordship's predecessor also spoke in similar language a few years before when he said:—

'Who are the people of whom I speak? They are the patient, humble millions, toiling at the well and at the plough, knowing little of budgets but very painfully aware of the narrow margin between sufficiency and indigence. It is to them that my heart goes out. They are the real backbone of our economic prosperity. They give us nearly 20 millions sterling per annum in land-revenue alone, or about one-fourth of our entire receipts.'

"It is for those tillers of the soil, those who toil at the well and at the plough, those who contribute such enormous sums to the revenues of Government, that I implore Your Lordship's Government to find some further sums of money for education than is found at present. I submit their condition is deplorable. They are still steeped in ignorance. They are most of them miserably poor. They fall easy victims to plague and other diseases because they live in insanitary surroundings; they fall victims to the machinations of the money-lender, of the petty official, of the zamindar's agent, and others because they have not received education. They spend more than their means would permit on festive occasions because they have not been

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taught to cultivate prudence and economy. But they are not wholly to blame for this state of affairs, as Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone said nearly three-quarters of a century ago,—

'It is now well understood that in all countries the happiness of the poor depends in a great measure on their education. It is by means of it alone that they can acquire those habits of prudence and self-respect from which all other good qualities spring; and if ever there was a country where such habits are required, it is this. We have all often heard of the ills of early marriages and overflowing population; of the savings of a life squandered on some occasions of festivity; of the helplessness of the raiyats, which renders them a prey to money-lenders; of their indifference to good clothes or houses, which has been urged on some occasions as an argument against lowering the public demands on them; and, finally of the vanity of all laws to protect them, when no individual can be found who has spirit enough to take advantage of those enacted in their favour; there is but one remedy for all this, which is education.'

"It is high time that the Government extended the benefits of education to these humble people. Far be it from me to ignore what been done by the Government in the matter of education. I feel thankful for every school that has been started or assisted, and for every facility which has been provided for education. But what has been done is extremely small compared to what remains and requires to be done; compared also with what has been done with highly beneficial results in other countries. The revenues contributed by the humble millions of India have, no doubt, been largely applied to promote civilisation of a certain kind. We have got a network of railways spread over the country; we have got telegraphs and post offices. We have got a large and costly army, and other paraphernalia of civilization. But that does not altogether constitute what deserves to be called civilization. 'What then is civilization,' to quote the words of Mathew Arnold, 'which some people seem to conceive as if it meant railroads and the penny-post, and little more; but which is really so complex and vast a matter that a great spiritual power, like literature, is a part of it, and a part only?' 'Civilization,' answers the learned Professor, 'is the humanization of man in society. Man is civilized when the whole body of the society comes to live with a life worthy to be called *human*, and corresponding to man's true aspirations and powers.'

"Now, my Lord, no one will deny that the mass of the people have derived some benefit from the railway, the penny-post and the telegraph, etc. But I beg Your Lordship, I beg every member of this Council, to consider whether the vast bulk of the people, the humble millions, who live under the guardianship of His Majesty's Government, and who contribute so largely to the revenues of that Government, have received anything like a fair share of that civilisation to which, living under one of the most enlightened Governments, they are entitled; to consider whether the great bulk of them have come to live with a life worthy to be called human? No one who has a knowledge of their condition will say that they have, and I pray that in order that the chance of their receiving it in the future should be reasonably improved, steps should be taken without delay to secure to them the inestimable advantage of that prime factor in humanizing man in society, the blessed light of knowledge.

"There can be no doubt, my Lord, that large sums will be needed for the purpose. That has always been recognised. But that affords no excuse for

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putting off a measure of reform which so vitally affects the weal and woe of vast millions of human beings in this country. I cannot better answer the objection of those who oppose the resolution on the score of the large expense which it involves, than by reminding them of the statesmanlike words of wisdom with which the authors of the Educational despatch of 1854 concluded that noble document. Said the Hon'ble the Directors:—

We are fully aware that the measures we have now adopted will involve in the end a much larger expenditure upon education from the revenues of India or, in other words, from the taxation of the people of India, than is at present so applied. We are convinced with Sir Thomas Munro, in words used many years since, that any expense which may be incurred for this object will be amply repaid by the improvement of the country; for the general diffusion of knowledge is inseparably followed by more orderly habits, by increasing industry, by a taste for the comforts of life, by exertion to acquire them, and by the growing prosperity of the people.

“ I hope, my Lord, that the Council will be able to accept the resolution to have a Commission appointed to go into the whole question of free and compulsory education, and to report how a beginning may be made which may lead ultimately to universal primary education. The question cannot be pressed too earnestly on the attention of the Government. Among the many problems of Indian administration there is none which more vitally affects the happiness and prosperity, the entire moral and material progress, of the people. As Lord Morley once observed, ‘ questions of national education, answer them as we will, touch the moral life and death of nations.’ Upon the solution of this question depends the moral life and death of vast millions of the people of India. Let us hope and pray that we shall solve it correctly. I beg heartily to support the resolution.”

The Hon'ble MR. ABDUL MAJID said:—“ My Lord, the resolution brought forward by my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale is a very important one no doubt. But, my Lord, before this Council decides one way or the other about this resolution, we have to see and judge both sides of the question. It looks very good so far as principle is concerned. On principle it is a very good thing that there should be free and compulsory education; but the difficulty comes in when we come to look to the practical side of the question. India is neither England nor Japan. In India we have not only one sect, not only one religion, but a congregation of religions, sects and creeds. Assuming for the moment that elementary education is to be made free and compulsory, the first question which arises, and that first question will I submit come to the mind of everybody present here, is how will that education be assimilated to the needs of different creeds, religions and castes? As an instance I will submit for the consideration of this Council this fact, that so far as Muhammadans in this country are concerned,—I am speaking of my own Province,—a Muhammadan boy, the first elementary education that he receives is that in a private school, an elementary education by which he is taught the Koran; and at the same time he is taught some works in Urdu which teach him moral and religious precepts. After he has finished this course, then he takes other subjects like English, etc. Now consider for one moment, that if this education is made compulsory, and that boy who is receiving that moral and religious training in these private

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schools has to attend a public school, what will be result? The result will be that the moral and religious training which is given to a Muhammadan boy at the outset will be lost to him. I submit that any free education in this country which is not assimilated to the needs of every community and every sect will be a failure. Take the case of an agriculturist. What elementary education will you give him? If you give him elementary education, the result of which will be to make him a gentleman, but not a good agriculturist. That will be an injury to the country itself. Then coming to the second portion of the Hon'ble mover's resolution—the portion that education should be made compulsory. Now let us consider this also from the practical point of view. Take the case of an agriculturist, or take the case of a trader, a poor trader who simply lives on the toils of his family and on his own toils. If you make education compulsory and remove his children or boys from his custody and send them to school, it will mean so much loss to him and also consequent loss of bread to that family. In like manner the agriculturist in whose family also these children are additional hands will also suffer in the same way. If you want to make education compulsory, if you want to make provision for such education, you must make provision also to provide for those boys whom you remove from the custody of their parents and those in whose custody they are. Then the most difficult question is the question of finance. My friend Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has pointed out certain items which should be spent in providing free and compulsory education. Of course that is for the Government to say, whether the Government will be able to provide these sums and will provide them for compulsory education. I am afraid that the only recourse that the Government would have would be a recourse to taxation and nothing else. We find that this year Government had recourse to taxation. If this education matter is pressed forward, the result will be that an education tax will be levied on the people. Will the poor people be able to pay? They are not in a condition to pay. They are unwilling to pay. And then my Lord, consider this matter also, I say this Council should consider this matter also, that you will have to spend not only money, my Lord, to provide for education, you will have to provide accommodation also for the schools and other places where you will give them education. And look at the enormous expenditure that you will have to incur in providing all these things. Another difficult question, and probably that difficult question will be followed only by those gentlemen in this Council who have studied it thoroughly, and it is this, that if you educate a common man, what is the result? He considers that he stands a little bit higher than his fellow-countrymen. He will consider himself that he has a higher position, that he is entitled to more wages, that he is entitled to much better treatment, to higher treatment,

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and the result will be that supposing we wanted such a man to be employed, he will ask you higher wages. Labour will go dear. Labour is already going dearer. If the whole of India is educated, I do not know what the result will be; it will be beyond my comprehension. But, at the same time, as my learned friend's object is simply this, and nothing further, that he wants a beginning to be made, that he does not want that any sudden steps should be taken in this matter, I for one do not oppose this proposal of his, that an enquiry should be made by a Commission appointed by the Government, because if such enquiry be made, then all these matters will be brought to notice, and by such enquiry those people who are clamouring for free and compulsory education in this country, they will be satisfied because in this enquiry all these matters, all these difficulties will come out. And if those who sit on the Commission, if they can provide safeguards, so much the better. If they cannot provide such safeguards, then I submit, my Lord, that even then such an enquiry will produce some results. With these words, I agree with my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in so far as the question of the appointment of a Commission for enquiry is concerned; but as regards the question of compulsory education, I am entirely against him."

The Hon'ble MR. MACPHERSON said :—"My Lord, I have been asked by the Hon'ble Raja Partab Singh to read an English translation of an Urdu speech which he has prepared in connection with this resolution. But as there is no provision in the rules of business as to the discussion of matters of public interest similar to that in the Legislative rules enabling one member to read a speech for another, I do not know whether I should be in order in complying with his request. I therefore submit the point for your Excellency's ruling."

His Excellency THE PRESIDENT said :—"In the absence of any provision in the Rules for the discussion of Resolutions, similar to that in the Legislative Rules, enabling one member to speak on behalf of another who is unable to speak in English, it does not seem right to allow another member to read an English translation of the Hon'ble Raja Partab Singh's speech. But in the special circumstances of the case the Hon'ble member's translation of his speech may, I think, be taken as read, and published as part of today's proceedings."

The following are the remarks of the Hon'ble RAJA PARTAB BAHADUR SINGH :—

"My Lord, in supporting the resolution moved by my Hon'ble friend Mr. Gokhale, I wish to point out that every civilised country in Europe and

[18TH MARCH 1910.] [*Raja Partab Bahadur Singh.*]

America now fully recognises the duty of imparting free primary education to its children of both sexes. In Asia, Japan has achieved it. With the coming in of the new régime the semi-Asiatic Empire of Turkey has begun to take steps to follow the lead of other civilised countries. Free and compulsory primary education, I am told, has been put by the Committee of Union and Progress in the fore-front of their programme of reforms.

“In this country the question has not been entirely neglected. For the last fifty years the question has been before the Government in some sort of way. The Education Commission of 1882 recommended this measure to the Government. As a result of the work done by the Government in this connection about 36 lakhs of boys of school-going age are now receiving some kind of education. But we are yet very backward. The number of literate persons in our country according to the last Census Report is only about 10 per cent. of the male population, while among women only about 7 in a thousand can read and write. For progress in this age of competition it is absolutely necessary that this waste of material should not be any more allowed, for unless the individual is better qualified the progress of the nation cannot be secured.

“My Hon'ble friend very justly urges that primary education should be made free and compulsory. In undertaking this measure the Government will be following the traditions of this land. Both under the Hindu régime and in the time of the Muhammadans, education, both primary and of the higher type, was given free to the people. The history of Hindu India is not fully known, but tradition is fondly cherished of the great days of Vikramaditya and Bhoje; when education was so universally diffused that even the labourer in the field could appreciate the subtleties of Sanskrit prosody. Leaving aside Ancient India, in our own times the enlightened ruler of Baroda has introduced compulsory primary education for both the sexes in his State. And, surely, British India is not to lag behind a Native State.

“It would be waste of time in a Council like this to enlarge on the manifold advantages of this measure. That it would tend to promote the progress of the country in all the various departments of life cannot be for a moment questioned. The only question which is relevant here is whether the Government can afford the money necessary for the effectual carrying out of this measure. Of course to carry out the measure fully a large sum of money would be required. But looking into this question closely I find that after all the money needed is not so very large considering the resources of the Government. The expenditure on some of the great spending departments.

[*Raja Partab Bahadur Singh; Mr. Mazharul Haque.*] [18TH MARCH 1910.]

of the State has been growing enormously of late. A small check may be put on these and the money thus set free utilized for this purpose. Besides, the expense might be made gradually and be spread over a number of years. In fact so vast an undertaking could hardly be taken up all at once.

“ My Lord, India at one time was a self-contained country almost entirely unaffected by what went on outside. But all this has changed. The progress of modern civilization has made this now impossible. Our country has entered the area of world competition. Discoveries made in an obscure laboratory in Germany or America change the conditions of our life not merely in our large towns but even in the most distant villages. What chance have we of any success in this ever-increasing and unceasing strife of life under modern conditions without adequate provision and the full equipment of the intellectual capacities of the individual? It is fortunate that the destinies of this country are bound up with those of England at this juncture. The English people have benefited so much by education that the importance and urgency of primary education need not to be argued with their representatives in this country. Let us hope that what has done so much good to the English people will not be withheld from the people of India.”

The Hon'ble MR. MAZHARUL HAQUE said :—“ My Lord, the question of primary education is of such vital importance to the future of India that all other questions pale into insignificance before it. My Hon'ble friend Mr. Gokhale has in his own inimitable and eloquent style dealt with it from the national point of view. His masterly array of figures, his brilliant marshalling of facts, his close and sound reasoning, it is impossible to improve upon, and I do not intend to weary this Council with a repetition of the same arguments; but as a representative specially elected by the Muhammadans I should like to say a few words from the Muhammadan point of view, and especially after the speech of my Hon'ble friend Mr. Abdul Majid.

“ My Lord, readers of Islamic history are familiar with the fact that from the earliest time the followers of Islam were renowned for their love of learning. They rivalled and excelled each other in being patrons and founders of Universities and Colleges and endowed them with rich and munificent donations. Numerous sayings of the Prophet inculcating and emphasizing the value of knowledge, stamped the pursuit of learning with the sanction of religion. The result was that it became a pious act for every Muslim to set apart a portion of his property for the advancement of human knowledge. The great Universities of Baghdad and Cairo, Granada and Cordova were monuments of the munificence and generosity of the Musalman people. Today the oldest University

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in the world is one founded by Muhammadans. They carried this traditional and overmastering passion for learning to every country they went, either as conquerors, travellers or traders. In Europe they lighted the torch, which is now burning with a thousandfold effulgence and brilliancy. India had its full share of the blessings of this universal education. The Moghal Emperors were themselves great scholars and patrons of learning, and showered royal grants and jagirs upon educational institutions. Their courtiers and noblemen followed their example. Seats of learning sprang up throughout the country. Delhi, Lucknow and several other places became famous for their Universities, and students flocked to them from every part of India to complete their education. Primary education was not only not neglected, but was carried on on a much larger scale. Every village, every hamlet, had its own maktab for imparting education in the three R's. Every Khankah, every mosque had its own school for educating the sons of the poorer classes. In every deed of endowment a clause was inserted to provide for the education and upkeep of indigent students. But all this is changed now, my Lord. From one of the most highly educated communities in India we have become the most backward. Every demand on our part for our full share in the administration of the country is at once met with the reply that we are a backward people and must educate ourselves. I regretfully admit that numerically we cannot compete with our brethren of other communities in point of education, but I emphatically assert, that given equal opportunities and facilities we are inferior to none and can, man to man, hold our own in all walks of life.

“ My Lord, the causes of this downfall are many and varied, and it would be a useless and profitless task to enter into details. Undoubtedly we ourselves are mostly to blame for this deplorable state of things. Government had given every facility to the people of India without any distinction of caste or creed to educate themselves, but we Muhammadans refused to take advantage of it. The natural and inevitable result was that we lagged behind and were passed by others in the race of life. Other causes contributed to accelerate our fall. The poverty of Musalmans has become proverbial and is one of the chief causes, if not the chief cause, of our inability to regain lost ground. Modern India has produced earnest workers and great benefactors among the Musalmans in the field of education. Who can forget the honoured and revered name of the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan as the pioneer of Muslim education? The rich benefactions of our present leader, His Highness the Agha Khan, are well known. But these are isolated efforts of individual patriots and cannot possibly equal the power and resources of a great State. This resolution if accepted will raise us in the scale of nations and remove from us the stigma of being a backward people.”

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“My Lord, Musalmans are grateful to the Hon’ble Mr. Gokhale for bringing this resolution before the Council. I firmly believe that if the principle of this resolution commend itself to the Council, the Musalmans of India would derive greater benefit from it than other communities. To a great extent it would equalise the educational qualifications of the different communities and bring them to an equal level in many other respects.

“My Lord, I fully realize the difficulties of the Hon’ble the Finance Member. The other day he had to resort to fresh taxation to make the two ends meet. His reply perhaps would be that he has no money to meet this fresh demand for expenditure. Well-I admit that he has some justice on his side, but I cannot bring myself to believe that a financial genius like his cannot find out means to provide money for this urgent reform. After all it is a small sum when compared to 75 millions sterling of the budget. If I was not committing an act of financial heresy I would whisper in his ear to give us quietly the small surplus that he has budgetted for the next year. This I believe will thoroughly satisfy our friend Mr. Gokhale for the present and we shall all be very grateful to him.

“My Lord, the non-official members of this Council are in a hopeless minority and can only bring the needs and aspirations of the people to the notice of the Government, in the hope that the Government might listen to them. It rests with the Government either to accept or reject. The responsibility is not ours, but theirs. At the same time I submit that the unanimous request of the people should not be treated lightly, but should be approached with all seriousness that the subject and occasion demands. The Indian people have set their heart on providing primary education for the masses and ways and means should be found to satisfy them.

“My Lord, in some quarters I have heard fears expressed as to the consequences of universal primary education. I shall not recount the nature of these fears in this Council. They are nervous and morbid and unworthy of a great people like the English people. Education can do no harm to any nation. The imparting of primary education to the masses will automatically solve some of the most pressing and intricate problems of Indian administration.

“My Lord, the peasantry of India are very ignorant, perhaps no other class of people in the world have remained so stationary and unprogressive as the large masses of the Indian people. In their avocations intelligence plays a very small part. They have never heard of modern science and blessings of its inventions. A little education will make them intelligent and more liable to accept modern improvements. They will look to their health and make their homes worth

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living for a human being. The fearful mortality which is caused by their ignorance of the simple laws of hygiene will be greatly reduced. By using their intelligence they would make their fields more productive, their handicrafts more acceptable and saleable in the market. Where there is starvation now, there would be sufficient—if not plenty—to keep their body and soul together. In fact there would be improvements visible in all directions and throughout the country.

“My Lord, such an urgent reform is worth trying for. The money spent now, will be well spent and is sure to bring back a larger return to the treasury by reason of the general prosperity of the people.

“My Lord, I cannot imagine a grander and nobler task allotted to any man, than that of raising $\frac{1}{2}$ th of the human race in the scale of humanity and helping them to take their proper place in the comity of nations. Your Lordship has governed this country with kindness and sympathy, nor has Your Lordship ever tried to ride roughshod over the aspirations of the people. Every Indian has a corner in his heart where the name of Minto will ever be treasured in affectionate and grateful remembrance. My Lord, let the grant of this boon of free primary education to the people of India be the crowning glory of an already glorious and memorable rule.”

The Hon'ble ZULFIKAR ALI KHAN said:—“My Lord, the resolution which my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has moved is one which is calculated to cover vast and important possibilities and cannot either be lightly dismissed or hastily accepted. It treats of that great question which is engaging the most anxious attention of both the Government and the people of India.

“This resolution aims at making primary education free and compulsory in India and is designed to enlighten the masses who have hitherto with a few exceptions followed their ancestral occupation. India's wealth as we all know consists exclusively of agricultural prosperity, for very few industries worth the name exist here; now any arrangement which would give the agricultural classes a distaste for their useful occupations would naturally affect the well-being of the entire population of India, and I am afraid that the education which is imparted in the Indian schools is calculated to upset their mental equilibrium, and awaken in them such lofty ambition for which this resolution does not provide any legitimate vent. The question spontaneously occurs whether it is wise or even expedient to make the future generation of agricultural classes discontented with their lot, and would the country flourish if they are cantankerous and despise their ancestral profession? It is a great problem and an enormous responsibility

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rests on us, for we are answerable to our conscience for the evils which may result from the policy of educating those classes.

“It is true that in European countries and even in Japan the system of compulsory education is in vogue, but we cannot lose sight of the fact that those countries have to a great extent become manufacturing centres and industries are given preference over agriculture; their wealth comes from exploiting other nations and they do not at all depend on agriculture as we do.

“My Lord, these are my fears concerning the effect of the resolution if it is put into operation, but I am not without hopes as well. I am sure my community is anxious that a trial should be given to this scheme, for they know that this is the only way which can help them to tide over the difficulty of poverty, and if they are to take, as they should, their legitimate share in the administration of the country, they must be made free of financial difficulties in acquiring at least primary education.

“Other sister communities will go on getting education even if it is more expensive, but the Muhammadan cannot cope even with the present educational demands, I think for many reasons it is very desirable that they be in a position to compete on terms of equality in the race of life with other communities in India. If a Commission is appointed as suggested by the Hon'ble Mover, I think some means may be devised to start education on proper lines which may counteract the evil results of the present system. I therefore support the idea of a Commission being appointed to report fully their proposals after a careful enquiry.”

The Hon'ble MR. GOKHALE said :—“My Lord, I will now say a few words by way of reply to the observations which have been made by several Members on this resolution. At the outset, I would express my thanks to the Hon'ble the Home Member for the assurance that he gave at the end of his speech that the Government would consider carefully the proposals laid by me before the Council today. I wish I could feel the same degree of satisfaction in regard to certain other parts of his speech, notably in regard to what he said about a Commission going up and down the country, inviting suggestions from all and sundry as to what should be done by Government in this matter. I must also say that I was somewhat surprised to hear that the suggestions which I have placed before the Council appeared to be altogether new to the Hon'ble Member. My Lord, when I suggested the appointment of a Commission I naturally also meant that the Government should take some interest in the matter; and if they took some interest in it, they would not start a Commission

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with a mere blank sheet of paper before it asking it to go up and down the country inviting suggestions. The Government would then start the Commission, as is invariably done in such cases, with definite instructions and definite questions would then be framed on which opinions would be invited from the public. As regards the statement of the Hon'ble Member that my suggestions were new, it only emphasizes what I have been insisting on in this Council for several years, namely, that education should be made over to a separate Member of this Council. Education is one of twenty other Departments with which the Hon'ble Member has to deal, and it is not to be expected that he will pursue educational matters with the same diligence and the same watchfulness with which they are pursued in other countries, notably in America, where they try to follow what is being done throughout the world every year in regard to education. If things had stood where they were left by the Hon'ble Sir Harvey Adamson, I should have thought that Government had adopted towards my resolution an attitude which was, on the whole, not unfriendly. But the remarks made by the Hon'ble Sir H. Stuart appear to me to be uncompromisingly hostile. I speak subject to correction because the Hon'ble Member had quite finished his Binomial Theorem when the bell rang and the time allowed for the examination was over. I can therefore confine myself only to what he actually said, and that portion did not sound as at all friendly to my motion. I must notice three observations that he made. The first was in connection with my humble self. I see that the Hon'ble Member has been studying some of my past utterances. That is a matter from which I should perhaps derive some satisfaction. I must say, however, that he has not been reading my speeches correctly. He has no justification for saying that I have now taken up a position which is inconsistent with the position I had taken up before. It is true that three years ago I urged that Government should begin in this matter by making primary education free, and then proceed to make it compulsory. The aim always has been to have it free and compulsory. Three years ago I urged the abolition of fees first because Government had then plenty of money, with which they hardly knew what to do. As Government was then inclined to be favourable to that idea,—and as to that I have only to refer to the Government Resolution issued at that time to make clear what their attitude was in the matter,—I thought that was the line of least resistance. But throughout my aim has been to work steadily towards compulsion. The financial position, however, has changed. When new taxes have just been added, I cannot very well suggest to this Council that primary education should be made free straight off. I therefore have changed my tack a bit, and, instead of beginning with the abolition of fees, I ask for the introduction of the principle of compulsion, which has always been an integral part of my

scheme. I do not see that there is any inconsistency in that. If the Government abolish fees today, no one will rejoice more than I. There was another observation made by the Hon'ble Member which was slightly more serious. He said that I had expressed myself in a manner that was ungenerous towards Sir Arundel Arundel about three years ago in this Council. Now, my Lord, a reference to the debates of that time will shew that this description of what I then said is not justified. What happened was this:—in March 1906 when the Budget Statement was under discussion I urged that primary education should be made free. There was a large surplus, in fact, as I have said, Government did not know what to do with their money. Sir Arundel Arundel, who was then the Home Member and therefore in charge of education in his reply described my suggestion as a large order. He no doubt expressed the same kind of sympathy with my object that the Finance Member lavished on us while he was putting on us new taxes. He said the object was very good and the Government would keep it steadily in view as a distant peak which some day they might be able to reach, but for the present they had to crawl along the plain. Within six months, however, Government issued a Resolution practically recommending free education to Local Governments. It was not a circular letter merely asking what Local Governments thought. It was more; the whole tone of it shows that it was practically a recommendation that was made. Of course they asked as a matter of courtesy, what the Local Governments thought of the matter but the whole document reads as if the Government of India had made up their minds on the subject. The next year's Financial Statement contained a remark which was quoted by the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy to the effect that if the Secretary of State's orders were received in the course of the year, primary education would be made free and funds would be made available. Therefore, from the position which Sir A. Arundel took in March to the position in November there was a tremendous advance. I noted that fact in March following and I used it as an argument that education should be in charge of a separate Member who would take a special interest in it, and that it should not be one of 20 other Departments over which the Home Member presided. I think the present system under which Education has to rub shoulders with Jails, Police and other Departments in charge of the Home Member, is one that is distinctly prejudicial to the interests of Education. The third point that I must notice in Sir H. Stuart's remarks is about his calculations as to the cost of my scheme. My Lord, there is a saying that the worst enemy of the good is the best. I proposed some humble advance; the Hon'ble Member straight away wants us to go to the farthest point possible and then frightens the Council by calculations based on that. He may as well have said 'if education is

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to be free why not adopt the system that prevails in America? Then the cost will be 30 or even 40 crores. If you want to make a proposal look, I won't say ridiculous, but I will say queer in the eyes of people, then I have no objection to that method. But I should not have expected that from one with the sympathies which Sir H. Stuart is known to have in this matter.

"My Lord, I now come to what fell from the Hon'ble Mr. Orange in a speech to which we listened with great pleasure and sincere admiration. I have no quarrel with his position; I know his heart is practically with us in this matter, but he has to be practical and to cut his coat according to his cloth. He has to consider his resources and is strictly limited by them. One friendly warning he gave me which I am prepared to take in the spirit in which I am inclined to think it was offered, namely, that I should not complicate a consideration of this question by a reference to extraneous questions, such as railway finance, taxation of jute, etc. Now I can assure the Hon'ble Member that I did not introduce those matters in any wanton spirit. As a matter of fact unless you show that there are resources, the first difficulty that is pressed upon you is this. 'It is all very well to suggest such schemes, but where is the money to come from?' If however you suggest measures for finding the required money, you are straight way told that you are introducing extraneous matters and interfering with vested interests. There was one point in the Hon'ble Mr. Orange's speech in regard to which I throw the main responsibility on Government. The Hon'ble Member said that the great difficulty was about the provision of sufficient accommodation by local bodies. That is true. He quoted from a report of the Government of Bombay which said that 100,000 children were seeking admission but had no accommodation. But why is this so? Why have not local bodies been required to provide accommodation? I quoted this morning one of the recommendations of the Commission appointed in Lord Ripon's time. The Commission had distinctly recommended that legislation should be resorted to in order to promote the extension of primary education; by that the Commission meant that powers should be taken by Government to require local bodies to provide accommodation. That was 25 years ago, but the recommendation has been allowed to remain a dead letter. No action has so far been taken on it and now we are confronted with this difficulty. Certain objections were raised today by the Hon'ble Mr. Chitnavis and the Hon'ble Mr. Majid to the principle of compulsion. They both thought that compulsion was undesirable because if all children were sent to school it would be difficult to get labour. In answer to that I respectfully recommend to them a perusal of the debates in the House of Commons, when the Education Act of 1870 was passed; they will find them in the volumes of Halsard. Such objections have always been urged,

but as I said this morning the mass of people do not live in order to supply labour to those who wish to prosper on it. I think it is the elementary right of every child that it should receive at least the rudiments of education. Mr. Majid referred to the religious difficulty; as regards that I am in sympathy with him. That is a matter for the Commission to consider, if one is appointed. Nothing of course should be done which would go against the religious prejudices of any community. As regards special taxation, well, I do not share the fears expressed. If Government take up this matter in the spirit in which I should like them to do it, I do not think there would be any necessity for special taxation. I do not think we should accept Sir H. Stuart's calculations. I do not really think that the cost will be more than 4 or 5 crores, even if education is provided for the whole of the male population; and the burden that would fall upon the State would not be very heavy. As regards the children of poorer classes becoming gentlemen, if they are educated that is an argument which I had better leave alone. My Lord, I think the whole discussion has established two things; first the necessity for an inquiry has been clearly established. There is the point to which the Hon'ble Mr. Orange has referred namely, requiring Local bodies to provide accommodation. The Hon'ble Mr. Quin has told the Council of the opposition of villagers to education, and other members have expressed other views. Even the official members are not agreed in this matter. Therefore I think, the necessity for an inquiry is clearly established. I may remind the Council that when the Commission of 1882 was appointed, 25 years had elapsed since the educational policy had been laid down by the Despatch of 1854, and that lapse of time was considered sufficient to justify an inquiry. Twenty-five years have again elapsed since then, and therefore, I think the time has come when Government should direct a fresh inquiry into this question. If the Government will go so far as to say they will make an inquiry into the state of primary education,—how far the policy recommended by the Commission of 1882 has been carried out and what new measures it will be desirable to take—that will substantially meet the requirements of the situation.

“ My Lord, the second point that I think has been established is the absolute necessity of strengthening the position of Education among the Departments of the Government of India. Sir H. Stuart quoted from my evidence before the Decentralization Commission and referred to a superficial inconsistency. He says I advocate today that Education should be made a divided head instead of a Provincial head, but that before the Decentralization Commission I had said there should be no divided heads. That is true on the surface, but that is not fair, for you must take my scheme submitted to the Decentralization Commission as a whole. If you do so, then you will find that there need be no divided heads, for I have advocated a large measure of financial independence to Local Government

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and under that scheme Local Governments will be able to find the money. But as long as the present excessive centralization continues, the Government of India must take the responsibility of finding money upon themselves so that the money should be forthcoming. If the Government of India become directly responsible for the spread of Education in the country, then I am quite sure that more money will be spent on it than at present. Under existing arrangements, if the Government of India are able to spare any money for education, they make small grants spasmodically to Local Governments for the purpose. What is needed however is a large programme constantly kept in view and steadily carried out and this can only be secured if education is a direct concern of the Government of India."

The Hon'ble SIR HARVEY ADAMSON said :—"My Lord, I have only a very few remarks to make in closing the debate, I am not going to be drawn by the Hon'ble Member into any discussion of his scheme on its merits. The Hon'ble Member objects to my having said that his proposals are new. I infer that he suggests that they could have been discussed and disposed of at once. His scheme is undoubtedly a new and large one. It could not have been dealt with on its merits without adequate notice.

"Then the Hon'ble Member complains that the Secretary of the Home Department assumed a hostile attitude towards the object of his scheme: Sir Harold Stuart was of course not bound as I was, and was at liberty to criticise the proposals. In my view he did not assume a hostile attitude. What, however, I do think is that he made a very effective criticism of some parts of the Hon'ble Member's proposals.

"I cannot say that I regard the debate as being a very adequate discussion of the proposals made by the Hon'ble Member. It could hardly have been so, because no one knew what the proposals were until the Hon'ble Member divulged them today, I think that the Hon'ble Member has obtained all that he could reasonably expect to obtain. He has had an opportunity of expressing his views and putting them before the Council and the Government of India, and he has obtained from the Government of India a promise that his scheme will be examined. I think he ought to be content with this promise and would be well advised to withdraw his Resolution.

[*Mr. Gokhale.*]

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The Hon'ble MR. GOKHALE :—" Yes, my Lord, in view of the remarks which have just been made by the Hon'ble the Home Member, I am prepared to withdraw my resolution."

The resolution was withdrawn.

The Council adjourned to Wednesday, the 23rd March 1910.

J. M. MACPHERSON,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Legislative Department.

CALCUTTA;
The 29th March 1910.

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