SPEECHES OF J. C. GHOSE.

SPEECHES IN THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

ON MEDICAL RELIEF FOR THE PEOPLE.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur moved: "This Council recommends to the Government that every effort should be made to have immediately a charitable dispensary in every Thana and for the present to induce three doctors to settle and practice in the rural areas in each Thana by subsidizing them to the extent of Rs. 30 a month each, half being paid by the Government and half by the District Board."

The urgent necessity of this measure, which is after all very inadequate to the needs of the country, is known to everybody. I have consulted several Chairmen, and members of District Boards and other local bodies, and they all approve of this resolution. I believe that the great majority of my countrymen who live in Calcutta have no idea of the distress of the people of the Mufassal. I have many a time gone to the Mufassal, and I know what is the fear in the minds of men, where there is no doctor. I have been told by a very experienced Sub-Divisional Officer that whenever he goes to outlying places, he trembles in fear. At the present moment, there is an epidemic of cholera at a place not more than 50 miles from
Calcutta, and I have positive information that hundreds of dying men and women are deserted by their relatives and the dead are left unburnt and unburied. We know that the Government in European countries comes to the aid of the poor when there is an epidemic of typhoid. We know also that one case of cholera in England or in any other country in Europe would create a sensation and a panic, and millions would be spent for driving out that epidemic. But what of India, where we have got several epidemics every year? We must do something in the matter. I know that we cannot always create doctors, but the want of doctors creates a panic and a sense of helplessness in the minds of the people who die by thousands.

I appeal to the Government to look to our poor countrymen in the Mufassal—to the millions who pay taxes and get nothing in return. Sanitation and education are very good, but they are for the living and not for the dead. I have been asked where is the money to come from. I have made a very small demand. I have asked for Rs. 15 for each doctor from the Government; it may be a little more, Rs. 20 or Rs. 25. Two thousand such doctors can be employed from the salaries proposed to be paid to the Ministers and their establishments. I think that no minister would like to take any salary when tens of thousands of his countrymen die without any medical relief and die in utter helplessness. It was the great Asoka who first laid down—and it is described in pillars of stone—that it is the first duty
of Government to give medical relief to its subjects. That rule was forgotten for many a year before the English came here. But I must give them the credit that is due to them; they established hospitals and dispensaries and employed doctors. But very little has yet been done, considering the grave needs of the country. Now that we have got the subject under our control, we should not do less than what the District officers did before and who certainly did very good work. I have made a very small demand. If our Ministers, who are men of great influence, will make the necessary effort, I am sure the money will come. Public spirited men will come to the rescue. If the Government pay half, the other half will be forthcoming. I am a small zamindar and I am willing to pay for six doctors; and I know that there are many more generous and liberal-minded men than myself, who will do more.

I am willing to leave out the latter portion of my resolution, namely, the following: "By subsidizing them to the extent of Rs. 30 a month each, half being paid by the Government and half by the District Board." What I desire is that every effort should be made in the name of humanity to give medical relief to the poor people of Bengal. I submit it is a non-contentious matter, and I hope it would be carried without a division.

There was a strong and violent opposition from the Government, the minister and their followers, to which the mover gave the following reply;
I have met with greatest surprise of my life today. I have travelled through all the districts of Bengal and I know at least 30 Thanas in Bengal. I have got properties in at least six Thanas in Bengal. And I know the conditions in every one of them and I have been told to my face—what do you know of Bengal?—by men who never had any experience of Bengal outside the town of Calcutta. I have been told that I have given no figures and that I have no figures. I am told that I do not know that there are 688 thanas. I think I told them that it would require 2,000 doctors. Do not they know simple arithmetic and that 688 multiplied by 3 would make about 2,000. That is why I asked for 2,000 doctors in my speech. What more definite information do they require? What did I say? I said that 2,000 doctors were required for our poor people and I suggested that the Government should pay Rs. 15 a month for each doctor. And I am told point-blank that I am one who does not know Bengal and who has got no figures. There is another matter. Did I suggest for a moment that you should force it upon the District Boards? At the very outset I said that I would take out that portion in my resolution which says that half the cost should be borne by the District Boards, and what was my suggestion? I only said that an effort should be made in this direction. Even to this, objection is taken, rhetoric is employed, invective used and, one gentleman would have castigations made. I am proud of that.
Nothing good was done in this country or in any country without abuse and castigation being cast upon the men who wanted to do good. How are the mighty fallen! Surendra Nath Banerji—Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea—gets up and says—I oppose and object to this resolution. How are the mighty fallen! A representative of the European community, a member of the great English nation, to whom we owe so much, gets up and says—We oppose this resolution of giving relief to the poor, to the dying, to the diseased. He seems so have lost all the traditions of an Englishman. If these gentlemen go 50 miles from Calcutta they will find hundreds of persons lying dead and unburied, and they get up and tell me that I do not know Bengal. I have travelled throughout Bengal since my childhood. I know what this Council is made of. 'But I will do my duty so long as I am here.' I again say, Sir, that it is not good to oppose this resolution. I ask the Ministers to make an effort. Money? That is of no account. Let them make the necessary effort. But the truth is that they have not got the heart to do so. That is the question and it is not a question of money. It is a question of heart. The Hon'ble Minister's heart has dried up. There is no more sweetness in it. I am very sorry that I have made a reference to the question of Ministers' salaries. I am sincerely sorry for it—I am really sorry; for that little reference my poor countrymen will suffer. Before I conclude I would only say that I am sorry that I became irritated when I was told by persons
who have not been outside the precincts of Calcutta and its suburbs, who do not know the suffering prevalent throughout Bengal, that I knew nothing of Bengal.

On a division being taken the motion was carried. Since then the Government has been trying to carry out the resolution. The minister in charge has made the declaration that there would be a charitable dispensary for every Thana and for every village union immediately.—Ed.
Medical Relief and Water Supply.

Roy Bahadur Jogendra Chunder Ghose: I move the resolution that stands in my name that—"This Council recommends to the Government that out of the sums saved by retrenchment by the Council in the present Budget, a sum of Rs. 1,00,000 be allotted to the District Boards for tanks and wells this year, and a further sum of Rs. 1,00,000 be allotted to the said Boards for medical relief to the people in accordance with the resolutions passed by this Council."

The resolution deals with the primary needs of the people. We saved about Rs. 20 lakhs in the last Budget by curtailment of expenditure. That amount should be spent, I submit, on our primary needs. Day before yesterday we got the supplementary Budget. Government may spend as much money as they like, but our primary needs must be met. You are all aware that this year there has been a very great drought throughout the province. Tanks and wells have dried up and the sufferings of the people are very great. Women, I know, in many places, have to travel six to eight miles every day for bringing water—brackish water—from distant tanks. People cannot get sweet water as most of the rivers and tanks in Bengal have dried up. In the Sunderbans which is intersected by salt water rivers and creeks, people want, like the Old Mariner, sweet water but find with bitterness—"Water, water, everywhere but not a drop to drink". Sir, this year the crops have partially failed throughout the province and the distress is great. The people have been hard hit and
they are unable to help themselves. The District Boards have got no money to help the people. Therefore, I propose that the District Boards should be helped. This matter cannot be delayed because the distress will be greater from year to year. All that I have at present proposed is that the existing tanks should be deepened next cold weather. There is no time to lose. The sum is a very insignificant one. Let us have something and that before the next cold weather.

As regards medical relief you are all aware that Bengal has passed through an epidemic of cholera this year which has not quite disappeared yet; you will find that the death-rate from cholera is still high not only in the interior of the districts but in Calcutta also. So far as the districts are concerned there is no good water to drink but only muddy and brackish water. Our Minister in charge of sanitation who did not at first look with favour on the resolution passed by us about medical relief, has since been convinced of the great necessity. He has allotted Rs. 15,000 for it and, in the supplementary Budget, I find he has allotted another Rs. 15,000 and he has been pleased to tell me that he may be able to find another Rs. 20,000 for the purpose. He has also been pleased to ask me to move that one lakh of rupees be allotted for the purpose in the next Budget. It is good of him to say so but we cannot wait. The money belongs to the people. They pay the taxes and their urgent necessities must be met. Then, and then only, will they pay the taxes and enjoy
with advantage, the benefits of a civilised Government. I therefore move, Sir, that this resolution be passed.

In reply to opposition from the Minister, who expressed sympathy and proposed loans, and his followers Mr. Ghose made the following reply:

An overflow of sympathy is always suspicious. District Boards have been told to borrow money on loans mortgaging their resources. It is not to easy to induce the District Boards to raise loans. Sir, as I have said before, our primary needs must be met, we take no refusal, we shall be justified in withholding payment of taxes if you do not allow us to live. Sir, we have been told that there is no money and that we only saved 13 lakhs. Now Sir, we are not children. We shall take no refusal in this matter. This should be the first charge upon the revenues of the State. Here is another supplementary budget coming in. Let this be passed first and then we will see about the supplementary budget. You never thought that you had no money when you sent in the supplementary budget. We shall first pass this and see what the Government do.

The motion was then put and carried.
ON WATER SUPPLY.

Roy Bahadur Jogendra Chunder Ghose: I move that this Council recommends to the Government that a sum of Rs. 2,00,000 be allotted to the district boards during the next cold weather for the supply of drinking water in the villages.

We passed a resolution in this Council a year and a half ago by which we recommended that Rs. 2 lakhs be granted to District Boards for water supply. That resolution still holds good, but it has not yet been given effect to. We, the people of Bengal are helpless. Under the Reforms we were told this Council would have supreme power over the transferred subjects, but as our resolutions are not given effect to; I say the people of Bengal are just as helpless as they were before, "Tumi je timire, tumi she timire": "Poor Bengal is in the same darkness as it was before the Reforms." We people here, are in trepidation while we rise to speak, for we find that in the words of the Psalmist "our words are wrested all day long." But when the Executive, who are supposed to be our servants, openly and defiantly repudiate our resolutions, we can do nothing. The people of Bengal are suffering greatly for the lack of the first necessities of life. It is useless dilating on their agony: it is well-known to our Minister. It is said that we have got no money. We imposed three taxes, but we could make no provision for a pittance of Rs. 2 lakhs.
We have got a surplus of Rs. 50 lakhs and we have got two supplementary budgets, but in the dreary deserts of these pages we find no indication of a drop of water to moisten the parched lips of the people of Bengal. Not only are we helpless, but we find that His Excellency the Governor is equally helpless. He spoke at Rajshahi as follows:

"The two main impressions which I have derived from the tour as a whole are the urgent need for an improvement in the supply of drinking water throughout the district and the necessity of increasing the facilities for medical advice and treatment available for the people. These are the needs which in the main must be supplied by local initiative and from local funds but the present deficiency in both respects is so great and so general that some help from Government is certainly required."

He promised to discuss the matter with his Ministers on his return "with every wish to provide as speedy and efficient remedies as possible." He did not know that, in the meantime, his Ministers have replied to a question by a member that water supply must be provided for by local funds. I am afraid he too will find himself helpless like us. He has taken this position because he wishes to give the Reforms the fullest chance. But he is here also to enforce the Reforms. He should see that his Ministers give effect to the resolutions of the Council and act in consonance with the wishes of the people.
Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghosh Bahadur’s resolution was accepted in the following amended form:

“This Council recommends to the Government that a sum of Rs. 2,00,000 be allotted as grants or loans as the Government may think fit and practicable to the District Board during the next cold weather for the supply of drinking water in the villages.”

Subsequently on 22nd November 1922 on the motion of Pabu Tanka Nath Choudhury asking for 3 laks for medical relief, Mr. Ghose made, the following speech:

I know that Mr. Goode and his Excellency’s Government are deeply interested in this question, and—[A voice: What about the Minister?]—they will do all that lies in their power to help the poor people of Bengal. But I must say here that the grant of Rs. 250 for a village dispensary and Rs. 500 for a Thana dispensary to the District Boards as provided for in the budget is grossly inadequate. I am sure Mr. Goode will do his best to increase this amount; but to say now that the sum of Rs. 1,50,000 was not spent by District Boards, because they did not agree to his proposals, is I think very unreasonable. The Department might think it to be a reasonable grant, but the District Boards in their poverty refused it, not all; but some of them, and therefore, the money has not been spent. That being so, I do hope that the Department may increase the grants and spend
the whole amount of Rs. 1,50,000. Mr. Goode has told us that he will place the proposal of allotting Rs. 500,000 for the purpose in the very forefront of the programme for the next year. If he had said only that much, I would have requested Babu Tanka Nath Choudhuri to withdraw his proposal; but in the same breath he said: “I cannot give you more than Rs. 15,000 for the next Budget.” That is a position which, I hope, this Council will not accept and I am sure Mr. Goode himself is very sorry that he has to make that statement, but I do hope that he will not stick to it and he will do his very best to give Rs. 1,50,000 for three years which he promised and which we passed. If he says that much, I will make every attempt to induce Babu Tankanath Choudhuri to withdraw his proposal.
ON THE REDUCTION OF SALARIES.
OF MINISTERS.

Roy Bahadur Jogendra Chunder Ghose moved that the salary of a Minister be fixed at the amount of the salary of the Under-Secretary of State for India, i.e., at £1,500 a year."

It is rather hard for a man of a weak constitution like me to be called upon to speak at such a late hour of the day as half past six; but, Sir, I shall do my work.

I beg to move that the salary of a Minister be fixed at the amount of the salary of the Under-Secretary of State for India, i.e., at £1,500 a year. I have put the figure £1,500 not because I love pounds more than rupees, but I have put it just to point out that that is the salary of the Under-Secretary of State for India, that is, the salary which Lord Sinha got while he was in England. It is for that reason that I have put it in pounds. To me, Sir, there is no option left in this matter. This was the plank upon which I sought election from the graduates of Bengal and I cannot now recede from that position. Sir, the voice of the country has been expressed in unequivocal terms in a hundred public meetings. There have been public meetings in every district calling upon their representatives to vote for the resolution. Whether they will do their duty or not is not for me to see. There has been a meeting at Burdwan, the city of
the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, where they settled that the salary should be Rs. 1,000 a month. There has been a meeting at Krishnagar, the city of the Maharaja of Krishnagar, who sits in my front. But what these gentlemen will do now, I cannot say. Their duty is clear.

The people of India are the poorest among the nations of the earth. They are so poor and consequently despised that the white settlers of Canada, Australia and South Africa refuse them admission on the ground of their lower standard of living. Now, Sir, let us see what these countries, proud of their wealth and high standard of living, pay to their Ministers. I find that in Canada the Prime Minister gets less than Rs. 3,000 a month. All the other Ministers get less than Rs. 1,000 a month. In Australia, in New South Wales, there are 12 chief Ministers, including the Prime Minister who all together get £11,040, i.e., most of them get £800 a year each. In South Australia, £5,000 is allotted to the Prime Minister and five other Ministers, and six Ministers get about £800 a year each. In Queensland, the Premier and the Vice-President of the Executive Council get £1,300 each and the other Ministers get £1,000 a year each. In Tasmania, the Prime Minister gets £950 a year and the other Members of the Executive Council get £750 a year. In Western Australia, the Prime Minister gets £1,500 and the other Members of the Executive Council get £1,300 a year. In New Zealand, the Prime Minister gets £1,600 a year and
the other Ministers and the Members of the Executive Council get £1,000 a year each. In south Africa, the Members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General, whose status and functions are analogous to those of the Governor-General of India each get £2,500 a year. In Japan—an Asiatic Empire—one of the greatest powers on earth, which conquered the Russians and founded the empire which is dreaded by the British themselves—so dreaded that they have sought on alliance with it for the protection of India—in that country what does the Prime Minister get? He gets Rs. 1,750 a month. Other Cabinet Ministers get about Rs. 1,200 a month each. In the United States, the Ministers get about Rs. 2,500 a month each. You must remember the United States is the richest country on earth—the creditor of Great Britain and France—whose debts Britian and France are finding it very difficult to pay. The Presidents of the Legislative Councils in Australis get about £750 a year. Sir, the duty of the representatives of the people is clear. They are to look to the interest of their countrymen first. But in this country we are guided by motives other than patriotic. We being a subject race, always look to the men in power, and men of wealth and men enjoying high salaries are our patrons and we are always anxious to go to their tea-parties, to dance attendance upon them and to vote just as they desire.

Sir, I have been pressed with many arguments and even the threat of a dissolution of this House has
been levelled at me. I cannot be guided by these considerations? Hopes and fears should not influence the action of a man who wants to do his duty. Now, sir, let us consider the objections to the reduction of salaries one by one. The first objection is that the Ministers require Rs. 64,000 because they will have to entertain their friends and high officials and members of the Council. But I do not desire that any entertainments should be given at the public expense. The objection has no weight with me. The second objection is that there should be a loss of prestige. Now, gentlemen, you all know that Mr. Hughes, Sir Robert Borden and Sir Wilfred Laurier, the Prime Ministers of Canada and Australia, whom the Sovereign delights to honour, and who are among the greatest statesmen in the British Empire, all get less than £2,000 a year. Has there been in their case a loss of prestige? Now, gentlemen, you all know that Count I to got Rs. 1500 a month. Was he on that account less revered than the greatest statesmen of Europe? Remember that Marshal Niogi, the conqueror of the Russians, whose commands three millions of Japanese soldiers regarded as the commands of God, and at whose command they rushed to fill up the ditches with their dead bodies, got only Rs. 1,000 a month.

Now, Sir, let us come to India. You have all heard about Chanakya, the great Kautilya, the exterminator of the Nandas of the Purana. It was he who exterminated the great imperial House of the Nandas, at the fame of whose power the Greek
soldiers under Alexander the Great recoiled in fear. These Nandas were exterminated by a poor Brahmin Chanakya. And, you all know how he defeated the Greek invader, Seleucus the Great, and obtained for his master the daughter of the great Greek King for wife. But you have not heard of his boast that he, the exterminator of the Nandas, was descended from an ancient family of Rishis and that he too no remuneration from his master, the greatest Empyre of his time, whom he raised to power by his own efforts. He was poor in the world's riches, but was endowed beyond the common with the heritage of the learning of his ancestors.

Coming to later times, Vijnaneswara—many of you here have read his book, the Mitakshara—conquered for his master Vikramaditya the Sixth of Kalyana, all the country from the snow-clad Himalayas to the seas in the south. He, the most learned among the jurists of India, was a mere Vaishnava Yogee who took nothing for himself. Coming to more modern times we come to Madhava. Those of you who have read the Stories of Nations must have seen the picture of two poor young men, Bukka Roy and Harihar, who became the greatest kings of the south of India. Do you know by whom they were made kings? They were made kings by Madhava—a poor Brahmin more learned than any man of his time, who took no salaries whatsoever.

What I was going to tell you is this: that in ancient times in India the wealth of the country was with the Vaisyas and the Banias and high salaries
were never considered as a ground for prestige and honour. Prestige and honour were only conferred on learning and power. The argument based on prestige has therefore no weight with me, whose mind, fortunately or unfortunately, is steeped in the old ideas.

Next, we are told that there will be a difference in status, because of the difference in the salary of an Executive Councillor and that of a Minister. When I gave notice of this motion, I also gave notice of a motion that this Council should recommend to the Supreme Government that the salary of an Executive Councillor should also be reduced. My motion was disallowed and thus we are helpless. But, what is in our power we ought to do. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji said 35 years ago in burning words that the high salaries consequent on a foreign Government are the cause of the poverty of the people.

I was telling you that Mr. Dadabhai said 35 years ago that the high salaries consequent on a foreign Government, if not remedied, would lead ultimately to a bloody revolution. Now, that it has been placed in our power by the beneficent Government to order our own house according to our means, we should rise to the occasion and reduce the salaries according to the circumstances of this poor country.

Next, it should be remembered that once we reduce the salaries of the Ministers, all other high salaries are bound to be reduced in time.

I have to make an appeal to the European members of the Council. The report of the proceedings
of the joint Committee tells us that that Committee was of opinion that the salaries of the Ministers were too high and that they should be less than the salaries of the Executive Councillors. I understood that Mr. Bhupendra Nath Bose, who had the largest share in the framing of these regulations, at first proposed that the salary of Ministers should be only Rs. 3,000 a month. But there was an agitation; and what did the Joint Committee do? They did not fix the salary at the same amount as that of the Members of the Executive Council, but they were wise enough to leave to the elected members of the new Council to decide whether they should reduce these salaries or not. That stage has now come. And if we, the elected members of the new Council, consider that, in view of the stringency of the finances, it is desirable to fix the salary of Ministers at a figure not higher than that of the Prime Minister of Japan should you by your votes defeat the object of the elected members?

(At this stage the speaker, having reached the time-limit, had to resume his seat.)
TECHNOLOGICAL AND AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:—

"This council recommends to the Government that a technological and agricultural college on the standard of the great technological colleges affiliated to the Universities of Great Britain and America granting B. Sc., M. Sc., and D. Sc. degrees affiliated to the Calcutta University and closely related to the University as in other countries, should be established at Calcutta without delay."

At the outset I must mention that the idea of industrial schools and colleges we owe to the British Government. Committee after committee has been appointed by the Government of Bengal and the Government of India to consider the question of industrial education. The last was the great Industrial Commission. I suppose Government have spent not less than Rs. 2000000 upon this commission. What I now desire is that the recommendations of that commission should be given effect to. There is no room for uninstructed opinion in this matter. The question has been discussed threadbare upon all its bearings by those Commissions and especially by the Industrial Commission. Therefore we have only to take the conclusions of the Commission. We have also the recent University Commission, upon which a very large sum of money has been spent, and that Commission has also reported in favour of the scheme that I now propose
All that I now ask you to-day is to give effect to the recommendations of the Industrial Commission and of the University Commission and no more. The Government of India have accepted these recommendations, and now it is for you to give effect to them. If you don't you will stand condemned before the country as having played false.

Now let us see what the Industrial Commission say. After describing the results of the old Government committee about the industrial schools and technical schools, they say of them:

"While, therefore, these are institutions to be encouraged and developed within the limits specified we regard them as altogether unsatisfactory, if employed to train artisans for organized industries".

There is no one in this Council competent to question this finding of the Industrial Commission. Let us next go to the matter of technological colleges and see what they say. They say:

"In the past the question of education of engineers has been too much influenced by the immediate requirements of the Public Works Department. Increasing attention has in recent years been paid to the provision of instruction in mechanical and electrical engineering, but the measures adopted are inadequate, and are conceived on altogether too narrow lines to meet the needs, present and prospective, of a rapidly expanding industrial system".
Then the Commission quote with approval the report of the Committee appointed by the Council of the Institution of Civil Engineers in England of 1905. These recommendations are admirable and include training in a technical college. They recommend that for the average boy the period of college study should be three years, and at least three or four years should be spent in practical training. The Commission then recommend that provision should be made for the education of subordinates in separate institutions which not being of a university rank should be placed under the control of the Director of Industries—that is quite a different matter—and that should be done in the technical schools. Then they say:—"It is urgently necessary to prepare for a higher technological training, which will provide the means whereby physical science students of all colleges affiliated to the Universities may learn to apply their knowledge to industrial uses. The simplest way of meeting their demand would be to expand the engineering colleges into technological institutes by the creation of new departments. At present they are chiefly occupied in the training of civil engineers. We have since recommended that they should make provision for the higher technical instruction of mechanical and electrical engineers, and we anticipate that the industrial expansion will justify the starting of departments of general technological chemistry which in each college and teaching University will be provided to the extent necessary to meet at any rate the more provincial
local needs. We regard it as certain that public opinion will demand these colleges should be connected with local universities, where the students will be able to obtain University degrees."

The Commission is emphatic that industrial education should be so imparted that it may lead to university degrees. That has nothing whatsoever to do with the training of subordinates and artisans. Not in England nor in any other country, much less in India, will the bhadralok class like to be artisans. Brahmins, Kayasthas, Vaidyas, Maulvis and Shaikhs will not like to be artisans. We want educated people to be overseers, engineers, and chemists and, without degrees and higher courses that cannot be done. My hands are weak. For generations we, bhadralok have been engaged in books and we are weak. I cannot be a mistry, but I can be an engineer. My son can be an engineer, or a chemist, but not a mistry. The Commission therefore rightly is very emphatic that there should be degree courses in India. The Commission says that this college for technological degrees should be provincial and not imperial. The Commission then contemplated the removal of Sibpur College. They say: "For some years past the removal of this College has been under consideration and Government has been reluctant to incur increased expenditure on the existing institution." I ought to tell you here that Government proposed to give the Belvedere for a technological college in place of the Sibpur College premises. The Sibpur property might be sold for
several lakhs. Then the scheme would not have cost a very large sum of money. That has not yet been done. There are many Government properties, Kidderpore House, Hasting House, etc., all white elephants. But I am not concerned with the removal of Sibpur College just now; that is a matter of detail.

The recommendations of the Industrial Commission were accepted by the Government of India. Let us see what the University Commission say. The Commission say: "......... and we concur in the findings of the committee which was appointed by the Senate of the Calcutta University on the 13th October 1917, that it is desirable and necessary that the University should take steps to develop the teaching of agriculture, technology and commerce."

The Calcutta University only this year applied to the Government in accordance with the above recommendation for a grant to open technological and agricultural advanced classes leading to degrees. Now, Sir, the Calcutta University at a recent meeting (the report of the proceedings has been sent to me by the Vice-Chancellor and I place it before you) say that they have got the Palit Professor of Chemistry, the Ghosh Professor of Applied Mathematics, the Palit Professor of Physics, the Ghosh Professor of Chemistry, the Ghosh Professor of Physics, the Ghosh Professor of Agricultural Botany the Ghosh Professor of Applied Physics and the Ghosh Professor of Applied Chemistry. Then they say that the authorities of the Science College have
for some time past carefully prepared a programme of work for the development of technological instruction, and its outline is as follows: "It is proposed to teach Applied Chemistry, Applied Physics and Applied Botany (including Agriculture). It is proposed to undertake instruction in chemistry of leather and chemistry of dyes. Besides this, it is proposed to have arrangements for practical instruction in the manufacture of sulphuric acid, glass, paper and pulp, lime, mortar and cement, sugar, soap, candles and glycerine, paints and essential oils. For these, factory appliances like disintegrators, centrifugals filter-presses, hydraulic presses, vacuum pans, etc. would be indispensable. These would require a grant of Rs. 2,00,000 to enable the College authorities to make a good beginning. Finally, at least Rs. 40,000 would be needed for even a small laboratory for technical analysis. The amount required for the Department of Chemistry is Rs. 4,65,000. In the Department of Applied Physics, it is intended to undertake work on Applied Electricity, in the testing and standardization of instruments, in Applied Optics, (including Illumination Engineering) in Pyrometry and in Applied Thermo-Dynamics (including a study of the efficiency of different types of heat engines). An estimate of Rs. 2,00,000 is manifestly a very modest demand for so important a work." They go on further to describe their requirements, but I am a little tired and cannot read further.
can do the rest. There is no reason why there should not be an agricultural college at Calcutta. It is said it is difficult to get land. There is plenty of land in the southern suburbs opposite the Tollygunge Club. I myself have got 500 bighas there and I am prepared to place it at the disposal of the University. The price to be payable when able. I shall wait for the payment of it when convenient. I cannot make a free gift of it as I am not rich enough. There is land south and east of the Regent Park property, which is much cheaper than my land. It can be had if required. All that I desire is this: that this resolution be accepted and that Government will appoint a committee to give effect to the recommendations of the University Commission and the Industrial Commission. That is all I desire. Money cannot be obtained this year; you will have to draw up a scheme, find lands bring eminent professors from England—I want the very best that is available in England. Money is not required this year. I have told you at the beginning that many Government Committees, especially the Industrial Commission, have considered every conceivable matter and I need not dilate upon it and upon the objections against the granting of degrees. There is one matter which I should like to mention, there were certain officials during the time of Sir Andrew Fraser, who, when I proposed a commission for the establishment of technological degrees opposed it on the ground that we must have industries first and then go to technological education.
The matter went before Sir Andrew Fraser, and he made his decision. I have his letter with me telling me that he had decided the question in my favour and that a technological college should not wait until there are sufficient industries in the country. The Government then settled the question but that was a long time ago. It was decided that degree classes should be opened at Sibpur. I have a letter from the then Director of Public Instruction stating that the classes would open in June 1907-08. Fifteen years have elapsed and the classes have not yet been opened. Will the Government tell us why?

Now, Sir, I have told you all that is material. Anybody who wants to satisfy himself will find every objection answered by the Industrial Commission. The greatest objection to my mind is how to find employment for these graduates. Sixteen years ago the Hon'ble Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea and myself and six other leaders of the Indian Hindu Christian and Muhammadan communities issued a manifesto establishing the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial education of Indians, one of the object of which was to have a technological college granting degrees. Every one of those signatories is dead. Only the Hon'ble Sir Surendra Nath and myself survive, and I desire very much that before we two pass away, this institute should be established. For the last 16 years we have sent about 300 boys to Europe and America and we have got D.Sc.'s by the dozen, M. Sc.'s by the score, B.Sc.'s by the hundred and a large number
have got technological certificates of proficiency, and these young men have got employment, and very high employment. Now, Sir, this is what we Bengali bharaalok, Brahmin and Kayastha, and Vaidaya and respectable Mukhammadans, can and will do. In this work the Hon'ble Nawab Sir Syed Shams-ul-Huda the Hon'ble the Maharaja of Burdwan, Babu Surendra Nath Roy and other persons, whom I see here, have all co-operated, and the thanks of the country are due to them. I am sure they will help us now.

Now, Sir, we are anxious to send boys to foreign countries for industrial degrees, for we know that without degrees they cannot get employment. Throughout India and Burma, all institutions take our boys. They all want B.Sc.'s, M.Sc.'s from Glasgow, Birmingham, Manchester, Boston Polytechnique, Berlin University and other institutions. Our boys want degrees. Without them they cannot find employment and the Commission knew it very well, and they recommended that, as in England so here, there should be these degrees. There is one more matter to which I wish to refer: the days for mere literary colleges and universities are gone. There are only two now, Oxford and Cambridge of that description. Oxford has also come to have a polytechnic institute granting degrees; Cambridge alone persists in its old ways. Every two or three counties in England have got a university with technological and agricultural departments. Every state in America also has got such a University. The main stay of a modern university is the technological
department, not its literary side. Electricity, Mining, agriculture, these are the mainstay of the universities of modern times. The old days of prose, poetry, classics, philosophy are gone. The days of mechanical power, the power that is in Electricity and other mechanical forces, rule the world; other things do not count. Therefore, we must have our university moulded on the modern universities. We must have universities, but not like the ones that are being duplicated throughout India; that is mere waste of money. Let us have one university on the lines of the great universities of Europe and America. We have not even got one. Do you know the cause of the great unrest in this country? Our universities turn out clerks, pleaders and Government officials by hundreds, but thousands remain unemployed. They cry for industrial education, not for literary education. Unless and until you supply this great want this dissatisfaction will remain. Therefore, I submit that we should have a university, on the lines of the great universities of Europe and America.

After a year as nothing had been done to give effect to the resolution, Mr. Ghosh moved a resolution for appointing Committee—Ed.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur: I move that "this Council recommends to the Government that a committee of 12 members to be elected by the Council by the single transferable vote be appointed to devise ways and means for the immediate establishment of a technological and agricultural
college for granting degrees in consultation with the Principal, Sibpur Civil Engineering College, and the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University.

The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr, with his robust optimism, bade us not to despair. He has asked us to hope for the very greatest things next year. It was admitted that hitherto we had got nothing. Sir "hope deferred maketh the heart sick." We have been the dupes of to-morrow from the very beginning. We have passed resolutions but no effect whatsoever has been given to them. They have been thrown into the waste-paper basket.

As regards the technological college for Bengal I led deputations to successive Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal when I got repeated promises year after year that a technological college would be established in the near future. Since then the Government appointed an Industrial Commission, and I was told again that as soon as the report of the Commission was out, we would have a technological college. I was told that this matter required great technical knowledge and investigation and therefore Government had appointed an expert committee for the purpose.

A committee consisting of learned men, experts in industrial matters and technology, was appointed. Many lakhs of rupees were spent by the Government for the purpose and they submitted their report at last recommending that a technological college should be established immediately by the Government of Bengal and another by the Government of India. We
brought this matter to the notice of the Government and we were told that Government were considering it. Then a resolution recommending the establishment of a technological college was moved in this Council, and this Council, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the Minister in charge, passed it without a division. Our Ministers have a knack of throwing everything into the waste-paper basket. Now, Sir, we have been repeatedly told that we have got no money for the purpose of giving effect to the resolution that we have passed, but the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr has told us that for the next year we may hope to get many things, and the very first thing that we shall want is the technological college for which we have been agitating for the last twenty years and which the Government has been promising for the last twenty years also. The excuse that there is no money may be a good one, but I must remind the Hon'ble Minister that his tenure of office will be only one and a half year more, and he should at least in formulate a scheme for the establishment of a technological college. The Industrial Commission indicated the lines on which a technological college should be established and said that it should be done in consultation with the Calcutta University and the Sibpur Engineering College. But I have also asked that the committee should also include the representatives of this House. That is my suggestion. What I desire is that a committee, consisting of the Principal of the Civil Engineering College, Sibpur, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and other
expert gentlemen, should be appointed to devise ways and means. I shall be told probably, "Why we have got the Industries Department; that will do the work," but excuse the irreverence, how many of the officers of the Industries Department have ever been through the portals of a technological college? The Industries Department is a very good one, but what do they know of technological colleges? Have they ever been to a technological college in England in France, in Germany or in America, excepting one or two boys of my Association that are employed by them? Therefore the Industries Department is not competent to formulate a scheme. The committee must be constituted on the lines recommended by the Industrial commission. I therefore beg to propose that a committee as indicated by me be appointed to devise ways and means for the establishment of a technological college for Bengal,
INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur: I beg to support this resolution* for this reason. I am fully aware of the deficiencies of the present technical schools, which have been described in the Industrial Commission Report. They, as I told you the other day, are no better than schools for training surveyors and amins. There are, of course, classes for woodwork and smithy, but they do not prove of much use. If Babu Amnlya Dhone Addy's resolution be carried out, it will simply add one or two more schools, because, so far as I am aware in every division, there is an industrial school but there is need for the improvement of the existing schools. They should be put on the same footing as the apprentice classes of the Sibpur College. If that can be done, let us have an industrial school in every division. If that cannot be done, it is no good multiplying schools. I would certainly propose and recommend to the Hon'ble Minister in charge that he should find means to establish apprentice classes like those in the Bengal Engineering College in ever division.

*The resolution was for the establishment of a technical school in every Division.
Agricultural and Veterinary Centres in every Thana.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Bose Bahadur—I move that this Council recommends to a Government that in every thana there should be established an agricultural demonstration centre under the demonstrator having both agricultural and veterinary knowledge.

At the very outset I most sincerely thank the Hon'ble Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea and Mr. Goode for giving effect to the resolution regarding medical relief and also providing drinking water to the poor people of Bengal. But there is one more vital matter. To the poor cultivator, his bullocks are as dear as his children, if he loses them he losses all. Every year lakhs of cattle die in epidemic in some districts or other. Rinderpest has claimed its millions in Bengal. We ought to understand what that means. It means the loss of cattle of a cultivator which means his entire property. It also means the permanent poverty of the people. It means the dearness of the price of rice, which easily our sujala sufalu motherland yields to us, in a great measure if the cattle die in thousands. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that preventive and remedial measures should be taken. In every civilized country millions are spent for this purpose. Bengal is wholly an agricultural country and, therefore, our need is much greater than that of any other country. Three things of most essential and
vital importance in this country are—(1) medical relief for the poor and helpless, (2) supply of drinking water, and (3) preventive and remedial measures for cattle diseases. When the last three taxes were imposed, I proposed an amendment that one of them should be ear-marked for essential and vital purposes. That was disallowed and we were told at every step that there was no money for vital purpose. I do not despair. I would even be prepared to an imposition of another tax for vital purposes if that is ear-marked for them. My resolution was of a more extended character but Mr. Swan kindly proposed to me to make it more limited. Therefore, I have adopted the suggestion and just now it is of a very modest character. I have taken this opportunity of bringing these facts before the Council because of the necessity of greater activity.

The resolution was accepted by the Government and carried.—Ed.
On the Board of Secondary Educations.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:—"This Council recommends to the Government that the recommendations of the University Commission as to the formation of a Board of Education for the superintendence of secondary schools, be carried out without delay, and the management of all secondary schools, Government, aided and unaided, be placed under their charge, and an adequate grant be made by the Government and placed at the disposal of such Board for carrying on the above schools, and that, if necessary, legislation be undertaken for carrying out the above object".

The matter before you is very important. I should have liked to let things go on as now in matters of education but I am afraid, indeed very much afraid, to take it out of the hands of the English educationists. But the Government has placed it in our hands and we must take the responsibility. We shall exercise that responsibility with care and discretion so that the ideals of Western culture, which have made us what we are, may not be impaired. Sir, we speak much of national education. I do not understand what it means. I do not recognise two standards in education. There are not two kinds of Mathematics, or two kinds of Science, or two kinds of Psychology. They are the same in all countries and among all nations. Of course there are two kinds of education—the one progressive,
and the other ancient, non-progressive and stagnant. There is the modern Chemistry and there is the ancient Alchemy. There are the glories of modern Astronomy and the mists of ancient Astrology. I prefer the former. I shall be no party to going back. Therefore, Sir, I do not recognise two standards of education. There is only one standard and that is what leads to the domain of the true and to progress and that is what is meant by education. For that there are no two standards. The only question is that of control. But in saying all this I must also say that the cry of national education has become very clamant, so clamant that we must give way to it. Our boys and young men are being taken away from our schools to so-called national institutions and they are ruining their young lives in a false sense of patriotism. I know thousands of young men, patriotic and generous, who wasted their young lives over national education in 1906. The old cry has again been raised this year with disastrous results. Therefore, Sir, we must make our education national, i.e., under the control of the nation, and have it supported by the Government. My proposal before you is to make secondary education national, that is to say, to have it controlled by the representatives of the people. They shall decide what education is needed and how to impart it to their children. If that is done, our schools will be the only national schools, and no others can ever be recognised by anybody as national in any sense of the term. That is my idea. Therefore, I propose,
to make secondary education for the present national, and I propose a National Board to take charge of it. The University commission have recommended it. I do not quite agree with all its recommendations. I would propose that this Board should consist of fifty men representing all the districts and all sections of the community—Hindus, Muhammadans, Christians, Anglo-Indians and the depressed classes; but I would have half the number elected by the graduates of this country. They know the benefits of Western education. They should control our system of education. I should also have one-eighth of the members Englishmen nominated by the Government. I would further have half of the higher inspecting staff English educationists. This is my proposal. You need not take it, the Government need not accept it. The Government should certainly frame the constitution. I leave it to them. All that I desire is that it should be made representative and national, and I would recommend that the Minister in charge should have the constitution approved by this Council. The main idea should never be forgotten, and that is it should be a National Board of Education. Sir, money also should be placed in the hands of this Board to carry on the schools, Government, aided or unaided. I am not now speaking of the intermediate colleges nor am I considering or contemplating the abolition of the Matriculation Examination. Those are beside the question. First let us have the Board and a National Board and let them decide.
Sir, there is another matter. This resolution before you was drafted by some of the Secretaries of the Teacher's Association and placed in my hands. Sir, the lot of teachers in Government, aided or unaided schools is very miserable. Graduates among them are in no way inferior to any one of us here, but they to whom we entrust the education of our children work all their lives sometimes on less than Rs. 40 a month, and that without a pension in their miserable old age. Sir, "passing rich on forty pounds a year" is a thing no longer possible. The present state of things cannot continue any longer, and must be remedied. The teachers of schools aided, and unaided, must be taken in hand and that at once. Their salaries should be made adequate and graded, and they should be provided with a pension in their old age. Sir, that is my idea. The details should be settled by the Board when formed, I would leave the details and the constitution of the Board to be settled, in the first instance, by the Government and the Minister in charge of Education. I do not think, Sir, that this resolution, if carried, would require legislation to give effect to it. I do not think it necessary. So far as the Government schools are concerned or the Government aided schools are concerned, they cannot but place themselves under the Board, and according to my proposal every unaided school should receive grants and if they do receive grants they would be only too glad to place themselves under the Board. Therefore, we can do without any legislation, but if legislation is at all
necessary, let us have it by all means. Sir, this idea of a Board for secondary schools is not mine. It is the outcome of the deliberation of the University Commission. The Commission say:

"Most of the high English schools are under-equipped and are conducted by underpaid and for the most part untrained staff".

It is admitted on all hands that this state of things must be remedied.

Next comes the question of finance. It is not generally appreciated that out of the profits of the secondary schools the colleges and the University are mainly maintained. The difficulty will be with these colleges and the University. We cannot ignore that fact. The University authorities wrote to the Government of India some time ago to appoint a committee for examining the financial situation. The Government of India ignored it. The matter was brought unofficially to the notice of the Secretary of State, who asked for an explanation. The Government did nothing, but washed its hands of this University and threw the burden upon us. Not content with that they provided us with a white elephant, namely the Dacca University, which is considered by my Muslim friends as a special gift for them, though for what reasons I do not know, for they have very few Muslim students there.

I will not lengthen the debate. I was only going to say that they have got very few students.
once appoint a committee to consider the financial situation. We cannot, we shall not, and we will not in any way do any thing by which the efficiency of the University and of our colleges may be impaired. All schemes requiring money for education should wait till we know whether we can maintain our colleges and the University. No further expenditure should be incurred before that. This matter of a Board for secondary education, however, does not depend upon that question. That has been recommended by the University Commission. So let us have this Board. All that we desire is that we shall make a beginning of national education. We shall make this Board thoroughly representative and national.

With these words, I place this resolution for the consideration of this Council. I must say I do so with great trepidation of heart, I do not know where this revolutionary change would lead us to. But we cannot help it. This responsibility has been thrown upon us and we must accept it.

The resolution was carried.—Ed.
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

ELECTION AND A NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

The following is the speech on the amendment to a resolution which recommended that graduate of 7 years standing without payment of any fee should elect Fellows of the University. The amendment was carried without a division—Ed.

* Rai Jogendra Chundar Ghose Bahadur: This resolution and the amendment to it are certainly good. I would prefer the amendment to the resolution. I was the first elected fellow of the Calcutta University, elected by the Masters of Arts and Doctors of Science. Since then the rule has been changed and graduates are entitled to elect fellows, but only such graduates who pay Rs. 10 a year, with the result that not more than four to five hundred graduates are enrolled as Registered Graduates. Who are these men? These are gentlemen who are mostly examiners. The result we all know is that there is no fair election of the Fellows to the Calcutta University. Therefore it is time that the rule should be changed and graduates should be allowed to vote without any payment. Is it not known to many members that at the time of election the candidates for election sometimes pay Rs. 10 for many of the graduates for being registered? That is the reason why I object to even Rs. 2 to be paid for registration. Why should there be any payment at all? Graduates of 7 years'
standing elect a member to the Legislative Council without any payment. Why should not they be allowed to elect Fellows without a payment of Rs. 2 or 10? It is a bad and vicious system altogether.

While I support this amendment, I must say that there is a great obstacle to it. What is the use of passing this amendment or this resolution without any legislation. We thought and expected that as soon as the Government of India sent the University Bill to this Council it would be introduced. But it has not yet been introduced; and I do not know when it would be introduced or whether it would be introduced at all. If that Bill is not introduced soon what is the good of passing the resolution, as it cannot be given effect to without an amendment of the present law. Therefore, all we can do is to express a hope that it should be so; so far we can go and no further. I shall tell you a further reason why it should be so. There is a cry and a persistent cry that education should be national in this country. Let the Senate of the Calcutta University be composed wholly of members elected by all the graduates of this country. It shall certainly then be a national University. Whosoever may deny its national character it will not matter much. Therefore it is right that the Government should take courage in both hands and legislate that the graduates of the University should be entitled to elect the entire Senate. Then you may say—

"Here you are, your University is wholly national in character. And I shall certainly welcome the day
when this shall be done and if the Government brings in a Bill, I shall certainly put in that provision. As it is all we can do is to express our opinion that it should be so and no more. In that view of the matter alone I support the amendment.
GRANT TO UNIVERSITY AND ITS INDEPENDENCE.

Rai Jogendra chunder Ghose Bahadur:—The matter before us is not very difficult of solution if it is approached in a fair and impartial spirit. We have been hearing for the last six months about the freedom—the autonomy—of the University being in danger on account of the action of the Hon’ble the Minister in laying down certain conditions about the grant. Universities in India and Europe were formed round great teachers and writers by students eager for knowledge and very often indigent. Knowledge and wisdom are based on freedom, but I am afraid that ideal our university has not got before it. Sir, for the last 10 years we have had doctors of science and philosophy in scores, but none of them has brought out any work of outstanding merit. This University of ours is not a place where freedom has its fullest scope. This University has come into existence by the favour of Government; its heads are all Government officials, either Judges or Ministers. A learned writer or a teacher will be out of place there. Gentlemen who bask in official favour need not speak so flamboyantly of freedom. This University cannot exist without the vivifying influence of the sunshine of Government patronage. Government patronage is enjoyed by those gentlemen who are at its head now. This state of things should surely be changed. When Government makes grant, when anybody makes a grant, he has a right
to lay down conditions. But the matter is a little different here. The allocation of grant to the University has been entrusted to this Council to which a degree of freedom has been granted. I, therefore, cannot admit the claim of the Hon'ble Minister that he can lay down conditions—that he can tamper with the vote of unconditional grant by this Council. That claim is not sustainable, and I here standing on behalf of the Council protest against the assumption of that power by the Hon'ble Minister. But Sir, there have been grave irregularities in the action of the University—irregularities so cruelly, but so justly, exposed by our Minister. These irregularities are due only because the Senate is a wholly unrepresentative body, responsible to only one person. This state of things this Council shall mend and, I understand, the Hon'ble the Minister is taking steps in that direction. The freedom of the University must be maintained at all cost, but that does not mean that the directions of the Accountant-General should not be complied with, that does not mean that the Accountant-General shall not be allowed to examine the accounts of the University. That claim of the Universite is preposterous. Sir, the present Senate cannot exist if the Hon'ble the Minister brings out his long-delayed Bill before us within three months. The present Senate will do well to accept the money that has been granted to it and pay off its debts. Sir, I believe it is the opinion of the great body of graduates and also of my countrymen that the conditions
imposed by the Hon'ble Minister, beyond those of the obligation of carrying out the directions of the Accountant-General, should be withdrawn. The Hon'ble Minister himself has practically admitted that he is willing to do that. Where then is there any difference between the contending parties? What are you crying about? If anybody here says that the Accountant-General shall have no power, with him I shall not argue this matter. No reasonable man will say that. There is no unreasonable man here, who will like to kick up a row simply to attract the attention of the public or of the dispensers of favours. We are thankful to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee for his insistence on the freedom of the University, but I believe he will now see that after the concessions made by the Hon'ble Minister, he has no option but to accept the money and to close this quarrel. I ought to mention here what was mentioned by the Hon'ble the Minister yesterday that upon his recommendation the Education Committee, of which I am an humble member, has agreed to grant a further sum of Rs. 3 lakhs in order to enable the University to clear off its debts. I really am at a loss to understand what you are crying about. I do hope that everyone here will withdraw his amendment since there is nothing to cry about.
Committee for the University.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur.—"The Council recommends to the Government that they should, without delay, appoint a committee of twelve members to examine the financial aspect of the proposal for the reconstruction of the University, and for the formation of a Board of Secondary Education, passed by the Council, one-half of the said committee to be elected by the Council from non-official members, one-fourth by the Senate of the Calcutta University, and one-fourth by the Government."

A splendid University has been built up amongst us by the enlightened generosity of successive Viceroys and British educationists. We know that our graduates are in no whit inferior to the graduates of the Universities of the most advanced countries of Europe. I know from personal experience because I have sent hundreds of our graduates to those Universities where they held their own against the best of those Universities. Under the autocratic rule of the present Vice-Chancellor, whatever may be his defects, however much I might disagree with him in his ways, however much I might disapprove of his methods, I must say that the University has prospered. Let not personal malice or prejudice decry the services of our present Vice-Chancellor.

Sir, I have less reason to be partial to him than any other person here but I must do him justice
What is the question before us? The question is how are we to finance the University so that it might carry out progressive ideas of the University Commission? How are we to make it exist and keep up its rate of progress? We have gone into huge expenditure in starting another University, but our dear alma mater, a fabric built up by the labours of generations, cannot be destroyed. The question before us is that our University is being starved. These insinuations that its finances are ill-administered had better wait. We are in a very parlous condition. The University cannot pay its way. There is time to abuse Sir Asutosh Mukherji—there is plenty of time.

The University has been for years writing to the Government of India to appoint a committee to go into the finances of this question of progressive advancement. The Government of India—there also personal prejudice had its way—had the matter kept from day to day, year to year, waiting. It was brought to the notice of the Secretary of State and action was imminent when the Government of India washed its hands clean of a province, which is certainly not its favourite, and threw the University upon our shoulders. Now Sir, what is wanted is a committee which will consider the financial aspect of the University. How is it to carry out improvements recommended by the University Commission? How will it be able to keep up its present, I say, its present rate of progress? And you have to consider what are our finances.

Let us forget our personal differences. We must remember that if we go on criticising the maladmini-
COMMITTEE OF THE UNIVERSITY.

Administration of the University, the Government may be reluctant to help us. There is time to criticise the evils and abuses that are in the University but this is not the time for that. I have reason to believe that the resolutions Nos. 1, 2 and 4 have excited the just indignation of the University authorities and if they are passed to-day, I am sure there will be no cooperation from them. The University authorities have refused point blank the jurisdiction of this Council to examine its accounts and it is a very great question, whether the University should not be independent of any official control. The University should be an independent body entrusted with the administration of education in this country. If a person is autocratic or if his ways are wrong, that is no reason whatsoever why we should disturb a system that has worked so well, and take away the independence of the University. We should not interfere in this light-hearted way with our University by appointing a committee to examine its finances and financial administration and so forth. You do not know Sir Asutosh Mukherji. He will never submit to it and we would be made the laughing-stock of the world. Now, Sir, I am supposed to be a man who dearly loves a fight, but the truth is I am a man who is very weak and therefore of a very peaceful frame of mind. I do not like a fight unless it is forced on me. I therefore, when I put in this motion, consulted the most influential men of the University and had it approved by them and then sent it in. I know very well that without the cooperation of the
University we can do nothing. We must have the cooperation of the University for the present. We are going to amend the Universities Act and then, I do hope, whatever evils may now be complained of, will disappear. Well, change in the law of the administration does not always remedy the evils. However we shall do that. Now, the question is a simple one. The University has for years asked the Government to appoint a committee to examine its finances. Not now, to-morrow, the day after, they said; and the University has been starved. It cannot pay its way. We cannot wait. Let there be a committee. Let it examine the finances and the requirements of the University and say what they require and what we must pay. I am proud of my University, as I have said before. Our graduates, as I have said, can hold their own against the graduates of any other University. They have got a hundred generations of intellectual culture behind them and I feel confident that the time is coming when they will be in the vanguard of science and philosophy and advance the boundaries of knowledge. It is not a question of local importance, it is a question which affects human progress. No money should be stinted to keep up the University's rate of progress. If you do that, you will be playing false to the best interests of the country. I therefore, recommend that a committee be at once appointed to consider the financial aspects of the University and not withhold the grants which the University had been enjoying so long. They had been withheld long enough and should not be withheld any longer.
EDUCATION SERVICE.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:—I beg to support the resolution with certain reservations. At the very outset, I must give expression to the thankfulness of the Educational Service for what Mr. Hornell did for them and for what the Hon'ble the Education Minister has recently done. Were it not for him the Educational Service would not have got 50 per cent, increase of salary. But giving him his due, I must say I cannot understand what he means by saying that the proposal of Rai Mahendra Chandra Mitra Bahadur would mean an immediate increase in the expenditure of nearly Rs. 4 lakhs a year. What he says in this—Rs. 150 rising in 10 years to Rs. 300 in place of Rs. 250 would cost that amount. Surely, no immediate rise is contemplated. That being so the preposition that an immediate increase is required is not tenable, and even then, can we afford it, as we are told that our finances are in a bad way? But the question is this and we have to thank Rai Mohendra Ceandra Mitra Bahadur for this: There has been an increase of Rs. 60 lakhs a year in giving an increase to ministerial officers and peons; what reason is there that the teachers should be worse treated than the ministerial officers? They get nothing extra and further they are poor men, they have to work much harder than the ministerial officers and they have to keep a cleaner appearance before
the boys than the ministerial officers. (Hear, hear. Not only have they to keep up a cleaner appearance but to maintain a cleaner character also. (Hear, hear.) That being so, if anybody deserves any concession it is the men of the Educational Service and teachers. I therefore strongly support the resolution of Rai Mahendra Chandra Mitra Bahadur, but I think that clause 4 of his resolution should be omitted.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur: The education grant I find has received the particular attention of certain gentlemen, but I say that the grant is disproportionately small, very small indeed, having regard to the needs of the country. I, therefore, oppose every motion for the reduction of the grant, and I say, no gentleman should press for reduction. Hands off, I say at least, from the education grant.
PRIMARY EDUCATION AND GURU TRAINING
SCHOOL.

As regards the Guru-training schools it is not an easy matter to solve. Primary education is only possible if education is cheap and, therefore, cheap Gurus, teaching in the old style in huts or under trees and not on the system of Mr. Biss advocates, are required. If we insist on a building costing Rs. 5,000 for a primary school or Rs. 40 a month for a Guru, we shall never have universal primary education in this country. That being so, we must set up Gurus of the old style—cheap Gurus—but it is necessary that they should have some training. In that view of the matter Gurutraining schools are indispensable. It is said that Rs. 4 lakhs for the training of Gurus is a very large sum. I say Rs. 4 lakhs for the training of those Gurus, who are to train four crores of boys and girls, is not much. It is a very inconsiderable amount. The question is why do we not spend 4 crores of rupees on primary education? If we do that we will find that Rs. 4 lakhs is a very inconsiderable amount. The time is sure to come when we shall have some courageous Minister and some Governor who will take his courage in both hands and spend money sufficient for the needs of education.
Woman Suffrage.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:—I beg to move, by way of amendment, that motion No. 19 do take the following form:—

"This Council recommends to the Government to take such measures as may be necessary to extend the franchises to educated women in this country by giving the vote to lady graduates for the election of the member to the Council from the University, and in other constituencies to such ladies as may have passed the Matriculation or Cambridge Junior Examination."

Before I go into the merits of the question, I ought to mention here that so far as the University election is concerned no property qualification is necessary. Every graduate is entitled to vote and so far as other constituencies are concerned, when I say that they must pass the Matriculation or Cambridge examination, it means provided that they satisfy the property and age qualifications.

The right of women to vote in a society depends on the stage of progress of that particular society. From the most ancient times woman on account of her weakness and dependence on man during maternity, has been at a great disadvantage. She has been considered as a chattel by man. She was burnt and buried alive with slaves, horses, sheep and other cattle, not only in India but also in Scandi,
navia and in other European countries. Women further had no rights to property. It was the Hinda law-giver who first gave her rights to property, her pedulian, her stridhan. In England, it is only in recent years that woman has had her separate property. It was Mahomet who was the most generous of teachers as regards women (hear, hear); even he, the most democratic of men, ordained that women should be immured in the zenana (A voice: I question that). Woman has been under a great disadvantage. She has been given the vote only during the last decade in England and in some of the European countries, not in all, after a bitter strife. Now the question is, are we in a position to grant the vote to women; is our society so advanced that we can grant it to them? If you grant it to all women, the result will be that only a few women who have got rid of the purdah would be in a position to vote. Even in England where woman has got the vote, her right is not taken seriously, but as a mere show. Well, those gentlemen who talk of woman's right to vote in this country, both Hindus and Mahaminadans, are they prepared to break through the barriers of purdah? If they are not, I question their sincerity. As I said before, only a few worthy ladies will get the vote, but the result would be, if we place it upon the property qualification only, a very large number of other women will also get the vote. I reverence women as the race of my mother, my sister, my wife and my daughter, and I am not prepared to cast a stone
at any woman of any description whatsoever. I must point out that upon woman, society, morality and self-sacrifice depend. I would not, therefore, desecrate the sacred vessel, the first receptacle of divine love, manifested through the mother; I would not take her into the stress and turmoil of political life. (Hear hear). I know very well how disagreeable and degrading that strife and turmoil is, and I am really anxious to go out, as soon as I can, of this ignoble strife. I know very well that there are few among us who can resist the temptation of selling themselves to political leaders for gain and power. I would not place woman in that position. When saying all this, I must not forget the fact that woman has perfectly equal rights with man in every matter; that right cannot be denied. Education was denied to woman in early times; now it is conceded on all hands. Now, Sir, I want to know what objection there can be for a lady graduate not being allowed to exercise her vote in my own constituency? Speaking as a representative of the University, I say I can see no reason whatsoever and I demand that my sister graduates should vote. Others have no right whatever to object to it. I go further and say that women who pass the Matriculation examination or the Cambridge examination should be allowed the vote, provided they satisfy the qualifications of age and property. Those women who have enfranchised themselves by education, and freed themselves from the slavery of man, who have discarded the purdah and have got themselves
educated on an equal footing with man, have every right to vote. Sir, when I find that millions of uneducated, ignorant and superstitious men, dumb driven cattle, are allowed to vote, what reason can there be that educated women, who fully understand their rights, who can hold their own against any man should not be allowed to vote? I can find no reason whatsoever. It is said why make this educational qualification? Speaking for myself, I would put that qualification on men also. What right have ignorant, superstitious men to interfere with the management of the State? (Hear, hear.) I view with apprehension the day when rough-handed labourers and the gross sons of the ugly god Kuvera, the god of wealth, should rule this world. My only hope is Solomon who is right when he says that by wisdom kings do reign, and that without learning society will be impossible. Therefore, I say, Sir, the educational qualification is necessary for all persons, men and women alike. In England you are aware that there is compulsory education, and therefore they do not feel it, but in India, I do feel it that at least as regards women there should be that qualification. Further, there is one other important reason to my mind why this qualification should be inserted and that is this. High education of women in this country is badly neglected. This will be a great impetus to higher education among women. I know from my own experience, as Secretary of certain girl's schools, that girls in India seldom go beyond the Fourth Standard. If you give
the vote to women who pass the Matriculation, it will be a great impetus to high education for women. I do hope that the right of women to vote should be recognised for very good reason, in order that her just rights may be safeguarded, and that she may be protected from oppression, and that the honor, that is her due, may be granted to her.
FEMALE FRANCHISE IN MUNICIPALITIES.

Rai Jogendra Chaunder Ghose Bahadur: The proposal to grant the franchise to females of Bengal has proceeded from unjustifiable ignorance of the conditions of our society and from a desire to apply abstract ideas derived from reading a few foreign books to our community, when such application would be positively harmful. I agree that there should be no disability, social or political, for females as females. Women have a just claim to all rights possessed by men in property and other matters, including even their right to choose and discard their mates. They have every right to equal facilities, indeed to greater facilities, for education. They have every right to greater leisure and to be comfortably supported by their husbands and fathers, for they are the mothers of the race, glorified above all others, higher than heaven itself, says a well-known Sanskrit text. They have every right to freedom and the purdah should be abolished. But as long as the purdah prevails among Hindus and Muhammadans, it is only women of a certain description who will enjoy the franchise, to the detriment of the entire society. No invidious distinction can be made on that score, so there is no alternative but to negative the proposal. But certainly there is no reason to deny the franchise to females of the Brahma, Christian and other communities other than Hindu and Muhammadan. I do hope, if this
original proposal of the Minister be rejected, which ought to be and which must be rejected, the Hon'ble Minister will be pleased to accept the suggestion to make a slight modification by simply adding "females other than Hindu and Muhammadan."

As regards granting the franchise to graduate ladies, there can be no reasonable objection, and I strongly support the amendment of Raja Reshee Case Law. Education obliterates all differences of status between man and man, between woman and woman, and also between man and woman, irrespective of race, caste, colour, and creed. It prevails against all differences of station, of wealth, honour, high places, and power between man and man. A dark Sudra lady graduate is higher than the highest-born Brahmin lady. You may have heard of the poetess Phyllis Whately, "black, daughter of the Sun", who was torn from her home in the wilds of Africa, who extorted the homage of scholars and writers of two continents. The distinction of colour and creed, race and sect, disappear in the bright realms of learning, where truth and beauty reign supreme.
THE BENGAL CHILDREN ACT
PROTECTION OF GIRLS.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:—I have a few words to speak on this Bill. This is a measure of great importance and difficulty. Fortunately for us, philosophers, philanthropists and jurists of Europe and America have given long and anxious thought on the matter, and we have got the Acts of those countries before us for our guidance. Biology and early history of primitive man have proved that man originally was not a very moral person. Our predatory instincts inherited from our ancestors had to be repressed with punishments of death and mutilation. Crimes were generally severely punished. Nanda Kumar was hanged in Calcutta for forgery. Now charity and good sense have prevailed and men are more lenient to their fellow being. Prisons were not places fit for human beings. John Howard and other philanthropists have made them at last fit for men to live. Men were harshly treated till recent times. Boys were just as harshly treated. But the law has been changed in Europe and America for the protection of boys. Boys require protection more than punishment, and we should be guided by those Acts of modern civilized countries. I am sorry to find that this Bill, while purporting to follow the English Act, has substituted "12 years" for "16 years" in the definition of children. The framers have further substituted "boys" for "persons" in the English
Act. Girls here require more protection than in any other country, and I hope that the Select Committee will put in girls as objects to get the benefits of this Act. Further, the English Act protects young people from the pawnbroker and makes the pawnbrokers taking advantage of them criminally punishable. I do not see why this has been omitted from this Bill.

Sir, these are some of the defects and omissions in the Bill which have struck me, and I am sure I shall hear the reasons for them in the Select Committee. I now mention these before you as worthy of consideration.

On Roy Bahadur Jogendra Chunder Ghose's motion in the Select Committee females were included notwithstanding strong opposition. The age limit was also raised to 16.—Ed.
PROVISION AGAINST CRUELTY AND SEDUCTION
AND PROSTITUTION.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:— I move "that after clause 29, the following shall also
be inserted, namely:—

Where it is shown to the satisfaction of a
court having jurisdiction on the complaint of any
person, that a girl under the age of sixteen years is
being treated with cruelty by her guardian or is,
with the knowledge of her parent or guardian,
exposed to the risk of seduction or prostitution or
living a life of prostitution, the court may adjudge
her parent or guardian to enter into a recognizance
to exercise due care and supervision in respect of
that girl."

At the outset, I have to thank the Hon'ble
Member in charge, Sir Abdur-Rahim, for having
obtained the sanction of the Government of India to
this section and for his sympathetic words while
introducing the Bill. I was reminded of this
section by the proceedings of the Young Women's
Christian Association and the Anglo-Indian Asso-
ciation. And while speaking of these Associations,
I must not forget the late Mr. W. T. Stead, whose
labour and suffering for this cause led to the intro-
duction of this provision in the English Act. I have
taken this section verbatim from the English Act
(8 Edw. VII, c. 67), with little alteration.
stances of cruelty in this country are too many and I do not desire to dilate on them—it is a disagreeable task. Instances of seduction, prostitution and connivance are also painfully too numerous and I desire that I should not be obliged to mention them here. It is in the experience of every body present here. It required great suffering and hard labour to have this section enacted in England, but I do not think that is necessary here. I believe no body here would say that circumstances in England are different from those in India. There may be one or two men who would say that in England there is more drunkenness and more immorality than in India; I am not a man to subscribe to that vague assertion. Human nature is human nature everywhere; human flesh is human flesh everywhere. I, therefore, strongly recommend that this proviso which exists in the English statute be inserted in our statute also. Without this and amendments No. 177 and 178, the Bill will be of no use.

At this stage Mr. H. P. Duval sent over the amendment in another form to Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:— I am much obliged to Mr. Duval. I should like to substitute this for my amendment:

"That after clause 29 the following shall also be inserted, namely:

'29-III A. If it appears to a Court on the complaint of any person, that a girl under the age of sixteen years is being treated with cruelty by her
parent or guardian or, that such girl with the
knowledge of her parent or guardian, is exposed to
the risk of seduction or prostitution or living a life of
prostitution, the Court may direct the parent or
guardian to enter into a recognizance to exercise
due care and supervision in respect of such girl.'"

The amendment was carried.—Ed,
Abetment of seduction and prostitution.

Roy Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur moved:—
"If any person having the custody, charge or care of a girl under the age of sixteen years, causes or encourages or abets the seduction or prostitution of the girl, he shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years." (Sec 39-H.A.

This is a new provision which has been approved by the Anglo-Indian and European Associations and not disapproved by any other Association. This is the provision of the English law for which the late Mr. Stead tried for many years and succeeded in incorporating in the English statute. If there is white slave traffic in Europe there is child slave traffic in India in a large measure. Babu Surendra Nath Mallik told us yesterday that there were 18,000 public prostitutes in Calcutta alone. I know the wiles of the procuresses and the bariwalis. I do very much wish that I could also reach the wealthy dissolute men who get these girls into their power. Without them these bariwalis and procuresses would not be here. Therefore, I desire that these bariwalis should be brought within the measure of law. The cruelty, the fraud of these bariwalis are well-known. They are described in several Bengali novels. The cruelty to these young girls is heart-rending and must be put a stop to at any cost. Man gets girls for his play and pleasure but it is ruin and death to the
latter. I would very much like to punish them first, but, unfortunately, I cannot get at them. Therefore, I must, if it is possible, get at their instruments. I therefore propose that this section, which is reproduced from the English statute, do find a place in our Act.

_The amendment was carried._—_Ed._
LIABILITY OF PARENTS FOR NEGLIGENCE IN TAKING CARE OF CHILDREN.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur,—I have much pleasure in supporting this amendment.* The fact that parents may be too poor to take proper care of their children cannot be appreciated, I am afraid, by officials and by persons holding honorary offices in any country. This is a fact which any reader of books on sociology or ethics knows full well. We know, here in this country, much more in England and in other countries of Europe, that poor people have no time whatsoever to look after their children. Men and women go out at six o'clock in the morning and come home at eight o'clock in the evening working as masons and coolies of various kinds, leaving their children behind and these children wander in the streets and it is no wonder that some of them go wrong. The question of right and wrong is a question which is a very relative one. It is the rich and the comfortable who talk of the immorality of the poor, but they forget that they are ten times more immoral than those who are forced to immoral conduct by their poverty. I am afraid the pride of moral conduct is too ingrained in the comfortable rich. Speaking of theft or cigarette-smoking, or even say the great virtue of chastity, how can the poor men and women who work be as moral as the

* The amendment was that poor parents unable to take proper care of children should not be punished.
Immured rich? Chastity is a fictitious virtue. Talking of right and wrong and other things of the poor is very fine for the rich and the comfortable, but we must take humanity as it stands. Let us not despise the poor human beings—our brothers and sisters—because they are poor. I think it is an impossibility for them to take proper care of children. That men and women should be punished for not taking proper care of their children is, to my mind, preposterous. I will not have such praises from my friend, Rai Radha Charan Pal Banadur, that my sympathy for the poor is great. No, it is not a question of sympathy, it is a question of justice, pure and simple. Therefore, let them have justice. I will not have them, if I can help it, punished for an offence which they do not intend their children to commit.
On begging by children.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur.—I move that for clause 28 (al) (a) the following be substituted namely, 'lives by habitually begging under circumstances which may lead to an idle and vicious life.'

I find that the British Indian Association and other Indian Associations, which have dealt with the question, have all opposed the insertion of this clause "by begging." The British Indian Association says that this clause is a verbatim reproduction of section 58(a) (a) of the Children Act of England. But the circumstances of this country are altogether different from those in England. Here, little children in indigent circumstances sometimes derive their livelihood and occasionally even support their aged and infirm parent or guardians by singing hymns in the streets or in people's house—an occupation to which no objection can be taken on grounds of morality. Indeed, to interfere with these itinerant minstrels will practically amount to an interference with the Hindu religion. Again, the mere begging of alms, in itself is not objectionable and should not be penalized in a land where the Poor Law rate is unknown, so long as it is not regarded as a nuisance by the people nor carried on in a manner offensive or repulsive to them. The same may be said of playing and performing and in respect of none of these the idea of prohibition is warrantable. This section is based upon a
provision of the English Act and we must remember that the social laws of England and India are very different. I fully appreciate what Sir Abdur Rahim zai—that it is the duty of the State to provide for the very poor, infirm and the old. I do hope that the time will come when the State will support the infirm, those without work and the old, and that begging should be prohibited. But in India with its 300 millions of people, the principle of the work-house and other English systems are not applicable at the present moment, especially when the finances of Government are in such a deplorable condition. Therefore, begging as an institution cannot be abolished in this country, and the Hon'ble Sir Abdur-Rahim, speaking for the Muhammadans, also supports this view. I would like to know what would happen to the injunction of the Prophet about alms-giving, the very first and most meritorious act to Muhammadans, if there are no beggars. In this country, we could never support the poor unless every Hindu household gave alms as they are doing now. As regards boys, it is known very well that hundreds of them live upon charity and I know of hundreds of them who have got up to high position in life by begging. They got their education from and lived by begging. Now you may say that begging by boys is to be prohibited altogether, but it is against the very social system of this country. Our system is quite different from the system prevailing in England and until you provide a poor house or something of that sort, you have no right whatsoever to prohibit begging. I, therefore, do not wish to go
so far as the British Indian Association or my friend over there who wishes to omit this section altogether, but what I say is that this should be modified as I suggest: If we go beyond this the Hindus will resent, I cannot speak for the Muhammadans.

_The amendment was lost._—Ed.
ON COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:—I entreat my Muhammadan friends to consider this question dispassionately. At the outset I ought to make clear that Mr. Syed Nasim Ali and the few Muhammadan gentlemen of this Council who are now talking of Swaraj do not belong to and are repudiated by the Swaraj party of Muhammadans led by Maulana Mahomed Ali and excepting the hundred or two hundred men who elected them, the mass of the Muhammadan population do not recognize their representative character. Their new role as advocates of Sawaraj is a great change in their political outlook. Similarly, the great mass of Hindu Sawarajists led by Mahatma Gandhi will not recognize the claims to political wisdom of the great political leaders, who are now all holders of high posts, who laid down the rule of communal representation as the panacea of all evils. Hindus and Muhammadans of all shades and opinions are also now not prepared to admit the political infallibility of Mr. Montagu, who, I regret very much to say, has been thrown out by his constituency. So I had better follow Mr. Syed Nasim Ali’s advice to be guided by experience. In these matters the lessons of history and the experience of mankind are surely the only guides. Here communal representation means representation of a certain religious sect, i.e., Muhammadanism.
not representation of a certain community, such as, European or Armenian. Do not forget that.

Now what do the lessons of history teach us. In no country in the world, in no age, history tells us; has communal representation on a religious basis been recognized. Islam never recognized it. In the Roman Empire, for the first time in the history of man, were granted civic rights as they are now understood, Romans, Greeks, Jews, Muhammadans Christians, and Pagans, who had the rights of Roman citizenship had all equal rights and there was no communal representation for a thousand years of the empire of Rome. Then came the idea of State religion in the countries of Europe and with it religious disabilities of all nonconformists. When Roman Catholics were in power, they refused political rights and places to Protestants, and when the Protestants became predominant they did the same towards Roman Catholics. The struggle to free civic rights from being tied to the chariot wheels of the fanatical religious idea of subordinating reason and every temporal matter to the imperative dictates of revealed books, as understood by various sectarians, first began with the jurists of the Netherlands, Grotius, and other great writers. The encyclopaedists of France and the great Revolution completed the work and man was freed from the nightmare of religious fanaticism which had drenched Europe in blood in the name of uniformity of religion. Are you aware this linking together of civic rights with sectarian religion was the cause
of the emigration of the Pilgrim Fathers and the founding of the great republic of America? Are you aware the question again arose when the federal constitution was debated there? President Adams said:—

"Religious discord has lost her stings; the cumbersome weapons of theological warfare are antiquated. Our age is too enlightened to contend upon topics which concern only the interests of eternity. At this day, religious indulgence is one of our clearest duties, because it is one of our undisputed rights".

Alexander Hamilton, one of the greatest statesmen and orators of America, said:—

"We are convinced that popular assemblies are frequently misguided by ignorance, by sudden impulses, and the intrigues of ambitious men; and that some firm barrier against these operations is necessary. What we apprehend is that some sinister prejudice, or some prevailing passion may assume the form of a genuine interest".

He was of opinion that "the local interests of a State ought in every case to give way to the interest of the Union." We, too, are afraid of some sinister prejudice, of some prevailing passion. When we accept self-government as understood in Europe and America, we must adopt its basic principle that we agree to meet and act together for our secular welfare and must not allow the imperative claims of spiritual revealed rules to intervene in any way in civic matters. If we allow representation
by religious sectaries there is an end of all civic rights, to establish which Europe and America had to wade through a sea of blood. I bring to your mind the revolutions of France, the fight for the removal of religious disabilities in England and the bloody revolution in Russia. Last of all, I bring to your mind the distressful story of Ireland. Do you know why that country is being devastated by internal dissensions? It is the same claim of separate electorates and separate representation and separate parliaments. Please do not travel by the path which is sure to lead to dissensions and bloodshed. We want a civic State in India freed from the fetters of religious prejudice. The modern State cannot entertain the validity of the imperativeness of the commands of the Vedas or of the Koran, say, on the question of cow-slaughter, on which my Muhammadan brethren are perhaps justly apprehensive. Let us be guided by the experience of nations. Wherever the claims of religions and sects were allowed to intervene in matters of civic and political administration, they led to bloodshed. Modern Europe and America have laid down that such claims are inadmissible. Separate electorates of sects on religious grounds are nowhere found. Let Mr. Syed Nasim Ali and his friends follow the salutary rule laid down by them, namely, the rule of experience of the human race.

Again, Sir, I am one of those men who are convinced that in the near future the population of Bengal will be preponderatingly Muhammadan. We,
poor Hindu of Bengal, on account of our dissensions and shortsightedness and our inferior physique, are fast dying out. At the present moment the Muhammadans are not as educated as Hindus and there are a larger number of rich people among Hindus than among Muhammadans, though the great mass of Muhammadans of Bengal are better off than the mass of Hindu population. Knowing what our ultimate fate would be, I am very anxious that our Muhammadan brethren should cultivate pro-Hindu feelings. If the Muhammadan members of local bodies be elected by Muhammadans only, only anti-Hindu Muhammadans may be elected. But if we Hindus, who will soon be in a minority, have a hand in electing Muhammadan members, Muhammadan candidates will all cultivate friendly feelings towards Hindu. For pity towards us the Muhammadan members should give up all exclusiveness. In East Bengal and North Bengal even now the Hindus are at the mercy of the Muhammadans, and we Hindus, require special seats allotted for us. I hope that already belated relief to Hindus will soon be given to them. But in that case if I am here (I am not very anxious to be here) I shall certainly oppose communal representation for Hindus as I am to-day opposing communal representation for Muhammadans. The Bengali nation that will be evolved in the near future will be Muhammadan with a leaven of Hindus. The Hindu leaven should not be isolated by my Muhammadan brethren, but it should be allowed to mix and make a splendid
political body. My Muhammadan friends are all looking to Arabia and Turkey. But is not Bengal, Sujala, Sufala, Mulayaja Shitala, better than those countries? Are not the Bengali Hindus more intelligent, more spiritual, more gentle, and withal, more lovable, more desirable neighbours than Kafirs and Habshis? Let my Muhammadan brethren remember how we have been living amicably together for generations. The great majority of them were originally Hindus. Please assimilate the ancient Hindu culture. Be not like Baktiar Khiliji who burned the great library at Odantpur or Bihar, because there was no Koran. Blood is thicker than water, blood is more potent than the traditions of Arabia. Let us form one great nation. Exclusiveness will prevent that consummation so devoutly to be wished for, communal representation means exclusiveness. Communal representation means election of men, who in the clash of Hindu and Muhammadan ideals would be against Hindu ideals. Educated Muhammadan with liberal ideals will have no chance they will be nowhere. Already there are signs that all liberal culture, association with modern science and modern philosophy, is not quite fashionable. I say with pain that even among Hindu so-called nationalists, liberal culture is at a discount. It is no wonder that among Khilafatists, in the reawakening of Islam, Western culture and liberal ideals, as prevalent in modern Europe, will be at a discount. Notwithstanding the apparent entente the clash will soon come, for orthodox Hindu and orthodox Muhammadan ideals, it must
be admitted, are conflicting. They must be reconciled by modern liberal ideas. They are the only means by which a united nation can be formed.

- According to modern political ideas, communal representation is inadmissible. It is no argument to say that it has been allowed in Council elections. It is not defensible on principle and is impolitic and harmful. But surely though there may be some plausible grounds in the case of Councils, which have to decide between conflicting political and other rights, there can be no ground whatsoever for separate electorates in municipal matters. Sanitation, good water, good roads, clean drains are neither, Muhammadan nor Hindu. All are equally interested in matters municipal. Even in the case of Councils, I must say, in the words of Daniel O'Connell, "the present system disavowed by liberalized Europe, disclaimed by sound reason, abhorred by genuine religion, must soon and for ever be abolished."

* There was violent opposition to the Calcutta Municipality Bill when it was first introduced because there was no provision for communal representation of Muhammadans. That opposition was defeated mainly by the efforts of Roy Bahadur Jogendra Chunder Ghose and Sir Surendra Nath Hamerji. The latter however changed his opinion and in the Select Committee the Muhammadan members had their way. The above speech was delivered when the matter came for discussion in the Council which finally passed the provision.—Ed.