ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Council of the Governor General of India,

LAWS AND REGULATIONS

Vol. L

April 1911 - March 1912

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ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING

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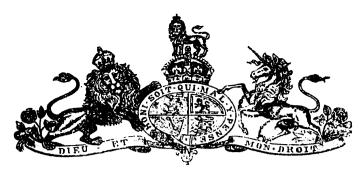


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1912



GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

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, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 19th March 1912.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble SIR GUY FLEETWOOD WILSON, G.O.I.E., K.C.B., K.O.M.G., Vice-President, *Presiding*,

and 55 Members, of whom 48 were Additional Members.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATIONAL BILL.

The Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque: "Sir, before I deal with some of the objections raised against the principles of the Bill, I, as one of the special representatives of the Moslem community, should like to make the attitude of my community clear regarding this important and to my mind entirely beneficent measure; and this becomes all the more necessary, as no less than three Hon'ble Members of this Council professing Islamic faith have expressed adverse opinions, which may lead Hon'ble Members of this Council and people outside to form the wrong notion that the Mussalmans of India, or at any rate a large majority of them, are against my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in his noble attempt to raise the masses of India to a higher level. As it is, we Mussalmans are often taunted with being narrow-minded, sectarian, illiberal and short-sighted in our views. This is the impression of some of our Hindu brethren, and it is to be feared, that even some English statesmen hold similar views. Sir, no more unjust and unfounded charges were brought against a great community. We, the Mussalmans of India, are no more illiberal nor less patriotic than the members of other communities. If any proof is wanted to demonstrate this patent fact, the almost unanimous and enthusiastic support given by the Indian Mussalmans as a community to the Bill should go far to dispel the delusions under which some people labour. Sir, we have two great organizations devoted exclusively to the promotion and advancement of our educational and political interests. The All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference, a body almost as old as the Indian National Congress itself, at its two successive sessions at Nagpur and Delhi, supported the principle of free and compulsory education. At Nagpur, the sole dissentient voice was that of my Hon'ble friend behind me, Maulvi Shamsul Huda

[Mr. Mazharul Haque; Mr. Muhammad Shafi; the [19th March 1912.]

President.]

Last December, when the question was being discussed at Delhi, I was present, and the enthusiasm that prevailed in the meeting would have done the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's heart good to sec. And, remember, this was in the Punjab, the very home of Moslem political orthodoxy. My Punjabi co-religionists, in their forcible and vigorous style, enlarged upon the benefits and good points of free and compulsory education. Just a fortnight ago the annual session of the All-India Moslem League was held in the Town Hall of this City of Calcutta, and there again a Resolution spproving of the principle of this Bill was carried by a large majority and in the midst of loud and deafening acclamation of the great gathering. At this meeting the opposition was led by no less a gentleman than my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi himself, but be it said to the credit of Moslem intelligence, that his powerful advocacy proved unavailing and produced no effect on the audience. The Moslem community had made up its mind to support my Hon'ble friend Mr. Gokhale, and it did support him without any hesitation and reservation. My Hon'ble friend Mr. Shafi tried to minimise the effect of these important deliberations by saying that only 84 out of 61 members of the League who attended the sessions voted for the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Bill. Well my Hon'ble friend is a leading member of his profession, and is a master of the art of advocacy, but when he made this statement, he forgot that there were some humbler members of the same profession in this Council who would easily detect the fallacy underlying his He never told us how many of these 61 members were present at the time when the discussion and voting took place. Sir, what happened After a long and heated debate the opponents of the measure challenged a division; the supporters marched into the lobby and were counted. When the turn of the opponents came, knowing full The number was 34. well that they were in a hopeless minority, they had not the courage to vote. They simply refused to vote. At that time, I may say with confidence, that there were not more than two or three members who were on the side of my Hon'ble friend, and they were mostly his personal friends. President announced that the Resolution was carried unanimously, the opponents not daring to vote, the whole audience which had filled the Town Hall rose to their feet and made the hall resound with their continued I have never seen such enthusiasm before in my life.

"Another figure was quoted by my Hon'ble friend vesterday, and there also I am sorry to say he was incorrect. He said that at the meeting of the Council of the League which approved the principles of Mr. Gokhale's Bill, only 7 out of a total of 40 members were present. I myself was not present. But my friend Mr. Mohamed Ali, the talented editor of the Comrade who was there, assures me that no less than 24 were present, most of whom were

in favour of the present Bill."

The Hon'ble Mr. Muhammad Shafi: "Sir, may I be allowed to explain that my learned friend has not understood my statement correctly. What I said was, that the letter was drafted at an adjourned meeting of the Council of the League."

The President: "The Hon'ble Member's explanation is developing into a speech. He had ample opportunity to state his case yesterday; and, unless he has a special point to bring forward, I cannot allow the Hon'ble

Member to interrupt."

The Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque: "Thank you, Sir; most of whom were in favour of the present Bill in spite of a long warning telegram from my Hon'ble friend. So much as regards the accuracy of my Hon'ble friend's facts and figures. Sir, perhaps it would not be out of place to mention here that both the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference and the All-India Moslem League have gone one step further than the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale himself. They demand that education should be absolutely free, which it would certainly not be under the present Bill, and I entirely agree with this view. In my humble opinion, no invidious distinction should be made between persons of different incomes, and the full benefit of my Hon'ble friend's scheme cannot be derived unless and until the doors of our schools are freely thrown open to all. But if I know my Hon'ble friend at all—and I hope I know a little of him—he would have been the first

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man to meet the wishes of his Moslem brethren and amend his Bill accordingly if it had gone to the Select Committee. As a matter of fact, my Hon'ble friend himself in his opening speech yesterday expressed his willingness to concede this point. The desire to conciliate official opinion induced him to propose that education should be partially free, but he ought to have known that, in this country, it is almost impossible to conciliate official opinion, and it would have been better if he had stuck to his better judgment and not made the Bill of too modest a character. A further request of the Mussalmans as voiced by these two Institutions is that the interests of Mussalman boys in such matters as language or the teaching of religion or their proper representation on committees and so forth should be safeguarded. Some of the requests—I do not say all, but some of the requests-are exceedingly reasonable, and could have been easily considered and met in the Select Committee. On this point my Hon'ble friend Mr. Shafi with a comprehensive and rather contemptuous sweep of hand pointed his finger at me and warned me to be careful in giving my support to the Bill. He is surprised that the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has accepted only one of the demands of the Moslem community in the matter of details. Well, I confess that the warning has been absolutely thrown away upon me. I am one who, in legal parlance, is called an old offender, and I am afraid there is no hope of my reformation. Never have I feared official from is, nor have I courted popular applause. I have no higher ambition in life than to serve, in my own humble way and according to my own light, the cause of my country and my people, and I assure my Hon'ble friend that his warning is so much waste of energy which he might well have reserved for a better and more hopeful cause. Sir, this is not the proper time for a discussion of the details of the Bill. As a matter of fact, under the Rules for the Conduct of Legislative Business of this Council, only the principle of the Bill can be discussed at this stage, and any member who attempted to discuss details would be out of order. My Hon'ble friend will pardon me for reminding him that he is new to the Council, and he is not as yet fully conversant with its rules and procedure. Instead of treating the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in the manner that he did yesterday, it would have been better for his reputation in this Council, if he had accepted the interpretation of its seniormost member who, by his single-mindedness and devotion to duty has carned the respect of official and non-official members alike. We are discussing the Bill to-day under rule 21 of the Rules for the Conduct of Legislative Business of the Council of the Governor General, which runs thus:

'On the day on which such motion is made'.

"Here the word 'such' refers to one of the motions mentioned in rule 19, which says:

'When a Bill is introduced, or on some subsequent occasion, the Member in charge of it shall make one or more of the following motions:

(a) that it be referred to a Select Committee.'

"A reference to the Select Committee is the motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. Well, rule 21 says, 'on the day on which such motion is made or on any subsequent day to which the discussion is postponed, the principle of the Bill and its general provisions may be discussed.' What my Hon'ble friend did was that after a few autobiographical sketches he began to attack the Bill from its very title. I am precluded by law from following my Hon'ble friend in his rambling excursion, but I am auxious to remove any misapprehension that may arise later on in the minds of the Moslem community that their views were not properly put before the Council. I assure them from my place here that everyone of their demands would have been represented if the Bill had been allowed to go to the Solect Committee. At this stage we cannot enter into details.

"Sir, after the unanimous support of the two principal associations of the Mussalmans of India, no doubt should remain in the mind of anyone that the Mussalmans generally fully support the measure. But if any further proof is wanted, I am ready to supply it to this Council. My Hon'ble friend

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Mr. Shafi has referred to some newspapers which he said have opposed the principle of compulsion. Well, I appeal to the Hon'ble Members of this Council to say if they have ever, even by chance, heard the names of most of these journals which he mentioned yesterday. They are all vernacular papers, except the Muslim of Poona, and the less said about this paper the better. Perhaps my Hon'ble friends Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Bhurgri, who come from Bombay, will be able to enlighten us as to the influence of this paper in their province. Well, we find in this list the names of such respectable and widely-circulated papers as the Comrade, the Mussalman and the Observer conspicuous by their absence. These are the journals which are the real representatives of Moslem public opinion. Let us see what they have to say upon this question. All these papers have been consistently supporting the Bill since its introduction in this Council. That ever-brilliant weekly the Comrade, in a series of able and well-reasoned articles, has discussed the question both from the Moslem and the Indian points of view, and correctly described the general attitude of its community. In one article it says that those Mussalmans who oppose the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Bill do so not in their representative capacity, but as private individuals. This is the passage which perhaps my Hon'ble friend Mr. Shafi will pardon me for reading, because his name happens to be mentioned in it. I cannot omit the sentence, otherwise the passage will become meaningless. In its issue of the 22nd July, the talented editor in his usual trenchant style says:

'In the present case the 'compulsion' phrase has been discovered to damn the Bill by those who are in reality no more than the enemies of light and emancipation. What has surprised us most is the opposition offered by a number of Muhammedan public men and newspapers to the Bill. The Moslem community alone amongst the Indian communities has spontaneously declared in favour of a special educational cess, in several sessions of its educational conference. Again, with but one dissentient voice, it has affirmed the principle of compulsory primary education through its most accredited organ the Moslem League in its Nagpore session. If then the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi, or the Right Hon'ble Mr. Amir Ali in telegraphic sympathy with Mr. Shafi, chooses to declare against this Bill, he is simply declaring his own individual opinion, and not the opinion of the Moslem community. We know what the views of the community and of the majority of its leaders are on this important question, and anyone going against the Bill would in fact be going against the wishes of the Moslem community as a whole.'

"Sir, the editor does not in the least mince his words, but goes straight to the point.

"I will take this Council to the Province of my Hon'ble friend—the Punjab. Let us see what the leading journal of his own Province says on this important question. The Observer of Lahore is no less emphatic than the Comrade in support of the Bill. In its issue of the 14th June 1911, it says:

'There seems to be an impression abroad that Indian Muhammedans disapprove of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Bill on elementary education. Nothing could be farther from facts. We are, therefore, naturally anxious to take this opportunity of publicly and clearly stating that our co-religionists are not and cannot be opposed to a measure as to the beneficent character of which there can be no two opinions, though some people may doubt its expediency, or may suggest slight modifications in its provisions. Indeed, we think we can go a step further and declare unhesitatingly that the Bill will perhaps benefit no community to the same extent as the Mussalmans, and that in proportion to the good which it is calculated to do them will be the imeasure of their support of its principles. Without entering into a detailed discussion of the Bill to-day,—a discussion which we reserve for another occasion—we would content ourselves with removing the misunderstanding referred to above and with according emphatic support to its main points on behalf of those whom we have the privilege to represent. By nature and habit the Mussalmans are not a noisy people, and they are not prone to giving veciferous expression to their views. Lest, however, silence at this juncture be misconstrued into disagreement, we have no hesitation in stating in the name of the Indian Muslims that, notwithstanding the opposition of a few individuals here and there (I do not know who were the 'individuals here and there' whom the learned editor had in mind when he wrote), the principle of compulsion in elementary education, as provided for in the Bill, commands their unstinted approval. We cannot, of course, overlook the fact that the subject of free and compulsory education is attended with great difficulties, and we must also point out that the time has not come when compulsion can with advantage be resorted to in the case of girls. There are one or two other points where we are not in full agreement with the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. But barring these matters of

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positive we are voicing the general opinion of our co-religionists in saying that the Bill which will be an enabling measure only, is a step in the right direction, that it is in the best interests of the country, and that its enforcement will prove of enormous advantage to the backward classes, including the Indian Muhammadans." And so on.

"These are the views of Moslem Punjab. In clear, ringing tones it announces the views of Moslem India. I could multiply these quotations indefinitely, but I refrain from doing so lest I exhaust the patience of this Council. Only last month a huge mass meeting of the Mussalmans of Lahore was convened under the presidentship of that popular poet and crudite scholar Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, Barrister-at-law, and Resolutions were passed in favour of this Bill. It appears to me that my Hon'ble friend's followers have risen in revolt against him and thrown him overboard. Sir, let us see what are the views of the Moslems of Eastern Bengal and Assam, as there are a very large number of them in that Province. Let us see what they say on that point. Their accredited leader, the Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur of Dacca in his presidential address at the All-India Moslem League at Satkira, observed as follows:

'The question of a system of free primary education for the masses has been agitating the minds of the leaders of Indian thought for some time. In my opinion, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has rendered a signal service to the future of primary education in this country by the elaborate scheme he has worked out, and which he has so ably formulated in his Bill. I feel it my duty to accord my whole-hearted sympathy to the principle of Mr. Gokhale's Bill, for I feel convinced that, unless some action is taken in the way suggested by Mr. Gokhale, the cause of primary education will continue to be relegated to the cold shade of neglect.';

"And this Council may rest assured that what the Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur of Dacca thinks to-day, the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal will think to-morrow. And, Sir, last, but not least, the accepted and trusted leader of the Mussalmans of India, His Highness the Aga Khan, has given his powerful and whole-hearted support to the principle of compulsion in education. In his speech at the Delhi session of the All-India Muhammedan Education Conference, His Highness remarked that:

'No country can ever flourish or make its mark as a nation as long as the principle of compulsion is absent.'

"To my mind this is the last word of the Mussalmans of India on the present question, and it is not right for any one to say that they do not desire the principle of compulsion to be introduced into the education of their children. My friend Mr. Gokhale may well be proud of having this powerful support on his side. Sir, the other day my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Shamsul Huda called upon my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah to resign his seat on this Council, simply because my Hon'ble friend had committee the unpardonable sin of supporting Mr. Basu in his Special Marriage Bill, the provisions of which are said to be against the views held by the Mussalmans generally, and I noticed that my Hon'ble friend Mr. Shafi approved of this by a stentorian 'hear, hear.' Well, perhaps, my Hon'ble friends did not then think that they were laying down a dangerous principle which may be applied to them one day, and that nemesis would overtake them so soon. If they are consistent and still believe in their principle, I call upon them in the name of the Mussalmans of India to resign their seats, as in this matter they certainly do not represent the views of their constituents. Far, far be it from me to subscribe to this curious principle. To do so would be to convert the Hon'ble Members of this Council into mere gramophone machines with the well-known trade-mark of 'His Master's voice' affixed to their lips, or to degrade them to the position of what Edmund Burke called 'local agents'. If this principle was applied in our elections, it would be impossible to find any man with a spark of self-respect in him to come forward and be elected to any representative assembly. I myself believe in freedom of thought, freedom of speech and freedom of conscience. If my Hon'ble friends will pardon my presumption in saying so, they are valuable and able acquisitions to this Council, and they have a right to be heard with respect and admiration. I see no reason why any popular representative in this Council should be suppressed in expressing his views on the plea that he is not representing the views of his constituency. At the same time, it is incumbent upon us to show clearly

[Mr. Mazharul Haque; the President.] [19th March 1912.]

when we differ from the majority of our constituents, that we are giving our individual opinions. I am afraid none of my Hon'ble friends have done this. I myself have had the misfortune to differ from the majority of my Moslem brethren on one or two questions, but I have taken special care, whenever I have spoken on those subjects, to tell the public that I was expressing my own personal views. Sir, I have done with this part of my speech. I hope I have fully demonstrated the fact that the Mussalmans of India as a community support the principle of free and compulsory education as embodied in the Bill of my Hon'ble friend Mr. Gokhale, and the throwing out of this Bill will be as much a source of disappointment to them as to any other community in India.

"Let me now pass on to a few of the general objections against this It is said that the British Government of India, being a foreign Government, cannot afford to pass a compulsory measure of this kind, as it would make the Government exceedingly unpopular. Well, to confess frankly, I do not believe a word of this argument. To me it is inconceivable that a measure enacted with the avowed intention of raising the people from the lowest depth of degradation, and initiated and supported by the educated Indians themselves, could possibly rouse popular feeling against But it is said that agitators will be given a handle the Government. incite the ignorant classes against British rule. Well, there are some people who have agitators on their brain, and do what they will, they cannot get rid of them. Their activities in this direction are bound to die an ignominious death. The entire educated community cannot be expected to sit with folded hands and see their glorious work shattered by a few unscrupulous fanatics without raising their powerful influence against such a sacrilegious act. No, the thing is utterly unthinkable, and I cannot persuade myself to believe even in the possibility of such a fantastic state of affairs. who for untold generations have looked upon their Pundits and Maulvis as sacred personages, who have surrounded the authors of books with the halo of sanctity, and who have bowed their heads before learning with reverence cannot suddenly be converted into opponents of education. argument of the unpopularity of the Government is the bogey created out of some people's imagination simply to frighten the Government and the timid and the nervous among the Indians. It is too puerile to be seriously considered. Indeed, the British Government have never shrunk from doing their duty with manliness and courage, and they should not do so in this instance. They are strong enough to be brave and to live down all un-reasonable opposition. As a matter of fact, I am firmly convinced that the passing of this measure will raise the Government in the estimation of the people, and make them highly popular.

"Then, Sir, the stock-plea of want of funds, which crops up on every possible occasion, is to be considered. When the Government of India are determined to carry out a scheme of their own, however expensive it may be, they never lack money; but the moment they are confronted with a popular demand, they bring out this eternal argument as an unsurmountable barrier. Take, for instance, the latest demand on the Imperial exchequer in connection with the removal of the capital from Calcutta. What an immense amount of money will be required to build up the new Imperial Delhi, so as to make it a capital worthy of the great Indian Empire, and still, Sir, you are going to provide this enormous sum. Please let me not be misunderstood. I am not speaking against the recent changes—."

The President: "The Hon'ble Member must confine himself to the question before the Council, which is the Education Bill, and not the transfer to Delhi."

The Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque: "I was arguing merely by way of analogy. I am not speaking against the recent changes brought about by the announcement of our King-Emperor at Delhi."

The President: "The Hon'ble Member's attention is called to the fact that I have given a ruling on that point; he is perfectly at liberty to mention

[19TH MARCH 1912.] [The President; Mr. Mazharul Haque.]

the transfer to Delhi as an illustration, but he is not at liberty to dwell on it, once he has alluded to it."

The Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque : " Very well, I leave that point.

"I am giving an example of how the finances of the country are managed, and how money can easily be found when Government want it for any project they have in view. The amount required for the purpose of making primary education universal—and it cannot be made universal unless it is made free and compulsory—is no doubt a very large one; but it is a mistake to suppose that the whole amount will be required immediately, and in one lump sum. The attainment of this noble ideal must take years, even decades, to be achieved, and by the time that happy day arrives in India when every man, woman and child will be able to read and write, it is hoped that this country will have made such strides in trades, commerce, industry and general prosperity that it will be able to bear the burden easily. The great thing is that the principle should be recognised, and a beginning should be made; and for this modest object the money can be easily supplied by the Government.

"Another objection to the Bill is that it provides for fresh local taxation. In reply to this, I can only say that the Mussalman community have already shown their willingness to be taxed for the expansion of education, and I refuse to believe that the Hindus are less patriotic or more backward than their Mussalman countrymen to object to pay their share of the taxes for this great movement. This is the test by which the patriotism of big landholders, merchants and commercial and wealthy people of the country will be tried, and if they fail in that test, India will form her own opinion about them.

"Now I come to another point which has been urged against the adoption of free and compulsory education in India. It is fairly stated that the more money is spent on primary education, the less will be forthcoming for higher education. I am afraid that this sort of argument is exceedingly unjust to the Government of India. It betrays an unreasonable distrust and suspicion of their often-repeated declarations and pledges. It was only two days ago that His Excellency the Viceroy, presiding at the Convocation of the Calcutta University, was pleased to say:

'Impressed! by the considerations which are not peculiar to the Calcutta University and remembering the stirring words which His Imperial Majesty addressed to the members of our Senate, the Government of India have decided to make a solid advance in the direction of teaching and residential universities.'

"Further on, His Excellency said:

'I also hope as I have already said that teaching and residential universities may be multiplied throughout India, for I believe that thoy willido great things for the improvement of higher education.'

"And later on, Sir, again His Excellency was pleased to say as regards education other than higher:

'I can only assure you that we have in view a policy which embraces every branch of education,—technical education, primary education, female education, and which, as the schemes mature and funds become available, we desire to carry through in consultation with Local Governments.'

"Does this show any desire on the part of the Government of India to starve higher education, in favour of primary education, and is it conceivable that they will go behind these solemn pledges of their own? The fear is baseless, and I need not detain the Council on this point.

"One more point and I have done. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in his speech refrained from discussing the application of the provisions of the Bill to girls on the ground that it was a matter of detail. I consider it as an integral part of the measure, and if that goes, I shall lose half of my enthusiasm about it. In one of the papers supplied to us the compulsory education of girls has been described as one of the most objectionable features of the Bill: I believe it was the opinion of my Hon'ble friend Mr. Shafi. To my mind, it is one of its most welcome features. You cannot regenerate a country without raising the status of the women of that country. And what is the fear after all? The mistrust of little girls of from 6 to 10 years of age. Sir, I hope every man of light and leading, be he a European or

[Mr. Mazharul Haque; Nawab Saiyid Muhammad.] [19TH MARCH 1912.]

Indian, will set his face against such immoral doctrines and monstrous sentiments. Forces of bigotry and fanaticism have to be fought in this country, and we want our Government to be on our side. I hope that the next time a similar Bill is brought, either by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale or someone else, the clause about the education of our girls will not be omitted. No doubt, prejudices will have to be humoured for some time in this country, and perhaps little children will have to be sent to schools in closed carriages and palanquins, and educated in schools surrounded by high walls. But we cannot afford to neglect the education of our girls; this must go hand in hand with the education of our boys.

"Sir, in conclusion, I say that I am not unmindful of the sincere and earnest efforts of the Government of India to extend primary education in this country. I am obliged to the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler for his sympathetic treatment of the whole subject. I am grateful to him for his noble declarations which will be read by thousands and hundreds of thousands with pleasure and gratitude. But I believe that we shall not achieve our goal unless the element of compulsion is introduced in our system of education. I believe with His Highness the Aga Khan that 'no country can flourish or can make its mark as a nation as long as the principle of compulsion is not introduced.' On this ground, I strongly support the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Bill, and I regret that Government has not seen their way to accept it. The time will surely come when the overwhelming weight of public opinion will force the hands of Government to accept the measure and pass it into law."

The Hon'ble Nawab Saiyid Muhammad: "Sir, after the masterly and eloquent speech which my Hon'ble friend Mr. Gokhale delivered yesterday while introducing the motion in this Council, I think there is not much left for me to say anything in support of the cause which he has so ably advocated. The Bill now before us has, I am glad to say, met with a large measure of support in the country, and as it has already been pointed out by some of the Hon'ble Members yesterday, the two great political organisations of this country, namely, the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League, have recently passed Resolutions in support of this measure. My friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Haque, has already referred to the fate which the opposition led by the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi has met in the Moslem League. The Madras Presidency Moslem League, of which my friend the Prince of Arcot is the President, has also passed a Resolution unanimously approving of the principles of Mr. Gokhale's Bill, and the Secretary of the Muslim League is also one of the Secretaries of the Elementary Education League which was started a few months ago in Madras with the object of spreading elementary education. Now, with regard to the warning which my Hon'ble friend Mr. Shafi gave to the representatives of my community in this Council, my Hon'ble friend Mr. Haque has replied at some length, and I do not propose to deal with it. But I will say only one word with regard to the assertion which he made that his vote is the vote of the clear majority of the non-official members of the Punjab Legislative Council. I can only express my regret that my Hon'ble friend the Prince of Arcot is not here to-day to say in reply that his vote is the unanimous vote not only of the Madras Muslim League, but also of the entire Muhammadan community of my Presidency. But, Sir, I am in a position to assure the Council that we in Madras are unanimous in thinking that the time has come when a beginning, however guarded and modest, be now made in this direction.

"I fully appreciate the value of the recurring grant of Rupees 50 lakhs made by the Government and feel grateful for it, and I am also grateful to the Hon'ble Member in charge of education for the statement he made yesterday, which is full of sympathy and hope. But what is now wanted is to place the scheme of spreading elementary education on a sound footing, and the Hon'ble Member has not said as to how he is going to do it. I say this can only be done by an Act of this Council. As was pointed out by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale there are two courses open to the Government. They should either allow this Bill to pass through the Council with some modifications and alterations, or to put forward a measure of their own. But as the Hon'ble Member in charge has

[19th March 1912.] [Nawab Saiyid Mahammad ; Mr. Subba Rao.]

not given the slightest indication of bringing a Government measure before this Council in the near future or within a reasonable period, I would request the Government and the Council to let this Bill go to the Select Committee where it will be thoroughly and critically examined. I recognise the difference of opinion that exists regarding this Bill, but I think there is no difficulty in improving its provisions, and the Government can easily reserve the right of only accepting what they require.

"It will be a sad thing, Sir, if the Bill is thrown out at this stage. I feel bound to say, and I say with much regret, that the throwing out of this Bill will create a painful impression, and I am obliged to state that it will counteract the excellent effects which His Majesty's and His Excellency the Viceroy's

noble pronouncements on education had produced in the country."

The Hon'ble Mr. Subba Rao: "Sir, I spoke on this subject on two occasions during the last two years, and I did not consider it necessary to speak to-day, but after the severe criticism to which the Bill has been subjected, I feel bound not to give a silent vote in favour of the motion. We are much indebted, Sir, to the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy and the Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis who opened the opposition to the Bill for the pains they took in studying the voluminous correspondence on the subject and cataloguing all possible objections against the Bill, even including the objection, started by one of them, that the tropical climate of India is unsuited to the principle of compulsion found so successful in Western countries.

"It is said, Sir, that there is no demand for compulsory education. I wish to draw the attention of the Council to the Resolutions of the Indian National Congress, passed during the last five years from 1906 onwards, praying that elementary education may be madefree and gradually compulsory. Attention has already been drawn by my Hon'ble friends, the Hon'ble Nawab Saiyid Muhammad and the Hon'ble Mr. Haque, to the attitude of the Muhammadan community towards this important question and to the resolutions passed by the All-India Moslem League as well as Provincial Moslem Leagues in favour of compulsory education. Since the Bill has been before the country, the weight and volume of non-official opinion, in my opinion, are distinctly in favour of the Bill. We must remember, Sir, that we have not yet learnt Western methods of vociferation, and intelligent public opinion in this country ought not to be misjudged by the absence of clamour so much in evidence in the West. I may say, Sir, without exaggeration that during my public life of over thirty years, I have not come across a measure which has aroused so much enthusiasm in its favour. It is not right, therefore, to say that the country or the weight of non-official opinion is against the Bill.

"You will permit me, Sir, to take notice of some of the more important objections to the Bill. One objection is that by introducing compulsion the spread of education will be checked and rural tracts starved for want of funds. It is assumed that once the Bill becomes law, there will be a large demand for the enforcement of the law in advanced areas, such as municipalities, and the Government will not be in a position to supply funds for purposes of education in rural tracts. This is indeed a poor compliment to the statesmanship and administrative ability of the Department over which the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler so ably presides. Surely it is not the intention of even the most ardent supporters of this measure that the funds at the disposal of the Government should be so distributed as to retard the progressive spread of education in backward areas. At the worst, the Government would equitably distribute and adjust the funds at their disposal between the claims of the advanced areas where the law is to be enforced and those of backward areas where it is not. As regards the objection of inequality, Sir, may I ask what is the result of the present system of distribution? Is it not a fact there are glaring inequalities now in the amounts of financial help rendered to the different provinces, districts, taluks and villages? Such inequalities are bound to continue under any system of distribution, so long as human intelligence is not of the same level, and the wants of different areas vary.

"It is then said, Sir, that the Act will be a dead letter, as the school attendance committees with so many powers for exemption as are provided in the

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Bill will shrink from the unpopularity and odium of enforcing the bye-laws against their neighbours. That may be so for some time in the beginning. In fact the object of the Bill is that these bodies should try all means of persuasion and warning before resorting to coercive processes. But in order that their persuasion and warning may be effectual, it is necessary to arm them with legislative authority to proceed against obstinate parents before a magistrate. This power in resorve is exactly what gives weight to the advice and persuasion of these bodies. In Japan and Ireland, the boasted influence of persuasion is mainly due, I submit, to the fact that there is a law which can be set in motion in the last resort. Even in England, it is persuasion backed up by the power of compulsion that has done a vast amount of good in spreading education. In this connexion, I make no apology for quoting at some length from the report of the Commissioners, who enquired into the working of Elementary Education Acts in England and Wales in 1888. From this it will appear that the shortcomings of the people are not confined to this country alone. They say:

- 'We fully admit that the present system is very lax, and cannot for a moment be compared with the real compulsory enforcement of school attendance in Germany, and in some other parts of Europe, where it has entered into the habits of the people, so as to secure a regularity of attendance which seems to our teachers and managers quite ideal.
- 'We admit that in many cases the school attendance committees, largely composed of farmers, are not very forward either in appointing or in duly paying school attendance officers, and that their sympathy with education is not always very earnest.
- 'We admit that the small rural Boards are very reluctant to summon their neighbours for not sending their children to school, and that not unfrequently members of the Board may be offenders against the law by employing children who should be at school.
- 'We agree with the complaint so general from the witnesses and in the answers to our circulars, that school attendance committees and school boards are constantly discouraged by the action of magistrates, who frequently refuse to convict or who inflict nominal penalties when the law has been plainly and frequently broken. We think, moreover, that stipendiary magistrates have often disregarded the law quite as much as the unpaid justices, especially in London.
- 'While therefore we hope that school boards, school attendance committees and magistrates will remember that it is their duty to enforce the law, and that to educate the young is the greatest security for relieving and removing the pauperism and the degradation which are now blots on our society, we look rather to the growth of public opinion in favour of education than to increased legal penalties for securing regular attendance at our schools. Moreover, it must not be supposed that the law of compulsory attendance is inoperative because it is rarely enforced and even then not always efficiently. We believe that a vist amount has been done, in consequence of the existence of the compulsory bye-laws, to induce parents, by persuasion and warning to send their children regularly to school.
 - "I submit, Sir, the above extracts speak for themselves.
- "It is also complained, Sir, that there is a deficiency of trained teachers to meet even the present wants, and that this legislation will aggravate the evil and ought not to be undertaken unless there is an adequate supply of good teachers. A similar objection is made with regard to the want of suitable school accommodation. These objections appear to me somewhat incomprehensible. Does anybody seriously expect that at any time there will be an army of trained teachers waiting for employment as soon as a Bill like this is passed into law? This finding of teachers is a slow process, and we have to manage with them as best we can. There is plenty of material in the country which will suffice to meet our wants, and 'this material will grow gradually as the demand increases. After all the Bill does not require any local body to enforce compulsion in their area unless it has previously satisfied the Department that it has provided sufficient school accommodation and is in a position to secure the necessary teaching staff. Speaking of school accommodation, I must say that like other branches of British administration, the Education Department also is making exorbitant demands unsuited to the poverty of the country, the necessities of this climate and the traditions of our indigenous system of education. In no branch of education is this tendency to extravagance more harmful to progress and economy than in the primary department. I deprecate, therefore, that the question of school accommodation should be brought forward as a bugbear in connexion with this Bill. Such difficulties were felt in the beginning by all countries that adopted compulsion. I shall in this connexion

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quote from 'The making of the citizen' by Mr. R. S. Hughes, published in **1**906.

"Speaking of school buildings in England, he says:

It is impossible to speak in general terms of English school buildings. They vary cnormously, from the uncomfortable, cold, damp village school house, which has so many functions in life to fulfil, up to the magnificent, pulatial structures which the great progressive boards of England and Wales have creeted for the use of their future citizens. Poor school buildings are not peculiar to England; they are to be found in America, France and Germany, and but little satisfaction can be gained by a prolonged contemplation of them. It may, however, be stated that the rural districts of England do not monopolise them. Indeed, too often they are found in the centre of our largest cities.

Speaking of the teaching staff, he says:

'The fair sex is greatly preponderant (some of my Hon'ble friends dilated on the advantages of the preponderance of the fair sex in England, and it is worth while to hear what he has to say on this matter). A class of teachers known as 'Article 68's' are untrained and uncertificated women teachers over 18 years of age. They form one of the weakest spots in the English educational system.........The employment of these unqualified people under Article 68 is the despair of all true educators in England to-day. Too often indeed is the school made the dumping ground of aspiring incompetence. They were 30,000 in 1892, and 50,000 in 1900, i.e., 26 per cent. and 32.7 per cent. respectively of the total teaching staff.

Then speaking of Germany, he says:

'That there are many poor and insunitary school buildings in Prussia is well known.
'Staffing. The normal size of a class in Prussia is fixed at 70 for the urban class teacher,

Staffing. The normal size of a class in Prussia is fixed at 70 for the urban class teacher, and 80 for the normal class teacher. It is when these conditions are not met that the class becomes technically overcrowded. In 1896, there were 17,165 'overcrowded' classes in Prussia with 1,390,525 pupils. Class-rooms too are not enough: in the rural districts 150 classes had only 100 class-rooms. The result is the general adoption throughout large parts of rural Germany of the half-day school.

'It is calculated that to provide every class in Prussia with a teacher of its own, and to reduce each class to its normal size of 70 or 80 children, would require the appointment of 20,000 more Prussian teachers!'

"It is idle therefore to expect perfection in such matters at the outset in this country, when advanced countries like England and Germany have not been able to perfect their organisation even after decades of compulsory education.

"I shall now turn, Sir, to the eloquent exposition of the policy of the Government of India as outlined by the Hon'ble Member in charge of Education. We are grateful to the Government for their resolute determination 'to spread schools throughout the land and to raise and make more practical the whole character of our primary education,' and 'to combat ignorance through the length and breadth of this ancient land.' The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has set up the goal of universal literacy as recognised in Western countries and in Japan. Has the Hon'ble Member for Education this same goal in view as a result of the policy of expansion he has outlined? Otherwise there is no agreement between him and the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. If he has the same goal, as I hope and trust he has, how does he propose to reach it? What is the alternative he proposes, when he rejects the proposal of compulsion as contained in this Bill? According to the policy of diffusion which he has set forth, when does he hope to reach the goal and attain the level to which Japan, England and other civilised countries have risen. I am afraid that, so long as he is content merely with this policy of expansion, we can never hope to see, even in distant future, even after a century or more, India placed nearly on the same footing as other civilised countries. May I request the Hon'ble Member for Education to make a definite statement on the subject?

"The Hon'ble Member has dwelt on the important question of cost. is curious that those who say that the Bill will be ineffective and will not be availed of by the public, should urge that when the permissive power of compulsion is given, the funds required would be prohibitive and that therefore the Bill should be rejected. On this point we have to remember that the principle of compulsion under the Bill will be introduced on the initiative of a local body subject to the sanction of the Local Government under rules framed by the Government of India, and thus the extension of this principle

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is a slow process and the Government has the right to lay a definite programme of reaching the whole country in a period of, say, 20 or even 30 years. Thus the moneys required will be spread over a large number of years, and the amount required will be well within the means of the Government. I may venture to say that the Government will not be doing their duty by the country if they cannot rise to the occasion and take in hand this important scheme which has to be worked out, not spasmodically or suddenly but progressively over a number of years. Sir, it appears to me that this is ominently one of those cases where, if there is a will, there is a way. Have not the Government taken precautions to provide against the threatened extinction of the opium revenue amounting to several crores of rupees, purely on humanitarian grounds? Have not the Government, for the healthy development of provincial autonomy, announced by a bold stroke of far-secing statesmanship important administrative changes whose beneficent effects will be felt only as time passes by, and with this object in view, do not the Government provide the expenditure of crores of rupees for the construction of the new capital at Delhi? Is the banishment of illiteracy in this country a less sacred duty, and should it not be undertaken boldly in the face of official pessinism and discouragement? I cannot, Sir, persuade myself that the question of funds stands in the way of the Government. It is unfortunate that the Government is at present weighed down by the opinions of Local Governments and cannot make up their mind now to move forward on the path of compulsion, which appears to me to be the only way of surely and speedily reaching the goal, which I take it both the Government and the people have in view.

"It seems to me that the Government of India feel some nervousness in committing themselves to legislation in this matter, as it would bind them to a definite policy on which they cannot go back, whereas, if the matter is left to executive action, they would have a free hand to shape their policy according to their pleasure or necessity. Now, Sir, if there is one matter more than another in regard to which we want the Government of India to lay down a definite line of policy and be bound to it, it is in the matter of education, vitally affecting the future of India, a concern, above all others, to be preserved from the mutations of policy or the idiosyncracies of the authorities for the time being.

"I submit, Sir, that we value the Bill, more on account of the principle of self-help which it embodies. We are auxious that this principle of self-help should form an integral part of the educational policy of the Government. I venture to say that what is most needed at present for the real progress of education in this country is not so much the single-handed efforts of the Government, however strenuous and generous they may be, as the cordial cooperation of the people in the task which the Government and the enlightened public have so much at heart. How can their labours in this great cause fructify unless the principle of compulsion is accepted, which carries with it the principle of self-help. It is then that the interest of the people will be enlisted in the cause of education, and they will be induced to take an active part in devising a system suited to their requirements. Sir, though the Government is at present resolved to move only on the lines on which they have so long been going on, I, for one, find no cause of despair. The Government is firmly resolved, as far as they can, to banish illiteracy from the land and bring light and comfort into the homes of the poor and the humble. I fully trust that the Government will speedily take up this question of compulsion into its own hands, and introduce legislation on the subject with such safe-guards as they may think proper."

The Secretary, with the permission of the President, read out the following speech on behalf of the Hon'ble the Raja of Partabgarh:

"Sir, in this very Council I twice advocated the principles underlying the measure introduced by my Hon'ble friend Mr. Gokhale, but I am very sorry that the majority of the community I have the honour to represent, and

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men of experience who have the knowledge of the facts, consider it premature. I am, therefore, unable to accord my support to the motion before the Council."

The Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah: "Sir, I do not think that anybody in this Council can deny the paramount importance of this measure. It has been said that this Bill is going to be thrown out. It is very often said in this Council that, unless Government are willing to accept any Resolution or any measure, it cannot be passed in this Council. Now I for one do not wish in any way to taunt Government in this matter. The Council as it is constituted now, we know perfectly well that the intention is not that in this Council we can defeat the Government and replace the Government bench by the people of this country, by non-official members. Council as it is constituted now, it is well understood that it is impossible to appeal to the Council and ask them to vote on any Resolution or measure according to their own convictions; but the sole function to which the non-official members—a minority—are reduced in this Council is only to express their views on all questions that come before this Council. That being the sole function to which I am reduced here, I think that on an important measure of this character I should not give my silent vote, but should express my views and give my reasons in support of this Bill. I regret very much that some of my countrymen are opposed to this Bill. Well, Sir, it is our misfortune that there should be this difference of opinion. One thing I can assure this Council of, and that is this, that great and overwhelming majority of my people are with me. When I was speaking on the Marriage Bill the other day, I frankly and openly admitted that I was supporting a minority, that the majority of my people were opposed to that measure. But my innermost convictions were in favour of that measure, and I felt it my duty to support the motion. In the same spirit I ask those who are opposed to this Bill to concede to me that great majority of my countrymen, Hindus and Mussalmans, are in favour of and support the Bill. That being so, Sir, I have a double satisfaction: not only my innermost convictions are in favour of this Bill, which shall always be the first and foremost consideration with me either in opposing or supporting a measure, but I have the additional happiness that even the opinion of my countrymen, of the majority of them, is in favour of it. Sir, a very great deal has been said about the merits of this Bill. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale—whom, if I may, I take the liberty of congratulating for the able and masterly way in which he has dealt with this question, and for the services that he has rendered to the country, and I only pray that India may have many more sons like him—has laid down here clearly that the cardinal principle of this Bill is the introduction of compulsion in selected areas. To that what is the answer of the Government? Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler , whose reply was not very pleasing to me, but at the same time it was not very displeasing—it was what I would call middling—the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler said that as to the ends that we have in view, we are at one, but only we differ as to the means and the ways. And the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler said that to Government it seems that the best way and means to achieve that end which we all desire, namely, to kill the enemy of ignorance, would be the extension, the gradual extension, with a little more speed than we have been going for the last 150 years, namely, principle of the voluntary gradual extension of the Well, Sir, the real issue therefore - and I wish to draw the atten-Council to the real issues: I do not wish to deal with tion of the individual members-that you have got before the Council to-day is this: is this method which the Government suggest the best method, is that the proper method or not? Now, Sir, my answer is this, and I think it will be conceded in this Council in all fairness, and it has been conceded outside this Council in all fairness, that one of the greatest reproaches against the British rule is the neglect of elementary education in this country. We have been under the British rule for the last 150 years, and, Sir, the figures that the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has given to this Council more than once show in what condition, in what state, the elementary education of the country at present is. We have been trying this system, namely, the principle of the extension of the voluntary system, for the last 50 years or 60 years seriously, and we know what has been

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In one word, in one sentence, if I may say so, you are going at a jog-trot pace, and that jog-trot pace we object to. By this method you have shown conclusively, and the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has shown conclusively by figures, that it will take 175 years in order to get all the school-going age children to school, and 600 years to get all the girls to school. I do not wish to be misunderstood here for a single moment. I do not wish to minimise the efforts of the Government. I fully recognize that within the last few years the Education Member, full-fledged sitting there now, was created before many of us expected that happy state of things in this Council. I do not dispute, Sir, that efforts have been made. The announcement by our King-Emperor of the grant of 50 lakhs of rupces for elementary education at the Delhi Durbar was most welcome. If I may say so with great deference, these accelerated methods which have been adopted have come into force recently and are largely due to no little spur from the non-official criticism for which the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale deserves all credit. But once this measure is rejected, once we are relegated to the principle of voluntary system, I have no doubt the Government will do all they can, but it will not be the same as having the principle of compulsion introduced in this country. Therefore I say, Sir, that the question is this. We are not satisfied that the methods and ways that you suggest are the bost. We are convinced that the progress will be inordinately slow, and we are convinced that there is no salvation for the masses unless the principle of compulsion is introduced into this country. In no country has elementary education become universal without compulsion. But the answer of the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler is, the time has not come (of course he does not indicate when the time will come, that is left in obscurity, for which he deserves great credit), he says, first of all, you cannot compare India with other countries of the world. I admit that the conditions of India are in certain respects different from the conditions of other countries of the world. But I think even the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler will admit that the people of India, if I may say so, belong to the same species, namely, human beings; in that respect I think we resemble all other nations of the world, and all other countries. And if the conditions of India are different, which I concede to a certain extent, surely therein comes the statesman, therein comes the politician: it is his business to meet those special conditions, and to provide safeguards which are necessary. It is no use saying, India is different, India has got a number of languages, a number of castes, a number of creeds. What has this got to do with the number of castes, religions and creeds? have no doubt to take these conditions into consideration and provide for them, and I appeal to the statesmen. Then the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler gave certain figures. I am not dealing with the case of England or the Philippine Islands. He dealt with the case of Ceylon, Baroda and other places. Well, I understand that some of the figures which Sir Harcourt Butler gave us are not quite correct; but as the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale is a specialist in statistics and figures, I propose to leave it to him when he comes to deal with the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler in reply. All I say is that the figures are not, as I understand, correct. Then, Sir, the next point which Sir Harcourt Butler took was that there were not enough school buildings and there were not sufficient teachers. Well, Sir, I submit there is not much force in that argument. The real force in the argument is, whether you have got money or not. If you have money, you will get teachers; if you have money you will get school buildings. The real point is whether you have got money or not. Therefore, Sir, if I am right to this extent that your method remarks the gradual extension of the principle of voluntows contains method, namely, the gradual extension of the principle of voluntary system, is not good, does not and will not produce the results desired, is too slow for the progress of the country, and if our method is right, namely, the system of compulsion in selected areas, then once you assume that we are right, we shall at once be faced with the second question, where is the money, and how are we to do it? I attach no importance, Sir, with very great respect to the argument of Sir Harcourt Butler that you cannot get teachers and school buildings: if you have money. I say you can get them, with really little or no difficulty, only you may have to wait a little; but I say it is not an insurmountable difficulty. Therefore, Sir, the next question I wish to answer is the question

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of finance. Now, Sir, this is a very very old story that you have no money, and all I can say is this, find money! Find money!! Find money!!! I appeal to the President—find money. I appeal to the President not as President, but as the Finance Minister. I say, find money. If you say you have not got enough money, discover and tap new sources of taxation. But, Str, what is the provision of this Bill? Before I go into that wider question of finding money, what is the provision of this Bill? The provision, as far as I understand, is this. First of all you have to comply with what I would call the condition precedent, and the condition precedent is that unless in a particular area you have 33 per cent. or whatever figure may be hereafter fixed under the rules to be made by the Governor General in Council under this Bill-but I will take the figure of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, 33 per cent.—first of all, unless you have 33 per cent. of schoolgoing age boys at school, no local body will be in a position to apply to extend or enforce the provisions of this Bill to that particular area. Now, Sir, as the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has pointed out, it will cost roughly about 3 crores of rupees to the Imperial Exchequer. The total cost will be 11 crores, one-third to be paid by the local bodies, because it is only on that condition they can introduce the operation of this Bill into that particular area. On the other hand, the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler says it will be double. He has not given us his reasons for it or data, but has simply stated that it will be double. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has given his reasons and data for his figures, and The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has given his reasons and data for his figures, and therefore with very very great respect I must say that I prefer reasons to mere assertions, and I say that, until I am convinced to the contrary, which I am not, I will take the figure of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale—3 crores—to be correct. Now, Sir, I ask, is it such an insurmountable difficulty to get 3 crores of rupces from the Imperial Exchequer? Is it such a great, gigantic feat to be performed for a country like India with its 300 millions of people? I say, Sir, that there is nothing in that argument. I ask the Government; I say 'find the money; if necessary, tax the people.' But I shall be told that the people are already taxed; I shall be told that we shall be facing great unpopularity; and I shall be told, why should we do all this? My answer is that we should do all this to improve the masses of this country to whom, you over a much greater this to improve the masses of this country to whom you owe a much greater duty than to anybody else. My answer is that you must remove that reproach that is levelled justly against British rule, namely, the neglect of elementary education. My answer is that it is the duty of every civilized Government to educate masses, and if you have to face unpopularity, if you have to face a certain amount of danger, face it boldly in the name of duty; and I say it in this Council here without hesitation that you will have the whole educated public with you in the struggle on the battle field. Therefore, fear not; do not listen to the alarmist that you will make yourself unpopular if you advocate and fight the cause of elementary education.

"Now, the next point which I shall deal with in the speech of the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler is this. He said that the Local Governments who have expressed their opinions and who are supposed to know the local conditions of the country have almost every one of them opposed this Bill The Local Governments have given various reasons for opposing this measure. He only said that the Local Governments are opposed to this measure. He did not tell us which of the arguments, which of the objections of the Local Governments, he thought were sound arguments and objections of weight. But, Sir, I had an opportunity of going through this file as much as I possibly could. I find the Local Governments, as far as I can understand, have opposed this Bill, first, on the ground of political danger. This also includes a small non-official public who oppose this Bill. Secondly that the voluntary system of extending primary education is better; and thirdly, have hinted in some places of social danger; and fourthly, taxation and the cost. I have already dealt with the question of cost and I cannot say anything more. I am not in charge of the Finance portfolio and I am not on the Government Bench. Otherwise I should certainly occupy myself in finding ways and means of financing this measure. I have dealt with the cost; I have dealt with the issue which really is the issue, namely, whether the voluntary system is better or whether compulsion is better

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There are therefore only two other points, namely, the political danger and the social danger. Now, the social danger has not been advocated in this Council except by one or two members. My friend the Hon'ble Nawab Abdul Majid has said that there will be strikes and there will be Socialists amongst us, and I think the Hon'ble Nawab Majid brought in the political danger that if you give education they will become agitators. Well, Sir, I honestly and sincerely appeal to the Government: do you really think that education means sedition? I say, Sir, that a frank and independent criticism of the Government or the measures of Government is the duty of every member of the State. But let me tell you that you have no better friends in this country--I mean the friends of the Government-than the educated classes of this country. But, if I may say so, we love the British Government, but we love our country more We come forward and criticise the Government. We say "you are going wrong. It may be we are wrong; it does not follow because we say you are wrong therefore you are wrong.' But surely a fair, free and independent criticisms of the acts of Government, of the measures of Government, do not constitute sedition. Therefore, I say, Sir, can you argue, seriously that education means sedition? Do you mean that if you can get a boy who can read and write a little that he will become a political agitator? Can you seriously believe that? On the other hand, however, we know the blessings of education. We have learnt that from the British Government. They have been the first to open our eyes to it. They have brought us up to this level when we can stand in this Council and deliberate upon the affairs of our nation and of our country. I ask, Sir, where would the Hon'ble Nawab Majid be but for his education? I ask, Sir, where would the Hon'ble Muhammad Shafi be (he is not here I see) but for his education? Therefore, Sir, it cannot be denied as to the boon that education education? Therefore, Sir, it cannot be denied as to the boon that education brings to the country. Then it is said 'Oh! but the people will become too big for their boots', if I may use that expression, that 'they will not follow the occupation of their parents, they will demand more rights, there will be strikes, they will become Socialists.' Well, Sir, are you going to keep millions and millions of people trodden under your feet for fear that they may demand more rights; are you going to keep them in ignorance and darkness for ever and for all ages to come because they may stand up against you and say that we have certain rights and you must give them to us? Is that the feeling of humanity? Is that the spirit of humanity? I say, Sir, that it is the duty of the zamindars and of the landlords to be a little less us? Is that the feeling of humanity? Is that the spirit of humanity? I say, Sir, that it is the duty of the zamindars and of the landlords to be a little less selfish. I say, Sir, that it is the duty of the educated classes to be a little less selfish. They must not monopolise the pedestals, but they must be propared to meet their people. They must be prepared to be brought down from their pedestals if they do not do their duties properly. I say, Sir, that it is the elementary right of every man to say if he is wronged that he is wronged and that he should be righted. I say, Sir, there is nothing in that argument. It may be that in England and other countries in certain circles it has been urged that this elementary education has been a mistake. But by whom is this urged? Not by those who have been influenced by selfish reasons be benefited by it but by those who have been influenced by selfish reasons bcause they have suffered. It is this class which says that it has been a mistake to have introduced universal elementary education.

"Therefore, Sir, I say there is nothing so far as the social danger is concerned, I say there is nothing so far as the political danger is concerned. You will have greater friends, you will have more intelligent friends who will understand you better, and so your work will be all the more easy. You will have less unscrupulous people who are at present in a position to impose upon the ignorant and who are in a position to rile them against you when there is no cause, when there is no reason but for purposes of their own. Therefore I say, Sir, I have not the slightest hesitation in saying, that I am convinced that the method advocated by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale is the best method in the interests of our country.

"There is one word more, Sir, before I finish. I do not think it is necessary to mention these things really, but one is forced into this lest one may be misunderstoe. But for the present state of the Mussalman community and

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in some quarters in particular, I do not think it is necessary for any Musulman to say that he would not do anything either in this Council or outside this Council which is likely to prejudice the interest or the cause of his community. I, Sir, yield to none in that respect. If this Bill had been referred to the Select Committee as I wish it, if certain requirements were not embodied in this Bill by the Select Committee to safeguard the Musulmans, and if this Bill would have come before this Council without those requirements, which I think will be necessary in the interest of the Muhammadans in the present state of the condition of the people in this country, I would have been the first to oppose that Bill until and unless those requirements were incorporated in the Bill. But that is not the question, that is not the point, before the Council today. Therefore, I will only rest content by saying this that if this Bill were referred to the Select Committee, and if this Bill did not provide for certain requirements and modifications which I think are just in the interests of the Musulmans, I would certainly then be the first to oppose it. But the present state of this Bill is a motion to refer it to the Select Committee, and that motion I have no hesitation in supporting."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: "I beg to support the motion that the Elementary Education Bill be referred to a Select Committee. I will briefly explain my reasons for this view. In the first place, I must express the gratification with which the remarks of the Hon'ble Member for Education have been listened to by this Council. They will be read with much satisfaction throughout the country. We fully recognise that the Government have done a great deal in the past to promote education. In fact, the present public system of education is one of the greatest gifts which the Government has conferred upon the people, and the people feel deeply grateful for it. The fact that we ask for more does not in any way detract from our appreciation of what we have received. On the contrary, it is the greatest proof of such appreci-We desire to secure to all our people what is at present enjoyed by only f them. And we regard a measure like the Bill before us essential to a few of them. the attainment of this object. What has been said by previous speakers and particularly by the Hon'ble the Member for Education already disposed of many of the objections raised to the Bill, and therefore my task is an easy one. Briefly, those who oppose the Bill may be divided into three classes. There are first those who are opposed to universal education and therefore opposed to the Bill because it introduces the principle of compulsion which will lead to universal education. In this class I am sorry to find are some prominent members of the landed aristocracy, among them my friends the Hon'ble Nawab Abdul Majid and the Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Rao Chitnavis. They seemed to speak in blissful ignorance of the fact that the Government of India has long been committed to the principle of universal education. They have put forward rather late in the day objections of a social, political and miscellaneous character against the introduction of universal education. Several of these objections have been so well answered by my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah that I will not go over the same ground. But, apart from the social objections and the political objections which he has disposed of, there are some miscellaneous objections which remain to be answered. One of these is that put forward by the Hon'ble Nawab Abdul Majid in the name of the language difficulty. He said there are many languages current in this country, and he apprehended, speaking with special reference to the United Provinces, that if the Bill was passed into law an attempt might be made to injure the Urdu language and to compol Muhammadan students to study Hindi. Now, Sir, I will not take up the time of the Council by going into a historical dissertation as to respective ages and characters, the merits and demorits, of the Hindi and Urdu languages. I shall content myself with saying that so great a scholar as Sir William Hunter has said that Hindi stands at the head of all the vernaculars of India. For the rest my friend is entirely mistaken in entertaining the fears which he has expressed. For the last seventy years the Government of the United Provinces have been utilising both Hindi and Urdu in imparting education among the mass of the people, and if the

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Bill is passed there will be no change in that direction and no cause for offence or complaint given to any Muhammadan or non-Muhammadan.

"Then objections have been urged against the Bill on the ground of there being numerous castes and numerous creeds in this country. I submit, Sir, that the existence of numerous castes and creeds has not proved to be an insuperable obstacle in the way of extending education among the masses. The British Government have for the last seventy years been extending education among the masses, including the most backward classes, notwithstanding the existence of different creeds, notwithstanding the existence of numerous castes in the country. The lines which they have followed are sound lines, which need not be departed from in the slightest degree, but which will enable the Government if the Bill is passed into law to bring the blessings of education home to every caste and to every creed in the country.

"These are what I call miscellaneous objectious, which do not affect the principle of the Bill. It is sufficient to say that, if the Bill ever comes to be examined in Select Committee, ample provision can be made to safeguard every possible interest which requires to be safeguarded.

"Then, in the second class of those who are opposed to the Bill come those who accept the principle of universal education but think that the principle of compulsion should not be introduced into the educational system of this country. They want education to be universal but they have a mortal fear of the principle of compulsion, because they urge that compulsion will mean an unnecessary interference with the liberties of the people.

"They forget that the principle of compulsion has necessarily to be introduced in some departments of every civilised administration. In the very first place, to establish and maintain order and to repress crime, a certain amount of compulsion—of restraint—has to be exercised on the wills and actions of individuals. In the second place, in a higher atmosphere in promoting social wellbeing also, compulsion does come into play. The Government introduced the system of vaccination many years ago. Under that system, whether they will it or not, people have to subject themselves to the provisions of the Vaccination Act. There are penal clauses in it, there are prosecutions under it, the Act is in force over vast areas in the country, and yet nobody has heard that the people have strongly resented it, much less that it has led to riots or disorder. The introduction of waterworks and drainage has not been brought about in many places, at least with the consent of the general public. They have had to submit to it for the general good, and have had to pay taxes, to undergo hardships, prosecutions, and so on. So also in the matter of other improvements. I submit that the principle of compulsion has to be introduced where it is clearly for the benefit of the people at large that it should be. If the great bulk of the community appreciate its introduction, the difficulties of the situation are lightened. If the bulk of the community have not been prepared to appreciate it, it only casts an additional duty upon us to educate them to do so, and that education can casily be given where the object is so patently good, as in this case, of securing this blessing of education to all classes and sections of the community. The theoretical objection to the principle of compulsion does not stand in the way of any real beneficial improvement being brought about, and ought not to stand in the way of the proposed humanitarian measure. Then, Sir, there is the third class of opponents to the Bill. This consists of those who are entirely and wholeheartedly for universal education, and who are also in favour of the principle of compulsion, but who think that the time is not yet for introducing that principle. In this third category are many Local Governments. The Bengal Government says that it sees no objection per se to the principle of compulsory elementary education; but urges that the conditions essential to its success have yet The Madras Government say: 'It is an axiom that the univerto be created. sal education of the masses is the goal to be aimed at, and all who have the interests of the country at heart are equally interested in bringing about this consummation, but that His Excellency the Governor in Council cannot recommend the adoption of the Bill for sometime to come. Even the Gov. ernment of the United Provinces, which I regret to note has put forward some very unreasonable and unjustifiable apprehensions regarding the effect of the

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measure if it is introduced, even that Government says that when a desire has been created in the majority of parents that their children should obtain some form of elementary education, 'compulsion may be adopted as a statesmanlike measure to bring laggards and malcontents within the fold.' So that, I submit, the majority of the Local Governments are not opposed to the principle of compulsion per se. They only argue that the time has not yet come when that principle should be introduced in India. But I need not take up the time of the Council by laying those opinions in detail before it. The statement made by the Honourable Member for Education makes the position quitclelar. The Government of India are clearly not afraid of introducing the principle of compulsion in the matter of elementary education. The statement made by the Hon'ble Member, which will be read with great hope and satisfaction throughout the country, makes this very clear. 'We are all of us working for the same object,' said the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler. 'I should rejoice as much as they (Mr. Gokhale and those who support this motion) to see a condition of things in which elementary vernacular education could be compulsory and free in India. The Government of India are deeply concerned to bring about such a condition of things.' The statement is worthy of the Government of India. It is entirely in keeping with their numerous previous pronouncements on the subject of the education of the masses. It is also what we should have expected from a Government which is presided over by our present Viceroy. I may remind the Council here of the words which were uttered by His Excellency in replying to a deputation at Lahore. After reviewing the progress of education in the Yunjab, His Excellency there said :-

'The past has had its triumph, the present may have its successes; but it is in the horizon of the future that our watchful eyes should be fixed, and it is for that reason that the future needs of the students and youth of this country will always receive from me sympathetic consideration and attention.'

"In another place His Excellency said :-

'But the goal is still far distant when every boy and girl and every young man and maiden shall have an education, in what is best calculated to qualify them for their own part in life and for the good of the community as a whole. This is an ideal we must all put before us.'

'Clearer language could not be used to indicate the high aim, the noble goal, which the Government of India have placed before thomselves. But the question that awaits an answer is, how is that goal to be reached? Sir Harcourt Butler has shown that the Government have been steadily and systematically endeavouring to improve education and to extend it; that there has been real progress under the existing systems. We know it, and we feel deeply thankful for it. But he has also said at the same time that the progress has not been satisfactory. 'I grant you,' said the Hon'ble Member, 'that we are not satisfied—we are profoundly dissatisfied with the general rate of progress,' and Mr. Gokhale has shown that it would take 115 years, if we continue to proceed at the rate we are proceeding for India to see every law of schoolprocood at the rate we are proceeding, for India to see every boy of schoolgoing age at school, and 665 years to see every girl of school-going age at school. That period may be absolutely correct, or it may not be. But it cannot be denied that it would take a very very long time to see primary education universally diffused among the people if only the voluntary method which obtains at present is adhered to. Sir Harcourt Butler has said that the Government are advised by all their experts that the present rate of progress can be enormously accelerated by the provision of funds to finance schemes of advancement. No one can doubt this. He has also said that the Government hope to finance these schemes with liberal grants from Imperial revenues. This is matter for much satisfaction and thankful-But it may still be permissible to doubt whether the future of the elementary education of the masses can be placed on a secure basis, whether the supply of efficient funds needed to spread it among all classes of the people can be ensured without recourse to legislation, whether on the lines suggested or on different lines. In this connection it may perhaps be useful to remind the Council that the question of the universal extension of primary education has had the attention of the Government of India for many

decades past. In 1882 Lord Ripon appointed an Education Commission, and the report of that Education Commission dealt largely with question. The Commission reviewed the progress which had been made upon the basis of voluntary effort, and expressed themselves very much dissatisfied They made several recommendations to ensure greater progress in They reaffirmed the policy upon which the British Government had acted since 1871, and said 'We therefore express our conviction that while every branch of education can 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 a still larger measure than heretofore.' They felt satisfied that this object could not be gained without legislation. They, therefore, recommend that 'an attempt be made to secure the fullest possible provision for an extension of primary education by legislation suited to the circumstances of each Pro-Now, Sir, it will be useful to quote to the Council the grounds of their The Commission stated them as follows:

'Hitherto the State has mainly relied for the extension of education upon departmental effort or upon voluntary effort. But the former is obviously limited by financial considerations, and is therefore insdequate to the need, while it moreover tends to discourage local effort and self-reliance. The latter is necessarily partial and uncertain, and is least likely to be forth-coming where it is most wanted. What is now required seems to be some measure that will not only most present necessities in each Province but be capable of expansion with future necessities. It is not thereby intended that any one large measure should regulate the details of education throughout all India. On the contrary, the recommendation cited is carefully guarded in its reference to the circumstances of each Province.'

"Then, after pointing out that there were Legislative Councils in only three Provinces at that time, and that therefore for each of the other Province some or more Acts would have to be passed by the Supreme Government, the Commission went on to say:

'In the case of all Provinces alike, it is right that the central authority, being most conversant with principles, should supply principles, while the local authorities should embody those principles in Acts suited to the circumstances of each Province. A declaration of general principles by the Supreme Council will be no bar to the exercise of free scope and discretion by local authorities in matters of detail; still less will one Province be bound by provisions primarily designed for another. In this way it is hoped that in course of time, by a process of gradual expansion on well-considered lines, each Province may be furnished with sufficient and efficient primary schools.'

"The Commission went on to discuss the question whether the object desired could not be attained by executive orders without legislation, and they pronounced themselves in favour of legislation as against executive action. The Commission said:

'On the equally important question whether executive orders would not ensure the desired end without legislation, it was argued that the history and statistics given in our report show that executive orders of clear import and general application issued from 1854 to the present time have failed more or less in all Provinces to ensure uniform attention to the broad principles prescribed for general guidance.'

"They went on also to point out that-

'in all countries where education has been most successful, that is, most national, it has been based on law or ordinance which has laid down the broad outlines of a general policy. Even in England, where there is so much jealousy of any central action that can be avoided, it was never advanced, in the prolonged discussions which resulted in the Acts passed between 1870 and 1880, that if a national and adequate system of primary education was at last to be established, it could be established otherwise than by legislation.'

"And the last argument which they urged was that-

'logislation is the only way in which all or any of the recommendations of the Commission' after approval by Government, can be made to live and last.'

"It is much to be regretted that the legislation recommended was not undertaken. It is true that in the Municipal Acts which have been passed in different Provinces since that time some provision has been made regarding education, but the measures recommended by the Commission were not adopted so far as legislation concerning the courtry as a whole was concerned, and the

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want of such legislation accounts in a large measure for the unsatisfactory progress of elementary education. The Council will be interested to hear what some of these recommendations were, as they afford a great deal of support to the Bill which is now before it. Among other recommendations the Education Commission urged that the duties of Municipal and Local Boards in controlling or assisting schools under their supervision should be regulated by local enactments suited to the circumstances of each Province. They recommended the creation of school districts, or rather the declaration that the area of any municipal or rural unit of local self-government may be declared to be a school district. They recommended the creation of school boards for the management and control of schools placed under their jurisdiction in each such district. They further recommended that every school board should be required to submit to the Local Government through the department an annual report of its administration together with its accounts of income and expenditure in such form and on such date as shall be prescribed by the Local Government. And this is most important part of the recommendation to which I would draw attention:

'And,' said the Commission, 'the Local Government should declare whether the existing supply of schools of any class of which the supervision has been entrusted to such Board is sufficient to secure adequate proportionate provision for the education of all classes of the community, and in the event of the said Government declaring that the supply is insufficient, to determine from what sources and in what manner the necessary provision of schools shall be made.'

"The Commission made other necessary recommendations regarding the creation of a school fund in every school district, and the rights and duties of school boards. Can it be disputed that if their recommendations had been carried out, the history of the progress of primary education would have been written very differently to what it has been?

" Now, Sir, my Hon'ble friend Mr. Gokhale has already said that he is not particular that the Bill should be accepted in the particular form in which he He has appealed to the Hon'ble Member for Education has drafted it. and I humbly join in that appeal—to bring in a measure which he and the Government consider to be suitable in the circumstances of the country to ensure a more satisfactory progress of primary education. I submit that, whether legislation may be partly Imperial and partly Provincial, legislation there should be in order to give reasonable uniformity to the action of the Education Department, and in order to provide that sufficient funds, both Imperial and Local, shall be regularly forthcoming to ensure that every part of the country should have a sufficient number of schools provided within a reasonable period of time. In the absence of such legislation, the progress of education will not be equable. No doubt Government is providing some funds at present, and these funds are being devoted to creating some schools. what is the principle on which these schools are being created? It is a principle which exposes the Government in a greater degree to a charge, which has been brought against the Bill before us, of involving injustice to areas where This must happen when you arbitrarily create schools schools are not created. But if you in certain localities and let other localities go without any school. will create school districts and school boards and lay down a definite principle that Imperial funds should be distributed in some proportion to the amount which may be raised by the people of each district, which will of course include all local funds raised in the district, you will take away all just cause of complaint, and ensure that in every school district there will be some provision made for the education of the children within the district. This can only be done by legislation, and, if it is, more funds will necessarily be found for education, whether the funds be partly contributed by the District Boards or Municipal Boards, and partly by the Provincial Government and partly by the Imperial Government. It may be said, Sir, that even conceding that it is desirable to introduce some legislation on the lines indicated by the Education Commission, there is no need yet for introducing the principle of compelling parents or guardians to send their boys to school, because boys of school-going age are rushing to school without any such compulsion. Assuming that it is so, this argument overlooks a very important point. The question is whether it is

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the duty of the Government to see that every child of school-going age shall receive the benefit of education, or whether it is not. I submit, Sir, that it is in the interests of the community and of the State that every child, both boy and girl, should receive education; and if that object is to be secured, it will not do to leave it to the option of parents or guardians to send their boys to school or not as they may like. In the case of girls there should of course be no compulsion for the present. But if you proceed on the voluntary system in the case of boys also, education will never become universal. A certain number will, no doubt, receive education; but a large number will not. Every civilized country has found that compulsion is the only means by which universal education can be secured. No country has succeeded without it, and we cannot expect to succeed without it. The case for compulsion has been admirably summarised in a paragraph which occurs in the very able minute of Mr. Maynard, the Officiating Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, which I take the liberty of quoting here. Says Mr. Maynard:

But the true justification for the adoption of compulsion lies in the assumption that elementary instruction ought not merely to be vigorously extended, but, ultimately, to be made universal, and that this is impossible without compulsion. That there will always be a proportion of parents, weak or apathetic or short-sighted or greedy, who will neglect their duty, except under pressure, is implied in the legislation of all Western countries. This country is full of conservative elements, non-official as well as official, which will decline to accept the theory that elementary instruction ought ultimately to become universal; but responsible opinion appears to be committed to that conclusion, and considering what is being done elsewhere in the world, we do not see what clse is possible without the gravest economic and other risks. We stand then, ultimately, committed to the necessity of compulsion, and the present is a proposal for the cautious and tentative introduction of the new principle in specially favourable localities, in order to feel the way towards a further plunge, when the right time comes for it.'

"I submit, Sir, that the case for compulsion - for the principle of the Billcould not be better or more tersely put than it has been put in that one paragraph. If then compulsion shall have to be our ultimate resort, the question is, whether we should wait and wait until we think the time is come to introduce it all at once all over the country, or whether we should make a beginning now with the measure which has been proposed and introduce it tentatively in select areas. As has been observed by the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler, the Bill is a modest measure. It is full of safeguards, which are regarded by some peopleas too many. But it is undeniable that it is a very cautious measure. If it is passed, it will only enable and not compel a Municipal or a District Board, with the previous sanction of the Local Government and subject to such rules as the Governor General in Council may make in this behalf, to declare that the Act shall apply to the whole or any specified part of the area within the local limits of its authority, and thereby to render it obligatory upon parents or guardians residing within that area to send their boys, and in certain circumstances and in certain areas their girls also, to school provided that a recognised school is in existence within a mile of the home of the boy or the girl. It is important to note the safeguards which the Bill provides against hasty or ill considered action. The ultimate declaration which will determine the extension of the Act to any area can only be made with the previous sanction of the Local Government. That Government will not be bound to sanction such a declaration; and it may reasonably be presumed that it will refuse to do so when and where any class or community or a large section of it is opposed to it. All the fears and apprehensions which have been expressed by some Hon'ble Members who have preceded me, that the principle of compulsion might be introduced in any area against the wishes of the community or the people, fall to the ground when it is remembered that the Local Government alone will have the power to sanction whether the Act shall or shall not be applied in any area. In addition to this, power has also been specially reserved to the Local Government to exempt particular classes or communities from the operation of the Act. Secondly, the Local Government cannot take action of its own motion; it can sanction the extension of the Act to any area only at the instance of the [19тн Мавси 1912.]

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Municipal or the District Board of the locality. This is to ensure that the Act shall not be applied to any area where the majority of the people are opposed to it. Further provision can be made in the Bill to ensure this result. A further safeguard has been provided to ensure that the measure shall be extended to such areas only where it is likely to be acceptable to the bulk of the people in the rule requiring that the percentage of children already attending school within the area must be as high as the Government of India may by rule have prescribed before an application from any Municipality or a District Board to sanction the extension of the Act to the area will be entertained by the Local Government. Lastly, there is the important condition that the obligation on parents to send their children to school will be brought into force only where there should be a recognised school within a mile of the home of the boy or the girl. If the Government is not in a position to provide funds, if the Municipal or District Board is not in a position to establish a school, the Bill does not come into operation. It is only when the Government will be satisfied that the Government and the local bodies acting together can provide the means to establish schools within an area, that they will have to judge whether the other conditions are such that the Act should be applied to that area. A more modest measure it is difficult to conceive. The most important advantage of it will be, if it is passed now, that the great effort which the Government has to make, namely, to make elementary education free and compulsory throughout the country, an effort which it is committed to make by its own noble declarations of making education universal among the people, will be made after valuable experience which will be gained by some years of work under this tentative measure. I submit, Sir, for these reasons, that the Bill ought to be allowed to go to a Select Committee, when its provisions can be further considered and improved.

"The real objections to the Bill, so far as I can see, are based on financial I venture to say, Sir, that it is clear from the statement made by the Hon'ble Member for Education that if the financial difficulty did not stand in the way the Government would not be so unwilling to consider the advisability of introducing the principle of compulsion in the form proposed by the Bill. And I wish to submit a few remarks on this aspect of the question. The first duty of every civilised Government no doubt is the maintenance of order and the suppression of crime, but next in importance to that duty and, I venture to say, of equal importance with it, is the duty of combating ignorance with its evil concomitants of poverty, misery and crime. That duty rests upon the Government, and they ought to find the money to discharge this duty with the same unhesitating determination with which they find money to maintain order and to repress crime. Sir, the ignorance of our people exposes them to any amount of suffering which can be prevented; millions of them die deaths which ought to be preventible, and live lives which ought to be less miserable and unhappy than they are. They are exposed in the numerous transactions of their daily lives to extertion and to many other disadvantages which they would easily avoid if a little light of knowledge were extended to them. They have the great advantage of being placed under one of the most civilised of Governments under the sun. That Government is conducted on the most humane, the most enlightened principles in many matters. It has been labouring to promote the good of the people by introducing a system of co-operative credit societies and banks, and District Agricultural banks and numerous other measures to alleviate the condition of the people, but by reason of being steeped in ignorance the people are not able to take sufficient advantage of those measures. Education is the one thing needed to make it possible for the efforts of Government to bear good fruit. It is needed to alleviate the sufferings of the people, and to elevate them. Sufficient and suitable provision for bringing the light of education to the masses is clearly, therefore, the paramount duty of Government, and no amount of expenditure ought to be grudged which may be necessary for the purpose. Since the Education Commission submitted their report in 1883, the revenues of Government have largely increased: Government expenditure revenues of Government have largely increased; Government expenditure also has very largely increased. I believe that in the Military and Civil

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Departments, the expenditure has increased by over 20 crores. Mr. Gokhale has shown that the total cost of providing for the education of all boys of the school-going age and of girls in a fair measure will be $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores a year. The Hon'ble Member for Education says that it will be double that amount. Even taking the higher figure mentioned by Sir H. Butler, assuming that ten crores a year will be necessary eventually to bring the benefit of elementary education to all classes and conditions of the people, I submit that that is not too large a sum for the Government of India to find. That sum will not have to be found in one year; it may be found in five years; it may be found in ten years. If savings from retrenchment and the surpluses from the normal growth of revenues will not be sufficient to meet the requirements, let us have recourse to extra taxation. We are prepared to support extra taxation for that purpose. An addition of two per cent. to the customs duty, will, as stated by my Hon'ble friend, will bring us the necessary amount. Then there is the jute trade; it can easily bear an export duty of five per cent. We can also with advantage put a higher duty on foreign sugar which is being imported in such enormous quantities into this country. And lastly, though it is painful to suggest that the salt duty should be raised, yet if it becomes necessary, we should be prepared to support an increase in the salt duty rather than allow the present state of things to continue in which nearly 94 per cent. of our people, subjects of the most enlightened Government, are kept from the benefits of elementary education, and exposed to the innumerable evils of ignorance. I strongly support the motion that the Bill should be allowed to go to a Select Committee."

The Hon'ble Raja of Dighapatia: "Sir, now that Mr. Gokhale has adopted the principle of absolutely free education, I have no hesitation to give his Bill my unstinted support. Compulsion by itself would no doubt be a matter of great hardship to many and would therefore be looked upon with some amount of disfavour; but when it goes hand in hand with free education, it is sure to do good to the people as it has done in most of the other civilised countries.

"It has been suggested that with the spread of education the poor and simple agriculturists of the present day will imbibe all the luxuries of living and consider it derogatory either to work in the field or to do any other manual labour. Such a state of things is only possible when a few men are given education; but when the whole population is educated, such absurd prejudices are sure to disappear. Moreover, the people in general would be better able to take care of their health and property, and would do their best to improve the sanitary conditions of the localities they live in. They would be quite capable of protecting their own interests also against the unscrupulous men who now trade on their ignorance and lead them into all sorts of quarrels and litigations.

"We are grateful to the Government for what it has already done and what it is now going to flo for the spread of voluntary education. But at the same time we cannot but feel disappointed that the Government does not think the time has come for introducing free and compulsory education in this country.

"Turning to the question of ways and means, I would have no doubt liked the funds for this purpose to come out of the Imperial Treasury; but as that is not possible, I for one would not mind if any new tax has to be imposed for so noble an object, provided it falls fairly and equitably on those who are least taxed in this country, and the bulk of the money necessary come from the Government treasury out of its ordinary revenues. Sir, with regard to the land-owning classes, they never show their selfishness where spending money in the cause of education comes in, as almost all the big landlords of Bengal and other Provinces have got to support their own schools, sometimes even half a dozen, and in some cases landlords have got colleges to support also. So, I believe, it would not to be right for anybody to say that the landlords would be selfish in the matter."

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The Hon'ble Mr. Bhurgri: "Sir, I have heard with great relief the speech of my Hon'ble friend the Raja of Dighapatia, especially after hearing two other representatives of the landholding classes in this Council, I mean my friends the Hon'ble Malik Sahib and the Hon'ble Nawab Abdul Majid.

"The Hon'ble Nawab Abdul Majid, who I am sorry is not in his seat now, in his speech yesterday had advanced an argument that free and compulsory education was not desirable at the present moment as it was sure to reach the tenants and agriculturists, who after being educated would be discontented with their present position and would demand better wages and better treatment from their zamindars, and this according to him would not be desirable. The Hon'ble Malik Sahib also advanced this view. I had thought, Sir, that if ever any such selfish thought, contrary to all morals as it is, had entered anybody's mind, he, for his own sake and for the sake of decency, would not give vent to it in public, especially in a responsible and august body like this Council. I confess, Sir, that I for one heard, with a sense of shame and humiliation, these views from the lips of those who themselves.

The Hon'ble Malik Umar Hyat Khan: "Should such words be used as personal remarks on mombers?"

The President: "I did not gather that the remarks of the Hon'ble Member applied to any particular individual. He referred to a particular policy."

The Hon'ble Mr. Bhurgri: "Well, Sir, I repeat it was a great relief to me to listen to the speech of at least one laudholder who stood up to say that he wanted to have free and compulsory education for his tenants.

"Lest the Council may have a wrong impression of zamindars as a class, I will mention that there are zamindars who not only like their tenants to be educated but are even ready to pay for such education. I refer to the case of the zamindars of Sind, whom I have the honour to represent in this Council. The Sind zamindars have asked Government to levy a small cess on themselves and to spend the proceeds of such a cess not only on the education of their children but also on the children of their tenants. I, as their representative in the Bombay Legislative Council, introduced such a Bill only the other day.

"In connection with my Hon'ble friend Mr. Gokhale's Bill I may also mention that we in Sind have been asking Government to make a beginning in the direction of compulsory education in our Province since 1907, and it was in that year that a friend of mine, Mr. Weblavi, moved a resolution to that effect before the All-India Mulammadan Educational Conference held at Karachi.

"But, Sir, though I see that the Bill will be thrown out to-day, it has been made clear to us that an overwhelming majority of our countrymen is with us. Though defeat may be ours to-day, we are not going to be deterred by the defeat, and with an overwhelming majority of the country behind us, we will, I hope ere long, reach our goal of free and compulsory education for the country. With these remarks, Sir, I give my humble but strong support to the Bill before the Council."

The Hon'ble Mr. Sinha: "I rise to give my unqualified support to the motion that the Bill be referred to the Select Committee. I do not think, Sir, that I shall be justified in taking up the time of the Council. I shall simply say that, after the lengthy debate we have had, it appears that the country demands this measure and trust that Government will see their way to accept this motion."

The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp: "Sir, so much has been said about this Bill in the debate yesterday and to-day that it remains for me to say very little, although it will be necessary for me to comment on a few figures that have been put before the Council. But I think it is only right that I should deal very briefly with the Bill from a purely professional point of view. Now, my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale paid a compliment to the Department of

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Education; and I hope that he will permit me now to return the compliment to him for the great interest which he has shown in the cause of education. But I also hope that he will not think me ungrateful if I say that in some respects the principles of this Bill as set forth in his exposition have caused me a little disappointment. The principle of this Bill, as we have heard, is the wide expansion of elementary education. But we have heard very little about the kind of education and about the improvement of education. From what the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale said on the 2nd of September last and from what we heard him say yesterday, I cannot help thinking that too little thought has been given to the facilities which are to be provided for education. I mean such things as inspection, the training of teachers, houses, equipment, and so forth. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has waived these things aside. But they are very insistont.

"Now, let us take training. Even under the present circumstances, with our present number of schools, we are not able to do nearly all that we ought to do or should like to be able to do in the way of training of teachers. I hazard the guess that we probably have in the country about 150,000 elementary teachers; and if we have not so many, all I can say is that we ought to have. Now, if we take five per cent. wastage on this, we find that we have to supply about 7,500 new teachers a year; but our returns show that we are able to turn out from our training institutions, such as our Guru training schools, only about 4,500 a year or a little over that; and this includes teachers for secondary as well as teachers for elementary schools. It seems then that we are not even able to supply the present demand. Now, what will happen if there comes a very sudden expansion without due provision for staffing with trained teachers?

"Then again there is the question of houses. I am not ambitious in this matter. I daresay we shall have to hire houses in the first instance in places where rapid expansion comes about. Yesterday the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale commended to us the example of Japan, and he invited us to condescend to the use of verandahs. I am sorry to have to confess that the invitation is not necessary. I have seen many village schools held in verandahs; and the configuration of the verandah of a village house is such that of the twenty-five or thirty boys who are attending the school about four or five boys are in a position to derive benefit from the instructions of the teacher.

"Then again my friend the Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu has told us of the nice buildings of bamboo and grass which can be erected in Bengal villages. Well, I know those nice little buildings. When the sun shines, it shines through the wall and shines on your book and perhaps through the roof on to your head. And when the rain rains, it also beats through the walls and probably you find yourself sitting in a puddle. I quite agree that grass and bamboo are very excellent materials, and I do not hanker after pucka palaces erected by the Public Works. But even the most modest buildings are not cheap. I have seen hundreds of these buildings erected in Bengal districts, and though I never employed the Public Works on them, and though I always tried to get the people to build their own schools if possible, and though the people were interested in the matter and often gave Rs. 100 or Rs. 150 towards the building, nevertheless decent houses of bamboo and grass which shall give reasonable shelter are found to cost some Rs. 500 or Rs. 600 at least; and the necessary recurring expenditure on repairs with such materials is not light. Moreover, suppose we were to try these bamboo and grass buildings in parts of India where we have not the genial climate of Bengal, suppose for instance we tried them in the north-west parts of India, what would happen then?

"Now, there are other reasons why the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's estimate of the crores for the education of 83 million boys is drawn too low. The lower the strata of the population that we tap for purposes of education, the more costly will that education become. We shall have to pay for the enforcement of attendance, if the system is to be effective; we shall have to pay for the free supply of books; we may have to pay for free meals. Then again there is the question of the girls, who cost more to educate than boys. I do not want to criticise Mr. Gokhale because he has cut down his bill. I quite understand

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and I quite appreciate the reasons which have led him to cut it down. Only I think that those reasons are far outweighed by what I may call professional considerations. Expense is not so deterrent if we are sure that we are going to get good value for it. I say these things not in a spirit of criticism, but because I feel we must approach the question from a different point of view, and that while expending we cannot possibly afford to neglect efficiency.

"Now, we have been told that other countries have begun in this way. It is very necessary, when we talk about other countries, to be careful how we quote their reports and their statistics. I myself have a very great horror of these analogies whether transmarine or otherwise. An instance in point. Two years ago in this Council Mr. Gokhale told us that only about 43 per cent. of the children were in attendance at schools in England in 1870. 1 am not sure whether that point has come up again since; but I think it is necessary for me to say a word or two about it. He took his figures from a little book by Sir Henry Craik from a passage in which Sir Henry Craik says that in 1870-71, out of 22 millions of inhabitants in England and Wales, there were only 1,300,000 in regular attendance at schools. But if we look at an earlier passage of that book, we shallfind that twelve years before that, namely, in 1858, out of the then total population of 19 millions, over 2 million children were at school. Whence this discrepancy? It arises partly from the fact that the one figure has reference to attendance and the other figure to enrolment. But-and this is a still more important point-Sir Henry Craik has chosen to ignore the great mass of private schools which then existed in England and supports that position by quoting certain lurid passages from the report of the Newcastle Commission. Now, if we look up the Newcastle Commission's report in original and study the passages in which these lurid spots appear, we shall find that they begin to assume a slightly different aspect. We shall find, for instance, that the Assistant Commissioners who inspected these schools found that in some of the private institutions the rate of fees charged was so high (if I understand the passage aright—it is not altogether clear) that they did not feel justified in including them in their inquiry at all, because their inquiry was supposed to be directed to the facilities for educating the 'independent poor,' as the bulk of the population of England were rather quaintly called in that report. Now, if people were willing to pay large fees in the private schools when they could get their children educated in the public schools at anything from a penny to threepence a week, there must have been something in these schools to attract them. We are told that some parents preferred them—not always for good reasons. And we are also told that these schools were of different kinds—good, bad and indifferent, just as were the public schools themselves. Well, even though the bulk of these schools appear to have been bad, we cannot in fairness disregard all those children; and if we include them we find that actually 13 per cent. of the total population of England and Wales was at school 12 years before the introduction of the Elementary Education Bill. And, if we accept before the introduction of the Elementary Education of a school-going the formula of the Commission as to the number of children were at school. And age, we find that 95 per cent. of the possible children were at school. this calculation appears to ignore the children of the more well-to-do classes. Then again let us glance at the order of procedure in England with The administrative orders and the attempts at reference to education. legislation from 1840 to 1870 were all in the direction of efficiency - inspection, the training of teachers, etc. The legislation of 1870, 1876 and 1880 gradually brought in the idea of compulsion, and in 1891 came the natural corollary of freedom. But if we carefully look at the Bill of 1870 and carefully study its results, I think we shall see that still more important than the attempt to bring more children to school was the substitution of a privately supported system of inefficient education for a national system of efficient education.

"I am afraid myself that four years of instruction would be very little good to anybody. Four years' instruction sans inspection, sans teachers, sans houses, sans equipment and sans everything would, I cannot help thinking, be money thrown away. Certainly I do not think that that will give us the kind of education that will brighten homes or sweeten labour. I do not want to be

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at all unkind to the Bill in this matter; but when thinking of it, I cannot help being reminded of Lord Sherbrooke's cynical remark—I think with reference to the revised Code of England in 1861—'If the new system is costly, it shall at least be efficient; if it is inefficient, it shall be cheap.' am afraid that education on the lines indicated here, though the Bill will still be very large, will be both inefficient and cheap. And I think that we ought to seek some other way.

"But the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has already given us two answers to these arguments. In the first place, he has reminded us that even if we put down schools, boys sometimes won't attend. This is a very sad thing and very important. What is the reason why parents sometimes will not send their children to school? I fear the reason is one which the rapid extension of elementary education, without its improvement, would, far from eradicating, tend rather to render permanent. If we are justly to consider this Bill, we must go out beyond the walls of this chamber, we must leave for a moment our blue books, and forget our speeches. We must look at the villager and the village school. We must consider the ways of the village and the frame of mind of the raiyat. The ways of the village have at least the sanction of centuries and are not devoid of excellencies. We cannot hustle those ways. The raiyat is no fool, he is not going to leave his old ways, and he is not going to forego his son's help in the fields for education in a school which he feels will do his son no good. The Hon'ble the Member for Education yesterday told us the facts about this matter. I can only emphasise them by saying that I have seen thousands of elementary schools; and over and over again I have seen that, if a school fails, the way to resuscitate it is to send a good teacher there. But I am afraid that, if we are not careful, we shall not have any good teachers. The teachers will simply become worse and worse.

"Secondly, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale very naturally wishes that a beginning should be made. Yesterday he said that we must abolish illiteracy straight away. I may be altogether wrong, but I was under the impression that this Bill was a very modest measure, that its operation was to be slow, tentative and gradual. I may have been misled, but if I was, I can only say that at least one supporter of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale yesterday was also misled. And from the way in which the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale introduced this remark, I fear that it was intended as an excuse for the initial inefficiency of the education that was to be given, and that it was made in the genuine hope that that education was going to become more efficient in the course of time. But the effect of the procedure suggested in the Bill will be to lay the finances of this country on a veritable bed of Procrustes—a condition of things which no responsible Government can tolerate, and which I think not even the wildest enthusiast for education can applaud. We want money, and we hope and trust that we shall get money; but, having got it, we do not want to see its distribution trammelled by iron and mechanical rules. Our distribution must follow the dictates of reason. Surely this is the real moral of some of the remarks of the Hon'ble Mr. Haque this morning. Now, let us look at it both ways. Suppose this Bill were to become law, and suppose it were to take rapid effect. All our efforts for improvement, I am afraid, will be shelved for years to come; and not only so, but what would happen to our technical education? What would happen to our higher education, regarding the concomitant claims of which we heard wise remarks from the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University on Saturday last? And to turn to other things, what is going to happen to improvements in agriculture, communications, sanitation, and so forth? If on the other hand the Bill takes slow effect, then we shall have effective compulsion in the more favoured and advanced areas; and then we are sure to have a demand for improvement in these areas; and we shall have to meet that demand for improvement; and meanwhile how are we going to find the money for expansion in the vast tracts which will help to pay the bill and where a single school has now to serve many square miles? Whichever way we look at it, I cannot find the prespect alluring. It is money, more money, and money reasonably and equitably distributed that we want. It is the want of this that beeks are and the state of the sta that checks us, and not the absence of a compulsory Act. Can we get unlimited

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funds from a cess? The Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu does not fear an education cess. I admire his courage. He does not fear it in Bengal. But what about the poorer parts of India? What about the parts which are under temporary settlement or raiyatwari holdings?

"After all we come back to bed-rock. We are told that our progress is slow. Now a word of encouragement. Our progress is not so slow as the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has told us. I am not going to question his figures; I am not going to question their correctness. I think he has taken his figures on slightly different data from those on which I base the figures which I will now give to the Council. If I rember aright—I hope he will correct me if I am wrong—I think he yesterday said that the average annual increase in the number of boys at school for the last 10 years has been 75,000 in the case of boys and 17,000 in the case of girls. It is a pleasure to me to tell him that the average annual increase during the past four years has been nearly 240,000."

The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale: "May I interrupt the Hon'ble Member. I should like to know what does 240,000 represent? That would mean in ten years a total increase of 24 lakhs. But at the beginning of the decade you had 32 lakhs of boys at school and at the end you have 40 lakhs or an increase of 8 lakhs only."

The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp: "I was speaking of the past five years or so, and of the average annual increase."

The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale: "I have taken ten years."

The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp: "But I am taking only five years, in order to show that our rate is rapidly increasing. That is all. It was not my intention to question Mr. Gokhale's figures; but it was my intention to substitute more optimistic figures for those which we heard yesterday and which might have depressed the Council. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale said that the percentage of our population at school was 19. Now, if we consider all schools—and I think it is only fair that we should consider our secondary schools as well, since they impart a great deal of elementary education—we find that 25 per cent. of the total population is at school. When I say 2.5 per cent. I mean to include all parts of British India, from the most advanced parts like Broach to the most backward parts like the jungles of the Central Provinces or the beel tracts of Eastern Bengal. Furthermore, we always have to consider in India the great difficulty of the sexes. Suppose for a moment we climinate the girls. Of our male population, 4.2 per cent. are now at school. Now, that is a figure that brings us within measurable distance of the Philippines, of Baroda and of other shining examples. And as regards calculations as to the period it would take to bring all children under education, we must remember the figures that I have just given, and we must likewise not ignore the progressive ratio, the fact that education breeds education.

"The Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah, however, has thrown doubt upon some of the figures stated yesterday. I do not know whether my Hon'ble friend opposite is going to say anything about that; but if he is we shall have no right of reply. I therefore take this opportunity of saying that the figures have been checked and have been found absolutely correct.

"Again, I remember that two years ago the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale complain ed that the increase in the amount of public funds spent in British India upon elementary education had amounted only to 57 lakhs. That was in the last 25 years, I think. Now, in the past four years the increase is equal to nearly one-half the total amount of increase in the last quarter of a century.

"I trust that these figures and the sympathetic treatment the Bill has received from this Department will assure the Hon'ble Member, if any such assurance is at all needed, that he is not a voice crying in the wilderness. The Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah, if I heard him aright today, asked 'Do you seriously say that education will breed sedition?' Who said that? What did the Hon'ble the Member for Education say last year? I quote from memory—'Ignorance is our greatest enemy; and we pray for light to expose and shatter this insidious foe.' We are not keeping the people back; we are not keeping them in ignorance and darkness; we desire intelligent friends. It is the social system

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of India which keeps people in ignorance and darkness; and it is British rule which has given them light and some knowledge. I was very glad to hear my friend, the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, say to-day that the people were grateful for it. For sixty years the Government of this country has been preaching this doctrine of mass education - the aim to which freedom and compulsion alike are only a means. For sixty years it has backed up its preaching by practical efforts, as we heard again this morning, and by such sums as if could afford—not by such sums as my Hon'ble friend opposite would desire, nor such sums as we all could desire, but such as were reasonable from time to time. And for sixty years the Government of this country has evoked very little response - until quite recently. I think that everybody in this Council must have been profoundly struck with the extraordinary revulsion of feeling which has occurred in the last few years among the educated classes in this country in regard to mass education. Towards that revultion of feeling Mr. Gokhale's propagandism has substantially contributed. He has brought round many of his fellow-countrymen, men of his own class and of his own mode of thought, to the views of Government in this matter. There is still, however, much difference of opinion among them. The opinions received show that, as well as the discussions here. It seems that there is still some doubt as to the views of the All-India Moslem League. And apparently the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale considers n vote for the Bill without the unpleasant provision of local taxation as a vote in favour of it. However this may be, if he has gone beyond the views of Government, if he has gone beyond the views of a good many of his countrymen in this matter, it is only necessary to say that propagandism in order to be effective must frequently be advanced."

The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale: "Sir, it only remains for me now to reply to the speeches which have been made in opposition to the motion that I have submitted to the Council. I will first say a few words about my friends, Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis and Nawab Abdul Majid. I really do not complain of the views which these two friends have expressed. Frankly, they do not believe in mass education, and in that they are not singular. There are men belonging to their class in other countries—in Western countries—who also have the same distrust of mass education. If my friends had the courage of their convictions, if they were prepared to push their views to their logical conclusion, they would propose the abolition of mass education. But they will not do that, for they are discreet in their generation. But, Sir, I would like to know one thing from the Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, if he will be so good as to enlighten us on that point. The two local bodies of which my friend is President, namely, the Nagpur Municipality and the Nagpur District Board, have both supported this Bill. Now, was he or was he not present at the meetings of these bodies when the Bill came up for consideration? And, if he was, did he protest against the resolutions? And, if not, is the difference in his attitude due to the difference between the popular atmosphere of those meetings and the predominantly official atmosphere that we have in this Council?"

The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Rao Chitnavis: "I was present at the two meetings of the Municipal Committee and of the District Council, but the way in which those resolutions were made and the safeguards with which they have been hedged round will show how enthusiastically people received this measure. And I told them—"

The President: "I cannot allow the Hon'ble Member to make a speech. He must sit down and let the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhalo continue his remarks without interruption."

The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale: "Well, that suffices for my point. The Hon'ble Member was present and the resolutions were in favour of the principle of the Bill. You may put it any way you like, but the resolutions did favour the principle of my Bill. And the motion before the Council asks for nothing more. All it says is, approve the principle of the Bill and send it to a Select Committed in order that its provisions may be carefully examined. If

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the Hon'ble Member did not protest against those resolutions, if he allowed those resolutions in favour of the Bill to be passed there without his protest, I cannot understand how he can now oppose this motion that the Bill should go to a Select Committee. My Hon'ble friend the Malik Sahib has opposed the motion so gently that I shall show my gratitude by not controverting his views. My Hon'ble friend the Maharaja of Burdwan has also expressed himself in such a guarded way that I prefer to look upon his speech as more in favour of the motion than against it. He is in any case not going to vote against the motion; therefore, I will not say anything more as regards his attitude. I now come to the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy. I must say that my friend's position is absolutely incomprehensible to me. The other day I congratulated my friend on his conversion to official views in the matter of our complaint that the grant to irrigation was not always fully expended. The official plea has always been that, owing to scarcity of labour, the money allotted cannot always be spent. I congratulated my friend on his conversion to official views in that matter, because the complaint which was made on this subject the other day by the Hon'ble Mr. Mudholkar, and in which Mr. Dadabhoy could not agree, was precisely the complaint which my friend had himself been making in years past. Today I will go a little further and congratulate my friend not only on his conversion to official views but on his conversion to the very manner of expressing those views."

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy: "Will you allow me a personal explana-

The President: "I think the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale is entitled to continue his speech without constant interruptions. Every member belonging to the Indian portion of the Council has made a speech, and I think the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale is entitled, except for very strong reasons, to proceed without interruption."

The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale: "Official members, when they oppose a non-official motion, first express plenty of sympathy with an object. Sometimes the sympathy is really most valuable; sometimes it is only intended to soothe our susceptibilities. But in any case sympathy is generally expressed soothe our susceptibilities. But in any case sympathy is generally expressed before a motion is resisted. My Hon'ble friend has also begun to give us sympathy while opposing our resolutions. But, Sir, official sympathy has a praccal value because it often means increased grants. I do not know, however, what we can do with the sympathy which the Hon'ble Member offers us. In fact, Sir, I must say that it is a source of no small embarrassment to us, because official opponents can point to that sympathy and say, 'Here is a member who is in sympathy with you, and yet who deems it his duty to oppose your motion.' The less, therefore, that we have of such expressions of sympathy from my Hon'ble friend in future the better, for we certainly should prefer his opposition pure and simple. Sir, two years ago I moved in this Council a Resolution on the subject of free and compulsory education. That Resolution recommended that a beginning should be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory. There was no ambiguity about the terms. I definitely suggested that a beginning should be made. The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy then made a speech in support, the very first sentence of which was, 'My Lord, I cordially support this Resolution.' He cordially supported my Resolution recommending that a beginning should be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory. And we argued strongly about the necessity of introducing compulsion. The Hon'ble Member said: '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.

"Then again, Sir, last year, when I introduced the present Bill, what was it that the Hon'ble Member said r" (Mr. Dadobhoy: "Hear, hear.') Mr. Gokhale:

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"You may cheer now, but you won't cheer at the end. My Hon'ble friend thus referred to the Bill which is now before the Council, the Bill which I propose should now go to a Select Committee: 'Primá facie,' he said, 'the Bill deserves support. A close examination of the provisions (not merely a superficial glance at them but a close examination such as my friend always betows on every subject) will show that the general principle of the Bill is sound.' He thus said that a close examination of the Bill had convinced him at that time that the general principle of the Bill was sound. Sir, today we are only considering, as my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque has already pointed out, the general principle of the Bill. The place for considering the details is the Select Committee. Those who are in favour of the general principle of the Bill are, in my opinion, bound to support this motion for referring the Bill to a Select Committee. If my friend is in favour of the general principle of the Bill I cannot understand how he opposes the motion."

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy: "Forgive me, Sir, but in fairness to myself I must request you to permit me to tender a personal explanation."

The President: "Are you rising to a point of order?"

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy: "No Sir. I want to explain my position."

The President: "Order, order. The Hon'ble Member had ample opportunity to explain his position at the time when he was speaking. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale is now fully entitled to proceed with his speech without interruption."

The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale: "Sir, I must also point out that I am confining myself to quotations entirely. The Council is in a position to judge if I am properly representing or not the Hon'ble Member. I am quoting his words exactly as they are in these proceedings. Sir, more than that, since the Hon'ble Member himself made an indirect reference to the subject yesterday, I may mention that only ten days ago my Hon'ble friend had assured me that he would not only support my motion, but would strongly support it. He is of course entitled to change his views, but a man who has been as long as my friend has been in public life and who had examined the provisions of my Bill carefully last year and had expressed the views he did last year and the year before is certainly expected to show some consistency."

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy: "Will you allow me, Sir-----

The President': "The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale is fully entitled to make these remarks. He is making quotations from books to which we all have access, and I must request the Hon'ble Member to allow him to proceed without interruption."

The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale: "May I point out to the Hon'ble Member that there is always a disadvantage attaching to a person speaking before another. If the Hon'ble Member gets an opportunity of speaking after me, he will be entitled to say whatever he chooses, without being interrupted by me. He, moreover, can explain himself in the columns of the Press, if he likes.

"Well I will now pass on from Mr. Dadabhoy and say a few words with reference to the remarks made by the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi. A large part of the Hon'ble Member's speech was devoted to a condemnation of the principle of compulsion, and, after the manner in which the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Education Department practically accepted the desirability of compulsion, I do not think I need say much about that part of his case. After all, when the Hon'ble Member in charge of Education, speaking in the name of the Government, says what he did on the subject of compulsion, if a private member takes a different view, that is comparatively a small matter. The Hon'ble Member is of opinion that, unless a person is absolutely and entirely in favour of every single clause of a Bill, he cannot be regarded as a supporter of the Bill. Now, Sir, as my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Haque has already pointed out, we are only considering the principle of the Bill to-day, and I have already explained that, when I said that certain persons were in favour of the Bill. I only meant that they were only in favour of the principle of the Bill. It should be remembered that

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a Bill is not like a law of the Medes and of the Persians or like Athene issuing from the head of Jove clad in full armour. A Bill is a series of proposals tentatively put forward before the public. Certain parts are fundamental and they cannot be allowed; but certain other parts are only tentatively put forward, and are liable to be revised in the light of such public criticism as is brought to bear upon them. If you take the view that he alone can be called a supporter who accepts every single clause of a Bill as first drafted, then no measure that was ever introduced in this world can be said to have been supported largely by the public.

"The Hon'ble Member also said that one result of my Bill would be that the areas that were more advanced would derive additional advantage and the areas that were more backward would be pushed still further back. This objection has also been urged by some other members. I have already pointed out that the objection is based on a complete misapprehension of my scheme such as it is. I do not want that the Provincial Governments should reduce in any way the expenditure that they are already incurring on the primary education of backward areas. And I do not for a moment suggest that future grants for primary education in backward areas on a voluntary scale should be reduced. But what I want is that, if certain local bodies want to go in for compulsion and are prepared to find a part of the cost, the Imperial Government, out of their own Exchequer, should come forward to the assistance of these bodies and provide the rest of the cost that would be re-If these local bodies do not go in for a compulsory scheme, the Government of India would probably be devoting its surplus revenues to various other purposes, such as to the reduction of debt and a number of other objects with which we are familiar. What I say, therefore, is that without touching the revenues of Provincial Governments, if any local body wanted to go in for compulsion and raised a part of the cost, the Government of India should come forward and supplement that cost out of their own exchequer. I do not see how this would constitute any disadvantage to the backward areas which in their turn would also be benefited by the arrangement.

"I will now come to the remarks of the Hon'ble Member in charge of Education. I hope the Hon'ble Member will permit me to say that it was with the utmost satisfaction that I listened to the concluding portion of his speech—not the controversial part, with which I will presently deal, but the concluding portion of his speech. That portion really is what matters to us, because it lays down the future policy of the Government of India so far as primary education is concerned. Sir, as I listened to those warm and enthusiastic words which fell from the Hon'ble Member, I could not help feeling what a great thing it would have been for the country if, instead of being an official, the Hon'ble Member had been a non-official and if we could have had an opportunity of placing ourselves under his banner and spreading the gospel of the necessity of mass education throughout the country under his lead. Sir, I think that portion of his speech will give great satisfaction throughout the country, even to those who are convinced that we should lose no more time in making a beginning in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory; because, taken with the opening words of his speech, it goes much further than any pronouncement on the part of Government has previously done. The Hon'ble Member stated at the beginning that no one would rejoice more than himself if primary education became free and compulsory in the country, and that it was the policy of the Government to so work that that desirable consumnation should be brought about. That commits the Government of India, first, to an approval of the principle of free and compulsory education, and, secondly, to so conduct their educational operations that the time for making education free and compulsory would be hastened and not indefinitely put off. That, taken with the determination announced at the close of the speech, amounts to a practical promise that sooner than many of us imagine, the State will help us to reach the goal which we have before our eyes, the goal of free and compulsory education.

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"Sir, I will now deal with the principal points in the Hon'ble Member's speech. I am personally grateful to him, as also to the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp, for the terms of appreciation in which they have spoken of my humble efforts in this matter; but I did not quite understand what the Hon'ble Member meant by observing that, while he was prepared to appreciate what I had been doing he was consented disappointed to find that ciate what I had been doing, he was somewhat disappointed to find that I did not equally appreciate what the officials had been doing. If he spoke of his Department, he knows that there is no warmer appreciator of the efforts of that Department than myself. If, however, he spoke of the officials generally, he cannot surely expect me to be grateful even to those officials who are reagainst mass education itself. As regards a number of officials who are really striving to push on mass education, of course we all appreciate their efforts: but appreciating efforts of that kind is one thing and expressing disappointment at the pace at which we are moving is another thing. intending to cast any reflection on those officials who are doing what they can under the existing system to push on primary education, I think it is perfectly permissible to say that the pace at which we are going is very unsatisfactory. In fact, that is what the Hon'ble Member himself said yesterday, and that is all I have said. Sir, the Hon'ble Member referred to what I had said about the letter of the Bombay Government, and he asked the Council to remember that the head of the Bombay Government was Sir George Clarke; and he seemed to imply that I had cast some sort of reflection on Sir George Clarke. It is not necessary that I should say to this Council that I have always entertained the warmest admiration for Sir George Clarke, both personally for his remarkable qualities of head and heart, and also for the great services that he has rendered to the Bombay Presidency in many fields. But this is not a question of Sir George Clarke personally; it is a question of the letter which the Bombay Government as a Provincial Government has addressed to the Government of India; and I did mean yesterday, and I do say to-day, that even a great Provincial Government might show some courtesy to those who have the misfortune to differ from its views. I will give only one quotation to this Council. Speaking about a proposal that fees should be remitted and that free education should be introduced, the Bombay Government says: 'Such a policy would be regarded as a triumph by a few persons who have shown no understanding of educational questions.' Now, Sir, I understood the Hon'ble Member in charge of Education yesterday to favour free education. Many members here have also got up and said that they would like to have free education. Some of the officers belonging to the different Provincial Governments have expressed the view that education should be made free before it is made compulsory. But more than all, only five years ago the Government of India addressed a circular letter to all Local Governments advocating that fees should be abolished and that free education should be introduced. I therefore respectfully pass on this description of the Bombay Government of those who favour free education to the Hon'ble Member and to the Government of India!

"Sir, the Hon'ble Member asked, who were they who were in favour of this Bill? Now, that is a very easy way of disposing of all those who are inconveniently ranged on the other side. Those who are in favour of the Bill may be divided into two classes, namely, those who belong to the clucated classes, and these who belong to the backward communities. Now, you can discredit the support given by these two sections in two separate ways. The Central Provinces Government, for instance, says that the members of the educated classes might be in favour; but what does it cost them to be in favour? The question does not really concern them, and mere heroic resolutions in favour of this proposal do not really count for much. On the other hand, if members of backward communities assemble and express themselves in favour, the argument is used, what do they understand of the Bill? They have not the intelligence to understand what would be the effects of the Bill. My Hon'ble friend Mr. Mudholkarlreminds me that only a short time ago a meeting of 2,500 Mahars, that is, one of the most depressed classes on our side, was held in Berar and passed a resolution in favour of this Bill. If you ask me if every member of that body understood what the Bill was, I could not

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answer that question in the affirmative; but they must have had a fairly general idea that the Bill was intended to make education compulsory, and that under it their children would be compelled to go to school so that they might derive the benefits of education. The analogy of the three tailors of Tooley Street could in my opinion be applied far more to the persons opposed to the Bill than to those who are in favour of the Bill.

"Now, Sir, I come to my examples from different countries. The Hon'ble Member said, before dealing with these analogies, that there are differences in this country of caste, differences of script, differences of language. But that only means that we have a bigger problem than elsewhere. It does not mean that we cannot tackle the problem successfully. What have these differences to do with the question of compulsion? You have got primary schools just now to teach different scripts, and different languages and for different communities; all that is necessary is to increase their schools and introduce compulsion in regard to attending them.

"The Hon'ble Member, speaking of the case of England, said that in England compulsory education and compulsory attendance came six and ten years after the compulsory provision of educational facilities. Will my Hon'ble friend allow me to say that that statement is not correct? The Act of 1870, which required the compulsory provision of educational facilities, at the same time empowered local authorities to frame bye-laws, whereby the attendance of children could be secured compulsorily at school. Of course it was a purely permissive provision, which some local authorities used and some did not. But that is precisely what this Bill proposes to do. In 1876, the next step was taken when the responsibility was thrown on the parents to send their children compulsorily to school, and the whole fabric was ultimately completed in the year 1880, when local authorities were compelled to frame bye-laws. But the Act of 1870 was in many respects similar to the Bill which I have laid before the Council, because this Bill on the one side empowers local bodies to introduce compulsion and on the other throws the responsibility on them to provide the necessary educational facilities.

"The Hon'ble Member has told the Council that in Japan it is persuasion and not compulsion that has produced the present results. An answer to that was given this morning in the course of the debate, that persuasion there has succeeded because there is compulsion behind it to fall back upon. All that we want is that we too should have compulsion to fall back upon and our persuasion also will then succeed much more than it can do at present.

"Then, Sir, as regards the question of the Philippines. The Hon'ble Member said that there was no State law of compulsion in the Philippines. That is quite true, but that is exactly what I myself had stated last year. This is what I had said:

'Under Spanish rule there was no system of popular education in the Philippines. As soon as the Islands passed into the possession of the United States, they drew up a regular programme of expenditure which has been systematically adhered to. The aim is to make primary education universal and the educational authorities advise compulsion though no compulsory law has yet been enacted. In the matter of education many Municipalities have introduced compulsion by local ordinances.'

"That is my point. Of course, these local ordinances have been held by some to be illegal; they have been framed under powers that were conferred on local bodies by the Spanish Government. That, however, is a separate matter. It is significant that nobody has come forward on the side of the people to question the validity of these local ordinances.

"Coming to Ceylon, the Hon'ble Member said that 60 per cent, of the population of Ceylon were Buddhists. What has 'religion got to do with the question of compulsion? If you mean to say that there are no castes tamong the Buddhists, and therefore the difficulty is less, I say there are no castes among the Muhammadans of this country, and yet what have you done to introduce compulsory education among the 100 per cent. of the Muhammadans of this country?

"Finally, I come to the question of Baroda. The Hon'ble Member quoted figures which largely go against him. In the first place, he said that even according to the last census the percentage of literacy in Baroda was only 17 for the male population while the percentage in a British district-Broachwas 24. This is quite true; but that only helps me, for it shows that Baroda resorted to compulsion even before that State was as advanced as the neighbouring British territory in the matter of the spread of education. We have been told again and again that there must be a certain general diffusion of education before you can take in hand compulsion, and I accepted, with some reluctance, a percentage of 83 as the proportion of children of school-going age who should be at school before compulsion could be introduced. Here, however, we find in Baroda, even when education was much more backward than it is in the surrounding British territories, the State took up compulsion—a point distinctly in my favour, and not against me. Then, Sir, compulsory education was introduced in Baroda only five years ago. Surely my Hon'ble friend does not expect that the illiteracy of those who were beyond the school-going age five years ago, would be toyeld by the compulsory my Hon'ble friend does not expect that the illiteracy of those who were beyond the school-going age five years ago would be touched by the compulsory education introduced during the last five years. The bulk of the population had passed beyond that stage five years ago, and of course they all come into the census figures of illiterates. But let us wait for another ten years and then we shall see a great difference if the British Government continues—as I hope it will not—on its present voluntary basis and the Baroda Government on its compulsory basis. Then, Sir, the Hon'ble Member gave some figures for Broach. Well, I accept those figures—0.9 of the total population being at school in the whole district of Broach. But the Hon'ble Member should compare likes with likes. Broach is the most advanced district of the five districts which constitute Gujarat. If the Hon'ble Member takes that district, he should also take the most advanced division in the Baroda State for comparison. Else the comparison will not be division in the Baroda State for comparison. Else the comparison will not be fair. If you take the most advanced division in Baroda, which is, I find, the Navsari Division, the percentage of those who are at school to the total population is nearly 13 as against 6.8 for Broach—about double. So those figures after all really do not help the Hon'ble Member very much. The Hon'ble Member says that the percentage of attendance in Baroda to the total population is 8.5. I have got with me the report for 1911, which is recent enough, and I find there that the proportion for the whole State of those who are in primary schools is 9.5 and not 8.5: 8.5 is the attendance in village schools only. The proportion of all who are receiving primary education is 9.5. I will show the report to the Hon'ble Member afterwards if he likes; I have got it here with me. In your most advanced district in British territories—Broach—it is 6.8. Already this makes a difference. If you allow things to go on like this, will it take long for the British Government to lag behind Baroda—a contingency which, I am very glad to see, the Hon'ble Member regards with horror?

"Then, Sir, the Hon'ble Member relied on the support of the Bombay Corporation. Let me warn him again that he is leaning on a broken reed indeed. The Bombay Corporation is not only in favour of the principle of free and compulsory education, but it would like to throw the whole cost, or nearly the whole cost, on Imperial revenues. Is the Hon'ble Member prepared to accept that? Let him part company with the Bombay Corporation while there is yet time. He also spoke of the Malabar District Board's opinion that it is better to improve education than to go in for universal education. Who proposes universal education straight off? We propose that we should only make a beginning in the direction of compulsory education and gradually advance, in the course of 10, 15 or 20 years. All the objections that are based on the assumption that we propose to go in straight for universal education are based on a misapprehension and therefore need not be considered any further. In this connection I would like to notice one remark which fell from the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp about the banishment of illiteracy. I am not so simple as to imagine that if you introduce compulsion in a few areas you will banish illiteracy straightway from the whole land. But the problem is a vast one; let us take it in hand

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at once and make a beginning, that is what I say. Unless you make a beginning at once, the prospect is not very cheering.

"Sir, one of the most important points raised in this discussion-it has been urged by several members—is this-first have schools, first have trained teachers, and then propose that education should be made compulsory. Now, those who will go through the parliamentary discussions of 1870 will find in the volumes of Hansard that the same arguments were urged in England when the Act of 1870 was proposed. Where are the teachers? Where are the school-houses? That was what was urged against that measure. But I would like to ask what is really meant by this objection. If you call upon a local body merely to build schools, if you call upon either Local Governments or local bodies merely to have trained teachers without saying where they are to work, do you think anybody would take such a proposal seriously? Not unless you gave the local bodies at the same time the power to compel attendance. If a school is built or hired, local bodies should have the power to fill the school at once. They cannot build a school and then, with doors thrown open, wait for any stray children to walk in. You must give them the power to compel attendance simultaneously. That is what the English Act of 1870 did. It compelled local authorities to provide school accommodation. But at the same time it empowered them to compel attendance at school, no doubt in a permissive way, as this Bill does. What I say is, that the two things must go hand in hand; you cannot urge that one thing should come before the other. It is the same thing about teachers: you must be satisfied with untrained teachers for a time. After all, too much has been made of trained teachers; not that I depreciate the value of trained teachers, but for the purpose of giving the most elementary type of education—for imparting a knowledge of the 3 R's-I think even untrained teachers are not as useless as they are depicted. Most of the Indian members in this Council received their primary education under untrained teachers. The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp said that he had visited thousands of primary schools: Sir, we have learnt in primary schools. We have experience from the inside of these schools. How did we receive our primary education? I remember how I did it. We used to squat on the floor with a wooden board in front of us covered with red powder and a piece of stick to write letters with. Well, we have done fairly well in life after all, though we write letters with. Well, we have done fairly well in life after all, though we received our primary education in that way under untrained teachers. It is a question of removing illiteracy first of all. And here I should like to quote an important authority—the authority of the Bombay Government. Two years ago, Sir George i Clarke—I think it was in his Convocation speech—took the same line that the Hon'ble Member in charge of Education took yesterday and the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp did to day. 'You must first have trained teachers; the quality of education must be raised; you must have proper school-houses, and so on.' Last year, however, he came round to the other view. A Resolution was issued by the Bombay Government (I do not know whether my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Enthoven was then Secretary in the Education Dapartment in Bombay) on the spread of primary education the Education Dapartment in Bombay) on the spread of primary education in rural areas. And what does that Resolution say? It gives up the insistence on trained teachers and good school-houses, and it proposes to place primary education on an indigenous, aided basis in rural areas, giving grants to untrained teachers and allowing them to teach as well as they can, the curriculum of course being under the control of the Department. Now, this is precisely what we want all over the country to begin with. establish at once these lower primary schools, then go on, as you have funds, improving the standards, bring in trained teachers, and having better school-houses. And for God's sake do not wait for your trained teachers, for your decent school-houses, till you take up the question of removing illiteracy That is really the whole of my contention. from the land in hand.

"I wish now to turn to the question of cost, and will only deal very briefly with it. The Hon'ble Member said he would like to take Rs. 10 as the figure per head. I meet him there with official authority. Mr. Orange—no amateur—in charge of Education before the Department was created,—Director-General of Education,—in an estimate that he prepared, not for a discussion in this Council, but for the Government, took Rs. 5 as the average cost per head: the

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Hon'ble Mr. Sharp will correct me if I am wrong; I know he cannot, because he knows that I am right. Mr. Orange took Rs. 5 per head. I think that that estimate holds the field and any mere vague statement; that it might be more than this, that it might be 6 or 7 or 10 rupees, we are not bound to accept till the Hon'ble Member challenges the estimate of Mr. Orange and proves it to be an underestimate. And if we take Rs. 5 per head, the figures I have given are quite correct. Sir, I have already dealt with the argument that if compulsion is introduced in advanced areas, the spread of education in backward areas will suffer. I should deplore any action that could produce such a result; but I am sure there is no real foundation for the fear. How can any one imagine that those who want to see free and compulsory education all over the country would be a party to any scheme which would retard, instead of promoting, education in backward areas?

"Sir, there is one more point and I shall have done. The Hon'ble Member spoke yesterday of the desirability of such questions being dealt with by Local Legislative Councils. I have no objection to that. If Local Legislatures will take up this question and empower local bodies within their limits to introduce compulsion, I have no objection. Only I hope that that will not absolve the Government of India from the responsibility of finding the money, because it is essential that the Government share of the cost of compulsion should come out of the Exchequer of the Government of India, no matter what the estimate Sir, to those who profess to be appalled by the amount of money that will be required, I will mention only one fact. The military expenditure of this country-owing to the exigencies of the State-I will not enter just now into its justification or otherwise—has risen in 35 years from 16 crores to about 31 crores of rupees - an increase of 15 crores a year. It was 16 crores at the end of Lord Ripon's administration; it is nearly 31 crores now. If our military expenditure could be increased by 15 crores like this because the State thought it necessary to find the money, the spread of education, which is surely just as important as the defence of the country, has also a similar claim on Government revenues, whatever amount is actually required. And I am quite sure the State will be able to find the money, if the Government of India do not try to throw the responsibility on Local Governments. On this condition, I do not object to Local Legislatures taking up this question. Sir, the whole question, as my Hon'ble friend Mr. Jinnah has pointed out, is, what is your practical programme, whether you propose to secure universal mass education in this country in a reasonable time, or whether you want to wait for an indefinite time. The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp has given us the figures for the last five years. I have worked out the calculation from the figures I have here, and it comes to an increase of about 120,000 boys a year. Take the difference between the figure at the beginning and the figure at the end, and divide it by 5. The result is not 240,000 as the Hon'ble Member said. I admit that 120,000 is better than 75,000, but the whole question is, what is the practical programme before us? Do we expect to cover the whole of this field in a reasonable time, or do we want to leave it to the future indefinitely? In one case another century will have to elapse before the whole problem is solved; in the other case, proceeding on the lines on which most of the civilised countries have proceeded, we shall be able to solve this problem in about twenty years or so. I therefore urge that the question of compulsion must be taken in hand at once; and taking into consideration the fact that there is this increased awakening in the country both on the side of the people and of the Government for primary education, and considering that the State is more willing now to find the money, I for one feel that we are not so far from compulsion after all, as some people seem to imagine. Sir, I ask that this motion should be put to the vote."

The Council divided:

Ayes-13.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Hon'ble Raja of Dighapatia, the Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu, the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha, the Hon'ble Mr. Haque, the Hon'ble Nawab Saiyid Muhammad, the

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Hon'ble Mr. Subba Rao, the Hon'ble Raja of Kurupam, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, the Hon'ble Mr. Mudholkar, the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah, the Hon'ble Mr. Bhurgri, and the Hon'ble Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey.

Noes - 38.

His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle, the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler, the Hon'ble Mr. Syed Ali Imam, the Hon'ble Mr. Clark, the Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock, the Hon'ble Major General Sir M. H. S. Grover, the Hon'ble Mr. Maclagan, the Hon'ble Mr. Porter, the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp, the Hon'ble Mr. Enthoven, the Hon'ble Mr. Wheeler, the Hon'ble Mr. Brunyate, the Hon'ble Sir A. H. McMahon, the Hon'ble Nawab Abdul Majid, the Hon'ble Raja of Partabgarh, the Hon'ble Mr. Lyon, the Hon'ble Mr. Saunders, the Hon'ble Sir James Meston, the Hon'ble Mr. Gordon, the Hon'ble Surgeon General Sir C. P. Lukis, the Hon'ble Mr. Fremantle, the Hon'ble Mr. Vincent, the Hon'ble Mr. Carr, the Hon'ble Mr. Arthur, the Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Rao Chitnavis, the Hon'ble Mr. Phillips, the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy, the Hon'ble Mr. Meredith, the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi, the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy, the Hon'ble Mr. Meredith, the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi, the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy, the Hon'ble Mr. Slacke, the Hon'ble Sir Charles Stewart-Wilson, the Hon'ble Mr. Dempster, the Hon'ble Mr. Kenrick, and the Hon'ble Mr. Kesteven.

So the motion was negatived.

The Council adjourned to Friday, the 22nd March 1912.

W. H. VINCENT,

Secretary to the Government of India, Legislative Department.

CALCUTTA; The 29th March 1912.