*Wednesday,*
*17th March, 1915*

# ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

# Council of the Governor General of India,

# LAWS AND REGULATIONS

**Vol. LIII**

**April 1914 - March 1915**

# ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

# OF

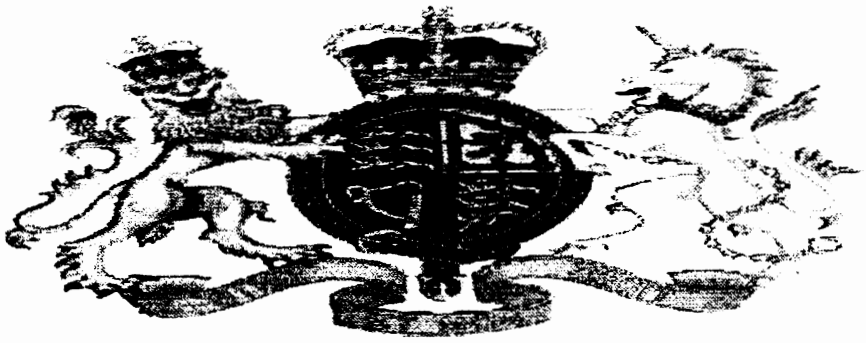
# THE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA

ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING

# LAWS AND REGULATIONS

## 1915

## VOLUME LIII



PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.



PRINTED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT OF GOVERNMENT PRINTING INDIA

1915

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

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**PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING LAWS AND REGULATIONS UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACTS, 1861 to 1909 (24 & 25 Vict., c. 67, 55 & 56 Vict., c. 14, AND 9 Edw. VII, c. 4).**

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The Council met at the Council Chamber, Imperial Secretariat, Delhi, on Wednesday, the 17th March, 1915.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble SIR HARCOURT BUTLER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Vice-President, *presiding*, and 54 Members, of whom 47 were Additional Members.

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## OATH OF OFFICE.

The following Additional Members made the prescribed oath of allegiance to the Crown :—

**The Hon'ble Mr. Robert Woodburn Gillan, C.S.I.**

**„ „ Mr. Robert Graham.**

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## STATEMENT LAID ON THE TABLE.

**The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp**:—"Sir, I lay on the table the information* promised in the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler's reply to the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali Khan on the 8th September, 1914. The figures as explained in the footnote can be regarded only as an approximate estimate. The collection of figures at this time involves considerable difficulty."

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*Vide* Appendix, page 469, *post*.

# QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

**The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy** asked :—

Indian representation at the next Imperial Conference.

**1.** "Will Government be pleased to consider, and to press upon the Imperial Government, the desirability of Indian representation at the Imperial Conference to be held in England next year?"

**The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock** replied :—

"From Reuter's telegrams it would appear to have been stated by Mr. Harcourt in the House of Commons that no Imperial Conference will be held this year, and until the future intentions of His Majesty's Government are known it is impossible to answer the Hon'ble Member's question."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi** asked :—

Matriculation age limit.

**2.** "(*a*) Is it a fact that in some of the Presidencies and Provinces of India, the Matriculation age limit is fixed at 15? If so, will the Government be pleased to state in which of the Provinces this is the case?

(*b*) Is it a fact that in the case of the Presidency of Bengal the present Matriculation age is fixed at 16?

(*c*) Is the Government aware that at a meeting of the Senate of the Calcutta University held in January last, to consider the question of the Matriculation age limit, the recommendation of the Syndicate, namely, that in Section 3, Chapter 30, of the University Regulations, the words 'the last day of the year' be substituted for the words 'the last day of the month' was accepted by the Senate?

(*d*) If so, will the Government be pleased to state whether they will consider the desirability of accepting the recommendation of the Senate?"

**The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp** replied :—

"(*a*) Yes. The age limit for Matriculation is 15 in the Madras and Punjab Universities. This rule would, therefore, apply to pupils studying within the territorial limits of those universities.

(*b*) Yes.

(*c*) The Government of India have seen in the newspapers an announcement to this effect. The present rule prescribes the attainment of the age limit on the first day of the month.

(*d*) When the matter comes before the Government of India officially, they will consider it."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi** asked :—

Substitution of candidates' Roll numbers in place of their names on answer papers.

**3.** "(*a*) Is it a fact that in all examinations held by the Civil Service Commissioners in England the Roll numbers of candidates only are written on the answer papers of the examinees and that their names do not appear?

(*b*) Is it a fact that in the examinations for Mukhtyarships, and in all examinations held by the Calcutta University the names of the examinees appear on their papers?

(*c*) If so, will the Government be pleased to state whether they will consider the desirability of substituting candidates' Roll numbers in place of their names?"

**The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp** replied :—

"(*a*) The statement is true of the examination for the Indian Civil Services, but otherwise the facts are not known.

(*b*) No definite information is available.

(*c*) Assuming that the question relates to conditions in Bengal, the Calcutta High Court and the University of Calcutta are the authorities which control the Mukhtyarship and University examinations respectively. The Government of India will send copies of the question and answer to these bodies for information."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi** asked :—

**Progress in the construction of certain Railway lines.**

**4.** "With reference to the answer given by the Hon'ble Sir T. R. Wynne to my question put on the 17th September, 1913, will the Government be pleased to state what progress has now been made with the construction of the following Railway lines :—

(*a*) Mymensingh to Tangail.

(*b*) Mymensingh *viâ* Gouripur to Bhairab Bazar.

(*c*) Gouripur *viâ* Shamganj to Bhagmara.

(*d*) Shamganj to Netrokona."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan** replied :—

"No decision has yet been arrived at regarding the construction of a railway from Mymensingh to Tangail. A survey party is at present carrying out a further examination of the area in which this line would lie, with a view to determining what alignment it will be best to adopt in view of proposals for further railway development in the same area.

A detailed survey for a line of railway from Mymensingh to Bhairab Bazar, with a branch from Gouripur to Bhagmara *viâ* Shamganj and a branch from Shamganj to Netrokona, has been completed and it has been decided with the approval of the Secretary of State that a concession may be granted to float a company for the construction of these lines on the Branch Line terms subject to certain conditions. Negotiations with a private Syndicate are now proceeding."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi** asked :—

**Mymensingh-Tangail Railway.**

**5.** "(*a*) Will the Government be pleased to state, with regard to the Mymensingh-Tangail Railway, whether the southern route has now been considered as the most suitable ?

(*b*) Will the Government be pleased to state whether the Railway line to Tangail will eventually be extended to find an outlet on the Brahmaputra ?

(*c*) Will the Government be pleased to state whether a survey has been made from Tangail to Elashin and whether another survey has been made from Tangail to Aricha, a point opposite to Goalundo ?

(*d*) If so, will the Government be pleased to consider the proposal of finally extending the Railway line from Tangail to Aricha and connecting the same by a steamer ferry to Goalundo ?

(*e*) Will the Government be pleased to state whether they propose to make over some of these branch lines to the Assam-Bengal Railway for construction ?

(*f*) If so, will the Government be pleased to state which branch lines they so propose to make over ?"

**The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan** replied :—

"No decision has yet been arrived at regarding the route to be adopted for the proposed Mymensingh-Tangail Railway, nor regarding the advisability of extending the line to some point on the Brahmaputra. A reconnaissance survey of the area in which this railway would lie is at present being carried out with a view to deciding what scheme of railway extensions will best meet the interests of the district as a whole. Pending a consideration of the results of this inquiry, the Government of India are unable to consider the question of a ferry service between Aricha and Goalundo.

The question of the agency to be employed for the construction of railways in this area has not yet been considered."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi** asked :—

Construction of a branch line between Aricha and Tengi (Dacca).

**6.** "Is it a fact that if Aricha is connected by railway with Tengi and a steamer ferry kept at Goalundo, a considerable saving of time will be effected in the journey between Calcutta and Dacca ?

(*b*) If so, will the Government be pleased to state whether they propose to construct a branch line between Aricha and Tengi (Dacca) ?

(*c*) Will they also be pleased to state whether a survey to Tengi from Aricha has been made ?"

**The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan** replied :—

"The reply to (*a*) is in the affirmative.

The information asked for in (*b*) and (*c*) is afforded by the reply given to the Hon'ble Member's previous question."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi** asked :—

Construction of certain Railway lines.

**7.** "Have the Government now taken into consideration the construction of the following lines :—

(*a*) Faridpur to Bhaga.

(*b*) Balgachi or its vicinity to Boalmari.

(*c*) Noyapara to Barisal.

(*b*) If so, has any decision been arrived at with regard to all or any of these lines; if not, when may such decision be expected ?"

**The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan** replied :—

"Reconnaissance surveys of the area in which the proposed lines from Faridpur to Bhaga and from Balgachi to Boalmari would lie, and a detailed survey for a line from Noyapara to Palerdi with branches to Barisal and Madaripur, have recently been carried out. Reports regarding the results of the former, but not of the latter, have been received. Until full information is available, the Government of India are not in a position to say when a decision regarding the construction of railways in this area is likely to be arrived at."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi** asked :—

Connection of the Northern Section of the Eastern Bengal State Railway with the Katihar-Godagiri Section.

**8.** "(*a*) With reference to my question and the answer given by the Hon'ble Sir T. R. Wynne on the 17th September, 1913, in this Council, will the Government be pleased to state whether they are still considering the question of the best alignment to adopt to connect the Northern Section of the Eastern Bengal State Railway with the Katihar-Godagiri Section, or whether the question has already been decided ?

(*b*) Is it a fact that local public bodies, the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division, and the late Commissioner Mr. F. C. French, all favour the Nattore-Godagiri line in preference to the Rajshahi Gopalpur or Sara line, the connection with the Northern Section being made at Nattore ?

(*c*) Will the Government be pleased to state what progress has been made in connection with this line; or if no decision has been arrived at, when such decision may be expected ?"

**The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan** replied :—

"The question of the best route for the proposed connection between the Northern Section of the Eastern Bengal Railway and the Katihar-Godagiri Section has not yet been decided, and the Government of India are not at present in a position to say when a decision will be arrived at, or to add to the information given in the Hon'ble Sir T. R. Wynne's answer to the question referred to by the Hon'ble Member."

[17TH MARCH, 1915.] [*Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar; Mr. Porter; Sir Reginald Craddock; Mr. Clark.*]

**The Hon'ble Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar** asked:—

**9.** "Will the Government be pleased to state when their orders may be expected on the recommendations made by the Royal Decentralization Commission with a view to increase the powers and resources of local bodies and to develop a system of village self-government?" Village self-government.

**The Hon'ble Mr. Porter** replied:—

"The Government of India will shortly issue a resolution relating to the matters referred to by the Hon'ble Member."

**The Hon'ble Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar** asked:—

**10.** "Will the Government be pleased to publish for general information the minutes of the evidence taken by the Committee of Investigation into the voyage of the 'Komagata Maru' and the riot at Budge Budge?" Publication of the minutes of the evidence taken by the Budge Budge Riot Committee.

**The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock** replied:—

"The Government of India do not consider that the publication of the minutes of evidence taken by the 'Komagata Maru' Committee would be to the public advantage, and are not prepared to adopt the Hon'ble Member's suggestion."

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## THE INLAND STEAM-VESSELS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

**The Hon'ble Mr. Clark**:—"Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Inland Steam-vessels Act, 1884. This is purely an administrative measure. Experience has shown that certain amendments are necessary in the existing Act, and especially in regard to the provisions for the issue of certificates of competency and service to Masters, Engineers, etc., of Inland Steam-vessels. These and other points are dealt with in the Bill. It is not proposed to proceed further with it at present. The Bill will be introduced now and circulated to Local Governments, and the Committee stage will be taken in September. At the same time we hope to consolidate the existing legislation on this matter."

The motion was put and agreed to.

**The Hon'ble Mr. Clark**:—"Sir, I beg to introduce the Bill and to move that the Bill, together with the Statement of Objects and Reasons relating thereto, be published in English in the *Gazette of India*, and in the local official Gazettes, except the *Fort St. George Gazette*, in English and in such other languages as the Local Governments think fit.

The motion was put and agreed to.

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## THE ASSAM LABOUR AND EMIGRATION (AMENDMENT) BILL.

**The Hon'ble Mr. Clark**:—"Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Assam Labour and Emigration Act, 1901.

"The object of this Bill is to secure a closer and more adequate supervision of recruitment of labour for the tea gardens in Assam. It provides, in the

first place, for the complete abolition of recruitment by contractors, a system which has been found in the past to be least susceptible of proper control and to have been the most open to abuse. The major portion of the Bill provides the machinery for the creation and working of a Board, which will assist in the supervision of Local Agents and generally in the supervision of recruitment of labour for the tea gardens in Assam. It is perhaps hardly necessary to point out that the Board is not a recruiting agency: it will have no more to do with the actual recruitment of labour than does the Collector of a district in his capacity of Superintendent of Emigration. Recruitment will, when the contractor and *arkati* have been eliminated, be conducted almost entirely through garden-sardars, working under Local Agents, that is to say, by men employed on the gardens, who come down for recruiting purposes to the recruiting districts and are controlled there by Local Agents. The most important point, then, becomes the supervision of these Local Agents, and it is here, especially, that the Board and its staff will afford a very valuable additional safeguard. One of the great difficulties in securing adequate supervision of recruitment at the present time is the difficulty so common in Indian administration that officers are constantly being moved on from one district to another. The administrative functions in connection with recruitment under Act VI of 1901, the superintendence of emigration, and so on, are generally entrusted to district officers, and it is impossible to secure that a man who may have had no previous experience of the question may not have to be transferred to districts where recruiting takes place. The Board, therefore, will provide the element of permanency in the administration. Its functions will be purely advisory; and, as already explained, it will have nothing whatever to do with actual recruitment, but will have the power of endorsing existing licences of Local Agents, if they have been guilty of any malpractices, or advising on the grant of fresh licences before the application for the licence goes to the Superintendent of Emigration. The Board will be presided over by an officer of Government.

"In addition to the provisions constituting the Labour Board, one important amendment is proposed to be made by this Bill in the Act of 1901, in order to remove a means by which unscrupulous recruiters have been evading the provisions of the Act. Under the Act, as it now stands, Government have no control over a coolie recruited in a Native State, and it has consequently been very easy to evade the provisions of the Act by asserting that a coolie is a resident of a Native State. An explanation is now to be added to the definition of the word 'emigrate' in clause 2 of the principal Act, so as to bring within it any coolie who may have proceeded from a Native State into any part of India in which the Act is in force, and who subsequently departs therefrom for the purpose of labouring for hire in Assam.

"I regret that, owing to the proposals and the draft Bill itself having had to be sent to the Secretary of State for approval, it has been impossible to bring this measure before Council at an earlier stage in the Session. It has, however, been very fully discussed with the tea industry, who originally proposed the creation of the Board and who appreciate as fully as do Government, the necessity for removing all reproaches from recruitment for Assam; and with the Local Governments concerned. These latter have all approved and supported the proposals embodied in the Bill."

The motion was put and agreed to.

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

He said:—"We propose to take the Bill up at a later date in this Session and to pass it into law."

The motion was put and agreed to.

## THE SEA CUSTOMS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

**The Hon'ble Mr. Clark** moved for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Sea Customs Act, 1878.

He said :—" Sir, this Bill deals only with a single point in our Customs law. Section 37 of the Sea Customs Act, 1878, prescribes that the rate of duty and tariff valuation applicable to imported goods warehoused under the Act are the rate and valuation in force on the date on which application is made to clear the goods for Home consumption. The effect of this prescription of the law is that bonders who may anticipate a change of duty in connection with the budget of the year, are able to apply in advance for clearance of their goods in order thereafter to claim the benefit of the old rates of duty, although they may have no immediate intention of clearing the goods, and it has been shown by experience that where there is any reason for anticipating enhancement of duty, there are large applications for clearance immediately before the presentation of the budget. It is obvious therefore that if any increase in duty were at any time determined upon, there would be a serious loss of customs revenue, while the bonder himself takes no risk in making these applications. Government consider that this state of things should not be permitted to continue, and they propose to amend section 37 so as to bring it into line with the corresponding legislation now in force in the United Kingdom. The effect of this amendment of the law will be to make the duty chargeable on goods in warehouses, the duty in force at the time of their actual removal. This is clearly in itself an equitable arrangement, and Council, I think, will readily agree that the modification of the law in this sense is desirable and is necessary in order to protect our revenue. We propose, therefore, as it is a very simple matter, to put this Bill through before the end of the Session."

The motion was put and agreed to.

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

The motion was put and agreed to.

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## THE FOREIGNERS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

**The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :**—" Sir, I beg to move that the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to amend the Foreigners Act, 1864, be taken into consideration.

" When I introduced this Bill at Simla last September, I explained that the Bill was a small amending Bill intended to meet the difficulty, which had for a long time past been felt, that there was no power given to the officers of Government to detain an undesirable alien during the time required to make a reference to the Government for an order to be passed in his case. Since that time our legal advisers have brought to our notice that the existing definition of the term 'foreigner' contained in the Foreigners Act presented certain difficulties of interpretation, and that the opportunity of this amending Bill might be taken to bring that definition, so to speak, up to date. The definition of 'foreigner' took us back to the Statute of William IV, which Statute has since been repealed ; and if that Statute were further referred to it would be found that the exact meaning and interpretation of the term 'foreigner' led us back to delve among ancient Statutes extending several centuries old, and into the English Common Law. Inasmuch as an Act of Parliament was passed so lately as 1914, containing a definition of 'foreigner,' it was thought advisable that our own Act

here should bear reference to that latest legislation and so remove the difficulties of interpretation to which I have referred. That Act is the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914, and our definition, as now amended, will define a 'foreigner' as a person who is not a natural born British subject, as defined in sub-sections 1 and 2 of section 1 of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914, or a person who has not been granted a certificate of naturalisation as a British subject under any law in force for the time being in British India. It is not considered that any one is likely to raise any objection to this definition being brought up to date, and the Select Committee have been unanimous in giving their approval to the inclusion of that definition."

The motion was put and agreed to.

**The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock:**—"I now beg to move that the Bill as amended be passed."

The motion was put and agreed to.

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**At this stage the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler left the Chair, which was taken by the Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle.**

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## RESOLUTION *RE* INDIAN VERNACULARS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

**The Hon'ble Mr. Rayaningar:**—"Sir, the resolution I beg to place before the Council runs thus:—

'That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to have, in consultation with the Provincial Governments and Administrations, steps taken for making the Indian Vernaculars media of instruction and the study of English as second language compulsory for Indian pupils in all secondary schools.'

"Sir, the Resolution deals with an important subject. The suggestion now made has the sanction of principle, practice, and authority. A little examination will reveal the superior advantages of imparting instruction through the vernacular. If any real knowledge is sought to be communicated to an unmatriculated boy the medium of the mother tongue must have undoubted advantages. The mind of the boy is not distracted, there is no diffusion of energy; it is only the difficulties of the subject which the mind is left free to face. And owing to the concentration of mental energy the difficulties are overcome and knowledge is acquired. But if attention is diverted to the difficulties of a foreign tongue in addition, the immature mind naturally fails to assimilate either the language or the knowledge it is sought to convey. This leads to one result, the mechanical repetition of half understood sentences. In fact cramming is encouraged and the boy learns neither the vernacular nor the foreign language properly. Throughout the course there is no education in the real sense of the word. The defects of the early training endure in all after life. Is it a wonder that, with this defective training, most of our graduates are not able to do anything great in life, and all their energy is spent in unproductive work? The case of those who fail in the Entrance examination is still worse. They are stranded in life. They are not eligible for even the very lowest appointments in public service. They are useless for industrial or commercial careers. They feel unhappy and discontented. Their lot will not be so bad if they had sound secondary education through the medium of vernacular. Then they would have at least gained sufficient general knowledge to help them on in qualifying themselves as skilled artisans or independent traders. A sound vernacular education, again is less likely to divert the students from their hereditary professions than a superficial English education.

[17TH MARCH, 1915.] [*Mr. Rayaningar.*]

"There is yet another direction in which the present rigid, unimaginative method works a hardship. We are all agreed about the paramount necessity of a wide-spread female education for the amelioration of the country. And can it for a moment be contended that any serious attempt in that direction is possible without providing a vernacular basis for secondary education? How many among our girls can afford to waste their time in the unprofitable pursuit of the present day secondary education? It is obvious that as it is, we cannot make much headway in the matter of female education. If, on the other hand, vernaculars are made the media of instruction in secondary schools, female education will gain ground, not only directly but also indirectly. I say indirectly because when the boys read in vernacular their lessons of general knowledge, their girl relations too will be able to pick up some knowledge of the subjects. Besides vernaculars being used as the channel of instruction vernacular literature will multiply. It is through vernaculars and vernaculars alone that knowledge can reach the masses. Sir, we have in India a good deal of education to a few. We want to have at least a little to many. The spread of knowledge in the country is the only remedy for the existing depressed state of the great majority of our people. Indeed patriots glow warm over the question of mass education.

"It is not that the authorities are not aware of the solid advantages of instruction through the vernacular. Sir, English education in India dates, so to speak, from the celebrated Resolution of the Government of India of 7th March, 1835. Any detailed examination of the educational views of the authorities in the years previous to it is unnecessary. Suffice it to say, that opinion was divided, and the educational policy of Government continued unsettled. It was Lord Macaulay's Minute of 2nd February, 1835, upon which the Government Resolution was based that settled the policy It was once for all decided that 'the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European Literature and sciences amongst the natives of India,' and that English education alone was to be supported by Government. But even in Lord Macaulay's Minute there is sufficient indication that the final choice was a matter of necessity created by the absence of a proper vernacular literature. Lord Macaulay formulated the case thus: 'How stands the case? We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother tongue. We must teach them some foreign language.' The reference to the existing circumstances of the country was significant; and any doubt about the importance of vernacular education and the reasons underlying the decisions of the Council of Education over which Lord Macaulay presided, was set at rest by the first annual report of that Council. The Council observed: 'We are deeply sensible of the importance of encouraging the cultivation of vernacular languages . . . . The claims of the vernacular languages were broadly and prominently admitted by all parties . . . . . No reference to the question through what ulterior medium such instruction as the mass people is capable of receiving, is to be conveyed.' The question of the 'ulterior medium' of instruction was thus left unsettled, and it is perfectly open to Government to consider it now without abandonment of the general principles, first adopted by Lord William Bentinck, which have through tradition and practice crystallised into the cardinal principles of British Indian Administration. The Council evidently looked forward to a future when the medium of instruction should be changed and the vernaculars should be substituted for English. It remarked—

> 'We conceive the formation of a vernacular literature to be the ultimate object to which all efforts must be directed. At present, the extensive cultivation of some foreign language which is always improving to the mind, is rendered indispensable by the almost total absence of a vernacular literature, and the consequent impossibility of obtaining a tolerable education from that source only. The study of English is the first stage in the process by which India is to be enlightened. The natives must learn before they can teach. The best educated among them must be placed in possession of our knowledge, before they can transfer it into their own language.'

"It is thus clear that even in those early times of English education in India, authorities had not the remotest idea of recommending English as the permanent medium, and we entirely ignore the central object of the policy of those times when we seek to perpetuate the arrangements then initiated. In my humble opinion, sufficient sanction for the course I recommend can be had in the official literature of those times, but an appeal to it is superfluous. The system however continued, and its defects soon attracted attention, and was felt both here and in England, that, for the wider diffusion of Western culture among the people, a sounder method of education on a vernacular basis must be introduced. Sir Charles Wood's celebrated despatch of 1854 for the first time recognised officially vernacular schools and new middle schools. The results, were however, poor, so far as education on a vernacular basis was concerned. The whole subject of the further promotion of this education was then referred to the Indian Education Commission of 1882, but its recommendations were inconclusive although the Commission noticed 'the marked superiority, at the Entrance examination, of those pupils who had joined the high schools with vernacular, compared with those who came with English Scholarships.' The matter had attracted the attention of scholars and education experts, and, according to some of the greatest among them, the Indian system appeared to be unnatural and ill-calculated to promote sound education. Professor Monier Williams, an authority, justly venerated in India for scholarship and services to the cause of Oriental learning, pointed out in his 'Modern India.'

'With regard to languages I cannot help thinking that a great mistake is committed . . . . . we do not sufficiently encourage the vernaculars . . . . . Be it observed, however, that they are by no means dying out. It would be simple folly to suppose that we can impose English on some 240 millions of people.'

"The Government of India, too, was alive to the necessity of a change; and by its Resolution of the 23rd October, 1884, it 'commended this matter,' of having vernaculars as the media of instruction in the middle schools, 'to the careful consideration of Local Governments and Educational authorities.'

'The Governor General in Council was disposed to agree with the Commission that for boys whose education terminates with the middle school course, instruction through the vernacular is likely to be most effective and satisfactory. The experience of the Bengal Government goes, indeed, to show that even for lads pursuing their studies in high schools a thorough grounding conveyed through their vernacular leads to satisfactory results. It is urged by those who take this view that many of the complaints of the unsatisfactory quality of the training given in the middle and high schools of the country, are accounted for by the attempt to convey instruction through a foreign tongue. The boys, it is said, learn a smattering of very indifferent English while their minds receive no development by the imparting to them of useful knowledge, in a state comprehensible to their intellects, since they never assimilate the instruction imparted to them. It has been proposed to meet this difficulty by providing that English shall be taught in middle schools as a language and, even then only as an extra subject when there is real demand for it and a readiness to pay for such instruction.'

"Henceforward we find a distinct swinging back of expert opinion and a preponderance is in favour of the reform that is now recommended.

"In his review of educational progress in 1886, Sir Alfred Croft observed 'it is certainly the modern theory in England that a boy's intellect should be strengthened by instruction in his own vernacular, before he attempts the study of a foreign language, and that he will thus be enabled to grapple with the difficulties of a foreign language much more successfully.' He cited the high authority of the Head Masters of Harrow, Winchester and Marlborough in support of his statement. Sir Alfred Croft would appear to have been in favour of a change in the medium, as shown above.

"In the second quinquennial review, Mr. Nash endorsed Sir Alfred's view 'that it combines the elements of cheapness and soundness is not denied . . .

but the system is distrusted as tending to retard progress in the English language, and it is therefore advisable that its adoption should be left to the good sense of the people themselves.'

"In the sixth quinquennial review of educational progress the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp has drawn attention to the defects in the existing system of 'the treatment of subjects like history and geography as ordinary reading lessons,' and 'the attempt to impart knowledge through English before the pupils can understand that language.' The Indian Universities Commission of 1902 likewise noted the defect. 'Boys begin to learn as a language and also to learn other subjects through the medium of English, long before they are capable of understanding.' The Government of India, in their Resolution of 21st February, 1913, recorded this weighty opinion :—

'There is much experience to the effect that scholars who have been through a complete vernacular course are exceptionally efficient mentally. The Government of India recommend arrangements on the above lines to all Local Governments and Administrations which have not already introduced them.'

"Dr. Welton, Professor of Education in the University of Leeds, in his recent work 'What do we mean by Education,' speaking of the study of Latin and Greek in English schools goes on to say :—

'That more effort is given to acquiring the elementary use of the instruments of thought than to the study of thoughts themselves : in short, to make school learning preponderatingly verbal and this is antagonistic to the very idea of culture.

'The temptation to verbalism is always present in schools, and it is naturally most potent in foreign languages . . . .'

Questioned by an Advocate of Education on vernacular basis, Professor Geddes said :—

'The whole trend of my teaching of civic and town planning . . . with its insistence on the value and necessity of growing each plant upon its own roots, and maintaining its original character (while not excluding the introduction of good grafts from elsewhere)—is quite in sympathy with your theme of education in vernacular.'

"And what is still more important from the non-official point of view, the proposed measure has in its favour the weight of public opinion. People with diametrically opposite views about Indian politics are agreed about this reform.

"Sir S. Subramanier of Madras, speaking at the inaugural meeting of the Dravida Bhasha Sangam, said : 'The Rev. Dr. Pope and other English scholars of the vernaculars are convinced that Tamil and Telugu are quite capable of expressing the most important thoughts and yield to the framing of scientific terminology.' The Hon'ble Mr. P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, now a member of the Madras Government, in his capacity as the Secretary to the Council of Native Education in Madras, observed : 'Little boys are made to repeat words and sentences which convey no clear significance to them. They repeat what they are taught, both in the class-room and at the examination . . . . Hence it is proposed that in the Lower Secondary classes non-language subjects should be taught in the vernacular, instead of through English. Sir Gurudas Banerji of Bengal, in his 'Educational Problem in India' remarks :

'Sentiment no doubt is in favour of making vernacular the medium of imparting knowledge and reason supports that sentiment to a great extent. . . . I therefore submit that in the secondary course, *i.e.*, up to the Matriculation examination standard, subjects other than English should be taught in the student's vernacular wherever practicable.'

"Again, the Hon'ble Justice Sir Asutosh Mukerji made the following observation in his Calcutta Convocation Address, 1907 :—

'At the Matriculation stage the course must be so framed as to include subjects that would train and develop some power of expression, some power of reasoning and some power of observation. To give the students some power of expression unquestionably the best medium is his own language in the first place, with the structure and literature of which he ought to have a tolerable familiarity.'

"Sir Valentine Chirol in his book on 'Indian Unrest' condemns the sole use of English in high schools as the medium of instruction. Mrs. Annie Besant, in an article in the *Indian Review* of May 1914, observed :—

'On the use of the vernaculars as the medium of instruction in secondary schools there is practically unanimity of opinion. It would be well definitely to lay down the principle that all subjects, other than English as a language, should be taught in the vernacular ; then our Indian boys would be in the same advantageous position as the Japanese, who learn all subjects in their own tongue, and take English as a compulsory second language. If this principle be adopted up to matriculation, the education will be practical, consistent and effective, and English will be known for all useful purposes as well as it is known to-day.'

It may also be noticed that the Lord Bishop of Madras advocated the same change. The Madras Council of Education, composed of distinguished non-official gentlemen, have taken the same common-sense view, and have from the very beginning made earnest efforts to secure the suggested change in the medium of instruction in secondary schools. It is therefore difficult to believe that an attempt on the part of Government to introduce the vernacular in the secondary schools up to the highest class as the medium of instruction will be viewed with disfavour. Besides it is not open to Government to go back upon its declared policy, and we have a right to expect, instead of allowing the idea to remain a pious wish, Government would take vigorous steps to effect the reform.

"Sir the question of 'a modern side' has been fairly satisfactorily settled in England; in the Continental countries the medium of the mother tongue has been adopted with conspicuous success; it is in India alone that we lag behind. The method recommended in the Resolution before the Council appears to me to inculcate a principle which must redound to the lasting benefit of the country.

"Sir, the objections usually urged against the proposed reform are—

(1) the pupil's knowledge of English will deteriorate in the new method,

(2) suitable text-books are not available,

(3) vernaculars being deficient in technical nomenclature it is difficult to impart instruction in subjects like Geography, Mathematics and Science, through them

(4) suitable teachers are not available to teach non-language subjects in vernacular,

(5) in each Province there being several vernaculars it will be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, to make provision for imparting instruction through the media of vernacular, and the attempts will involve larger expenditure as more teachers will be required,

(6) the proposed measure will interfere with the unification of the Indian peoples.

"So long as English is compulsory and a high standard insisted on there is absolutely no danger of the deterioration of its knowledge. In the new method the energy of the pupil is conserved and is concentrated upon the study of English as a language. Non-language subjects being presented through the medium of his mother tongue, the pupil can learn them much quicker and devote more time to the study of English, and that under specially selected teachers. Surely he will not run the risk of learning bad accent and bad idiom from the teachers in charge of non-language subjects whose pretensions to teach English are often anything but desirable. The adoption of the Berlitz system of teaching language as a complimentary to the reform I advocate will be productive of excellent results. The second objection relates to the non-existence of suitable text-books in vernaculars. Most of the vernaculars have text-books on the subjects taught in the secondary course. If improved texts and more of them are required, they will ere long come into existence With increase in the prospects the fields of translation and original contribution are not likely to remain unexploited for any

length of time. Then as to vernaculars being deficient in scientific nomenclature, we have literary institutions already engaged in preparing lists of required. scientific terms. English terms may also in course of time become naturalised The process is easy and may be seen at work even now. The next objection is based on the difficulty of finding teachers to teach non-language subjects through the medium of vernaculars. The objection is more imaginary than real. Most of the teachers who teach non-language subjects through the medium of English are Indians. They know their vernaculars, and if they know the subjects they teach, they must be able to teach them in vernacular. If practice is wanted, it can be acquired in a short time. There is another objection. That is on account of the difficulty and costliness of making provision for imparting instruction to the pupils speaking various vernaculars. The difficulty will occur only in a few places. In such places generally the classes are numerically extra strong and sub-divisions of classes are formed. If the subdivision is effected on the basis of language division, much of the inconvenience will disappear. When any particular sub-division is numerically weak, it will be open to the management of the school either to reject admission of a few boys or put them in a class where a vernacular akin to theirs is used as the medium of instruction. Then there remains the last objection, that the proposed measure will interfere with the unification of Indian peoples. Sir, to my mind, the objection appears to be meaningless. Sometimes people hazard opinions and say that but for different languages, Indians will be one Nation. I very much doubt the soundness of that opinion. What about our different creeds and castes? If all these differences disappear, I daresay the difference of language too will disappear.

"Sir, I have answered argument yet prejudice may remain.

"Sir, what we want is education not merely in words but in thought and in deed.

"With these observations, Sir, I commend the Resolution to the acceptance of the Council."

**The Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh:**—"Sir, the Hon'ble Mover has urged all that can be said to justify the acceptance of this resolution. He has shown that his educational scheme will promote the study of the vernaculars, which are now often neglected, provide for a deeper study of English, and enable school children, through the medium of the vernaculars, to study other subjects in a more thorough and intelligent fashion. The difficult language of the text-books on subjects other than English and classical and vernacular languages, induces cramming, and impairs the value of these subjects as mental training. It is a well-known fact that many students fail in their examinations in history, and similar subjects, because of their inability to express themselves in English. If, however, the vernaculars be made media of instruction, their literatures would become enriched with works on scientific subjects, and the study of the vernaculars themselves would receive a great stimulus. It would also then be possible to engage vernacular-knowing teachers on less pay than is given to teachers knowing English. The saving thus effected would enable the managers of aided schools to keep such teachers for teaching English as have that language for their mother tongue. Besides if all subjects were taught through the medium of the vernaculars, the students would find more time for the more detailed study of English. It is a matter of common knowledge that students of special classes who commence the study of English after passing the Vernacular Final Examination are more frequently successful in the Matriculation and School Leaving Certificate Examinations than other students.

"The suggestions made by the Hon'ble Mover are not altogether novel ones. In the lower classes of Anglo-vernacular schools in all the provinces the medium of instruction is the vernacular. The Punjab University offers three distinct courses, an Arts, a Science and an Oriental Matriculation. The students appearing at the Bombay School Final Examination

are allowed to answer questions in History, Geography and the classical language in the vernacular. Finally, in the United Provinces, the Hon'ble Mover's scheme will be but the natural expansion of the system of special classes.

"The lack of text-books on scientific subjects and of the vernacular-knowing teachers competent to teach them will no doubt present a serious difficulty. It will not be insurmountable. In the United Provinces, some years ago, the Aligarh Scientific Society translated several scientific works into Urdu. Some years ago also, Shamsul-Ulma Maulvi Zakaullah and Rai Bahadur Pandit Lakhshmi Shanker Misra translated into Urdu and Hindi most of the standard books then in use in schools.

"The scheme has certain decided advantages. I have therefore no hesitation in according my whole-hearted support to the resolution before the Hon'ble Council."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy**:—"Sir, I am sorry I have to oppose my friend's motion on the ground that it is calculated to be prejudicial to the best interests of the country. Not that I am wanting in my appreciation of the motives which have inspired it, or in my admiration for my friend's enthusiasm in the cause of education; but we must not overlook the fact that just at the present moment, through causes which must be patent to all, the public mind is in a state of tension. There can be no doubt that the War has filled the minds of the people with anxiety. Added to this is the distress caused by high prices, unemployment, and the general economic situation. The uncertainties of future developments, again, are powerful disturbing factors. It is certainly unwise to aggravate the difficulties of the situation by starting afresh a controversy about the educational policy of Government over which there is already a considerable amount of feeling in the country. It must be admitted that the resolution deals with a highly controversial subject, and it is a matter of surprise to me that it is moved at a time when Government has very properly held back all matters of a controversial nature. The Hon'ble Mover will realise that we shall not hear the last of his proposal in this Council, and that it will cause perhaps the bitterest of public controversies—the duration of which nobody can foresee.

"Sir, besides its being inopportune, the resolution is harmful in a variety of ways. Official action on the lines laid down in it will have the sure effect of restricting high education in India, and ultimately of retarding that social, political and economic progress of the people which has been the fixed objective of British Indian Rule for more than a century. It would be folly to ignore the marvellous advance we have made in every direction through the development of that English education which the Hon'ble Mover decries. The India of to-day is a very different India from that which Mr. Charles Grant of the Court of Directors described in 1792-97 in such unmeasured terms of condemnation; and there is hardly a department of human activity in which Indians, with their limited opportunities, have failed to make their mark. And is all this progress due to a sound system of vernacular education which the Hon'ble Mover so earnestly advocates, or to our rapid and successful assimilation of European culture and European thought through the English language and English literature? The extravagant suggestion is not inconceivable that our progress would have been better, sounder and economically more productive had we received all our culture through the vernacular medium; but the probabilities are all the other way. The experience of the past also points to the opposite conclusion. The Sanskrit Colleges and the Madrasas have been in existence for a long series of years, and who will deny that the passed scholars of those institutions are at a disadvantage in the hard competition of life, and have not given proof of special brilliance in their post collegiate career? Judged by the standard of mental culture alone, are they any way superior to the graduates of our English Colleges?

"Sir, the Hon'ble Mover indirectly suggests that the communication of European culture through the medium of English has defeated the object of

English education in India. This is the reverse of the truth. Throughout the long controversy between orientalists and occidentalists over the medium of education until it was settled by Lord William Bentinck's famous Resolution of 1835, the one idea which claimed the largest share of philanthropic solicitude on the part of the advocates of English education and which influenced their decision the most was, that a class of men, thoroughly grounded in European science, European arts and European philosophy, should be created in India who should serve as the communicating medium of Western culture to the general population. Lord Macaulay's celebrated Minute, to which the Hon'ble Mover has referred, puts the matter beyond doubt. Now, has this object been defeated? Have we or have we not such a class among us in India? Except the very lowest strata, the whole Indian society, Hindu or Musalman, is permeated with western ideas. Not to speak of towns, villages too have not been able to resist western influence It would be wrong to suppose that the educated community has not contributed its share to this slow revolution in popular ideas. The vernaculars also have been more or less enriched, and in some provinces they have attained a perfection which has attracted favourable notice even beyond the limits of India. The great literature of Bengal, which has only recently received the highest tribute of admiration from western savants, is the result of the conjoint labours of at least two generations of distinguished Bengali writers who had all their education at English schools through the medium of English. The greatest Bengali poets Michael Dutt and Banerjea, the greatest Bengali novelist Chatterji, the greatest Bengali dramatist Mitra, the greatest lexicographer Raja Deb, the illustrious antiquarian Raja Rajendralal Mitra, were all English scholars. The Mahratta, the Hindi, the Guzrati, the Urdu, and the Telegu likewise owe a great deal of their present development to the labours of Indian scholars who have had their early training in English schools with English as the medium of instruction. Vernacular journalism, which is rapidly growing into a power and the influence of which is felt in the remotest corners of the country, owes all its inspiration and all its literary quality to western thought and western knowledge, imbibed by the conductors in these much-abused English schools. If scientific terminology has not been translated into the vernaculars so freely, it is because the necessity for such translation has not yet arisen. The Hon'ble Mover has himself noticed the process by which western scientific and technical terms are gradually becoming assimilated into the vernaculars of the country. It is thus wrong to suppose that Indian graduates have, by their failure to enrich the vernaculars, falsified the anticipations of the early advocates of English education.

"Sir, the Hon'ble Mover thinks that English education has failed to stimulate thought and original research. If he had only reviewed the history of the past fifty years, he would have found enough material to modify his views. The period is rendered illustrious by a galaxy of great jurists, great doctors, great engineers, deep political thinkers, distinguished administrators, eminent writers, the most fascinating orators, great educationists, great industrialists, and great religious teachers. The names are too many to mention, but there have been a number of them whose fame has travelled overseas into the distant realms of the West. I just refer to Swami Vivekananda, Kesab Chandra Sen, Pratap Chandra Majumdar, Rameschandra Dutt, Miss Toru Dutt, Lalvihari Day, Ranade, Sir Tanjore Madhava Rao, and last, though not least, Gokhale. Pratap Chandra Majumdar, be it noted, was appointed Lowell Lecturer in the United States of America. In the field of scientific research, how many even in the advanced West have earned the reputation of Drs. J. C. Bose and P. C. Ray? Where will you have men like Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji, Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Sir S. P. Sinha? We have this moment sitting with us in this very chamber an orator who has even in England charmed, moved and swayed many an English audience with his soul-stirring and compelling eloquence. And in the face of all these facts, can it be justly contended that English education in India has been barren of results?

"Sir, the Hon'ble Mr. Rama Rayaningar points to the practices of Continental countries and Japan in support of his proposal, but, curiously, he forgets the difference in the local conditions of India. In Japan, Germany or France, a knowledge of English is not at all necessary, except for conversational purposes; whereas here in India a thorough knowledge of the official language is of supreme importance to us. One of the principal objects of English education was, as will abundantly appear from the Despatch of the Court of Directors of 29th September 1830, 'to raise up a class of persons qualified, by their intelligence and morality, for high employments in the Civil Administration of India', 'through a familiarity with European literature and science, imbued with the ideas and feelings of civilized Europe.' And again: 'You are, moreover, acquainted with our anxious desire to have at our disposal a body of Natives, qualified, by their habits and acquirements, to take a larger share, and occupy higher situations in the Civil Administration of their country'. We Indians also are keenly desirous of securing free admission into Government Service. But, without the freest scope for high English education, can this object be attained? We have to compete, be it remembered, with Europeans and the fast-growing Domiciled Community; and unless we are perfectly familiar with English from our early boyhood, can we hope for success in such a competition? It is not conversational English that is required, but a scholarly acquaintance with the language can alone equalise the conditions of the competition. And how is this possible without English being adopted as the medium of instruction in our high schools? And how are correct idiom and pronunciation to be learnt by the boys, and how is their vocabulary to be enriched, if English is not only taught but is also made the medium of instruction even in the lower forms of the secondary schools? The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp, at page 150 of *The Furlough Studies*, speaking of the new method, remarks with great force: 'Onwards from the age of ten (at which a bright boy will enter a secondary school), every word of the English language lesson must, with the reservations just noted, be in English. This is the more important, since at that age mind and mouth can most readily adapt themselves to the idiom and the pronunciation of a foreign tongue; by every year that is lost, the task becomes incalculably more difficult.' In this plan, what becomes of the objection of the advocates of the new method that the practice of teaching English in the lower forms, through teachers who are themselves imperfectly acquainted with the language, has the result of implanting in the boy defects of pronunciation and idiom which are ineradicable in after years? The necessity of teaching the language in the earliest years of the secondary course is admitted. But this is by the way. The whole point is that to ensure successful competition for Government Service the youth must have a thorough grounding in English from his early boyhood. And we have experience to back the proposition that this condition is best fulfilled by adopting English as the medium of instruction in the high schools. Even Sir Alfred Croft stated that the authorities were unanimous in their opinion that English should be the medium from the third form upwards We know it as a fact that, however 'mentally efficient' they may be, scholars from Anglo-vernacular schools, even though they may be more successful at the University examinations, betray in the majority of cases, a deficiency in the knowledge of English which lingers through life. And this defect places them at a disadvantage in after life. Even B. Sc.'s of the Indian Universities are supposed to be deficient in English. Whatever may be the theory, that is the experience in India, which is not limited to a particular province. It cannot reasonably be expected that further restriction of English in the secondary schools will provide a remedy for this defect. One other consideration will discredit the Hon'ble Mr. Rama Rayaningar's proposal. The University matriculation examination is conducted now in English. The question papers in all subjects are in English. How will it be possible for boys trained according to his ideal to sit at that examination? They being taught every subject in the vernacular, cannot answer questions in them in English. It is not likely that the Universities will introduce vernaculars in the matriculation examination. Such an

attempt, even if made, would be opposed to the obvious recommendation of the Universities Commission that 'the vernacular languages of India should not be recognised as second languages side by side with the allied classical languages for any of the University examinations above the Entrance'. It follows by implication that the vernaculars should not be recognised by the Universities even at the Entrance examination except as second languages. This precludes the possibility of their recognition in the answer papers in all subjects other than English. The result, therefore, is that the boys cannot appear at the Entrance examination. And could there be any doubt that the contingency will have the surest effect of cutting off the supply of material for colleges? Is this conducive to the interests of high education? Assuming that either the boys do manage to answer in English the questions in the different subjects though these are taught in the vernacular, or the Universities recognise the vernaculars in the answer papers, and that there is no difficulty in the boys getting into the colleges, how will it be possible for them to profit by collegiate instruction in the general subjects which must necessarily be through the medium of English? Would the college students spend a year or two more in learning over again in English all the general subjects before they join the regular college classes? No, Sir, the adoption of the resolution can lead to only one result, and that the most lamentable of all results,—the retardation of the progress of high education.

"Sir, there would be some justification for the Hon'ble Mover's claim if it was backed by a strong public opinion; but that support is entirely lacking. On the contrary, among the general public there is a strong feeling that the system of our secondary education should not be disturbed. High educational authorities also are convinced of the present system. I will quote one opinion only, and that of Mr. Nesfield, some time Director of Public Instruction in Oudh, who was 'convinced that a boy who reads to the upper, or even to the lower, primary standard in a high school and then stops, is better educated than one who reads to the same standard in a primary school. Boys of the former class know their own vernacular quite as well as the others, and they have had their wits sharpened and their sphere of knowledge extended by learning something of English besides, not much indeed, but enough to serve many useful purposes in after life'.

"The feelings of the general public regarding high education, and as a corollary secondary English education, have undergone no change in character since the historic Memorial presented to Lord Ahmerst by Raja Rammohan Roy in 1823, but have gathered considerable force in the interval. This is a subject about which the people are unanimous. Attempt after attempt has been made to wean them from their passionate liking for English education, but they have stood firm. When English has been made optional in schools, the choice has, in an increasing number of cases, been in its favour. For instance, even in primary schools where English is taught as an optional subject as in the primary schools of Madras, 'the number that bring up English as their second language,' according to the Parliamentary Blue Book on Indian Education of 1898 (No. C.-9190), 'continues to increase'. In the sixth Quinquennial Review also this feature of the Madras primary course is noticed. In secondary schools the pupils learning English are steadily on the increase—".

**The Hon'ble the Vice-President**:—"Order! The Hon'ble Member's time is up."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi**:—"Sir, like the last speaker, I equally regret to find myself in complete disagreement with the views which my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Rayaningar seeks to promulgate and see carried into effect by means of the resolution which he has just moved. At the outset, however, I should like to clear the air, for any Indian, who opposes a resolution such as this which superficially might be regarded as a means of increasing the

importance of the Indian vernaculars, runs the risk of being misunderstood and misconstrued. Therefore, I should like to say at once that the mere fact of making the vernaculars the medium of instruction in the secondary schools will have no effect whatsoever in increasing or lowering the status of Indian vernaculars. I share with all my heart the laudable desire with all right-thinking men to see our vernaculars gradually develop themselves and take their proper place in the literatures of the world. In recent times both Urdu and Bengali have made great strides onwards, and have produced poets, such as Hali and Rabindra Nath Tagore, of whom any nation may be proud. But our vernaculars have to be developed by themselves on their own lines. In Bengal, Urdu and Bengali are compulsory from start to finish in a student's career, from the infant class up to the time when a student graduates. For the development and instruction of our vernaculars we have our *Maktabs*, *Madrassahs*, *Islamia* Colleges, *Tols*, *Patsalas*, and Sanskrit Colleges, where everything is taught in the vernaculars and all general knowledge is imparted in them. Nor does English find a place in the scheme of our primary education. We have further what is known as the Vernacular Continuation Schools. But such is the popularity of English education that in many of the Provinces these institutions have declined. Yet in the whole of India during the last decade, the number of such schools has increased from 2,135 to 2,666 and the scholars from 177,000 to 257,000. From this it will be seen that there is no lack in the cultivation of our vernaculars and that there is no desire either on the part of the Government or of ourselves to substitute English for the vernacular dialects of the country.

"The question therefore is, what advantage is to accrue in further making the vernaculars as the media of instruction in all our secondary schools, for they are already the medium of instruction in our secondary schools up to a certain point.

"I would invite the attention of Hon'ble Members to the diagram which is to be found on page 70 of the quinquennial review published by the Department of Education. From this diagram it will be seen that in the case of Bengal there are the middle vernacular schools where all instruction is imparted in the Vernaculars. Secondly, there are the high and middle English schools, where during the first 6 years of a boy's school life no English is taught at all. From the 7th to the 10th year of his school life he is taught English, and then from his 11th to his 14th year, *i. e.*, from the 4th to his Matriculation class English is supposed to be the medium of instruction. This is true more or less with regard to Bombay, United Provinces, Bihar and Assam, whereas with the exception of Burma in the remaining Provinces and Presidencies English is the medium of instruction during only the last 3 years of a student's course up to his Matriculation examination. Therefore, what my friend advocates is being already done to a very large extent. Now, let us take the case of Bengal. The vernacular scheme of 1901 gradually fell into so much disfavour that it was insisted that English should be taught for a longer period than what was done formerly, in all cases from the 7th B to the 5th. What English therefore is learnt up to the 5th is quite sufficient for giving instruction through it in such subjects as Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Geography, Elements of History and Elements of Mechanics. Now, as regards giving instruction through the medium of vernaculars from the 5th up to the 1st class, opinion is very unevenly divided, the bulk of public feeling being entirely against such a course and that for very good and substantial reasons. The following are amongst some of the reasons against such a proposal. Firstly, there are no suitable text-books in the vernaculars except a few in some of the subjects. Now, the Hon'ble Mr. Venkataranga says that as more encouragement will be given by the reading of the additional subjects through the vernaculars, better and more suitable books will gradually be forthcoming. This is however fallacious for two reasons, namely, first that it is a mere supposition that such will be the case, and, secondly, there is the great impracticability to get really suitable text-books written in all the innumerable vernaculars that exist in India. The next

reason that I may point out against Mr. Venkataranga's proposal, is that the higher branches of all subjects have necessarily to be taught in English. Therefore, there will be a distinct disadvantage in teaching the elementary parts of the additional subjects in the vernaculars even if we suppose that suitable text-books will be forthcoming. If this is done a student will, in that case, have to learn first the vernacular technical terms of those subjects and again their English equivalents when he proceeds further in his studies. Now, Mr. Venkataranga's contention that the inconvenience of students' having to learn two sets of technical terms will be more than compensated by the facility with which he will learn the other subjects in his vernacular is likewise fallacious. Further, the contention that a student who learns a subject through the medium of his vernacular learns it in less time and with less labour is beside the point.

"In India, where a knowledge of English is paramount both for the purpose of daily official and non-official business, there can be no question that the learning of that language would be more facilitated if English is made the medium at a suitable point in a student's career, and not merely if English is taught as a second language as a compulsory subject. Nobody would feel inclined to deny that a student who learns a subject through the medium of his vernacular would learn it in less time and with less labour. But this only goes to show that it will be at the expense of his knowledge of English. For suppose Mr Venkataranga's suggestion is adopted. Let us see what will be its effect. It is a well-known fact that there is a great tendency with Indian students to have for their sole object the passing of examinations and not the healthy desire of acquiring a good knowledge of the subjects that they study. Thus, when a student who studies for the Matriculation examination has for his sole object the passing of that examination, while therefore his chances of passing in all other subjects in the Matriculation would be made much easier by following my friend's scheme, he will be inclined consciously or unconsciously to neglect the study of English except to the extent of just being able to obtain pass marks in it, although he may have more time given to him for devoting to English. This point would still better be illustrated if we compare the case of an I. A. student with that of an I. Sc. student. English is compulsory with both these students. But the I. Sc. student has to trouble himself with a knowledge generally of only the technical terms in English of his subjects and though he is supposed to receive theoretically instruction in science through the medium of English, it is a recognised fact that our Indian Professors in all colleges generally do so through the medium of the vernaculars, whereas the subjects which the I.A. student has to master are such that a good knowledge of English is necessary, and the Indian professors are obliged to impart instruction entirely in English. The result is that the majority of I. Sc. students acquire less knowledge of English than their I.A. confreres. But my friend says that if a student learns his other subjects through his vernaculars he will have more time to devote to English. In practice however the reverse is found to be the case.

"Even Sir Gurudas Banerji himself, on whose authority the Mover relies, says in his book on Indian Educational Problem 'that the rule for making a student's vernacular the medium of instruction in the secondary stage can be made compulsory *only where practicable*'. An ardent advocate, such as even he, can only venture to recommend only in the case where it is practicable. The Hon'ble Mr. P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, another authority that has been quoted by my friend, advocated the making of the vernacular as the medium of instruction only in the lower classes of secondary schools, which, as I have already stated, is now being done.

"From the Mussalman point of view the impracticability is still greater. For take the case of the Mussalman boys of Bengal. For a long time there has been a hot discussion as to whether Bengali or Urdu should be recognised as their vernacular. Opinion was very much divided on the subject, and although as a member of the Mussalman Educational Advisory Committee, which is at present sitting in Bengal, I have advocated the adoption of Bengali as the vernacular of Mussalman boys, yet to carry instruction through its medium up

to the Matriculation class will be opposed by the entire body of Moslem opinion. Supporters of Mr. Venkataranga's views have been known to point to the moral of Poland. They say that the Prussians have insisted on making German, and the Russians the Russian, language as the medium of instruction in their respective spheres of authority in Poland. If this is resented by right-thinking people, why should we wish to make English the medium in India? The answer to this is simple. India is not Poland. If there had been one common vernacular throughout India, no Indian would have opposed the making of that vernacular the medium of instruction not only up to the Matriculation class but right up to the end of a student's college career. In India, where a diversity of language and creed prevails, it is the earnest desire of all patriotic men to push forward the knowledge of English, which is alone the *Lingua Franca* between all sects of her educated sons. English is the medium of communication not only between Indians and the British, but also amongst themselves, both at the Congress and on the Moslem League platforms, as well as on all occasions when Indians from different parts of the country assemble together. Therefore, any step taken to retard its progress must be regarded as a decidedly retrograde measure.

"My friend in a manner has stirred the ashes of the same controversy which arose in the time of Macaulay, when two parties were formed, namely, the Orientalists and the Anglicists. The latter argued that higher education should be imparted through the medium of English because apart from the merits of the language itself it would be a key to the treasures of Western thought. Among their number was the illustrious Raja Rammohan Roy. It was, however, through the ability and determination with which the Law Member of the day, Lord Macaulay, pressed their case that the battle was decided in favour of the Anglicists, and well was it for India that the Anglicists won the day. For it is through English education that India is what she is to-day, and it is English education fostered by the liberal spirit of England that has awakened in us to-day a sense of our rights. My friend would answer that he is not against the employing of English as the medium to impart higher education. But he wants the line of definition between the use of vernaculars and of English as the medium of instruction to be raised to a higher point than what it is at present. Since the time of Lord Macaulay and Rammohan Roy, we Indians have acquired a much greater knowledge of English and it is spreading more and more every day, and therefore the present line of definition is drawn at a sufficiently high point and it would be a culpable mistake to draw it higher. The only issue therefore which is raised by my friend's resolution, namely, whether we should make English the medium of instruction in the three or four upper classes of a high English school, falls to the ground. Having regard to the fact that English has to be the medium of instruction throughout a student's college career, it will be seen from the facts I have already stated that there is a preponderance of advantages in favour of retaining it as a medium at a point where it is at present".

**The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee:**—"Sir, I confess to a sense of embarrassment in having to speak upon this resolution. There is much to be said in its favour, and there is a good deal to be said against it. If the resolution was a little less comprehensive in its character, a little less mandatory in its tone, I for one would probably have supported it. If my Hon'ble friend would accept a suggestion which I shall make later on and modify the resolution somewhat, I think it would be more acceptable than it is in its present form. Speaking for my province, I will say this that any proposal involving a curtailment—even a possible curtailment—of the area of English education, will be viewed by my countrymen with misgiving and even with alarm and anxiety. We owe a debt immense of endless gratitude to the noble language and literature of England. English education has brought about in our midst the most stupendous revolution—it may be a silent and bloodless revolution—but one of the greatest revolutions ever witnessed in any age or country. If, to-day, India is instinct with a new spirit and a new life, if new

ideas have broadened the horizon of our vision, it is all due to English education. And, Sir, if to-day the vernaculars of India have made a marvellous progress, the inspiration and the vitalising influence have come from the ever-living fountains of English literature and language. The great makers, the conscript fathers of the Bengali language—because I can speak only of my own province—men like Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Michael Madhu Sudan Das, Bunkim Chandra Chatterji, and last but not least Rabindra Nath Tagore were all steeped in the spirit of Western culture.

"My friend therefore will excuse us if the people of Bengal look with a critical eye upon the resolution which he has brought before this Council. It seems to me, Sir, that the resolution is open to two very obvious objections. It involves a man date being addressed by the Government of India to the Local Governments to use the vernaculars as the media of instruction in secondary schools. I ask—my Hon'ble friend in charge of the Department will probably be able to answer the question—Is the Government of India prepared to take such a step without reference to the Local Governments, without consulting local opinion? It has been the steady policy of the Government of India to give in an increasing measure larger and larger authority to the Local Governments, and I am sure the Government of India will not be prepared to embark upon an important experiment of this kind without consulting the local public and the Local Governments. Furthermore, Sir, the resolution is open to the objection that it proposes the issuing of a mandate to the provincial Governments without reference to local conditions and local environments. I should like to put a question to my Hon'ble friend: There are about 300 vernaculars in India—if I am wrong, my Hon'ble friends over there will correct me, I think I am at least approximately correct, at any rate the number is very large. In Bengal I have been told by a responsible authority that there are about 20 vernaculars. Now, does my Hon'ble friend wish to contend that all these vernaculars are in the same uniform stage of progress and development, and that they are all sufficiently advanced to meet the requirements which underlie his proposition? Again, referring to the Bengali language, I find myself confronted with this difficulty. In mathematics, in mechanics, in modern geography as we understand it, we have no books in the language which would be suitable for candidates in the higher forms of secondary schools. I suppose what is true of the Bengali language must be more or less true of other Indian languages. Therefore, apart from the sentimental consideration upon which my friend's resolution is based—and I am in the fullest sympathy with it—it is a patriotic thing that our language should be the media of instruction for our people; apart from the sentimental considerations to which I have referred there are practical arguments of a weighty kind which militate against the acceptance of my friend's resolution in the form in which it has been placed before this Council. My friend has referred to Sir Austosh Mukerjee and Sir Gooroodas Bannerjee—two honoured and respected names in the educational world of Bengal. These two gentlemen have done their very best to stimulate the growth and development of the Bengali language. The University of Calcutta has made it optional in Matriculation students to take up Bengali instead of Sanskrit. Furthermore, candidates going up for the Intermediate in History and Logic are permitted to answer their questions in Bengali. I was having a talk with a high University authority—he has asked me not to mention his name, and therefore I am debarred from using it, but if I were to do so it would command the unstinted respect of all in this Council. I was told that the experiment thus tried in the case of the Intermendiate examination has not proved successful. Therefore we have this fact, that we have not got the books. We have this fact, that the experiment so far as it has been tried in some of the higher branches of knowledge has failed. And in view of these considerations I do not think this Council ought to accept the resolution of my Hon'ble friend.

"There is, however, one point in his favour—in favour of the partial acceptance of this resolution, and I wish to concede to my Hon'ble friend,

everything that it is possible to concede; and that point is this. Reference has already been made to it by my Hon'ble friend to the left. We have got what is known as the Minor Scholarship examination. Mr. Sharp is perfectly acquainted with it. This is an examination conducted in Bengal based upon Bengali text-books. It is a standard which in the secondary schools corresponds to the 4th and 3rd class standards. Now it is a matter of experience that students who pass Minor Scholarship examinations as a rule do better in the Matriculation examinations than those who have not gone through that course. Therefore it seems to me that if my friend would somewhat modify his resolution and invite the opinions of Local Governments—invite their opinion as to the feasibility of substituting the vernaculars in the first four classes, or, at any rate, substituting the vernaculars to the extent that it is practicable, it seems to me that that would be a resolution which would meet the requirements of the case. Sir, with your permission, I would like to suggest the resolution which I have framed for the consideration of my friend, that is,—

'That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to consult the Provincial Governments whether it is feasible, and if so to what extent, to take steps to make the Indian vernaculars the media of instruction and the study of English a second language compulsory for Indian pupils in all secondary schools.'

"That is to say, I should like to suggest that the Provincial Governments should be consulted as to how far it is possible to make the vernaculars the media of instruction in the secondary schools; and if my Hon'ble friend would accept a resolution of that kind, possibly some of us at any rate would see their way to follow him in the matter. But the resolution as it stands does not commend itself to me."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Rayaningar:**—"I want clearly the amended form of the resolution which the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee suggests"

**The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee:**—"I will read it out again, Sir, if you will allow me—

'That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to consult the Provincial Governments and Administrations whether it is possible, and if so to what extent, to take steps to make the Indian vernaculars the media of instruction and the study of English a second language compulsory for all Indian pupils in all secondary schools."

**The Hon'ble Raja Sir Muhammad Ali Muhammad Khan:**—"Sir, I rise to oppose this resolution and even the amendment put forward by the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee. I feel confident that I am right in characterising this resolution as a step highly retrogressive in its character. Since the advent of the British Rule in India, its greatest achievement has been in the field of education, and it is through that education alone that India has under the beneficient guidance of its administrators achieved the consciousness of its being an important unit of the Great Empire. By coming in contact with Western civilisation and all that is ennobling in it, India's standard of life has risen. All these results, Sir, have been achieved because the medium of our education has been a language of Macaulay and Burke. But I am afraid, the reference to Macaulay has been misused by my Hon'ble friend the Mover of the resolution.

"Secondary Education, as understood in this country, may either be an end in itself or only a means to Higher Education. As an end in itself, an Indian boy is better equipped for his admission into the world when he has had to prepare his subjects for examination in the English language than he would be by acquiring a knowledge thereof through the medium of a vernacular. Who can ever dream of learning English History properly

or Elementary Physical Science by means of imperfect, inaccurate, and often misleading translations of the English books on those subjects? Above all, how is it possible to infuse that intellectual awakening in him which he can never fail to get by a study of those subjects in the language in which they are originally conceived and written.

"Sir, it is obvious that a knowledge of all these subjects which are comprised within the term 'Secondary Education' cannot be imparted by the media of vernaculars unless English books dealing with those subjects now in use were translated into the numerous vernaculars that might be found prevailing in the several provinces. Now this task of translation is, in my humble opinion, an insurmountable difficulty, and, if it be found possible to overcome it, at least half of the virtue of the original is lost in the translation.

"But if Secondary Education is treated as only a means to Higher Education, the consequences of imparting it by the media of vernaculars will be simply deplorable. A young man when he joins a college enters upon his studies with an easy feeling of continuity. He takes up some or other of the subjects, in the language with which he has made himself familiar more or less during his previous career, but imagine the consequences if he were compelled, as he is, to take up two or three more subjects than the English Literature to be taught to him in English language—a smattering of which he acquired in a vernacular.

"Sir, I am afraid that the Hon'ble Mover of this Resolution has, in a certain measure, confused his ideas of Secondary Education with those of Primary. Secondary Education as now imparted in our High Schools, has never been looked upon as education of the masses. The principles upon which the former is based are entirely different from those upon which the latter is founded. The scope and the aim of Primary Education intended for the masses is very limited indeed and it would appear almost absurd to advocate an acquisition of the knowledge of the three R's by means of the English language. But the aim of Secondary Education is, on its completion, as I have said above, either to prepare the boy for the struggle of life or to deliver him a passport for his admission into the sphere of Higher Education.

"Sir, this fateful experiment would not be without some precedents in this country from which we can, to a certain extent, take lessons. It has been tried in the University of the Punjab and, to say the least of it, without success. It was also tried in the early days of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, and there, too, it failed as it was bound to.

"Lastly, Sir, I cannot help expressing my feeling of regret that a question of such a controversial nature should at all have been brought before this Council in these days. I have no doubt that any step taken in the direction in which this Resolution asks us to go, will create a highly undesirable state of feeling throughout educated India.

"With these few remarks, I oppose this Resolution."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Das:**—"Sir, the Hon'ble Mover of the resolution has called the graduates of the University an unproductive class. Unfortunately I am one of that class; and I hope that at any rate I will be able to show that I have been productive of an opposition to this resolution, and to a certain extent productive of some reasons for that opposition. The question that is before this Council is not whether vernacular education should be done away with. As a matter of fact in the present system of education which obtains in the schools vernacular is taught, vernacular is the medium of instruction up to a certain standard. But the Hon'ble Mover has brought before this Council a resolution by which it is intended to extend this medium of instruction to secondary schools. In the first part of the resolution he said that the resolution should

commend itself on the basis of principle, practice, and authority. No doubt he has quoted principles and he has quoted numerous authorities, but I did not see any instance where it has been successfully practised in India. In opposing this resolution I must also say that I am sorry to oppose the amended resolution put forward by the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee, or his suggestion, if he prefers to call it so; and for the reason, that the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee has not given any additional reason to show that the time has arrived when a departure from the system of policy that has been followed hitherto by the Government of India is desirable or called for. There is a good deal of force in the argument that vernacular or the mother tongue is always a better medium of instruction to young people. And why is that so? Because the child learns the language from the cradle. Thoughts and objects suggest themselves to the mind first and then come the words That is the order of sequence in the intellectual development. First come the objects and the ideas; then the words are necessary and are acquired or learnt; the surroundings of life are familiar to the child and consequently with its surroundings the child begins to pick up words which give expression to the daily life; the mother language is nothing but an expression of the daily life of the individual.

"Vernacular, we know, is a term derived from *verna*—a home-born slave.

"Slaves were exiles: they did not know the surroundings of the life of the men who bought them. Therefore a home-born slave was considered valuable because he was familiar from his childhood with the surroundings of life. What do we find here? A child has to learn an altogether foreign civilization, ideas quite foreign to us are taught, the civilization itself is quite foreign to us. The Hon'ble Mover of the resolution admits that everything is deficient, there is a deficiency in nomenclature, want of proper text-books and competent teachers. That being so, we are driven back to the days when Lord Macaulay tried to solve the problem; the British Government had to face this problem then; they had to teach a foreign civilization; these people had not a vernacular rich enough to serve as a medium of instruction and therefore they decided that English should be the language through which this civilization should be taught. Now, are we any better off than we were on that day? It is admitted that the vernacular literature is deficient, it is wanting in nomenclature, it is wanting in books, it is wanting in teachers. Are we therefore any better off than we were in the days of Macaulay? In fact, this resolution, if I may say so, is not a resolution; it is an attempt at a re-solution of the difficulty which Macaulay had to face. Then, again, if we adopt the vernacular as the medium of instruction, we shall be driven to the necessity of importing words from English, either the translation or transliteration will have to be adopted. The transliteration of a word which conveys an idea which is foreign to the people is no more lucid or better than the word itself, with this argument against it that the pronunciation becomes defective. Take for instance the word 'Switzerland.' You cannot teach young boys to pronounce the word correctly. How is the 'Z' to be pronounced? It will be pronounced '*Switjerland.*' Take the word 'sanitation,' it would be written as '*saynitation.*' Anybody who has attended medical schools where boys are taught through the medium of the vernacular knows that when the rolls are called they often say 'presaint,' and we know that civil medical hospital assistants are trained through the medium of the vernacular; they cannot write a prescription. You cannot write a prescription without the symbol, that medical science uses for the doses of medicine. If my friend the Hon'ble Sir Pardey Lukis were present here, I am sure he would say that we cannot do away with these Roman symbols and abbreviations; no chemist would understand the prescription. Now, the Hon'ble Mover admits there are many vernaculars. There is more than one vernacular in Bombay and Madras. Well, in Madras itself there is more than one vernacular and he suggests that the Province be divided into sub-divisions and he goes the length of suggesting that in certain schools where a particular vernacular is not taught certain students should be excluded. Now where is the necessity for all this? In

Madras there is Tamil and Telugu and a large proportion of the population is Ooriya too. I believe the next proposition would be to exclude the Ooriyas from the schools. I ask how shall we be better off than we have been hitherto if such a resolution is accepted now? In fact, the Hon'ble Mover's suggestion reminds me of an idea of a luxurious life that a beggar had conceived on seeing a rich man drinking a cup of milk, he was in a hurry and was blowing it with his mouth in order to make it cool. The beggar thought this was the height of luxury on the part of the rich man and he thought he would like to have a cup of milk too when he returned home, but there was no silver cup and he only had his mouth to blow with. These remarks apply to the resolution. What have we, we have no language, we have no nomenclature, we must take the nomenclature of the West. Reference has been made to the practice in European countries of giving instruction through the vernacular of the pupils. We must not lose sight of the fact that the civilisation in these European countries has been the result of evolutionary growth. The civilisation has grown in a country, with it the requisite nomenclature has grown and developed, because man has, as it were from his childhood, his cradle, found the necessity for expressing the surroundings of its life. Here we have altogether a foreign civilisation and foreign ideas. If the mother tongue is not sufficient to give expression to the ideas that the child is required to learn, if the mother stammers or does not speak distinctly enough, it is no use trying to supplement the defects of the mother's language by a gramophone and call it mother-tongue.

"I am sorry, Sir, I cannot support the resolution or the suggestion made by the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee."

**The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy**:—"Sir, representing as I do a province which is remarkable for its great attachment to English education and in which, according to the latest departmental calculation, 99·98 per cent of the boys learn English in Secondary Schools. I must oppose this resolution and the suggestion of my friend Mr. Banerjee. The feeling is very strong in Bombay in favour of the present system of education, and any attempt to introduce into the schools there the Hon'ble Mover's scheme of compulsory vernacular education will cause alarm which might easily develop into discontent. In Madras public feeling is equally strong, as the recent debate on the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma's resolution in the Provincial Council amply shows. If percentages of English scholars supply any indication of local public opinion, all the provinces, except perhaps the Punjab, are wedded to the present system. The Punjab is the only province where the vernaculars have been given more than their legitimate share of prominence even in the university; but what is the result? According to the Parliamentary Statistical Abstract of 1913 relating to British India, during the decade ending with 1911-12, only 14 students graduated in Oriental Languages and Literature against a total for all India of 19,688 graduates in Arts, and a total of 1,619 Punjabi Arts graduates. The Indian Universities Commission was of opinion that 'this system has not so far borne encouraging fruit, partly through neglect'. Among the witnesses examined by the Commission at Lahore 'some denounce the system in unmeasured terms'. The final conclusion of the Commission was:

'We are not prepared, however, to recommend that the example of the Punjab should be followed by any other University for the present. We look upon the Punjab system as an experiment which has not justified itself by its results.'

"The failure of the vernacular system in the Punjab was at least partly due, it is admitted, to the apathy and indifference of the public. It is not popular even there. But unless the whole Indian university system is to a large extent reorganised on a vernacular basis, I do not see how the Hon'ble Mover's matriculation scheme can be introduced without materially curtailing, if not completely stopping, the supply of college students. The above review of the position will have given an idea of the popular feeling on this

subject of English education. Throughout India, including Burma, the public do not want the vernacular system in our schools and colleges, and only in the Punjab is opinion divided, and even in that province there is a marked preponderance of public opinion in favour of the English system. Will it be just, will it be prudent for the Government to ignore this volume of public opinion in the pursuit of an educational ideal which has yet to justify itself by its results?

"And what is the impelling reason, Sir, for which this Government is asked to interfere with the discretion of the Local Governments? The Hon'ble Mover's complaint is that the existing system of imparting secondary instruction through the medium of the English language—(1) does not secure that diffusion of knowledge among the masses which ought to be the objective of every administration and which is the objective of the declared policy of this Government; (2) circumscribes to an inconvenient degree the scope of female education; and (3) fails to fit the boys for departments of activity in which originality, resourcefulness, and grit are more required than a veneer of European refinement. Now, an analysis of the facts will expose the unsoundness of all these propositions. The Hon'ble Mr. Rayaningar must realise that mass education is something distinct from secondary education. The whole people can not possibly go in for secondary education. What will happen centuries after it would be idle to forecast; but for the present and for generations to come the masses must remain content with primary education, or, as it is pithily put, a rudimentary knowledge of the three R's, all over the civilised world. In no country, however high its educational development, has any serious attempt been made to impose high school education upon the masses. It will be long, long years before the attendance in primary schools even under a carefully devised system of free and compulsory education, reaches the standard level. For mass education in these circumstances we must rely upon the expansion and improvement of primary education. As pointed out by Mr. Montagu in his speech in Parliament on 30th July, 1912, multiplication of good primary schools is the only effective solution of the problem of mass education. And that must be so. With all our recent developments, one secondary school in India serves an average area of 309 square miles. In the most progressive province, Bengal, the mean is 104·3 square miles, and in the most literate of all Indian provinces, numerically speaking, Burma, it is 2,042·8 square miles. In the light of these facts even an enthusiast like the Hon'ble Mover will surely see reason enough to abandon the idea of giving high school training to the masses. It is likewise wrong to assume that English education was meant for the whole population of India. The Indian educational literature of the early period, to which the Hon'ble Mr. Rayaningar has referred more than once, will make it clear that, from the inception, the idea was to educate the few, in other words, the classes. On the Bombay side the controversy was as keen as anywhere else, and the Hon'ble Mr. F. Warden, Member of the Governor's Council, in his Minute of 29th December, 1823, advocated 'giving a good deal of knowledge to the few, than a little to many'. And Mr. Warden's views prevailed in the end. Sufficient indication of this policy will be found in Lord Macaulay's report also. The keynote of the later document, Sir Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854, undoubtedly was that Government would in future apply a larger share of the public funds for the support of vernacular education; but it did not militate against the existing policy of giving a good education to a limited number through high schools and colleges. Indeed, an increase in the number of these institutions was one of the main features of the new policy. The vernaculars were to be used for the extension of elementary education, and nobody questions their fitness for that purpose. The existing method of secondary education is not therefore subversive of the policy of Government. That secondary education is not developed at the expense of primary education will be clear from the proportionately larger additions to our primary schools than to the secondary. In 1912-13 we had 113,955 of the former class and 1,273 of the latter class of schools as against 104,354 and 1,169 in 1907-08. The question of unequal development cannot

thus arise. Then, for reasons well known to us, there is not much scope for female education in the secondary schools of India as a whole. The medium of education has hardly anything to do with the result. Our social customs interpose a far more powerful barrier, and so long as our social ideas do not undergo a radical change, a rapid progress in female education is impossible. In most parts of India girls are either married or are not allowed to come out by the age at which admission into secondary schools usually takes place. For them therefore primary education is all that is practicable. The other disadvantages of English education to which allusion has been made by the Hon'ble Mover are not inherent in the system We have at present two classes of secondary schools in many provinces—Anglo-Vernacular and English; and it is quite open for the sons of agriculturists and artisans to join the former instead of the latter schools. If the English schools are more largely patronised, it is because they are more popular, and the guardians of the boys send them there with the object that they should finally go in for a University career. Where through sudden stoppage in the studies the boys become stranded, the difficulties certainly do not flow from any defect in the method of instruction. Industrial, technical and commercial training is best imparted in special schools, and, except the elementary portion, cannot be imparted through the general secondary course. It should never be forgotten that the high schools are designed to furnish only the training ground for boys ambitious of a University career. Their character cannot be changed without abandoning the basic principles of the scheme. The absence of a larger number of industrial and technical schools is certainly deplorable, but the most effective means of removing the want is the creation of such special schools, and not the conversion of the high schools into vernacular schools with just a little English added to their normal courses. Any demand for this class of special seminaries will certainly deserve strong public support It should be noted that the medium of instruction in the commercial and technical colleges on our side is English. It is necessary therefore that the students should be familiar with the English scientific aud technical terminology in the schools before they can profit by the special collegiate education.

"Sir, leaving aside for the moment the question of merit, the Hon'ble Mover's scheme is unworkable. India is a land of numerous vernaculars, and it is frequently the case that boys with different vernaculars read in the same schools and in the same classes. If effect is to be given to my friend's idea, either the teaching staff will have to be multiplied or it will lead to the disintegration of the schools. In either event the total cost will be enormous, and the cost of secondary education will assume proportions which may prove prohibitive in far the greater number of cases.

"It must also be considered that the matriculation under the suggested system will enter the University ill-equipped for a University career in English, and in the result, to make up the deficiency, will have to study general subjects over again in English. Is that a practical idea? And will the scheme impro e the vernaculars to a greater extent than the existing method? Opinion is by no means unanimous on the point. In the course of the debate in the Madras Legislative Council, the Hon'ble Dr. T. M. Nair stated: 'They had a time of compulsory vernaculars from the lowest to the highest. That system had produced a generation of men. Ninety per cent of them could not talk their own vernaculars for five minutes'. In the light of this experience, the scheme under discussion would appear useless so far as the development of the vernaculars is concerned.

"Sir, with English at a discount in our high schools, all hopes of the disappearance of local narrowness based upon linguistic differences of the peoples of this great continent and of their unification into a common hylozoic whole, must be at an end. If ever the various units of the Indian Empire are welded into one nation with common ideas, common feelings and common aspirations, it will be through the widest dissemination of English literature and the adoption of the English language as our *lingua franca*. Upon this great object the distinguished patriots of the past concentrated all

their energy and all their talent. And when we are about to reach that goal, my hon'ble friend, through well-meaning zeal for the intellectual advancement of the people, proposes a measure which must put back the hand of the clock by at least half-a-century, if not a century. And he consoles us with the assurance that his educational scheme will not impair the knowledge of English of our boys, and, consequently, will not interfere with the unification of India. But the Hon'ble Mover forgets that it is not only the English language, but the literary, historical, philosophical and scientific treasures that are contained in it that have helped our present development. It is ideas, more than the vehicle of thought, that are of paramount importance at the present juncture."

**The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:**—"Sir, the resolution before the Council is of great importance, and the sharpness with which opinion is divided as to the wisdom of the change it recommends shows that it is one which has to be dealt with in a very delicate manner. Yet I venture to think that, on a complete review of the arguments which have been urged for and against the proposal, the Council will be in favour of recommending to Government that an inquiry should be instituted to ascertain how far the proposal is a feasible one.

"I wish first to take up the objections which have been urged against the proposal. I join with all my friends, the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy, the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy and others who have dwelt with fervent gratitude upon the beneficial results which have flowed from the adoption of the recommendation of Raja Rammohan Roy and the advice of Lord Macaulay in 1835. India is indebted beyond expression to them and to all others who advocated the same policy for the good that its sons have derived from a knowledge of the English language and its glorious literature We feel that our debt of gratitude to our English friends and to the English tongue is such that we can never repay it. We feel that the new pulsation which has awakened us into a new national life has largely been the result of our coming into close contact with English ideas through English literature. We feel that the progress that has been made in many directions, so far as our new national life is concerned, is all, or practically all, the result of that education. We are proud to think of the great names of our countrymen that have been mentioned by Mr. Dadabhoy, by Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee and others. It is our loving tribute to the good that the English people did us in introducing their language and literature in this country, that we have produced scholars of English literature, of whom even England might well be proud. But, Sir, while we acknowledge, and fully and gratefully acknowledge the good that has come to our country through English education, we feel, those of us at least who are more in favour of the resolution than against it, that the policy of keeping up all the arrangements necessary to enable our youth to acquire a high degree of knowledge of the English language and literature, does not conflict with the policy of promoting to the fullest extent the natural and proper use of the vernaculars of the country for the instruction of the people. The policy which Raja Rammohan Roy advocated, and which Lord Macaulay advocated later on, was not a policy of ignoring the vernaculars altogether. It was not a policy of substituting for all time to come the English language as the language of the country. They advocated the adoption of the English language as the medium of instruction, because, as the Hon'ble Mover of the resolution has pointed out, they felt that, at the time, it was the best means of advancing a knowledge of European arts and sciences among the people of this country, and because the Indian vernaculars were not then sufficiently developed to be a suitable media of instruction of the kind which it was intended to give to the people. They distinctly, in express words, left over the question of the 'ulterior medium' of instruction for consideration at a future time. That was in 1835. Subsequently in 1854, when that great Charter of Education in India, the despatch of Sir Charles Wood, was written, the Court of

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Directors recognised the wisdom and the need of greater attention being paid to the use of the vernaculars, if the blessing of knowledge was to be secured to the great bulk of the people. They noted that it had been necessary till then owing to the want of translations or adaptations of European works in the vernacular languages of India for those who desired to obtain a liberal education of the European kind, to begin by the mastery of the English language as a key to the literature of Europe and they held that a knowledge of English would always be essential to those Indians who aspire to a high order of education. But they said —

'It is neither our aim nor desire to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country. We have always been most sensible of the importance of the use of the languages which alone are understood by the general mass of the people. In any general system of education, the English language should be taught where there is a demand for it; but such instructions should always be combined with a careful attention to the study of the vernacular language of the district, and with such general instruction as can be conveyed through that language; and while the English language continues to be made use of, as by far the most perfect *medium* for the education of those persons who have acquired a sufficient knowledge of it to receive general instruction *through* it, the vernacular languages must be employed to teach the far larger classes who are ignorant of, or imperfectly acquainted with, English, at the same time, and as the importance of the vernacular languages becomes more appreciated, the vernacular literatures of India will be gradually enriched by translations of European books or by the original compositions of men whose minds have been imbued with the spirit of European advancement, so that European knowledge may gradually be placed in this manner within the reach of all classes of the people.'

"They concluded by saying:

'We look, therefore, to the English language and to the vernacular languages of India together as the media for the diffusion of European knowledge.'

"That was the wise policy laid down in 1854, from that time, and even from an earlier date, instruction through the medium both of English and the vernaculars has been imparted in our schools. But the policy of using the vernaculars for conveying such general instruction as can best be conveyed through them has not received the amount of encouragement, the amount of attention and encouragement which it deserved. The Education Commission of 1884, as my friend the Mover of the resolution has pointed out, did not make any conclusive recommendations on this point. They practically passed over the subject, and it is deplorable that they did so. Since then the Government have off and on expressed an opinion in favour of greater attention being paid to the use of the vernacular as a medium of instruction in general subjects. But as Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy has pointed out, every time that a suggestion has been made in this direction, a great cry has been raised against it in many directions because of a fear that it might lead to a lowering of the standard of knowledge of English among our educated countrymen. That, Sir, is the position, but the time has come when we ought to look carefully and dispassionately into the results of this system. Education through the medium of English has undoubtedly brought us good and great results; but the direct benefit of it is confined to a handful of persons in the country. The total number of men who know English at the last census in India was a little over one million out of a population of over 300 millions. One out of 300 persons! That was the proportion of those who knew English at the last census! Will my friends who oppose the resolution consider what time it will take to bring a knowledge of European art and literature home to the vast mass of our people through the medium of the English tongue? After the present system of education has gone on for more than half a century only 1 in 300 of our people knew English, and this number included Europeans and Eurasians residing in this country. This consideration alone ought, I submit, to make us reflect a little, and reconsider our views on this question. We ought also to consider the position of our vernaculars to-day. Ever since 1854 the teaching of the principal vernaculars has been going on not only in primary and middle but in all higher schools throughout the country. As my friend who spoke last has pointed out, in every province the position of the principal vernaculars is far better to-day than it was fifty years ago, than it was, I may say, thirty years ago. Every day they are receiving more and more attention in the different schools in the different provinces,

and there is a fairly large literature now in every one of the principal vernaculars of the country. In this state of affairs the point which is raised by the resolution is whether it is necessary to impart instruction through the medium of English in non-language subjects as they have been styled, that is, excepting languages taught as such whether in mathematics, in history and geography and science, or whether it will be more beneficial to impart instruction in these subjects through the medium of the vernacular of the student, and teach the language that has to be taught as a language. That is the point before us.

"Now, I venture to think that there can be no two opinions on the question that the vernacular of a people, the mother-tongue of a people, is the proper medium of instruction for the people. This is a simple self-evident proposition, which it should hardly be necessary to formulate but for the fact that some remarks which have fallen in the course of the discussion would lead one to think that some people were doubtful even on that point. In no part of the civilized world is a foreign tongue made the medium of national instruction. So far as I know, India is the only country—and a country which has inherited a great and ancient civilization—which employs a foreign tongue for the instruction, not of the select few who have to reach the highest heights of knowledge; but for the many, for the great body of students, whose education comes to an end at the school. I submit that such an arrangement is unnatural and can never be beneficial to the cause of the peoples' education in any country. We recognize that a number of causes have combined to bring about this result. We do not quarrel with the past. We recognize, our predecessors recognized, that at the time the English Government promulgated a scheme of national education for the people of India, our vernaculars had not reached that stage of development when they could be usefully employed as media of instruction of the kind which had been decided upon. But things have greatly changed since. There are hundreds and thousands of books in the various principal vernaculars of the different provinces to-day. My friends who have quoted the names of some of the great authors of Bengal have supplied one of the strongest arguments in favour of education through the medium of Bengali. If the works of Bunkim Chandra Chatterjee and Rabindranath Tagore are considered good enough to be translated into English and French, it is absurd to say that the language in which they are written is not fit to be the medium of instruction even in the secondary schools of the province where it is spoken. Let us see what the history of the vernaculars of other countries teaches us. My reading is very limited, and if I am wrong I hope those who know more will correct me, when I repeat that, I do not know of any civilised country which employs foreign tongue to give instruction to the great mass of its student population. But say my friends: 'We agree with you in principle, but our vernaculars are not yet fitted to be suitable media of instruction for our youth'. I say they never will be suitable until we determine that they shall be so. Do my friends who speak so disparagingly of their own vernaculars, know or remember that the English tongue, which has given to the world a great and glorious literature was at one time regarded in England itself as unfit to be the medium of instruction for English children? Do they remember that it was only in the 14th century that English was recognised as such medium? Might I help their memories with a passage from John Richard Green? Says he:—

'In spite of the efforts of the Grammar schoolr, and of the strength of fashion, English was winning its way throughout the reign of Edward the Third to its final triumph in that of his grandson'

"Before that time it lay under a ban, it was out of court. Says Green (at page 218 of his Short History of the English People)—

'Children in school,' says a writer of the earlier reign, 'against the usage and manner of all other nations, be compelled for to leave their own language, and for to construe their lessons and their things in French, and so they have since Normans first came to England. Also gentlemen's children be taught to speak French from the time that they be rocked in their cradle, and know how to speak and play with a child's toy; and uplandish (or country) men will liken themselves to gentlemen, and strive with great busyness to speak French for to be more told of.'

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"That was the fate through which English had passed. It does not require a very great effort of the imagination to see how deplorable the results to England in particular and to the civilised world in general would have been if that impious policy of disregarding English, of treating it as a vernacular beneath contempt, not fit to be the medium of instruction of those whose mother tongue it was had prevailed in England. English has now become a language of world-wide utility and fame. But when we are extolling, and rightly extolling, its marvellous powers of expression, and its glorious literature, let us reflect that, if the English people had refused to employ it as the medium of national instruction and of public business because, forsooth, it could not then boast of a literature, the English tongue would not have become the glorious tongue that we know and love to speak of. Even so must be the case with our vernaculars. Some of them are more ancient than English. When Caedmon sang the first English song, Hindi had a great poet of its own. The Sanskritic dialects trace through the Prakrit, a more ancient pedigree than many languages of Modern Europe. So also the Tamil and Telegu. If our vernaculars have not attained the development which they should have attained, it has been due to a combination of circumstances which it is not necessary here to discuss. It is sufficient for my purposes to say that every one of the principal vernaculars of India—Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Maharati, Gujarati, Tamil, and Telugu is sufficiently old, sufficiently widely spoken, and possesses a sufficiently good literature of its own to be a suitable medium for instruction in non-language subjects in the secondary schools of the country.

"It will be unreasonable to argue that these vernaculars, none of which is spoken by less than 10 millions of men, are intrinsically, inherently, unfit to be the medium of instruction for the people who speak them. But there are certain objections to be met."

**The Hon'ble the Vice-President:**—"The Hon'ble Member's time is up."

**The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:**—"May I ask for a few minutes to complete my remarks?"

**The Hon'ble the Vice-President:**—"I will give you two minutes".

**The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:**—"Very well, Sir. I will deal briefly with the objections which have been urged. The first objection is that if the vernacular is adopted as the medium of instruction in non-language subjects in the upper classes of high schools, this will lead to a lowering of the standard of English that prevails in our schools and colleges. I assure my Hon'ble friends that if I thought so, I would not for a moment advocate the change. Facts do not lend support to the apprehension. It is on record that students who have first gone through the vernacular middle course and have then joined a high school, and studied English, have distinguished themselves in competition with their fellow students who had studied from an earlier period through the medium of English. I might mention one instance—it may be known to some of us—that of Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee, the able Editor of the 'Modern Review.' He first went through the Veracular Middle School course, and then joined an English High School, had a brilliant career both at school and at college and has distinguished himself as a writer and speaker of English. The second objection urged is that if the change proposed is adopted, fewer students will go up to the University. I do not think so. I think that if you enable a larger number of students than at present to get through their school courses with greater thoroughness and therefore with greater success, there must be a greater chance of a larger number going ultimately to the Universities than there is at present. The apprehension that the proposed change will strike at the root of higher

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education is one which I would ask my Hon'ble friends to reconsider. The third objection is that there are not suitable text-books available at present. This cannot be the case every where. A large number of books have been prepared during recent years in every important vernacular. But assuming that this view is not correct, within twelve months text-books enough will be ready, if the Government and the public decide that they shall be used in our schools.

"The last objection that I will notice is that the present time is not opportune for the change proposed. More than one speaker has said that this is a controversial subject and should not be taken up at present. I agree that it is inopportune and it would be unwise to spring a proposal like this upon the people all at once. In educational matters, the Government ought to carry the sympathy of the general public in every important change that is introduced. From that point of view, it is necessary that the matter should be placed before the public, and ample time given for an expression of their opinion upon it. I therefore think that the Resolution should be modified so that it should not appear as a mandate to the Provincial Governments, and should not come like a bolt from the blue upon the public and also, that the leaders of public opinion should be able to examine the pros and cons of the question, and to express their well-considered opinion regarding the important change that is suggested.

"I would recommend that the sesolution should be modified as follows :—

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that he may be pleased to appoint a Committee to consider and report whether the time has come when steps may be taken for making the Indian vernaculars the media of instruction and the study of English as a second language, compulsory for Indian pupils in all secondary schools.

"I hope that the Hon'ble Member for Education will leave one more important mark of his administration by accepting the resolution in the modified form I have suggested—"

**The Hon'ble the Vice-President** :—"Order! order!"

**The Hon'ble Mr. Huda** :—"Sir, as far as I recollect, the very scheme embodied in the resolution moved by my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Rayaningar or a very similar scheme for the education of Indian boys was started in our schools during the time of Lord Curzon. I may at the outset say, Sir, that I am speaking of the schools in the Province I belong to and I represent, as I am not intimately connected with the details of the educational system prevalent in other parts of India. But I believe that one and the same principle of imparting education is observed all over India. The scheme proposed by the Hon'ble Mover has already been in practice in Bihar and Orissa for the past few years and I think only with this difference that English is among the optional subjects and not a second language. Those who have personal experience of school studies in India will I hope bear me out when I say that very little difference is made by Indian students between an optional subject and a second language. I am speaking of schools and not of colleges. We have sufficient experience of other second languages that are taught as such in our schools. I have never known a single student who has acquired any appreciable knowledge of Arabic or Persian by reading it merely as a second language in an Indian school.

"Sir, I myself having been a secretary of a secondary school with primary classes for the last 15 years have some personal experience of the working of a similar scheme to that brought up by the Hon'ble Mover. I may mention that in my school I always insisted on the teaching staff and the boys that they should treat English as a second language and not as optional, as required by the Rules of the Educational Department of that Province. But I must confess with regret that I have always met with disappointment. Last year when the Inspector of Schools came to visit my school he complained that the vocabulary of the students was very poor. He was quite justified in his remark

but the defect was not due to the fault of the teaching staff as he himself could notice. I should add that it was due to the fault of our present system. How can the vocabulary of these students be anything other than poor when only one-fifth of the school working hours is given to such an important subject as English language ?

"Sir, when Indian boys with such insufficient primary grounding in English language go to higher classes in which they are expected to study such subjects as history and science in English, they find themselves in insurmountable difficulty. This lack of sufficient English knowledge tells upon their college career and this evil they can hardly be expected to throw off even in their after college life. It is true that they manage to scrape through our University examinations, but it is no secret that thanks for such success is due to our old though much abused and deservedly abused friend, the cramming system. If we really desire to uproot this mischievous and ruinous habit of cramming we should give our boys sufficient knowledge of English.

"The proposed method of education for Indian boys as placed before this Council in this resolution is not only retrograde but something worse than that. It seeks to take us on a wrong path. It wants us to stick to a method which has proved a total failure in experiment. Its path to the goal of education for the Indian boys is unnecessarily long and circuitous. It advises us to teach our boys everything first in their vernaculars and then to repeat the study of the same subjects over in English; as is done in schools in Bihar at present. A boy, for instance, has to read at least the first book of Euclid in his own vernacular and then he has to do the same thing over again in English when he goes to the higher classes. To my mind it is not the English language which makes it difficult for a boy to understand English. It is the book itself and the substance which a young mind finds difficulty in grasping and assimilating.

"The resolution we are discussing elicits one fact, that under the prevalent system of school education in this country the teaching of the English language is not up to the required standard or satisfactory. But the question is whether we shall be able to remove this admitted defect by the remedy now suggested. I fear not. Our experience of past years teaches us that a proper knowledge of English cannot be imparted to our boys in this half-hearted manner. If we want to turn out men able to compete in progressing India and Europe, we must give in our secondary schools the first place to the English language.

"I do not agree that the proposal referred to in the resolution is a matter on which the Local Governments and Administrations need be consulted at all."

**The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola:**—"Sir, the curious feature of the debate to-day has been not only the large number of high educational authorities that have been quoted, but that in some instances the same authorities have been quoted both by the supporters of the resolution and by those who opposed it. It therefore becomes rather puzzling for laymen to find in what direction authoritative opinion really lies. Sir, there is one aspect of the question about which I do not think there can be the least difference of opinion. Everyone of the non-official Members who has taken part in the debate has recognised the great necessity of promoting English education and I think it is universally recognised that one of the greatest boons which the British connection has conferred upon the people of India is the provision of English education. Therefore any proposal that may have the least semblance of interfering in any way with the rapid advance of English education in this country cannot find support in any quarter.

"The Hon'ble Mover of the resolution, and the Hon'ble Pandit who supported him, do not for a moment admit that the result of the change which they propose to introduce will be any diminution in the facilities for or the

lowering of the standard of knowledge of the English language. We have therefore to examine whether the actual result of the change of the media of instruction from English to vernacular in the secondary schools, will be to promote or retard the study of English. The Resolution says that English shall be the compulsory second language in the secondary schools and that all other subjects shall be taught in the vernacular. At present the medium of instruction in secondary schools—at least in higher secondary schools—is English, and there is an obligation of a compulsory second language. I do not know whether the Hon'ble Mover desires that the English language shall in future take the place of the compulsory second language, such as Sanskrit, Latin, Arabic, Persian, French—one of which is now obligatory and that the medium of instruction, which is at present the English language, for the study of all subjects shall in future be one of the vernaculars. If that is really the intention, I do not think that even the most ardent supporters of the vernaculars will feel disposed to support the measure. We know the amount of instruction which students in secondary schools receive at present in compulsory second languages; and if that is going, under the resolution, to be the standard of the English education which will be imparted in future, I think that there cannot be found any educated Indian in this country who would for a moment accept the proposal.

"Sir, as I have already said, one of the greatest boons which the British Government has conferred upon the people of this country is providing them with a common language, which has made possible not only the various provincial and all-India organisations, but also this and other Legislative assemblies to which we come and represent the views of the Indian people in the official language before the highest officials in the land.

"Sir, I therefore submit that in discussing this subject we should not lose sight of the fundamental fact that our common language must be English, and that anything which militates against the facilities for the study of English ought not to find the slightest support from any quarter.

"It has been urged that some of those men who devoted their early years to the study of the vernacular have proved more successful in the acquisition of the knowledge of English, and in passing subsequent examinations, but I should like to inquire how much time was spent in the preliminary study of the Vernacular and at what age these students appeared for their university examinations as compared with those who went direct under the present system, to such examinations. At the age at which students attend secondary schools, it is of primary importance to consider the time occupied in study and no unnecessary delay should be allowed in qualifying them to prosecute their studies in collegiate institutions. Sir, I have carefully considered the matter, and if it had appeared to me that by means of this measure the time of the students will be saved and that they would have a better command of the English language, I would have willingly supported it; but as far as I have been able to judge, I am led to the conclusion that in the interests of a speedy acquisition of a knowledge of the English language, qualifying students of secondary schools to enter collegiate institutions, it is desirable that the present system of education through the medium of English should prevail. Students who desire to acquire a higher knowledge of any vernacular need have no difficulty in following their inclinations. But when it is put to us on this, if I may use the expression, rival basis, as to whether higher secondary standards should give instruction through the medium of English or of vernacular, I think there can be only one answer and that is that the present system which has brought about such satisfactory results should not be disturbed. What the country really wants is that more secondary schools should be opened, more collegiate institutions should be provided, and that adequate facilities for the study of English should be made available for the largest number of students possible. I do not propose at this late hour to prolong the discussion further, but in conclusion I will only add that the general feeling throughout the land must

be that every encouragement should be provided for the promotion of the study of English."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp**:—"The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola at the beginning of his speech spoke of the same persons being quoted on opposite sides in this argument. I noticed that things which I had written at different times were quoted as containing views which would support both sides. I rise merely to say that, if anyone should hereafter bring an accusation of inconsistency against me on this score, I must rebut the charge. In support of this contention, I need only refer Hon'ble Members to the context of the passages quoted. Thus, the passage quoted by the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy had no reference to general lessons but was written (I think about ten years ago) to advocate the adoption of the direct method of teaching English with young pupils. I did not mean that there should be any neglect of the vernaculars, as the following sentence, which comes immediately after that cited by the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy, will show. 'Due progress in the vernacular (a matter on which too much stress cannot be laid) will be secured by the parallel study of vernacular texts, and by the conduct of the great bulk of lessons in the mother tongue, to the study of which, indeed, more time may be devoted, in proportion as we adopt methods whereby the attainment of English will be accelerated'. I may also observe that the whole passage was written with reference to pupils under thirteen years of age and to the Government of India's Educational Resolution of 1904."

**The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray**:—"Sir, I beg to oppose my Hon'ble friend's resolution with all the emphasis I can command. Does he want to envelop us in that gloom and darkness which prevailed in the country during the time when Lord Macaulay came to this country and which his great educational policy was instrumental in dispelling. It was Lord Macaulay who laid the foundation of that enlightened education policy which has done so much to spread the culture, the enlightenment and the science of the West. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to Lord Macaulay, for his bold and persistent efforts in insisting upon that English, and English alone, should be the medium of imparting education in this county. Where would we have been, where would have been this boasted and enlarged and reformed Council, but for the high education acquired through the medium of the English language? Does my friend wish that the thousand and one languages which prevail in the country should be the media of instruction for learning Science, Mathematics, Engineering, Medicine and Law of the West, which can only be learned through the medium of English? Does my friend want to produce a Babel of confusion? It is a surprise to me that, in this twentieth century, such a resolution could have been conceived, far less, seriously brought forward for acceptance in this august assembly. However, as this is a highly controversial question, sure to stir up public feelings, this is not the proper time for its discussion. Finally, I beg to ask my friend, has he seriously thought what would be the results of his resolution? I have heard complaints from high authorities connected with education that Indian boys in the secondary schools do not acquire sufficient knowledge of English to understand the lectures given in English in the college department. Would not the result of the resolution be to discourage the study of the English language? Does my friend want that *tols* and *muktars* should replace the present colleges? The proud results of English language have been that the different races, inhabiting this vast continent, have, after shaking off the torpor of ages, become as one nation, conversing in a common language and interchanging thoughts with one another."

**The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler**:—"The debate has been very interesting, but it has travelled far beyond the terms of the Resolution and has included a discussion of the advantages of Western culture and of English

education. Now I may say at once that no proposal to dethrone Western culture or to restrict English education would commend itself either to the Government or to this Council. Upon that I think we are all unanimous. And I think also that there has been some misunderstanding on matters of fact. It is the accepted policy—the policy accepted for many years and last expressed in the Resolution on educational policy in 1904—that vernacular should be the medium of instruction for boys up to 13 years of age, and that vernacular should be a compulsory subject after that age during the whole of the school course. The present position is shown as accurately as it can be in the diagram which I have in my hand and which will be found opposite page 71 of Mr. Sharp's Quinquennial Review. I wish the Council clearly to understand that vernacular is already the basis of instruction in secondary English schools until the three or four high classes are reached. Now the only question, as I understand, which is before this Council is—should it be adopted as a medium of instruction in those higher classes or in some of them? I would ask that, in considering this question, we should remember that only about $\frac{1}{10}$th of those who enter secondary schools enter a University. That is a fact which is frequently ignored in discussing questions about schools. It is not the fact, as stated by one Hon'ble Member, that every boy who goes to an English secondary school is destined for the University. I think we are all agreed that there should be more and better English education rather than less English education. My friend the Mover of this Resolution is, I believe, not less anxious than any other Member of Council to see an extension and improvement of English education. The point is this. There are many criticisms of the existing system: that the boys are over-strained, that they do not understand English sufficiently to follow their instruction in history, science, geography and the like, that it is a constant strain on their minds and that they lose to a large extent the faculty of what I might call biting ideas and connecting words with facts. And the alternative proposed is not, as I understand, to reduce English education but to teach English by the modern method, the direct method as it is called, as a language, while at the same time lightening the strain on the mind by introducing the vernacular, the language of the people as a medium of instruction. This is a question not of educational policy but of educational economy, and is a question which would require many minds to solve. I can only tell you that in my own experience and in the experience of many competent educationists with whom I have discussed the question, there is a markedly greater intelligence in the boy whose education has been conducted through the medium of the vernacular until the highest classes of the school are reached than the boy who has had his education conducted in English in what used to be called in some provinces the Upper Middle School. That also was the conclusion which the Education Commission of 1882 came to in regard to Bengal. But I am far from thinking that my own experience in the matter is at all conclusive. It is a matter which requires a large amount of experience before we can come to any conclusion. We must also remember that the supply of education is to a large extent governed by the demand for it. Every educational system in the world is beating itself against this bed-rock fact that A is not willing to learn what B is eager to teach. Many modern theories on education have come to grief from ignoring this bed-rock fact. My own idea is that it is essentially a case for experiment, and that it is a condition of the experiment being successful that the teaching of English as a compulsory second language should be of the very highest order in the hands of very good teachers; and the number of these is limited in India at present. The Hon'ble Pandit suggests a committee. I think that a committee for all India would be out of the question. The subject is one in which different views may very well be taken in different provinces and even in different parts of a province with reference to local conditions. I think myself that there is sufficient demand in this Council for inquiry to refer the matter as an open question to Local Governments drawing attention to this debate, and suggesting for their consideration whether the time has come to appoint provincial committees to

inquire into the subject. But, in view of the opposition which the Resolution has excited in this Council, I think it better to say that this reference to Local Governments will not be made until after the war. I wish to emphasise again the fact that Government has absolutely no idea in its educational policy except to improve and extend education. I think that we are all agreed that the best that can be given for the money available at any time should be given, and that no difference in aim really separates us."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Rayaningar:**—"Sir, I have been listening to the observations which the Hon'ble Members have made in opposing my resolution, and all the time that I was listening to I kept an open mind so that I might, if necessary, modify my views upon the subject. But Sir, I confess that my conviction remains unchanged. I do not for a moment deprecate the learning of English, nor do I suggest that the standard of English knowledge should be lowered, either in the middle, secondary, or collegiate course. On the contrary, I am for improving it. I advocate the compulsory study of English as a language in all the secondary schools. I fully realise the importance of an English education, and I am aware, as the Hon'ble Member to the left has said, that but for English education we should not have been debating in this Council. I am likewise aware that the present system of education has produced eminent men; but that does not mean that the system is perfect. Nobody will say that because Newton and Milton were products of the old system of education in England, therefore that system should continue. The present system, though it has produced eminent men, is capable of improvement. I would have up-to-date methods. As the Hon'ble Education Member has suggested, I would have economy in teaching. What do we do now? We try to teach boys all subjects through the medium of a foreign language. Boys of immature minds experience the difficulty of understanding the language and the difficulty of understanding the subject, and the result is that they neither understand the subject nor the language. Therefore, instead of making English the medium of instruction at the 7th class, or three classes below the Matriculation class, I would make it the medium of instruction in the beginning of the intermediate course, by the time the boys enter the 1st intermediate class they would have acquired sufficient proficiency in English and they would be capable of understanding the subjects taught in English. One Hon'ble Member made a reference to the opinion of Mr. Warden, expressed, I believe, in 1828. Is that opinion to be our guide to-day? The opinion was after all one expressed in a dissenting minute, and there was the opinion of Sir John Malcolm against it. Sir John held that vernaculars should be made the media of instruction, because he said, that by making vernaculars media of instruction not only would instruction be easier imparted, but also vernaculars would be improved. Improvement of vernaculars would be absolutely necessary. It is only through the vernaculars that knowledge can filter down to the people of the country. Another Hon'ble Member inquired if the measure I propose is in practice. Yes, it is in practice. In many schools non-language subjects are taught in English only in the highest three classes in Bengal. I understand history and logic can be answered in vernacular even in the intermediate examination. As to the other points in the objections I anticipated most of them in my opening speech and answered them. I am quite agreeable to the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler's proposal. I thank him for his sympathetic treatment of the resolution. I have no objection to the matter being referred to the Provincial Governments after the war."

**The Hon'ble the Vice President:**—"Does the Hon'ble Member withdraw his resolution?"

**The Hon'ble Mr. Rayaningar:**—"Yes, Sir. In view of Sir Harcourt's assurance I withdraw the resolution."

The Resolution was by permission withdrawn.

**The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler then resumed the Chair.**

## RESOLUTION *RE* INDIAN SUGAR INDUSTRY.

**The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray:**—"Sir, it may seem superfluous, after what was said by the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry the other day in reply to the observations made in connection with the resolution of my Hon'ble friend Raja Kushalpal Singh, to bring forward a resolution of the kind, which, with your kind permission, I propose to move just now. But, Sir, reading the speech of the Hon'ble Member a little more closely, one cannot but come to the conclusion that Government, without committing itself to any general policy or particular line of action, with regard to the question of industrial development, recognises the importance of the subject, and is helping and is ready to help any industrial cause, the sugar industry in particular, on its own merits, as will be evident from the reply to my question *re* sugar industry, given by the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry, on the 24th February last, and from the following extracts from his speech, 'Government do as a matter of fact provide a not inconsiderable amount of financial assistance to industries and to agriculture,' and again 'I hope I have not given the impression that I regard the present situation as one out of which no advantage can be reaped for Indian trade. To my mind, it is simply a question of proportion—of what is practicable, of what is less practicable or altogether impracticable'. I need not cite any more passages. I can quite understand the reasons which prevent the Government from laying down a general policy or a particular line of action, specially in this troublous time; however, we are thankful to Government that it recognises the importance of the subject and is not unmindful of considering individual cases on their own merits. The difference between the resolution of my Hon'ble friend Raja Kushalpal Singh and mine is this, that whereas he wanted that Government should come forward with financial assistance in promoting the Arts and Industries of the country, I have no such ambitious scheme to propose; my resolution is strictly confined to one industry alone, namely, the sugar industry. I shall try, in my own humble way, to show that the standard of practicability, set up by the Hon'ble Member, applies to the subject-matter of my resolution. The subject-matter of the present resolution is not a new one. A resolution on this very subject was moved by my Hon'ble friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in 1911. We both have the same identical object in view, namely, the revival of the once prosperous but now decaying sugar industry of the country, which once gave employment to a very large number of people and which, after satisfying the needs and requirements of the whole country, used to export a large quantity of its surplus to the outside world. But, the reverse is the case now, the tables are now turned upon us, and the once flourishing sugar industry is now on the verge of extinction.

"Sir George Watt tells us, in his valuable work, 'The Commercial Products of India,' that 'It is commonly stated that Vasco da Gama (1497) related that a considerable trade in sugar was, at that time, carried on from Calicut—the then capital of West India commerce.' Several other references relating to the trade in Indian sugar with Europe may be cited from the same authority. In short, Indian sugar gradually assumed an overwhelming importance in European markets. This was the most prosperous period of Indian sugar industry. Then the British Colonies, specially Mauritius and the West Indies, commenced the sugar-cane industry. 'The birth of the Colonial was the death of the Indian trade with Europe,' says Sir George pithily. 'They not only became 'formidable producing centres' but 'began to contest the Indian markets'. This was only the beginning of the fast approaching end. Then subsidized and bounty-fed Austrian and German beet sugar made its appearance in the field and every one is painfully aware of the baneful effects of its competition with our home industry. Sir, this does not close the list. Still more recently, another formidable competitor has appeared in the field. I mean the Java cane sugar. According to Mr. Noel Paton, before the Quinquennium (1884-85 to 1888-89) beet sugar 'was in the ascendant,' but, now, as Mr. Hulme, Sugar Engineer Expert, shows in his recent article

contributed to the last January number of the 'Agricultural Journal of India', the importation of sugar is steadily increasing, and that of the sugar imported, three-fourth comes from Java. What has been the sum total of the effects of these various kinds of foreign imports on Indian industry, the following figures will show. Sir, figures can hardly give a sufficient idea of the mischief that has been wrought by the imported sugar. The fact is patent to everybody. In our younger days, the Kotchandpur, Keshabpur, and Manickganj sugar of Bengal and the far-famed Benares sugar (*Kasir Chini*) of the United Provinces were well known commodities in the Bengal markets. But alas! Where are they now?

| Years. | Quantity. | Value. |
|---|---|---|
| | Tons. | ₹ |
| Average of 5 years 1884-85 to 1888-89 | 79,638 | 1,91,68,060 (nearly 2 crores of rupees) |
| Average of 5 years ending 1890-91 | 98,307 | 2,31,70,060 |
| Average of 5 years ending 1895-96 | 115,223 | 2,79,87,957 |
| Average of 5 years ending 1900-01 | 201,850 | 4,19,70,307 |
| Average of 5 years ending 1905-06 | 330,173 | 6,41,36,316 |
| 1906-07 | 555,202 | 8,73,81,114 |
| 1907-08 | 558,988 | 9,22,70,442 |
| 1908-09 | 603,911 | 10,90,66,089 |
| 1909-10 | 630,474 | 11,52,20,492 |
| 1912-13 | 772,152 | 14,27,87,580 |
| 1913-14 | 896,869 | 14,95,68,000 (nearly 15 crores of rupees) |

"Now, Sir, comment on these figures is unnecessary. How these ever-expanding imports of foreign sugar have affected the cultivation of sugar-cane crop in India will be evident from the following figures:—

| Years. | Area of cultivation in acres. |
|---|---|
| 1890-91 | 2,758,450 |
| 1891-92 | 3,100,232 |
| 1892-93 | 2,798,637 |
| 1893-94 | 2,897,042 |
| 1894-95 | 2,764,656 |
| 1895-96 | 2,930,583 |
| 1896-97 | 2,651,765 |
| 1897-98 | 2,648,498 |
| 1898-99 | 2,756,563 |
| 1899-1900 | 2,693,029 |
| 1900-01 | 2,577,742 |
| 1901-02 | 2,474,857 |
| 1902-03 | 2,358,101 |
| 1903-04 | 2,280,251 |
| 1904-05 | 2,413,274 |
| 1905-06 | 2,241,750 |
| 1906-07 | 2,456,860 |
| 1907-08 | 2,705,645 |
| 1908-09 | 2,254,067 |
| 1909-10 | 2,184,801 |
| 1910-11 | 2,200,217 |
| 1911-12 | 2,410,151 |

"Sir, instead of extension, instead of keeping pace with the requirements of the ever expanding increase of population, there is a considerable shrinkage in the acreage under cane cultivation.

"Sir, having made these preliminary remarks, I wish, now, to deal with the resolution proper, which consits of three parts, of which, I mean to take the third part first, as it is the most important portion of my resolution.

"It is as follows:—'That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that prompt and effective measures may be taken by the Government throughout British India to promote the starting of new sugar factories on modern scientific bases and that financial and other kinds of assistance may be rendered by the Government, etc., etc'.

"Sir, in connection with this portion of my resolution, we have to consider the following points, namely:—our present methods and the defects inherent in them, how do they affect our sugar industry in competition with that of other countries, how can they be remedied, why active help from Government is necessary, whether we have got any precedents for such a course of action, and what are they?

"Sir, in this connection, I cannot do better than quote here the following few lines from Mr. Noel Paton's well-known monograph on sugar, which put our case in a nutshell:—

'If India's methods be compared with those adopted in the countries that produce cane sugar successfully, it is found that there is one fundamental difference. Cane in India is grown in small patches, scattered over wide areas. Where it is crushed, it is crushed for the most part on a small scale, and treated by primitive and wasteful processes. Often it is transported slowly over long distances under a hot sun. This involves a very great loss by inversion of sucrose into glucose and it is noticeable that in every country where the industry is conducted profitably, this loss is now studiously avoided by means of centralisation. The term centralisation implies not only the erection of large factories in which the exploitation of large quantities of cane is centralised for the sake of economy. The comparative failure of the great French Sugar Corporation working in Egypt, is evidence of the impotency of mere equipment on a grand scale when unassociated with an adequate supply of cane adjacent to the factories. The ideal implied by the term, is that the factory should be situated as nearly as possible in the centre of a homogeneous and compact tract of land adequate to the production of all the requisite cane and so closely connected by trams and other communications with the factory itself that the cane may be crushed before the chemical decomposition of the sucrose in the cane has made considerable progress. In fact, the familiar term, 'central sugar factory system' is not so good as another, 'the centralised sugar tract system.' It is often denied that it will ever be possible in India to reserve for sugar-cane a sufficient tract of suitable land in the centre of which a modern factory could be erected, but the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab has indicated his intention of attempting some such reservation in a new irrigation tract. It may be argued that many difficult things are found to be possible when it is recognised that they are necessary and for the moment it is perhaps sufficient to show that the consumption of true sugar in India is growing very rapidly, that she pays more per unit of sugar (indigenous and imported) than she formerly did that the internal production of sugar is declining more than the importation is increasing and that she is working in complete disregard of the principle that is regarded by her competitors as crucial'.

"The quotation is somewhat long. My only apology for it is that a better representation of the true state of things regarding the sugar industry in India could not be conceived. Then we see that our methods and the defects inherent in them are mainly: first, cane in India is grown in small patches scattered over wide areas; second, it is crushed on a small scale and treated by primitive and unscientific methods which causes great waste. On account of these defects we cannot successfully compete with foreign sugar which is produced by best equipped factories, which are situated in a tract of suitable land sufficient to the production of all the requisite cane and so closely connected by trams and other communications to the factories that the cane can be crushed before the chemical decomposition sets in. The broad fact deducible from the above is that it is only by the establishment of best equipped factories according to the centralised tract system, we can hope to compete successfully with the foreign import. Mr. Hulme also endorses this view in his article referred to above, and gives the following reasons for the successful

condition of the Java sugar trade:—(1) efficiency of the staffs controlling the factories; (2) installation of the best machinery in the factories; (3) intensive cultivation; (4) climatic conditions. The first three can be had in India or, for the matter of that, in any sugar-producing country. As regards the fourth, the climatic advantages of Java are counterbalanced by the exorbitant cost of transport as Mr. Hulme shows, that it costs Java R37-8-0 per ton, that is, R1-6-0 per maund to get her sugar to the United Provinces and other markets, north and west of this sugar-producing region. So we may disregard the last point altogether. Now, Sir, the question is how these conditions and methods which have been attended with success in other sugar-producing countries can be introduced here. To that, my answer is that, if we are to compete successfully with foreign import, our Government should adopt the same course of action as the Dutch Government in Java and the Japanese Government in Formosa did. It is needless for me to point out that in enlightenment, industrial enterprise and financial resources neither the Netherlands Government nor the Japanese Government can be compared with the British Government. I am glad to note here that one Provincial Government has, to some extent, forestalled us in this respect and has realised the utility of the course suggested, as will be evident from the answer given by the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry to my question asked on the 24th February last, specially from that portion of it which says: 'In addition to these measures, a grant in one case and a loan in another have been made by the United Provinces Government in order to encourage the development of central factories.'

"Sir, I should like to know the full particulars of the loan and the grant spoken of by the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry. What we want in this respect is that this policy of active help and co-operation should be extended and enlarged and not left to the Provincial Government alone, which, with their limited resources, cannot be expected to do as much as the importance of the subject demands. Is short, it should be taken up by the Imperial Government and the Java system with the necessary adaptation to suit local conditions and circumstances should be introduced into this country. If France in the time of Napoleon and Germany and Austria in recent times, where the people in general are so wealthy, resourceful and enterprising, developed their best sugar industry by active help and aid from the State, how much more is that aid necessary in the case of India. Then, again, in a central factory system, or rather centralised sugar tract system, large tracts of land are a *sine qua non*, which cannot be had in this country without the direct help of the Government. Government has got *khas* lands in many places, specially in Assam, Burma, and the Punjab canal colonies; or where they are not so available, Government can acquire them if required. In Mr. Noel Paton's book I find that a former Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab at one time indicated his intention of keeping some reserved tracts for sugar cultivation in a new irrigation area. In passing, may I inquire whether anything has been done to put this noble intention into practice? Now, it may be asked would the Government be justified in adopting this policy of directly associating itself with industrial enterprises? I say that, at least with regard to this particular industry, Government would be well justified in adopting this policy as it is most expedient and prudent in view of the situation created by the present war and when one Provincial Government, that is, that of the United Provinces, has already initiated this policy. What I beg to impress upon the attention of the Government in this connection is that, in view of the situation created by the present war, Government should take prompt and effective measures to initiate that policy which has produced so wonderful results in Java and Formosa. Sir, it is some satisfaction to learn that efforts are being made by the Government to enable Indian sugar to compete with imported sugar. The steps already taken in that behalf may be all very good in their own way, but, Sir, in my humble opinion, they will not effectively solve the problem unless some such active policy as was adopted in Java and Formosa is taken here also. The Java system, known as the culture system, with necessary modifications to suit local circumstances and conditions, is well

suited to this country. It will not, I believe, entail a very large initial expenditure of money. Considering the crisis we are passing through, I shall be the last person to ask Government to take a course of action which will involve it in heavy expenditure. Before proceeding further, it is necessary that I should describe very shortly the culture system as it has been referred to several times in my speech. It is this :—All Government lands not required for rice cultivation were planted with crops for which there was a demand in Europe by means of advances made by the State to the private contractors who undertook to plant the particular crops and sell the produce to Government at fixed rates and liquidate the advance made to them by instalments in a fixed number of years. These advances were of several kinds. The first in order was the advance for initial expenditure necessary to start the concern. It might be a planting concern or manufacturing concern, the contractor received this advance under certain regulations. Care was taken to see that the contractor was not a mere speculator, and the money was advanced to him under official superintendence which helped him to a choice of the site as also in selecting and buying the machinery and fitting up the mill. In regard to the labour required, Government at first transferred to the contractor the gratuitous or forced labour due to it from the peasants. The machinery was allowed to be imported duty free and timber and other materials from Government forests were supplied without charge. The official experts assisted him with their advice. Next to this initial advance, a yearly advance for the production or manufacture of crops was made on condition of being repaid out of the produce raised at prices which were fixed in a way to leave a margin of profit both to the Government and to the contractor. The farm seldom exceeded four hundred acres. In short, the Java culture system may be described as a system of encouraging the planting of the remunerative crops and manufacturing them for the European markets by private agency and at private risk with Government advances and under Government supervision and with the Government as a sole customer. All the three parties who worked the system, the Government, the contractor and the peasant, benefited by it. The Government borrowed money as it alone could borrow, on public credit and brought the produce so raised by the contractor to whom the money was advanced at low rate of interest and it repaid itself both principal and interest by buying at rates which left a margin of profit on sale in Europe. The contractor after he paid up the advances made to him became the owner of a large and flourishing concern, while the villagers and peasant labourers received much higher wages than they could ever obtain before. The culture system was worked to best advantage in respect of first class crops, such as sugar-cane, indigo, tea, which required high planting and skill in manufacture; but there were certain kinds of produce, such as coffee, cinnamon, which did not require planting and manufacturing skill. In their case the intervention of contractors was dispensed with and advances were made to the cultivators direct. The sugar-cane crop was a most remunerative cultivation. This system was first introduced in 1831 to 1833. The first contracts were made for 20 years and then at the end of that period were renewed for another term. About thirty to forty crores of rupees were in all advanced under this system, and when the first advance was paid they were re-invested on similar terms. This system which was undertaken at first for revenue purposes not only served those purposes well but indirectly helped the Netherland East Indies to attain a high degree of material prosperity. The land-revenue increased, the advances required for the culture system were met out of the borrowed capital and this national debt was repaid with interest in forty years The exports and imports increased. In 1871, there were 97 mill-owners who planted seventy thousand acres with sugar-cane and employed two hundred and twenty-five thousand of labourers. An official report submitted to Lord Dufferin by Vonden Berg, the Governor of Java, in 1885, admits that the culture system greatly contributed to the development of Java in growing tropical produce. I have taken this brief history of the culture system of Java from Mr. Ranade's 'Essay on Indian Economics', and I shall close this paragraph with the

following words from the same authority which are as true to-day as when they were written :—

'After all allowances for differences between Java and India there remains a sufficient substratum of common conditions which justifies the assurance that an experiment undertaken in the same spirit here with the necessary a laptation to suit local conditions has a reasonable chance of attaining at least qualified success so as to justify the venture.

"Sir, the Formosan system is only an adaptation from the Java system to suit local conditions. I do not wish to deal with the Formosan system here as my Hon'ble colleagues may find it in Mr. Noel Paton's 'Notes on Sugar in India'. I can say this much that the experiments have succeeded very well in Formosa, also with the results that several mills have been established, returning handsome dividends. Mr. Noel Paton also says :—

'That the Consular Report for 1905 upon the sugar industry of South Formosa was of an extraordinary interest to India and showed how the Japanese Government has succeeded in converting a moribund sugar industry, such as it exists in this country, into one of very great promise'.

"Sir, such in brief is the culture system, to which I have referred so many times. I have dealt somewhat exhaustively with this portion of my resolution, because the importance of the subject demands it. If we are to compete successfully with foreign sugar, this is the line on which we should proceed, and 'now or never' is the motto.

"Sir, the second part of my resolution runs as follows :—

'That prompt and effective measures may be taken by the Government throughout British India to encourage and extend the manufacture of sugar, both refined and unrefined, by existing or improved indigenous methods'.

"The great defect of our indigenous system is the waste it entails Mr. Hulme, the Sugar Engineer Expert, says :—

'The average extraction of sugar by bullock mills, now in use, is about fifty per cent as against about ninety per cent in a modern multiple mill. Crushing sugar-cane is no longer work for bullocks and as long as it continues, so will the importation of sugar increase'.

"So the existing indigenous methods must be changed and improved. Here also Mr. Hulme says :—

'To improve the extraction more power is required, the cultivator has has not got it, and cannot get it. Any scheme to improve the indigenous methods for the production of sugar must include power driven mills, which are costly and beyond the purchasing power of the ordinary cultivators, steam power appears to be the best. A good single roller mill would extract about sixty-five per cent, a double mill about seventy-five per cent. and a triple mill about ninety per cent'.

"But all these, I must say with Mr. Hulme, are unfortunately beyond the purchasing power of the ordinary cultivator. But, Sir, in this connection, I particularly wish to draw the attention of the Government to the fact that there is also a large field for *gur*, such as is now made by country factories, which is, indeed, very largely used by orthodox Hindus and the masses of the people in general. Mr. Hulme also endorses this view. I may add further that not only for consumption but for religious and socio-religious ceremonies this kind of sugar or *gur* is in great demand and in such a vast country, like India, the demand is not inconsiderable. The first thing in this connection is how to improve the indigenous method, and then how to apply it in practice. Mr. Hulme has made some suggestions referred to above with regard to the machinery required for this purpose, and pointed out that it is beyond the capacity of the ordinary ryot. It is not possible for a layman like myself to make any reasonable or practical suggestions for the improvement of the present indigenous methods. I must leave them to Government and their experts to decide, after due inquiry and deliberation, which is the best machinery suited to this purpose and how to introduce it, considering the local circumstances and requirements of the country.

"Then, Sir, as a necessary corollary to the second and third parts of my resolution, follows the first part. If we are to proceed on lines suggested in the second and third parts of my resolution, we shall have to increase the area of cultivation of sugar-cane. Successful experiments at demonstration farms, researches at scientific institutes and printing of their results in pamphlet forms though necessary, will not fully meet the requirements of the situation, in India as our cultivators are generally poor, ignorant, illiterate and unenterprising. The results of successful experiments should be brought home to the actual cultivators on the field. They should be encouraged by all means to adopt the cultivation of new canes and new methods of working. Practical workers from Government farms should be deputed to help them.

"Sir, in this connection, another matter, cognate to this subject, should be mentioned. In Bengal, date palms are tapped and considerable quantity of crude sugar or *gur* is produced from the juice extracted from the trees There is a brisk trade in this commodity in Bengal during the winter season. Much valuable information on this subject can be gained from Mr. Annett's 'Memoir on the Date Sugar Industry in Bengal'. In my humble opinion immediate steps should be taken to teach the process of tapping to the ryots in Upper and Central India and the Central Provinces where it is not known. Practical men, from Bengal, popularly known as '*Seolis*' should be deputed to other parts of India to teach the process of tapping date trees.

"Sir, in summing up, I beg leave to make the following few remarks. The crisis we are passing through is, indeed, of an unprecedented nature. While the British Empire, of which India is a component part and a vital part, is engaged in a life and death struggle of uncertain duration, and while India may be called upon to take a yet much larger share in the defence of the Empire and when every farthing of the available public money may be required for the above object, it may seem anomalous, more specially in the present depleted state of the public Exchequer, that I should bring forward a proposal, the acceptance of which might involve a large expenditure of public money. But, Sir, if I had felt, if I could have realised, that my resolution would have any such effect and that the present time was inopportune for its introduction, I would have been the last person to bring forward a resolution like this before this august assembly. But, Sir, on the contrary, when in view of the situation created by the war, every country has been taking stock of her industries and trying to add, enlarge and improve them and when German and Austrian beet sugar is now no longer in the world's markets and when it is left to Java alone to supply and meet, so far as she can, the demand of the whole civilised world, which is indeed a great windfall to her, it is only natural that India should at this juncture try to regain her old position in the sugar market of the world. 'It is to be borne in mind also that there is such a vast and growing demand for refined sugar in the country as nowhere else is to be found,' for 'in a warm climate, like that of India, sugar has a much greater alimentary value than in a cold climate.' It may not be out of place in this connection to point out that, in this matter, the interests of the people of this country do not clash with those of the English people at Home. Moreover, there is, I say, a peculiar fitness in my proposal in view of the fact that His Excellency has, since the assumption of his exalted office, manifested every desire to meet and satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people committed to His Excellency's charge. Sir, in the present state of the public Exchequer, I do not wish the Government to embark upon a gigantic scheme requiring a large amount of capital expenditure, nor do I wish that in the present situation a number of sugar mills and factories should be set up and that financial aid on a very large scale should be given to them. What I, therefore, beg to propose now is that in view of the present state of the finances, if it be deemed inexpedient and inopportune to adopt wholesale for the present the policy underlying the centralised sugar tract system, an attempt should at least be made to promote the starting of one sugar factory on the line of the centralised sugar tract system under Government guidance and with Government help, in each of the two

provinces of Bengal and the United Provinces which are yet the two largest sugar-producing tracts in India and that the factory be equipped with all the necessary machineries and appliances and the same be established in the midst of a large tract of *Khas* or acquired lands, the area of which should not be less than, say, 2,000 bighas. The mill in actual operation would be an object lesson for demonstrating to the people at large the possibility of manufacturing sugar at such a rate as may enable it to compete successfully with Java sugar so that the people may ultimately be induced to follow the policy initiated by the Government and thereby be able to resuscitate this once prosperous but now moribund sugar industry."

**The Hon'ble the Vice-President:**—"The Hon'ble Member has already exceeded his time".

**The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray:**—"With these few words, I beg to move my resolution, *viz*:—

'That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that prompt and effective measures may be taken by the Government throughout British India (*a*) to increase the cultivation of sugar-cane and date-palm, (*b*) to encourage and extend the manufacture of sugar, both refined and unrefined, by existing or improved indigenous methods, (*c*) to promote the starting of new sugar factories on modern, scientific basis, and that financial and other kinds of assistance may be rendered by the Government for the carrying out of the above objects in an effective manner'".

**The Hon'ble Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi:**—"Sir, I support this resolution with pleasure In spite of the fact that India is a great sugar-cane growing country and the yield of sugar from the date palm is capable of considerable expansion, the outturn of sugar in India is not sufficient for her own requirements and she is dependent to a great extent on imported sugar. A few years ago Sir John Hewett, then Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, in laying the foundation-stone of the Prayag sugar works at Allahabad, quoted figures to show the steady increase in the annual imports of foreign sugar into India. From the present report we find that the annual imports of foreign sugar is increasing. The sugar-cane crop is the largest in the United Provinces. Sir, the importation of bounty-fed sugar into India has ceased for the time, and this seems to be a most fitting opportunity for stimulating the sugar industry in India. If Government accede to the prayer for help and guidance, India in the course of a few years will become one of the greatest sugar-manufacturing countries of the world".

**The Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh:**—"India is commonly believed to be the home of the sugar-cane. From the Roman period to the end of the 17th century the whole of Europe depended mostly on India for its supply of sugar. Not only has India ceased to be an exporting country, but foreign sugar has captured her markets. The following statistics:—

| 1903-04 | 1912-13 | 1913-14. |
|---|---|---|
| Cwts. 6,333,843 | 15,443,033 | 17,937,390. |
| £ 3,057,183 | 9,519,172 | 9,971,200. |

show an increase in ten years of 11,603,547 cwts. of the value of £6,014,017, —the increase for last year over the previous year alone being 2,494,357 cwts.

"Although Java has very little more than a third of a million acres under sugar cultivation, and we in the United Provinces alone have close on a million and a half, Java is yet able to swamp India with her sugar.

"The reasons why the amount of sugar produced in India is so small are the following:—

(1) Small thin cane of inferior quality is grown.

(2) Very inefficient mills are used for expressing the juice from the cane.

(3) The present methods of cultivation stand in great need of improvement.

(4) The methods of manufacturing sugar are defective. These points require careful consideration.

*1st point*—Small thin cane of inferior quality is grown.

"As to this point, I am of opinion that better varieties of cane from other sugar-producing countries should be tried. If found suitable to this country they should be introduced. In deciding this matter there is great need of the appointment of a whole-time sugar chemist in each of the cane-producing provinces. The appearance of the cane is no safe guide. We often find varieties of cane that are juicy, and to all appearance of the best sort, and yet the sugar made from them contains a very large proportion of molasses, while the proportion of sugar proper is very small. On the other hand, we also see varieties of sugar-cane which appear very inferior, but which in reality yield a very large proportion of sugar. It is only a chemist who is able to say which sort is really good for sugar, and which not.

"While on this subject, I may observe that in the United Provinces thick cane of better quality known as *paunda* exists, but these are not sought after by the sugar manufacturer. Why is this? The chief reasons seem to be—

"(1) There are no sugar-cane mills that can express juice profitably from *paundas*. More effective mills should be introduced. In places where good *paundas* can be had in abundance, power mills will be found more profitable.

"A Sugar Engineer Expert was, in 1912, appointed to the United Provinces, for three seasons, and his appointment has been recently extended for a further period of two seasons. But the work allotted to the Sugar Engineer Expert is more than enough to occupy his whole time. I, therefore, urge upon the Government the desirability of appointing an assistant to him to take up this matter.

"(2) The second reason is that wood fuel is required for the preparation of sugar from *paunda*. Sugar-cane stalks do not suffice. The result is that the *paunda* crops are sold standing. The cultivator finds this practice more convenient. It saves him the trouble and expense of its more difficult manufacture.

"As *paundas* contain a much larger amount of juice they should yield a far greater amount of sugar. Indeed, in other countries refined sugar is made of these very *paundas*. What is needed here is that a cheap method of manufacturing sugar from this variety of cane be devised and made accessible to manufacturers in this country. At present, *paundas* are sold to be chewed, and not for the manufacture of sugar, and hence their cultivation does not affect the import of sugar. I believe that in Mauritius sugar is made from this thick cane. Mauritius cane is five times as thick as the thinner varieties of Indian cane. It is clear, therefore, that the yield per cane is also five times as large.

"I believe that the above remarks justify the conclusion that the manufacture of sugar from *paundas* deserves the fullest consideration.

*2nd point*.—Inefficient mills are used.

"On this second point, I may observe that I fully agree with Mr. Moreland when he says:—'At a very low estimate I believe that the effective yield of juice per cane could be increased by ten or fifteen per cent if effective mills were procurable'.

"Now, the chief difficulty in the way of the introduction of effective mills is the scarcity of good bullocks. There should, therefore, be devised some sort of power mill that would work effectively at the *rab*-manufacturing *bels*, or in the fields of large cultivators.

"On page 61 of the January number of the 'Agricultural Journal of India', Mr. W. Hulme, Sugar Engineer Expert, writes:—

'It is highly probable that there will be a large demand for *gur* for many years to come, and it is recognised by the Government of the United Provinces

that something might be done to improve the general conditions of *gur* making, and in some degree reduce the losses due (1) to low extraction of juice from the cane, (2) to overheating the juice, causing caramelisation, and (3) to inversion caused by acidity of the juices. To this end a series of experiments will be carried out on a Government Farm near Bareilly.

'A small but powerful multiple-mill has been erected near Bareilly, by means of which, it is expected, useful data may be obtained regarding the advantages of maceration'.

"It is hoped that the forthcoming experiments will help to the arrangement and designing of a small plant suitable for adoption by *khandsaris*.

*3rd point.*—Defective Manufacture.

"A cheap and suitable system of manufacture should be devised in which the use of bone or *siwar* should be altogether eschewed. It will not otherwise find favour with the bulk of the people. Hence, the question of introducing and adapting the vacuum system to the conditions of this country should also receive attention. The system should be such as may be worked at a profit by ordinary *khandsaris*.

"In order to meet the urgent needs described above, I would suggest that two competent assistants should be appointed to work under the Sugar Engineer Expert.

*4th point.*—Defective methods of cultivation.

"The improved methods of cultivation of other countries should be tried here and adopted if found profitable.

"Cane is liable to many diseases. The knowledge of remedial measures should be disseminated.

"The total area under sugar-cane in British India during 1913-14 was 2,519,800 acres, of which the United Provinces account for 1,379,900. I would therefore suggest that some officer of the Agricultural Department of the United Provinces should be deputed to study the methods of cultivation and manufacture of sugar in Java, Formosa, Hawaii, Japan and America.

"To stimulate the sugar industry I consider it absolutely necessary that there should be a strong body of agricultural experts and specialists devoted entirely to the promotion of this cause; and I would ask for at least three such officers to be allotted to the United Provinces, where practically half the total of Indian cane is raised. The Government has established two cane farms; but I would move for a considerable increase in their number.

"It also strikes me as a sound idea that co-ordinated with the model farms there might, with infinite advantage, be training classes opened for instruction in cultivation methods and if possible also a small model factory attached to each farm for instruction in the technology of sugar manufacture. Such a system has very successfully been tried in the United States of America.

"In his 'Note on Indian Sugar Industry,' Mr. A. Shakespear of Cawnpore says:—

'Extension of Sugar Cane Cultivation.—An important point in connection with the more extended use of manure is the restrictive character of present day railway freights. I have repeatedly endeavoured to obtain acceptance of the principle that, on broad economic grounds, manure should be carried by railway companies at net working costs. I think Government would be well advised to take up this matter'.

"At the meeting of the Board of Agriculture in India held at Coimbatore, the Hon'ble Mr. Hailey said that if Government really wished to encourage the sugar industry,—and this was very necessary in parts of the United Provinces, where there was a glut of *gur*,—the best way would be to give central factories a preference in regard to distillery contracts for the manufacture of which molasses were now imported from Java.

"It is a matter of sincere gratifiation that the Government of India are fully alive to the importance of assisting the Sugar Industry in this country. It is hoped that they will see their way to accepting this resolution, which has my whole-hearted support".

**The Hon'ble Mr. Kershaw:**—"I think that the Hon'ble Member who moved this Resolution has taken an unduly gloomy view of the situation. There is nothing in our figures of acreage and outturn to support the view that the industry is in danger of extinction, and if we compare the figures of the past five years with those of the preceding five years, it will be found that while there has been no falling off in acreage there has been a marked increase in outturn. I shall refer later to what is being done to increase the outturn, but I may mention here that the opening of large irrigation works in some parts of Southern and Central India will inevitably lead to an increase in the area under cane. This increase is important, not only because cane in Southern India, grown under irrigation gives high yields, but also because grown as it will be in large blocks, central factories may be established under the most favourable conditions. Another important effect of these canal extensions, to which my friend the Hon'ble Mr. MacNeill has just drawn my attention, is that in Bombay they have made it easier for the Agricultural Department to study existing methods and to effect improvements.

"If I have not misunderstood the Hon'ble Member he advocates that here in India we should encourage the cultivation of sugar-cane by adopting the old Java culture system which was abolished more than forty years ago, or the system now followed in Formosa. The latest account I have seen of the working of the Formosa system is contained in a report written by Mr. Keatinge, the Bombay Director of Agriculture, after he had toured in the chief sugar-producing countries. It appears that a few years after the island was acquired, the Japanese Government decided to start a sugar industry. The climate was favourable; labour was fairly abundant; and the outturn was good. But the Chinese farmers were unwilling to sell their land or to grow cane for the factories, and to overcome these difficulties, stringent regulations were issued about ten years ago under which a definite tract of country was assigned to each sugar mill. In that tract the farmers are bound to sell their cane to the mill, and they can be punished either for making sugar themselves or for selling the cane to any one, else. For Government and the factory owners the system is an admirable one, but from the point of view of the farmers, it is so unsatisfactory that it will probably be necessary either for the sugar companies to buy out the farmers or to cultivate themselves, renting the land, as is now done in Java, from the farmers. But in any case it is clear that any system, of this kind under which cane is grown under official pressure would be totally unsuited to the conditions of India, and would be strongly resented by the people. Nor do I think it possible that any modification of the Java culture system could be introduced in India with any hope of success. The Hon'ble Member has given us a very interesting account of that system, but I do not suppose that he seriously suggests that we should parcel out tracts of country to contractors within which villagers would be compelled to plant a certain proportion of their land with contractors' crops, the purchase of which would be a Government monopoly. And if we eliminate the objectionable features of the system—forced labour, compulsory cultivation and the Government monopoly—the proposal reduces itself to this, that Government should advance money to contractors for the cultivation of cane and the manufacture of sugar. I am not concerned with the question of manufacture, but as regards advances through contractors for cane cultivation, it seems to me that if we eliminate, as we must, official pressure to grow cane, the system in settled areas would amount to nothing more than the employment of middlemen in the distribution of *takavi* loans. I think everyone will agree that the cultivator must be left to grow the crops which he thinks most profitable. If he grows cane for *gur*—and by far the greater portion of cane is grown for this purpose—he is guided by the ruling price. If, on the other hand, he lives nearer a central factory the determining factor is the price which the factory owner is willing to pay, and in a matter of this kind free bargaining must be allowed without Government interference. The case is different where Government has at its disposal large areas of waste land suitable for cane, and a good deal can be done, and is being done, to encourage cane cultivation in such case. The Punjab pro-

posal, to which the Hon'ble Member has referred, was, I believe, dropped, as the land was unsuitable, but in the Central Provinces a block of about 4,000 acres is being leased out to a Syndicate, and in Burma in one of the canal areas, a Burma firm is making an experiment in cane cultivation, half the cost of which will be borne by Government. A still more interesting experiment is being made in Assam by Government and at Government expense, in order to ascertain whether it is possible to grow cane at a profit with steam tackle. A thousand acres is being planted out by Government, and the experiment which will cost about two lakhs of rupees is expected to last for about three years. By that time it should be possible to decide whether the scheme is a failure or a success. If a failure, the plantation will be closed down; if a success, the concern will be handed over to private enterprise, and no doubt other plantations would then be started on the same lines. But the amount of Government waste land is limited, and if we are to do anything in the settled areas, we must take things as we find them. The cultivation is scattered; holdings are small; the canes grown are poor; and the cultivation is bad. The most effective, and I think from all points of view the best, method of encouraging sugar-cane cultivation, is to show the cultivator how to increase his outturn, and this, I think, is the fundamental problem. The reason why Java sugar can compete successfully with Indian sugar is not because it is State-aided, but because, apart from a highly efficient system of manufacture, the outturn is very much higher than in India There the average yield is over 40 tons to the acre. In India, I hesitate to say what the average yield is. In some parts of the country very high yields indeed have been obtained, but the average has been put as low as 12 and is certainly less than 20 tons. Over and above this the Java canes contain a higher percentage of sugar than ours.

"The high yields in Java are due not merely to advantages of climate. They are the fruit of long and continuous scientific research on which money has been freely spent by the Syndicate of sugar manufacturers with the result that Java sugar, even after paying freight to India and the import duty, can successfully compete with Indian sugar. I think there is one and only one remedy for this, and that is to increase the Indian outturn, not necessarily by increasing the area under cane (for that may mean the displacement of more profitable crops), but by increasing the outturn per acre, and I propose to explain to the Council what the Agricultural Departments in India are doing in this direction. Before 1911, a great deal of useful work had been done, but it was not until that year that systematic sugarcane research can be said to have actually commenced In 1911, the Board of Agriculture considered the whole subject and made a number of recommendations. As a result of these, a Sugar Engineer, to whom the Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh has referred, was appointed in the United Provinces, a cane-breeding station was started in Madras under the direction of Dr. Barber, and in every province in India an impetus was given to work on sugar-cane. At the next meeting of the Board, two years later, agricultural officers from all parts of India compared notes and Dr. Barber explained the lines on which he was working. When the Board meets again this year the subject will, I hope, be again discussed and stock taken of the progress made. The Agricultural Departments are endeavouring to solve the problem in two ways: first, by seeking for better methods of cultivation and secondly, and this is the main work, by introducing improved varieties to suit local conditions. Another line of inquiry and one of special importance to central factories is to obtain a series of canes which ripen at different seasons of the year, either by changing the dates of sowing or by introducing new varieties. At present, as the Council is aware, a factory can only be employed for three or four months and during the remainder of the year stands idle, at all events as a sugar factory. Clearly therefore, if the crushing season can be prolonged and this has been found possible in other countries, the cost of manufacture would be greatly reduced.

"I will not attempt to describe in any detail the work that is being done, but I may mention that special sugar-cane stations have been started in the United Provinces, the Punjab, the Central Provinces, Madras, Bombay and Assam, and that another will probably be shortly started in Bihar. At these

stations work is being carried on in close touch with Dr. Barber, who is in charge of the central station in Coimbatore. Dr. Barber has succeeded in growing sugar-cane for the first time in India from seed, and this discovery is of immense importance as it makes it possible to obtain, by crossing, new varieties of cane which will not only give higher yields, but which will also resist disease. I have just received a report showing the work being carried out by Dr. Barber and it may interest the Council to learn that he has raised no less than 60,000 seedlings, and that he is crossing the hardy canes of Northern India with rich tropical canes, in some cases with marked success.

"It is perhaps too early to speak of results, but judging from what has been done during the past three or four years, there is every reason to hope that those who are now working on this problem will be successful, and the latest reports which have been received are most encouraging. But it must be remembered that the selection of new varieties of any plant is a long and tedious process, and we must not therefore expect immediate results. The outlook, however, is distinctly promising, not only for sugar but also for *gur*. In the case of *gur* we hope, I think with some confidence, to increase the outturn; we are getting rid of the old wasteful methods of manufacture and there is here a most promising opening for co-operation. As for sugar, if we can substantially increase the outturn I, for one, see no reason why Indian sugar should not, in the near future, compete successfully and on its own merits with imported sugar."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi:**—"Sir, it is not a long time ago that two Hon'ble Members of this Council brought forward two resolutions requesting Government to aid our sugar industries financially. On the first as well as on the second occasion, when a very modest request was made by my friend the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, for a sum of only 12 lakhs of rupees, Government could not accede to that request. This, therefore, Sir, is the third time of asking. Personally, I am rather doubtful whether Government would be prepared to depart from their policy of passive sympathy and passive help and give us this time some material help by way of a financial grant. If they do so, it will certainly be a very pleasant and welcome surprise. This world, Sir, is full of surprises I am perfectly willing to join my friend the Hon'ble Rai Sitanath Ray in knocking once more at the Government Treasury doors in the hope that, if they cannot be flung wide open to admit all of us, they may at least be opened sufficiently wide to let the Rai Bahadur in, so that he may carry off a chest of Government treasure, however small, in order to aid our sugar industries. Sugar is a commodity which is not only in demand with non-official members, but I suppose it is also in demand with official members. The only difference is that we want our friends to partake of the sugar we can make in this country, rather than hanker after sugar that has to come from across the seas. Now, Sir, in many places in India, especially in East Bengal, the soil lends itself very easily to the cultivation of sugar-cane as well as date palm. I do not know whether there is any Hon'ble Member present to-day who has had that delightful experience of a trip on board a river steamer from Goalundo towards Dacca, or towards Assam. If so, he will be able to bear me out when I say that as the steamer steams up the river, one sees on both sides fields of sugar-cane and date-palm groves. I believe my friend from Assam, the Hon'ble Lieutenant-Colonel Gurdon, has had that experience, and will bear out what I have said. If so, it would be a world of pity if Government at this juncture did not see its way to help our sugar industry financially. There was certainly a time when all our important villages were studded with sugar manufacturies, but that time alas has gone! Providence, however, in its infinite wisdom, has given us another time, another occasion, and has thrown another opportunity in our way. A glance at the figures that can be found in the Statistical tables published by Government will tell you that the chief import from Austria-Hungary is sugar, and its percentage to the total import is as much as 32·2 per cent, covering an aggregate value of £982,000, or about a million sterling. I therefore again repeat that 'now or never' is the time for Government to

extend to us that tangible help which we are entitled to expect at its hands. This is the psychological moment when a great stimulus should be given to our sugar industry and sugar manufacture. On the one hand, it will enable us to capture that field which is now vacant from the cessation of the import of sugar from our barbarous enemies,—the Austro-Hungarians; and, on the other hand, it would revive one of our dying industries and be the means of supplying work and food to hundreds of thousands of our countrymen. These are the reasons which impel me to give my support to this resolution."

**The Hon'ble Raja Abu Jafar**:—"Sir, the proposal of the Hon'ble Mover is so important and necessary that in my opinion it deserves the serious consideration and prompt action on the part of the Government. India is an agricultural country, but unfortunately the resources of Indian cultivators have been declining by contraction in the area of commercial crops for causes over which they have no control. The synthetic indigo has ruined indigo industry, while the opium trade is dwindling, which will almost stop the cultivation of poppy. Now the sugar industry remains most important and paying concern to the peasantry and a part of the trading class of this country, but it is also threatened For some years past the influx of the foreign sugar has brought it almost to the verge of ruin, and unless some measures are adopted to protect it, India will lose one of the important sources of profit. Something is being done in the United Provinces, where a sugar expert has been appointed, though temporarily, and a few factories organised on modern lines. Farms have also been opened specially for trials of sugar-canes. But it will be highly advisable if the Government give substantial support by providing more facilities in the improvement and expansion in cane cultivation by introducing widely the improved and scientific methods of manufacturing sugar. Unless a ready market is opened for the cane of the cultivator, he cannot reasonably expect to profit himself by its cultivation, and this is not possible unless paying sugar factories are established in the cane-growing centres of this country.

"I am not quite confident of the success of rearing date-palms on any grand scale. From the experience which I have of my province, the climate of this country does not seem congenial to the growth of this plant. The crop of date-palm matures in the beginning of the rainy season and a few showers of rain spoil it. Its plantation can, however, be well tried in those parts where the climatic conditions are agreeable to it. The revival of the sugar industry is however a matter which will, if achieved, be a source of substantial prosperity to India, and I hope that the Government will be pleased to spare no efforts in giving pecuniary and other help for the advancement of this industry.

"With these few remarks, I beg to support this resolution."

**The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola**:—"Sir, I think the Hon'ble Mover of this resolution is to be congratulated upon having brought forward a subject which has elicited such an illuminating reply from the Hon'ble Mr. Kershaw. I think the Council will appreciate the very valuable information which Mr. Kershaw has supplied in the matter of various points involved in the consideration of the promotion of the sugar industry.

"As regards large areas being centralised for big factories, we are informed that in various parts, notably in Assam, Burma and the Punjab, the matter is under serious consideration. We are also told that an expert has been appointed and that every assistance in the matter of expert knowledge is being furnished. We are also informed that experiments are being made in the cultivation of a crop which will yield a larger return per acre and give a better quality of cane. These are all efforts in the right direction, and we are glad to know that Government are doing their best in these directions. There is one thing, however, to which attention must be drawn, and that is the manner in

which the Dutch Government at one time and the Japanese Government have recently developed the sugar industry, the one in Java and the other in Formosa. We were told that, when the Japanese Government decided to start the sugar industry in Formosa, there was some opposition on the part of the Chinese cultivators. But that was brushed aside and large pieces of land were allocated to the cultivation of sugar-cane, with the further restriction that they shall sell the produce to the central factory which was proposed to be erected, and at given rates. I am particularly pleased to receive this authoritative information because it shows the methods adopted by foreign Governments in order to capture Indian trade, to compete with Indian industries and to try to kill them. What we want from our Government as a set-off against bounties and subsidies in Austria and Germany, and against the special methods in Java and in Formosa, is that our Government shall take such measures as will effectually protect our markets from being exploited in favour of foreign manufactures as against indigenous produce. That is, Sir, what we want, and that is the point which I have been pressing on the attention of Government ever since I have joined this Council. As I have said, we feel indebted to Government for what they have been able to do, but we want a great deal more to be done, and I trust that public opinion in India will assert itself sufficiently to lead to a reconsideration of the entire policy of Government towards the development of industries in India.

"I am greatly tempted to refer again to the subject of protection, but on the present occasion I will not touch upon it. Take the instance of the promotion of the sugar industry in Austria and Germany on the one hand and in Java and Formosa on the other. The Governments of these countries not only provide subsidies and bounties, enforce stringent regulations in regard to cultivation, raising of particular crops, selling of the produce to specified manufacturers and at given rates, but they subsidise steamships to carry their manufactured goods at lower than commercial rates of freight. I pointed that out on a previous occasion, and it requires to be emphasized. When Governments of other countries take all these measures for the purpose of promoting their industries, what does our Government do? They generously contribute towards their success by carrying from the ports by railways owned and paid for by this country, all their manufactured goods into the interior at the lowest possible rates. Not only do we take no measures to protect our indigenous industries, against such invasion, but offer, as if it were, a premium, to ensure success to them. Because importing firms offer large quantities of goods manufactured outside India to be carried into the interior for consumption, we quote very low railway rates compared with those we charge for carrying indigenous sugar over shorter distances. Surely, it is possible for Government to do a great deal in the direction of providing facilities of transport and favourable rates for sugar manufactured in one part of the country to be carried for consumption to another part, by providing for the carriage of sugar-cane to the factory and for the carrying of the manufactured goods into the consuming markets, even though they be at short distances. The railways can contribute largely towards the development of industries in India, but I do not propose to go into that question to-day; there is a resolution on the subject which I am going to move on the 22nd instant, when I shall enlarge upon it. On the present occasion I merely wish to impress forcibly upon the notice of Government that when all the other Governments are making all sorts of efforts for developing their industries in competition with our own, they should do a great deal more than at present for the furtherance of our industrial development. Sir, it appears to me that the economic question in India is becoming more serious every day, and it is urgently necessary that Government should provide all the help within their power, and co-operate with us in obtaining further powers if necessary for the promotion of industries. Unless this is done the economic situation in India will become more acute as time goes on."

**The Hon'ble Mr. Clark** :—"The fact that this resolution has been brought forward at this particular juncture naturally suggests that it has

been inspired largely by the conditions arising out of the war and, indeed, I gather from the Hon'ble Mr. Sita Nath Ray's opening remarks that this is the case. The war has in fact very greatly affected the sugar industry in several directions. In the first place, it has led to an immense diminution in the exports of beet sugar from Germany and Austria and from Russia. No doubt a certain amount of sugar from these countries finds its way into the world-markets through neutral countries, but only very small quantities in comparison with the normal volume of their exports. Belgium, another important producing country, has been devastated by the war, and the French output has also been seriously affected. Our Indian supplies have been directly impaired by the cessation of trade with Germany and Austria, from whom we took last year 1½ million cwts., or about 9 per cent of our total imports. The same causes have deprived the United Kingdom and other parts of the British Empire of the sugar which they normally obtain from these countries, and there has therefore been a greater competition for sugar from Java and Mauritius, who are India's principal suppliers. Consequently, in the months since the outbreak of war there has been a decline of nearly 60 per cent in our imports from abroad and an increase of about 50 per cent in prices. I do not propose to follow the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola into his somewhat thinly veiled discussion of protection, but I may perhaps go so far as to point out to the Hon'ble Member that this is, in the main, the result of interfering with imports.

"The situation which has been thus produced has two aspects. The first of these is its effect upon the consumer. The second is the opportunity which it affords for the expansion of the industry. The first is one to which the Government of India, as in duty bound, gave very close attention immediately on the outbreak of war. It was clear from the start that the effect of war with Germany and Austria must be to cause a diminution in the world supplies of sugar and a general rise in price, and would certainly affect prices in India, which has become a large importing country. Government therefore took up at once the consideration of the question whether our production of sugar could be extended, or whether other steps were necessary in the interests of the consumer. We were met at the outset by a very real and serious difficulty. The war broke out at the beginning of August The greater part of the sugar-cane grown in India is sown between January and March and harvested about a year later. Consequently, any increase in the sowings of cane could only have been effected in the present cold weather and would not produce their results until March of next year. If we had taken steps to bring pressure upon the ryot to increase the area under cane in the next sowing season, we should in effect have been committing ourselves to a prophesy that the war-shortage and war-prices would still be in existence in March, 1916, eighteen months ahead. Hon'ble Members will readily understand that in such circumstances we should have been taking a very serious responsibility. The war will not last for ever, and it is impossible to forecast what sugar prices may be a year hence. It is at least likely that there are large stocks in Germany and Austria and Russia which, should the war come to an end, would be released and thrown upon the market, in which case prices would rapidly fall, possibly to below their normal level. At any rate we decided that we should not be justified in giving such advice to the ryots. The question of date-palm sugar, which has been referred to by certain Members, stands on a different footing, as it does not involve the growing of a crop, and energetic, and I understand, successful efforts have been made by the Government of Bengal to secure a larger yield this cold weather. As there was no prospect of securing a large and immediate increase in the yield of the cane crop, the question then became one of whether other steps ought to be taken by Government in the interests of the consumer:—whether, for instance, we ought to follow the example of the British Government and enter the foreign market, so as to secure adequate supplies from abroad. This question was very carefully considered by Government, but we decided against it, and I think we have been justified in so doing. It must be remembered that while our imports of sugar are increasing, and are of course very important to our consumers, they still

represent only a small proportion of the total Indian consumption. The production of cane-sugar in India (consumed for the most part in the form of *gur*) is an uncertain quantity, but it probably exceeds 2,600,000 tons, and there is also close on half a million tons of palm-tree sugar, making over 3 million tons in all. As against this our imports amounted last year to only 800,000 tons. Consequently, it was abundantly clear that even were our imports to disappear altogether, there could not be a sugar famine in the sense in which such a famine was feared in the United Kingdom, which produces no sugar at all. We decided, therefore, that there was not a sufficient case to justify Government in causing such a disturbance to trade, as must necessarily follow from their entering the market, and as I said before, I think, in spite of the increase in the price of sugar in the proper sense of the term, we have been proved right in our policy. The prices of sugar have increased by 50 per cent, but those of *gur* have remained steady and, indeed, in some markets have actually declined below the price level in July before the outbreak of war. *Gur* of course is the form in which the poorer classes obtain their sugar. While it is difficult to obtain data in regard to consumption by the vast population of India, and while the causes which have prevented a rise in prices are certainly obscure, it would seem fairly safe at any rate to deduce that the increase in the price of sugar has not inflicted suffering and distress in the sense in which distress was caused by the increase in the price of wheat. What has resulted, no doubt, is a reduction in the amount consumed. This must have fallen on the more well-to-do classes of the community rather than on the very poor, and it has meant, I gather, that they have had to curtail the enjoyment of an amenity of life rather than that they have been deprived of a necessity. I am not trying to prove that there has been no hardship. There must always be hardship in any restriction of the kind, in any interference with the ordinary habits of the people, but the point I wish to make to Council is that the increase in the price of sugar, especially in view of the steady level maintained in the price of *gur*, places the sugar position on a very different footing to a shortage which drives up the price of an essential food of the people.

"The other aspect of the case is that the present position may be held to afford a special opportunity for the expansion of the industry. The position undeniably affords an opportunity to the industry to make large profits, but some of the considerations which I have already adduced show, I think, that there would be considerable risk involved in promoting new factories on the strength of the war conditions. I have already pointed out that when the war is over, there is likely to be a considerable release of stocks and a period of low prices. The question which really has to be faced is how a sugar industry can be built up in this country strong enough to withstand the competition of Java and Mauritius and of the beet-producing countries of Europe in the normal times of peace, and for progress towards the attainment of that end the present abnormal times are not more opportune—in fact in some ways one less opportune—than any other. The problem therefore is not substantially different now to what it was when the last debate on the subject took place in this Council in 1911, except that considerable progress has been made in the inquiries since undertaken by Government. In other words, we find ourselves again considering the position of the sugar industry in India and what help Government can give towards its improvement.

"Now, the first point we ought to consider is—Is the state of the industry quite so desperate as it is sometimes represented? There is, of course, the marked and continuous increase in imports, and a decrease—though not nearly so marked—in the area under cultivation. These are circumstances which beyond doubt deserve careful attention. But when the industry is described as moribund or, as the Hon'ble Mr. Sitanath Ray said, on the verge of extinction, I am inclined to doubt whether the facts really warrant such language. I am very glad to find that the Hon'ble Mr. Kershaw, who speaks on behalf of the Agricultural Department and is therefore more closely connected than I am with some aspects of this question, holds the same view as myself. It is noticeable that though the acreage under cane is much

smaller than, say, 20 years ago, the decline has not been progressive. In 1912-13, the acreage was actually higher than in any year since 1900-1901, and there is reason to believe that the rate of yield has improved. Then again, it is apt to be assumed that the sugar industry cannot thrive without the institution of large factories capable of crushing say 700 or 800 tons a day, and this view I think underlay the Hon'ble Mover's suggestion that Government should endeavour (if I understood him correctly) to adopt the system followed by the Dutch Government in Java and the Japanese Government in Formosa. This, again, seems to me not to be warranted by facts. Several small factories are now being successfully worked in India, and it seems quite possible that small factories capable of turning out from 2,000 to 3,000 tons of sugar a year would be sound propositions in the existing state of the industry. Large central factories would come later, in the ordinary course of development. This view, I know, is held by men who have practical experience of the manufacture of sugar in India. On the other hand, I think, Council will appreciate that, as the Hon'ble Mr. Kershaw has already pointed out, it would be a very serious matter for Government to endeavour to establish central factories on the lines indicated in the Hon'ble Mover's speech. As the Hon'ble Mr. Ray himself told us, the Dutch system, which he approves, was introduced into Java nearly a century ago, but it would be a very different matter to introduce a similar system now in India. Let me quote a paragraph from the late Mr. Paton's Note on Sugar in India. He says 'the most serious and the most obvious obstacle to realisation of the central factory in India resides in one feature common to all systems of land tenure in this country. We refer to the perfect liberty left to the tenant or occupant as regards the selection of crops?' The system advocated by the Hon'ble Member would do away with that liberty, and such an interference in my judgment would be a most serious and dangerous step to take, as the Hon'ble Mr. Kershaw pointed out. What we must depend on is the gradual development of the factory system of manufacturing sugar, and the gradual realisation by the ryot that under that system there will be a steady demand for his cane, and that it will be worth his while to place the necessary proportion of his land under cane. The ryot is as a rule shrewd enough in discovering what crop pays him best, and I see no reason why this result should not in time be attained. At present one of the prime difficulties which stands in the way is the indifferent yield of the greater part of the sugar crop. This is one of the obvious directions in which Government can, and do, help. Another direction in which they can, and do, help, is in improving methods of manufacture and in showing that profit can be made. When this has been done, the rest will come of itself.

"If the Hon'ble Member will forgive my saying so, his resolution and his remarks in moving it seem to me to do less than justice to the measures which are being taken by Government throughout India, both to increase the cultivation of sugar-cane and date-palm and to improve the methods of manufacture. He asks that prompt and effective measures should be taken, by which I presume he means that measures should be taken which will effectively produce immediate results. If we are to face and overcome the real difficulties of the problem, we must recognise at the outset that progress has to be slow and immediate results cannot be shown. The primary need of the industry, as the Hon'ble Mr. Kershaw pointed out, is cheap cane. The chief obstacle which stands in the way of obtaining it is the low yield and the poor quality of much of the cane crop in India. In the Ganges Valley, where far the larger portion of the crop is grown, the average outturn is but little in excess of 10 to 15 tons of stripped and cleaned cane per acre, while in Java the average is 40 tons and on some estates I believe as much as 60 tons. The Hon'ble Mr. Kershaw has dealt with this aspect of the question, but the point I wish to impress upon Council is that, while much is being done under this head by the agricultural departments of the Provinces concerned and while experimental work on a large scale is being carried out to discover the methods whereby, and the extent to which, the output can be increased and the period of harvesting (another very important factor) lengthened, development in these directions must

inevitably be a slow process. The problem of how to increase the yield, which is essential if cane is to be produced at a price to enable a factory to work successfully, is one which can only be solved by long and patient botanical experiment, and a mere lavish expenditure of money cannot materially expedite its solution. Mr. Kershaw has explained how thoroughly and steadily the work is being carried on, and I think his lucid statement can hardly have failed to impress Council. At the same time, the question of improving manufacture has been vigorously taken up. In 1912, in accordance with a resolution of the Board of Agriculture, a sugar engineer was appointed and his services were placed at the disposal of the Government of the United Provinces. In the same Province financial assistance, the total of which exceeded Rs. 7 lakhs, has been given to two factories, one Indian and one European. The former was a comparatively small factory constructed to deal with 100 tons a day, which had got into difficulties owing to defects in its machinery. Government provided a grant of Rs 30,000 towards the reconstruction of its machinery, which was carried out under the supervision of the sugar engineer. The factory is now working successfully. In the latter case a loan of Rs. 7 lakhs was provided, and here too the sugar engineer acted as adviser for, and assisted in the erection of, the two factories concerned, one of which has a capacity of from 400 to 600 tons. In both these cases one of the grounds on which Government gave financial assistance was in order to demonstrate the practicability of profitable working, and conditions have been attached to the grant and loan that the factories should be open to inspection and examination by those who wish to profit by their experience. The sugar engineer has also advised on several other projects for the starting of schemes in the United Provinces. At the same time, Government have been endeavouring to improve the manufacture of *gur*. The importance of *gur* lies largely in the fact that the cane area of any given tract can be encouraged to expand up to a point at which a central sugar factory may become possible, the cultivators meantime using their cane for the manufacture of *gur*, for which there is a steady and regular demand. A small experimental plant for the crushing of cane and the production of *gur* has been erected near Bareilly, and in several Provinces, especially in Madras, Bombay and the Central Provinces, much attention has been given and money spent upon the problem of selecting and popularising the best type of small cane-mill and the most economic and efficient apparatus for boiling *gur*. I understand that *takavi* grants can be, and are, given to cultivators to enable them to purchase these mills and apparatus. The Local Governments have also taken up the question of improving date-palm sugar, and some very useful work has recently been done in Bengal.

"I would submit to Council that Government, in regard to sugar, have pursued a steady policy and have not been niggardly in their assistance to the industry. They are carrying out, entirely at the cost of the State, the experiments, which Mr. Kershaw has described, for the improvement of the yield of cane and the extension of the period of working. I cannot give details of the expenditure, which is spread over the Provinces concerned and under several heads of account, but it must amount to considerable sums. I may specially instance the 2 lakhs which are being spent in Assam on the experiment in cane-growing on a large scale mentioned by Mr. Kershaw. These improvements are absolutely essential conditions to success, and as I have already said and should like to emphasise again, they must take time and they cannot be hurried. Concurrently we are providing assistance for manufacture, partly in the way of skilled advice from the sugar engineer and partly by the financial assistance which, as I pointed out, has been given to factories in the United Provinces. I cannot admit the inference in the resolution that Government is not taking effective measures to help on the industry. We are giving real and practical help within the limits imposed by our determination to adhere to a sane system of finance. The Hon'ble Member asks us for yet more financial assistance and he appealed to the example of what has been done in France and Germany and Austria. I may remind Council that the history of the sugar industry has in its day and not least in those countries afforded an

object-lesson to the world of the dangers of throwing aside sound principles of finance for the sake of promoting an industry. It has shown that if Governments spend enormous sums in subsidies and impose high protective duties, they can indeed bring into being and maintain a vast sugar industry But it has also shown what this involves—the creation of huge trusts, the exploitation of the people whose taxes provide the subsidies, but who have to pay artificially high prices for their sugar, and the growth of financial burdens so heavy that even those wealthy European countries have been unable to bear the strain. No doubt the Hon'ble Member does not propose that we should attempt to emulate the reckless system of subsidies which ended with the Brussels Convention. But the example is not without its value. It illustrates the danger, to which I am afraid sufficient weight is not attached in India, that when Governments have once embarked upon fostering industries with the funds of the State, it is very difficult for them to draw back before they have passed the boundary between a reasonable and a reckless policy. At the opposite end of the scale there are people who argue that the State should stand aside altogether and leave everything to private enterprise. That seems to me to be an impossible counsel of perfection—and not even perhaps a counsel of perfection, since I see no reason why the State should not give assistance in such matters, so long as the assistance is given within reasonable limits. It is not really so very difficult to strike out a middle course, and that is what the Government of India have endeavoured to do in this matter of the sugar industry. We have taken up the vitally important scientific research, a matter which may reasonably be held to be outside the scope of private effort in this country; we have helped, by providing scientific and technical experts, to introduce improved methods of cultivation and manufacture; but I fully admit that we have been very careful in the matter of financing private concerns and have only given pecuniary aid where we have been reasonably sure that it has been justified by the circumstances of the case, and with the object, not merely of assisting the immediate beneficiaries, but of affording a valuable demonstration to others of the up-to-date working of the industry. These are the lines which we still propose to pursue. I fear that the Hon'ble Member who has moved this resolution and those who supported it, wish Government to go much further, and that being so, I regret that I cannot accept the resolution."

**The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray:**—"I have nothing particular to say except that, as a result of my moving this resolution, we have been treated to a very interesting debate on this sugar question. The Hon'ble Member for Commerce was pleased to say that I was not quite justified in saying that the sugar industry in this country is in a moribund state; but so far as my experience of Bengal goes, we know that a very large quantity of sugar used to be manufactured in the districts of Jessore and Dacca and in several other parts, but those concerns are now extinct or shut up, and there is no manufacture of refined sugar in any part of the country. So virtually, excepting the United Provinces, so far as Bengal is concerned, refined sugar is out of the question. I do not of course advocate that the system pursued in Japan and elsewhere should be carried out in India wholesale. I am not an advocate of the forced labour system which was prevalent in Java. But what I beg to say is that, though we are thankful to Government for the various steps that they have taken from time to time, and about which interesting facts and figures have been given by the Hon'ble Mr. Kershaw and the Hon'ble Mr. Clark, they are not sufficient enough to promote the cause of sugar-industry and thereby enable us to compete with foreign sugar. Every foreign Government has been trying its utmost for some time past, whether by protection or by subsidy, to stimulate not only its sugar industry, but all other industries, so that they may be able to hold their own. As regards the sugar industry, the result of those subsidies and financial assistance given by the different foreign countries has been that our home industry has been declining gradually and, consequently, there has been a considerable shrinkage in the area under cane cultivation. Formerly, the area under cane cultivation was about 27 lakhs of acres, but in 1911 it came t 24 lakhs of acres. Considering

that there has been a large increase in the population, necessitating a corresponding increase in cane cultivation to cope with the expanding population, there has been instead a considerable shrinkage in the area under cane cultivation, and therefore I was quite justified in saying that the sugar industry instead of expanding is in a moribund state in every part of the country.

"It is very true that the Government has been making demonstrations and carrying on different experiments in model farms. I am glad that the Government in one case gave seven lakhs of rupees as a grant and two lakhs in the case of another; we want that something more substantial should be done to promote the industry and that more active steps should be taken; I did not intend to say that no steps had been taken by Government. What I mean to say is that considering the present state of the country, while German and Austrian beet-sugar is no longer in the field, it is proper that active steps should be taken, gradually, of course, to enable the Indian sugar to compete with the foreign import; and something more than demonstrations and experiments are required to actively foster the trade. Particularly, I beg to draw the attention of this Council to the fact that, while the Japanese Government and other Governments have been spending lakhs and lakhs for promoting this industry to enable them to compete successfully in other markets, our Government has done nothing of the kind. Why should the Indian Government not be prepared to spend more largely for keeping up this industry and thereby enabling us to compete with the foreign imported sugar? I have nothing more to say, and I leave the question to the kind consideration of the Council."

The Resolution was put and rejected.

The Council adjourned to Thursday, the 18th March, 1915.

W. H. VINCENT,
*Secretary to the Government of India,*
*Legislative Department.*

DELHI:

*The 24th March, 1915.*

# APPENDIX.

(*Statement laid on the table*, vide *page 411*, ante.)

Statement showing the amount allotted during the quinquennium ending 31st March 1914, to Muhammadan schools from Provincial funds including Imperial grants and, where possible, also the sums allotted from these sources to Local Bodies as earmarked specially for Muhammadan schools.

| Province. | 1909-1910. | 1910-1911. | 1911-1912. | 1912-1913. | 1913-1914. | Total. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | R. | |
| Madras . . . . | 98,109 | 79,672 | 98,034 | 1,59,500 | 1,79,331 | 6,09,646 | Local Bodies in the Madras presidency expended R10,89,994 on Muhammadan schools during the quinquennium. But it is not possible to say what proportion of this sum was provided from the Provincial subsidy, no portion of which was specially earmarked for Muhammadan schools. |
| Bombay . . . . | 93,501 | 84,883 | 65,524 | 64,774 | 87,476 | 3,96,158 | Except in the Southern division of the Bombay presidency it is not the practice to earmark allotments made through Local Bodies for Muhammadan schools, nor has it been found possible to ascertain readily for the purpose of this statement the amounts expended on such schools, by Local Bodies from the Provincial subsidy. In the case of the Southern division, however, the amount assigned to Local Bodies for Urdu schools during the 3 years 1911-12 to 1913-14 was R11,208. This sum is not included in the statement. |
| Bengal . . . . | 1,14,171 | 1,30,789 | 1,58,212 | 1,61,089 | 2,08,280 | 7,72,541 | |
| United Provinces . . | 41,820 | 43,498 | 1,27,898 | 1,77,206 | 99,582 | 4,89,434 | This sum includes expenditure on some institutions which, though predominantly Muhammadan in character, do not cater entirely for Muhammadans. In allotting money to Local Bodies, definite sums are not earmarked for Muhammadan schools. But on this subject attention is invited to the Local Government's resolution No. 1611-XV, dated the 25th August 1914. |
| Punjab . . . . | 13,856 | 25,709 | 29,001 | 91,860 | 76,228 | 2,36,654 | In addition, R13,896 was spent during the quinquennium on Muhammadan scholarships. The figures given refer only to schools under Muhammadan management as distinct from institutions controlled by Government or Local Bodies in which Muhammadans constitute the majority or a large proportion of the pupils. |
| Burma . . . . | 337 | 1,061 | 964 | 1,511 | 5,623 | 9,496 | No portion of the Provincial subsidy to Local Bodies is specially earmarked for Muhammadan schools and these figures are exclusive of any expenditure by Local Bodies on such schools. There is an unascertainable number of schools attended principally or exclusively by Muhammadans where education is conducted in Burmese, and which fall so naturally into the normal provincial educational scheme, that it has never been found necessary to differentiate them into a special category as Muhammadan schools. Hence the figures given bear no relation whatever to the amounts actually contributed towards the education of Muhammadans in Burma. |
| Bihar and Orissa . . | 28,419 | 33,608 | 53,821 | 83,262 | 95,341 | 2,94,451 | |
| Central Provinces . . | 43,878 | 57,147 | 60,197 | 65,180 | 66 363 | 2,92,765 | |
| Assam . . . . | 6,583 | 6,694 | 7,939 | 9,135 | 24,627 | 54,978 | |
| Coorg . . . . | 878 | 2,303 | 1,053 | 3,041 | 3,621 | 11,496 | |
| North-West Frontier Province. | 1,000 | 1,718 | 9,987 | 2,63,831 | 1,56,497 | 4,33,028 | |
| Delhi . . . . | ... | ... | ... | 1,705 | 30,582 | 32,287 | The Delhi Administration having been constituted only on 1st October 1912 the figures for the first three years of the quinquennium are not given. |
| Total . | 4,37,552 | 4,67,077 | 6,12,130 | 10,82,694 | 10,38,451 | 36,32,204 | |