REGULATION OF COW SLAUGHTER

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur.—The realities of life cannot be ignored. There is only one rive question in India and that is the cow question. It has rankled in the hearts of the Hindu population for 800 years. Is there no statesman here who can find a means of reconciliation between these two contending parties and bring peace to this distracted land? When Mr. S. Mahboob Ali moved his amendment omitting only the word "prevent", I thought that there was a means of reconciliation, but communal feeling was too strong for him and he withdrew it. Sir, I am here to give expression to the very deep feeling which is rankling in the hearts of everybody. I myself do not attach any religious significance to the question of cow-slaughter, but the feeling is there, a feeling which cannot be ignored. If there were a Muhammadan Emperor here, a wise Emperor like Akbar, who prohibited cow-slaughter throughout his dominions, he would prohibit it; the Amir of Kabul did it, the Nizam of Hyderabad has done it, and I believe, if Sir Abdur-Rahim or Nawab Bahadur or Mr. Syed Nasim Ali were made the Nawab of Bengal, they would prohibit it. When responsibility comes then comes the desire for reconciliation. But when people are irresponsible and only want to seek their own interests, to support their own religious prej diced, then this question does not trouble them.
Having said this, I now discuss it from an economic point of view. It has been amply proved that milk is sold at two seers for the rupee because there are no cows. It is an absolute falsehood to say that beef is the staple food of the Muhammadans of Bengal; it is not. The large body of Muhammadans never touch it except on festive occasions; but speaking of the Calcutta Municipality, speaking of the great body of Muhammadans, why do you say it is the staple food of Muhammadans?

Why do you say beef is the staple food of Muhammadans in general? It is not. [A voice: We had a lot of trouble.] Speaking of Calcutta, it will be a source of very great trouble very soon. The Muhammadan and Hindu cultivators sell their cattle in thousands in the Calcutta market, because they cannot resist the temptation of a little cash money. Prime cows, calves and every sort of saleable cattle is sold to the detriment of the entire people. Who will suffer? The cultivators. And who are the cultivators? 80 per cent of the Muhammadans of this country. They are the best judges; take their opinion; and you will know how much they suffer on account of the loss of cattle. When there is an outbreak of rinderpest, they suffer.

What I say is this: Cows and bullocks are brought to Calcutta in tens of thousands and sold for cash money and the people in the mufassal suffer. It is a very clear proposition and cannot be gainsaid. Why should you not consider this question from a broad
point of view: why should you bring in religious pre-
judice and antipathy? We have had enough it for
the last 800 years, get rid of it for once in your
life. * 

* The amendment for provision of power of regulating cow-slaughter
for which Mr Ghose fought was lost.—Ed.
COMPETITIVE EXAMINATION.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:—I move "that this Council recommends to the Government that appointments to the provincial executive service and the subordinate executive service be made by competitive examination from among Bengali graduates, with such qualification as may secure such proportion of Muhammadan, Domiciled European and Anglo-Indian, and Indian Christian recruits as may seem proper to the Government without impairing the efficiency of the service."*

Competitive examination for the Government services is the very foundation of democracy. Autocracy and favouritism go together. The privileged classes get appointments by nomination while the young and intelligent young men, who have got good education but no patrons, have no chance of securing them. So the reform that is essential now is that the services should go to the very best men, and that can be secured only by means of competitive examination. We know that the Civil Service will be recruited by competitive examination this year in India, and there is no reason why the provincial services should not be recruited by the same method. I understand that Government itself is willing to introduce the system of competitive examination as a

* The depressed-classes were also added by the mover after Christian. —Ed.
means of admission into the Public Services. Lord Ronaldshay said so before he went away and I hope that our present Governor will kindly accede to our request for the introduction of competitive examination. That is all that I have got to say on this subject.

The resolution was carried and has been given effect to—Ed,
ON THE RESOLUTION FOR DISPOSING OF APPOINTMENTS BY A COMMITTEE AND NOT BY COMPETITIVE EXAMINATION.

Roy Jogendra Chandra Ghose Bahadur:—It is not at all pleasant for me to say anything which might be construed as going against the interests of the Muhammadans; but this resolution before you is one which takes a man's breath away. The mover asks to do away with competitive examination. Is that the way in which we are to conduct business here? We had passed a resolution by an overwhelming majority, I may say almost by the unanimous vote of this Council and Government have already taken action upon it. Now against that, Sir, what is this that every appointment at the disposal, of the Government of Bengal should be made by a committee? Should the head of the department have no voice in the matter? Is this the way in which the business should be conducted? Favouritism has ruined my fellow-countrymen—the Muhammadans, I know that as a matter of fact 20 years ago the Bar was strongly represented by the Muhammadan community and my friend, Maulvi Serajul Islam and other Muhammadan lawyers were the shining lights who held their own against the best Hindu pleaders. But now what do we find? On account of the backstairs influence there are only two or three men in the Bar. It is not necessary to say anything further.

The resolution was lost.—Ed.
MIDDLE CLASS UNEMPLOYMENT

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose:—I am glad that Rai Radha Charan Pal Bahadur has brought this question before this House. It is a question of great economic and also social importance. This is a matter in which I have worked and thought all my life and it goes to my heart that my unfortunate class are the principal sufferers and it is for them that my friend has moved this motion. We, Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Brahmanas, for a hundred generations have done nothing but employed ourselves in reading and writing and in accountancy. We were employed in the learned professions under the Hindu regime, under the Muhammadan regime and also under the British regime. Caste favoured us. We have not been untrue to our past intellectual accomplishments. We have been in the very vanguard of intellectual advancement of this country and we have got our graduates by tens of thousands, but how can we find employment for so many, and the worst of it is this. The other classes, the trading class, the agricultural class and other classes under the fair and impartial regime of the British Government have come to the colleges and become our competitors, and thus it is that we are going down we cannot get proper employment now.

If we had the old system, the old social system, among us, then we would have been much better off
but the old social system must crumble down before
the democratic ideas of the British regime, and thus
it is that we are going down. It has been very justly
said that industry, agriculture, and commerce are
more important than even education, and why should
not people employ themselves in industry, agricul-
ture and commerce? Why should everybody go to
the colleges? Why should the sons of Rai Radha
Charan Pal Bahadur compete with my poor sickly
boys there and for Government nomination for offi-
ces? The Marwari gentlemen of little education
are the rulers of Calcutta to-day, and I am sure
that my friend Rai Radha Charan Pal Bahadur may
also be a ruler among men, a prince among mer-
chants and traders, but let him not compete with us
in the matter of employments requiring education.
That is a great difficulty in our way and I mean no
offence to him: let him impartially consider this
matter and let the so called lower castes and classes
be like the Marwaris and let them remember that the
main interest of the country remains in agriculture,
trade, commerce and industry, and not in the colleges,
schools and law classes and Government service.
Let the Bhadrolog classes also remember that and
take to other than clerkly and the like callings. Let
them also remember that the advantages of caste
they shall have to forego. Therefore, I submit that
this matter is not only a great economic question
but a great social question and as such it should be
considered.
Separation of the Judicial and the Executive.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur moved: "This Council recommends to the Government that the separation of the judicial and the executive functions in the administration should be carried out without any delay, if possible, by dividing the members of the provincial service into two classes of Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors, the former exercising only judicial powers in Criminal cases and appellate powers of the Magistrate, being exercised by senior Deputy Magistrates from whom Assistant Sessions Judges and Sessions Judges should partly be recruited."

The evils of the present system have been described by my two predecessors and I need not dilate on them. They are admitted by everybody, but there is an element of doubt and suspicion in it which must be mentioned. It is said that the separation would entail large increase in expenditure. I do not believe it. The proposals that I make in my resolution make it clear that there will be no additional expenditure, but the real question is not expenditure—the real question is the prestige of the District Officer. I fully appreciate that the District Magistrate should have great prestige to enable him to keep the disorderly elements of his district in order. It is therefore necessary that he should have certain
powers for dealing with cases under sections 107 and 145 and certain other penal powers in criminal cases. I am not willing to derogate in the least from the prestige of the District Magistrate. That is the most serious question in this matter, that the prestige and powers of the District Magistrate should not be diminished; consistently with that this division can yet be made. What I propose is this. There are many districts now in which the District Magistrates should remain the head of the district but their powers for dealing with cases under sections 107 and 145 should be vested in either a European Joint Magistrate or a Senior Deputy Magistrate. In most cases there will be a European Joint Magistrate, but in many districts the Senior Deputy Magistrate will exercise these powers. Even now, if the District Magistrate can be an Indian, there can be no objection to the Senior Deputy Magistrate exercising these powers. Therefore, I say that the division should be so made that the powers of the District Magistrate and of the Government should in no way be impaired, and I believe that it can be so made that the powers of District Magistrates and of the executive Government would not be impaired. The British Government here have established a system of judiciary for administering justice in a form of purity which was not known to India before; and I say that that purity of justice should be kept intact. The great glory of England is its administration of pure and impartial justice and that should be maintained. People have got a
suspicion that the District Magistrate exercises a power ever his subordinates which does not lead to purity of justice. Therefore, it is the duty of Government to disabuse the public mind of that prejudice or of that apprehension. I beg to submit that every effort should be made by Government to separate these two functions consistently, so far as possible, with the prestige of the Magistrate and of good Government in this country.

There were several resolutions to the above effect, one of which was carried — Ed
ON CARRYING OUT THE RECOMMENDATION FOR
THE SEPARATION OF THE JUDICIAL AND
THE EXECUTIVE.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose:—I beg to
support the demand for the immediate carrying out
of the recommendations of the Government Com-
mittee for the separation of the judicial and exec-
cutive functions. The Council passed a resolution
to that effect. Government gave effect to that re-
solution and appointed a Committee presided over
by so distinguished a Judge as the Hon'ble Mr.
Justice Greaves. That Committee has made its
report. Why should there be any delay in giving
effect to the recommendations of that Committee?
If there is one thing which the people of this country
feel more than any other it is this vicious system
by which justice has been polluted in this country.
Sir, I say this demand is universal in Bengal. Is
there any man who is opposed to it? I say there
is no such man. Why should not the Government
give effect to this universal demand of the people?
Sir, as I said before, thousands of men have suffered
grievous injustice in consequence of this vicious
system. The fountain of justice has been polluted
and no man's honour is safe—no man's liberty is
safe. Why should not the Government accede to
the wishes of the people in this matter? An emi-
nent English Judge, who was appointed to preside
over this Committee, has recommended that this should take place immediately. I venture to say in no country in the world, however autocratic the Government might have been, would this demand not have been acceded to. Now Sir, what are the difficulties in the way? The Committee has placed the preventive sections of the Criminal Procedure Act under the jurisdiction of the Magistrate. Why should the Government or any other person be anxious that the administration of ordinary justice be not placed under the judiciary of the country? Why should it be under the executive? There is no reason—no conceivable reason—why this should be so. Now the only question that remains to be settled is the question of finance. Those gentlemen who have supported this motion fought shy of the Rs. 4,50,000 which the Committee say will be required. Rupees 4,50,000 for the better administration of justice in Bengal is a very small sum. And I am surprised that any one here can object to it. Government can spend lakhs and crores of rupees to increase the salaries of their officers. We, the people of Bengal, are demanding pure justice for an expenditure of Rs. 4,50,000. Is that too much? Sir, our demand must be met. We have waited long for it—waited for over 50 years. Our heart is sick of waiting. We can wait no more and this demand must be met.
GOONDAS BILL

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:— In the absence of Rai Mahendra Chandra Mitra Bahadur I beg to move, with your permission, the amendment which stands in his name, viz.:

"That clause 5(2) (c) be omitted."

This clause runs as follows:—

"The advising Judges shall not be bound to observe the rules of evidence and shall not permit the putting of any question which may endanger the safety of any individual."

As regards the latter part, there may not be much objection, but the first part is absolutely indefensible. We have been told today that the trial under the Bill is not to be a legal trial. Therefore pleaders cannot be engaged. Now, Sir, there are certain elementary things which ought to be remembered in this connection.

The Goonda is after all a human being having the rights of a British subject. You are aware that the British Habeas Corpus Act applies to the citizens of Calcutta. The Goonda Act will apply both to Englishmen and to Indians. There are European Goondas in Calcutta. Will any Englishman agree that there shall be a permanent law abrogating the Habeas Corpus Act? The right to be tried openly in a court of justice was secured by the Great Charter on the memorable 15th of June, 1215. It declared
GOONDAS BILL.

against all tyrants that "no free man shall be seized or imprisoned or dispossessed or outlawed or in any way brought to ruin; we will not go against any man nor send against him save by legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land. To no man will we deny justice." To no man, says the sovereign of the British Empire, "will we deny justice." The Star Chamber that was established, which practically overrode the Charter, was abolished by the revolution in England. The defence of the realm in a time of war may for a time lead to extraordinary procedure for punishment and deportation. A few Goondas in the town of Calcutta are not such a menace to the State that for them the great principles of liberty and justice should be jeopardized. There are Goondas in every city in Europe, and they are infinitely more dangerous than the Goondas of Calcutta. Before the bold feats of European Goondas the acts of the Calcutta Goonda are tame and cowardly. But nowhere have such drastic measures been employed. These are considered necessary in Calcutta on account of the supineness of the police. The Government before the Reforms would not do this. The Reformed Council of the so-called representatives of the people is required to do it. We should refuse to be parties to this procedure. This is practically giving the power to the police to deport any suspected or disagreeable person to be got rid of. Why, I ask, should not an accused person be entitled to produce witnesses? Why should he not be allowed to engage pleaders to protect him against
perjury? Why should he not be tried in open court and allowed to cross-examine witnesses? Why should not the rules of relevancy of evidence apply to him? This is denying to him the right of trial. This is denying to him the right to justice. Sir, I know, and everyone here knows, that no man here is safe against perjurors and forgers that reign supreme in the land. I know, and everybody knows to his own cost, that no family is safe, no character is safe, the honour of no man or woman, however noble, is safe in this country. False evidence and rumours set about by malicious men hold the day. The most powerful novel of modern Bengal, the "Pallisamaj," vividly describes the life-tragedies of innocent men and pure women whose characters are blasted by false evidence. In this state of things to leave the honour and character of men in the custody of the police officer and the police informer would be suicidal. I know how even trials in courts of law lead to grave injustice in a large number of cases. But still there is some safety. Here there will be none. Goondas are few in number. The up-country Goondas will soon go underground. But our countrymen have against the first intentions of the Government Bill, which only dealt with up-country men, brought in here Bengalis also within the meshes of this drastic law—law it is not—it is merely an unlawful despotic regulation. It will bring many innocent men to grief, I am sure. All safeguards should be provided to avoid the perpetration of grave injustice to our fellowmen. I therefore strongly recom-
mend this Council to reject the lawless procedure contained in this section by rejecting it altogether. We shall refuse to be dealt with other than as British subjects with the right to open trial and justice enjoyed by British citizens in England.

I ought to draw the attention of the Government to section 491 of the Criminal Procedure Code, which embodies the provisions of the Habeas Corpus Act, that unless and until this Act is specially excluded from its operation, as the State Prisoners Act and other similar Acts and regulations are specifically excluded, the Act will have no effect. The Criminal Procedure Code shall have first to be amended.

The motion was lost.—Ed.
SPECIAL CONSTABLES.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:—I move that "this Council recommends to the Government that the appointment as special constables be not made by way of punishment to a political offender or for political opinions."

Section 17 of Act V of 1861 lays down that "when it shall appear that any unlawful assembly, etc., has taken place, . . . it shall be lawful for any police officer, not below the rank of inspector, to apply to the nearest magistrate to appoint so many of the residents of the neighbourhood, as such police officer may require, to act as special police officers, for such time and within such limits as he shall deem necessary; and the Magistrate to whom such application is made shall, unless he sees cause to the contrary, comply with the application." Therefore, this is a section which empowers the police and the Magistrate in case of riots and disorders to employ special constables as a mark of confidence and honour, and not as was done during the German war when all persons whose political opinions were not agreeable to the Government were put in as soldiers and sent to the front. I do not wish to discuss the matter further as it may be disagreeable as I understand the Hon’ble Member in charge does
not think that these appointments should be made by way of punishment to political offenders or for political opinions and that he will agree to it. In that view it is not necessary to rake up old matters of which the newspapers of Bengal are full.

The resolution was not accepted by the Government specifically but it was carried.—Ed.
ABOLITION OF FLOGGING IN JAIL.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:— I beg to support this resolution. It is not a very easy thing. The question is how is jail discipline to be preserved. How is contumacy in the prisons to be prevented? I wish some of the speakers here had pointed out to the Government the way in which these breaches of discipline may be avoided. I do hope that Government will find some means by which that can be done without having recourse to flogging or, as it has been mentioned in the resolution, whipping. Punishment in ancient times was barbarous. Prisoners were regarded as slaves and beasts having no rights whatsoever. Jailors had full power over their body. They were lodged in dark rooms and flogged and punished in various ways, but the dignity of the human race has asserted itself and it would no longer brook indignities even from the King. Indignities even to the criminals are not tolerated. Therefore, sir, for the dignity of the human race this form of punishment should be abolished. I am quite sure some means will be found to preserve discipline in the jails, but whipping is reminiscent of the ancient barbaric custom, reminiscent of the times—when man was considered as a slave and a beast—when the dignity of man, who is a receptacle of the Divine Light, was never appreciated. Sir, man is not a beast and, therefore, he should not be put to any indignity.

The resolution for the abolition of flogging in jails was carried.—Ed.
ON DISQUALIFICATION FOR VIOLATION OF THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:— I was prepared to accept clause 34A as it stood before. The amendment accepted by the Hon'ble the Minister puts a very different complexion upon the matter. The note of explanation—"A person who by constitutional means endeavours to make changes in the constitution shall not be deemed to have thereby violated the oath of allegiance and of adherence to the constitution"—was a perfect safeguard. That safeguard having been removed I have no option but to support the Kumar Sahib's amendment. This explanation and the other provision must have been inserted in the section by the better judgment of the Hon'ble the Minister, but I do not know why he takes away the safeguard now. Clause 37(a4) says "declared by the Local Government, by notification in the Calcutta Gazette, to have violated his oath of allegiance." The Hon'ble the Minister says "the Local Government" means "the Minister in charge." I have studied the provisions of the regulation and I do not read it in that way. In these political matters I believe, the entire Executive Council, including the Minister also, will be the Local Government with the Governor at its head. Therefore the argument that
the Minister in charge is responsible to us whom we can dismiss is bad (The Minister here interposes and affirms the contrary).

As regards political matters I shall be very loath to accept the dictum of the Hon'ble the minister, and Furthermore, I know even the Minister in charge is not amenable to us and is not responsible to us. We are in a great minority. He has got men at his back, Europeans and Indians, who not only support him but insult us.

I submit that argument of the Hon'ble the Minister that he is responsible to us and we can dismiss him does not hold water. Now, sir, this clause as it stands is against all principles of law—"is declared by the local Government, by notification in the Calcutta Gazette, to have violated his oath of allegiance is against public policy." No man, however criminal he may be, can be proceeded against in this fashion without a trial at the sweet pleasure of, say the Minister in charge. What guarantee is there that he has been rightly declared to have violated his oath of allegiance? Will he be given a chance for explaining his conduct? Will he be able to adduce evidence that he is not guilty? It is worse than the Star Chamber. I say this is wholly indefensible in law. No such procedure is known in this country according to the best traditions of our law courts. Why introduce this arbitrary measure here? Even in the case of Goondas when you declare a person to be a Goonda you have a tribunal to judge him whether he is a Goonda or not. Here who is to judge that a
person has violated his oath of allegiance? The Local Government and the Minister! A person who has violated his oath of allegiance has been placed in a worse position than a Goonda. This is wholly indefensible, specially after the omission of the explanation to clause 34A.

The amendment which Mr. Ghose supported was lost.—Ed.
Mr. Montague's Resignation.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur—I beg to move that "this Council recommends to the Government that a message be sent to Mr. Montagu expressing the Council's deep regret at his resignation and its high appreciation of his services to the cause of Indian progress and liberty which will be remembered with affection and gratitude by the people of Bengal."

A great friend of India has fallen. Mr. Montagu's resignation, I am sorry to find, is not deplored by the extremist and even by many moderate papers and was fiercely acclaimed, as Reuter tells us, by a large section of the British Parliament. He did not please the extremists in England and India, and indeed even the so-called moderates in India. The British people ought to infer from this fact that Mr. Montagu did his duty impartially and fearlessly. The people of India have not yet appreciated what a great friend they have lost. We owe the Reforms to him and we, the members of the Council, are here because of him. Surely as yet the country has not derived much substantial benefit from them. But he who runs may see that the Council have developed a spirit of independence which would have astonished any one 5 years ago. Their resolutions about the release of political prisoners is an instance. Our first acts in this
Council were repeated defeats of the Government. I am one of those men who have doubted the wisdom of the action of this Council on many an occasion and am of opinion that if we were not swayed by opinion outside the Council we might have prevented many unwise and dangerous activities. But the fact remains that powers have been given to the representatives of the people which are very great and which have come to be regarded as dangerous by a large section of the British people, and we see from the papers that even Lord Chelmsford, the joint author of the Reforms, has declared the dyarchy as horrible. Mr. Montagu asserted on Sunday last that he has invested India with dominion status. The people of India, as represented in these Councils have surely for the first time, been invested with some, though not many, of the political rights, which the people of Europe could acquire only by bloody revolutions and untold suffering. This new liberty we owe solely to one man. The blood of a noble ancient Asiatic race courses through his veins and is coloured crimson with his heart's sympathy with the aspirations of the ancient peoples of Asia. Is it to be wondered at that he has some sympathy for Islam? Is it to be wondered at that he sympathizes with the thousand-year old degradation of a race even more ancient than his own which boasts of a higher civilization and higher intellectual achievements and a nobler philosophy than any other race of antiquity? He also probably remembered that the common blood which runs
through the veins of the Indian Aryan and those of the modern European has been the cause of the present-day intellectual greatness of the latter. Mr. Montagu wanted to take the people of this ancient land by the hand and give them freedom. He wanted them to attain the fullest political freedom in the shortest time possible. There are two paths of freedom before the people of India. The first is by the immediate subversion of the British Raj by force of arms or by mass disobedience. The second is by ordered progress in Pax Britannica in which the warring races and creeds, whose ancient feud rends asunder this distressful country, would fuse into a harmonious whole by the infusion of modern science and modern liberal ideas. Mr. Montagu thought the former led to disaster and ruin. There is a large section of the people of this country who were impatient and desired to force the pace, and in their anxiety favoured the former course and have probably now seen the unwisdom of their conduct. There were great dangers before Mr. Montagu. He has sacrificed himself to his zeal for us. He took his courage in both hands and trusted the people, he desired to serve, to stand by him and back him in his efforts and not to destroy the good work of his hand. There are undoubted defects in his system. But it is the first gift of real liberty. His work is now endangered by the impatience of some. We who mourn his downfall must remember our duty to our friend, which coincides with our duty to our country. There are times
of difficulty and danger before us. We should face the situation with wisdom and calm courage. Let not the applause of the unthinking and desire for notoriety or place or leadership take us from the middle course. I must recognize the fact that we who are here to-day are not the best representatives of the people of Bengal which our Governor-designate has declared to be the home of the intelligentsia and the cradle of ideas of freedom in India. We must recognize our unworthiness but we are still the custodians of the liberty and the welfare of this country. Let us not be dismayed by signs and portents. Let us not go from one extreme of abject submission to the other extreme of unreasoning opposition. Let us be true to ourselves and to our country. Let us realize our responsibility. Let us honour our friend whom circumstances have deprived us by so acting in the best interests of the country as to justify his action in giving us liberty, and let us not give to his and our enemies the excuse they seek. He declared last Sunday in his defence that he believed in the people of India. Let us not believe his trust.

*The motion was carried.—Ed.*
Retirement of Sir Samsul Huda.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:—I beg to move "that this Council recommends to the Government to place on record the Council's deep regret at the untimely retirement of its President, the Hon'ble Nawab Sir Syed Shams-ul-Huda, K. C. I. E. on account of ill-health and that a message be conveyed to him of the Council's sympathy and sense of loss at his retirement."

It is a matter of deep regret that the first President of this Council has had to retire only after one year of his term of office. But this one year has been a very important year. This Council has been found fault with by the ultra-loyalists and extremists, and also by the Government and Ministerialists. The fact only shows that it has done its work fairly and impartially. During this one year much useful work has been done. If the large measures for the welfare of the people of this country passed by this Council have not yet been given effect to, the fault does not lie at its door. But they must be given effect to to-day or to-morrow. The obstructionists need not chuckle nor the extremists point the finger of scorn at the Council for its impotence. The Council has had to face great difficulties on account of the political turmoil in the country. All these difficulties have been faced and great work has been done, and for this, the credit greatly lies with the
President. Strong, fair and impartial, Sir Syed Shams-ul-Huda steered straight our frail bark in the new unknown sea of political freedom, buffeted by storms of violent and non-violent faction, with singular ability. We have every reason to remember with gratitude that on the very first day of this Council on the resolution about medical relief, when the mover was assailed on all sides, and the supporters of the resolution were dumb with dismay at the uproar, Sir Syed Shams-ul-Huda, though a Government nominee, gauged the opinion of the majority aright, and declared to the astonishment of all that the Ayes had it. His verdict was immediately questioned by the Minister a demand for a division. The division by an overwhelming majority proved that the President was right. I feel that most of our great men would have given way to the clamour. I thanked God on that day that the Chair was occupied by a good and strong man. Sir Syed Shams-ul-Huda has been a good and strong man all his life. I have worked with him for 30 years as pleader, municipal commissioner, Fellow of the University, and I say, without fear of contradiction, that in all walks of life he displayed rare ability, fairness and independence. He was the power behind the throne when he was a member of the Executive Council. He resigned the municipal commission with us, and the Sanjibani wrote of him as the banner of the race of Sayyids. The descendants of the Prophet of Arabia have produced great and fearless men and humble men also. For will you believe that Sir Syed Shams-ul
Huda worked for some time as my Assistant Secretary in the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians. He was for every good work. The Council and the country have, by his retirement, lost a great leader who would have led it to good. I express the sentiment of everyone of my countrymen that we earnestly desire that Sir Syed Shams-ul-Huda may regain his health and strength, and lead aright in the middle path the Muhammadans of this province, and establish the unity of Hindus and Muhammadans on the sure basis of equality of culture and fellow-feeling as neighbours who inhabit a great and beautiful country, greater and more beautiful than Arabia and Persia, and all the countries over which the Caliphs in their glory ruled, and who have become participators of a culture which, it must be confessed, is higher than the culture of Ujjayani or Bagdad.

It was the general idea that Sir Syed Shams-ul-Huds was an enemy of mine who snubbed me frequently and unreasonably. His health was ruined and his power of hearing was impaired. I should have remembered and never resented. Was he not the man who, while a member of the Executive Council, wrote of this humble person much below him, a mere pleader of not much distinction, that he was "one who has done more than any other to advance the cause of this poor country"?

These were the words of a man who felt so deeply for his unfortunate country, that he was
inclined to exaggerate every service for it. Was he not again the man who protected every member here against unthinking attacks and impertinences of the great as well as the small? Sir Syed Shams-ul-Huda has, on a hundred occasions, showed that as a true descendant of the Prophet, he was no respecter of persons and was above all, just even to his enemies. Unless a man can be just to his opponents and enemies he cannot be fearless. Nor can a man be just unless he is fearless. Sir Syed Shams-ul-Huda was just and fearless. Such a man is rare in every country.
ON THE BUDGET OF 1922:

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:—I am very sorry, Sir, to say that I am disappointed at the Budget presented to us. The Government also say they are sorry. I am afraid that their sorrows are like the sorrows of Werther greatly self-created though aggravated by circumstances over which they have no control. A recurring increase of more than Rs. 3½ lakhs in the salaries of European officers, as disclosed in the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr’s reply last Thursday, which was a piece of great injustice, led to pangs of conscience and sentimentality on the part of the Government and of this Council and it led to the increase of something like Rs. 80 lakhs a year in the salaries of the ministerial officers and paschawallis and other merials. The Government have been fully aware that they are in desperate straits. But nevertheless they have added to the burdens of the poor people of Bengal by an additional recurring expenditure of over Rs. 80 lakhs a year in increase of salaries on the delusive hope that the Meston award would be set aside and the Government of India would give them all they want. Now we know the Government of India has a financial deficit of Rs. 31 crores and every provincial Government is in as great difficulty as we. We read in this morning’s papers that the Government has declared in the Council of State that almost all the
Provinces would get some relief next year but not Bengal. To increase our recurring expenditure on such delusions, as relief from the Government of India, is criminal folly. Three new taxes are about to be imposed and a large loan is proposed to be floated, and I am sure that having regard to the huge deficit of the Government of India, Bengal must have to pay another extra tax. We are told that every attempt has been made at retrenchment. What we find is that every indispensable expenditure affecting the vital interests of the people has been cut down. The following statement will abundantly prove my position.

The very first reduction we find is that of Rs. 1,52,000, because of all omission of all provisions for improvements and development of one of the most important and paying of our departments, namely, Forests, of the possibilities of which we have lately heard so much from the Government.

The next reduction is in the matter of loans under Land Improvement and Agriculturists' Loans Acts and loans to Co-operative Societies of about Rs. 10 lakhs, Rs. 15 lakhs being the figure for 1920, Rs. 18 lakhs 40 thousand for 1921-22 and Rs 8 lakhs for 1923.

Another reduction is of Rs. 2 lakhs for costs of settlement proceedings by putting off survey operations already begun and incurring loss and by postponing these proceedings in some districts, though it is admitted that these proceedings are of vital im-
portance for the protection of the rights of tenants and though the amount to be recovered from these proceedings this year is estimated at Rs. 22 laks.

There have been no new agricultural farms established, and there has been retrenchment in the matter of distribution of improved paddy and jute seeds.

In education we find, that in the matter of secondary schools in the transferred department, the grant in 1921-22 was Rs. 19 lakhs and this year it is Rs. 18 lakhs, and in the matter of primary schools the total grant last year was Rs. 12 lakhs 70 thousand and this year it is Rs. 11 lakhs 40 thousand a decrease of Rs. 1 lakh 30 thousand. The grant for secondary and primary schools is Rs. 42 lakhs, but the direction and inspection cost about Rs. 13 lakhs. The reins seem to be more costly than the horse. This is unsatisfactory in the extreme and the increase in this matter is still more unsatisfactory.

As regard the University we have to tell a woeful tale. The Calcutta University is practically bankrupt. The grant proposed is Rs. 1,41,000 including Rs. 13,000 for supervision. Whereas to the university of Dacca with its practically handful of students, very few of whom are Munammadans, a grant of Rs. 9 lakhs is proposed. Comment on this is unnecessary. The secondary boards have not yet been constituted, notwithstanding the resolution of this Council, and the high schools are as badly off as before.
There has been an increase of Rs 2 lakhs 24 thousand on account of travelling and residence allowance of members of Council and other expenses for Legislative Council, which must in consequence be considered by the people as a very expensive and unnecessary and selfish institution. Its standing committees have all, we are told, proposed additional expenditure and they themselves have proved very costly.

There has been an increase of Rs. 10 lakhs in the expenditure under heading "Stationary and Printing."

I went an explanation why there has been a fall in the sale of timber from the Sunderbans. There must be something wrong.

Again I am not satisfied that the expectation of increase of Rs. 8 lakhs over the actuals of last year in Excise is justified.

We want an explanation why about Rs. 1½ lakhs have been put down for a new scheme for the Grand Trunk Canal as justly pointed out by Colonel Pugh. Does our bankrupt Government still intend to go on with this extravagant project which may cost Rs. 6 crores?

I should say a few words more in particular about education. The university is going on in its wasteful and generally considered jobbing ways in spite of the resolutions of this Council. We have to find money for the most unpopular of bodies, namely, the Senate, and the Council resolution about reforming the constitution has not yet been given
effect to. Colonel Pugh justly complained yesterday that no attempt has been made to give effect to the recommendations of the Sadler Commission. Our Minister has forgotten that he has only one and a half year of the tenure of his office left. The Dacca University has been given Rs. 9 lakhs a year for what good purpose Heaven only knows. It is said that it is to recompense for annulling the partition the Muhammadans of East Bengal. But it has benefited very little Muhammadans. There are not a hundred Muhammadan boys there. The Calcutta University is being actually starved to death. Is it good policy to allow the premier University in Asia to go floundering in its way without putting it right and starving it to death?

Furthermore, Sir, the Government has ignored the resolutions of the Council and flouted at us in a fashion which no self-respecting public body should tolerate. We passed resolutions for medical relief and supply of drinking water to the poor people of the mufassal and I am told we must wait for the big loan. In the meantime Rs. 5 lakhs have been provided for the new medical schools, I hear, in the supplementary Budget. There is no attempt to create the demand by even the promise of employment but large sums must be spent for the supply. This attempt to delude the people with the offer of stone when they require bread, I cannot sufficiently condemn. We passed resolutions for Technological and Agricultural Colleges and schools
and nothing has been granted for the purpose
Colonel Pugh's denunciation of the inefficiency of the
Ministers, if indulged in by any one of us, would be
considered stark rebellion. He however forgot to
mention one matter. No attempt has been made
to give effect to the Industrial Commission's recom-
mendations. It is no fault of the Minister if he tells
us he has not the time to read it or to understand
it. One likes to know why Industrial Education has
not been placed under the Education Minister.

The people of this province are discontented.
What benefits do they receive from the Government?
Pay, pay and pay more is all they hear, while they
die like fleas of cholera and other diseases, feeling
helpless and hopeless for want of doctors and while
their lips are parched for want of drinking water.
The middle classes are without employment because
of the want of technical education. You cannot ex-
pect a people to be contented under these conditions.
It is not Mr. Gandhi or Mr. C. R. Das who is re-
sponsible for this state of things, but the Govern-
ment. The Government is under a great delusion.
They have been misled by the agitating politicians
in thinking that by grant of political rights with ex-
pensive salaries for the leaders or even by grant of
Swaraj with an expensive administration, even
though Lord Sinha or Mr. Sastri may be made a
Governor, the people will be satisfied. These poli-
tical nostrums are futile in the face of the distress-
ful condition of the people in the matter of the bare
necessities of life. This simple proposition politicians
in England and in India, who take their cue from books and talk of dyarchy and self-government within the Empire have never appreciated. India has been ruined by the reforming zeal of English administrators since Lord Curzon, and our difficulties are great and they have increased largely on account of the activities of the agitators agitating for what every thinking man in this country knows are mere sky-flowers in the expressive language of Sanskrit phraseology, which have led to disturbances of peace and order. Such disturbances cannot but be put down by all responsible Government. Just take an instance, we are required to add Rs. 234,000 to our burdens for providing comfortable jails to persons who in their mistaken sense of patriotism insist on breaking the law and going to jail. Socrates's observation while he was in prison awaiting the cup of poison for killing him, when he was asked by his friends, to escape, should be remembered by my countrymen. Socrates refused to escape the poison cup on the ground that the laws of a country must be obeyed, for disobedience to them leads to anarchy and ruin. What are we, the poor people of this country, to do? We who do not want political rights and high offices with large salaries, we who want peace and order, who do not want to see our schools and colleges empty but who wish more of them and more full than at present, we who want technical education, progress in industries and commerce, we who want medical relief and drinking water, where are we to go? Sir,
I came to this Council with high hopes of doing good to my people. I have had passed in this Council resolutions covering most of the objects for which I sought election. But they have proved futile because of the unsympathetic conduct of our Ministers who, though very rich men, in their nervousness for their salaries, have missed great opportunities which God placed in their hands for doing good. If I find that next year's Budget is as dismal as this year's I shall not trouble you with my presence.
ON THE BUDGET OF 1913.

The Budget of this year is the Budget of despair. Last year, the Hon’ble the Finance Member told us, all new schemes where suspended and in the coming year everything has to be cut down. He said: "But after all we cannot look on this Budget with any great satisfaction. It makes no provision for development and allows for no progress—it merely permits the carrying on of the administration in its minimum essentials and that, too, only by drawing to some extent on our balances." But the optimistically added: "We have not come to the end of our resources" and gave us hopes for the future. But we must remember that the respite granted to us for the annual payment to the Central Government of 63 lakhs has nearly expired. Our financial members here have for the last three years expatiated on the justice of our cause and the propriety of our getting more of the revenue. But they forget that in this matter the Legislative Assembly is the arbiter and they forget that the other provinces and the majority of the Assembly are against Bengal. There is no hope there. We are thus in a hopeless condition. Nobody has yet ventured to mention why we are in this predicament. Our revenue has increased. There has been no set-back to the prosperity of the province. There were never such deficits during the entire period since Bengal was constituted into a Province.
The reason is patent. We have added to our annual obligations by about a crore of rupees by the increase of the salaries. Add to this about 10 lakhs in salaries for new appointments necessitated by the Reforms. I have not been able to give exact figures for Mr. Marr could not supply them to me. The remedy is simple. Go back to the old salaries and you are safe. But the aristocratic democrats of this Council will not have that. It is they who have increased the salaries. The remedy proposed by some of their worthy leaders who constituted the Retrenchment Committee is to dismiss thousands of the educated bhadralog from the Government service instead of asking people to take their old salaries. Is dismissal of a third or a fourth of the number better than no-increase? I shall not be able to convince this Council who have been instrumental in ruining the country by this increase at the bidding of the executive.

Sir, I am hopeless; when I re-entered the Council after 12 years I did so at the expense of my humble literary and other labours with the high hope of participating in great work of public beneficence which I expected the Reformed Council will do. I expected that now the representatives of the people will be able to afford medical relief, to supply good drinking water to the poor people of this country in the villages, that we shall have great technological and agricultural colleges, model farms and veterinary surgeons for the relief of cattle to be scattered broadcast throughout the country. I thought that
there shall be now money found for colleges and schools, for the relief of poor school masters, for the long delayed separation of the judicial and the executive and other urgently required matters. I had my humble share in the Council's passing resolutions and requesting the Government to do the needful, even to spend specified amounts for the above purposes. At the end of our career we find nothing has been done on account of financial stringency. There was no such stringency when we came to the Council, but now we are practically bankrupt, for not only is our income not equal to our usual expenditure but so much less that we have to cut down the expenditure on every essential matter. The moneys budgeted for dispensaries and drinking water have been taken away altogether. In education alone there has been a reduction of over 5 lakhs. In the transferred subjects there has been a reduction of 23 lakhs.

We shall probably have an additional expenditure of 3 crores for the Grand Trunk Canal—a project against which the majority of the nonofficial members expressed adverse opinion. The measures for prevention of malaria are to discontinue and the services of Dr. Bentley have to be dispensed with. Now, worse than the deficit in the Budget is the condition of the health of the people. The Maharaja of Nadia showed yesterday that within 10 years the decrease in the population of the district of Nadia has been over 8 per cent. In the districts of Howrah, Hooghly, Burdwan, Raniganj, Midnapore, Bankura and Birbhum, if we leave out the floating emigrant
population, the decrease of the Hindu population has not been less than the decrease in Nadia. We are a dying people. This people have to be saved. The words of the Minister of Health, always magnificently eloquent for the last three years, have expatiated on our parlous condition and how he was to banish malaria from the country and save the people from extinction. That would surely have been a justification for Rs. 65,000 a year or double that sum. How is he feeling to-day at the close of his career? Again, the Minister for Education has been promising us large schemes for education. Where are they? The Ministers with the prestige of their position, wealth, and influence induced this Council to pass the taxation Bills on the assurance that the proceeds will go for projects of sanitation and education. I then protested and pressed that the proceeds should be earmarked by Statute as in the case of the road cess. But I was overruled. How are the Ministers feeling to-day? I am not inclined to sympathize with them, for it is wholly their fault that we are in this position. They led us and they have led us to ruin. Our Ministers cannot blame us for being dissatisfied with our hopeless lot.

The Finance Member has said that the Government shall carry out the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee so far as they can, and it is our duty to express our opinion on them. I found yesterday few people here approving the recommendations of the Committee and most people condémn-
Speaking here as the representative of the educated middle class, I must enter my emphatic protest against these recommendations which will throw tens and thousands of them out of employ. It is all very good to say be artisans and to insist on the dignity of manual labour, but we are not very well physically fitted for it. The great bhadralog class have been hard hit by these recommendations which herald their doom. New, let us consider them on their merits.

The Committee consisting of a criminal court pleader, a coal merchant, and a building contractor have taken upon themselves to revise the University and the education system of this great province. Modesty is not one of the virtues of any one of us, especially when we can attain to high places with the qualification of being a legal practitioner or a member of Council.

The Committee have recommended that 30 lakhs be cut down from the education grant. Are they aware that the average expenditure of a pupil in a secondary school is only Rs. 21 a year, being the lowest of any other province? The figure for the United Provinces is Rs. 51. The cost per boy in European schools is Rs. 823-4-0. The Committee have not dared to touch the European schools, the grant to which I do not grudge. But for shame they should have left the schools for Indian boys alone. Are the Committee aware that the proportion of the revenue spent on education is lower than in any other civilised country? Are they aware that in the case of Indian schools five-sixths of the expenditure is met
from fees and private sources? In their ignorant zeal they have proposed that 41 zilla schools be abolished. The 4 lakhs not spent on them even if they be allotted to 800 other schools would mean Rs. 500 a year for each of them. Will that be any relief to these schools? The district boards will refuse to take a burden of 8 lakhs for the schools, and they must go. The district boards have been asked to find funds for colleges, and secondary schools. Have they got the means? What the Committee say is: "You tax your people if you want education we cannot give you any money out of revenue, for it is required for increases of our salaries."

Again, these coal merchants, tea merchants and criminal court lawyers have revised the entire judicial system built up by great lawyers and administrators during the last 175 years. The Privy Council have declared that our subordinate judges are equal to the best judges in any country. The coal merchants have put down as their considered opinion that the members of our judicial services are guided by the evidence in a case and do not look to the probabilities of the case as do the deputy magistrates, which means they are guided by the rules of relevancy of evidence and the weight of evidence and not by hearsay and unbalanced opinion. Well done, my coal merchants and joint magistrates to whom the rules of evidence are anathema! The deputy magistrates will not take the compliment given to them. The Public Service Commission have found that the subordinate judicial
service is undermanned and inadequately paid. Our Committee have recommended reduction of members and pay. They declare that the munsifs by general consent are being paid more than an economic wage? Education and justice are the glory of the British Government. Take them away if you like!

The deputy magistrates also have not been better treated. Reduction in number and pay to the extent of 4 lakhs a year have been recommended. Some of these members were hopelessly beaten in this Council on a resolution about amalgamation of the two Presidency magistracies. They have recommended it now.

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SALARIES OF MEMBERS

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:— The question before us is one of great difficulty. To the unthinking proud man in brief authority obtained by supporting Rs. 64 lakhs a year in salaries of Ministers the question is clear as day-light. Any additional small payment to poor members of the Council may be an impediment in the way of large salaries of Ministers and other great men with whom lie all the patronage. To the humbler members of the Council, the decision of this question is a difficult matter. When we matter in all the democracies of the world, members of Parliament are paid, we are staggered. Self-sacrifice is a noble virtue, but it sometimes is not conducive to the public good. That is a good and sure foundation of a common wealth which is placed on the rock of enlightened self-interest. Every servant of the State must live. If the Council is to be representative of the poor people of this country, the members will not be zamindars and wealthy men, but men who have to support themselves and their families by the sweat of their brow. If men in comfortable positions declare that others should sacrifice their families for the country, one cannot but feel amused. Therefore, I must agree with Mr. Forrester that if you want to have democracy in India you must pay the members. If only the raiyats were elected to this Council as representing raiyats and this Council were a truly
democratic body, all this noble talk about self-sacrifice would be a matter of laughter. But the question is—is India fit to be a democracy? Excepting the few favoured constituencies for zamindars, merchants and graduates, none but raiyats ought to be elected to this Council. But is that a fact? Because that is not the fact we are discussing the question. We are not yet a democracy. The Council will in the next twenty years be democratic and Bengali and Urdu and not English will be spoken here and our Ministers will not have to address Bengali-speaking members in ungrammatical Bengali interspersed with English. Even Sanskritic Bengali will be out of date. But today we are not that Council. This Council composed of Maharajas, Rajas, Rai Bahadurs, wealthy zamindars, lawyers, merchants, professors and the like, is surely aristocratic and not democratic. That was the state of things in England also. It was the Barons of England who forced King John to sign the charter at Runnymede. Later when the franchise was extended, it was the wealthy men who got themselves elected by the votes of their tenants. Then there was no payment for members. It was infra dig for a member to be paid. But as soon as England became a true democracy the members had to be paid. That is the story in all countries. To this Council, as constituted at present, the offer of a salary is an insult. We cannot take it. Our successors will surely take it and do so without impropriety. But we cannot take it. One word more. I find Maharajas, Rajas, Kumars and big
zamindars and professors, who have been living in Calcutta before and after their election, have been taking Rs. 10 a day and also travelling expenses for going to their estates in the districts which they are supposed to represent. Again, many truly patriotic gentlemen have taken above Rs. 3,000 as travelling and boarding expenses. These gentlemen and opulent and flourishing residents of Calcutta have been the loudest in their preaching of self-sacrifice. But it is the middle class gentlemen, mostly Muhammadans, who have no places of residence at Calcutta and who have to leave their professions and callings, which maintain their families, they are the real sufferers. I deeply sympathise with them. They are the democratic element in this Council. I can only tell them your day will surely come. Now you are in the minority and you must imitate us, prosperous men, in making money as we do out of the State. Your day will surely come when the Ministers will be recruited from your ranks and the salaries will be at once reduced to reasonable limits, for these two things—reduction of the salaries of the high places and paying small salaries to the humble members,—go together. We, who are not democrats, are the majority here. We shall certainly throw out the proposal of a salary which is derogatory to our honour, but I do hope as true aristocrats the affluent members, who are now making money out of the State, should cease from any practice which is not honourable to them.
TRAVELLING ALLOWANCE OF MI MBIR.

- Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:—Yes, yesterday I was surprised at the heat of the discussion and the great leniency shown by the President who allowed even such phrases as base insinuations in respect of a member as parliamentary, a decision to which I do not object, for many of us have had worse epithets used against us; and I, for one, have never objected though I challenge anybody to find any expressions like these in the voluminous record of my speeches during the last two years. Many will probably smile at me as the injured innocent; but I desire them to look at the reports and judge. You will presently see how the supposed great abuser behaves. A whole day was spent in absolutely useless rhetoric yesterday. We have much work to do and we have done little. I rubbed my eyes when I looked at the numerous resolutions standing in the names of the injured innocents of this Council. I wondered whether most of them would not be pressed or would finally be modified to innocuousness. The first resolution, which spoke of gentlemen and noblemen living in their residences at Calcutta drawing Rs. 10 a day, was withdrawn. The third resolution spoke of an inquiry committee, but when the mover moved the resolution, he left out the demand for an inquiry and proposed a suggestive committee. The Government, which delights in futilities,
at once accepted the amended resolution. But the question is: are we to sanction this piece of futility? The whole country is speaking of the monies taken by the members of the Council and the Ministers. They speak of it more than they speak of the political prisoners. Are we going to burke the question? The injured innocents of this Council, in just indignation, become angry; and in the words of the poet, they show a countenance like that of Durbar with his flaming locks and a visage distorted with contortions. Now, Sir, we are here as the representatives of the people. The people demand that we should do them service and not take any money improperly. I know that there are poor men amongst us who do not break the law and only take what is allowed by the law to the gazetted officers and if they save anything, every gazetted officer does that. But what to speak of gentlemen and the noblemen who have residences here and who take Rs. 10 a day? I tried my best to find an excuse for them, but in spite of my supposed ingenuity I could find none.

The country demands that we should be pure; it demands that there should be an inquiry into this matter, this very grave scandal. We have not been pure like Sita—even she, the purest of womankind, was obliged to go through the ordeal of fire by the most loving of husbands recorded in history or fiction. I want to know why should there not be an inquiry, why should there be any “but”? It seems to me that all these resolutions are simply intended
to burke an inquiry. I cannot accept anyone of them and they must, therefore, be rejected altogether. What right has the Government to come forward of its own motion, to say that we should be a party to a futile suggestive committee? ("Hear, hear.") Why should we add insult to injury? We must not be insulted by the Government. If anyone is guilty, we shall punish him. We want a committee of our own, not a committee by our judges and our traducers. Why the Government should interfere in this matter we cannot see. Let them do so hereafter. But here the question is—are we going to have this committee of futility? I say—"No, nothing of the kind whatever."
AMUSEMENT TAX BILL.

Roy Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:—I beg to oppose the introduction of the Bill for new taxation on its own merits and not as a protest against Government action as few members of this Council desire to do. I desire the Government to know that myself and 90 per cent. of those who may oppose this measure do so because new taxation is unjustifiable and not because they are against the Government. Let no prejudice be raised against this opposition nor let the supporters of the Government be induced to support the measure on the ground that opposition to it means opposition to the Government. Speaking for myself, I am bound by my pledge to my constituency, the large body of graduates of Bengal, that I would oppose new taxation. When the Reforms were inaugurated notwithstanding the jubilations of a few men who seceded from the extremist camp and formed themselves into self-styled moderates and whose expectations of large salaries and honours were speedily fulfilled, the whole country knew that the immediate effect of the Reforms would be new taxation. I must say here that this has been the case from the most ancient times in all countries and British India is no exception. Whenever the Kings of England from King John downwards required money by taxation, they would grant political privileges to the people till the people became so strong that concessions from Kings were not neces
sary. In India the same method, if followed, attaches no discredit or want of bona fides to the Government.

We do not object to pay any new taxes for the purposes of Government for necessary military expenses or for expenses for preserving law and order, but what we strongly object to is that the whole money extorted out of very poor people should be taken by the officials for the increase of their salaries. Those that intend to support the Government should bear in mind that this is practically admitted by the Government without compunction or word of regret. The Englishman newspaper said the same thing. People in England should know that money is wanted for this purpose only. When they know that, I am sure the most anti-Indian among conservatives will have some searching of the heart.

I am not one of those persons who would grudge Bengal’s quota for imperial purposes. It is useless, futile, to press for reduction of it. Reduction depends not on the Government of India but upon the representatives of the other provinces who will all oppose Bengal’s claims to the detriment of their own interests. I am under no illusion upon that matter. But that amount Bengal can well spare. The question which I ask is why the cost of administration in Bengal should have increased nearly 200 per cent. since the partition. I ask the question why could Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam be governed, and much more efficiently governed than now by a Lieutenant-Governor with three
Secretaries on Rs. 3,500 a month, and why Bengal alone now requires a Governor from the Peerage of Great Britain and six Executive Councillors and Ministers and nearly two dozen Secretaries and Under-Secretaries. Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam have been separated from each other and their administrations and their people are bankrupt just to please the agitating moderates who have all got their rewards. We all know how the administration charges have gone up to the ruin of the people. The salaries of the members of what are called the Indian Services have been unconscionably raised in anticipation of the reforms. I should like to know why the salaries of Deputy Magistrates among whom I have a son, and all other services have been raised simultaneously with the Reforms. Only last year at the instance of the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr an additional expenditure was sanctioned for rising salaries of persons some of whom out of their small present salaries have been building three-storied houses in the most expensive localities of Calcutta and elsewhere. The additional expenditure amounted to over Re. 1 crore 90 lakhs a year. Over and above this is the new additional expenditure on the Police. The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr told us yesterday that the net deficit next year would be about Rs. 90 lakhs. Did not the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr know the fact and was it not his clear duty to tell us that the additional expenditure for increase of salaries would have to be paid by new taxes? Could not that increase wait for one year? Again he has in his mind, the addition of one anna
in the rupee in the road cess. That means the ruin of all zemindars and tenants. Let the zemindars be ignored. The tenants will be ruined by such taxation. They are unable to pay the chaukidari tax and there are mutterings of coming open defiance of the Government. We find fault with Mahatma Gandhi and the non-co-operators. But they are blind and deaf who consider that people are forgetful of the blessings of peace, protection and progress which they enjoy under the British rule and unreasonably follow Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi and his followers have taken advantage of the folly of the Government and added to their propaganda impossible and impracticable conditions. The Government have driven the people to extremities and are finding fault with them, because the only way in which they can give expression to their despair is by supporting Mahatma Gandhi. English people should not forget the rebellion of Wat Tyler. The Government leaves the people no option. I would ask the Government to cry halt before it is too late. I am sure any overt rebellion will be speedily washed away in a sea of blood and order restored by the irresistible might of England, a fact to which some non-co-operators are blind. But I wish to know how you can raise money out of a destitute people for the high salaries of the officials on a scale unheard of in much richer countries.

Now speaking on the merits of the proposed new taxation on entertainment, it is said that it is to be found in other countries. But even the English.
man newspaper and Mr. Pugh in this Council have pointed out that in other countries it is justified only because the proceeds are earmarked for hospitals and other beneficent purposes. We shall have no objection if that is the case here. But if the proceeds go to pay higher salaries, the people must object. Mr. Pugh said the same thing, but added that the Government might appropriate equal amounts from the existing grants for these purposes to supply its deficit consequent on the increase of the salaries. The late Mr. Pugh, who was my father's friend and who was at his time the leader of the Europeans of Calcutta, would not have made this un-English devious suggestion. Readers of history know how the Roman Consuls and Emperors provided public entertainments for the people at State expense. Readers of books on ethics and sociology know that public cheap entertainments are more effectual in keeping the people moral and peaceful than the police and prisons. Therefore public entertainments should not be lightly taxed. If only betting at the races and share market speculations which, one does not know why, have been excluded, were taxed, it would have received the support of every reasonable person, as it might save many a man from ruin. Even so loyal an Association as the Anglo-Indian Association has opposed this taxation, though its representative has disloyally gone against his own Association.

The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr has told that he had made retrenchments in all possible directions, and he
AMUSEMENT TAX BILL.

has told us what they are. He has cut down settlement proceedings which would benefit raiyats, and he has cut down expenses of the Public Works Department. This definition of retrenchment is rather novel. He might next year cut down educational charges and charges on medical relief. The pucca roads in the mufassal were all made 30 years ago and are falling out of repair on account of such retrenchment, and the villagers will relapse to their old condition of pre-British days. The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr's idea of retrenchment is to cut down essential expenses for the salaries of the officials. Let there be no mistake about the fact, the truth of which is patent and which no sophistry can shake. When the Reforms were launched upon this unfortunate country, the Government in England and in India were not so foolish as not to arrange matters that the ordinary administration could not be carried on without fresh taxation. If that were so, it would be criminally foolish statesmanship. In fairness to the Government, I cannot charge them with this folly. Their unwise lay in the fact that they increased the salaries of the Imperial services by Rs. 3 crores and 75 lakhs in anticipation and took away the power of interfering with them from the new Councils. Even then the administration could be carried on without borrowing or new taxation. But the Government of Bengal, having a proper sense of fairness and justice, saw the necessity of increasing the salaries of the subordinate services, the constables and the menial servants, who looked with green-eyed envy at the feast
supplied to the superior services. During the first year of the Government under the reforms an increase in salaries to the extent of over Rs. 1 crore and 90 lakhs, being the bed-rock deficit of the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr, has been sanctioned. Some of the increase has been sanctioned by this Council, I must say with shame to myself and other members, but when the Government proposed these increases to the salaries without mentioning the fact to us that we would have to tax the poor people of Bengal only for these, what could we do but pass the estimates? Now what do we find? We have passed resolutions for providing medical relief and drinking water and primary education to the people. We are told point blank there is no money, they must wait till increased salaries are provided for. Tax the people for the increased salaries first and then we shall see whether we can meet your demands for the primary needs of the people. Are there are no Europeans here, with whom lies the determining vote, to appreciate the gross injustice and unwisdom of the course? We regretfully look back to the days of the old stalwarts of the European community who guided the Government officials and who were not guided by the latter. As regards the moderate members their only concern is with the salaries, but it must be mentioned that Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee and Mr. P. C. Mitter were parties to a memorial just before they got Rs. 64000 a year in which it was stated that if an attempt was made by the Government of Bengal to impose fresh taxation on the poor for purposes of carrying on its
ordinary administration, such attempt would be justly resented by the people. I call upon the Ministers in justice to themselves and the half dozen members of the moderate faith, whose only creed 'is to support the Ministers and their salaries to be men and protest against the present attempt of the Government.

[At this stage, the member having reached the time-limit, had to resume his seat.]
COURT-FEES AMENDMENT BILL.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur: I beg to oppose this Bill. This is more serious than the last Bill. The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr has admitted in his opening speech that the bulk of the money raised by this tax will be from suits of small value, and though he was himself personally inclined that these small suits should be exempted, he could not do so because the object of the Bill would then be frustrated. The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr is too frank and honest for a politician. So it is admittedly a tax on the poor. I asked him whether it was a fact that increases in salary which he got sanctioned last year were more than a crore of rupees. I asked him whether it was a fact that the proceeds would be absorbed by the increases, but this he did not deny. The Hon'ble Mr. P. C. Mitter got up and said that these increases had been determined upon by the preceding Government and therefore they had no option but to carry them out. The fact, Sir, stands there that these taxes are required for salaries. The fact cannot be disputed. The people of Bengal have every right to object to paying tax in order to provide larger salaries for their officials. Sir, I ask whether it was a fact that the Hon'ble Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea and the Hon'ble Mr. P. C. Mitter were parties to a memorial in which it was stated that a new taxation to meet administrative charges would be bad and the people of Bengal
would be justified in resenting it. I ask and ask again these leaders to say how they can support these taxes on the poor, admittedly in order to meet administrative charges. Now Sir, looking at the merits of this Bill, on principle it is bad to tax justice. To make profit out of the administration of justice is simply indefensible. To make a larger profit out of it for administrative charges is still more indefensible. That it is bad on principle has been admitted by previous administrators, and in this new Council, we, the helpless few here, are asked to sanction a tax which is on principle as bad as can be. Sir, you know very well that in the High Court (Original Side) no ad valorem court-fee is leviable. They have fixed small court-fees on suits of all values, even for suits of Rs. 10 lakhs or Rs. 20 lakhs. Why is it that the people of the moffussil should have a large tax to pay whenever they come to a court of justice, whereas the people of Calcutta have to pay a very small tax? Why should there be a differential treatment? The reason is apparent. Calcutta is the city of Europeans and they would not stand it, but in the moffussil the poor raiyats can be fleeced to any amount in any away. Sir, I again say that this tax is bad on principle and indefensible. This will raise discontent in the country and be a source of strength to the non-cooperators, who are already trying their level best to boycott courts. Now the boycotting of courts would be easier.
Stamp Act Amendment Bill.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur: I have been a diligent student of the histories of all countries but I have not yet come across a single instance in which the people have been taxed three times on three subjects on three successive days. I shall be told that you are being taxed by your own representatives—by your trusted leaders, the Hon'ble Ministers. I shall be told that these taxes are required for increased salaries and that they are required to fight the dread scourge of malaria. It is Divine Providence which asks you to pay these taxes ungrudgingly. Do not be so unpatriotic, so disloyal, so sacrilegious as to object to the payment of these taxes. I should have been very glad to be on the side of our Hon'ble Ministers and of those fellow members, who come from north and south, from east and west, like those that came to the piping of the pied piper of Hammelin and I do hope they will meet with the same fate. I do desire that Government should remember the saying of St. Paul that things should be done with decency and proper decorum and not in a hurry. Now I am afraid the Government of Bengal is not properly advised by the lawyers. The questions raised by Colonel Pugh is not so easy of disposal. It raises the question of great juristic importance. The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr was strictly right in what he said, but he did not see the larger issues involved. The question is this:
There has been a devolution of the provinces. In the United States of America there are different stamp laws, different court-fee laws, but a document stamped properly in the Iowa State can be properly received as evidence in the State of New York, because the Central Government has legislated that it should be so. Until the Central Government here does legislate that a document properly stamped in Bengal should be received as evidence in other Provinces and Vice Versa, this Bill should not be passed. This is a question of jurisprudence which the Government must take into consideration: A little reading of law is sometimes necessary. Now, speaking on the merits of this Bill, it is very easily said "increase the stamp duty." I do believe and indeed I have been so told that these three taxes have been introduced because Government did not dare to put a direct tax upon the people. They thought it was the easiest way. The people would not be able to do without stamping documents or when going to the courts. Therefore non-co-operation could be killed in this way. I say, this is not a straight-forward course. I believe that this has been recommended by certain very astute solicitors and barristers. (A voice: And vakils?!) No, never by vakils. Look at this question? What does it mean? You know in the course of 100 years every property changes hands. Some gentlemen here—some Rajahs and Maharajahs—consider that their properties will always remain in the hands of their children but they must pass hands. Therefore, it means that the
Government takes away 3 per cent. of the entire property of the land of the rich as well as of the poor. (A voice: Quite right.) Yes, but you must clearly understand this fact that your property would not always remain in your family, that 3 per cent. of the property will be taken away and 3 per cent. for every 25 years in mortgages and sales. It will be about 12 per cent. in 100 years. If you want to pay this tax, appreciate this fact and then you can vote, but do not vote like dumb, driven cattle. There are various difficulties in this Act. Schedules are so made as when looked on the face of it there seems to be an improvement on the old Act, but I have calculated and found that they are exactly where they were before, excepting that you say that you have made 50 per cent. increase everywhere.

The difficulties and deficiencies of the drafting are many, but these may surely be removed by the Select Committee, but the man question remains—Should we have this Act and should we have this tax? Is it required for our purposes? It is required for preventing malaria or merely for improving salaries: I am under no delusion whatsoever. We shall have no money either for medical relief or for drinking water or for primary schools or for technical colleges. We shall never have them, but we shall only have to pay taxes. Therefore, I strongly oppose this new tax and I do hope that it will be rejected.
THE MUNICIPAL BILL.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:— Sir, I was one of those who, with the Hon'ble Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, resigned our seats in the Calcutta Corporation when the Mackenzie Act was passed. He and I have been true to our promise not to enter the Corporation until that obnoxious Act was repealed. It was, therefore, with great delight that I welcomed the introduction of the Calcutta Municipal Bill by Sir Surendra Nath, and to some extent I also participated in his triumph on the occasion. Sir Surendra Nath was pleased to ask me to help him in carrying through the Council the contentious question of communal representation, the question of mixed electorate and other contentious matters which were in the original Bill. I gave my humble and wholehearted support to him, and the objections of my Muhammadan friends on the ground of communal representation were hopelessly beaten in this Council. Sir, it has been a great disappointment to me for the shape that the Bill has now taken, and it is with great pain that I speak against a measure from which so much was expected and upon which so much thought and labour were expended.

My objections to the Bill are four in number. First, in the original Bill Cossipore-Chitpur and Garden Reach were not included; now it includes Cossipore-Chitpur, Garden Reach as well as Maniktala—an enormous area. Sir, even now the Corporation is not
in a position to meet its statutory obligations. We do not get filtered water on the first floor; unfiltered water not unseldom fails us; was it wise to take the responsibility of this vast area upon you? You are all aware of the large debts of the Corporation and you are also aware that the Bidyadhari river is silting up and more than one crore of rupees will be required for our new drainage. This step of increasing the liabilities and obligations by adding to the town of Calcutta this vast area is fraught with very great danger to the population of this city.

My next objection is that in the original Bill there was a mixed electorate; now our Hon’ble the Minister has withdrawn that and given us communal representation—a measure against all principles of statecraft, a measure which will lead to great danger in the future both to Hindus and Muhammadans. I have already given my reasons for opposing it; and I do not wish to dwell upon it now. My next point is that in the original bill there was a provision about preventing and regulating cow-slaughter. Our Hon’ble the Minister thought it right to take out the whole of the provision. It was before us as settled by the Select Committee. It has been taken away by the Hon'ble the Minister here, and with it has now been taken away the power of regulating the slaughter of cows and calves. Sir, I am not a master of words like the Hon’ble the Minister, but I can tell him that this has gone deep into the hearts of the Hindu people of this country.
My next objection is one upon which Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea has taken great pride, namely, one vote for one man. I want one vote for one man for the permanent resident population of Calcutta, but by the provisions of this Bill we have given votes to the fleeting population of Calcutta who outnumber by ten times the resident population of this city; you have taken away the control of the city from us; we, the Hindu and Muhammadan population, the resident population of the city, are nowhere, and we shall be swamped by the fleeting population of the other provinces, of other countries Japanese and Chinese; you have taken away from us our own city; you have taken away from us our capital city; we cannot feel the pride which you feel in our own ruin. Upon these grounds I say the Bill is a meance to the population of Calcutta.
Grand Trunk Canal.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur: Speaker after speaker, and, last of all, Colonel Pagh, have asked the Hon'ble Member in charge of Irrigation to answer the simple question whether the entire project should be placed before the Council for sanction; but no reply has been given. I have therefore no option left to me but to support the amendment. I do so after much thought and after consulting many persons whose opinion I respect. Sir, the Council has done heitherto nothing in a hurry. It must have been observed that 156 amendments to the Budget have been negatived or withdrawn; these amendments, if carried, would have made the administration impossible. My humble self and the majority of the members have co-operated with the Government to the best of their power. We have only made a reduction of about 23 lacs in the police grant. I can not support the grant.

But I may give this assurance that, if the Government after consulting the committee, which we shall elect—a committee in which I shall try my best that the very best men of our body should be elected, recommend further expenditure as indispensable, we shall certainly give effect to the recommendation if a supplementary grant is asked for. We are in no unreasonable mood of mind. We have struck off the grant for the Chief Justice's house; we have done it with very great regret; and I may say that in all other matters we supported the Government.
It is a question of Rs. 69,00,000, and the passing of this project will cripple the finances of Bengal for at least 20 years. Sanitation, education, medical relief, will be at a standstill. The estimate is for Rs. 3,50,00,000; it may go up to Rs. 10,00,0000. We have been given broad hints that it will be necessary to impose a tax on the poor people of Bengal; they are not able to bear it and I say it will lead to disaster. I oppose this scheme with keen regret. Few members here know the part I took in the scheme when it was first conceived. Mr. Lees, the eminent engineer, was brought to elaborate it. The scheme then passed through the southern suburbs. It was a scheme so grand that it excited the admiration of everybody—it excited my admiration at least. After Mr. Lees left, the battle of the engineers began. The subordinate of Mr. Lees, who should have loyally carried out the scheme, tore it to pieces; and for 16 years this matter has not been carried out; the fault lies not with us but with other people; and these 16 years were momentous years. It has changed the face of the world; great European countries have become bankrupt and India is in a very bad way. Prices have risen threefold. The prices of land have risen eightfold. Then there is the exchange. It is a very grave risk now to do anything by which it may be said that we sanctioned the project. I am not prepared to take the risk. Notwithstanding all this if I were satisfied that the scheme was useful I might have supported it because of its grandeur but there are many defects in it. The first
defect is that it may impede the drainage of half of Bengal. A canal with locks at two ends means a great impediment to the natural drainage of the land. It is worse than railway embankments with their innumerable culverts and openings. A canal with two locks at two sides cannot allow water to flow into it. Thus half of Bengal would be water-logged. We know how good the health Punjab and Shahabad was and now they have become very malarious; but they have got this advantage there, that the lands, which yielded nothing before now produce bumper crops. But here in Bengal what advantage can we get with our natural drainage thus impeded? It will not add to the fertility of the soil. This is my first ground.

My second ground is this; the cost now estimated is Rs. 3,50,00,000. Whatever anybody might say, we know how the estimates in actual working are always exceeded. In this case we all expect that it will not be less than Rs 10,00,00,000, or at least in any case not less than Rs. 6,00,00,000 or Rs. 7,00,00,000. Are we able to pay this amount? We are not. No prudent householder would incur this risk; it is undoubtedly a risk in any case.

We are told the question is about the dredgers. If I remember right even in this single matter of dredgers, Mr. Lees’ estimate, was Rs. 15,00,00; now it is Rs. 1,20,00,000 - eight times the original estimate; the dredgers have not been purchased. We want to know how the agreement stands. Government ought to come forward to tell us in a straight
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forward manner, as is done in every business house. They ought to come forward and show us the agreement and say: “Here is the agreement, here are the terms; you pass the amount.” But they have not come to us in this fashion. They say: “We do not know what the scheme may ultimately cost, but pass this item as a part of the scheme.” I suppose no business-house or zamindar would approve of this course. Let us have a straightforward business-like way of doing things. Bring in the Rs. 6,00,000 or 7,00,000 and show it as a separate item, not as part of the scheme, and say: “We want this money,” and we shall never be so unreasonable as not to pass it. But why should we at all pass it without looking into the agreement; that is not business-like.

Now, I have another objection. We are required to raise a loan. I for my part shall always vote against any loan or new tax that may be proposed here. As long as I am here, I should like to cut our coat according to our cloth. No loans here why should Government go into loans? If we strike out Rs. 69,00,000 we shall decrease our deficit by about half, and thereby Bengal, instead of being bankrupt, will be solvent, and we shall all be able to pay for our doctors, for our gurus, and for our village roads and tanks and other needs which are urgent, and for which I shall put motions as soon as I can. Now, Sir, I shall never support a loan or a tax; come what may and however much my action may be misconstrued, I shall never do it.
Retrenchment Committee's Report.

Roy Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur: I beg to support this resolution. The recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee are of so revolutionary a character, that one rubs his eyes to assure himself if he has read aright what he sees in the report before him.

Let us take one instance. Rupees 35 lakhs has been proposed to be reduced from the Education Department. Almost all the Government colleges and Zilla schools are proposed to be abolished. Sir I give clear notice to the Government and to the Council that if these particular proposals—the abolition of Government colleges and schools—are given effect to, and if any substantial reduction is made from the Education grant, I shall resign and take this matter to the vote of the graduates of this country which, I know, will not be pleasant to the members of the Retrenchment Committee and the Government, should the latter adopt their recommendation in this direction.

The Committee have proposed to reduce the salaries of judicial officers and also their number. This surely I did not expect from gentlemen of our nationality. Some of these gentlemen added Rs. 60 lakhs a year to our financial obligations by giving additional salaries to the men connected with civil
courts—men, who could, as one of the members told me, work without any salaries if necessary!

The Agriculture Department, the Fishery Department, and other departments are proposed to be practically abolished. An attempt was made last year in this Council to do the same by means of a resolution. I had my part in defeating it—and it was defeated by an overwhelming number of votes; and an attempt has again been made now to do so by the Retrenchment Committee; but I hope, Sir the House will not accept it.

I am of opinion that a day should be given to us to consider these matters in detail. I am sorry at the present moment I cannot say what part of the report we should approve and what part we should not approve. I do hope that the Government will give the Council an opportunity of doing so.

Mr. Villiers has, in his respect for great men omitted to consider that lesser men also may do their duty to their country. Enthusiasm on the part of young men for great men is natural, but, Sir, hero-worship may go too far. Mr. Villiers does not seem to know that all the departments for the public good have been built up by generations of British statesmen and administrators. Now, most of these departments are practically proposed to be abolished. I shall be surprised if any Englishman approves of any such measure.

I must say here that it is the Indian officers, both Hindu and Muhammadans, who will suffer most if these recommendations are accepted. How many
members of the Imperial Services will suffer? It is the educated community which will be hardest hit.

Finally, I wish to draw the attention of the Council to one fact, namely, that the Committee have proposed a reduction in the number of Ministers instead of proposing a reduction in their salary. They made a similar attempt in this Council, and, though defeated by an overwhelming vote, they have done the same thing here. Further comment is unnecessary. When the day comes they will be properly criticized. A great majority of the recommendations will have to go, but we must have a say in the matter.
DACCA TRAINING COLLEGE.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur: The interest in education shown by certain members of the Council in resolutions and in bringing bills and withdrawing them is very interesting indeed. These gentlemen place others in a very great difficulty.

A regards this resolution, the desire of Rai Dr. Haridhan Dutt Bahadur for economy is very commendable, but what does he know of the Training School at Dacca, and why does he wish to abolish it? Why does he talk about it is this hall? For the province of Bengal which is larger than Germany, two training colleges for teachers are not much, are not one too many. But I must give Rai Dr. Haridhan Dutt Bahadur what is his due. His observations about the Board for Intermediate Education are justified, though he did not know what they are concerned with; they are not concerned with intermediate schools. But I asked the Government how many schools are there? how many High Schools are there; are more than 3 or 4 under the Dacca University? And is it worth while having an institute and an expensive Intermediate Education Board for these few? But it may be said that this Board is an experiment, an example. First let us see how it works, so that when we have a Board at Calcutta we may have something, some example to follow. Beyond that the Intermediate Board
of Education at Dacca seems in my humble judgment a superfluity.

With this modification I submit that the Dacca Training School should not be abolished, but that the Government should take into consideration the observations made by Rai Dr. Haridhan Dutt Bahadur about the Board of Intermediate Education.