

*Thursday,
22nd February, 1917*

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

Vol. LV

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GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL ASSEMBLED UNDER
THE PROVISIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1915
(5 & 6 Geo. V, Ch. 61).

The Council met at the Council Chamber, Imperial Secretariat, Delhi, on
Thursday, the 22nd February, 1917.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble MR. G. R. LOWNDES, *Vice-President, presiding*, and 59 Members
of whom 52 were Additional Members.

**RESOLUTION *RE* EXTENSION OF THE SCOPE OF
THE COMMISSION ON UNIVERSITIES.**

The Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri:—"Sir, I move the following 11-6 A.M.
Resolution:—

'This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the scope of the Commission, alluded to by His Excellency the Viceroy in his recent Convocation address as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, be extended so as to include the Universities of Madras, Bombay, the Panjab and Allahabad, as well as that of Calcutta.'

"There is an impression, Sir, that this Commission is intended to inquire into certain conditions peculiar to the University of Calcutta, and that therefore the other Universities are not interested in it. In certain quarters in Calcutta the appointment of this Commission, I know, has been hailed as affording an excellent opportunity for refuting the charges that have been frequently levelled against that University. If this be so, my Resolution would certainly be out of place. But there are certain considerations, to which I will draw the attention of the Council in a minute, which seem to

[*Mr. Srinivasa Sastri.*] [22ND FEBRUARY, 1917.]

indicate that that is not altogether the case. In the speech to which my Resolution refers, His Excellency the Viceroy used the following words :—

‘ We, as the Government of India, have very carefully considered the situation with regard to the Calcutta University, and we have come to the conclusion that a small but strong Commission appointed to sit next cold weather on similar lines, and with terms of reference following those of the London University Commission, is a necessary preliminary to a constructive policy in relation to your Province, and we have every hope that a Commission so appointed may give us a report of equal educational value.’

Now, Sir, what are the terms of reference of the London University Commission which the terms of reference of this Commission are to follow? They were ‘ to inquire into the working of the present organisation of the University of London and into other facilities for advanced education (general, professional and technical) existing in London for persons of either sex above secondary school age; to consider what provision should exist in the Metropolis for University teaching and research; to make recommendations as to the relations which should in consequence subsist between the University of London, its incorporated colleges, the Imperial College of Science and Technology, the other schools of the University and the various public institution and bodies concerned; and further to recommend as to any changes of constitution and organisation which appear desirable; regard being had to the facilities for education and research which the Metropolis should afford for specialist and advanced students in connection with the provision existing in other parts of the United Kingdom and of our Dominions beyond the Seas.’

“ Now, the report of this Commission, to which His Excellency paid a compliment as just as it was graceful on the occasion to which I have referred, is a very interesting document, and very valuable to all interested in University matters. I do not wonder that the Viceroy turned to it as a model, if not a detailed guide for the reform of the Calcutta University. The principles that have been settled by this Commission are so general in their character and of such common application to University work, that I have no doubt it would be impossible to resist the impulse to take them as applying to educational activity all over the world.

“ I have no doubt that whatever changes in the Calcutta University are effected will be sought to be extended to other Universities as well. Other Universities will welcome such an investigation leading to a reform in their own work and scope. Its example then must spread, and we are all therefore equally interested in the work of this Commission—the Universities of Bombay, Madras, the Punjab and Allahabad, no less than that of Calcutta. It is absolutely essential, Sir, that the authority which settles the general principles of University reform should likewise settle the mode in which these principles should be applied to particular areas, and I have no doubt that this Council, the Indian Legislative Council, will very soon be called upon after the submission of the report of this Commission to consider legislative proposals for the reform of the Calcutta University. Because, let it be remembered that no great changes in the organisation and scope of a University or in its methods of work can be effected without readjusting the legal machinery on which it is based, and as it is the Universities Act of 1904 that prescribes the constitution of the Calcutta and all other Indian Universities, it is essential that the Government of India should at no distant date lay before us proposals for the revision of that Act. Now, in that Act we are all alike interested. I would like to remind the Council that, before the Act was passed, a strong Commission went round India inquiring into the conditions of local Universities, and after a considerable series of labours, they laid before the authorities the report which led to the passing of the Indian Universities Act. I remember, Sir, one interesting episode of that time. When the Bill was in progress in this Council, it was frequently said by those in the know that the Commission was not wanted by the other Universities, but that it was the sins of Calcutta that drew it on their heads; and amendment after amendment was brought forward by the representatives of Bombay and other universities seeking the exclusion of those universities from the scope of the Act upon the

[22ND FEBRUARY, 1917.] [*Mr. Srinivasa Sastri.*]

express ground that Calcutta and not the other Universities was the wicked boy that needed correction. Judging from that point of view, my attitude to-day requires a word of explanation. Perhaps, Sir, it is due to the solidarity of interest that all India feels alike that we are so keen on throwing in our lot with the Calcutta University and sharing its tribulations. As a matter of fact, whatever happens to Calcutta, I have no doubt will sooner or later be considered sufficient ground for change in the other Universities in desirable and perhaps in undesirable directions. What happens to Calcutta to-day will happen to Madras to-morrow, and to Bombay the day after, and it is therefore necessary, Sir, that all those interested in the evolution of these general principles of University reform should first be consulted and have an opportunity of stating their case and their peculiar needs to this impartial tribunal before administrative changes of great scope are undertaken. Besides, Sir, I have other and somewhat weightier reasons to bring forward in support of the Resolution that I have placed before the Council. Honourable Members of this Council will certainly remember that quite recently in England two strong Committees were appointed for the purpose of examining the conditions of the teaching of science and languages in University and higher education generally. Well, the teaching of science in India has always been most unsatisfactory. I am willing to acknowledge with gratefulness that in recent times a great impetus has been given to the spread of sound scientific teaching in India, but still, Sir, we have to travel a long way before it can be claimed that our teaching of the sciences either on the theoretical or on the practical side is calculated to secure the spread of knowledge and the spirit of independent research on the one hand, or the inculcation of that practical inventiveness which we consider so necessary for the stimulation of industrial activities. With regard to the languages there is a great deal yet to be desired. A great amount of dissatisfaction exists as to the position assigned to Sanskrit and the vernaculars in certain of our Universities. In fact the idea has been put forward influentially that one of the duties of our Universities is to stimulate and promote the growth of indigenous literatures, and akin to this is the idea that knowledge has to be extended on a popular basis. In the more modern Universities of the west, the idea has gained ground that the exclusive province of a University is not merely, though this is mainly, the case, the extension of the bounds of human knowledge and the imparting of higher culture to candidates prepared for it, but likewise the popularisation of knowledge. Powerful extension movements have been organised everywhere, and the Haldane Commission to which we referred recently is emphatic in its support of this new idea. I will now read a few words to show how much it is now one of the principal ideas of University working. Referring to the Workers' Educational Association in London, the Haldane Commission say—'These men and women desire knowledge, not diplomas or degrees, and we think that no University, and above all no City University, would justify its existence that did not do its utmost to help and encourage work of this kind.'

"I may now refer, Sir, to another topic that has come up recently in discussions on University reform, and which is troubling the minds of those interested in University work. It has been frequently complained that the standard of degree examinations in our Universities, and the standard of the admission examination, that is the matriculation or entrance, have been steadily going down, notwithstanding heroic attempts to keep them up to a high level, and that in this matter as in other matters, the Calcutta University is the principal offender, an exemplar in crime. Well, I make no doubt that this is one of the grounds, and there have been other grounds as well, for the recent enunciation of the policy of the Government of India, by which they seek to take over from the University authorities the whole control of secondary education. I am referring to the vexed dispute between the matriculation and the school final examination. I make no doubt that this is a subject surrounded with many difficulties, and requiring perhaps a variety of solutions adapted to local conditions, but I take it that an impartial inquiry by a tribunal of experts who

[*Mr. Srinivasa Sastri ; Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya*] [22ND FEBRUARY, 1917.]

come to their work with some amount of aloofness and detachment is necessary to establish the principles on which the control of secondary education should be vested either in the one authority or in the other, or divided in definite channels between the two authorities. The Council will observe that I lay down no dogmatic doctrines of my own on any of these topics; they scarcely matter. But what matters is the recognition that these are subjects upon which sharp differences of opinion exist, and which it is therefore necessary to settle for at least a generation to come by undisputed authority.

"Then, Sir, there is another question to which perhaps I may refer before concluding this part of my speech, and that is, the question of what medium of instruction is to be employed in our schools and colleges. Quite recently the idea has come up that the vernacular should be given preference over English for this purpose. Here, again, I lay down no general rule for adoption, but I would ask the Council to believe that this is one of those matters in which opinions are apt somewhat to be coloured by prejudices and predilections not altogether of an educational character, and that it is necessary for the whole facts of the situation to be placed before those whom we can trust to bring to bear on the solution of this question a certain amount of detachment.

"Sir, for these and other reasons, I think the time has come when we should review the results of the Universities Act of 1904. Ever since that Act began to govern our operations, a great amount of dissatisfaction has been felt; if not dissatisfaction, there is at least a great desire for change everywhere, and it is necessary that we should now give an opportunity to the various universities of laying before an independent body the grounds on which they desire change, and the direction in which they desire it. It is for this reason that I welcome the appointment of this Commission; it gives an indication that in the minds of the highest authorities in the land even the pre-occupations of the war, engrossing as they are, have not overshadowed altogether the great importance of a sound system of higher education. In fact, I have a suspicion that it is the disclosures made by the war that have impelled even the authorities in England to have a thorough revision made of the system of University education. The need is not less great in India. I have no doubt that the Council will recognise the importance of extending the scope of the inquiry beyond Calcutta, and of making it embrace all other centres of higher culture in the land. Sir, I have heard one objection raised against my Resolution, that perhaps it will involve a great amount of delay in the operations of the Commission. Now, I am not afraid of the delay that may be caused. The interests involved are so great, the issues to be settled are so momentous, that a few months more or less ought not to matter; we have waited so long that we can afford to wait a little longer. What time should it take a Commission to tour to Madras, Bombay, Lahore and Allahabad? Give them two weeks at each place, three months is the utmost by which my Resolution seeks to delay the submission of the report. I do not think it can be said that that delay would prove disastrous to the reform of the Calcutta University, or to the settlement of the principles of university work. It is therefore with some confidence that I commend this Resolution to the Council. I hope, if the minds of the Government of India are not irrevocably made up, they will see its reasonableness and accept my Resolution."

11-35 A.M.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"Sir, I gladly support the Resolution which has been moved by my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sastri. Things have moved so fast in the matter of education since the Indian University Commission made its report in 1902, that an inquiry such as my Hon'ble friend recommends will be distinctly advantageous to the cause of higher education. The said Commission concerned themselves, if I may say so, more with the internal administration of our Universities than with the question of their growth and expansion on modern lines. Apart from the inquiry as to the present constitution and working of the Calcutta

[22ND FEBRUARY, 1917.] [*Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.*]

University, there is the more important question of modernising our Universities. Indian Universities greatly lag behind European and American Universities especially in the matter of making provision for technical and scientific knowledge of a practical kind. It will be a very great advantage if, after the war, scholars of experience who have definite practical knowledge of modern Universities in the United Kingdom and other parts of the civilized world came and examined our Universities not merely as to their constitution and working, but also as regards the facilities they offer for higher instruction, and advised us as to what further facilities should be provided, and how they should be provided. It would be a great advantage to have the opinion and advice of such gentlemen regarding the future development of our Universities. As a result of the war there is a great deal of anxiety rightly exhibited in England for making additional provision for higher scientific and industrial education. The Committee of the Privy Council for scientific and industrial research and the Sub-Committee of the Advisory Committee of the Board of Trade for securing the position of British trade after the war have already submitted their reports. In England, Universities will more and more serve the purposes of national progress in future. In India, Universities are very antiquated; they concern themselves mainly with theoretical instruction, instruction in the arts and theoretical not practical science. The other day I had the privilege of visiting the laboratory of Dr. Bose whose experiments have gained him a world-wide renown. I asked him how many students he had taught during the past 30 years in the Presidency College. He said about 300. I next asked how many of them were doing scientific work, and he said probably half a dozen. The rest had drifted into other professions and offices—the reason being that the instruction imparted had been mainly theoretical; it was not instruction in the application of scientific principles to industries and other practical concerns of life. What is needed is that there should be an inquiry instituted to find out in what directions our Universities should be reorganised. A change is needed not only in the teaching of science, which is of the greatest importance, but also in regard to the teaching of languages, and of commerce and agriculture, and in regard to the development of our vernaculars to which my friend has drawn special attention. It may be said that the last University Commission did consider the question of vernacular education. That is true. The Commission recommended, for instance, that the vernacular should form the subject of an examination for the M. A. degree. But the point Mr. Sastri seeks to raise is of greater importance than that of the study of a vernacular as a language. My Hon'ble friend is not oblivious of the necessity of continuing to use English as the medium of instruction for many important subjects for a long time to come. At the same time, there is a growing feeling that the vernacular should be utilised for imparting instruction in certain subjects even for the higher examinations. A language must of course be learned as a language, but where the question is what language should be the medium of instruction in other subjects, the vernacular seems to be the only natural medium. In the Education Despatch of 1854, the importance of the vernaculars was recognised, but unfortunately enough has not been done in many provinces to develop the vernaculars, to the extent that they should be developed. Now, these are questions upon which it will be a great advantage to have the opinions of men who are entitled by their scholarship and experience to express an opinion. We cannot expect the Government to make a great departure from existing lines without having such expert advice, and for this reason the proposition put forward by my friend comes in at a very opportune moment. At the close of the war we shall enter upon an important era in the educational history of our country. A great deal will have to be done to provide the right kind of education for the youth of our country. Every nation will do its utmost to give the best kind of instruction to its youth. India should certainly not be sitting idle, and as University education is the most important branch of education which affects the material progress and industrial prosperity of a nation, it will claim the most serious attention of

[*Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya; Mr. I. Davidson.*] [22ND FEBRUARY, 1917.]

the Government and the public. In view of that the Government should accept the Resolution and invite a few gentlemen to examine the question and to advise the Government as to what should be done. The Commission need not be a large one, but it should be composed of scholars of eminence and experience, who are in living touch with the Universities of the West, and who are able to understand the requirements of a country, situated as ours is, in these modern times. When they have examined the present position of our Universities, their constitution, their power, their resources, and the demands of higher education in the areas which they serve, they will be able to advise Government as to the directions in, and the lines on, which improvement should be effected. For these reasons, I strongly support the recommendation which has been made by my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sastri."

The Hon'ble Mr. L. Davidson:—"Sir, I feel considerable hesitation in addressing the Council upon this subject after the eloquent speech by the Hon'ble Mover whose association with education and teaching has been his life work. I can claim no such intimate knowledge of the subject, but there are one or two aspects on which I may, I think, offer a few remarks. It had been my original intention to advert especially to the delay which would inevitably arise from any widening of the scope of the proposed Commission; and to point out that not only would its Report be delayed in submission, but the initiation of remedial action would also be delayed. I will not dilate at any length on that point after what the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has said with regard to the momentous issues involved, but this I may say: not only would the Commission have to visit the various University centres in India, but it would also be necessary to obtain the opinions of the various Local Governments after the Commission's Report had been received. Those of us who have had Secretariat experience are only too sadly aware of the delay which is inevitably connected with general references on general subjects.

"Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has admitted that there is a distinct feeling in Calcutta in favour of the appointment of some such Commission as this. I have no personal knowledge fitting me to speak on first-hand acquaintance of the conditions of Calcutta, but I believe it to be a fact that there have already been one or two Committees appointed to investigate radical points of University administration, and so far, if I am not misinformed, those Committees have not been very fruitful in results. This no doubt is one of the reasons for the growing desire in Calcutta for the appointment of an authoritative Commission of inquiry.

"Now, I am not aware that there is any such feeling in Madras. I am not going to deny that we have our own local problems, and we shall continue to have those problems, but so far as I am advised, we may not unreasonably hope to work out our own salvation, specially if we are given a strong lead in regard to general issues by the considered opinion of an authoritative Commission such as it is proposed to appoint in the case of the Calcutta University. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has laid particular stress on the importance of the general issues at stake.

"There are two which occur to me particularly. To one of these he has referred, namely, the question of the standard appropriate to qualify students for admission to collegiate instruction, where opposing schools of thought on the one hand advocate the widest diffusion of higher education, and on the other hand, lay special stress on the need for the rigid enforcement of a preliminary qualification sufficiently high to ensure that all the students admitted to University classes shall, with due industry, be capable of deriving real benefit and to prevent the inroad of a large proportion of students whose general education and equipment is so defective that their admission must inevitably lower the level of University teaching.

"Another general issue, to which I do not think Mr. Srinivasa Sastri referred, but one which is constantly canvassed in the public press and

RESOLUTION *RE* EXTENSION OF THE SCOPE OF THE 367
COMMISSION ON UNIVERSITIES.

[22ND FEBRUARY, 1917.] [Mr. L. Davidson; Sir Edward Maclagan.]

elsewhere, is the question of the control of University education. Some are in favour of a wide measure of popular control; others prefer to rely mainly on a body of highly qualified teachers and experts for guidance in regard both to education and teaching.

"Now both these issues which I mentioned are matters which have recently formed the subject of special pronouncements by the Royal Commission on University education in London, to whose report Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has given such well deserved praise. Now, I cannot help thinking,—I may be mistaken, but I cannot help thinking,—that there need be but little hesitation about accepting the findings of that body on general issues as applicable to Indian conditions, if, as the result of a detailed examination into the conditions of the University of Calcutta, the Commission now contemplated should come to the conclusion that no cause for differentiation has been disclosed. I think that a detailed inquiry concentrated on one sphere would really be more effective and more likely to command acceptance in many circles than anything in the nature of a roving investigation spread over the whole of India, transferred from one university centre to another. Such an investigation would be only too apt to degenerate into a series of reiterated discussions of the same general issues conducted perhaps on quasi-political lines—which I take it is possibly what Mr. Srinivasa Sastri had in mind when he spoke of views 'coloured by prejudices not altogether of an educational character.' Now these general issues are in no way novel problems, and there are no local variations of such importance as to make it likely that they would affect the conclusions of a body of highly qualified educational experts. That, as I understand from His Excellency's speech in Calcutta, is the contemplated constitution of the Commission, and if, to quote His Excellency's words, such a Commission works 'with a single eye to educational efficiency,' is it very likely that there will be radical differences of opinion on general issues?"

"These, Sir, are my main reasons for opposing the Resolution. But I am fortified in my opposition by two further considerations of a local character. In the first place, as the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri courteously informed me in advance of this debate, he does not base his contentions on anything pertaining exclusively to Madras, the Province which he and I represent. Secondly, I take it there is nothing to restrict the liberty of the Commission, if it so desires, from taking the evidence of witnesses whose experience lies outside the sphere of the University of Calcutta—in so far, that is, as relates to general issues. There is nothing, I take it, to prevent the Commission from summoning persons qualified to speak from Madras, Lahore, Allahabad, or other parts of India, and I can hardly suppose that they would attempt to make a final pronouncement upon general issues in so far as they affect Calcutta without examining how similar problems have been dealt with elsewhere in India and with what results. But it is one thing to summon witnesses to Calcutta, and quite another thing to transfer the venue of the Commission from one university centre to another, and at this juncture, Sir, I would most earnestly deprecate any inquiry locally conducted in Madras. The Commission of 1902 examined 29 Madras witnesses, and held 8 meetings in Madras. A repetition of this would mean a somewhat prolonged local inquiry, probably spread over a fortnight. Now, for some time past, there has been an organised attempt in Madras to capture the student population for political purposes. I am not going to deal with this in any detail, but I have not the least doubt that the influences, to which I will not further allude, underlying that attempt would be applied with great ability and with much zeal to making political capital out of any inquiry held by the Commission in Madras. This would accentuate difficulties which already have done much to hinder real educational progress in Madras and in southern India generally, and I would most earnestly deprecate any such contingency."

The Hon'ble Sir Edward Maclagan:—"Sir, in replying to 11-45 a.m.
the Hon'ble Member's Resolution, I admit that his suggestion is a natural one, and some of the reasons which he has advanced in support of it are cogent

[*Sir Edward Maclagan ; Sir Claude Hill.*] [22ND FEBRUARY, 1917.]

reasons. When it was decided to have a Commission for the Calcutta University, it, of course, occurred to the Government of India that the same Commission might be utilised for examining the problems of other Universities in India, but we decided for various reasons that this would not be expedient. The problems which affect Calcutta affect other Universities, but they affect Calcutta in an intensified form, and Calcutta has problems of its own which are not found elsewhere. The extraordinary, and, in some respects, unique, position of Calcutta among the Universities in India is not always perhaps appreciated. Apart from being the oldest of the existing Universities, it is by far the largest. Out of nearly 42,000 students in Arts Colleges throughout British India in 1915, over 19,000 were in colleges within the jurisdiction of the University of Calcutta. Out of 1,540 high schools, 667 presented candidates at the Calcutta Matriculation. Out of 23½ lakhs expended per annum by Universities from all sources, 11 lakhs are expended in Calcutta. It is in Calcutta that we have the largest development of University teaching. In Calcutta, we have the greatest difficulties in connection with the housing and discipline of students. The Calcutta University has shown its own desire to probe some of its problems by the appointment of Committees to examine them and in other ways. None of the other Universities and none of the Local Governments with which they are connected have at any time suggested to us the appointment of a Commission to examine into their circumstances.

“ It is, of course, the case that what is true of Calcutta is true to a more or less degree of the other Universities. We hope that in the Commission's report other Universities will find suggestions applicable and profitable to themselves. It is proposed that, in order to help the Commission in their study of Calcutta problems, it should be suggested to them that witnesses should be invited from other Universities to explain how such problems are met there, and the Commission will thus be in a position to realise how far their recommendations may affect other centres. At the same time, it is more convenient, and, in the opinion of the Government of India, will conduce to a much more profitable result if the Commission, as we propose, confines its attention primarily to one University and gives definite suggestions regarding it. The reference to the Commission will, as His Excellency the Viceroy has already stated, be in terms similar to those of the reference to the London University Commission. The cases of Calcutta and London are indeed in many respects similar. The London University, like that of Calcutta, started as a purely affiliating institution, and, like Calcutta, it subsequently developed a desire to encourage University teaching. The question, therefore, of adapting its new attitude to its old obligations is one not dissimilar to that which confronts us in Calcutta. The recommendations of the London Commission have been of the greatest value to University education throughout the world, and its recommendations are, I have no doubt, the more valuable because they did not extend to Universities in general, but had particular reference to particular objects and particular difficulties. So, too, in the case of Calcutta it was after considerable thought that it was decided that the scope of the Commission should be confined to the Calcutta University, and I must say that we see no reason for altering this decision. We are unable, therefore, to accept the Hon'ble Member's Resolution ”.

11-50 A.M.

The Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill:—“ I had no intention whatever of intervening in this debate, but there is one aspect of the case which has not hitherto been noticed, and which I am quite certain, if my Hon'ble friend Mr. Chiman Lal had been present, he would have mentioned, and that is, the aspect which differentiates Calcutta from the other Universities in this: that the Local Governments of Madras and Bombay have direct control over the Universities at their centres, while the Government of Bengal have at present no control over the Calcutta University. Apart altogether from that, however, there is one further aspect of the matter, and that is this, and I am perfectly certain that if the Hon'ble Mr. Chiman Lal had been here—though I do not presume to speak with his knowledge of University affairs—he would have

RESOLUTION *RE* EXTENSION OF THE SCOPE OF THE 389
COMMISSION ON UNIVERSITIES.

[22ND FEBRUARY, 1917.] [*Sir Claude Hill; Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma.*]

pointed it out to this Council: that before a Commission appointed for the purpose of investigating the affairs of the Calcutta University could properly be charged with investigating such affairs in Bombay, it would be desirable, and in accordance with practice, to consult the Local Government concerned, and also to ask them to consult the University; and so far as I am aware—I speak, of course, without the special knowledge of my Hon'ble colleague (Hon'ble Sir Sankaran Nair)—so far as I am aware there has been no demand for such a Commission from Bombay, Madras, the United Provinces or the Punjab. I suggest, for the consideration of the Hon'ble mover, that this is a consideration which ought to weigh with this Council in deciding upon what view they will take in reference to a Resolution which proposes, at the instigation of this Council, that the views of Local Governments and of local Universities should be ignored, and that such Universities as are under the Local Governments should be subject to investigation by a Commission without any previous consideration at their hands.

“That is all I wish to say, Sir. It seems to be a point of view which somehow escaped the notice of previous speakers.”

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma:—“The same 11-58 A.M.
Universities Act governs the Universities of Madras, Calcutta and Bombay, as has been pointed out already, and if the Government does not propose to modify that Act with regard to other Universities without special inquiries being instituted, if necessary, after the report of the Committee in connection with the Calcutta University, is received, there will not be much room for complaint. I hope, therefore, that the Government will state that no such legislation affecting the whole of India will be undertaken on the basis of any of the recommendations that may be made by the Commission to be appointed in respect of Calcutta. But there are one or two observations made in the speeches of the Hon'ble Mr. Davidson, as well as of the Hon'ble Sir Edward Maclagan, which suggest to me room for anxiety in this respect. They say that it is possible, and that it is probable, that witnesses will be invited from Madras and other places in order to place before the Commission their views with regard to subjects which are common to all the Universities, and the Commission would, no doubt, bear their evidence in mind in making recommendations which might possibly affect the relations of other Universities. If, Sir, it is intended, on the strength of such evidence and on the strength of such recommendations, that action may be taken either by the Local Governments concerned or by the Government of India, then I respectfully submit that the scope of this Commission ought to be widened in order to give the Universities and the people concerned a real voice in stating their wishes emphatically and with authority; otherwise there would be serious prejudice. I hope that this point will be borne in mind by the Government in coming to a final decision.

“There is not the slightest doubt that we in Madras have our own problems. The Madras University deals with people speaking four or five languages, and the question has come forcibly to the front in recent years as to whether that University is in a position to cope with the necessities of such widely differing peoples. We certainly want an investigation for ourselves. Even if this Commission were not to sit for Calcutta, in order to decide the principles upon which our Universities' action should be guided, for one thing I should welcome the appointment of a Commission with regard to our University separately, because it would give us an opportunity of stating the lines of special activity we would recommend with regard to our University. But there are some points—and those are the points which are referred to in the London University Commission's report—which are of a common character, and there is a fear, as I have already said, that these recommendations may be utilised in respect of other Universities too.

“If the question as to the medium of instruction is to be one of the points, then I respectfully submit that we should be given an opportunity for stating

[*Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma ; Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu.*] [22ND FEBRUARY, 1917.]

on what basis Universities' activities are to be governed in future. Some of us are keenly of opinion that the results of these University examinations have been so extremely unpopular and have provoked so much discontent by reason of the faulty methods which have been employed in University work. We believe that if the students were taught these various subjects in their own mother tongues, the percentage of failures would not have been so large; there would not have been so much discontent, and there would be greater political contentment by a change in that direction. Whether we are right or whether we are wrong, the principles on which future Universities are to be formed and governed—and a great many Universities are to be created in the future—are problems so important as to require deep and deliberate consideration at the hands of a Commission investigating all the conditions in India. I, therefore, hope that if any action is to be taken on this, the scope of the Commission may be widened; otherwise I cannot reasonably object to the peculiar ills of Calcutta being remedied by a Commission sitting exclusively for the purpose of understanding their difficulties and meeting their wants."

11-58 A.M.

The Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu:—"Sir, I deeply appreciate the very kind references to my University made by the Hon'ble Sir Edward Maclagan. I must confess that I had come to this meeting with a sense of having the sins of my University placed before the Council in order to justify the appointment of a Commission with regard to the University of Calcutta alone. I do not pretend to say that the University of Calcutta has not its drawbacks. What human institution, Sir, is without its drawbacks? But we have been trying in our own humble way, we have been trying with our limited means in Calcutta, to forward, as much as we can, the cause of education. We have adopted the vernacular in our lower standards, and we have adopted the vernacular as a subject of composition even in the Arts examinations, thereby giving the students better facilities for obtaining the diplomas for which they flock to the Universities. All these are things which we have tried to do. We have tried to convert the Calcutta University, so far as we can, in regard to post-graduate studies, into a teaching University. We have had great difficulties no doubt to contend with. Our jurisdiction extends from Burma, through Bengal, to Bihar; our University embraces various races, communities and languages. My friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma, said that in Madras they had four or five languages. I believe we have got eight or nine. Burmese is one of our languages, Assamese is another; we have also the language of the Khasia and Jaintia Hills, Bengali, Uriya, Hindi, Urdu, Persian and other languages, probably, of which I am not aware. These certainly are our difficulties; these certainly constitute the problem that we have got to face in Calcutta. More than that, there is in Bengal, Sir, a keen desire, a very keen desire, among our youth to take advantage of the facilities for higher education that the University affords them. We are in that respect practically on the same footing as boys in Scotland whom I saw. They are all keen for a higher education than is ordinarily available in the schools. But, Sir, they are mainly peculiar problems with which we in Bengal are concerned. There are other problems which more or less apply to different parts of India equally. Ours may be the oldest University, but the Madras and Bombay Universities started about the same time, and we have gone forward more or less on similar lines. That, to us, the people India, has been the greatest boon. It has harmonised the standards of education in the different provinces; it has brought our students from different provinces closer together; it has given them common interests, common ideals and common pursuits; and we are able to compare notes of what progress the different provinces have made or are making in matters educational. We have stood together, we have fought together, we have suffered together, and now that this Commission is coming out—a Commission which I am sure will be productive of the highest good—it is but meet and proper that all India should like to participate in the benefits likely to arise from the results of that Commission.

RESOLUTION *RE* EXTENSION OF THE SCOPE OF THE 391
COMMISSION ON UNIVERSITIES.

[22ND FEBRUARY, 1917.] [*Mr. Bhupendra Nath Baru.*]

It has been said that the report of the Commission may be utilised for the purposes of other provinces where the conditions are the same as those in Calcutta. That is one way of doing the thing. There is a second, and, I believe, a better way, namely, that the Commissioners themselves—experts in their own line and men of high professional standing—should take evidence at first hand and realise what are the points of essential unity and of essential difference. And this is necessary for them as well as for us, because, Sir, unless you have got the conditions of all India present before you, you cannot really tackle the problems in one part of the country. Formerly, Sir, it used to be almost an axiom in the administration of our country that before a member of the Civil Service could be appointed to the Lieutenant-Governorship of a province, he should have for some time a training in the Government of India, so that he might have before him the problems affecting the whole of India for study before he took up the headship of a particular province. That was an arrangement which, to my mind, worked very satisfactorily. The provincial outlook was widened by a survey of the whole situation in India. And, therefore, in this case when Commissioners are coming out from England without much knowledge of local conditions of Indian problems, it would be desirable that they should have a personal survey of the problems confronting us in India—problems which in most cases apply equally to every part of India. Therefore, Sir, I think the request made by my friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri, is a reasonable one. I gather from what has fallen from the Hon'ble Sir Edward Maclagan that the Government do not entertain any objection in principle to that request. They only think that it is not necessary under the present state of things, and that the work would go forward much quicker if we only tackled the Calcutta University, which has got all the questions of the other Universities in their most acute form. But, as I have ventured to point out, it is necessary for the Commissioners, whoever they may be, to be acquainted with the conditions prevailing throughout India. I have heard it suggested that it is possible that that defect may be removed by inviting witnesses from other parts of India to Calcutta, and asking them to state their case. Well, Sir, I have had some experience—we have all had some experience—of that state of things. Take, for instance, the present Government of India. You are up here and you get reports from the Provincial Governments. Well, nobody denies that the Government of India try to do the best they can under the circumstances; but we, who live in the plains and among the actualities of life, have sometimes felt that it would probably be better if that Government were more human and in closer touch with the people whom they govern; and therefore, when a Commission is to decide great questions and lay down principles which will govern the educational policy of the Government of India, it is desirable that they should come in actual contact with those questions and with those problems. More than that, Sir, the results of the Commission must be followed by some legislation. That legislation I do not think will be introduced in the Local Council, for at present the Universities are governed by an Act of the Supreme Legislature. Further, in this legislature, we have the combined wisdom of the different provinces of India, and it will be here that the provisions of the new Bill will be discussed and put into shape. If it applied to Calcutta only, it would be only a discussion, more or less one-sided, between the Government, which would naturally put forward the recommendations of the Commission in the shape of a Bill, and probably the representatives from Bengal, who would have to put before the Government and the public the effect of such recommendations on their own province (the opinion of the other provinces would naturally not have the same weight and the same consideration as that of the people affected by the intended legislation); whereas, if it affected the whole of India, we should have the whole question carefully considered and discussed in this Council by all the representatives, official and non-official, of the different provinces.

“The only objection that can be urged against this is, the objection of time. Sir, nearly half a century elapsed after the first Universities Act before

[*Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu ; Mr. Rangaswamy Ayyangar ; Mr. Srinivasa Sastri.*] [22ND FEBRUARY, 1917.]

the Act of Incorporation was passed during the administration of Lord Curzon. Since then only 13 years have gone by. If the recommendations and operations of the Commission are extended, and instead of our being able to undertake legislation by the next cold weather or the cold weather following, we are delayed by one year, it will not be to the serious disadvantage of the country. We shall moreover have the advantage of having a Governor General with three years' experience behind him of Indian Universities and Indian conditions ; that in itself will be a great advantage ; so that when he comes to decide ultimately, he will decide with personal knowledge and experience of the conditions with which he will be called upon to deal. The country, moreover, will have had opportunities of discussing the questions at issue in all their bearings. There will be throughout the length and breadth of India a keen discussion of all these questions, for we in India, whatever may be our drawbacks, take a very special interest in questions affecting education. These are advantages which cannot be lightly set aside—the advantages, namely, of an interest throughout the country, of common action, of common consideration, of dealing with problems not with regard to any particular spot in India, but with regard to their effect on the whole of India, and of having such legislation as may be necessary considered in this Council by men who will approach them with knowledge and experience.

“ For these reasons, Sir, though the Government at the present moment is indisposed, my humble request to them is that, having regard to the very sympathetic response made by Government to this request of my friend, and having regard to the fact that our interests, the interests of Government and of ourselves, are absolutely identical on this point, namely, that we are both anxious that the education of our country should be undertaken on a sound basis, I appeal to them to reconsider their position, and when the time comes, in spite of the little delay that may be involved, they will ask the Commission to investigate into University education for all the provinces of India.”

12-12 P.M.

The Hon'ble Mr. Rangaswamy Ayyangar :—“ Sir, conditions in India have vastly changed since the last Commission sat. Among other pressing needs there is the cry for vernacular education ; there is the cry for the institution of agricultural degrees, and there is a controversy about moral and religious instruction in schools, and, in Madras, there is the controversy about the Andhra and Malabar Universities. Further, increase of the elected fellows of the Senate and curtailment of the powers of the Syndicate are matters which are pressed by educationists. There is also an unanimity of opinion that there is something wrong with higher education in India, after the sitting of the last Commission. People sincerely believe that higher education has had a setback. Now when there is already one Commission in Calcutta, under the presidency of a distinguished and trusted gentleman, I do not think there is any necessity for another Commission in the very same province. But since this Commission is settled to come to Calcutta, it is better that it should be extended to all the other provinces as well. Having had experience of the futility of Commissions, so far, we may, were it possible, ourselves effect the changes that are required in this Council itself. But the only object in pressing for the Commission is, that popular voice is better heard there than in this Council.”

12-15 P.M.

The Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri :—“ Sir, the Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill has laid his finger upon the reason which perhaps has guided the Government of India in restricting the scope of this Commission. The Government of India is intimately associated with the Calcutta University, and has the oversight of the affairs of that University. The other Universities, being connected with Local Governments, have not the advantage of this intimate association with the highest authority in the land. The doubts which, from time to time, the Government of India have felt with regard to the soundness

[22ND FEBRUARY, 1917.]

[*Mr. Srinivasa Sastrī.*]

and progressive condition of the Calcutta University have led them, in my opinion somewhat precipitately, to appoint this Commission. Apparently they did not ask the other Local Governments whether, having regard to the proposed appointment of this Commission, they would like it also to conduct an inquiry into the other Universities. If they did not do so, it is an omission which unfortunately could not be rectified hereafter. If any time before I brought up this subject in this Council the Government of India had asked them : ' Now, would you like our Commission to come round to your place also', it is highly probable that every Government would have said : ' Yes ; we also have our difficulties with the local Universities. Often we can see the local University go wrong and refuse to come round to the right point of view. If your Commission could come round to this place, we have no doubt great improvement will follow.' But now I have brought up this Resolution before this Council, and the Government of India have expressed their reluctance to accede to it, no future reference to the Local Governments would serve any useful purpose. The matter is in their hands, and if there has been any cogency in my arguments, as the Hon'ble Sir Edward Maclagan has been good enough to acknowledge, I hope they will accede to it without a reference to Local Governments, for that would be futile. Sir, the question was put whether it is necessary, after a thorough inquiry is made into Calcutta conditions, that the same inquiry should extend to other places as well. I think there is, in all humility. One of the great problems of University management now is the question of bringing University management into complete accord with local needs, with local industries, with local manufactures, and with every other form of local interest. Are the industrial problems of Calcutta the same as the industrial problems of Bombay ; that the solution which is found acceptable to Calcutta should, *ipso facto*, be assumed to be applicable to Bombay as well ? Then, again, my Hon'ble friend, Mr. Davidson, alluded to a question that has from time to time cropped up in connection with the Universities. Is popular control sufficiently strong now in the organisation of our universities, or shall we seek means to associate still more public opinion such as it is in the various centres of India, with the conduct of University affairs ? Now on this question, I say to this Council that a solution found applicable to Calcutta will not be applicable to such a place as Lahore. Nobody can contend that public opinion has acquired the same intensity, coherence and power in all the centres of higher culture. There will need to be great adaptation to local conditions. Besides, Sir, I venture once more to put to this Council the great interests involved. University matters are of the highest importance. I can hardly conceive any that are higher. The character and the fortunes of future generations will be determined largely by the work of this Commission. Is it desirable to leave any sense of dissatisfaction in the other centres of learning to the effect that they have not been fully consulted, that local public opinion has not been given its due weight in the determination of such vital matters ? Are the necessary delay and perhaps the additional expense considerations that should be allowed a moment's weight when we are dealing with such great problems ? You are getting out on this occasion three great authorities from England, men who bring knowledge of University affairs, experience of perhaps some of the best developed Universities in the world ; you are getting them out, associating them with local experience and local knowledge and local judgment. Is this unique opportunity to be thrown away, and all the other centres of higher culture to be told : ' You shall only imitate. We know your minds, and to the extent we do not know your minds, your minds are not worth knowing ?' That will be a slight which I do not wish the Government of India deliberately to offer to higher centres of learning in this country. Nothing whatever can be lost by an inquiry of the open, impartial and thorough nature that I recommend. It is necessary, Sir, that public opinion should be satisfied, before the lines of future University reform are laid down ; that they are laid down after a thorough inquiry in which every shade of opinion has been taken into account, and every locality has been allowed opportunities of expressing itself."

The motion was put and negatived.

391 RESOLUTION *RE* APPOINTMENT OF A GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL FOR THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

[*Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru.*] [22ND FEBRUARY, 1917.]

RESOLUTION *RE* APPOINTMENT OF A GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL FOR THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

12-23 P.M.

The Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru:—"Sir, the Resolution which I have the honour to move runs as follows:—

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that he may be pleased to recommend to His Majesty's Government in England that—

- (a) a Governor in Council may be appointed for the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh upon the expiry of the term of office of the present Lieutenant-Governor; and
- (b) that the Executive Council for the said Provinces shall be composed of an equal number of Indian and non-Indian members.'

"The question of the establishment of an Executive Council for the United Provinces is by no means a new one. During the last few years it has repeatedly attracted the attention of Parliament in England and of the Council here. In the United Provinces Council I had the honour of moving a Resolution on the subject, and it was defeated only by the casting vote of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor. I do not propose to go into the previous history of this question (it goes back some 80 years) for more than one reason. In the first place, so far as the principle involved in the first part of the Resolution is concerned, that has been conceded by the Government of India. I shall therefore content myself by taking my stand on the last stage of the question which it reached during the administration of Lord Hardinge. It is well known that the Government of India, or, to be more precise, the majority of the Government of India during the time of Lord Hardinge, recommended the establishment of an Executive Council. It is certainly true that the minority, or a few Hon'ble Members of the Government of India at that time, did record minutes of dissent. I shall not examine the grounds of their dissent for, in the first place, so far as Lord Crewe himself was concerned, he left us in no doubt as to his attitude towards this matter. Secondly, in spite of the fact that the last attempt to create an Executive Council for the United Provinces was frustrated by the action of a few Members of the House of Lords, His Excellency Lord Hardinge made what, we consider, to be a courageous and statesmanlike speech on the subject in this very Council two years ago. In the third place, at one of the meetings held in Simla I had the honour of putting a question on this matter, and in reply to that question, the Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock made a statement to the effect that the Government had again renewed their recommendations on the subject to the Secretary of State. Satisfactory no doubt as that statement was to the extent to which it went, I must say, with all respect to the Hon'ble the Home Member, that his reply left us in doubt as to certain points connected with this particular matter. It is mainly because of this doubt in our minds that I have ventured to raise this question again before the Council. I do not propose to discuss the merits of the Council form of government; they have been very elaborately set forth in the report of the Decentralization Commission. One of the reasons that they assigned for this form of government was that it led to the 'provision for suitable distribution of work and relief to the head of the province,' the second was, that it ensured 'greater continuity of policy, collective consideration of important questions, increased public confidence and, consequently, less necessity for outside control'; and the third was, that it secured 'greater efficiency of the provincial Governments in relation to their Legislative Councils.' It will be remembered, however, that the Decentralization Commission recommended the establishment of an Executive Council for the United Provinces not with a Lieutenant-Governor, but with a Governor at its head; and, in recommending a Governor in place of a Lieutenant-Governor, the Decentralization Commission in the very same paragraph from which I have quoted state as their reason

RESOLUTION *RE* APPOINTMENT OF A GOVERNOR IN 395
COUNCIL FOR THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND
OUDH.

[22ND FEBRUARY, 1917.] [*Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru.*]

that it will lead to 'the introduction of a fresh mind, possessed by a Governor whose position and antecedents would command the deference and support of his colleagues.' Now, Sir, the feeling and sentiment of the people of my province in regard to this matter cannot be better demonstrated than by a reference to the events which have occurred subsequently to the action of the House of Lords. Shortly after the famous debate in the House of Lords, a special conference was held in the United Provinces. It was attended not only by men of the middle classes, but by men representing the landed interests. The special conference held at Allahabad was, I venture to say, a most unique demonstration. It was attended by Rajahs, Nawabs, representatives of the landed aristocracy, and representatives of the Muhammadan community; and was presided over by my distinguished friend, the Raja of Mahmudabad, whose absence on this particular occasion I very much regret. If there was one feeling that predominated at that time, it was this that not only should the United Provinces be given an Executive Council, but that they should also be given a Governor with the least possible delay. In speaking on that occasion the Raja of Mahmudabad, who presided over the meeting said, 'we respectfully but firmly demand that the benefits and advantages of a Governor assisted by a Council with an Indian Member should not now be denied to us'. It will be remembered that one of the main grounds of objection raised by certain Hon'ble Members of the Government of India in their last Despatch to the Secretary of State was that the landed aristocracy of my province was opposed to a demand like this. Now, dealing with this particular question, the Raja of Mahmudabad said:—

'The aristocracy of the Provinces are said to be opposed to the reform. They are not. The British Indian Association, the accredited representative body, in matters political, of the Taluqdars of Oudh have unanimously and emphatically protested against the action of the House of Lords. The landed aristocracy of the province of Agra have not any political institution of their own of the status and the representative character of the British Indian Association, but I am in a position to say that the views of the majority of the landed aristocracy in your province are entirely in agreement with the views recorded by the Taluqdars' Association.'

"Now we had at that particular meeting not only a large number of the landed aristocracy of the province of Oudh, but also a large number of the zemindars of the province of Agra among whom was a gentleman who happens to be the Secretary of the Zemindars' Association of Agra,—I am referring to Raja Ragho Pershad Narayan Singh, who, in the course of his speech on this particular subject, thus expressed himself:—

'Full justice cannot be done to the needs and aspirations of these Provinces so long as the office of Lieutenant-Governor is not replaced by that of a Governor.'

"Now, Sir, the second ground on which the creation of an Executive Council for my Province was resisted at that time was that it would be opposed to Muhammadan sentiment. The reply to that has also been given by the Muhammadan community in as emphatic a manner as it was possible. Shortly after the publication of these Despatches, what did we find? The Moslem League adopted a resolution in favour of the creation of an Executive Council with a Governor at its head, and the Hon'ble the Raja of Mahmudabad who, I believe, is the President of the Moslem League, left no room for doubt as to the attitude of the Muhammadan community in regard to that particular matter. I, therefore, submit, Sir, that the arguments which were possibly available in the year 1913 or 1914 to the opponents of this demand are not available any longer, and, so far as this particular question, namely, the appointment of a Governor, is concerned, I submit that all intelligent public opinion in the United Provinces is agreed on that matter. But it may be asked, why do we want a Governor? Have we not got on well during these many, many years with a Lieutenant-Governor? Sir, some of the reasons are given by the Decentralization Commission in their report for the recommendation regarding the appointment of a Governor. I will only try to submit a few others.

396 RESOLUTION . *RE* APPOINTMENT OF A GOVERNOR IN
COUNCIL FOR THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND
OUDH.

[*Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru.*] [22ND FEBRUARY, 1917.]

A Governor is generally selected from among public men in England, from among men who have had some Parliamentary experience, and he brings with him the Parliamentary traditions to India. Now the day for *ex cathedra* judgments in the Indian administration is over, and it is becoming increasingly apparent that, as time goes on, it would become necessary to employ all the arts of persuasion to make an appeal to our political sense, to our political judgment, and our political sentiment before you can get your decisions readily accepted. For a purpose like this, I should have thought that a gentleman selected from among the public men of England who brings with him the traditions which he has imbibed in the free atmosphere of his country is far more suited than a representative of any permanent service who has risen from the lowest rung of the ladder, whose traditions are different, and whose outlook on administrative and political questions is entirely different. It may, however, be urged that a Governor may bring a fresh mind, but very often a fresh mind means a blank mind. I do not anticipate any such danger, because he can always fall back upon the experience of his colleagues who will have considerable local knowledge and local experience. I should like to know how my friend Mr. Jinnah, how my friend Mr. Basu, or Mr. Sarma or Mr. Sastri would feel if they were told that, in the interests of efficiency the next time that there is a vacancy in their provinces, they would have a Lieutenant-Governor and not a Governor. I should very much like my friends to tell the Council what their feelings in the matter would be. Therefore, I think, Sir, that all apprehensions on that score seem to me to be absolutely groundless. So far as public opinion in my province is concerned, you cannot mistake it, and, if historical precedents on an occasion like this can be of any use, I may remind the Council that on three different occasions, the United Provinces have been directly ruled by a Governor General in Council, and again on three different occasions they have been ruled by a Governor in Council. Therefore, on all these grounds, I think, the case for the appointment of a Governor is a strong one. I would only venture to add one more observation with regard to the appointment of a Governor before I proceed to discuss the second part of my Resolution. A Lieutenant-Governor rises from the subordinate ranks of his own service, and very often you find that, in the long course of his administrative experience in his province, he imbibes strong likes and dislikes for men and things, and in his own turn suffers from popular likes and dislikes. I do not think that it would be possible to say the same of a Governor who will come straight from England with a fresh mind and with no local predilections or local prejudices. Therefore, Sir, on all these grounds I support the first part of my Resolution.

“ Now coming to the second part of the Resolution which asks for an equal number of Indians and Europeans on the Executive Council, here too I may say that I am not asking for anything new. This principle, too, has been practically conceded by the Secretary of State. In his Despatch on this subject, dated the 25th December 1914, the Secretary of State thus expressed himself on this question :—

‘ Having considered in Council the letter of your Excellency’s Government, I accept your recommendations that the Executive Council in the United Provinces should for the present consist of the Lieutenant-Governor and two members, one of whom should ordinarily be an Indian.’

So that, so far as the equality of representation in the Council is concerned, the principle has practically been conceded, although it has been conceded with the qualification that the Executive Council for the United Provinces should for the present consist of only two members. I do not know, Sir, whether a Council of two Members would be sufficient for the time being or for many years to come. But I would certainly suggest to Government that it would be far better to have an Executive Council of two than having an Executive Council of three. If you cannot give us an Executive Council with an equal number of Indians there, I do not think my province will be

RESOLUTION R.E APPOINTMENT OF A GOVERNOR IN 897
COUNCIL FOR THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND
OUDH.

[22ND FEBRUARY, 1917.] [Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru; Sir Reginald
Craddock.]

very much satisfied I should think, Sir, that the underlying idea in appointing Indian Members to the Executive Council was that the Indian opinion should have scope for expression. I think that the more correct way of approaching the question is that, not only should the Indian view have a scope for expression but that the Indian Member should have an effective voice in the real administration of the country. That you cannot obviously have if the Indian Member is always in the solitary minority of one. I therefore submit that, in order to ensure that Indian opinion will have full scope for expression and an effective voice in the Executive Council, it is necessary that you must have a local representative there. Sir, it seems to me that there was great wisdom in what Sir James Meston said in his letter to this Government on this particular subject. His Honour said that 'the Government would be in a stronger position if it concedes the point before agitation becomes so strong and widespread that the concession would have the appearance of yielding to undesirable pressure.' I think so far as the nature and extent of the demand is concerned, that is quite apparent now; it does not require any further demonstration. And when you remember that the United Provinces are practically second to none in their population, or in their historical importance, or in their future possibilities, or in the progress that they are making in education—and I may remind the Council that in our province we have already got two Universities with the possibility of a third to come very soon—I do not see on what possible ground this Resolution can be resisted. Sir, I think it is a very reasonable and a very modest request, and my entire province is looking forward to an announcement on this particular subject. It is in that hope that I have ventured to move this Resolution before this Council."

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock:—"Sir, I think it will 12-48 P.M.
be desirable for me to say at once, after hearing the Hon'ble mover's speech, what the attitude of the Government is in this matter, as it may possibly help to save time and discussion. I am afraid I must formally oppose the Resolution, my reason being the reason that was indicated when I replied to a question by the Hon'ble mover last September. I then said 'the Government of India have renewed their recommendation to the Secretary of State for the establishment of an Executive Council for the United Provinces. They are not in a position to give further information at present.' Well, Sir, the position is now very much the same as it was then. The subject of an Executive Council for the United Provinces has been once more referred to the Secretary of State, and until his orders are received—in fact until the matter has once again been before Parliament—it is impossible for the Government of India to discuss the subject further, or to give any opinion upon it. We are formally obliged to oppose the Resolution at this stage. But as reference was made to the dissents accompanying previous Despatches on the subject by the Hon'ble mover, I should just like to lay emphasis on one point, and that is, that just as several of my Hon'ble friends have recently claimed for themselves a character and attitude of sweet reasonableness, I should also like to put in a claim for a share in that estimable quality. The recommendation which was renewed in favour of an Executive Council in the United Provinces was in this case a unanimous one of the Government of India. The present Resolution raises, of course, the major question of a Governor in Council. Well, Sir, as I have already explained, these matters are not before the Government of India at present at a stage at which they can be discussed on the Government side, either in the positive or the negative direction. Formal opposition is a necessary attitude in regard to them.

"But as regards the second part of this Resolution, that the Executive Council should be composed of an equal number of Indian and non-Indian Members, as the Hon'ble mover is well aware, under the present law, the Act of Parliament, there is no legal bar to such a composition, and as he has himself

398 RESOLUTION *RE* APPOINTMENT OF A GOVERNOR IN
COUNCIL FOR THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND
ODDH.

[*Sir Reginald Craddock; Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.* [22ND FEBRUARY, 1917.]

pointed out, at the time when it was first contemplated to constitute an Executive Council in the United Provinces, the proposal was that there should be two Members, of whom one should be a European and another should be an Indian. The whole question turns upon what the constitution of the Council shall be in future, whether it may be two, three, or four, and it is only on the determination of that point that the Government would be in a position to give any final opinion on the subject, whether in the negative or positive direction. I am, therefore, obliged, Sir, to resist the Resolution on the formal grounds that I have mentioned."

12-48 P.M.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"I am thankful, Sir, to the Hon'ble the Home Member for having told us where the question to which the Resolution relates stands now. I must also thank him in particular for the sweet reasonableness which he has shown in agreeing to send up a unanimous recommendation for the establishment of an Executive Council in the United Provinces. I wish, however, Sir, that my Hon'ble friend displayed a little more of that quality in dealing with the Resolution which is before the Council to-day. I fail to understand why the Government of India must formally resist such a motion. What does it seek? It seeks only to recommend to the Governor General in Council that he will be pleased to recommend to His Majesty's Government that two things shall be done; that a Governor in Council should be appointed for the United Provinces, and that the Executive Council for the said Provinces should be composed of an equal number of Indian and non-Indian Members. Though I have not the privilege of a peep into the confidential papers of the Government, I think, Sir, that from the statement of the Hon'ble the Home Member we may assume that the Government of India have recommended that a Governor should be appointed instead of a Lieutenant-Governor, because unless that was the case in view of the note of dissent which he had written on a previous occasion, the Hon'ble the Home Member would not have supported the recommendation. And so far as the second point is concerned, namely, that the number of European and Indian Members of the Council should be equal, the Hon'ble the Home Member has said that the previous recommendation was that there should be one European and one Indian Member. Well, the Resolution recommends that the Council shall be composed of an equal number of Indian and non-Indian Members.

"If the number is raised to four the same proportion must be established. In view of the growing requirements of the province, it is reasonable to hope that the Government have recommended that the number should be four rather than two. Assuming therefore these two propositions, for which I submit there is evidently much reason, I do not see why the Government should not have accepted the Resolution and agreed to lay our recommendation before the Secretary of State for his consideration. It would have given much satisfaction in the United Provinces if that were done, because, as the Council is aware, this is a very long standing grievance of the United Provinces. It was in 1835 that by an Act of Parliament it was enacted that there should be a Governor in Council established for the government of the province of Agra, and we are now in 1917, and yet we have not got a Governor in Council.

"The establishment of an Executive Council to assist the Lieutenant Governor of our province was one of the original proposals of reform in the scheme of Lord Morley, but the proposal was defeated by the action of a few Members of the House of Lords; and it was defeated a second time last year by the action of the same party. I do not know what stands now in the way of this long desired reform which has been twice recommended by the Government of India. If the Hon'ble the Home Member could say that the recommendations embodied in the Resolution will be laid before His Majesty's Secretary of State for India and before His Majesty's Government in England, that would give

RESOLUTION RE APPOINTMENT OF A GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL FOR THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

[22ND FEBRUARY, 1917.]

[*Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya; Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi; Mr. M. B. Dadabhoj; Mr. Mazharul Haque.*]

great hope and satisfaction. The Government need not express any opinion of their own on our recommendations. In the circumstances of the case, we shall be content if they will simply lay before the Secretary of State what we have recommended, as expressing the desire of the people of the United Provinces as to what the constitution of the proposed Council should be. I hope that, even if the Government are not able to accept the Resolution formally, the Resolution will be brought formally to the notice of His Majesty's Government, and that the United Provinces will before long have the benefit of being governed by a Governor in Council, as the Presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Bengal have."

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi:— 12-59 P. M.

"After the pronouncement made by the Hon'ble the Home Member, it is unnecessary for me to say anything with reference to the proposal embodied in the Resolution which has been moved by my Hon'ble friend. But this much, with your leave, I should like to say, that public opinion, in the Punjab, is in hearty sympathy with the desire of the people of the United Provinces to have this reform in the administration of that province carried out as early as possible: In view, however, of the fact that the Hon'ble the Home Member has told us that the Government of India have unanimsly recommended to the Secretary of State the grant of an Executive Council to the United Provinces and of the undoubted fact that until the Secretary of State and the Government of India have determined what should be the number of the Members of the Executive Council, it is difficult for the Government of India to say anything definitely with reference to the latter part of the Resolution before the Council. I feel that my learned friend would be well advised not to press the Resolution to a division and to withdraw it at this stage. I think that the announcement made on behalf of the Government of India will give great satisfaction to the people of the United Provinces, and it will serve no useful purpose whatsoever after that pronouncement to press this Resolution to a division."

The Hon'ble Mr. M. B. Dadabhoj:— 12-56 P. M.
"I wish to contribute only one word towards this debate. My Hon'ble friend, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, has made out an excellent case for both the demands, and every non-official Member of this Council will fully sympathise with the request that he has made. I have no doubt that the Government of India will see their way to grant both these requests in time, and, in view of what has fallen from the Hon'ble the Home Member, probably my friend, Dr. Sapru, will see the advisability of not pressing his Resolution. But in any large scheme of reforms, Sir, I must press the claims of the Central Provinces. The Central Provinces have predominant claims on the finances of the Imperial Government. I do not grudge my friends in the United Provinces a Governorship; they must have it by all means, but we in the Central Provinces must have a Lieutenant-Governorship first before any other province gets anything further in this direction. Only the other day I pressed for a Chief Court for the Central Provinces, and I, therefore, submit that in any comprehensive scheme of post-war reforms which the Government of India and the Imperial Government may consider, they will take into account the prior claims of the Central Provinces to have both a Lieutenant-Governorship and a Chief Court before any concession in the matter of status and elevation is made to any other province. We in the Central Provinces can no longer remain content under an obsolete and antiquated form of government."

The Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque:— 12-56 P. M.
"Sir, my province, Bihar, stands by the side of the United Provinces in this matter. In 1911,

400 RESOLUTION *RE* APPOINTMENT OF A GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL FOR THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

[*Mr. Masharal Haque; Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma; Sir Reginald Craddock.*] [22ND FEBRUARY, 1917.]

remember, it was one of the Bihar Members who had moved a similar Resolution in the Imperial Council, and I had the honour of giving him my humble support. This question has passed out of the regions of discussion and entered into those of action. The reform has been long overdue, and I have no doubt it will soon be accomplished. I agree with my Hon'ble friend Mr. Shafi that, in view of the announcement made by the Hon'ble the Home Member, my friend Dr. Sapru will be well advised to withdraw this Resolution. The discussion has served its purpose, and he has elicited a reply which will, I have no doubt, satisfy the people of the United Provinces."

12-58 P.M.

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma:—"One word, Sir. Madras gives its hearty support to the request of the United Provinces. Kautilya in his 'Arthashastra' says—'In deliberating with two Ministers, the King may be overpowered by their combined action, or imperilled by their mutual dissension. But with three or four Ministers he will not come to any serious grief but will arrive at satisfactory results'. Under our constitution the Governor has the right of veto, and I hope, therefore, that four Members will be given to the United Provinces, of whom two will be Indians."

12-59 P.M.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock:—"Sir, I should like to exercise my right of speaking a second time, because I must correct any impression that my Hon'ble friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has apparently formed from my remarks that the Government of India have made any recommendation in favour of a Governor in Council for the United Provinces. The question has not really at this stage been under formal discussion. It must be obvious that a step of this kind is hardly one that could be considered during a crisis like the present, and that now is not the psychological moment to discuss a development such as is involved by a change in the system of government in the province—a development which is also necessarily accompanied by a considerable increase in expenditure. On the general merits of the question, I carefully precluded myself from making any remarks either in favour of the one system or the other. It is a trite saying no doubt that comparisons are always odious. A great many people must necessarily take different views on this subject; some advocate one, some the other. Some of our officers have been brought up under the one system, that of Lieutenant-Governors, others under that of Governors, and they all have their different views. I, however, unfortunately, have not served either under a Governor or a Lieutenant-Governor, but have only served under and conducted that very effete form of government, namely, that of a Chief Commissionership, to which my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoj has alluded.

"But, Sir, I should like to say definitely in regard to this matter that, although the attitude of the United Provinces Members seems to me to be very much like that depicted in advertisements one has often seen of a famous soap—'They will not be happy till they get it'—they must really be content to wait a little and wait until the time is more opportune than it is at present for a demand of this kind.

"And another thing is, that I would not like them to set too great store on it in the hope that when once this privilege is given to them all their other ills will disappear; for I observed that my Hon'ble friend Mr. Basu, in the habitual gloom that has settled on him, a gloom which I should like to dispel if I possibly could, was wont to talk of his province as 'his unhappy province' when it was under a Lieutenant-Governor, and although Bengal is under a Governor now, I notice that he still refers to his province as 'unhappy.' I am exceedingly sorry for him, and if I could do anything to cheer him up I would willingly do so. I have explained that this is not the psychological moment to ask for sixteen annas when you have just been refused eight annas; but, at the same time, I am perfectly ready to give an assurance that the discussion to-day shall in due course be laid before the Secretary of State."

RESOLUTION *RE* APPOINTMENT OF A GOVERNOR IN 401
COUNCIL FOR THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND
OUDEH.

[22ND FEBRUARY, 1917.] [*Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu; Mr. M. A. Jinnah.*]

The Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu :—" Sir, I had made up my mind in coming to this Council to speak in support of the Resolution and in support of the change from a Lieutenant-Governorship into a Governorship. I had thought over in my mind of what I should say about the shortcomings of members of the Civil Service, their foibles and their pardonable or unpardonable weaknesses, and also about their great virtues which we admit and admire; and I had thought how I would compare the one system with the other, under both of which I have lived, and how I would draw the conclusion that probably it would not be a disadvantage either to the country or to the Service if we had at the head of the Government a man brought out from the public life of England. But, Sir, I must say that the answer given by the Hon'ble the Home Member during the first part of the debate has to a large extent disarmed me. I am one of those who are willing to progress by degrees. We began in Bengal with a Lieutenant-Governor in Council. Well, somehow or other a Lieutenant-Governor and an Executive Council do not go well together—they do not hit it off at all well; and it was only after a very short trial that the Lieutenant-Governor was replaced by a Governor. There is certainly no virtue in itself in a ruler being called a Governor or a Lieutenant-Governor; and I should be prepared, if I were a resident of the United Provinces, to begin the experiment along the line of least resistance. For the present, therefore, I should be content with a Lieutenant-Governor and a Council composed equally of Indians and Europeans, even if the Council consisted of only two Members. I think, therefore, that the purpose of this discussion has been served. My Hon'ble friends of the United Provinces are to be congratulated upon what they have been able to secure in theory, if not in practice yet, namely, that their Executive Council should have one Indian Member and one European Member. We, the older provinces, are not yet in that happy position, and that may account to some degree for my unhappiness. If my friend the Hon'ble the Home Member is really anxious to dispel the gloom that habitually settles on me when I have to refer to the conditions prevailing in my province, he will take an early opportunity of giving us in Bengal a Council with two Indian Members rather than the one we have got at present. However that may be, Members of this Council are aware of that truth—how little of human ills can be caused or cured by Government. But we all expect those ills to disappear more quickly under men who are conversant with them in their personal aspects, than under those who, with all the sympathy they may have, yet have not the personal contact which is so necessary."

1-3 P.M.

"I do not profess or pretend to offer advice to my friend the Hon'ble Dr. Sapru, but in view of what has fallen from the Hon'ble the Home Member, I think it would be desirable rather than have the opposition of the Government recorded on a Resolution in regard to which they are perfectly agreed—for they have already accepted its principle—I would ask my Hon'ble friend to withdraw his Resolution, and when the time comes when, by the grace of God, we shall have peace restored and live in happier times, we can come forward again with the proposal that the time has now arrived when the question as to whether the rulership of the United Provinces should be a Lieutenant-Governor or a Governor imported from home may very fairly be considered."

"With these few remarks, I commend my respectful submission to my friends from the United Provinces for their consideration."

The Hon'ble Mr. M. A. Jinnah :—" Sir, I have had no desire to take part in the discussion on this Resolution, but the position of Bombay might be misunderstood as every other province has been represented in the debate, except Bombay. In order to reassure my friends from the United Provinces on behalf of my province, I want to say a few words. I am in entire accord with the Resolution, and Bombay would be more glad than anybody else to see the United Provinces installed with a Governor in Council and an

1-8 P.M.

402 RESOLUTION *RE* APPOINTMENT OF A GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL FOR THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH; RESOLUTION *RE* PRIMARY EDUCATION.

[*Mr. M. A. Jinnah; Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru;* [22ND FEBRUARY, 1917.]
the Vice-President; Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma; Mr. Mazharul Haque.]

Executive Council; and nobody would be more pleased than Bombay if half of that Council were Indian Members. But the reply that has been given by the Government is so satisfactory that I need not say it ought really to satisfy the United Provinces. No doubt the Hon'ble the Home Member—very rightly I think—cannot possibly accept this Resolution and commit Government when the question is at its present stage pending before the Secretary of State for India; but what has already been done by the Government of India is that, so far as the principle is concerned, a recommendation has already been made. I can quite understand the position of the Government of India; the details cannot at this juncture be accepted by the Government when the question as a whole is pending before the Secretary of State; and therefore I think, Sir, that the reply given to this Resolution, so far as the principle is concerned, is most satisfactory, and I hope that it will satisfy my Hon'ble friends from the United Provinces”.

1-10 P.M.

The Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru:—“Sir, I must express my indebtedness both to the Hon'ble the Home Member and also to my colleagues here who have so warmly supported my Resolution, except perhaps in the case of my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Basu, who has asked us to be contented while he himself always holds out every day the example of divine discontent to us. Sir, I am particularly gratified at the statement made by the Hon'ble the Home Member that he will bring to the notice of the Secretary of State the discussion that has taken place to-day in this Council. I fully appreciate the difficulty of the Government in regard to making any final or binding statement on an occasion like this. But I sincerely hope and trust that it will be brought to the notice of the Secretary of State that, so far as the people of the United Provinces are concerned, they have made up their minds that they will have a Governor with an equal number of Indians and Europeans on the Executive Council. In view of the replies given by the Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock, and in view of the advice given to me by my Indian colleagues, I feel, Sir, that I shall not be justified in pressing this Resolution. I shall withdraw it in the hope that the entire discussion will be brought to the notice of the Secretary of State who will take such steps as he may be advised to later on.”

The Resolution was by permission withdrawn.

RESOLUTION *RE* PRIMARY EDUCATION.

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma *Garu* to move the following Resolution:—

‘This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the Government of India should recognise—

- (a) that Imperial revenues should accept the burden of future extensions of primary education.
- (b) that a scheme whereby it may be made universal, compulsory and free throughout British India within a period of 15 years, may be drawn up and sanctioned at an early date, and introduced as soon as possible after the termination of the war.’

“Sir, I believe the Resolution has been postponed to the 28th instant.”

The Hon'ble the Vice-President:—“If the Hon'ble Member will kindly move for leave to postpone the Resolution, I shall be happy to deal with it. The Resolution is at present on the agenda paper for discussion.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque:—“May I bring to your notice, Sir, that we have received a fresh agenda postponing this Resolution to the 28th September.”

[22ND FEBRUARY, 1917.]

[*The Vice-President ; Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma.*]

The Hon'ble the Vice-President:—"It is a purely formal matter. I have only asked the Hon'ble Member to move formally for leave to postpone the Resolution standing in his name."

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma:—"I beg to move that the next Resolution standing against my name be postponed and taken up on the 28th instant."

The Hon'ble the Vice-President:—"The Resolution is postponed."

The Council adjourned to Wednesday, the 28th February.

A. P. MUDDIMAN,

*Secretary to the Government of India,
Legislative Department.*

DELHI ;

The 5th February, 1917.